

THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

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The cathedral church of Lincoln occupies a very high—some might be disposed to say the highest—place in the first class of English cathedrals, both as regards dimensions and architectural beauty. According to Sir Edmund Beckett's very useful tables, appended to his *Book on Building*, Lincoln stands second in area of our old English cathedrals, being only exceeded by York. The area of the one in square feet is 62,300, and of the other 57,200. Winchester comes third with an area of 53,480 square feet, followed by Ely and Westminster, both with an area of 46,000 square feet. In length, Lincoln is only a few feet shorter than York: 481 feet as against 486 feet. Both these churches are absolutely the longest of English cathedrals in extent of roof in which the altitude is maintained at nearly the same level from end to end. The greater length of Winchester (530 feet) and St. Albans (520 feet) is due to long low Lady Chapels; while the same superiority is given at Canterbury (514 feet) by Becket's Crown, and at Westminster (505 feet) by Henry the Seventh's Chapel; both distinct though annexed buildings; and at Ely (517 feet) by the Galilee porch at the west end.

It is absurd to think of comparing cathedrals as examples of architecture. Each one has its own peculiar beauties, as each, one need not be afraid of saying, has its own defects. No one, however, will demur to the verdict that in point of purity of architectural style, gracefulness of design, richness of ornament, and, above all, in majestic symmetry of outline,

“Lincoln on its sovereign hill”

is equalled by very few and surpassed by none of her

sister cathedrals. The crown of towers which breaks the huge mass and rises skyward is absolutely unrivalled in England, and perhaps anywhere else in Christendom.

The purpose of this paper is, as its title expresses, to trace the "*Architectural History*" of the fabric. The many events of which it has been the scene belonging to ecclesiastical or secular history are, therefore, beside my present aim, except so far as they bear upon the building itself. To do justice to these would require a much larger space than can be given to them in the pages of a *Journal*.

The cathedral of Lincoln, like those of Norwich and Chichester, was built on an entirely new site, on the transference of the see from Dorchester by Remigius, the first Norman bishop, shortly after the Conquest. No part of the existing building therefore can have any claim to Saxon date. It is true that an earlier church, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, stood on a portion of the ground purchased by Remigius for the erection of his cathedral.¹ But parish churches at that period were small and humble structures, and we cannot doubt that this church was entirely demolished to make way for Remigius's more vast and stately fabric.

The Architectural History of the existing cathedral may be conveniently summarized under the following five periods:—

PERIOD I. FROM THE FOUNDATION TO THE CLOSE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY. *Norman*.

The whole cathedral was erected from the foundations by Remigius, and was awaiting consecration at the time of its founder's death, 1092 A.D. This was a cruciform church, probably covering the ground occupied by the existing nave and transepts, but with a much shorter eastern limb, terminating in a semicircular apse. Of this church the only portions remaining are the central division

¹ "In loco autem in quo ecclesia beatæ Mariæ Magdalænæ in ballio Lincolniensi sita erat, dictus Remigius erexit suam ecclesiam cathedralem." *Joh. de Schalby*, p. 194.

"Et in certo loco ipsius ecclesiæ cathedralis, parochiani dictæ ecclesiæ beatæ

Mariæ Magdalænæ divina obsequia audierunt, ac in fonte cathedralis ecclesiæ eorum parvuli baptizati fuerunt, et in ipsius cœmeterio corpora parochianorum in obitu sepulture tradita extiterunt."—*Ibid.*

of the west front, with its three deeply arched recesses (the central one of which has been raised and altered in Early English times); the first bay of the nave, on either side, including the outside walls, now enclosed in later Early English chapels; and the foundations of the northern and southern walls of the eastern limb with the startings of the two curves of the apse, beneath the stalls of the present choir.

Remigius's church having had its roof burnt off and its ceilings destroyed, and the interior disfigured, "deturpata," by an accidental fire, c. 1141, the whole was covered with a stone vault, by Bishop Alexander, "the Magnificent." Of this vault, not a fragment anywhere remains, but its lines may be traced at the west end of the Nave, and against the western Towers. Although there is no documentary evidence on the point, we may safely ascribe to the same prelate the erection of the lower stories of the two western Towers, with the highly enriched gables projecting from them, of which those to the north and south remain. Those to the west were removed on the completion of the façade in the Early English style, in the middle of the 13th century, the ridge-moulds of these gables however remaining behind the later screen wall. The magnificent late Norman doorways at the west end, giving entrance to the nave and side aisles respectively, are commonly attributed to Bishop Alexander. There is however no documentary evidence of the fact, and the late Sir G. G. Scott questioned their having been quite so early. Bishop Alexander died in 1148.

PERIOD II. THE WORKS OF BISHOP HUGH OF AVALON. 1192-1200. *Early English.*

The whole of the original eastern limb, and we may probably add the Norman central tower and transepts, were pulled down by Bishop Hugh the Burgundian, with the intention of re-erecting them in the newly developed style, known to us as Early English or First Pointed. The first stone was laid according to the *Irish Annals of Multifernan*,¹ in 1192, six years after Hugh

¹ Printed by the Irish Archaeological Society, 1842, in Vol. II of their *Tracts*. The entry, as given by the late Prebendary

Dimock, is "A.D. 1192 Jacitur fundamentum Ecclesie Lincolnie."

became Bishop of Lincoln. His work consisted of the existing ritual choir of four bays, the eastern or choir transept (a feature borrowed from Cluny), with its apsidal chapels, the whole terminating in a huge polygonal apse. The plan of the great transepts had also been fixed upon, the foundations probably laid and the work begun. But on the death of Bishop Hugh it had been carried no further than the starting of the second of the three chapels, into which the eastern aisle of the transept is divided. At this point, as will be noticed further on, a sudden change in the design marks the sudden suspension of the ruling mind. Whether a new central tower formed part of St. Hugh's work or not is uncertain. The "nova turris" which fell in Grosseteste's time, was almost certainly erected either in St. Hugh's episcopate, or that of one of his immediate successors.

PERIOD III. FROM THE DEATH OF ST. HUGH TO THE END OF THE *Early English* PERIOD.

During the whole of the first fifty years of this century documentary evidence is very scanty. We may, however, gather from the few notices we have, confirmed by the unerring test of architectural details, that during this period the transepts with their two "orbicular windows" were completed; (it is hardly necessary to remark that the southern of these windows was subsequently rebuilt in the Decorated style), the Norman nave and aisles taken down, (with the exception, already mentioned, of the westernmost bay), and rebuilt in the Early English style as we see them now; that the two side chapels, to the north and south, which give additional breadth to the west end, were built, and the western facade with its arcaded screen wall and enriched central gable and flanking turrets cast in its present stately form. The polygonal Chapter house, the Galilee porch projecting from the west side of the south transept, and the Vestry, also belong to this period. The only certain date, however, during this half century is that of the fall of the central tower and consequently, approximately, the erection of its successor the existing "Broad" or more properly "Rood Tower," or at least its lower Early English portion. This

event is fixed by the *Peterborough Chronicle* in 1237, two years after Grosseteste entered on his episcopate. The reticulated pattern, which covers the walls of this tower within and without, appears also in the western gable and identifies it as Grosseteste's work.

To the latter half of this century belongs the demolition of the eastern apse and the erection of the eastern limb forming the five bays known as the Angel choir. The object of this prolongation was to furnish a new and more dignified home for the shrine of St. Hugh, and larger accommodation for the votaries who were drawn to it by the fame of the miraculous cures effected there. The Royal license for taking down the eastern city wall, which running from north to south stood in the way of this extension, was granted in 1255, and in 1280 the building was sufficiently complete for the translation of the Saint's body to its newly erected receptacle.

PERIOD IV. THE *Decorated* PERIOD.

There is not much Decorated work at Lincoln. The most important examples are the Cloisters, and the upper part of the Broad Tower. The vestibule and three existing walks of the cloister, afford an excellent example of Geometrical Decorated, of which a letter of Bishop Sutton's, Aug. 23, 1296, speaking of this work as then in progress, gives us the exact date.

The upper story of the central tower is only a very few years later. In 1307 Bishop Dalderby issued letters of indulgence for raising to a greater height, the "campanile in ipsius ecclesiæ medio, a multis temporibus retroactis constructum." We learn from the Chapter Acts that the work was ordered to be begun on the 14th of March in that year, and, as in 1311 cords were provided for two bells which had been lately hung in that tower, we may conclude that by that date it was completed. To the Decorated style also belong the stone screen dividing the choir from the transept now supporting the organ, the Easter Sepulchre and the monumental structure of which it forms part, the original reredos with its side screens, the panelled work which formed the back of the shrine of "Little St. Hugh" in the south aisle of the

choir, and the richly diapered screen wall dividing the chorister's vestry from the south choir aisle.

The later Decorated is very scantily represented in Lincoln Cathedral. To it belongs the circular window with flamboyant tracery of the south transept, with the arch of open quatrefoils in which it is set, and the gable above. The Chapter muniments are silent as to the period of the erection of these works; but they have not improbably been ascribed to the "cultus" of Bishop John of Dalderby, popularly though not officially canonised, who was buried in this transept—fragments of his tomb still remaining against the west wall—the offerings at his shrine paying the charges of the alterations. The series of Burghersh and Cantilupe canopied tombs at the east end of the presbytery, are also admirable examples of the Monumental Architecture of the same period.

PERIOD V. PERPENDICULAR, EARLY AND LATE.

Few of our cathedrals exhibit so little Perpendicular work as Lincoln. With the exception of those in the west front, the practise of substituting larger windows in the Perpendicular style, and filling earlier openings with Perpendicular tracery, which is so prevalent elsewhere, has no place at Lincoln. It is needless to remark how greatly this cathedral is the gainer in purity and dignity by the absence of these later alterations. The only extensive works belonging to this period are those carried out by the Treasurer of the church, John of Welbourn, chiefly at the west end, and in connection with the western towers. John of Welbourn was treasurer from about 1350 to 1380, so that we are able to date his works within thirty years. The Chapter Records ascribe to him the panelling and vaulting of the interior of the western towers, the vaulting of the lantern of the central tower, the row of niches containing regal statues above the great west Norman doorway, and the stalls of the Choir. No other works are named in the list of his benefactions; but the upper stories of the western towers, if not his work, cannot be placed more than a few years later. The western windows are usually set down to Bishop William Alnwick, on the faith of an entry in

Leland's *Collectanea*. But Leland's statements are not always absolutely correct. He may have been sometimes misinformed, or misunderstood his information; certainly the passage referred to, which is given below,¹ contains more than one mistake, and I believe that that relating to Bishop Alnwick is erroneous. The character of the tracery is fifty or sixty years anterior to Alnwick, and it is only requisite to compare these windows with that in the west front at Norwich, erected by his executors soon after Alnwick's death, and with those in the gateway tower and windows of the chapel built by him (as given in Buck's view) at the old episcopal palace at Lincoln, which are of the purest Perpendicular, to prove that they cannot belong to the same period. It will, moreover, be noticed that Leland speaks of but one window—"fenestram"—while all three are by the same hand; and that he ascribes to Alnwick the erection of the great west door, which is late Norman.

The only other examples of Perpendicular work are to be found in the chantry chapels added during their lifetime, outside the walls of the choir aisles, on the north by Bishop Fleming (d. 1431); and on the south by Bishop Russell (d. 1493); and Bishop Longland (d. 1547). The design of the three is very similar, and of the last two almost identical. The details of the niches at the west end of the interior of Bishop Longland's chapel are of Renaissance character. To these may be added the wooden screens separating the chapels from the transepts, which are not however remarkable either for design or for execution. What remains of the old library is also a Perpendicular work. It was erected over the east walk of the cloisters (occupying the same position as at Wells and Salisbury,) in 1442. It was partially

¹ "Gulielmus conquestor transtulit sedem episcopatus de Dorchester in Lincoln. civitatem, et dedit situm ecclesiæ Cathedr. quam fundavit ibidem; cui ad deprecationem Remigii episcopi concessit manerium quod vocatur Lestona.

"Remigius episcopus Linc., fundavit ecclesiam Cath. instituitque 21 Præbendarios temp. W. C.

"Rob. Bloet episcopus addidit 21 Præbendarios temp. W. R.

"Proventus annui 540 Li.

"Alexander episcopus reparavit post

incendium et fornice adornavit, increvit que numerum Præbendariorum terrisque dotavit temp. H. I.

"Hugo episcopus Linc. de novo fundavit templum Cath. ab ipsa terra et obiit 1200 1 Jo.

"Jo. Sinwell [Gynwell] episcopus fundavit capellam S^{tæ} Mariæ Magdalænæ ibique sepultus 1361.

"Wilhelmus Alnewik episcopus fecit magnam occidentalem fenestram et portam temp. H. 6."—Leland. *Collectanea*, vol. i, p. 95.

destroyed by fire in 1609, together with a portion of its contents. Of what remained, all but the central portion, which was left to form a vestibule to Dean Honynwood's new library designed by Sir Christopher Wren, was taken down by Chapter order in 1789. The oak-framed roof of this fragment is excellent in design and execution, and makes us regret the loss of the rest.

There is no record of the erection of the spires which originally crowned the three towers. They were of timber covered with lead, lofty and slender. That on the central tower was blown down by a storm, January 31st, 1547. Those on the western towers were allowed to fall into disrepair, and were finally taken down in 1807.

To recapitulate.—The Norman church built by Remigius in the latter half of the eleventh century has entirely disappeared, with the exception of a fragment at the west end, and the foundations of the apsidal eastern limb. It has been replaced by a church, substantially in one style—the Early English or First Pointed—commenced just before the close of the twelfth, and carried on during the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. The whole of this fabric was raised freshly from new foundations; the exceptions being so slight, as not to affect the general integrity of the design. There has been therefore none of that adaptation of earlier work, which in other large churches, while it increases the interest of their architectural history detracts from the harmony of their design. This re-building commenced according to the usual rule in our large churches with the east, or altar end, under Bishop Hugh of Avalon, and was carried on westward for above fifty years under successive prelates, receiving its completion at the west end from the hand of Grosseteste. It then began again, where it had originally started, at the east end, by the prolongation of the eastern limb, of which we have similar examples at Canterbury, Rochester, Ely, Worcester, and Lichfield.

The foundations of the existing church having been laid by St. Hugh in 1192, and the new work being ready for the translation of the body of the Saint in 1280, it will be seen that in Lincoln Cathedral we have an almost unaltered example of the whole course of the architecture of

the thirteenth century from its rise to its perfected development, before it finally passed into Decorated, presenting, in the words of Sir G. G. Scott,¹ "one of the finest series of works that this or any other country can boast." Nowhere is the history of window tracery better illustrated, from the simple lancet through plate tracery to the fully developed bar tracery of the vast and lovely windows of the Angel choir. No important addition was made to the fabric after the close of the thirteenth century. The elevation of the towers, "those lordly towers which preside in serene majesty over the whole surrounding country,"² to which the majestic beauty of the outline of the cathedral viewed from without is so greatly due, does not in any way affect the interior. The other additions and alterations are limited to windows and other subsidiary portions, valuable as illustrating progressive architectural style, but not greatly modifying the design. As a whole therefore Lincoln Cathedral may be said to belong to one style, and to be the best and most instructive example of it. Having been carried on by various builders during more than half a century, it presents varieties of treatment, which maintain the general unity of style, and add greatly to its beauty and interest, which are wanting in the monotonous uniformity of Salisbury. Some words of Sir G. G. Scott, on this subject are well worth quoting. "It is the custom to speak of Salisbury as the great typical example of the Early English style, and its unity and completeness may warrant the claim; but both for the grandeur of the whole, and the artistic beauty of every part, and also as a complete exponent of English architecture throughout the whole duration of its greatest period, Lincoln far surpasses it. Its leading features form a perfect illustration, and that on the grandest scale, of the entire history of our architecture from the last years of the twelfth to the early part of the fourteenth century."³

Having thus taken a rapid survey of the architectural history of the fabric, I now purpose to go through it in chronological succession, confronting the written records with those presented by the building itself.

¹ Lectures on Mediæval Architecture, i, 306.

² Sir G. G. Scott, *u.s.*, i, 194.

³ Lectures, i, 194.

We begin with the church of Remigius. The transference of the see from Dorchester and the erection of the new cathedral is thus described by Henry of Huntingdon. "The king" (William the Conqueror) "had given Remigius who had been a monk at Fescamp the bishopric of Dorchester which is situated on the Thames. This bishopric being larger than all others in England, stretching from the Thames to the Humber, the bishop thought it troublesome to have his episcopal see at the extreme limit of his diocese. He was also displeased with the smallness of the town, the most illustrious city of Lincoln appearing far more worthy to be the see of a bishop. He therefore bought certain lands on the highest part of the city, near the castle standing aloft with its strong towers, and built a church, strong as the place was strong, and fair as the place was fair, dedicated to the Virgin of virgins, which should both be a joy to the servants of God, and as befitted the time unconquerable by enemies."¹ The date of transference of the see is variously stated by different writers. As, however, Remigius signed himself "Episcopus Dorcacensis" at the council of Windsor in 1072, and "Episcopus Lincolnensis" at the council of London 1075, it must have been effected between these two years. The first steps were probably taken soon after the former council when the claim of the Archbishop of York to have jurisdiction over Lindsey was finally negatived. Giraldus Cambrensis connects the two events, stating that one reason for the transference was to make good Remigius's right to Lindsey, as part of his diocese and of the province of Canterbury.² Little as it is that remains of this first cathedral of Lincoln, it is enough to enable us to recover the general plan and character

¹The following is Henry of Huntingdon's account of the foundation, "Remigio igitur, qui Monachus fuerat apud Fescamp, dederat Rex Episcopatum Dorcestrie, que sita est super Tamesin. Cum autem episcopatus ille major omnibus Angliae, a Tamesi usque ad Humbram duraret, molestum visum est Episcopo quod in ipso termino Episcopatus sedes esset Episcopalis. Displacebat etiam ei, quod urbs illa modica erat, cum in eodem Episcopatu civitas clarissima Lincolnia dignior sede Episcopali videretur. Mercatis igitur praediis in ipso vertice urbis juxta

castellum turribus fortissimis eminens, in loco forti fortem, pulchro pulchram, Virgini virginum construxit Ecclesiam : quae et grata esset Deo servientibus, et ut pro tempore oportebat invincibilis hostibus." (Hen. Hunt., Ed. Savile, p. 212.)

- "Utque firmiori quod gestum fuerat stabilitate constaret, cathedralem ecclesiam suam in summo apud Lincolniam montis vertice trans Widhemam, in honore beatae Virginis fundari, egregieque in brevi consummari procuravit." (Girald. Camb., *Vit. S. Remig.* cap. iv, vol. vii, p. 19).

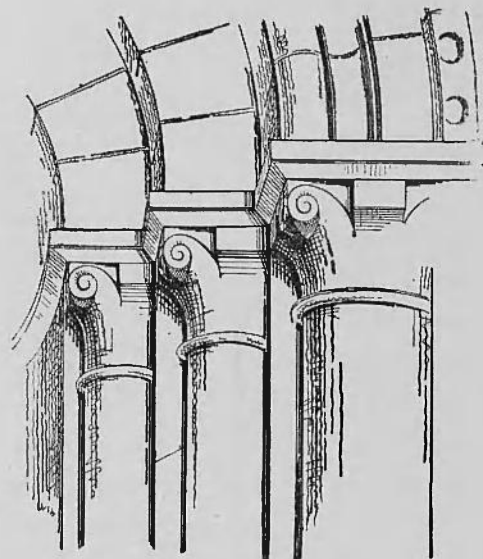
of the building. The west front remains in its entirety, with subsequent changes and additions of which we can easily disencumber it. We have also, though very imperfect, one bay of the nave on either side at the west end. At the other extremity of the building we have the foundations of the springing of the eastern apse, and portions of the flanking walls of the Norman choir. These points give us the dimensions of the building. We have a church of about 300 feet in interior length—full 150 feet or 160 feet short of the length of the present church, by 28 feet in breadth—*i.e.*, 10 feet less than at present—and 60 feet in height to the level of the ceiling, which we cannot doubt was, (as we know that of Lanfranc's church at Canterbury to have been, and as that of the transepts of Peterborough now is), a flat one of painted boards. The height of the present nave is 82 feet, and of the choir 74 feet. All the dimensions of the church therefore were smaller than now. The only direction in which there has not been any extension is to the west, and in this Lincoln only follows the invariable rule. However considerably the dimensions of our cathedrals have been increased in other parts, the west front always stands where the first Norman builders placed it. The reason is evident. The Norman naves were always very long, and proved quite sufficient for the processions which were their chief object. If more space was required it was towards the east to supply additional altar-room and opportunity for the growing cultus of the Blessed Virgin, and popular local saints. In the transformation of our churches from an earlier to a later style which was so constantly going on in the middle ages, we commonly find the new building, as at Lincoln, somewhat, though not very much, broader than that which it was intended to replace. The external walls—the first portion built—could thus be erected entirely outside those of the existing building, without disturbing it in any way. As a rule the Mediæval builders were careful not to interrupt the religious rites for which the church existed more than was absolutely essential, keeping up the old building till the new one was nearly or quite ready to take its place.¹

¹ See as an example of this Bishop Lucy's chapels at Winchester. Willis, *Winchester Cathedral*, pp. 41, 78. The aisles of York minster afford another

instance. In all such cases I believe the aisle walls prove to have been the first part built. It was so at Lincoln.

Turning from the dimensions to the character of Remigius's church, as exhibited in the western façade, we find it an example of the "novum compositionis genus" of the Normans which so speedily and effectually ousted the old English style of building, in its sternest simplicity. Majestic and awful rather than beautiful, it is characterized by gigantic massiveness of construction, and a severe abnegation of ornament. The lines are hard and precise; the sharp edges of the arches unrelieved by any moulding, or even chamfer; the capitals mere blocks, swelling at the angles into rude reminiscences of the Corinthian volute, with a square projection, representing the rosette; the bases, a simple quirk, with a quarter round. The masonry is wide-jointed, and the stones are small and generally square. Nothing relieves the austere plainness of the design but cylindrical shafts at the angles supporting the arched recesses. The only place where the architect has relaxed his severity is in the singular niche-like recesses, semicircular in plan, which finish the façade on either side, and are repeated on the flanks. Here the arches are moulded and the external order is ornamented with a rude scollop, while the capitals are carved with plain spreading foliage, (some of which, however, is a later insertion), and the volutes are less inelegant.

If in its architectural details there is little to distinguish the work of Remigius from Norman of the ordinary type, the design of the western façade shews very decided originality. It consists of a huge screen wall standing in front of the towers, which, as in Norman churches of large size generally, were certainly from the first intended to terminate the aisles, though perhaps not raised higher than the roof by Remigius himself. In this screen are excavated, as it were, three deep cavernous, arched recesses, corresponding in height respectively to the elevation of the aisles and nave. The two lateral recesses retain their semicircular arches, receding in four orders, of varying depth but of equal severity. Between the second and third order there is a deep groove, recalling the portcullis-opening in a castle-gateway, and not at all out of harmony with its stern surroundings. The surface of the wall, plain even to baldness, is unbroken



Capitals of Recess at (a).



Semicircular Recess.

Details of West Front of Lincoln Cathedral.

by buttress or projection of any kind, and is scantily relieved by window openings; one to the north lights the treasury, while a slit or two light the newel staircase to the south.¹ The screen wall is also continued along the flanks of the towers on the north and south sides, forming a kind of shallow western transept. To the south there is a deep arched recess corresponding to those in the west front, in what was originally the outside wall but is now enclosed within the south-western chapel, and is further obscured by a newel staircase (*a*) having been built up within its cavity. The small apsidal recess (*b*) is also repeated, both here and in the corresponding situation at the northern angle (*c*). The loftier recess is not found on the north side. Where it should have been (at T in the ground plan) there is a low arch of Norman masonry, with two tiers of voussoirs, springing at once from the ground without any piers. Many speculations have been hazarded as to the object of this arch. But it is clearly what we should call an "arch of construction," thrown across a place where a good foundation could not easily be obtained. On opening the ground at this spot a Roman base moulding was discovered with three steps and other fragments of a Roman building, which the Norman workmen, found it easier to bridge over than to remove. The gables by which these arched recesses were originally surmounted, and which remain on the flanks of the towers, were subsequent to Remigius's time, and must be passed over for the present.

Entering the church we find the westernmost bay on either side (BB), a very distinct and instructive fragment of Remigius's church (see A, Plate II). The clerestory (*a*) remains unaltered, and we have two sturdy shafts attached to the wall on either side (*bb*), originally bearing the rafters of the flat painted ceilings, but now fitted with later capitals and made to do duty as vaulting shafts for Grosseteste's groining. The clerestory ranges in elevation with the triforium of the Early English church. Each bay contains a single rather wide Norman window (*a*),

¹ This staircase, one of the finest examples of its kind and date existing, does not reach the ground, being stopped in its descent by the apsidal recesses west and south, at the angle of the west front.

From this point, a turn northwards communicated with the wall passage along the west front and so to the sill of the south-west window, from which a wooden staircase or ladder would finish the descent.

the inner arch having its edge relieved by a continuous roll moulding, the lower part of which is converted by the interposition of a fluted cushion-capital (1) into a shaft. The jamb of the window is pierced by a wall passage, which doubtless continued from end to end of the church at the same height. The wall above these Norman windows is enriched with the reticulated diaper (*c*), characteristic of Grosseteste's work, indicating the increased height given to the church in his time. Subsequent alterations of various dates have removed or hidden the lower members of the bay. The pointed arch (*e*) (which together with the other arches supporting the tower, was built up with solid masonry by one Mr. James, early in the last century), forms part of Treasurer Welbourn's alterations in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Above, in both bays, the round arch of the Norman triforium can still be traced (*d*). All indications of the arcade below have been obliterated, and it would be idle to speculate on its design. Remigius's front is most curiously honey-combed with a labyrinth of passages and staircases, and contains several small chambers constructed in the thickness of the wall, rudely groined and lighted by small windows in the jambs of the great arched recesses. These small cells are accessible by steps from the sills of the west windows, originally being on a level with the Norman wall-passage. They are just large enough to contain a stool and a desk, and may have served as studies for the ecclesiastics of the church. A much larger chamber, which was probably a place of safe deposit for the treasures of the minster, absurdly called a prison, occurs in the upper part of the north wing of the north or St. Mary's tower. This room which was originally approached by a level passage across the west front at the level of the Norman triforium is now only accessible by ladders. It was originally lighted by four windows, one to the west, which is still open, one to the east, blocked by Bishop Alexander's work, and two to the north, now enclosed in the Early English chapel, one being concealed by the springers of the vaulting. Two apertures in the ceiling of the passage beneath it (which now forms a way of access to the north western Early English chapel (T), a doorway having been pierced through the wall filling up the arch of construction already des-

cribed,) afforded communication with the room above, through which the treasures of the church might be drawn up to a place of comparative safety.

Passing now to the other end of Remigius's church, we find the remains of the eastern limb (E) scanty but significant. A fragment of a pilaster buttress to the north-east shows that the wall of the apse was external, as originally at Peterborough and at St. Stephen's, Caen, and was not surrounded by an aisle or procession path, as at Norwich and Gloucester. In its extreme shortness Remigius's eastern limb also resembled that of St. Stephen's, the church from which Lanfranc was translated to Canterbury, and which it is most probable he followed in designing his metropolitanical cathedral. As at Caen it was but of two bays in projection from the crossing. A continuous wall running westward from the apse shows that the sides of the presbytery were solid, not as at Caen, pierced with arches. The place of one of the great transverse arches dividing the presbytery from the choir is given by two rough blocks of masonry (*dd*) attached to the wall, about sixteen feet from the springing of the apse, which supported the shafts which carried it.

There are no data for determining the dimensions of the Norman transepts; but from the analogy of other churches of the same character, *e.g.*, Peterborough, Ely, and Westminster (as built by the Confessor), we can hardly be wrong in concluding that they were the same as at present. Remigius's church would certainly have a central lantern rising over the crossing. This was probably removed in St. Hugh's great reconstruction of the cathedral, or immediately subsequent to it. At any rate, the tower which fell in 1235 was called "*nova turris*." Bishop Geoffrey Plantagenet's gift of "two large sonorous bells,"¹ throws no light on the character of the central tower, nor is it stated whether they were hung in that or in one of the north-western towers. It is a familiar fact that Remigius did not live to witness the consecration of the vast edifice he had raised. He died on Ascension Day,

¹ "Galfridus regis Henrici Secundi filius duas campanas grandes atque sonoras dictæ ecclesiæ devota largitione donavit." —*Joh. de Schalby*, Gir. Cambr., vii, p. 198.

May 6th, 1092, three days before that fixed for the dedication, Sunday, May 9th.¹

The record of the burial of Remigius gives us another note of place in the Norman church. Giraldus tells us that he was buried in front of the altar of the Holy Cross.² The altar with this dedication as a rule stood near the east end of the nave, against the "pulpitum," *i.e.*, western of the two screens which (as at Norwich, Durham, and Westminster) separated the nave from the choir, beneath the crucifix, or rood, which stood upon it (*e*). This was its position at Canterbury, Gloucester and St. Alban's. Remigius's ritual choir would be under the tower, extending one or two bays into the nave. After the fire in Bishop Alexander's time, when, as Giraldus tells us, the burning beams fell from the roof and broke the slab of Remigius's tomb across, the canons removed the body of their founder from its original resting place in the centre of the nave to a more retired place on the north side of the altar, where it would be less likely to be trodden by passing feet.³ In our own days, a slab, supposed by some to be that of Remigius, certainly fractured across into two pieces, which had long laid uncared for in the cloisters, was brought back into the cathedral, by the pious care of the late Chancellor Massingberd, and replaced in what cannot be far from the original place of Remigius's burial, under the easternmost arch of the north aisle.

Remigius's successor, Robert Bloet, added nothing to the fabric of the church. The Bishop that followed, Alexander the Magnificent, was a great builder, both

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis writes thus of Remigius's most inopportune death: "Quarto namque die ante indictum dedicationis diem, quia semper extrema gaudii luctus occupat, in mærorem versa lætitia, rebus humanis exemptus est. Erant autem Dominicæ dies Ascensionis et dies Sancti Johannis ante Portam Latinam concurrentes, quando vir sanctus tanquam una cum Domino cælos ascendit, et exultantibus angelis empiræi palatii portas æternales feliciter intravit."—Gir. Camb., *Vit. S. Remigii*, cap. v, vol. vii, p. 21.

² "Sepultus est a fratribus in eadem ecclesia, in prospectu altaris Sanctæ Crucis, pridie nonas Maii."—Gir. Camb., *u.s.* p. 22.

³ "Processu vero temporis, cathedralem beatæ Virginis ecclesiam casuali contigit igne consumi. Et ipso incendio, cum fortius ingrueret, tecti materia in aream corruente, petra corpori superposita, per medium confracta, partes in geminas est separata. Cujus eventus occasione, a canonicis loci ejusdem inito consilio, quatenus ad locum secretiorem communicare a transitu remotiorem, corpus transferretur, sapienter est decretum."—*Ibid.*, p. 25.

"Translatum est ergo cum reverentia magna, sicut tantum decuit thesaurum, corpus usque ad altare Sanctæ Crucis, ibique ab aquilonari latere debiti honoris exhibitione reconditum."—*Ibid.* p. 26.

military and ecclesiastical. Nor did he neglect his own church of Lincoln; and although the greater part of his recorded work has disappeared, the portions reasonably attributed to him at the west end are sufficiently important to give him a distinguished place among its episcopal architects. Of the stone vaulting with which he roofed the church after the conflagration which had destroyed its roofs and ceilings—which may probably be fixed in 1141 (its precise date is immaterial to our purpose)—scarcely any indication remains; but we may safely assign to “the subtle artifice” with which he so “reformed” the church that “it looked more beautiful than in its first newness,”¹ the lower stories of the western towers, with the elaborately ornamented gables attached to them; the intersecting arcades immediately above the lateral recesses in the west front, and the three magnificent western doorways. The weather mouldings in the wall behind the Early English screen prove that gables, similar in form to those still to be seen on the flanks of the towers, once existed over the lateral recesses in the west front. Nor can we doubt that the central recess was similarly surmounted, at a higher level, forming the gable of the nave roof. These indications enable us to make a very probable restoration of the west front as begun by Remigius and completed by Alexander. It was furnished with three gables, like the façade of the cathedral of Ferrara, behind which rose the low Norman towers still existing, richly ornamented with three tiers of arcades, those of one tower slightly varying from those of the other, and terminated with low spires of timber covered with lead, similar to those which once covered the western towers of Durham, or those still nearer, which have recently been replaced with happy effect, at Southwell. The angular turrets would also be terminated in a similar manner, giving a picturesque combination of spires, of which we have an excellent example in the tower of the church of Long Sutton. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the lateral recesses together with the gables that surmount them do

¹ “Ecclesiam tamen Lincolnensem casuali igni consumptam egregie reparando lapideis fideliter voltis primus involvit.”—Ger. Camb., *u.s.*, p. 33.

“Ecclesiam vero suam quæ combus-

tionē deturpata fuerat, subtili artificio sic reformavit, ut pulchrior quam in ipsa novitate sui compareret, nec ullius ædificii structuræ intra fines Angliæ cederet.”—(*Hen. Hunt.*, p. 225, *Ed. Savile.*)

not stand symmetrically with the towers behind them, the apex of the gables not falling in the centre of their breadth, but nearer the centre of the whole façade. It has been often remarked that in this façade, almost savage in its plainness, we have the first expression of the idea which has found such exquisite development in the west front of Peterborough. The screen wall with its triple recesses, and the towers rising behind—only one of those intended at Peterborough having been completed—supply points of resemblance not, as far as I can remember, to be found elsewhere.¹

Of the three magnificent portals the centre one is the earliest, exhibiting in its five richly ornamented arches and the grotesquely carved shafts which support them Norman in its latest phase, but without any indication of the Transitional feeling, which is so distinctly perceptible in those to the north and south. The late Mr. Edmund Sharpe, who regarded these doorways as "amongst the most interesting and valuable remains of the whole structure," considered that on the north side to be of slightly earlier character than that on the south side; "the limits of time," however, "within which all three doorways were designed and built, probably not exceeding ten years."² Sir G. G. Scott also speaks of these side portals in terms of the highest admiration, as, "truly exquisite specimens of the latest and most refined period of Romanesque, just before its transition into the Pointed style."³ He also refers to the charming Corinthianesque foliage of the capitals of the northern doorway and the ornamentation of the abacus, as beautifully exhibiting the Byzantine feeling which characterizes the work of the Transitional period, generally in France, and some examples in our own country.⁴

¹ It is noticeable that this design of a three gabled front, first conceived in the Norman cathedral, has been reproduced in other parts of the building by successive architects. We see it in the western face of the chapter house towards the cloisters, where the staircase turrets are most unusually capped with gabled roofs. It appears again in the triple pediment of the Dean's Porch, in the north transept, and is exhibited, on the grandest scale,

but with some expense of reality, in the eastern façade. Essex, an architect far beyond his age, with a fine feeling for harmony, adopted the same form in his reredos, copied from Bishop de Luda's monument at Ely.

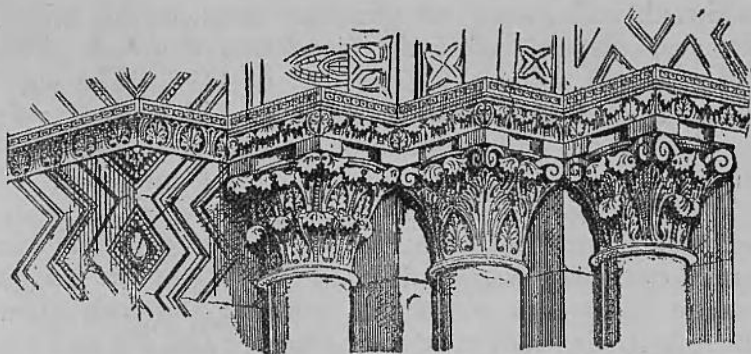
² Sharpe's *Lincoln Excursions*, 1871, p. 18.

³ *Lectures on Medieval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 303.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 85.



Great West Door—Lincoln Cathedral.



The cathedral as erected by Remigius, and vaulted and "reformed" by Alexander, remained, as far as we have any information on the point, unaltered till almost the close of the twelfth century. In 1185, an earthquake, which convulsed nearly the whole of England, inflicted serious injury to the building. Hoveden tells us that the fabric was rent from the top to the bottom.¹ The following year, Hugh of Avalon, the prior of the Carthusian monastery at Witham, in Somersethire, became bishop of Lincoln. Whether from the cathedral being so much shattered by the earthquake as to render its re-building a matter of necessity, or simply from a desire to replace the plain Norman church of his predecessors with a building in the more graceful style which had recently developed out of the Transition both in England and Normandy, bishop Hugh had scarcely taken his Episcopal seat when he began to plan the re-construction of his cathedral.² Such a work as he designed was not to be set about in a hurry. Materials had to be collected and

¹"Interim terræ motus magnus auditus est fere per totam Angliam, qualis ab initio mundi in terra illa non erat auditus. Petræ enim scissæ sunt; domus lapideæ ceciderunt; ecclesia Lincolniensis Metropolitana scissa est à summo deorsum. Contigit autem terræ motus iste in crastino Diei Dominicæ in ramis Palmarum: videlicet decimo septimo Kalendas Maii." (*Roger Hoveden* Ed. Savile, p. 359.)

²"Item ecclesiæ suæ capicium Parisi lapidibus marmoreisque columnis miro artificio renovavit et totum a fundamento opere sumptuosissimo novum erexit."

Girald. Camb., vol. vii, p. 40.

"Et fabricam matricis ecclesiæ suæ a

fundamento construxit novam." *Joh. de Schalby*, p. 200.

"Item Lincolniensem beatæ Virginis ecclesiâ, a viro sancto, loci ejusdem antistite primo, beato scilicet Remigio, juxta morem temporis illius egregie constructam, quateus modernæ novitatis artificio magis exquisito, longeque subtilius et ingeniosius exposito, fabricam conformem efficeret, ex Parisi lapidibus, marmoreisque columnellis, alternatim et congrue dispositis, et tanquam picturis variis, albo nigroque, naturali tamen colorum varietate distinctis, incomparabiliter, sicut nunc cerni potest, erigere curavit eximiam." *Gir. Camb., Vit., S. Remig.*, vol. vii, p. 97.

fashioned, and money to purchase them to be raised. Six years elapsed before the foundation was laid. This took place, as I have already said, in 1192. The eight years between this and his death in 1200, were only sufficient to see an instalment of the task he had set himself of rearing, "a new church from the foundations."

The work began, as it always did begin in these reedifications of our great churches, at the east end, and was carried uniformly westwards. At the time of St. Hugh's decease the works completed included the apse (now destroyed), the eastern or choir transept (M, N), and the existing ritual choir (F). The foundations of the great or western transept had been laid, and rather more than one bay of the wall of its eastern aisle on either side had been raised. The name of the architect employed by St. Hugh is by a most unusual good fortune preserved to us. He was one Geoffrey of Noyers,¹ who, notwithstanding his foreign looking name, instead of being "a mad Frenchman,"—as the late Professor Willis termed him, in reference to the singularities and eccentricities which characterise his work—may, as the late Prebendary Dimock has said² have been "an Englishman bred and born, though of course originally of foreign descent."³ The notion of the design of St. Hugh's work being French imported by him from his old country, though broached by so well qualified authority as Professor Willis, has been long since proved to be entirely baseless. The first French authority, M. Viollet le Duc, from whose verdict on questions of the architecture of his own country there is no appeal, has pronounced most unhesitatingly after most careful examination, that all the work of the choir of Lincoln is thoroughly English work, without any trace of French character to be seen any where about it."⁴ "St. Hugh's style," writes Mr. Freeman, "may have been actually devised by French or Burgundian brains, but it

¹ In the *Magna Vita* (lib. v, c. 16; Ed. Dimock, p. 336) we find St. Hugh on his death bed giving directions for the completion of his favourite altar of St. John the Baptist—"postmodum. . . . Gaufrido de Noiers nobilis fabricæ constructori quam cepit a fundamentis in renovanda Lincolnensi Ecclesia erigere. . . . talia est locutus."

² *Magn. Vit.* p. 412, b, note.

³ The name Noiers, changed into its modern and still usual form, Nowers, occurs repeatedly in Domesday, the Close rolls, Pipe rolls, and elsewhere, in the counties of Bucks, Northampton, and Norfolk. A family of the name was early possessor of Swanton Nowers in Norfolk, and in the bishopric of Norwich.—*Ibid.*

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1861, p. 551.

was devised beneath the air of England and bore fruit nowhere save in English soil. . . . Hugh and Geoffrey and their followers boldly cast off all Romanesque trammel, and carried Gothic architecture at once to the ideal perfection of its earlier form." The opinion of the late Sir G. G. Scott is equally decisive against the idea of the foreign origin of the design, "the internal evidence afforded by the building itself, gives it so far as I can judge little or no support. . . . The general distribution of the parts seem to me English rather than French, and though the work displays some idiosyncrasies, I do not see in them anything to indicate a French origin unless it be in the capitals of the main pillars; indeed it is a work in which distinctively English characteristics appear in a somewhat advanced stage of development. . . . In fact the wonder of the work is in its being so much in *advance* of its age, and that advance is not in a French but an English direction."¹ Regarding the choir and eastern transept of Lincoln, as we are fully justified in doing, as an English work, great and peculiar interest attaches to it as the earliest dated example of pure Gothic Architecture, without any lingering trace of Transitional feeling; the first perfect development of what is known as the Early English style. Other examples of this style might, it is true, were their dates known, prove to have been earlier in execution. But their exact age is unrecorded, and Lincoln stands the foremost of all whose dates we know. Its fully developed style makes the work at first sight, as Sir G. G. Scott has said, seem almost "an anachronism," and has caused some, especially M. Viollet le Duc, to imagine that it must be "antedated." But there is no building in England of which the precise age is more certainly known, and of the date of which the evidence is more indisputable. No one has ever doubted the early date of Bishop de Lucy's eastern chapels at Winchester. The commencement of these is placed by Professor Willis on documentary evidence in 1202, only ten years after the foundation of the Lincoln choir, while their character is even more advanced than that which is found at Lincoln. One leading characteristic of advance at Lincoln is the

¹ Sir G. G. Scott, *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 196.

circular abacus of the columns, which is found throughout.¹ It has been sometimes said that the circular abacus first appears at Lincoln. This, however, is an error. It is found in the crypt under the Trinity chapel at Canterbury, which we know to have been the work of William the Englishman between 1179 and 1184, the square abacus being retained in the upper, and therefore somewhat later work, for the sake of corresponding with the work of William of Sens. We must look to Canterbury also for the earliest example of the eastern or choir transepts, of the same height as the main building, a feature apparently borrowed from Clugny, which adds so much external picturesqueness of outline, and internal space and beauty to Lincoln. This arrangement which found such favour in England that it is seen in seven of our larger churches—York (where it is of small proportions, and is absorbed in the later widened aisles,) Beverley, Rochester, Canterbury, Salisbury, Worcester and Lincoln—followed the great innovation, also first made at Canterbury, which removed the ritual choir out of the nave and from under the lantern, into the elongated eastern limb. That there was a ritual reason for the erection of a second transept, taking the place of the great transept to the east of the choir stalls (as we see it now at Westminster abbey and Norwich), there can be no reasonable doubt. A fuller acquaintance with the details of mediæval ritual would probably enable us to say what that reason was.

Some investigations published in a paper in this *Journal* already referred to² led to the belief that it had been intended to terminate this upper cross arm with towers. On this however more recent examination has thrown considerable doubt. The transverse wall which cuts off the end bay of the north transept, carrying on the design of the triforium and clerestory, seems rather to mark the original length of the transept, it having been extended one bay. The corresponding wall in the south transept has been entirely removed, and the rude internal surface, such as we see it on the other side, faced

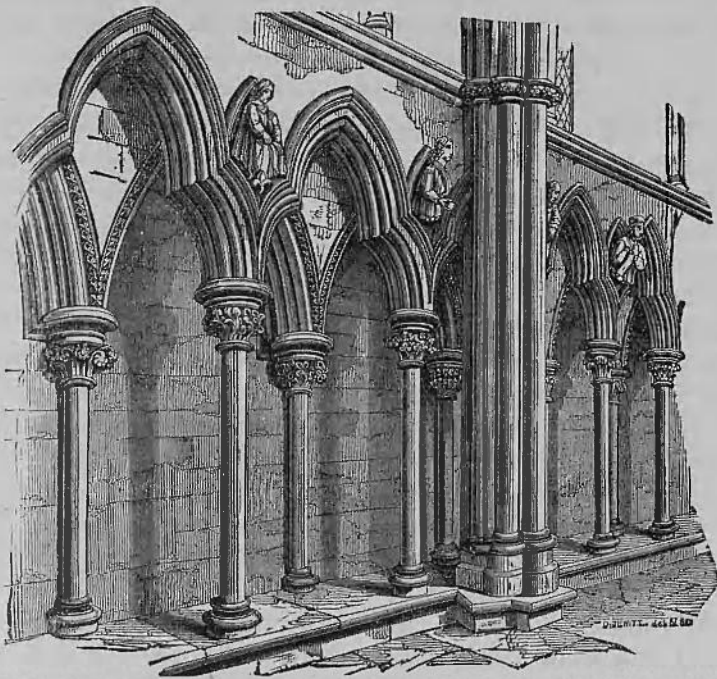
¹ I am aware that the square abacus is found in two or three places in the Early English work at Lincoln. But it is only in minor details, such as the piscinas of the apsidal chapels of the eastern transept,

and that in the north-west, or Morning chapel, so as not seriously to assert the above statement.

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 236.

with a triforium arcade and clerestory of different design and more elaborate execution than in the rest of the transept, dating from the latter half of the thirteenth century. The bare spaces in the lower part of the walls shew where, to carry out the change, the architect cut away the groining which supported a gallery at the triforium level, corresponding to that in the opposite transept. Of this arrangement we have a well known Norman example at Winchester, and the remains of one at Ely. It existed also at Canterbury.

One peculiarity of St. Hugh's work, adding much to its richness of effect, is the double wall arcade beneath the windows of the aisles, with vaulting shafts standing again in front of the arcade. Mr. J. H. Parker,



whose opinion on any architectural point deserves the utmost respect, having published his view that these two arcades were not contemporaneous, but that the outer one was a later addition, the whole subject received a full investigation from the late Sir G. G. Scott, Mr. J. L.

Pearson, and others in company with Mr. Parker, the result of which distinctly negating Mr. Parker's idea, were printed with illustrations in the paper in this *Journal* already referred to, and need not be here repeated.

St. Hugh's choir consists of four bays, of which the westernmost is rather the narrowest. Each bay contains a broad pier arch with mouldings of a peculiarly beautiful and studied profile, supported on clustered columns with capitals of stiff curling foliage. As originally built, these piers exhibited an octagonal central pillar surrounded by detached shafts of Purbeck marble. These shafts are eight in number in the two western piers on each side. But in the easternmost they are only four, the sides of the central pillar being hollowed out to receive them. (*a b* Plate II B). These are thus described by the author of the Metrical Life of St. Hugh—

Inde columnellae quæ sic cinxere columnas
Ut videantur ibi quandam celebrare choream.¹

The fall of the central tower in 1237 jarred and weakened the whole arcade so much that it was found advisable in most cases to substitute ugly cylinders of stone, without capitals, for the graceful marble shafts. The new pier (*c d*) is much stronger and more serviceable than the old, (*a b*) but far less beautiful. Only two of the piers exhibit their original form, viz., the third from the west, on each side, which as being the furthest away from the place of the catastrophe, suffered the least weakening.

On the face of these piers towards the choir as just described, a bold vaulting shaft ran up from the ground to the spring of the groin, as it still does on the west wall of the small transept. But on the introduction of the choir stalls with their lofty canopies in the latter part of the fourteenth century, the lower part of these shafts was found to be in the way and was removed, a panelled corbel being inserted as a springer just above the capital of the pier (*See C 1, b* Plate II). The bases of these shafts still remain beneath the floor of the stalls.

¹ As some controversy has arisen whether these Purbeck marble columns were originally polished or only smoothed, it is enough to say that the metrical writer spends several lines in describing

their reflecting properties. I quote two lines—

Exterior facies nascente politior ungue,
Clara repercussis opponit visibus astra.

It should be noticed that these vaulting shafts are alternately cylindrical and hexagonally fluted, the latter being a form very rare if not unique, but of constant occurrence in every part of the Early English work in this Cathedral. The ten columns surrounding the central shaft in the chapter house are also of this form.

In the triforium range each bay contains two arches, each of which is sub-divided into two sub-arches. The tympanum is everywhere solid with a quatrefoil or trefoil pierced in it, affording an example of plate tracery of the rudest and most inartistic kind. The piercings on the south side are so coarse in execution and unsymmetrical in position that it seems impossible but that they have been tampered with at some later period, perhaps after the fall of the central tower. After that disaster the two arches of the westernmost bay of the triforium were reconstructed, an exceedingly ugly cluster of cylinders without capital or even a moulding to break their baldness, and many sizes too bulky for the arches they support, being unhappily substituted for the graceful clustered shafts of the original design. By way of compensation, the quatrefoil piercing is more elegant and symmetrical. A similar alteration may be seen in the adjacent bays of the triforium of the great transept, where tall octagonal blocks support the sub-arches. The piercing of the tympanum is of the same later character. While speaking of these re-constructed bays it deserves notice that the four arches belonging to them—two in the choir, and two in the transept—have hood-moulds which are wanting elsewhere. It was probably found that the mouldings of the arches did not quite fit the re-built wall above them, and the hood-moulds were introduced to mask the junction. Another piece of adaptation will be observed in the first arch of the choir, in the south side. It would seem that only the western two-thirds of the arch was re-built, and that through some want of accuracy in setting out the work, the two sets of mouldings did not exactly fit on the eastern side, the awkward join being concealed by rings of stone. This device is found also in the corresponding arch to the north, towards the aisle. To revert to the triforium. The two eastern bays of the choir triforium are of simpler design than the others. The sub-arches spring from a single central shaft instead

of from a cluster of three shafts, and the sub-arch itself is simple, while in the other bays it exhibits two arches, the interior order being of a different curvature from the exterior order. The simpler form is found all round the northern transept, but in only one bay—the north-western—of the southern transept. The other three bays show the more elaborate design of the choir. The piercings of the tympana in the transepts and choir are varied with trefoils, quatrefoils and simple circles or bulls' eyes. In some cases the piercing does not go through the wall, but forms a sunk panel. Perhaps the most interesting feature in the whole of St. Hugh's work, from the point of view of architectural history, is the triforium on the east side of the north transept, immediately above the arch (*f.*) into the north aisle of the angel choir (*See D Plate II*). Here we have the same arrangement as in the rest of the triforium, of two sub-arches beneath a larger enclosing arch, but the tympanum is left solid.¹

But the heaviness of the unperforated tympanum was felt to have an unpleasing effect, and the experiment was made of piercing the tympanum of the next bay with a trefoil. The novel attempt proved satisfactory. Plate tracery had been invented, and thenceforward was adopted universally, the unperforated head being never reverted to. From this curious collocation of the pierced and unpierced tympanum side by side, we may not unreasonably conclude that this angle of the northern transept is the earliest part of the new work now existing; that the rest of that transept followed, and was succeeded by the two easternmost bays of the choir, and the adjacent bay of the south transept. At this point the design would seem to have changed, and the remainder of the choir and of the south transept to have been the last portions completed.

The first portion erected was doubtless the east end, the "capitulum ecclesie" or "chevet" which, as we have seen, Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, "St. Hugh built from the foundation and renovated with wonderful skill, decorating it with Parian stones and marble columns." This, how-

¹ The nave triforium at the Cathedral of Sens, of which a view is given in Sir G. G. Scott's *Lectures* (vol. i, p. 94, Fig.

30) shows the same arrangement, of two sub-arches under a tall circumscribing arch, and an unpierced tympanum.

ever, was entirely removed to make way for the erection of the new and extended eastern limb, or angel choir. (V, W). Its architectural features therefore are lost to us. The ground plan, however, has been preserved in a rough sketch made by the late John Carter, the antiquary and draughtsman, who fortunately paid a visit to Lincoln in 1791, at the time that the new paving of the choir and presbytery laid its foundations bare. Carter's drawing still remains among the Gough papers in the Bodleian. The late Mr. Ross of Lincoln made a copy of it, which he communicated to Mr. Ayliffe Poole, by whom it was published in his paper on "the Architectural History of Lincoln Minster."¹ From this invaluable sketch we learn that St. Hugh's church terminated in a three-sided hexagonal apse, round which the aisle was carried as a procession path. If Mr. Carter's rough, unscaled drawing can be credited with anything like accuracy, the apse was a very short one, including with its circumscribing aisle no more than two bays of the angel choir, the extreme eastern wall occupying the place of the present reredos. The main wall bearing the triforium and clerestory was one bay forwarder, the altar standing in front of the central arch. The whole design is marked with singularity. Foundations, semicircular in plan, attached to the sloping wall of the apse on the south side indicate a chapel corresponding to those opening from the choir transept. Though Mr. Carter's drawing does not show any foundations on the opposite side of the apse we cannot doubt that there was a similar chapel to the north. The plan would thus in some degree correspond to that of the east end of Westminster Abbey. There would seem to have been stair-turrets, circular in plan, attached to the angles of the apse, north and south. If, as was probably the case, these rose into lofty pinnacles with conical caps, they would add great dignity to the east end, recalling the somewhat similar pair flanking the apse at Peterborough. It were much to be wished that these curious foundations might be again opened, and the plan of the "chevet" accurately determined.

A projecting fragment of walling starting obliquely in

¹ Reports and Papers of the "Associated Architectural Societies" during the year 1857. p. 21.

a north-east direction at the junction of the choir-transept and the south aisle of the angel choir (*g*), singularly combined with the Early English of St. Hugh's work on one side and with the Early Decorated responds of the later design on the other, has been deemed by Mr. Ayliffe Poole to be a relic of the wall of St. Hugh's apse. This, however, is very problematical. Its correctness can only be determined by an examination of the foundations.

I have already referred to the two apsidal chapels, semi-circular in plan, opening from the east side of each arm of the choir transept (O, O, P, Q), Similar chapels, but of smaller dimensions, it will be remembered, are found in the same position in Canterbury Cathedral. Though we cannot doubt that they formed part of De Noyer's plan, and their construction was probably begun before Sir Hugh's death, a careful examination of their details points to a later period for their completion. Professor Willis regarded them as contemporaneous with the great transept, in the wall arcade of which we find mouldings of the same character, as well as a horizontal string-course forming a continuation of the abacus of the capitals, which does not appear in St. Hugh's work. No part of the building will better repay careful examination than these simple but exquisitely beautiful chapels, with their semi-domical vaults, vaulting shafts, shafted lancet windows, piscinas and aumbreys. It will not escape notice that the capitals of the small shafts attached to the piscinas have the square abacus; the earlier form surviving in subsidiary details. The northernmost chapel of the north choir-transept, that of St. John the Baptist (O), has been subject to a double alteration from and back again to its original apsidal form. St. John the Baptist was St. Hugh's patron, and it was at the altar in this chapel that he loved best to officiate. The re-erection of the Baptist's altar in a more stately fashion was the subject of his last interview with the architect, De Noyers, only a few days before his death, and by the side of it, close under the wall—"secus murum aliquem"—he desired that his body might be buried; choosing this place instead of a more conspicuous position in the middle of the chapel, "lest his tomb should inconveniently occupy the pavement, as was so often seen elsewhere, and cause those entering the

chapel to stumble or fall.”¹ This chapel, we are told was chosen for the place of the Saint’s interment, not only on account of his affection for it, but because the north side of the church was the most convenient for the confluence of the devotees who, it was foreseen, would be attracted by his reputation for sanctity.² The small apsidal chapel soon proved too straitened for the crowds of worshippers, and its curved wall being thrown down it was extended 24 ft. 6 in. eastward in a rectangular form. The enlarged chapel in turn proving inadequate to receive the increasing multitudes of worshippers at his shrine, the angel choir was erected to receive his remains, to which they were translated on St. Faith’s Day, Oct. 6, 1280. The object for which the chapel had been enlarged having passed away it became neglected, and was allowed to fall into dilapidation, until rather more than a century ago, at a time when it was the fashion for the guardians of our cathedrals to pull down rather than to restore the decayed portions of their fabrics, the “ingenious Mr. Essex,” then the consulting architect of the Dean and Chapter, was instructed to remove it and restore the apse. However much we may regret the loss of the enlarged Early English chapel we must give Essex credit for having executed his task with very unusual skill. By his clever use of old work the apse was so admirably restored that persons of consummate architectural knowledge have been hard to convince that in its present form it is a work of the eighteenth and not of the thirteenth century. When the ground was lowered about ten years since the foundations of the lengthened chapel were laid open, and with the assistance of Hollar’s plates it would not be at all difficult to restore it.³

At the angle between the north and south aisle of the

¹ “Ante aram patroni mei præcursoris Domini ubi congruentius videbitur spatium, secus murum aliquem ponetis me, ne pavimentum loci tumba, ut plerisque in ecclesiis cernimus, importune occupet, et incedentibus offendiculum præstet aut ruinam.”—*Magn. Vit.*, lib. v, c. 16, p. 340.

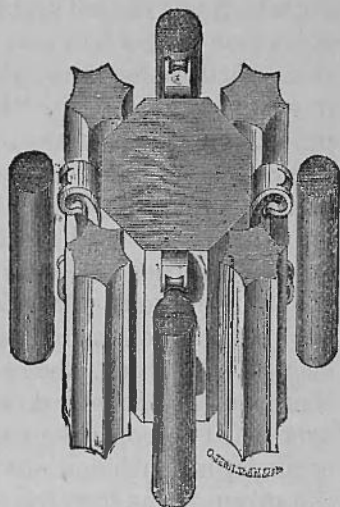
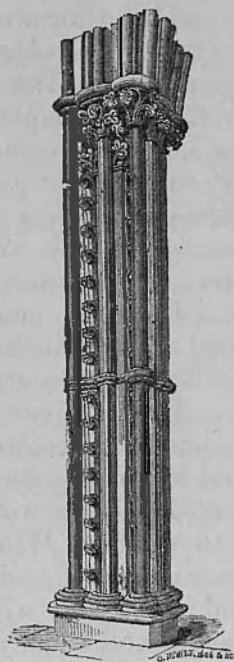
Giraldus describing one of the miracles at the same tomb, speaks of “Altare sancti Johannis Baptistæ, quod tumbam viri sancti collateralem a sinistris et proximam habet.—*Gir. Camb. Vit. S.*

Hug., vol. vii, p. 123.

² “Sepultus est, sicut ipse notis præceperat, secus parietem non procul ab altari sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et sicut visum est propter accessum confluentis populi magis congruere, a boreali ipsius aedis regione.”—*Magn. Vit.* lib. v. c., 20, p. 377

³ Chapter Order Book, Sept. 10, 1771. “Ordered that St. Mary’s Chapel be taken down next spring, and the breach made up by a building similar to the other small chapels.” The true dedication of the chapel had been forgotten and it had

choir and eastern transept on the western side (m^1 , m^2) is a pier of remarkable, if not unique character. It consists of a central octagonal pier, on four of the sides of which a series of curling crockets ascends vertically. Round this pier stand eight detached, banded shafts of Purbeck marble, four cylindrical and four hexagonal with shallow flutings and horned fillets. These last are placed a little more backward than the cylindrical shafts. All the capitals have bold, free foliage. The accompanying woodcut will explain the arrangement of these piers



better than any description. The pier at the junction

got to be confused with "the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen," by which name it always goes in Essex's reports. The erection of a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen has been attributed to Bishop John Gynwill 1347-1362. Leland, *Collectan*, vol. i, p. 98, writes, "Jo. Sinwell (Gin-vill) episcopus fundavit capellam S^{te} Marie Magdalenæ ibique sepultus est." Godwin *De Præsulibus*, makes the same mistake. It is enough to say that there is

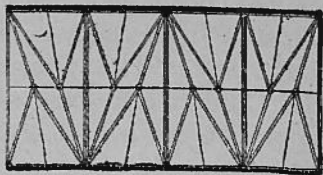
no chapel under any dedication at Lincoln, corresponding to the date of Bishop Gynwell's episcopate, and that the only dedication to St. Mary Magdalen of which we have any knowledge, is that of the parish church, removed from the interior of the cathedral by Bishop Oliver Sutton. Bishop Gynwell himself was buried in the middle of the nave towards the west-end.

of the south aisle and east transept (m^2) stands free, that on the other side (m^1) is partly built into the walls by which what is now called, though without any sufficient authority, "The Dean's chapel" (S) was separated from the Church not long after its erection. The doorway from the north-east transept is Early English, very little later than St. Hugh's time. The door itself exhibits some good examples of iron work. This compartment (S) was divided by a floor into two rooms; the upper of these, reached by the adjacent newel staircase, is traditionally said to have been the dispensary of the minster. The walls on two sides have triangular headed cupboards for drugs and other medicinal requirements—the *apotheca* of the chapter apothecary. The purpose of the lower apartment is not known. To light it square-headed windows were rudely cut in the double wall arcade on the west side. The shutters of these windows still remain with their original hinges; they are of much interest as undoubted examples of the wood and iron work of the thirteenth century. The strainer-beams originally tying all the arches together which have been generally removed elsewhere, remain built up in the walls blocking the east and south arches of this compartment. The double strainer-beams across the eastern transept, of which the upper one on each side affords a bridge from one triforium to the other, were bedizened with present feeble Gothic tracery towards the close of the last century. Their constructional value in resisting the thrust is very problematical.

The fillets which surround the vaulting shafts in the east transept and choir aisles are in several places ornamented with a singular carving of trefoil leaves. I cannot point to another example of this kind of ornamentation.

Before passing from St. Hugh's choir to other parts of the church it will be desirable to say a few words about the vaulting. That of the eastern transepts, the earliest part built, is sexpartite, the two lateral vaulting cells corresponding to the pair of lancets in the clerestory. The same arrangement both of the vault and of the clerestory is found in the western bay of the choir. This was reconstructed, after being crushed by the fall of the tower in

1237, but probably without any alteration of plan. The vaulting over the other four bays as shown on the ground plan is of a most eccentric character, and the effect is so far from pleasing that we may well rejoice that it is, I believe, quite unique.



"None but itself can be its parallel."

Sir G. G. Scott thus speaks of it, "the architect seems to have put himself out of his way to make an easy matter difficult, for instead of groining his oblong bays in the usual way, he has made each cell strike obliquely to points dividing the central ridge of the bay into three equal parts, so that neither the cells nor the diagonal ribs from either side ever meet one another, but each cell is met by an intermediate or an oblique transverse rib from the opposite side." The vaulting of the two central bays of the side aisles is *quinque partite*, in correspondence with the couple of lancets which light them. A careful examination of the exterior of these bays and of the chapels of the great transept has discovered that the tall thin intermediate buttresses bisecting each bay (*v, v*) are very early additions not contemplated in the original design, but erected to resist the outward thrust of the central ribs of the vault between the lancets, and concealing the shaft, common to the two windows, which supports the hood mould above them. For fuller details of the investigation and of the light thrown by its results on the chronology of the building, I must be permitted again to refer to my former paper,¹ with the accompanying illustration.

The death of St. Hugh and the change of design consequent thereon form a convenient break in our architectural history, which will be pursued in a future *Journal*.

¹ *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 236.

REFERENCES TO HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN OF
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.—PLATE I.

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| AAAA Remigius's West Front, with its five arched recesses and three doorways. | P St. Paul's Chapel. |
| N.B. The doorways are of the Second Norman, ascribed to Bishop Alexander. | Q St. Peter's Chapel. |
| BB One bay of Remigius's Nave. | R Choristers' vestry and lavatory. |
| CD St. Mary's and St. Hugh's towers. | S Dean's Chapel with Dispensary over. |
| N.B. The groining and the internal panelling were added by Treasurer Welbourn. | T North Chapel of the west wing. |
| E Foundations of Remigius's apse, and the walls of his choir, beneath the present pavement. | U St. Hugh's, or the Ringers' Chapel. |
| F St. Hugh's choir. | V Presbytery. |
| GH North and south aisles. | W Angel choir. |
| II Nave and aisles. | X Vestry. Singing school over. |
| KL North and south transepts. | Y Galilee. Muniment room over. |
| MN North and south choir transepts. | AA Consistory Court. |
| O St. John Baptist's Chapel, lengthened after the burial of St. Hugh, and again restored to its original form, 1779. | BB Morning Chapel. |
| | CC Cloisters. |
| | DD Library. |
| | EE Chapter house. |
| | FF Common room, now Clerk of the works' office. |
| | GG Foundations of enlargement of S. John Baptist's Chapel. |

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (a) Early English stair in Norman wall. | (m ¹ m ²) Singular Early English clustered columns. |
| (bc) Norman recesses. | (n) Choir screen. |
| (dd) Bases of Norman shafts. | (o) Bp. Fleming's Chantry and monument. |
| (e) Supposed original place of Remigius's grave. | (p) Bp. Russell's Chantry. |
| (f) Arch from N.E. Transept into N. Aisle. | (q) Bp. Longland's Chantry. |
| (g) Fragment of earlier wall. | (r) Cantilupe Chantry. |
| (h) Staircase and Vestibule to Vestry. | (s) Burghersh Chantry. |
| (i) Little St. Hugh's shrine. | (t) Assigned site of S. Hugh's shrine |
| (j) Deans' Porch. | (u) Site of Bp. Dalderby's shrine. |
| (k) Norman Font. | (v, v) Added buttresses. |
| (l ¹ l ²) Point of junction of St. Hugh's and Later Early English work. | |









REFERENCES TO MONUMENTS, &c.

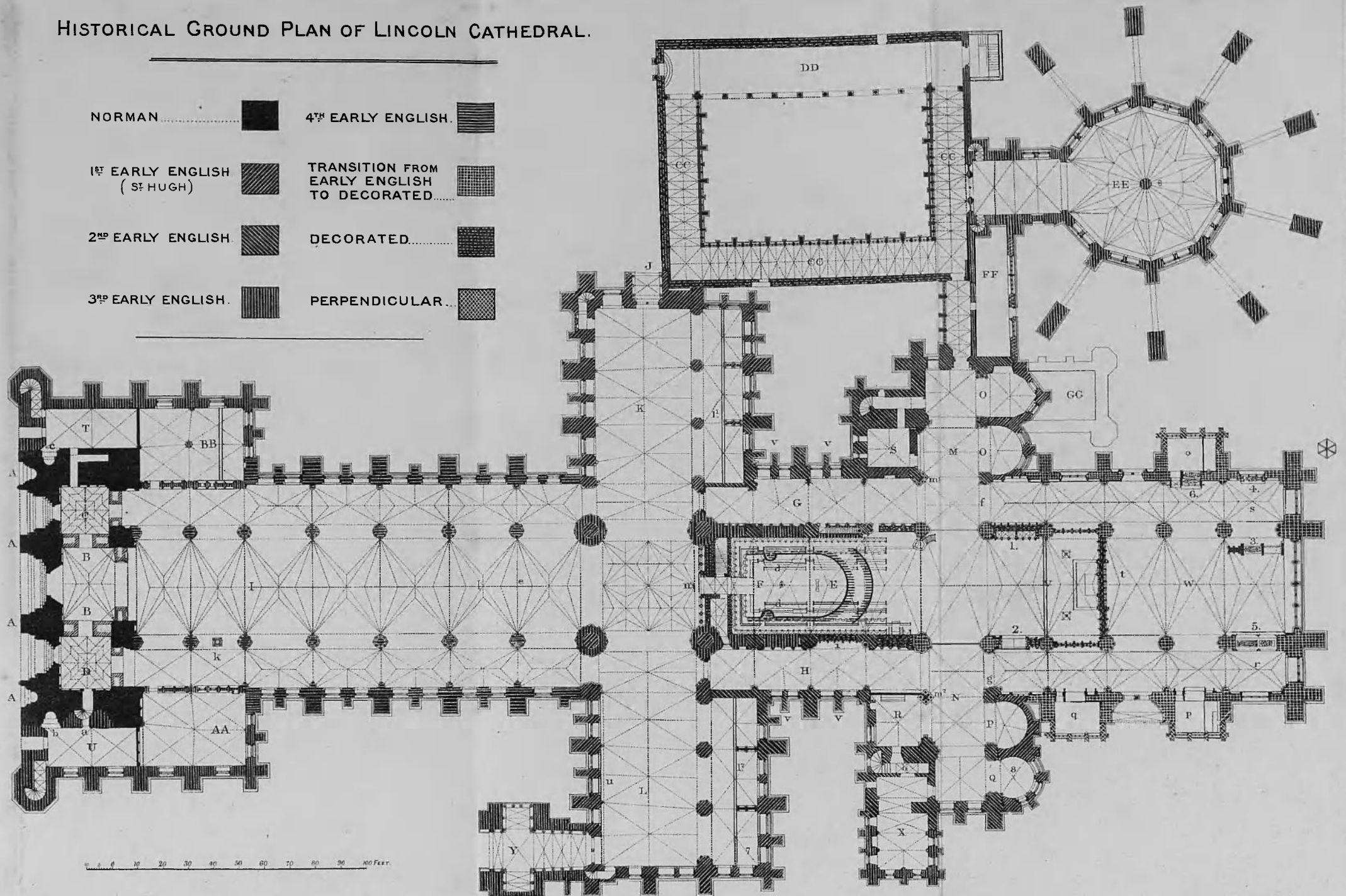
- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 Easter Sepulchre. | 5 Monument of Sir Nicholas Cantilupe, and Prior Wimbush. |
| 2 Monument of Katherine Swinford and of the Countess of Westmoreland. | 6 Monument of Bishop Fleming. |
| 3 Monuments of Bishop Burghersh, and Sir Robert Burghersh. | 7 Monument of Sir G. Taylboys. |
| 4 Monument of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh. | 8 Monument of Bp. Kaye. |

REFERENCES TO PLATE II.

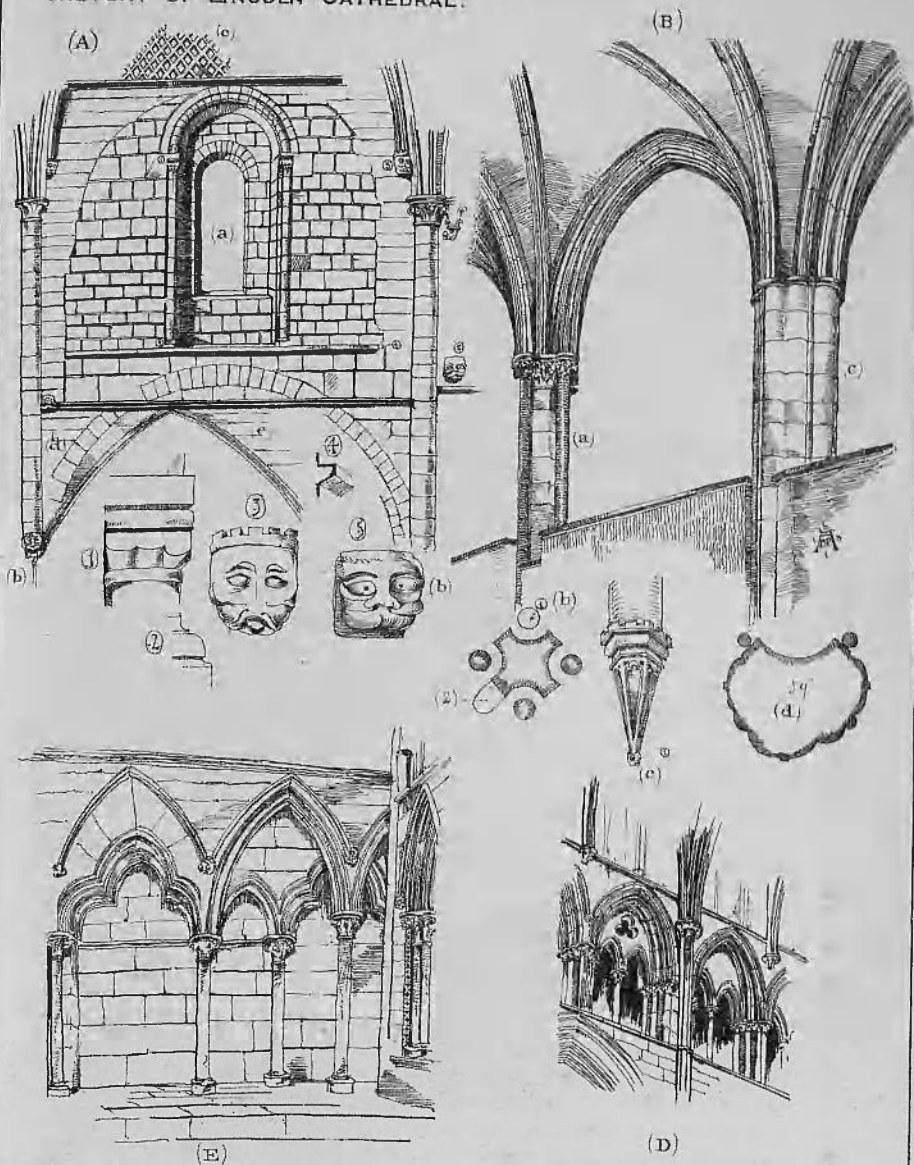
- (A) One bay of Remigius's nave, at the west end. (a) Clerestory window. (b, b) Vaulting shafts. (c) Grosteste's diaper. (d) Triforium arch. (e) Welbourn's inserted arch. (1) Capital of shaft of clerestory window. (2) Base of do. (3, 5) Corbel heads. (4) String course.
- (B) Part of arcade of north aisle of choir (a) Unaltered pier (b) plan of do. (1) Place of vaulting shaft cut away (2) Corbel head (c) Altered pier (d) Plan of do (e)
- (C) Corbel added on the cutting away of the vaulting shaft (b)
- (D) Two bays of the Triforium of the N. E. Transept, shewing the development of plate tracery.
- (E) Part of the wall arcade of the second Chapel of the N. Transept, shewing the change of plan after St. Hugh's death.

HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

NORMAN		4 TH EARLY ENGLISH. 
1 ST EARLY ENGLISH (S ^T HUGH) 		TRANSITION FROM EARLY ENGLISH TO DECORATED..... 
2 ND EARLY ENGLISH. 		DECORATED..... 
3 RD EARLY ENGLISH. 		PERPENDICULAR.. 



ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ARCHITECTURAL
HISTORY OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.



THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

By the Rev. PRECENTOR VENABLES, M.A.

Continued from page 190.

We resume the Architectural History of Lincoln Cathedral at the point where we broke off; viz., the death of St. Hugh. That great prelate died Nov. 16, 1200 A.D. At that time he and his architect, Geoffry of Noiers, had completed the existing ritual choir, with the smaller eastern transept and the subsequently demolished apsidal east end, and had commenced the great or western transept. How large a portion of this transept had been built at the time of St. Hugh's death we cannot accurately determine. The piers and arches on the eastern side, with the triforium above, look very much like Noiers' work, while a certain degree of clumsiness in the proportions almost indicates the removal of the master mind, accustomed to criticise and correct his architect's designs. No part of Lincoln Cathedral deserves admiration so little as the western transept. Nowhere are the main arches of more inelegant proportions, or the piers less graceful. Nowhere is the crushing lowness of the vaulting more painfully felt. Indeed the vault is so low, that when looking from the south end it appears to cut off a large portion of the northern circular window—the one of the two "*fenestræ orbiculares*," known as the "Dean's Eye"—and would actually do so if the ridge-line were carried horizontally instead of being inclined upward in the last bay. I may add to my bill of indictment that no other division of the building exhibits so many instances of lop-sided arches, of wall arcades awkwardly adjusted to the wall spaces, and of windows placed unsymmetrically with the circumscribing panels. Such botches would be rightly regarded as marks of unpardonable carelessness in a modern designer. If we are more tolerant towards older

work, and almost persuade ourselves that we like these unsymmetricalities as "giving life and variety," as it is called to the building, it must be acknowledged that they are none the less botches, and in themselves very displeasing to the eye. Whether a new crossing and a central tower formed part of St. Hugh's building, cannot now be determined. We know that before 1237, the old Norman lantern of Remigius's Cathedral with its cumbrous piers had been entirely removed, and a new tower—"nova turris"—erected in a novel manner, to which "newfangledness"—"propter artificii insolentiam,"—its speedy downfall was attributed by the Peterborough chronicler. But whether this tower was the work of St. Hugh's architect, or of one of his successors, we have no evidence to prove. It would however be more probable that it was subsequent to his time. A central tower, always the weakest point of a cruciform building, needed abutments to the west to resist the thrust of so great a weight. A portion of the nave arcade, therefore, was commonly erected at the same time with the tower to serve as a stay. Now the nave of Lincoln Cathedral is all of one date, and that decidedly later than St. Hugh. Besides the "Metrical Life" of the great bishop which describes so minutely the fabric as left by St. Hugh, and carried on by his namesake, him of Wells,—"*sub Hugone secundo*,"—is entirely silent as to any tower. Internal evidence places this "Metrical Life" between 1220 and 1235. We shall not, I think, be far wrong in assigning the "*novi turris*" to a time soon after the latter date, somewhere about 1236, and concluding that it was scarcely built before it fell down again. The alterations in the triforium of the bays of the choir and transepts adjacent to the tower already referred to,¹ exactly agree with the style of the nave. The quatrefoils and cruciform piercings are identical, and must belong to the same date.

To return to the transept, one of the most interesting spots, in the whole building from an architectural point of view, is that point in the eastern wall of the side chapels where the abrupt change from the richer to the plainer design marks the removal of the episcopal patron who was the moving spirit of the whole work.

¹ Page 183.

This change will be made plain by the illustration (plate ii, E). The double-wall arcade, which, as was mentioned in the former part of this paper,¹ characterizes St. Hugh's work, is continued from the choir aisles beneath the windows of the first chapel in each transept. In that to the south there is no change in the design. But in that to the north the position of the simple arch and the trefoiled arch is reversed; the trefoiled arch standing in the rear against the wall, with the simple arch in front. This, however, is a secondary matter, involving no impoverishment of the design. That, however, speedily followed. It will be seen from the illustration referred to, shewing the east wall of the second chapel of the north transept, that the double plane of arcading is continued just beyond the perpeyn wall dividing the first and second chapels, one of the rear trefoiled arches appearing behind the pointed arch. At this point the change was resolved on. The hood moulds above the pointed arches were continued, the trefoiled arches being brought forward to the same plane and placed in the centre of the space. The awkwardness introduced by the little shaft of the rear arcade being robbed of the intended arch was adroitly obviated by the introduction of a small pointed arch, filling up the vacant space. This impoverished design is carried through the rest of the chapels to the end. On crossing to the south transept we find the change carried out much more clumsily. We have the double arcade in the first chapel. In the second chapel we have a single arcade of pointed arches continued in the same plane, the thickened wall being carried by two shafts in the same line, one behind the other. There is no attempt to disguise the alteration. Peeping behind the vaulting shaft, we can discern the section of the outer trefoiled arch abruptly cut off, immediately beyond which is one of the singular little pointed arched pigeon-holes (absent in the north transept), which are seen between the trefoiled arches of St. Hugh's choir aisles, and are there filled with busts.² The thickened wall only embraces part of the south side of the first pointed arch and ends abruptly. It is difficult to conceive anything ruder or more unartistic than the management of this junction.

¹ Page 181.² See woodcut on p. 181.

The third chapel shews another more decided change. The old design is entirely abandoned, and instead of it we have three wide shallow arches of varied breadth, supported on clusters of three shafts. This form of arcade, with still wider segmental arches, is continued along the south wall of the transept. To return for a moment to the opposite transept, the wall arcade of the north wall consists of tall, rather narrow, pointed arches, rising from triple shafts, the arch having an inner order beyond the capital, applied against the wall; a feature recurring continually in the later Early English work in this Cathedral. This arcade also appears along the west wall of both transepts, and may be regarded as the latest of the several varieties of wall arcade in this part of the church. The *perpeyn* walls dividing the eastern aisle into three chapels are different in design in the two transepts, those in the northern arm being much the more beautiful. Indeed, both in proportion, conception, and detail they are about as perfect as they well can be. They are arcaded with richly moulded arches springing from groups of three attached shafts cut out of one block of marble, the angles above also being decorated with shafts and capitals of foliage, an additional air of richness being given by vertical strips of dogs'-tooth filling the intervals. Each wall is gabled, the gable ending in a finial, in a manner resembling the capping of the unaltered buttresses of the Chapter house, the tympanum being filled with foliage.¹ The corresponding divisions in the south transept are lower and of less pleasing proportions. They are not gabled. Incisions on the bench table on the northern side of each of these divisions show where the wooden seats for the ministering clergy were affixed. Traces of colours exist upon them. They were continued up to the piers by wooden screens. Three circular cavities in the pavement of the second chapel of the northern arm indicate the position of the legs of the altar slab. In the same chapel two holes in the pavement serve as water drains. There is a mutilated pillar piscina in the south-eastern corner of the first chapel. The other chapels shew

¹ There is a woodcut of one of these divisions in Parker's *Glossary of Architect-*

ture, sub. voc. *Perpent Stone*, p. 351, text. It is, however, not quite accurate.

no traces of these usually necessary appendages of a mediæval altar.

The point of junction of the work of St. Hugh's architect with that of the later builder may also be traced on the outside of the transeptal aisles. The narrow intermediate buttresses bisecting each bay of St. Hugh's aisles, added almost immediately after the completion of the building to resist the thrust of the quinquupartite vaulting, form an integral part of the later design. The coupled lancets are set further apart to give room for them, and the nook-shafts supporting the drip-stone, which are built up and hidden in the earlier bays, are set one on each side of the buttress. An additional thickness was also given to the aisle walls. Experience shewed that greater strength was needed, and it was given. It is singular that the intermediate buttress is deficient in the second bay of the south transept.¹

The most striking features of this transept are the two magnificent circular windows, the two "Eyes of the Church," its two "greater lights"—as they are designated in the "Metrical Life of St. Hugh"—which, like the sun and the moon, outshine all the lesser lights—"the stars"—of the building, and emulate the rainbow in their varied hues—which occupy the upper part of the great gable wall. From the words of the author of the above quoted "Life," there can be little doubt that these "fenestræ orbiculares" formed part of the original design of St. Hugh's church, though they were not erected till after his death. His description also

"recte que videtur

Major in his esse præsul, minor esse decanus,"

shows us that the southern, or "Bishop's Eye," looking towards the episcopal palace, to invite the influences of the Holy Spirit (now replaced by a curvilinear window of the middle of the fourteenth century), was from the first of larger dimensions than the "Dean's Eye" placed to the north, the region of Lucifer (Is. xiv, 13), to guard against his wiles, on which side of the church the deanery has always stood.²

¹ The subject of the introduction of these additional buttresses has been more fully treated in a former paper, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxii, p. 235, where

a woodcut shows how the window shaft is concealed by the later buttress.

² Prebendary Dimock quotes in illustration St. Augustine's words, "Est

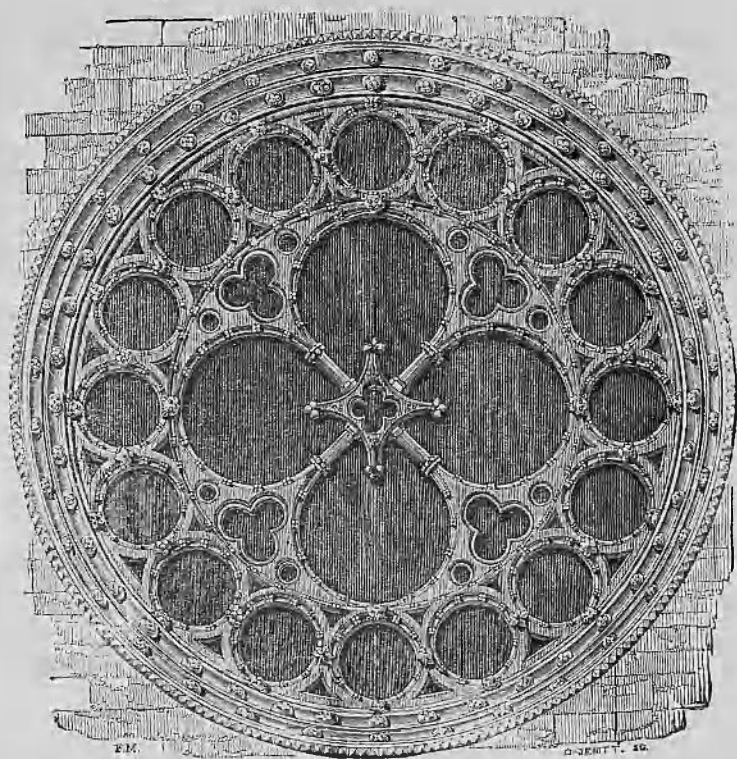
The "Dean's Eye," "justly reckoned as one of the glories of Lincoln Minster," is an admirable and characteristic example of "plate tracery," showing, in Mr. Sharpe's words, "the extent to which the perforation of the plain stone work of such a space was carried in the latter part of the period, before the invention of tracery, as well as the process which led to its adoption." A ring of sixteen circles forms the outer circumference. The centre is occupied by a very large quatrefoil, the intermediate stone work being pierced with small trefoils, and diminutive rounds. Every part of the work is covered with a multitude of small flowers and grotesque heads, which impart an air of unusual richness to the design. It is happily almost entirely filled with its original painted glass. Below this window is a row of seven lancets of exquisite proportions, five of them pierced and containing early glass of silvery hue. These "five little sisters" may not fear comparison with the well known stately "five sisters" in the like position at York Minster. The "dean's door" at the end of the transept deserves careful attention. The double doorway with a horizontal lintel and central shaft, and a solid tympanum is of very unusual design. On the outside it is protected by a deeply recessed arcaded porch, surmounted with three tall gables. Portions of the original "Bishop's Eye" are still to be found in the horizontal band of quatrefoils running across the gable of the south transept at its springing, which were thus utilized on the construction of the later window. But they furnish insufficient data for the recovery of the whole design.

The transept has long detained us; and we shall have to return to it before we conclude. We now pass into the nave, which has been justly pronounced by no mean or prejudiced judges to be "by far the finest portion of the work as then completed," and "probably on the whole the

quidem in Aquilone diabolus qui dixit ponam sedem meam in Aquilonem et ero similis altissimo." *Enarrat. Ps. LXXXVIII*; and those of St. Bernard. "In Canticis Canticorum Spiritus Sanctus diabolus increpat dicens, Surge Aquilo et veni Auster, &c, per Aquilonem qui in frigore constringit et torpentes facit quid aliud nisi inmundus Spiritus designatur,

. . . per Austrum vero, scilicet calidum ventum, Spiritus Sanctus designatur." He adds, "it was this interpretation in all probability which led to the feeling, once very universal, still not uncommon, against burying on the north side of the Church." *Metrical Life*, p. 36, note.

¹ Sharpe *Lincoln Excursion*, p. 26.



Lincoln Cathedral—Circular window, North Transept. "The Bear's Eye."

grandest example of the Early Pointed style in the country." "It exhibits," writes Sir G. G. Scott, "an Early English style in its highest stage of development, massive without heaviness, rich in detail without exuberance, its parts symmetrically proportioned and carefully studied throughout, the foliated carving bold and effective, there seems no deficiency in any way to deteriorate from its merits; of the highest order of beauty and dignity, and superior especially in the latter respect to all other parts of the Cathedral."¹

It is much to be regretted that we are entirely destitute of documentary evidence as to the date of any part of the nave. As Mr. Ayliffe Poole has said, "Not a single word of the recovered history of the Church applies directly, or by necessary inference, to its erection." The only date belonging to it—and that not an absolutely certain one, the chroniclers not all agreeing as to the precise year—is that of the fall of the central tower somewhere about 1237, in the early years of Grosseteste's episcopate.²

This, however, is very valuable. St. Hugh's death in 1200 gives us a *terminus a quo*, and this catastrophe a *terminus ad quem* to help our chronology. The new tower, which we may place somewhere about 1240, is characterized by a kind of reticulated work, or lozenge-shaped diaper, covering the blank spaces of wall. The same ornament is found in profusion in the central portion of the west front, both outside and inside. It covers the

¹ Sir G. G. Scott, *Lectures on Medieval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 196. Penrose's "System of proportions in the Nave of Lincoln Cathedral." Lincoln vol. of Archaeological Institute, p. 127.

² "Persequente episcopo Lincolnensi (A.D. 1239) canonicos suos, dum unus eorum sermonem faceret in populo, conquerendo dixit, 'Et si taceamus, lapides pro nobis clamabunt;' corruit opus lapideum novæ turris ecclesiæ Lincolnensis, homines qui sub ipsa erant conterendo; qua ruina tota ecclesiæ commota et deteriorata est; et hoc factum est quasi in triste præsigium. Sed episcopus manum correctionis efficaciter apponere satagebat." And again—"Dum unus canonicorum causam fovens capituli, sermonem faciendo populo in medio illius nobilissimæ ecclesiæ Lincolnensis, queremoniam reposuit coram omnibus de

oppressionibus episcopi, et ait 'Et si nos taceamus, lapides reclamabunt.' Ad quod verbum quædam magna pars ecclesiæ corruit dissoluta."—*Matt. Paris*, p. 353 and 328.

"Quædam pars Cathedralis ecclesiæ Lincolnæ cecidit in Decembri." *Annal. de Theokesberie*; A.D. 1239. *Annal. Monast., Rolls Series*, vol. i, p. 113.

"Anno MCCXXXVII, Ruina ecclesiæ Lincolnensis propter artificii insolentiam."—*Chron. Joh. Abb. Petrob.*

"Eodem anno (1239) facta est ruina muri Lincolnensis ecclesiæ secus chorum post sedem Decani, ita quod tres homines prostrati sunt sub ruina; ita quod postmodum chorus celebravit ante majus altare officium diurnum et nocturnum donec circumquaque columnæ et arcus firmarentur.—*Annal. de Dunstable, Anna Monast., Rolls Series*, iii, 149.

blank spaces of the pediment, and the spandrels of the great central recess. It is spread over the face and sides of that recess, and the inner western wall around and below the rose window. It appears, also, where we should hardly be prepared to see it, over the circular window in the southern wing of the west front. We cannot be wrong in assigning all these portions to the same time, soon after the fall of the central tower. We thus have a period of about forty years for the erection of the transept and the nave, and the completion of the west front. It is usual to associate this diapered ornament with the name of Grosseteste. It is commonly known as "Grosseteste's mark." It must, however, be borne in mind that there is not a tittle of evidence, documentary or otherwise, to connect Grosseteste's name with this or any other portion of the fabric. That great prelate has sufficient claims on the grateful remembrance of the English Church without going beyond the evidence. But if we cannot assign these works to Grosseteste's hand, or Grosseteste's munificence, they certainly belong to Grosseteste's age, and it is a pleasing thought, if nothing more, that one of the greatest heroes of the English Church may have been connected with them.

Mr. Sharpe expresses his opinion that after the death of St. Hugh, "a pause of many years must have occurred," and that at earliest the work was not "resumed" till "about 1215." We have however the irrefragable testimony of royal letters and precepts, that no suspension of this kind took place. A royal letter of John,¹ dated Dec. 18, 1205, the text of which is given below, proves that the "novum opus," as it is there called, was then still in progress, and stood in urgent need of the help and liberality of the faithful

¹ Rex omnibus etc., per Episcopatum Linc. constitutis grates vobis referimus multiplices per universis beneficiis vestris et eleemosinis quas ecclesiæ Linc. contulistis ad constructionem novi operis. Quam enim large quam liberaliter ea illi impenderitis indicat ipsa fabricæ egregia structura; verum quum incongruum esset tam nobile opus inconsummatum relinqui, quia illud nondum consummationem accepit et ad sui perfectionem vestris indiget auxiliis et beneficiis, universitatem vestram rogamus, attentius monemus et exhortamur in Domino, quate-

mus quod bene incepistis laudabiliter consummare satagentes divino intuitu et pro honore gloriosæ Virginis ejusdem ecclesiæ patronæ, necnon et pro amore et petitione nostra, collectum inter vos ad opus fabricæ predictæ assideri permittatis, et fraternitatem saltem per quinquennium duraturam ut pro beneficiorum et elemosinarum largitionibus quas ad construendam in terris talamum tam excellentis patronæ caritative contulistis, et vos a filio ejus Domino nostro in celestem talamum recipiamini. Teste meipso apud Dorchester xvij die Dec. (1205). *Rot. Lit. Pat.* p. 57.

through the diocese, for its completion.¹ Three years later, January 18, 1209, during the three years' vacancy of the see after the death of William of Blois, we find a royal precept to permit the canons of Lincoln to lead away from the forest the timber they had acquired, as well as the lead they had bought, for the works of the church, "ad operacionem ecclesiæ suæ," on paying the ancient customs due. This shews that the work was steadily going on, and confirms the just observation of Mr. Ayliffe Poole that the building of our Cathedrals is not to be too exclusively ascribed to their bishops, the work being all along rather that of the dean and canons than of the bishop himself, whose part in it was often limited to issuing letters of indulgence for benefactors to the fabric, and bequeathing a legacy to it when he died. This posthumous charity is the only form of liberality towards his Cathedral with which Hugh of Wells can certainly be accredited, though the language of the "Metrical Life," when speaking of the Chapter house

"Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis
Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo,"

gives grounds for believing that he was an active promoter of the building during his life time. In his will dated Stow Park, 1233, which still exists among the chapter muniments, he bequeaths one hundred marks to the fabric of his Church at Lincoln, as well as all the felled timber—"mairemion,"—which he might die possessed of through all his episcopal estates, reserving only to his successor the right of redeeming it for fifty marks if he thought good.² The legacy of so large a quantity of timber points to there being a good deal of roofing going on at the time, and may so help us to fixing the date of the completion of the nave and its aisles. The exact agreement of the piercings of the tympanum of the nave triforium with those of the bays of the choir and transepts remodelled after the fall of the tower, i.e., subsequent to

¹ Rex omnibus etc. Precipimus vobis quod permittatis canonicos Eccl. Linc. sine impedimento ducere mairemion quod ipsi perquisierunt extra forestam, et plumbum quod ipsi emerunt ad operacionem Eccl. suæ, faciundo inde antiquas et debitas consuetudines. Teste meipso apud Witten (Wituey), xviij die Jan." 1209. *Rot. Lit.*

Pat., p. 88.

² "Item lego fabricæ meæ Eccl. Linc. C marcas et totum mairemion quod habuero in decessu meo per totum Episcopatum meum, ita quod reservetur usque in tempus successoris mei liberandum ei pro L marcis si voluerit pacandis eidem fabricæ antequam illud recipiat." *Original Will.*

1237, proves that there could be no great distance of time between the erection of the nave and that catastrophe.

The nave, at the first glance, appears of uniform design from end to end. Further observation, however, discovers variations in the architecture, indicating that it was not all built at one time, nor in pursuance of one rigidly imposed plan. The most remarkable change in the design as we trace it in the order in which it was probably built—from the east, westward—is exhibited in the two westernmost bays. Here the arches are suddenly contracted in width by nearly five feet, and the vault is lowered by about two feet.¹ A corresponding alteration necessarily occurs in the triforium. In the eastern portion each bay of the triforium includes two wide arches containing three sub-arches, the tympanum being pierced with two quatrefoils, and a smaller cruciform aperture in the head of the arch. In the two western bays there are still two openings, but the proportions of the chief arches are narrower, and they contain only two sub-arches, with one quatrefoil above. It can hardly be questioned that the width of the eastern arches is excessive, and that the general effect of the nave would have been more satisfactory if all the bays had been of the narrower dimensions of the two western ones. We should then have had eight bays—the probable number of the bays of the Norman nave—instead of seven, and the sense of inadequacy of bearing power, due to what Mr. Penrose calls “the unparalleled lightness of the piers with reference to what they support,” would have been less felt. Another irregularity of plan must also be noticed, which, not seen on entering the Cathedral from the west end, is strikingly, and not very agreeably evident, when on reaching the end of the nave the visitor turns and looks westward. He then perceives that the axis of the nave is not coincident with the axis of the west front and that consequently the arch connecting the two Norman towers is not in the centre of the western wall, there being a wider space to the south of it than to the north. These two irregularities are due to the same cause, with that already referred to—however that cause may be explained—viz.,

¹The five eastern arches measure, according to Mr. Penrose, 26.6 ft. across, the

two western arches, 21.3 ft.

the retention of the Norman towers, together with the western bay of Remigius and the Norman nucleus of the west front. Mr. Penrose is of opinion that the intention of the thirteenth century builders was to clear away the whole of the Norman work at the west end, after the example originally set by St. Hugh

“Funditus obruitur moles vetus, et nova surgit,”

and build an entirely new west front; but that by the time the sixth arch was reached the inadequacy of the funds at their command for carrying out so vast a work suggested the retention of the earlier work, and led to its somewhat clumsy incorporation with their later design. The suggestion is a very plausible one. But it must be noticed that this contraction of the bays is connected with the erection of the western transeptal chapels. This must have been a costly work. It seems hardly likely that failure of funds should have caused a curtailment of the design in one direction at the same time that it was being so greatly enlarged in another. I am, on the whole, inclined to believe that the diminution in width of the western bays was not brought about by any change of plan occurring during the progress of the building, but had been intended from the first. An examination of the eastern wall of the north-west chapel (BB on the plan) proves that the lower portion is of earlier construction than the adjacent parts, and it is not unlikely that the existence of this wall, probably then as now the end wall of a side chapel which it was desired to retain, ruled the whole arrangement of the western portion, and caused the contraction of the bays. The divergence of the axes of the nave and west front, I should attribute to an error in setting out the plan in the first instance, which, hardly perceptible at the outset¹ became increasingly evident as the work progressed, and more impossible to disguise or to remedy. As it could not be concealed, it was better to accept the mistake, and if they must sin sin boldly. *Si pecces pecca fortiter*. I may remark that such deviations from regularity are by no means unfrequent in mediæval buildings. The nave of

¹ Mr. J. J. Smith, the clerk of the works, informs me that on accurate measurement he has found the axis of the great transept exactly at right angles to

that of the Norman west front, the divergence occurring in the axis of the nave alone.

Chichester Cathedral exhibits no less than three distinct variations of direction, while the gable walls, both at the east and west end, stand obliquely to the axis. Similar irregularities are to be found in most of our earlier churches and cathedrals. If there is anything peculiar in the case of Lincoln it is simply that the irregularity is more conspicuous, not that it is greater than elsewhere.

It is evident that the whole of Lincoln nave, with its windows, buttresses, triforium, clerestory, and vaulting, forms part of one uniform plan, the product of one mind. This plan, however, was carried out by various subordinate builders, each of whom assumed the liberty of modifying the design in minor details, consistently with general harmony. Thus the wall arcades of the two aisles exhibit slight, but very marked differences. Each consists of trefoil arches rising from clusters of three shafts. But the arcade in the north aisle is continuous, and the filleted vaulting shafts each bisect an arch, and stand entirely free on a boldly projecting base, in clusters of five, with three vertical bands of dog-tooth.¹ In the south aisle the arches of the arcade, also trefoiled, are arranged in groups of five in each bay, and the vaulting shafts attached to the wall occupy a blank space between the groups, and are destitute of dog's-tooth. The dog's-tooth moulding, however, which is quite absent from the arches of the northern wall arcades, appears in the outer and inner moulding of those to the south, and the abacus of the capitals is continued as a string course along the wall. Before we pass from the wall arcade it should be noticed that when rebuilding the extreme east end of the north aisle, that portion having been crushed by the fall of the tower, no attempt was made to copy the earlier arcade, but two arches of totally different design were substituted. We may notice as differences the capitals of foliage, the singular applied foliage at the apex of the western arch, and the horizontal string course on a level with the abacus. The string course also above the arcade is not precisely in the same line with the older string course, the junction being masked by a boss of foliage.

¹ A close observer will notice that the central shaft of the cluster of five in the three easternmost bays is hexagonal with shallow flutings, below the fillet, and

cylindrical above. Indeed, there is hardly any end to the whimsicalities of this "freakish" building to adopt Professor Willis's epithet.

On the north side, in the corresponding place, the arcade stops abruptly, and the wall is left blank. We may notice other differences between the two aisles. The vaulting in each aisle is quinquupartite (except in the two westernmost bays, communicating with the chapels), there being two lancets in each bay corresponding to each main arch. But while in the north aisle the ridge rib is continuous from end to end, (as will be seen from the plan) in the south aisle it is interrupted at the extremity of each bay, only uniting the intersections of the diagonal and intermediate ribs. The corbels, from which the intermediate vaulting shafts spring, are plainly moulded in the north aisle, and composed of foliage in the south. Minute inspection will show other minor differences which it would be tedious to particularize.¹

One other variation, however, is too remarkable to be omitted. The bases of the main piers, and the benches of the aisles are, on the north side, nearly a foot higher than on the south.² This license, or whatever it is to be called, must be laid at the door of Geoffrey of Noiers, the architect of the choir,³ where the same irregularity between the two sides is to be found; an irregularity which is continued through the transepts, and perpetuated in the nave.⁴

The clustered piers of the main arcade, or ground-story, though all of pretty nearly the same date and general correspondence, exhibit in their variations of form that impatience of exact uniformity which is so characteristic

¹ Among these variations we may notice that in the last of the wider bays (the fifth from the east) on the south side, the tympanum of the two triforium arches is pierced with trefoils instead of the quatrefoils occurring uniformly elsewhere; and that the trefoils which are found in the spandrels of the triforium range are exchanged for quatrefoils in the second and fourth bay from the east on the same side.

² By measurement, the tops of the bases to the north are 3ft. 4in. from the pavement, and the bench table 2ft. 1in. The corresponding measurements on the south are 2ft. 10 in., and 1ft. 4in. Mr. Penrose remarks, "The piers are equal in height, and the compensation takes place in the space occupied by the pier arches, for the similar members on each side

above the capitals are on the same level with one another."—*Lincoln Vol. of Archaeological Institute*, p. 137, note 2.

³ Penrose, *u.s.*, p. 137.

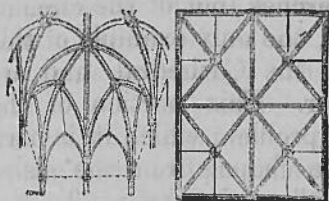
⁴ A careful examination of the lower part of the north and west walls of the north transept, has discovered the mark of the level of the original pavement about 9 in. above the present pavement, the wall being underpinned at the base. The same underpinning is seen also in the north aisle of the nave. The bench table at present is too high for the feet of any one sitting on it to reach the ground. All these marks go to prove that the original line of the pavement of the north aisle, and of the north transept was higher than at present. Was the alteration an early one, or is it due to the period of the repaving of the whole church by Essex?

of our English Gothic, and adds so much life and interest to it. There are seven piers on each side. If we number them from the east, from 1 to 7 on the north side, and from 1a to 7a on the south side, we shall find that 2, 4, 5; 2a, 3a, 4a, and 5a exhibit eight slender Purbeck marble filleted shafts set round a central core; while 1, 3, 6; 1a and 6a are solid clusters. The foliage of the capitals is also varied, that to the south looking rather earlier than that to the north. The clerestory is perfectly uniform from end to end, each bay containing three lancets, set within shafted and moulded arches, the central one being rather the tallest.

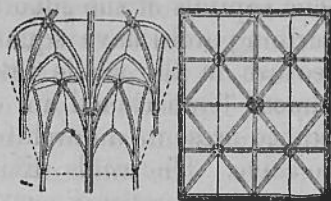
The exterior of the nave and aisles remains, with some slight ornamental additions, exactly as it was originally built, and may be pronounced one of the simplest and most dignified structures of the period. The principal buttresses though perfectly plain have much majesty imparted to them by their broad spreading base moulds, chamfered angles, and tall gabled heads. These last on the north side have a projecting fillet ornamented with dog's tooth at the edge, those on the south side either never had this feature, or have lost it by careless repair. The narrow intermediate buttresses bisecting the bays are constructed on the same plan. Bold flying arched buttresses rise to the arcaded clerestory wall. This on the south side is capped with a pierced flowing parapet of Decorated date, broken over the flying buttresses with rich shallow canopied niches, with ball-flower ornaments. The same parapet is carried along the west wall of both transepts, with very tall crocketed pinnacles rising from it. The additions are of incalculable value to the outline of the building.

The two western chapels—that to the south (AA), used as the Consistory court—which form a kind of western transept, are part of the plan of the Early English nave, and are of the same style and date. They are of remarkable elegance. Each opens into the aisle by two arches, repeating the main arcade, filled with a low arcaded screen wall, and by their additional space and lightness they add greatly to the effect of this part of the church. That to the north—the morning chapel (BB)—has a very tall central cluster of Purbeck marble, of keeled shafts, of exquisite

lightness and grace, recalling the central pillar of the Salisbury Chapter House. The central pillar is absent in the southern chapel (AA). The difference of the vaulting system of the two chapels is shewn in the accompanying wood cuts (a, b): "In the Consistory court (a), the



(a) Groining of Consistory Court.



(b) Groining of Morning Chapel.

diagonal ribs instead of returning downwards from the four central bosses to a central pillar (b), continue to rise till they meet in the middle point of the chapel," forming "the top of a square dome."¹ The chapels are prolonged two bays westwards to the line of the west front, without any change of design. These divisions have long since been blocked off, and are now disused. The western porches blocked up at some early period, and so shewn in all old views, were opened about thirty years since. They are boldly vaulted. The boss of that to the south represents the murder of Abel by Cain. The eastern wall of the southern chapel (U) known as St. Hugh's, or the Ringers' chapel, is richly decorated with wall painting in bands of foliage, &c., "oddly intermixed," says Sir G. G. Scott, "with some decorations of the seventeenth century, and the names of successive societies of ringers, but readily distinguishable, and forming a very useful series."² The arcading of the east and south walls of the southern chapels, and of the north wall of that to the north, are of the same design as that of the vestibule of the chapter house and the greater part of the apartment itself, with dog's tooth set in deep hollows, and sprigs of foliage at the springing of the arch. They are evidently works of the same hand. The east wall of the Morning chapel—which it will be remembered has been spoken of as exhibiting traces externally of an earlier date, and thus ruling the western arrangements of the nave—differs in its ornamentation from every other part of the Cathedral.

¹ Sir G. G. Scott, *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 198.

² *u.s.*, vol. i, p. 307.

The arcading rises higher. The arches spring from corbels instead of shafts. The mouldings are bolder and apparently earlier. One of the bays contains a very remarkable double piscina, with two acutely pointed arches beneath a broad circumscribing arch, the tympanum being left unpierced. The capitals of the subordinate arches (not of the circumscribing arch) have square abaci, the only example of this feature in the whole interior of the Cathedral, and are almost Transitional in character. This portion of the edifice presents an architectural problem which it is hard to solve. The walls dividing the chapels from the aisles have later apertures or "squints" cut in them. To the north are two quatrefoiled circles; to the south two arched openings filled with wooden doors. Two later corbel heads in the walls towards the east end of the Morning chapel mark the position of a *parclose* cutting off the sacra-rium. Each chapel terminates externally in a lofty eastern gable relieved by lancets, adding a feature of immense value to the grouping of the western part of the edifice.¹

How it was intended these chapels should be terminated to the west in the original design it is vain to guess. Sir Charles Anderson gives it as his opinion, founded on a minute study of the fabric during many years, that the solid screen wall of the west front was an afterthought, and that the original intention was that the gables should be shewn. Had this been done, "the pyramidal structure of five gables," diminishing in breadth as in elevation from the centre would have had a novel effect, not devoid of picturesqueness. But the want of unity in the various members would have been fatally conspicuous; and in spite of the objections that may not unreasonably be brought against the western façade as a mere screen wall, hiding the forms of the building behind it instead of giving expression to them,—Mr. Freeman, who regards the front with a dislike which betrays that distinguished writer into an inaccuracy of description very unusual in him,² gibbets it as "the merest sham;"

¹ The apex of each of the three groups of lancet windows of the gable of St. Hugh's (the southern) chapel, contain grotesque sculptures of pilgrims. See *Archæological Journal*, x, 260.

² "In the final completion of the front, it was thought good both to retain

fragments of two earlier Romanesque fronts, and to run up a kind of screen—the merest sham—before the towers. The front thus becomes a mere blank arcaded wall, with holes cut through it to shew the earlier work, and with the noble upper stages of the two towers looking

while the late Mr. Ayliffe Poole styles it, "perhaps the most purposeless front in England; a mere mask without the slightest honest expression,"¹—it may certainly be regarded as a grand and far from unsuccessful device for combining heterogeneous elements into an impressive and magnificent whole. It is not my purpose to describe this facade in detail. Most of my readers will remember that it consists of a Norman nucleus with Early English wings and superstructure; the whole forming "a vast and almost unperforated wall, covered over with range upon range of decorative arcading, flanked by two vast octagonal stair turrets, finished with spires, and backed by two noble towers." This is the description of Sir G. G. Scott,² who adds, "it always strikes me as a very impressive front, but I find that it does not strike all eyes so favourably." A real admiration for this unique architectural composition is, however, compatible with regret that it was not found possible to retain the richly-arcaded Norman gables above the side recesses previously described (see p. 175), of which the arcades of intersecting semicircular arches form the lowest stage. The subtle variations of treatment of the two halves of this facade will repay examination. It will be seen that among other differences the arcades on the north spring from a higher level than those to the south, thus carrying out the principle already observed in the nave and choir. The wall-diaper of Grosseteste's time appears above the southern circular window, which also has a greatly enriched outer moulding while the other is plain. The great west window preserves only its exquisitely-moulded arch and shafted jambs of Early English date. The triplet that once filled it has been replaced by feeble tracery of Early Perpendicular date, of which more hereafter.³ The aisle windows belong to the same later period. The cinquefoiled window above, regarded by Rickman as "nearly unique from the

over it like prisoners eager to get rid of the incumbrance in front of them." *English Towns and Districts*, p. 224. Mr. Freeman appears to have forgotten that the "holes" he speaks of are not in any sense "cut through" the later screen wall, which is perfectly solid and devoid of perforations, but belong to Remigius's original design, being simply the recesses which form an integral part of the plan.

¹ *Architectural History of Lincoln Minster*, u.s., p. 26.

² *Lectures on Medieval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 197.

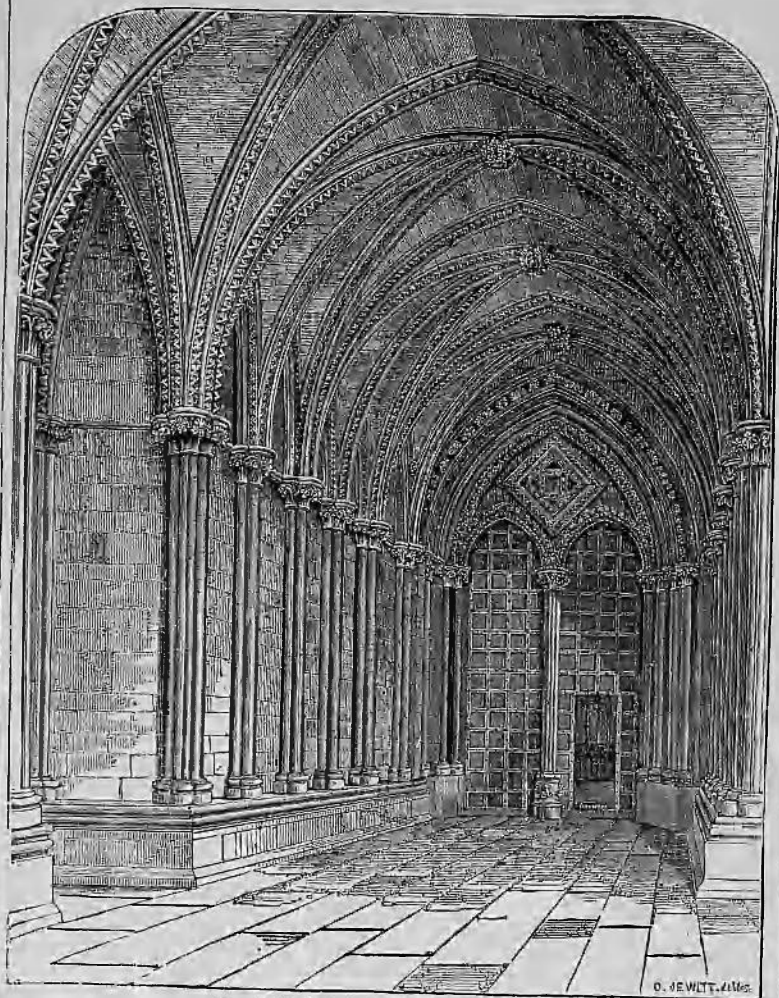
³ A second weather moulding on the inner face of the western gable of the nave, a short distance below the present roof-line, to be seen within the roof, indicates a change of design during the progress of the work.

exquisite workmanship of its mouldings consisting of open work varied by flowers," happily remains unaltered. The horizontal line of the façade has been finished with a solid Decorated parapet of waved tracery. If we go round either corner, and proceed far enough to see the back or eastern side of the upper part of the screen wall—where, in fact, it becomes a screen without anything solid behind it—it will be observed that it is ornamented with a curvilinear arcade, while a singular little gablet, covered with tracery in the same style, masks the junction with the Norman gable. These decorative works may probably be assigned to John of Welbourne, 1350-1380. The combination of the three styles, Norman, Early English, and Decorated, at this point is very curious. To Welbourne certainly belong the row of ill-carved figures of kings, in rich but inelegant niches above the west door, cutting off the top of its outer moulding.

The fall of the central tower, about 1237, of which I have already spoken, gave rise to sundry alterations, chiefly with a view to increased strength, some of which I have described in the former part of this paper. As pointed out by Professor Willis,¹ the tower-piers, which are now enormously massive, were greatly strengthened on their reconstruction, of which there is "strong evidence from examination of the flat nature of their mouldings." Besides the alteration of the choir piers previously spoken of, screen-walls richly arcaded to the choir aisles were introduced between them, exhibiting all the leading characteristics of Grosseteste's time. About the same time, also, were erected the exquisite arched doorways from the transept into the choir aisles, which, in the capitals of their four detached Purbeck marble shafts, and in the hollow foliage of the chief of their five orders, display specimens of Early English carving of wonderful delicacy and beauty.

The series of pure Early English works, unrivalled in any other building in England, is concluded by the Galilee porch, the Vestry, and the Chapter-House. The former is a cruciform building of two stories, standing on open arches (Y on the plan), projecting from the west side of the southern arm of the great transept. Both in position and

¹ Quoted by Mr. Penrose, *u.s.*, p. 131.



Lincoln Cathedral—Interior of Galilee Porch.

in design it is unique, and it is certainly one of the most remarkable and beautiful buildings of the style. It was probably erected as a stately entrance for the bishop, from his palace below. It stands in a line with the doorway (now blocked) in the city wall, forming a communication between the palace and the close, which Bishop Robert Bloet obtained the permission of Henry I to pierce in 1110.¹ An unusual degree of richness is imparted to the interior of this porch by the number and narrowness of the vaulting spaces, and the profusion of the dog's tooth ornament with which the boldly moulded ribs, succeeding one another with almost unexampled closeness are covered.² The porch opens into the transept by a double door with a central column, once of Purbeck marble, now basely restored in Lincoln stone. The head of the arch is occupied by a square lozenge; a singular and ungraceful form, which also occurs in the southern turret of the west front, the interior of the adjacent chapel, and between the windows of the chapter house. The arch moulds are overlaid with carved foliage, not very pleasingly concealing the mouldings. The lofty chamber above the porch, lighted by tall lancets, was formerly the judicial court of the dean and chapter—"curia vocata le Galilee"—when that body had sole jurisdiction in the Close.³ The whole is finished with an elaborately panelled parapet of Perpendicular date, which adds richness without interfering with the harmony of the design.

¹ Hollar's plate in Dugdale (1672) represents the porch disused, and the arches walled up. They continued so till the restoration, faithfully but unlovingly carried out under Dean Ward, c. 1850. The ground floor (according to the late Mr. W. Brooke), was used as a plumber's shop, which was subsequently removed to the upper, or "Court room." The porch was re-roofed in 1851, when the Court room was fitted up as a "Muniment chamber," a purpose which it still excellently serves.

² The separate dog's tooth pyramids were counted at the request of Mr. Sharpe, and were found to amount to no fewer than 5,355.

³ The following oath of the steward of the Galilee Court, extracted from the Chapter Records, furnishes a valuable example of the vernacular of the early part of the fifteenth century:—"I shalbe trewe feithfull and obediende to the Dean and

Chapiter of thys Church of Lincoln and to their successors; and in absense of the sayd Dean to the Subdean and Chapiter of the same church in all manner lefull and lawfull. Their secretes and counsell I shall well and trewely kepe counseile and hele, and to none it opyn nor shewe but to such as be sworn to theyr counsayle. The office of stewardshipp of Galilee courte I shall trewely minister and occupy doynge right to every man after my counynge and larynge. I shall not doe nor attempte nothyng prejudicial to ye sayde Dean and Chapiter or theyr Successors nor church of Lincoln nor be of counsell to nothyng in maters that shall be prejudicall hurte or derogacion of the ryght fraunchiez or libertes of the sayd chyrch knowing or wittingly; But I shall notifye and warn theme ther of, and resyste it to my counynge and power. So helpe me godd and the holy evangelistes,"

We have another Early English addition on the same side of the cathedral, in the two storied vestry (x) erected over a vaulted crypt probably used as a treasury, which projects southward from the west corner of the south-eastern transept. This is a plain but excellent work, lighted by tall lancets, its chief apartment covered with bold and well designed vaulting. That it is an addition not contemplated in the original design is shewn by the intrusion of the huge mass of the south western buttress of the transept. This is seen most clearly in the upper room, now used as the choristers' song school. The present parapet in which the billet moulding has been unwarrantably introduced is modern, dating from 1854. The older battlement with "merlons" is shewn in Hollar's view in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.¹

Considerably later in this style is the refacing of the end and side interior walls of the south-east transept, consequent on the removal of the transverse wall originally separating the end bay, as in the opposite arm. The foliated capitals and moulded arches are of singular richness, of the latest type of the period, almost Decorated.

The Chapter-house is a building which has few rivals in dignity of outline and majestic simplicity. Like the Chapter-house of Worcester (in its present form) and the destroyed Chapter-house of Hereford, it is a polygon of ten sides, each containing a pair of tall lancets, set externally under a low segmental arch which supports the parapet. Between them is a blank lozenge-shaped panel. The angles are strengthened with vertical buttresses, ornamented with filleted shafts and lancet panels. They were originally terminated with pedimented gables capped with a finial of Early English foliage. All but the two westernmost of these pediments have been replaced by tall crocketed pinnacles of Decorated date, a quatrefoiled unpierced parapet being at the same time substituted for

¹ The vestry had become so ruinous, fifty years since, through "the insufficiency of the abutments to support the thrust of the vaulting when loaded with a stone floor," pointed out by Essex in his Reports, that the Chapter were seriously meditating its removal. Happily more conservative counsels prevailed, and it received a thorough and well directed repair by Mr. E. J. Willson in 1854. The

upper room was ordered to be fitted up as "the Common Chamber" of the chapter, and the "archives and muniments to be removed there," Aug. 7, 1762. The muniments were again removed in 1851, and the vestry became the Common Chamber. The upper room had been used as a song school since 1801, when a small organ was built in it.

the plain Early English capping. The original buttresses proving inadequate to resist the outward thrust of the vaulting, huge detached buttresses, were subsequently erected at a considerable distance from the walls, stretching out long arms in the shape of *arcs boutants* to keep the groining in its place. The whole is covered with a lofty pyramidal leaden roof, pronounced "truly grand" by Pugin, which, unhappily reduced to an ugly hipped shape by Essex, was wisely reinstated in its original form at the beginning of this century.¹

The Chapter house is approached from the east walk of the cloisters by a spacious vaulted vestibule terminated to the west by a very singular, and it must be allowed, very ugly façade, exhibiting a huge circular window or bull's-eye, entirely devoid of tracery, surmounted by a gable, and flanked by two smaller gables, which form the roof of two spiral staircases, one on either side of the great three-arched door of entrance. The magnificent groined roof springs from a central pier, set round with ten hexagonal shafts, the sides slightly hollowed, similar to those already noticed in the choir and north aisle of the nave. Beneath the windows, both of the Chapter house and vestibule, the wall is lined with a bold arcade of richly moulded arches, rising from shafts with capitals of foliage of much freedom and play of lines. The occurrence of a sprig of foliage at the springing of the arch, the horizontal string course at the level of the abacus, and the character of the mouldings,² shews that this portion of the Cathedral is of the same date as the

¹ The lowering of the roof of the Chapter House took place in 1761-2. In the fabric accounts for that year occur the following items:—

	£	s.	d.
For carriage of the Chapter House model from Cambridge	1	6	
Spent on the workmen at several times when taking down the Chapter House roof	5	0	
To Mr. Chanter (i.e., Precentor) Richardson for the Chapter House model	1	1	0
For copper for the Chapter House vane	12	2	
For two sails to cover the Chapter House roof	6	17	6
The restoration of the roof to its ancient pyramidal outline was effected in			

1800. The low walls connecting the buttresses, shewn in the earlier views, were taken down in 1806, and about the same time a house, which had been jammed between two of the buttresses on the north-eastern side, the oven of which had been hollowed out of one of them, was removed. The buttresses received a repair in 1854, and the ground about the Chapter House was lowered in 1875, when the foundations of the addition to St. John Baptist's chapel were laid bare.

² "The profiles of the moulded work of the west front and the Chapter house leave no doubt that they were designed by the same hand." Sharpe's *Lincoln Excursion*, p. 25.

western chapels of the nave and the west front. The arcade looks identical in design all round the building. Careful examination, however, will show three varieties of arch moulds, all of which have their counterparts in and about the western front of the nave.¹

Beneath the unadorned bull's-eye of the vestibule is an exquisite arcade of seven tall richly moulded arches on short clustered shafts, lighting a wall passage connecting the two stairs.

An error, either of the clerk who transcribed Giraldus's life of St. Hugh for H. Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* or of the printer, reading *capitulum* for *capitium* (the *chevet*, or east end), has given rise to some question as to the date of the Chapter house. Documentary and architectural evidence seemed at variance. Giraldus plainly said, or seemed to say, that Hugh's workmen built the Chapter house, while the character of the mouldings and the architecture generally as plainly declared it to be at least thirty years later than his time. The discovery of the true reading, by Prebendary Dimock, in the Corpus Christi MS., happily removed the doubt, and set the two authorities at one again.²

The date of the completion of the Chapter house may be approximately fixed by the "Metrical Life"³ of St. Hugh, which, as has been stated, was written between 1220 and

¹ To trace and compare these variations on the arch moulds is a very interesting and instructive task. They may be thus catalogued. Beginning at the north-east corner of the vestibule, and numbering the sides continuously from one to nine, and naming the different forms of mould *a*, *b*, *c*, we find *a* in the whole of the bays 1, 2, 8, 9, the first and last arch of 5, 6, the first and two last arches of 7. We have *b* in the vestibule, and in the three centre arches of 3, and *c* (characterized by the dog's tooth ornament being brought prominently forward on a square moulding, instead of as in the other arches being sunk in a deep hollow) in the three centre arches of 4, 5, 6, and in two arches of 7.

² The passage from Giraldus is as follows: *Vit. S. Remigii*, cap. xxvi, vol. vii, p. 40. "Item [Hugo] ecclesiæ suæ capicium parîs lapidibus marmorisque columnis miro artificio renovavit." On this Prebendary Dimock notes, "*capicium*, So MS.; '*capitulum*,' Wharton. This

'*capitulum*,' or Chapter house, of Wharton has been a sore difficulty with the architectural exponents of the history of the Cathedral; the architectural details of the Chapter house pointing so plainly to a somewhat later period than that of Hugh of Burgundy. The true reading '*capicium*,' i.e., the head or east end of the church, removes all the difficulty. This was built by Hugh, and the Chapter house was not."

³ De Capitulo.

Astant ecclesiæ capitolia, qualia nunquam Romanus possedit apex, spectabile quorum Vix opus inciperet nummosa pecunia Cræsi.

Scilicet introitus ipsorum sunt quasi quadra

Porticus; interius spatium patet orbiculare,

Materia tentans templum Salomonis et arte.

Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo.

"Metrical Life."

1235. The author, in what Mr. Dimock styles "an explosive burst of frantic poetry," describes its quadrangular vestibule, "quasi quadraporticus," and its circular area, "spatium orbiculare," calling it "capitolium," and declaring that "such a capitol was never possessed by Rome itself, and that all the wealth of Croesus would scarcely venture on such a work, and that in material or skill it rivalled the temple of Solomon." He evidently attributes the plan of the building to Hugh of Burgundy, by whom it was almost certainly begun, and we gather from his words that the work was in progress at the time that he was writing under Bishop Hugh of Wells.

The Chapter house can hardly have been completed when the fall of the central tower made a fresh call on the resources and energies of the cathedral body. The story, repeated by more than one mediæval writer, is that the catastrophe took place while one of the canons was preaching to the congregation in the middle of the church—i.e., in the nave (which was therefore then practically completed), maintaining the cause of the chapter against their bishop—Groteste, who was then successfully asserting his right to "visit" the Cathedral officially—and complaining of his oppressive acts, which he asserted were so grievous, that "if they were to hold their peace the very stones would cry out on their behalf"—"et si taceamus lapides pro nobis clamabunt."¹ Scarcely were the words out of his mouth when the tower came crashing down, burying three men in its ruins. There can have been no delay in repairing the damage, the daily offices meanwhile being celebrated before the high altar. Whether

¹ In the Chronicle, under the name of Ahhot John of Peterborough, we find under the year 1237, "ruina ecclesiæ Linc. propter artificii insolentiam." In the Annals of Dunstable there is a more detailed account: "Facta est ruina muri Linc. eccl. secus chorum post sedem Decani, ita quod tres homines prostrati sunt sub ruina. Ita quod postmodum chorus celebravit ante majus altare officium diurnum et nocturnum donec circumquaque columnæ et arcus firmarentur." Mathew Paris mentions the event twice under the year 1239: "persequente episcopo Linc. canonicos suos, dum unus eorum sermonem faceret in populo,

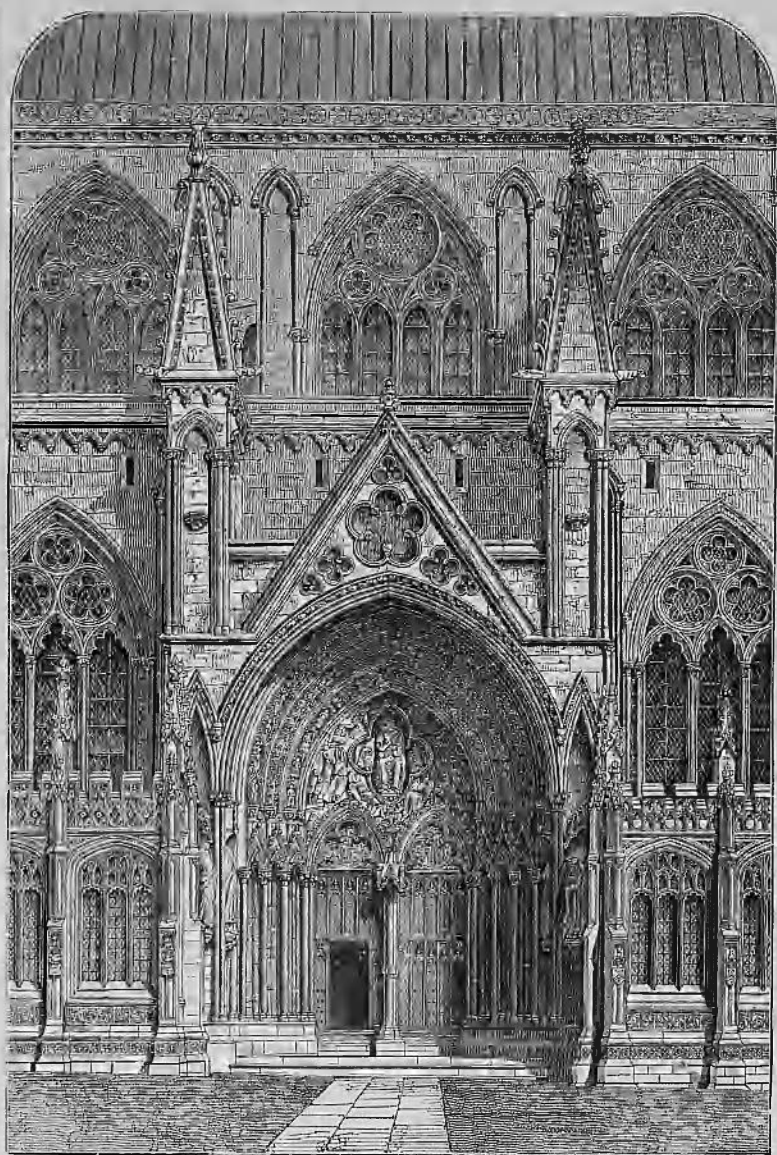
conquerendo dixit 'et si taceamus lapides pro nobis clamabunt' corrui opus lapideum novæ turris eccl. Linc. homines qui sub ipsa erant conterendo, qua ruina tota ecclesia commota et deteriorata est." (p. 303.) This last sentence contains a gross exaggeration. Singularly little harm was done to the fabric. Again, p. 328, "Dum unus canonicorum causam fovens capituli sermonem faciens populo in medio illius nobilissimæ eccl. Linc. querimoniam reposuit coram omnibus, de oppressionibus episcopi et ait, 'Et si nos taceamus lapides reclamabunt.' Ad quod verbum quedam magna pars, eccl. corrui dissoluta."

Grosseteste took any part in the restoration of the tower, his tyrannical conduct was accredited with having brought down, we cannot say. The whole, both externally and internally, is profusely covered with the diaper, popularly but without any sufficient warrant associated with his name, and it is distinguished by the applied foliage at the apex of the lantern arches belonging to the same date. The upper story of the lantern, within, originally shewing four arches on each side, was subjected to considerable modification when the vaulting was erected by Treasurer Welbourne in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and each arch was sub-divided, making eight in all.

We have now reached the period of the erection of the far-famed "Angel choir," by which name the eastern limb (VW) of the cathedral is popularly designated, from the exquisite sculptures of angels with expanded wings, many playing on musical instruments, which occupy the spandrels of the triforium. Few architectural works have received such unanimous and almost unqualified admiration. Mr. Sharpe says "it may justly be regarded as the most perfect example of Gothic art in the United Kingdom," to which "we can hardly hesitate to award the palm of superlative merit over at least the buildings of our own country, if not indeed beyond those of Europe."¹ Sir G. G. Scott's estimate is almost equally high. "It is in fact," he says, "the most splendid work of the period we possess, and did it not lack internal height, I do not think it could be exceeded in beauty by any existing church. The sculpture with which it was once profusely enriched was of very high order, the foliated carving perfectly exquisite, the mouldings and other details of the most perfect character. The east window is probably the finest in the kingdom." Sir G. G. Scott probably means of its style—"as is the east part in general, after allowing a certain abatement for the error" (shared by the Lady Chapel of Salisbury), "of having false gables to the aisles."² Mr. Freeman though more critical (not at all unfairly so), speaks hardly less rapturously of the "angel's choir," as "in itself one of the loveliest of human works—the proportion of the side elevation, and the beauty of the details, both simply

¹ Sharpe's *Lincoln Excursion*, p. 125.

² *Lectures on Mediæval Architecture*, vol. i, p. 198.



O. NEWELL. del. & sc.

Lincoln Cathedral—South East Portal.

perfect ;" while he regards the east window as "the very noblest specimen of the pure and bold tracery of its own date."¹ We have not space to speak with any degree of detail of the architectural features of this almost unparalleled work. The ground plan shows that it consists of five equal bays, two of which are included within the ritual choir, the other three forming the presbytery originally containing the shrine of St. Hugh, for the reception of which—when the already elongated chapel of St. John the Baptist proved a second time inadequate to receive the crowds of devotees who flocked for healing to his tomb—it was primarily erected, as well as the Lady altar, Queen Eleanor's chantry, and other historical altars. The window tracery, and that of the triforium and aisle wall-arcade, exhibit geometrical tracery in its earliest and most beautiful form. The whole series is simply a working out of the rudimentary idea of a cusped circle supported on two subordinate arches. This idea repeated four times over in subordination, forms the plan of the grand east window. Great richness is imparted to the building by the abundance of well carved foliage, filling every corner, and covering every available space. Beautiful knops of leafage run up everywhere between the shafts, and the bare spaces of the aisle-walls above and around the windows are overlaid with graceful inter-twining sprays. The tracery of the clerestory windows is repeated on the plane of the inner face of the wall, forming a perforated screen, which adds much to the gorgeous effect of the building. The magnificent south doorway with its wealth of admirable figure-sculpture, its deeply recessed richly carved mouldings, and its tympanum exhibiting the solemn scene of the Doom, deserves special notice as the nearest approach in England to the glorious portals which are the chief ornaments of the great French churches. The corresponding doorway on the north is very many degrees plainer, but its quiet dignity is almost equally admirable.²

We have again to lament the absence of documentary

¹ Freeman's *English Towns and Districts*, pp. 225, 226.

² It is a curious and unexplained fact that one of the mouldings of the principal arch of the north doorway is of wood. The central shaft dividing the two entrances is a

later addition. It bears the coat of Edward IV. Quarterly ; 1st and 4th, the arms of Edward the Confessor ; 2nd and 3rd, the Royal arms of England, bearing France modern. The supporters are *dexter* a lion, *sinister* a bull.

evidence of the progress of this exquisite building. The chapter-acts do not commence till a later date, nor are there any fabric rolls to assist us. The date of its commencement and of its termination are, however, recoverable, and with that we must be willing to be content. The former date is supplied by the royal letters, "ne quid damnum," issued by Henry III, November 5th, 1255, to determine whether the request of the Dean and Chapter for the removal of the old city wall—not the earlier Roman wall,¹ which ran further to the west, in the line of the eastern transept, but a later wall, of uncertain date—for the lengthening of their church could be complied with without detriment to the crown.² The verdict of the Jurates, we may suppose, was favourable, and the following year, July 19th, 1256, the king signified his consent to the agreement that had been come to between its chapter and the citizens for the enlargement of the close and pushing the city walls eastward. When the building actually began we cannot say. All we know is, that by October 6th, 1280, the Angel-choir was in a sufficient state of completion for the fulfilment of the great object of its erection, the translation of the body of St. Hugh—his *head* was left in the chapel of his burial—"to a grand and gorgeous shrine within a grand and gorgeous building"—a worthy receptacle for one of the holiest, most devoted, and most courageous bishops who have adorned the Church of England. The translation took place in the presence of Edward I, his Queen Eleanor, and their children, his brother Edmund and his wife the Queen of Navarre, ten prelates, including the Archbishops of Canterbury (John Peckham) and of Edessa,

¹ The Rev. H. Best records the difficulty and labour with which the grave of his father, a prebendary of the cathedral, within the minster, was excavated in the substance of this wall, which "levelled to its foundation to make way for the extension" of the building by St. Hugh, "passes under the pavement of the minster from north to south."—*Personal and Literary Memorials*, p. 242, 1829.

² The Dean and Chapter sought, "licentiam elongandi ecclesiam suam versus orientem per remotionem muri orientalis civitatis nostræ Linc. qui est ex opposito ejusdem ecclesiæ."—Dugdale's *Mon.*, v. viii.

The royal license issued the next year ran as follows: "Henricus D. G. &c., sciatis nos gratam habere et acceptam clausuram et elongacionem murorum quæ de licentia nostra et de consensu civium nostrorum Linc. circa ecclesiam Linc. facta est ad ampliacionem eccl. predictæ secundum quod inter Dec. et Capit. ejusdem eccl. et cives predictos de utriusque partis provisione convenit. Ita quod placea infra dictam clausuram contenta dictæ eccl. Linc. prout dicti Dec. et Capit. expedire viderint inter ipsos et dictos cives convenit applicetur."—*Reg. Magn. Linc.*, pt. 8 b.

and two hundred and thirty knights and other nobles. The whole of the expenses of the translation, which must have been enormous, were defrayed by Thomas Bek, the brother of the more celebrated Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was on the same day consecrated in the cathedral to the bishopric of St. David's. The supposed site of the shrine (destroyed at the Reformation) is indicated by a black marble table bearing an inscription, erected by Bishop Fuller on the north side of the presbytery during the general restoration of the cathedral, after the Restoration (1667-1673). It is impossible to believe that the place is correctly assigned. The almost universal rule was that the shrine of the chief saint of any great church should be in the centre of the space behind the high altar, and elevated so as to be visible above the reredos, that by gazing upon it the hearts of the priests celebrating at the altar might be raised to emulate the holy man's virtues. Of this arrangement, we have existing examples in the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, and of St. Alban at St. Alban's; and we know that the shrines of St. William at York, St. Thomas at Canterbury, and St. Etheldreda at Ely, occupied the same position.

With the completion of the presbytery the whole fabric of the church, as we now see it, the re-edification of which had been begun by St. Hugh about ninety years before, was brought to an end. No substantial additions, beyond a few chantry chapels, were subsequently made to it; and the alterations of the original design, by the insertion of windows and the construction of vaultings, according to the ever shifting taste of the day, have been much fewer and have had far less influence on the character of the building than in most of our cathedrals. Very few can be said to exhibit such unity of design and such harmony of varied detail, or to be so completely the expression of one germinal idea as the cathedral of Lincoln.

Though the fabric of the cathedral was substantially finished by the erection of the Angel-choir, the completion of its decorations must have occupied a considerable time, and have proved very costly. It is therefore no matter of surprise to find, seventeen years after the translation

of St. Hugh's remains, Bishop Oliver Sutton granting indulgences and issuing letters to the rural deans of the diocese calling on them to assist in the prosecution of the design. He expressed his indignant astonishment at the suspension of payments during the preceding years to "so pious a work, and to a structure extended on so venerable a plan," and desires that the collections might be resumed. These episcopal appeals, however, seem to have been but little heeded, for the next year it was found expedient to issue fresh letters of indulgence on behalf of the fabric, together with injunctions to the rural deans to cause the matter to be set forth and expounded in the several parishes, and to receive graciously the proctors sent round to collect the contributions of the faithful.¹ Similar injunctions continued to be issued by Sutton's successor, Bishop John of Dalderby, in the years 1301, 1304, 1305, 1308, and 1314, for the completion of the fabric. In 1306 the Dean and Chapter contracted with Richard of Stow, mason—"cementarius"—to superintend the new work—"novum opus"—and to employ other masons under him. The plain work was to be done by measure and the fine carved work and images by the day. This Richard of Stow, or of Gainsborough—the places are not far distant—was the same whom we find employed on the erection of the Queen Eleanor's cross at the south end of the city, whose elaborately incised but sorely mutilated monumental slab lies in the south alley of the cloisters.²

The completion of the fabric of the cathedral was followed by the erection of the cloisters (CC), which was zealously promoted by Bishop Oliver Sutton. It will be observed on reference to the ground plan that the position of these cloisters is unusual. We may pass over their being on the north side of the building instead of the south, the

¹ "Ecce auribus nostris nuper insonuit quod de decanatibus vestris anno presenti ad tam pium opus et structuram adeo venerabili schemate propagatam per vos nihil erat penitus persolutum."—Memoranda of Bishop Sutton, Nov. 21, 1297, p. 169. Again, March 2, 1298, an indulgence is published granting forty days release from penance to all truly penitent and confessed "qui de bonis sibi a Deo collatis fabricæ cathedralis eccl. Linc.

materialis scil. templi gloriose virginis Mariæ genetricis Dei beatissimæ contulerint subsidia pietatis."—*Ib.* 180.

² This contract with Richard of Stow is referred to by Mr. Ayliffe Poole, who copied it from earlier historians of the cathedral. Mr. Poole and Prebendary Dimock were unable to discover the original of the agreement, nor has it yet been found.

customary side, an arrangement found also at Canterbury, Chester, and Gloucester Cathedrals, and the abbeys of Tintern, Malmesbury, Melrose, &c., where, as at Lincoln, local reasons rendered that side less convenient. But the position of the cloister, on the flank of the choir instead of the nave, between the western and eastern transepts, is without parallel in English minsters. We may remark that a cloister was not an essential appendage to a secular church, such as Lincoln always has been, as it was to a conventual foundation, there being no monastic offices—refectory, dormitory, calefactory, and the like,—to be connected with a covered way, which was the essential idea of such an erection. A cloister therefore in a secular college was a mere luxury; at best a convenience which might be added at any time, in any place, and after any plan, or, as at York, Lichfield, Southwell and Beverley, left out altogether. Its position at Lincoln was ruled by that of the Chapter-house, to which it affords access under cover. The Chapter-house, standing so much further to the east than was customary, the cloister was also carried eastward of its usual position to a situation where, for want of room, it was impossible for it to be built as cloisters were almost universally (Salisbury is an exception) abutting against the main wall of the church. Indeed it does not meet the church at all. It stands just beyond the north arm of the great transept, overlapping the eastern half, and stretches eastwards to the eastern side of the smaller transept with which it communicates by a vaulted vestibule of the same date as itself. It is not a complete square, being a third longer from east to west than from north to south.¹ On the eastern side there must have been always a covered way from the church to the Chapter house, probably at first a mere pentice. The east wall of the present cloister as far as the Chapter-house door belongs to this earlier alley. The masonry will be found on examination to be different, and a course of thinner stones marks the place of the stone bench, cut away on the building of the cloister; as intruding inconveniently upon the thoroughfare. The cloister is a beautiful work in the Early Decorated style of the closing years of the thirteenth century. John of Schalby, who

¹ The dimensions within are 120 feet from east to west; 90 feet from north to south.

was Bishop Sutton's Registrar, informs us that the erection of the cloister was due to that prelate's influence, and was aided by his munificence. We do not know the year of its commencement, but we learn from a letter of Bishop Sutton's to the then Dean Philip of Willoughby, dated July 23, 1296, that by that time the southern wall had been carried up to a considerable height. The Canons had already measured out the requisite space and laid the plan, the completion of which rendered it necessary for the north wall to be built on the wall of the Dean's stables. The Dean was evidently making a difficulty about this, and the Bishop delicately reminding him that the said stable was currently reported—"ut dicitur,"—to have been built on consecrated ground—"super solum ecclesiæ,"—and that the erection of the cloister would be at no expense to him—"sine vestro dispendio,"—and would in no way interfere with his decanal house—"domo ipsa sicut prius salva manente,"—as good as tells him he ought to be ashamed of himself for throwing any hindrance in the way of the work.¹ We may conclude that the Bishop's remonstrance was effectual, for though the north walk was subsequently destroyed—its demolition is one of the despotic acts attributed to Dean Mackworth in the "Laudum" of Bishop Alnwick (1436-1450)²—we see from the traces of the groining in the north wall, that the design corresponded with that of the other three sides. The place of this demolished walk is now occupied by a Doric arcade, supporting the library above, erected by the munificence of Dean Honynwood, after the design of Sir Christopher Wren, and bearing the date 1675. The

¹ "Ibid (Oliverus Sutton), claustrum ecclesiæ fieri procuravit et de suo l. marcas contulit ad constructionem ejusdem." *Joh. de Schalby*, p. 209.

Bishop Sutton's letter to Dean Willoughby, dated Folkingham, June 23, 1296, is as follows:—"Ad decorem ecclesiæ nostræ confratres vestri quoddam claustrum in area ante capitulum ejusdem ecclesiæ nobis ad hoc dantibus occasionem, decenter metantes, murum ejusdem ex parte australi jam laudabiliter erexerunt in altum. Sane situs loci, et dispositio fundamenti hujusmodi fabricæ, necessario exigunt, ut prætendunt, quod alter paries correspondens super murum stabuli vestri ex parte boreali, super solum ecclesiæ

constructum, ut dicitur, sine vestro dispendio construatur, domo ipsa sicut prius salva manente; et super hoc ut consensum præstetis sicut intelleximus, capitulum specialiter vobis scribit,"—*Sutton's Memorandums*, fol. 155, a.

² The thirty-third count in the indictment brought against Dean Mackworth by his canons, is "quod idem Decanus magnam partem muri claustrum ecclesiæ ibidem demoliret stabulum unum super residuam partem muri ejusdem construi fecit capitulo inconsulto et absque ejus voluntate scientia et assensu." p. 85, no. 33, of the Bishop of Lincoln's edition of the *Novum Registrum et Laudum*.

cloisters, as originally built, consisted of a continuous series of four-light windows of geometrical tracery, separated by very slender buttresses running up into crocketed pinnacles attached to the wall. The whole was covered with a wooden vault, the curiously carved bosses of which will reward careful examination. Like many mediæval buildings, the cloisters were built without any foundation, and light as the vaulting is, its thrust has been sufficient to push the walls considerably out of the perpendicular. To remedy this, slight buttresses with three set-offs were erected between every two bays, and probably at the same time the lower parts of the windows, which were open nearly to the ground, were filled up with slabs of stone. During the present year (1883), it has been found necessary to take down and rebuild the western walk, restoring its verticality. On taking down the buttresses they were found to contain fragments of cut and carved stone of the same date and design as the cloister. The capitals of the window shafts exhibit beautiful natural foliage, chiefly of the vine. A large pointed arch at the east end of the north walk indicates an entrance from the close at that point. The staircase to Wren's library is now built against it.

Before passing from Bishop Oliver Sutton it should be mentioned, that during his episcopate, and chiefly through his instrumentality, the cathedral close was, by royal licence, May 8, 1285¹ surrounded by a strong crenellated wall, with towers capable of defence, each point of entrance, with exception of Pottergate where the steep slope of the hill was sufficient protection, being defended by a massive double gate-house. A large piece of this wall, with two of its towers, is still standing in the gardens of the Chancellor's and Choristers' houses. All the gate-houses have been destroyed, except the inner Exchequer gate opposite the west front of the minster, and the Pottergate arch. There is also a small postern gate at the head of the so-called "Grecian stairs." Oliver Sutton was also the means of removing the parishioners of St. Mary

¹ Hic a rege Edwardo, Henrici regis tertii filio, impetravit, ut circuitus ædificiorum circa ecclesiam constructorum muro certæ altitudinis, cum venellis intermediis, clauderetur; pro securitate

canonicorum et aliorum ministrorum dictæ ecclesiæ, qui pro matutinis dicendis nocte media eandem ecclesiam tunc temporis adierunt," *John de Schalby*, p. 210.

Magdalen's,¹ who from Remigius's time had been allowed to hold their services in the western part of the minster, for the erection of which their own parish church had been pulled down, and of erecting a church for their use between the two western gate-houses, where the parish church still stands. He was also the first to bring the vicars-choral together to a common habitation,² having, before his death in 1300, commenced the erection, on the "Boungarth,"⁴ of a quadrangular court surrounded with houses for their residence, and on the north side a gate-house and a common hall for their meals. This work he did not live to see completed, leaving it to be carried on by his executors, and completed by his successor John of Dalderby, and at a later period, Bishop John of Buckingham (1363-1398).

The episcopate of Sutton's successor, Bishop John of Dalderby, was signalized by the erection of the crowning glory of the minster, the magnificent upper story of the central tower, popularly known as the "Broad tower," a corruption of the "Rood tower." This tower, as we have seen, was carried up two stories above the roof, after the catastrophe of 1239, finishing in a tall spire of timber covered with lead, of which the stump of the central shaft, or mast, still remains in the floor of the belfry chamber. It was now resolved to raise it higher and complete it in a sumptuous style—"altius erigere et opere sumptuoso finire." To obtain the necessary funds, Bishop Dalderby issued letters of indulgence, dated Stow Park, March 9, 1307, calling upon all rectors, vicars, and parochial chaplains throughout the diocese to urge liberal gifts towards the completion of this noble work, so honourable to the whole realm, on Sundays and feast days throughout the year, giving the precedence to it above

¹ "Hic, ob quietem ministrantium in ecclesia cathedrali, frequenter turbatam per confluentiam parochianorum olim ecclesie beatæ Mariæ Magdalene, qui, a fundatione ecclesie cathedralis in occidentali parte ejusdem ecclesie divina adierant, et sacramenta et sacramentalia perceperant, quandam capellam in honore beatæ Mariæ Magdalene, in atrio dictæ ecclesie cathedralis, competenti spatio distantem ab ea, erigi procuravit."—*Ibid*, p. 209.

² John of Schalby, says of Sutton's suc-

cessor, John of Dalderby, "Et vicariis communiter habitantibus, ad sustentacionem domorum, sumptibus proximi predecessoris sui pro habitatione vicariorum constructarum, pensionem quatuor librarum sterlingarum de vicariis duarum ecclesiarum Hospitalariis appropriatarum contulit annuatim."

³ "Boungarth" is the Danish *Bundegaard*, a farm yard or farmstead. It is an interesting survival from the times when Lincoln was a Danish city.

all similar claims,¹ publishing, at the same time, the indulgences and suffrages to be gained by the promoters of this work. The Bishop states that the Dean and Chapter were hoping to commence the work in the ensuing summer. We find, however, from the Chapter-Act-Book, that on March 14 of that year, less than a week after the date of Dalderby's letter, orders were given to the masons to begin to work on the tower, laying stones as soon as they found the weather suitable for their operations²—"ponentes lapides quam cito viderint tempus opportunum." The building was carried on without any serious interruption; and in less than four years the new campanile had received its bells. This is proved by an entry in the Chapter Acts, that on January 23, 1311, at a full chapter of dean and residentiaries, the executors of Gilbert d'Eivill, formerly treasurer of the church, were condemned in the cost of two ropes for the bells which had been lately hung³—"in duabis cordis cam-

¹ After a long preamble on the duty of paying special reverence to the Blessed Virgin, Bishop Dalderby thus proceeds:—"Hæc dilecti in Christi filii, decanus et capituli cathedralis ecclesiæ nostræ Lincoln salubriter advertentes, ad honorem Virginis prelibatæ majorem, et ecclesiæ predictas cuius ipsa est patrona decorem, campanile in ipsius ecclesiæ medio, a multis temporibus retroactis constructum, altius erigere, et opere sumptuoso finire, ac opus illud in instanti estate inchoare, Dei mediante adjutorio decreverunt. Nos igitur, tam pium et tam sanctum eorum propositum commendantes, fabricamque tam nobilem, et honorificam toti regno, quantum possumus promovere volentes, vobis mandamus, in virtute obedientie firmiter injungentes, quatinus negotium hujus structuræ venerabilis, quæ magno fidelium subsidio noscitur indigere, in ecclesiis vobis subditis, per rectores, vicarios, seu capellanos parochiales earum, diebus dominicis et festivis, præ ceteris negociis consimilibus, faciatis annuatim dicto durante opere frequenter exponi, ac verbo et exemplo efficaciter promoveri; indulgenciasque mutiplices et alia suffragia, quæ fabricæ dictæ ecclesiæ promotoribus sunt concessæ, populo manifestare; ac nuncios veros ad procuracionem dicti negotii vobis mittendos benigne recipi et tractari, etc. etc. . . . Ut autem mentes fidelium ad pietatis opera excitemus, de Dei omnipotentis misericordia, gloriosæ Virginis supradictæ, beati Hu-

gonis confessoris, ac omnium Sanctorum meritis confidentes, omnibus parochiamis nostris et aliis quorum Diocesanî hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint, de peccatorum suorum maculis vere penitentibus et confessio, qui ad constructionem campanilis predicti de bonis sibi a Deo collatis grata contulerint subsidia caritatis, XL dies de injuncta sibi penitentia misericorditer relaxamus, ratificantes omnes indulgencias a quibuscunque episcopis catholicis in hac parte concessas et in posterum concedendas. Dat' apud parcum Stowe, vii id Marcii, a.d. MCCC. sexto (i.e. March 9, 1307), et consecrationis nostræ septimo."—Dalderby's *Memorandum*, 101 b.

² Memorandum:—"Quod die Martis proxime post festum sancti Gregorii, anno Domini M.C.C.C. sexto (i.e., March 14, 1207) consensus fuit per capitulum quod cementarii incipiant operari super campanile, ponentes lapides, quam cito viderint tempus opportunum."—Chapter Act Book, 1315-1320.

³ Memorandum:—"Quod die Sabbati proxime post festum Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani (i.e., Saturday, January 23, 1312), Decano et ceteris canonicis residentibus more solito in capitulo congregatis, condemnati fuerunt executores testamenti domini Gilberti Deivill quondam Thesaurarii ecclesiæ Lincoln, in duabus cordis campanarum tunc noviter in medio campanili ecclesiæ suspensarum."—*Ibid.*

panarum tunc noviter in medio campanili ecclesiæ suspensarum." These bells were a part of the charming little peal of six "Lady bells," so prosaically cast into the melting pot by the chapter in 1835, on the recasting of "Great Tom," to make him bigger than before. The tower was surmounted by a very lofty spire of timber covered with lead, rising to the height of about 525 feet, only exceeded, if exceeded, in height by the similar spire of Old St. Paul's. This spire was blown down in a violent storm, January 31, 1548. The present open work battlement was put up by Essex in 1775. If not faultless in detail, and somewhat coarse in workmanship, it is an admirable finish to a magnificent design, for which, considering its date, we can hardly be too grateful. We may, however, be thankful that the ambitious design of the then Dean of Lincoln (Bishop Yorke of St. David's) to erect a stone spire was not carried into effect.¹ We can hardly doubt that it would have led to a repetition of the disaster of Grosseteste's time.

It may safely be said, that as this tower is the highest ancient church tower in England, so it is the most beautiful. The symmetry of the proportions is simply perfect, and it combines with the two western towers in a group of unparalleled loveliness. For the union of majesty and grace, dignified simplicity and beauty of form, with its pairs of lofty canopied windows, soaring at one bound from the base mould to the parapet, it certainly has no rival. Sir Charles Anderson calls attention to the fact that the bulk of the tower "is gathered in about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, 25 feet below the parapet, which shows upon what trifles, as they might be called, beauty and proportion depend."² As Mr. Sharpe remarks,³ "Its details call for no special observation, with

¹ In 1714 three of the pinnacles of the Rood tower were blown down by a great storm and rebuilt. A correspondence between Bp. Yorke and Essex in 1773 exists among the Chapter papers. The Bishop wished for a central stone spire. This Essex discountenanced on account of the great height it would reach and the exposed situation. He recommended four stone spire-pinnacles and an open battlement, "such," he writes, "as I consider agreeable to the other parts of the tower," to cost not less than £2000. On examination, however, the existing wooden and

lead pinnacles proved sound and were allowed to remain. On the repair of the tower roof in 1874 some stone crockets and pinnacles of exquisite work, evidently fragments of the former parapet, were found buried in rubbish beneath the lead flat. While this paper has been passing through the press, the storm of December 11th-12th has blown down the parapet on the western side, but happily without injury to the rest of the fabric.

² *Lincoln Pocket Guide*, p. 120.

³ *Lincoln Excursions*, p. 128.

the exception of the remarkable crockets which," running vertically upwards, "mark and accentuate the window jambs in a manner which reminds one of the similar ornaments in the piers of the choir" (see woodcut, p. 188); to which may be added the various orders of the pier and arch mouldings of the Angel choir.

After the completion of the tower, the chapter took in hand the remodelling of the south gable end of the south transept. The original rose window, or "Bishop's eye," was removed, its quatrefoils being worked up into the horizontal band which stretches across the base of the gable externally, and a larger circular window erected, containing flamboyant tracery resembling two leaves set side by side. At the same time, a large five-light window, with flowing tracery in the head (only lighting the roof), was inserted in the gable; and a pierced parapet of extraordinary, almost excessive, lightness was carried along the edge. Within, the circular window is set under a hollow traceried arch, with two rows of pierced quatrefoils. There is no documentary evidence as to the date of this sumptuous and costly alteration. But Bishop Dalderby died in 1320, and was buried in this transept, with the popular reputation of a saint. A costly monument was erected over his grave, supporting a silver shrine containing his relics, two of the stone shafts of which, and the lower part of the third, may still be seen against the west wall. Miracles were alleged to have been worked at his tomb; on the ground of which, an unsuccessful attempt was made to procure his canonization by the Pope.¹ But though this endeavour failed, Bishop Dalderby was canonized in the opinion of the people, and his shrine was visited by crowds of devotees, to whose offerings the costly architectural works in this transept, which certainly belong to this period, may be not unreasonably attributed.

Among the minor architectural works belonging to the Decorated period the following deserve especial mention:—

(I.) The panelled stone screen in the south aisle of the choir, forming the back of the shrine of "Little St. Hugh."² Only the base of the shrine, remains covering

¹ See the late Prebendary Wickenden's article, "John de Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln."—*Archæological Journal*, vol. xl, p. 215.

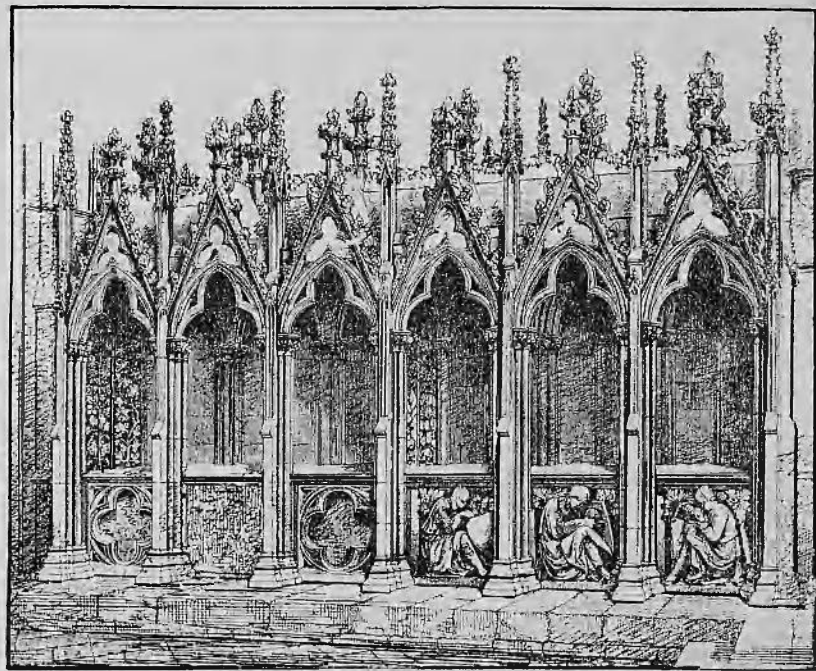
² He was the Christian boy asserted to have been crucified by the Jews in 1255. See the paper by the Bishop of Nottingham—*Associated Societies Papers for 1880*

the little stone coffin below, with some fragments of the projecting canopy which once covered it. The wall-arcade consists of panelled arches, filled with geometrical tracery of trefoils, surmounted with tall, pedimental canopies. The whole was once richly painted and gilt. The design is, with one exception, so absolutely identical with the wall-arcade of the nave of York Minster that it hardly admits a question that the two had the same designer. This idea is strengthened by the fact that York nave was built when John le Romeyn was Archbishop, who had previously been, first Chancellor, and then Precentor of Lincoln. The one point of difference is that the ball-flower, with which St. Hugh's shrine is profusely covered, is entirely wanting at York.

(II). Somewhat earlier in the style are the remains of the reredos and the walls enclosing the sacrarium.¹ These are elaborately panelled with arches under pedimental heads. Those to the choir aisles are destitute of the rich crockets and finials which distinguish the other parts. The whole, however, has been subjected to a great deal of attention and modernization, and it is not very easy to determine what is old and what is new. The screen wall to the north of the altar is the least altered portion. The existing triple canopy over the altar, which bears the date 1769, was designed by Essex, from Bishop de Luda's tomb in the choir at Ely, and executed by an admirable local carver in stone, by name Pink, who entered most marvellously into the spirit of the old work. Essex's screen was preceded by a heavy classical reredos, attributed to Wren, certainly in his style, set up after the Restoration of the monarchy at the same time with the Bishop's throne. The original reredos-screen, as laid down in Hollar's plan, was double, with a long narrow space, serving as a sacristy, between the two screens lighted by the quatrefoils, still open in the back screen wall, with aumbries, &c., in the walls, and a newel stair at the north-west corner,² leading to the tabernacle above. All

¹ The following entry in the Chapter Records must refer to some addition to the earlier decorated reredos; perhaps "the tabernacle," spoken of by Bishop Sanderson. "*Le reredose magni altaris incept. per d'num Johannum Colynson, 5 die Sept., 1482.*"

² In Sanderson's survey of the Cathedral, of which he was afterwards bishop, made before the civil wars, 1641, he writes, "On the east part stood the altar. A door into the room there at each end. Upon the room stood the tabernacle; below, many closets in the



Lincoln Cathedral—The Easter Sepulchre.

traces of this arrangement have disappeared. Essex's reredos was solid, and the arch contained a tasteless picture of the Annunciation, executed and presented by the Rev. W. Peters in 1799.¹ The picture having been removed, the wall was pierced with Decorated tracery, and the plain portions elaborately carved from Mr. J. C. Buckler's designs in 1857.²

(III.) The gorgeous composition, consisting of six tall trefoiled arches, under richly crocketed and finialed pedimental canopies, which occupies one bay of the choir on the north side combining the Easter Sepulchre with an anonymous monument, now incorrectly assigned to Remigius,³ is characterized by Sir G. G. Scott⁴ as a fine specimen of Early Decorated work, about the period of the Eleanor crosses. The sleeping soldiers beneath (in the three eastern panels) are charming pieces of sculpture. The illustration, liberally lent with the others by Mr. Murray, renders further description needless.

(IV) The choir screen, or rood screen, now supporting the organ (which instrument, in Hollar's view, is seen to occupy the fourth bay of the choir on the north side), is an elaborate composition of exceeding richness of detail, belonging to the Late Decorated period.⁵ It comprises, on

wall." This arrangement existed in 1736, when Mr. Lethuellier speaks of "a little dark passage behind the high altar." A similar arrangement of a narrow slip sacristy behind the reredos may be seen at St. Nicholas, Great Yarmouth, and at Llantwit, in South Wales. The existing reredos at Lincoln must be almost entirely the work of Essex. Mr. Brooke quotes a letter of Precentor Richardson, to Mr. Essex, in 1768, in which he tells him that he sends a drawing of the stone work behind Wren's panelling, that he may "see what he can make of it, so as, by addition, to make it handsome." He describes the middle part as plain ashlar, and some of the stone work as cut and defaced. The outer stone basement panelled in quatrefoils remains all round.

¹ The Rev. W. Peters was prebendary of St. Mary's, Crekepool. He was installed June 23, 1792.

² If this reredos is not all that can be desired as an architectural design, and is deficient in purity of detail, it is certainly superior in dignity of effect to the restless, showy masses of carving with which it has been the fashion of late years, at

immense cost, to furnish the altars of our cathedrals. Essex's reredos may well stand until the Dean and Chapter can be sure of being able to replace it with something better. Mr. E. J. Willson writes thus of it:—"It has a chaste and suitable effect, though not large and sumptuous enough to fill its place worthily in so magnificent an edifice." Pugin says of the works of Essex, "Though admirable in their fidelity to ancient examples, they are deficient in boldness and spirit of design, and his details are often too meagre, as is apparent in this work." Pugin's *Specimens*, vol. i, p. xvii.

³ Sanderson's survey records, "In the choir, on the north side, two tombs, not known. But it is famed that one of them is Remigius, whose bare sheet of lead is now (1658) to be seen. No inscription, coat, or other mention of anyone."

⁴ *Lectures*, u.s., i, 304.

⁵ The rood of St. Hugh's Church is thus described by the author of the *Metrical Life* :—
Introitumque chori majestas aurea pingit
Et proprie propria crucifixus imagine
Christus

each side of the canopied central archway four recessed tabernacles, with rich ogee canopied arches, groined continuously. The wall behind, sub-divided by a shelf, is covered with diaper.¹ The passage into the choir is groined like that at Southwell, with skeleton ribs. To the right is a small groined room, which, with every part of this exquisite work, deserves careful study. There is a staircase to the loft on the left of the entrance. Another stair, lighted by a pierced quatrefoil, is formed in the thickness of the screen wall of the first bay of the south aisle of the choir, approached by a small ogee-headed archway, some feet from the ground, to be reached by a short step ladder. The formation of this stair has obliterated the greater part of the wall arcade of Grosseteste's time, in this bay.

(V). A stone screen wall covered on both faces with a diaper of large open leaved flowers divides the choristers' vestry (R), from the south choir aisle. The variety of form in these flowers, no two being exactly alike, and the play of fancy shown in some of the minor details, are evidence of the perfect freedom with which the mediæval carvers carried on their work.² Below it, within the vestry, stands a stone lavatory trough, with a panelled base.

(VI). This series of Decorated works is concluded with the Burghersh (3) and Cantilupe (5) tombs, both magnificent examples of canopied monuments of the later Edwardian period. The canopies over the tombs of Bishop Burghersh (d. 1342), and of his father, having become ruinous were removed in the early part of this century, and only exist in fragments. It is much to be desired that they might be re-erected. At the west end of the bishop's tomb projects a very curious stone base of a feretory or portable shrine, having in the north and west

Exprimatur, vitæque suæ progressus ad
unguem

Insinuat ibi. Nec solum crux vel
imago. [rum

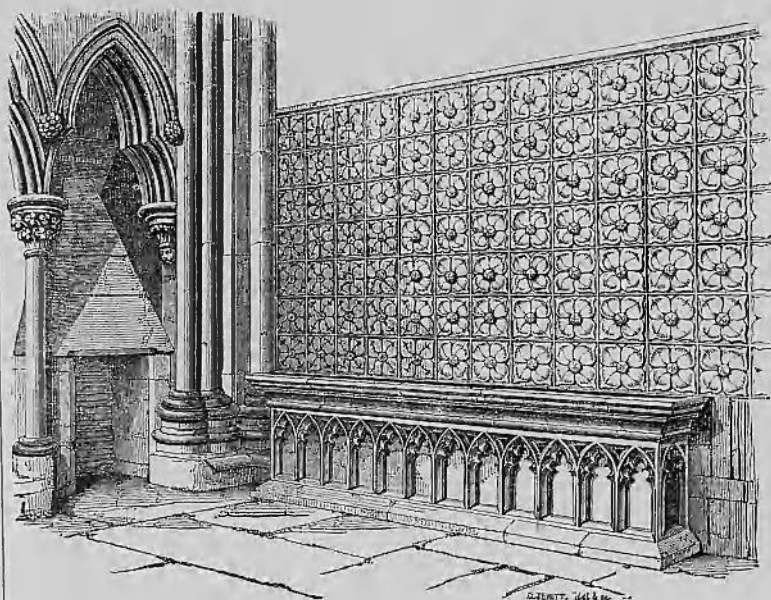
Immo columnarum sex, lignorumque duo-
Ampla superficies, obrizo fulgurat auro.

The meaning is not free from obscurity, but we see that the rood screen consisted of six pillars, three, we may suppose, on either side of the entrance to the choir, supporting two beams, on which stood

the crucifix, the whole being gilt.

¹ The upper part of this diaper, in a stone of a somewhat darker hue, is modern, the work of Pink, already mentioned in 1770.

² On the north side may be observed a bird's nest with the fledglings, and the parent birds, one flying from, the other to the nest; a clown's head, reversed, &c.: on the south side a little dog lies curled up in the centre of one of the flowers.



Lincoln Cathedral—Lavatory, Choristers' Vestry.

[N.B. The second row of diaper from the bottom has been supplied by an error of the engraver. There is no carving at that level, it being the place of the water pipes and taps]

sides deep canopied kneeling niches. The recessed tomb of the bishop's brother, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh (d. 1356), on the north wall of the choir aisle (4), is a fine specimen of its date.

The tall pedimental canopies covering the mutilated effigies of Sir Nicholas Cantilupe (d. 1355), and Ric. Wymbysh of Nocton, sub-dean of the cathedral (d. —), (5) are happily uninjured, and may be ranked among the very noblest examples of their kind.

We now pass, in conclusion, from the Decorated to the Perpendicular works. These, as have been already stated, are but few and comparatively unimportant. The earliest portion, the vaulting and wall-panelling of the western towers, due to John of Welbourne (treasurer, 1350-1380), belong to the latter half of the fourteenth century, and in a very instructive manner exhibit the transition from one style to the other. The whole side wall under each tower is occupied by a blank window, the mullions of which run up perpendicularly from the sill to the window arch, the tracery between them showing a mixture of vertical and flowing lines. The wall arcade below has few equals for richness of design, and loveliness of proportions. The elaborately moulded trefoiled ogee arches are profusely studded with flowers under the south tower, but not under the north. The mouldings of the principal arches interpenetrate at the points of junction in an unusual manner. The ceiling, though designated as a vault in the record of Welbourne's benefactions—"facture duarum voltarum in fine occidentali monasterii"—is almost flat, panelled in a stellar form. The whole design is unusual, and deserves careful examination. The western windows of the nave and aisles, commonly attributed to Bishop Alnwick on the strength of a certainly erroneous note of Leland's,¹ if not the work of Welbourne (if they had been they would have probably have had distinct mention among his other architectural works in the minster) cannot be much later than his time. The tracery, which must be pronounced feeble and attenuated, exhibits a distinct survival of flowing lines, especially in the head of the great west window.

The vault of the Broad tower, also Welbourne's work—

¹ *Collections*, vol. i, p. 93. See p. 165, Note 1,

"eciam voltæ altioris campanilis"—is a simple but most effective design, described by Sir G. G. Scott¹ as "a square dome penetrated on each side by two Welsh groined vaults, the central portion bounded by a strongly marked horizontal line." The erection of this vault, cutting off the apex of the arches of the wall arcade of the upper storey of the lantern, caused a very curious modification of the arrangements,² which, however, it is impossible without drawings to make fully intelligible. It must suffice to say that the four archways of the wall passage, on each side of the lantern, were each subdivided into two by the insertion of an additional shaft supporting two half arches, thus making an arcade of eight, the Early English details and foliage being so cleverly imitated that it is only after careful examination the difference can be discovered. At the same time arched buttresses were introduced across the space behind the wall passage, running down on either side from the central bearing shaft of the vault, cleverly carrying the thrust away from the weak haunches of the lantern arches, one of which has a serious fissure, to its more solid pier. The skilfulness with which an architectural difficulty has been conquered, and increased stability secured, cannot be sufficiently admired.

Welbourne³ has also to be thanked for the commencement of the magnificent series of stalls, sixty-two in number, which furnish the choir. Each has a projecting canopy of three ogree arches, above which rises a pierced spirelet, presenting towards the choir a tabernacle once containing a statuette, soon, it is hoped, to be re-erected. The lightness of the pierced carving, almost rivalling lace-work, and the gracefulness of the general design cannot

¹ *Lectures, u.s.*, vol. ii, p. 199.

² For the notice of this alteration I am indebted to the quick eye and careful research of Mr. Somers Clarke, junr., who I hope may be induced to give to the world the result of his investigations, with measured illustrations of this very curious piece of work.

³ "Qui eciam existens magister fabricæ fuit principalis causa movens de factura duarum voltarum campanilium in fine occidentali monasterii eciam voltæ altioris campanilis. Ac eciam fieri fecit reges in fini

occidentalie predicta, ac eciam factura horologii quod vocatur *Clok*. Et inceptor et consultor incepionis facturæ stallorum novorum in ecclesia Cath. Linc. Et idem Johannes obiit A.D., M^oCCC^oLXXX." The date of the erection of the stalls is fixed within six years by the occurrence on the base of the Dean's stall of the shields of Dean Stretchley, d. 1376, and Bishop Buckingham, consecrated 1362. See "The Choir Stalls of Lincoln Cathedral," by Prebendary Wickenden. *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 42-55,

be surpassed.¹ Another work due to the activity of Treasurer Welbourne cannot be commended, viz., the row of statues of kings, eleven in number, stigmatised by the late Professor Cockerell as "wretched both in design and workmanship," which occupy the band of enriched canopied niches above the great west portal, the outer order of which has been hastily cut away to make room for them."²

The lofty belfries which raise the two Norman towers of Bishop Alexander to a height of 200 feet may be assigned to a period a little but not much later than Welbourne's time. The tracery of the coupled belfry windows, the enriched tabernacled parapet, and the details generally, are far more Decorated than Perpendicular in idea. Mr. Sharpe places them about 1380. There are many points of resemblance in style to the work in the Chapter house of Howden which was begun in that year. Mixed though their style is—a defect, if defect it be, shared by them with the glorious central tower—they are certainly noble towers, "if they only stood out from the ground" writes Mr. Freeman, "among the very noblest towers in Christendom."³ "Though neither straight nor uniform," says Sir Charles Anderson,⁴ "there are none which more completely satisfy the eye." "This," he continues, "is owing to the exceeding elegance of the double belfry windows, and the hood mouldings; the bold stair-case turrets which produce [unusual depth of light and shade; and the pinnacles which are leaden spirelets rising out of coronas of gablets." It is not a little remarkable that no reference to the erection of these towers has been found in the Chapter accounts. They were originally terminated with tall slender spires of wood covered with lead, which after having been often threat-

¹ The late Mr. Pugin was enthusiastic in his admiration of the tabernacle work of the stalls. "Executed in the most perfect manner, not only as regards variety and beauty of ornamental design, but in accuracy of workmanship, which is frequently deficient in ancient examples of woodwork." The Bishop's throne is modern, erected by Lumby, after a design by Essex, in 1778. It carries out with very considerable success the gene-

ral idea of the tabernacle work of the stalls, and is decidedly very superior to most modern attempts at episcopal thrones, which commonly resemble an old fashioned four-post bedstead.

² See Plate, "Great West Door," p. 176.

³ Freeman's *English Towns and Districts*, p. 223.

⁴ *Archæological Journal*, vol. XXXVI, p. 374.

ened, from the expense of keeping them in repair, were finally taken down in 1807.

There is little else to mention in this period. Of the library over the east walk of the cloisters, of which only a fragment remains, I have already spoken.^o [p. 165]. Reference has also been made to the three chantry chapels, that of Bishop Fleming (d. 1431), attached to the north choir aisle; and those of Bishop Russell (d. 1493), and Bishop Longland (d. 1547), which flank the great south portal on either side. They are excellent specimens of their style, but call for no special remark. The skill with which they have been planned, so as to avoid interfering with the windows of the choir aisles and to render as little structural alterations as possible necessary, while instead of appearing to be awkward excrescences they become real ornamental appendages, cannot be too highly commended.

With the erection of these chapels the architectural history of Lincoln Cathedral, properly speaking, closes. The sacrilegious havoc of the Puritans in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century, the well-meant but far from well-directed efforts of the bishops who occupied the see after the Restoration to repair the damage of that terrible time, the neglect of the next fifty years, and the result of the newly awakened energy of the Gothic revival in the latter part of the last century—when happily the Dean and Chapter had the modest Essex as their architectural adviser instead of Wyatt “the Destructive”—together with the various works of repair and restoration, and some, alas, of destruction carried on in the present century, are all open chapters of architectural history on which it would not be uninteresting to dwell. This, however, must be postponed to a future occasion.

NOTE.—The Council of the Institute desire to make grateful mention of the liberality with which Mr. Murray has put at their disposal the wood blocks of his *Eastern Cathedrals* and of Sir G. G. Scott's *Lectures* for the illustration of the paper. The chronological ground-plan has been drawn from actual measurement by Mr. A. Beresford Pike.