NOTES ON THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY OF ST. PETER AT GLOUCESTER.

By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

The first record of the abbey of Gloucester is that of its foundation by Osric in 681, in honour of God and St. Peter.

Like many other pre-Norman monasteries it was a double one for men and women, under the rule of an abbess.[1]

Of the plans of such monasteries we know very little, but if the contemporary abbey of Abingdon may be taken as a pattern, they consisted rather of a number of little houses, with the church as a centre, than of a connected group of buildings like the Norman monasteries of Canterbury, Gloucester, Worcester and elsewhere.

Of Osric's church at Gloucester we know that it contained, beside the high altar of St. Peter, an important altar of St. Petronilla on the north side, before which the founder and the first three abbesses were buried.[2]

With the death of the third abbess in 767 this monastery came to an end.

After lying waste for fifty years, Bernulf, king of the

[1] "Anno ab incarnacione domini DC^mo^lxxxj^o^. . . . Osrichus ex licencia Regis Ethelredi ex possessione sua in civitate Gloucestrie monasterium cenobiale in honore sancti Petri apostoli . . . nobiliter construxit et ibi Keneburgam sororem suam abbatissam constituit," etc. *Cott. MS.* Domitian A. viii. f. 125*b*. [Printed in *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, ed. W. H. Hart (Rolls Series, 33), 1–3 et seqq.]

[2] "Anno domini DCCviij^o^. Kenred rex [*sic*] Northanhymbrorum Rex moritur cui Rex Osricus successit qui dudum Gloucestrensem monasterium condiderat .vij^o^. Idus Maii mortuus est anno regni sui .xij^o^. et sepelitur in ecclesia sancti Petri coram altari sancte Petronille in aquilonari parte ejusdem monasterii anno domino DCC^o^xxix^o^." *Ibid.* f. 126; and Hart, i. 5.

"Kyneburga soror regis Osrici . . . sepelitur juxta fratrem suum Osricum coram altari sancte Petronille ejusdem monasterii."

Edburga, the second abbess, died in 735 and "juxta predecessorem suam et sororem Kyneburgam sepulture tradebatur."

Eva, the third abbess, died in 767 and "juxta sorores et predecessores suas in eodem monasterio tradebatur sepulture." *Ibid.* f. 126*a* and 126*b*; and Hart. i. 7.

Mercians rebuilt the monastery, and converted it into a foundation of secular canons.[1]

These canons existed until 1022 when, to quote Leland's quaint statement, "Kynge *Canute* for ill lyvynge expellyd Seculer Clerks, and by the Counsell of *Wolstane* Bysshope of *Wurcestar* bringethe in Monkes."[2]

The Benedictines thus introduced by Cnut do not seem to have been a success, and after an existence of thirty-seven years under a weak abbot, whose long rule was marked by great decay of discipline, the *Memoriale* says, "God permitted them to be extirpated, and the monastery in which they were established to be devoured by the fiercest flames, and the very foundations and buildings to be rent as under, razed to the ground, and utterly destroyed."[3]

The monastery was next taken in hand by Aldred bishop of Worcester, who in 1058 re-established the monks. He also began to build a new church from the foundations and dedicated it in honour of St. Peter.[4]

Until now the monastery seems to have occupied the same site throughout its checkered history, but the *Memoriale* states that Aldred began the new church "a

[1] "Post obitum Eve ecclesia hec rectrice et regimine destituta a morte ejusdem Eve usque ad regnum Bernulpi Merciorum regis quinquaginta nempe annorum spatio deserta manet et desolata. Bernulphus autem Merciorum princeps cenobium Gloucestrense spoliatum et ruinosum inveniens et ex singulari regalique cura promovere studens monasterium Gloucestrense reedificavit et formam ejus mutavit. Canonicos seculares qui predicatores et clerici fuerunt legitimis uxoribus plerosque junctos et conjugatos victuque ac habitu ab aliis secularibus Christianis parum discrepantes ibidem collocandos curavit," etc. From *Memoriale Ecclesie Cathedralis Gloucestrie Compendarium, penes Dec. et Cap.* Printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel (London, 1817), i. 563.

The original of this important document cannot now be found. An English translation of it, *temp.* James I. is in Lansdowne MS. 684, f. 16.

[2] *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary.* By Thomas Hearne, M.A. (Oxford, 1744), viii. 32. This hardly agrees with the account in the *Memoriale* that "A Bernulphi Merciorum regis regno hec ecclesia sub clericis usque ad regnum Canuti Anglorum regis pacatissime et felicissime floruit." Dugdale, i. 563.

[3] "Postea vero cum monasterium Gloucestrense hos monachos Benedictinos nulla salvifica scientia nec salutari conscientia imbutos sed tenebris plus quam Cymmeriis obcæcatos et contra fidem et officium Christi tanquam insensatos desævientes recepisset, Deus gloriæ suæ zelotypus illos extirpare et monasterium quo stabulabant flammis devorari crudelissimis, ipsaque adeo ejus convelli fundamenta ac ædificia solo adæquari et penitus dirui permisit." *Memoriale* in Dugdale, i. 564.

[4] "Aldredus ecclesiam illam a fundamentis construxit de novo. et in honore principis Apostolorum Petri honorifice dedicavit." *Cott. MS.* Domitian A viii. f. 127.

little further from the place where it had first stood and nearer to the side (*lateri*) of the city."[1]

The Rev. W. Bazeley, in an interesting paper communicated to the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society in 1888,[2] suggests that Osric's monastery stood within the north angle of the Roman town wall, on the site of the quire and presbytery of the present cathedral church, and that in the days of Edward the Confessor the Roman wall was destroyed and the site extended beyond it to enable Aldred to build his new monastery.

This is a very possible state of things, but the language of the *Memoriale* seems to point to an entirely new site having been selected for the church, not "nearer the bounds" but nearer the "side" (*lateri*) of the town.

Even under Aldred's auspices the monastery did not altogether flourish. But this time it was through the fault of Aldred himself, for on his translation to York in 1060 he retained very many of the possessions of the abbey that had been pledged to him on account of his expenses in repairing and re-edifying the church.

In 1072 Wilstan, the abbot consecrated by Aldred in 1058, died, and was succeeded by Serlo, who found the convent reduced to two monks and eight novices.

The new abbot was however not dismayed by the poverty of the house or the fewness of its inmates, and through his energy the numbers so increased that before his death there were a hundred monks, and by the favour of William the Conqueror he recovered all the lands that had been pledged to archbishop Aldred.

With the increase in numbers it became necessary to rebuild the monastery. On the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul in the year 1089 the bishop of Hereford laid the foundation stone of the new church.[3]

This church, which, according to the Chronicle "abbot Serlo had constructed from the foundations" was dedicated on July 15, 1100, by the bishops of Worcester,

[1] "Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus ejusdem ecclesiæ novum inchoavit fundamentum a loco quo prius steterat paulo remotius et urbis lateri magis contiguum." Dugdale, i. 564.

[2] *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society*, xiii. 160, 161.

[3] "Anno M°lxxxix°. In die festivitatis apostolorum Petri et Pauli hoc anno Glovernencis ecclesie locatur fundamentum venerabili viro Roberto Herfordensi episcopo primum lapidem in eo ponente. agente dompno Serlone abbate." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 128; Dugdale, i. 543; and Hart, i. 11.

Rochester, and Bangor, and another for whose name a blank is left.[1] This does not necessarily imply that the whole church was built, but so much of it as could be used for the monks' services, probably the presbytery, quire, and transepts, and one or two bays of the nave. The other parts of the church would be in various stages of erection.

To the church begun by Serlo there can I think be little doubt, from comparison with contemporary buildings, that the crypt and most of the Norman superstructure of the present building belong. It is not stated that Serlo also began the monastic buildings, but the passage next the north transept, as well as part of the chapter house, is quite as early as his time, and there are good grounds for assuming that the cloister and other buildings round it were set out by him. Into the later history of the church I do not now propose to enter.

There are one or two statements, however, in the *Memoriale* touching the old monastery that must not be passed over. One is that Edward the Confessor held a Witan at Gloucester, "at the time when the Danes were expelled," "in the old building of this monastery now called the long workshop (*nunc longa opificina appellato*)." Henry I. is also said to have held the first Parliament since the Conquest "in that very ancient building," and Edward I. held a royal assembly in the same place.[2] I do not know where this building stood, but Mr. Bazeley tells me he has found entries referring to it so late as the reign of James I.

A great Benedictine abbey like that of St. Peter's Gloucester, usually consisted of several groups of buildings laid out on a set plan which was always more or less closely followed, any important deviation being generally due to peculiarities or exigencies of site.

[1] "Anno Domini M°.C°., idus Julii die dominica ecclesia quam venerande memorie abbas Serlo a fundamentis construxerat Glovernie ab Episcopis Sampsone Wygorniensi, Gundulpho Rovensi, et Heurevo [*sic*] Bancornensi dedicata est magno cum honore." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 128; Dugdale, i. 544; and Hart, i, 12.

[2] "Edwardus ille Confessor Gloucestriæ commoratur et in antiquo hujus monasterii edificio, nunc longa opificina appellato, tempore quo Dani expelluntur senatum habuit saluberrimum. . . . Primum a conquestu parliamentum per Henricum primum in illa antiquissima hujus monasterii structura celebratum et in eodem loco Edwardus primus . . . senatum habuit satis regium." Dugdale, i, 564.

PITT STREET
INFIRMARY GARDEN
GALLERY
HALL
CHAPEL
VINEYARD
HALL
KITCHEN
ABBOT'S LODGING
CHAPEL
HALL
INFIRMARY
CLOISTER
CELLARER'S CHECKER
SITE OF KITCHEN
SITE OF MILL
FRATER OVER CELLARS
SITE OF DORTER OVER SUBVAULTS
PANTRY BUTTERY AND LARDER (SITES OF)
INNER COURT
LAVATORY
CHAPTER HOUSE
PARLOUR VESTRY AND LIBRARY OVER
CLOISTER
COURT
LADY CHAPEL
FULLBROOK
HARE LANE
SUPPOSED LINE OF ROMAN CITY WALL
NORTHGATE STREET
ST. MARY'S STREET
GREAT GATE
INNER GATE
PRIOR'S LODGING
OUTER PARLOUR
CHURCH
MONKS' CEMETERY
OUTER COURT (NOW COLLEGE GREEN)
SACRIST'S CHECKER
PORCH
LAY FOLK'S CEMETERY
LINE OF ROMAN WALL
ST. JOHN'S LANE
CEMETERY GATE
KING EDWARD'S GATE
WESTGATE STREET

Scale 50 40 30 20 10 0 50 100 150 200 250 feet

W. H. St. John Hope, del., Nov. 1891.

ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER.—BLOCK PLAN SHOWING RELATIVE SITES OF BUILDINGS.

How and when this distribution of the buildings first originated it is difficult to say, but a ninth century plan of the abbey of St. Gall shews the same general arrangement of the principal group of buildings as most of the large Benedictine houses.[1]

The buildings of the abbey of Gloucester (see plan, plate I) are laid out very nearly according to the normal plan, and as considerable portions of the monastery still remain I cannot do better than indicate the general arrangement before proceeding to a more specific description of the buildings.

The abbey is situated in the north quarter of the city, in a nearly oblong area bounded on the north and west by streets, and on the east and south by broad rows of houses and gardens. The axis of this site lies north-west and south-east, but the church stands more nearly east and west, and we shall see presently that the variation of the two axes has at one point caused a curious deviation from the normal plan of the buildings. The shape of the site, it is quite clear, was largely influenced by the lines of the Roman town, and a little more than its south-eastern portion was once within the Roman town wall. The plan of the present abbey is however laid out without any reference to the Roman wall. (See plan, plate I.)

The chief building of the abbey is of course the church. The area south of this, between it and the city, was divided by a wall running south from the corner of the transept. The space west of this wall was the outer cemetery, appropriated to the laity. The space east of the wall was the inner cemetery, where the monks were buried.[2] A precisely similar arrangement existed at Canterbury.

On the north side of the nave, and occupying the centre of the site, is the cloister, round which all the buildings connected with the daily life of the monks are grouped and are accessible from it.

The space west of the church, and filling the whole of the south-west quarter of the site, was the outer court or

[1] See an admirable essay on the St. Gall plan by the late Professor Willis in *Archæological Journal*, v. 86–117. Also Ferdinand Keller, *Bauriss des Klosters St. Gallen von jahr 820*, 4to. Zurich, 1844.

[2] The first Lady Chapel, that finished in 1227–8, is called "capella beate Marie *in cimiterio*." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 132*b*; and Hart, i. 60.

curia. In it stood the hospitate buildings, consisting of the halls and chambers devoted to the exercise of hospitality and the entertainment of guests, and, near the great gate-house, the eleemosynary buildings for the relief of the poor.

The north side of the outer court was closed by a group of buildings with a gate-house in the centre, through which access was gained to the inner court, where stood the mill, the bakehouse, and other menial buildings.

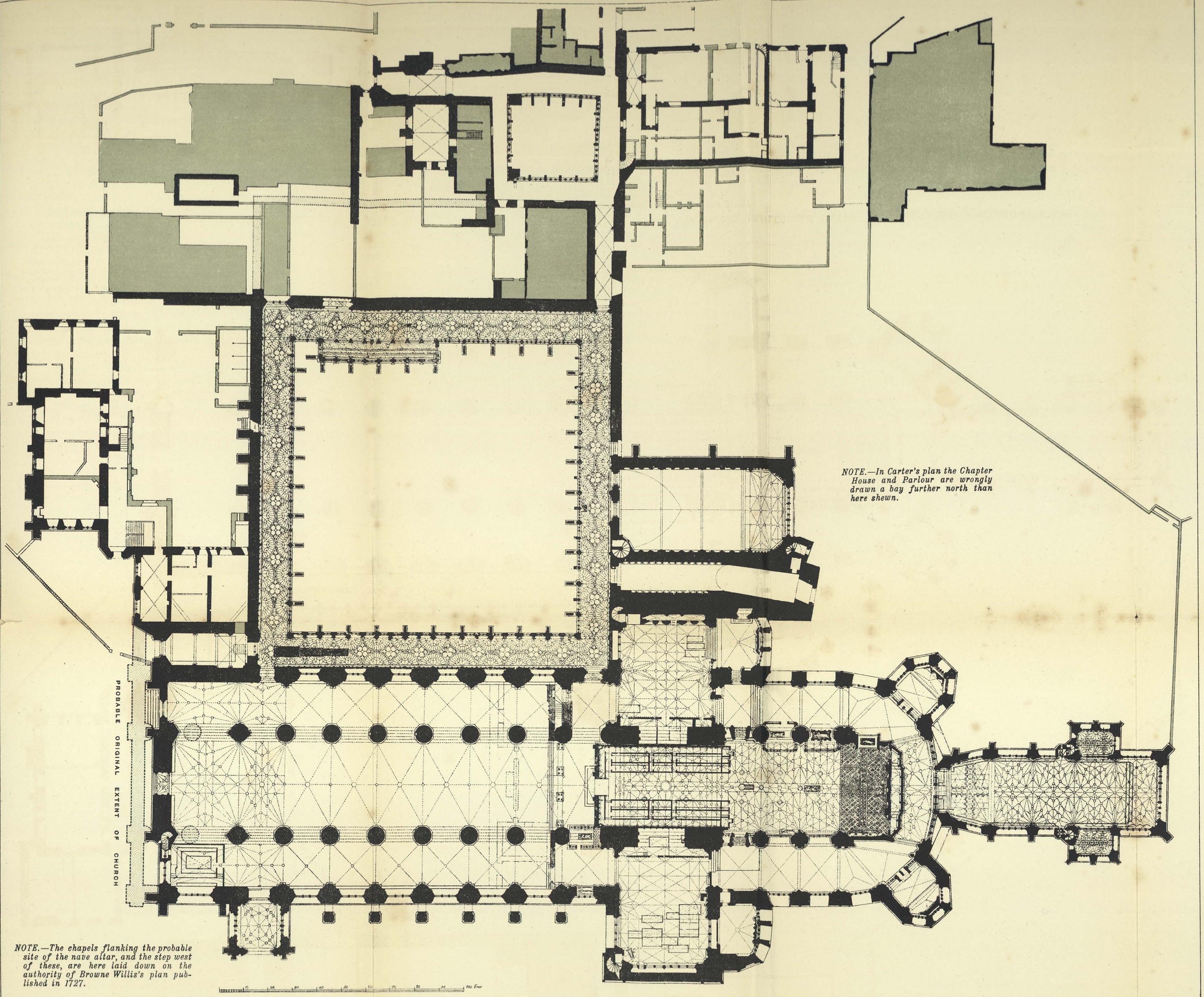
The north side of the site was covered by the abbot's lodging and the great infirmary, both of which were closely connected by covered passages with the monastic buildings.

The entire site or precinct of the abbey was surrounded by a wall,[1] having the great gate-house in the middle of its west side, and a second large gate-house towards the city in the middle of the south side. A third and smaller gate a little to the east gave access to the outer or layfolk's cemetery.

Of the church at Gloucester both the plan and architectural history are well known. But there are some points about its plan and arrangements on which a few words may be properly said. (See plan, plate II.)

It has often been remarked that with the exception of the eastern chapel the plan of the church has continued the same throughout its architectural history. The reason for this has not however been stated. It was not lack of money, for we are told that the offerings at King Edward's tomb amounted to so large a sum that the whole church could have been rebuilt. The real reason, I think, lies in the fact that the abbey of Gloucester possessed no great detached shrine, such as that of St. Thomas at Canterbury, or of St. Hugh at Lincoln, or of St. Chad at Lichfield, so there was no excuse for enlarging the church eastward to make room for the shrine and its altar, and for the pilgrims who visited it. It is true that large crowds flocked to King Edward's tomb, but that is on the north side of the presbytery, and there was ample passage for pilgrims thereto.

[1] This wall was built by abbot Peter (1104–1113), "abbatiam muro lapideo insigni vallavit." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 128*b*; and Hart, i. 13. Considerable portions of it remain in places on the north, west, and south sides.



NOTE.—In Carter's plan the Chapter House and Parlour are wrongly drawn a bay further north than here shewn.

NOTE.—The chapels flanking the probable site of the nave altar, and the step west of these, are here laid down on the authority of Browne Willis's plan published in 1727.

ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER.—JOHN CARTER'S PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND ADJOINING BUILDINGS (WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS).

Reduced from the Plan published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1807.

Concerning the arrangement it must be borne in mind that until the suppression of the monastery the eastern half of the church was completely cut off from the nave and aisles by a series of screens. The part so cut off was the private chapel (so to speak) of the monks, and to it the lay folk were admitted only by favour. The nave formed as it were a separate church, and was furnished with a principal as well as minor altars, to all of which the laity had access. On the foundation of the existing college of secular canons in 1540 this arrangement was practically continued, and the quire is properly still, and was always meant to be, the private chapel of the Dean and Chapter for the daily service which they were established to maintain. In no sense was it intended to be treated as the chancel of a parish church, as some modern reformers would have it.

The existing arrangements of the quire and presbytery closely follow those of old. The high altar occupied the same site as does the present one, and had behind its reredos a narrow space containing cupboards for the principal jewels and, beneath the altar, two large recesses for the keeping in of relics. The two doors into this space were to allow the priest to pass completely round the altar when censing it at high mass. Such doors occur in the reredoses at Westminster, Durham, Winchester, and elsewhere.

The space behind the altar at Gloucester has been for some time, I know not for how long, called "the feretory." The Latin *feretrum*, of which "feretory" is an obvious English equivalent, from first meaning the bier upon which a coffin was carried, was afterwards applied to the stone base of a saint's shrine, and finally, when its original meaning was overlooked, to the place where the shrine stood. At Durham, for example, the platform of the great shrine is called in *Rites* "Saint Cuthbert's Feretorye."[1] At Gloucester, where there was no shrine, the term, if an old one, must have another meaning.

The space between the reredos and the quire was called the presbytery, and the two side doors into it

[1] *A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments. Rites, and Customes belonginge or beinge within the Monasticall Church of Durham before the Suppression. Written in 1593.* Surtees Society 15, 1842, p. 4, etc.

from the aisles were the *ostia presbiterii.* That on the north was the usual way by which the monks came into quire.

The quire proper is under the tower, a not unusual Benedictine arrangement. The original screens at the west end have unfortunately been destroyed, but from plans made by Browne Willis and Carter[1] while some remains of them existed the arrangement can be approximately recovered. I have advisedly used the plural word screens because they were two in number. The first consisted of two stone walls: the one at the west end of the quire, against which the stalls were returned; the other west of it between the first pair of pillars. There was a central door which was called the quire door. The western wall was broader than the other, and had in the thickness of its southern half an ascending stair to a loft or gallery above, which extended over the whole area between the two walls. This loft was called in Latin the *pulpitum*, and it must not, as it often has been, be confounded with the pulpit to preach from. It sometimes contained an altar, as apparently here at Gloucester, and on it stood a pair of organs. From it also on the principal feasts the epistle was read and the gospel solemnly sung at a great eagle desk. On either side the *pulpitum* door was probably an altar.

The double screen I have just described was built by abbot Wigmore, who is recorded to have been buried in 1337 "before the salutation of the Blessed Mary in the entry of the quire on the south side, which he himself constructed with the *pulpitum* in the same place," *ut nunc cernitur*, says the Chronicle,[2] and parts of it are worked up in the present screen. The north side of the quire entry, or perhaps the north quire door, was ornamented with images with tabernacles by abbot Horton.[3]

The second screen, all traces of which have long dis-

[1] See Browne Willis's *A Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, etc.* (London, 1727), 692, and Carter's plans and drawings published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1807.

[2] "Anno Domini M°.CCC.XXXVII°. ii. Kalendas Marcii obiit dompnus Johannes de Wygmor abbas prelacionis sue anno octavo et ante salutacionem beate Marie in ingressu chori in parte australi sepelitur quam ipse construxit cum pulpito ibidem ut nunc cernitur." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 139*b.*; and Hart, i. 47.

[3] "Item construxit in ingressum chori in parte boriali ymagines cum tabernaculis ibidem." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 140*b.*; and Hart, i. 50.

appeared, stood between the second pair of piers; that is, a bay west of the *pulpitum*. It was a lofty stone wall against which stood the altar of the Holy Cross, or Rood altar as it was more commonly called, and upon it was a gallery called the rood loft, from its containing the great Rood and its attendant images. The Rood usually stood on the parapet or front rail of the loft, but sometimes on a rood beam crossing the church at some height above the loft. Such an arrangement seems to have existed at Gloucester, for in the sixth course from the top a new stone has been inserted in both pillars exactly on the line where the ends of the rood beam would be fitted into or rested on corbels in the pillars. On either side of the rood altar the screen was pierced by a doorway for processions, and the altar itself was protected by a fence screen a little further west. Such a screen as this still exists in the nave of St. Albans, and I have found the bases of others in abbeys that I have excavated. We have also a detailed description in *Rites* of that at Durham, now utterly swept away, which I must presently quote. In continuation of the line of the west wall of the *pulpitum* were stone screens in both aisles. That in the north aisle completely blocked it, and contained in its thickness an ascending stair. In front was an altar enclosed by screens to form a chapel, and probably there was some way to the rood loft over this from the stair, for which otherwise I can see no use, unless indeed there was a loft north of and separate from the *pulpitum*. There are however no marks of this. The screen in the south aisle was pierced by a doorway, between which and the south rood door was an enclosed chapel like that on the north. All these arrangements had their parallels at Durham. The nave altar there is thus described in *Rites:*

In the body of the Churche, betwixt two of the hiest pillors supportinge and holding up the west syde of the Lanterne, over against the Quere dore, ther was an Alter called JESUS ALTER, where Jhesus mess was song every fridaie thorowe out the whole yere. And of the backsyde of the saide Alter there was a faire high stone wall: at either end of the wall there was a dore . . . called the TWO ROODE DORES, for the Prosession to goe furth and comme in at. And betwixt those ij dores was Jhesus Alter placed, as is afforesaide. And at either ende of the Alter was closed up with fyne wainscott,

like unto a porch, adjoyninge to eyther roode dore, verie fynely vernished with fyne read vernishe; and in the wainscott, at the south end of the Alter, ther was iiij faire ALMERIES, for to locke the chalices and sylver crewetts, with two or thre sewts of VESTMENTS and other ornaments, belonginge to the said Alter for the holie daies and principall daies. And in the north end of the Alter, in the wainscott, there was a dore to come in to the said porch and a locke on yt, to be lockt both daie and nighte . . . Also the fore parte of the said porch, from the utmoste corner of the porch to the other, there was a dore with two brode leves to open from syde to syde, all of fyne joined and through-carved worke. The height of yt was sumthinge above a mans brest; and in the highte of the said dore yt was all stricken full of iron piks, that no man shold clymme over. . . .

The description of the altar and reredos above it I need not quote.

Also above the hight of all, upon the waule, did stande the most goodly and famous ROODE that was in all this land, with the picture of Marie on the one syde and the picture of John on the other, with two splendent and glisteringe Archangels, one on the one syde of Mary and the other of the other syde of Johne. So, what for the fairness of the wall, the staitlynes of the pictures, and the lyvelyhoode of the paynting, it was thowght to be one of the goodliest monuments in that church.[1]

The north chapel at Gloucester had its parallel at Durham in the chantry chapel of the Nevilles, which filled up two whole bays of the south aisle, and, besides its altar and other furniture, had "therein a seate or pew, where the Prior was accustomed to set to here Jesus messe."[2]

The chapel on the south side was represented at Durham by "a looft for the M[r] and quiresters to sing Jesus mess every fridaie, conteyninge a paire of orgaines to play on, and a fair desk to lie there bookes on in time of dyvin service."[3]

The screen at Gloucester closing the south aisle corresponded to one at Durham blocking the north aisle, thus described in *Rites*:

In the entrance of the end of the said north allie into the said lanterne allie (*i.e.*, the north transept), from piller to piller, ther was a TRELLESDOURE, which did open and close with two leves, like unto a falden dor, and above the said dor it was likewaies trellessed, almoste to the hight of the valt above; and on the highte of the said trellesse was stricken full of iron piks, of a quarter of a yerd long, to th'entent that none should clyme over it; and was ever more lockt,

[1] *Rites*, 28, 29.
[2] *Ibid.* 34.
[3] *Ibid.* 29.

and never opened, but of the Holie Daies, or of such daies as there was any Prosession.[1]

At Durham the cloister is on the south side and at Gloucester on the north side of the nave, but *mutatis mutandis* the arrangements will be found to correspond. In each case it will be seen that the eastern of the two doorways between the nave and cloister was shut off from the nave by the screen and reredos of a chapel adjoining it on the west. The monks could therefore freely pass through the cloister door without being interrupted by strangers.

This eastern door was not only the ordinary entrance from the cloister, but through it passed the Sunday and other processions that included the circuit of the cloister and buildings opening out of it. The procession always returned into the church by the western cloister door, and after making a station before the great Rood, passed through the rood doors in single files and entered the quire through the *pulpitum* or quire door.

We must now pass to the examination of the monastic buildings round the cloister. (See plans, plates I and II.)

Beginning on the east, the building next to the church is a wide vaulted passage. It is chiefly of early Norman date, and was originally of the same length as the width of the transept against which it is built. It was entered from the cloister by a wide arch, and has a wall arcade on each side of 15 arches on the north, but only 11 on the south, the space between the transept pilaster-buttresses admitting no more than that number. The roof is a perfectly plain barrel vault, without ribs.

In the south-west corner is a hollowed bracket, or cresset stone as it was called, in which a wick floating in tallow was kept to light the passage when necessary.

It having become necessary in the fourteenth century to enlarge the vestry and library over the passage, its east end was taken down and the passage extended to double its former length. At the same time a vice or circular stair was built at the north-east angle to give access to the library. To prevent however the new stair encroaching too much on the apse of the chapter house, the addition to the passage was deflected a little to the south instead of being carried on in a straight line. The

[1] *Rites*, 32.

vault of the added part is a simple barrel like the early Norman work.

The use of this passage was twofold. First, it was the place where talking was allowed at such times as it was forbidden in the cloister. Hence its name of *locutorium*, or in English, the parlour. Secondly, it was the way for the monks to go to their cemetery, perhaps as they did at Durham, where "the Monnkes was accustomed every daie, aftere thei dyned, to goe thorowgh the Cloister . . . . and streight into the Scentorie garth, wher all the Monnks was buried, and thei did stand all bairheade, a certain longe space, praieng amongs the toumbes and throwghes for there brethren soules being buryed there, and, when they hadd done there prayers, then did they returne to the Cloyster, and there did studie there bookes, until iij of the clocke that they went to evensong. This was there dalie exercise and studie, every day after they had dyned."[1]

When the present cloister was built the original use of the parlour seems to have passed away, and in the new works the arch of entrance was blocked up and covered by the new panelling.

Since this also cut off all access from the cloister to the library stair, a new stair was built at the west end directly accessible from the cloister. For want of room this had to be intruded into the south-west corner of the chapter house.

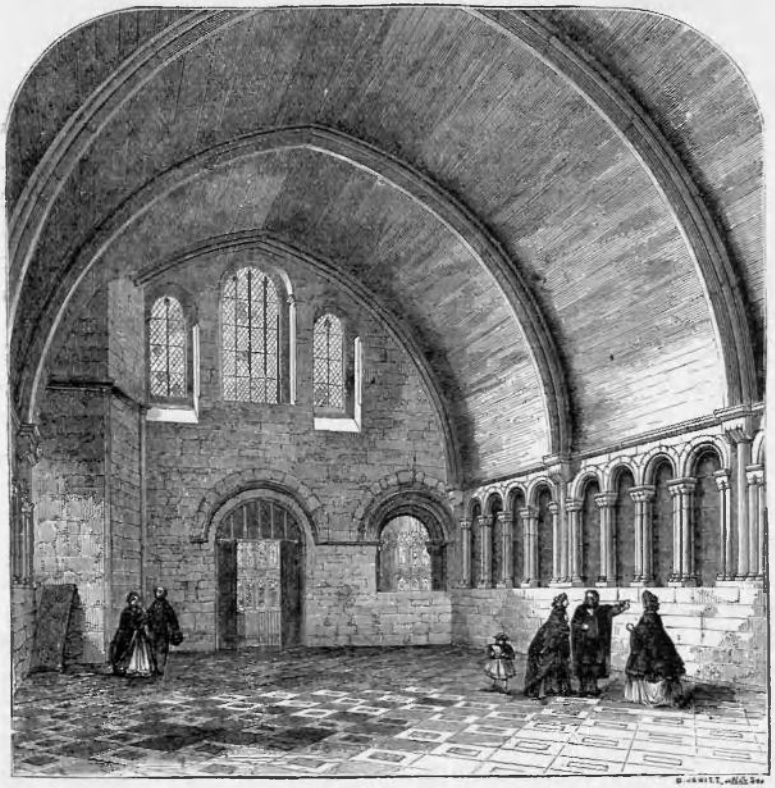
Above the old parlour are two rooms, one over the other. The lower being the vestry, the upper the library.

The vestry communicates only with the church, from which it is entered by a direct stair from the chapel east of the north transept. Before the suppression it was probably one large room where the many vestments and ornaments were kept, but it is now divided up by modern partitions into three separate vestries. All the old fittings have disappeared, but Carter's plan shews in it the two cope chests that now stand in the church.

The library is an interesting room of the 14th century, retaining much of its original open roof. The north side has eleven windows, each of two square-headed lights and

[1] *Rites*, 74.

perfectly plain, which lighted the bays or studies. The large end windows are late Perpendicular, each of seven lights with a transom. There are other alterations, such as the beautiful wooden corbels from which the roof springs, which are probably contemporary with the work of the cloister, when the western stair to the library was built and the room altered. None of the old fittings



THE CHAPTER HOUSE, GLOUCESTER, LOOKING WESTWARDS.
(From Murray's *Handbook to the Western Cathedrals.*)

now remain, but there can be no doubt that this was the library. It corresponds in position exactly with that at Durham, which is described in *Rites* as "standinge betwixt the Chapter house and the Te Deum wyndowe, being well replenished with ould written Docters and other histories and ecclesiasticall writers."[1]

[1] *Rites*, 27.

The next building in order is the *capitulum* or chapter house. It is three bays long, and originally terminated, as at Durham, Reading, and Norwich, in a semi-circular apse, which was replaced by the present polygonal apse in the 15th century. The roof is a lofty barrel vault carried by three pointed arches. The vault of the apse is an ordinary lierne vault. Along the side walls, which are arcaded, may be traced the line of the stone bench on which the monks sat in chapter. The president's seat in the new apse seems to have stood on a low daïs.

The west end is arranged in the usual Benedictine fashion, with a central door flanked originally by two large unglazed window openings, with three large windows above. The lower part of this wall is clearly the early Norman work of Serlo,[1] and its stonework is reddened by the flames that destroyed the wooden cloister (or perhaps a temporary roof upon the chapter house) in the fire of 1102.[2]

The upper part of this end, and all the side walls and roof belong to the later Norman work, when the chapter house contained no wooden fittings to burn, and they shew no signs of fire. Either therefore the first building had a wooden roof, or it was incomplete and only temporarily covered in. The latter seems the more likely.

Only one of the windows flanking the doorway can now be seen; the other having been partly destroyed and covered by Perpendicular panelling when the new library stair was built in the south-west corner of the room.

In a normal Benedictine plan there extended from the chapter house, parallel with the cloister, a large two-storied building. The ground floor contained the common house, the treasury, and other offices; but the upper floor was the great dormitory, or dorter as it was more commonly called, in which the monks and novices slept.

[1] The first chapter house must have been built by or been nearly ready for use in 1085, for in that year died Walter, the founder of St. Peter's, Hereford, "cujus corpus Gloucestrie in capitulo honorifice sepelitur." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 148; and Hart, i. 73.

[2] Anno M°.cij°. Ecclesia sancti Petri Gloucestrie cum civitate igne cremata est." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 128; and Hart, i. 12.

At Gloucester it is quite clear that owing to the contracted space on the north-east, and the near proximity of the infirmary buildings, the dorter did not occupy the normal position, but stood east and west beside, and extending beyond, the chapter house, so as to gain more space. A like arrangement existed at Winchester.

Of the history of this building we know very little. From the number of monks at the beginning of the twelfth century, when we may assume it was first built, it must have been of considerable size. In 1303, perhaps because it was injured in the fire that burned the cloister in 1300,[1] the Norman dorter was destroyed and a new one begun.[2] It took exactly ten years to build, and about All Saints' Day, 1313, after it had been blessed and sprinkled with holy water by the bishop of St. David's, the monks carried their beds into it.[3]

From the time it took in building the new work probably included the chambers, etc., forming the ground story.

Both the dorter and its basement are now destroyed, and their plan and extent are at present uncertain:[4] but owing to its south wall having been partly that of the chapter house also one small fragment has been preserved which corroborates the historical account and helps us to fix the position of the dorter. This fragment, which may be seen on the north-east corner of the chapter house, is the jamb of one of the windows built between 1303 and 1313, and its date is clearly shewn by the little ball flowers round the capital of the shaft. It was also there before the Norman apse of the chapter house was removed,

[1] "De Incendio in abbatia tercio. Anno Domini M°CCC°. die Epiphanie circa horam ad sequenciam magne misse incepit incendium in abbathia Gloucestrie in una domo super meremium in magna curia abbathie. De cujus igne accensa fuerunt multa per abbatiam loca videlicet parvum campanile et magna camera. et claustrum." *Ibid.* f. 135*b*; and Hart, i. 35.

[2] "Anno Domini M°CCCiij°. . . . . dirutum est vetus dormitorium monachorum hujus loci circa festum Sancti Michaelis et incepta est structura novi dormitorii." *Ibid.* f. 137*b*; and Hart, i. 41.

[3] "Anno Domini M°CCCxiij°. Novum dormitorium hujus domus circa festum sancti Michaelis perficitur et fratres monachi ex cellis egredientes cum lectis suis omnes se ad novum dormitorium transferunt circa festum omnium sanctorum prius per magistrum David Martyn Episcopum sancti Davidi benedicto et aqua benedicta asperso astantibus sibi clericis et monachis multis et maxime Willelmus (*sic*) de Fontayne id specialiter procurante." *Ibid.* f. 137*b*; and Hart, i. 41, 42.

[4] I was unable by excavation to find underground any definite remains of the eastern limits of the dorter.

for the later apse, which is square externally, has the corner cut off so as not to block the window. A Decorated string course also remains along the chapter house wall, and on the west is a large blocked recess of Norman date against the cloister wall.

The dorter seems to have had only one door of communication from the cloister, in the south-west angle, where it still exists. As there is no other doorway north of it on this side of the cloister, this door probably opened into a sort of lobby from whence a flight of steps led to the dorter above and other doors opened into the chambers on the ground floor.

It is usual in most monasteries to find a direct communication from the dorter to the church, to enable the monks to go to mattins at midnight without descending into the cloister. Such an arrangement however was not universal, and at Gloucester and Reading, both of them large abbeys, the monks had to come down into the cloister to get to the church.

Connected with the dorter, usually at its further end, was a considerable building, known as the rere-dorter, or in Latin *necessarium*. It was generally so built as to be traversed by the great drain of the abbey, into which a running stream was turned and kept it always clean. The site of this building at Gloucester was probably on the east or north-east of the dorter, where it might also serve the infirmary.

Concerning the internal arrangements of the dorter, it may be interesting to quote the description of the corresponding building at Durham, where the dormitory still exists as a great room about 200 feet long and nearly 50 feet wide, with the remains of the rere-dorter to the west of it:

> Upon the west syde of the Cloyster there was a faire large house called the DORTER, where all the Monnks and the Novices did lye, every Monncke having a litle chamber of wainscott, verie close, severall, by themselves, and ther wyndowes towardes the Cloyster, every windowe servinge for one Chambre, by reasonne the particion betwixt every chamber was close wainscotted one from another, and in every of there wyndowes a deske to supporte there bookes for there studdie. In the weste syde of the said dorter was the like chambers, and in like sorte placed, with there wyndowes and desks towardes the Fermery and the water, the chambers beinge all well boarded under foute.

The Novices had theire chambers severall by himselfe in the south end of the said dorter adjoyning to the foresaid chambers, having eight chambers on each side. . . . In either end of the said Dorter was a four square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in either stone, being ever filled and supplied with the cooke as they needed, to give light to the Monks and Novices, when they rose to theire mattins at midnight, and for their other necessarye uses. . . . And the mydest of the said Dorter was all paved with fyne tyled stone, from th'one end to th'other. Also the said Supprior's chamber was the first chambre in the Dorter, for seinge of good order keapt.[1]

The apartment under the dorter called the common house has often been mistakenly termed the "day room," a name invented, I believe, by the late Mr. Edmund Sharpe. Now, if any part of the monastery could properly be called the day room, it was the cloister, where the monks actually lived. The common house moreover was not a living room, but, as *Rites of Durham* tells us, it was "to this end, to have a fyre keapt in yt all wynter, for the Monnckes to cume and warme them at, being allowed no fyre but that onely, except the Masters and Officers of the House, who had there severall fyres. . . . . Also within this howse dyd the Master thereof keepe his *O Sapientia*, ones in the yeare, viz. betwixt Martinmes and Christinmes, a sollemne banquett that the Prior and Covent dyd use at that tyme of the yere onely, when ther banquett was of figs and reysinges, aile and caikes, and therof no superfluitie or excesse, but a scholasticall and moderat congratulacion amonges themselves."[2]

"Ther was belonging to the Common house" at Durham, says *Rites*, "a garding and a bowlinge allie, on the back side of the said house, * * * * * for the Novyces sume tymes to recreat themeselves, when they had remedy of there master, he standing by to se ther good order."[3] It is very probable that a similar arrangement existed at Gloucester, for we know that in 1218 there was a garden east of the frater, between the farmery and the dorter;[4] and the blocked windows in the cloister wall, one of which is of early thirteenth century date,

[1] *Rites*, 72, 73.
[2] *Ibid.* 75.
[3] *Ibid.* 75.
[4] "Anno Domino M°CC°xviij°. quievit lis quam Willelmus prior et canonici sancti Oswaldi moverant (*sic*) contra ecclesiam sancti Petri Gloucestrie super ecclesia sancti Johannis ad portam aquilonis et Capella sancte Brigide et terris infra murum abbatie a gardino recta linea descendendo per refectorium. lardarium. et pistrinum usque ad murum novum proximum sancto Oswaldo." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 132; and Hart, i. 25.

shew that the area into which they looked, now the yard behind the King's School, was chiefly open ground.

In the north wall of the cloister, although it has been refaced with Perpendicular work, there are two early-English doorways, one at each end. The eastern doorway opens into a vaulted passage or entry that led to the infirmary, and at a later date to the abbot's lodging also. The western doorway is now filled up by a modern window. It still retains the upper pair of the iron hooks on which the doors were hung, and was the entrance into the great dining hall of the monks called *refectorium*, or in English the frater.

The word "frater" has nothing to do with the Latin for "brother," but is the English equivalent of the Latin *refectorium*, through the old French forms *refreitor* and *refretor* and by dropping the prefix as redundant to the fourteenth century English form "freytour" used by Chaucer and other writers. Since "frater" is the term always applied to the monastic dining hall by those who used it, and has even survived to our time at Carlisle and elsewhere, I prefer the shorter old-English term "frater" to the longer and more modern word "refectory."

The frater at Gloucester, which was begun in 1246[1] on the site of the Norman one destroyed to make room for it, was a great hall over 130 feet long and nearly 40 feet wide. As at Canterbury, Worcester and elsewhere it stood over an extensive range of cellars. It was therefore reached by a broad flight of steps, beginning in the cloister and passing up through the frater door. The steps did not open directly into the frater, but ended in a vestibule screened off from the rest of the hall and covered by a loft or gallery. Into this vestibule would also open the service doors from the kitchen and buttery. At the suppression of the abbey the "ffrayter wth thappurtennces" were considered "superfluous Buyldynges," and the "leades Remayning" upon them, by estimation amounted to 45 fothers. A note is however added in the valuation. "No^{w} the house burned & most parte of the leade consumed so that there was founden in & upon

[1] "Anno Domini M°.CC°.XLVJ° dirutum est vetus Refectorium monachorum. et incepta est structura novi." *Ibid.* f. 133*b*; and Hart, i. 30.

therthe but xxvj ffoders and iiij^{c}d."[1] The west end and nearly all the north side have been pulled down to the ground, but the south wall, being common to the cloister, remains up to the height of its window sills, which Mr. F. S. Waller tells me exist under the coping now surmounting the wall.

The east end[2] is also standing to the same height. It has its width nearly filled by the lower parts of five broad panels (of which the central was slightly wider than the others) separated originally by detached marble shafts, and in which higher up were probably as many windows. Much of the stonework of the east and south walls is reddened by the fire that destroyed the frater in 1540.

At Durham the frater seems to have been used by the monks on great festivals only, and at its east end, says *Rites*,

> stoode a fair table with a decent skrene of wainscott over it, being keapt all the rest of the yeare for the master of the Novicies and the Novicies to dyn and sup in. . . . having a convenyent place at the southe end of the hie table with in a faire glasse wyndowe, invyroned with iron, and certaine steppes of stone with iron rayles of th' one side to goe up to it, and to support an iron deske there placed, upon which laie the Holie Bible, where one of the Novicies elected by the master was appointed to read a chapter of the Old or New Testament in Latten as aforesaid in tyme of dynner.[3]
>
> Ther was also at the west end of the Frater-house, hard within the Frater-house door, another door, at which the old Monks or Convent went in, and so up a greese, with an iron rail to hold them by, into a Loft which was at the west end of the Frater-house, above the Cellar, where the said Convent and Monks dined and supp'd together. The Sub-Prior sate at the end of the table as chief; and at the greese-foot there was another door that went into the great Cellar or Buttery, where all the drink stood that did serve the Prior and the whole Convent of Monks, having their meat served them in at a dresser window from the Great Kitchen through the Frater-house, into the Loft, over the Cellar.[4]

Not improbably the same usages prevailed at Gloucester.

Since there is no cellarer's building on the west side of the cloister, as at Canterbury, etc., the cellarer's stores were kept at Gloucester in a great cellar (or series of cellars) under the frater. This cellar has been proved by

[1] P. R. O. Augmentation Office Book 494.

[2] This forms the west wall of the entry to the farmery, and is not in the same line as the east wall of the cloister.

[3] *Rites*, 69.

[4] *Ibid.* 73, 74.

excavations made under my direction by the Gloucester Cathedral Society, by permission of the Dean and Chapter, to have been of Norman work. It was about 10 feet high, and divided down the middle into two alleys by a row of square Norman piers, upon which, and a series of corresponding pilasters along the side and end walls, rested a plain rubble vault. One of the responds on the south side retains its square chamfered abacus and a fragment of the springing of the vault.

From the positions of the responds uncovered it seems that both the cellar and the Norman frater above originally included the space now occupied by the entry to the little cloister, part of whose east wall is of Norman date. The new gable of the frater was however set further west, and so necessitated a re-construction of this end of the cellar.

The early-English north wall, on the little cloister side, has two blocked openings. The larger is an archway 12 feet wide and nearly as high originally, through which large barrels and other bulky stores could be brought in. The lesser opening, just to the east, was a narrow doorway which opened into a passage in the thickness of the wall with three steps down at the end. At the bottom an archway on the east opens into a passage about 17 feet long and over 6 feet wide, which led under the entry to the little cloister to a building on the other side now destroyed.

On the west of these openings are the remains of a large window.

Of the buttery, pantry, kitchen, and other offices that served the frater no definite remains exist, nor are their sites known. A dilapidated house with stone walls at the south-west angle may have formed part of the kitchen, which was usually a large and lofty building, surmounted by a pyramidal roof. Such were the convent kitchens at Ely and Durham, each about 35 feet square, and the splendid abbot's kitchen at Glastonbury is of the same area. The great convent kitchen at Canterbury was 47 feet square within. At Gloucester one of the buildings west of the frater was a larder, as we find from an agreement made in 1318 with St. Oswald's priory.[1]

[1] See note *supra*.

Having now described the purely monastic buildings round the great cloister, for the abbot's lodging on the west side properly belongs to the hospitate buildings, with which it will be described, we will pass to the examination of the cloister itself.

The cloister was the place where the monks lived, and the various buildings connected with their daily life were grouped round it and accessible from it. Here at Gloucester it is 145 feet square, and is surrounded by covered alleys nearly 12 feet wide, enclosing a central open space, which was simply a grass plat. The outer walls are substantially of Norman date, but now overlaid and refaced by Perpendicular panelling. The first cloister was very different from what we now see, having only a wooden roof, resting in front on an open arcade carried by pairs of pillars. How long this remained we do not know, but in 1300 the cloister was destroyed by fire, together with the great *camera* or lodging and the little bell tower.[1] During abbot Horton's rule, 1351–77, a new cloister was begun, but only carried as far as the chapter house door, and for many years it remained unfinished. It was finally completed at great cost by abbot Froucester, who ruled from 1381 to 1412.[2]

The east alley, which is of earlier date than, and of different design from the other alleys, was used as a passage between the church and the farmery and later abbot's lodging, and out of it also opened the parlour, chapter house, and dorter door. The side to the garth is divided into ten bays, each containing a large window of eight lights crossed by a broad transom projecting externally like a shelf. Below this shelf the window openings were originally not glazed, but entirely open. Mr. F. S. Waller has suggested that the shelf, which also extends round the other sides of the cloister, formed a sort of awning or protection from the weather. In the third bay from the church the southern half is pierced with a door below the transom. On the cloister side of the southern half of the second bay, and of the northern half of the fourth bay there was in each case built out a

[1] See note *supra*.

[2] "Claustrum monasterii quod fuit inceptum tempore Thome Hortone abbatis et ad hostium capituli perductum et multis annis imperfectum ibidem relictum magnis expensis et sumptuosis honorifice construxit." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 142*b*; and Hart, i. 30.

little cupboard or closet now destroyed. These may have been for keeping books in. This alley has no bench against the walls.

The south alley was shut off at the east end, and probably also at the west end, by a screen. It has ten windows towards the garth, each of six lights, but below the transom the lights are replaced by twenty little recesses or carrels, two to each window. Every carrel is lighted by a small two-light window and is surmounted within by a rich embattled cornice.

At Durham the corresponding alley is described in *Rites* as having

> in every wyndowe iij PEWES or CARRELLS, where every one of the old Monks had his carrell, severall by himselfe, that, when they had dyned, they dyd resorte to that place of Cloister and there studyed upon there books, every one in his carrell, all the afternonne, unto evensong tyme. This was there exercise every daie. All there pewes or carrells was all fynely wainscotted and verie close, all but the forepart which had carved wourke that gave light in at ther carrell doures of wainscott. And in every carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And the carrells was no greater then from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another. And over against the carrells against the church wall did stand sertaine great almeries [or cupbords] of waynscott all full of BOOKES," etc. "so that every one dyd studye what Doctor pleased them best, having the Librarie at all tymes to goe studie in besydes there carrells.[1]

The Gloucester carrells shew no signs of fittings, nor have they been enclosed by wainscot. There are also no marks on the opposite wall of bookcases having stood there. It is however possible, from certain differences in it, that the easternmost carrell was fitted up as a book closet.

The west alley closely resembles the east alley, and like it was a mere passage, but it has a stone bench along the wall. At its north end is the frater door, already described, and at the south end the procession door into the church. In the west wall are two doorways. One, about the middle of its length, opens into the court of the abbot's old house. The other, at the southern end, opens into a vaulted passage of Norman date under part of the abbot's house, which was the main entrance into the cloister from the outer court.

This entrance was always carefully guarded to prevent intrusion by strangers or unauthorized persons.

[1] *Rites*, 7[illegible], 71.

The passage itself, which will more properly be described with the abbot's house, served as the outer parlour, where the monks talked with strangers and visitors; it

THE SOUTH ALLEY OF THE CLOISTER AT GLOUCESTER, SHEWING THE MONKS' CARRELS.
(From Murray's *Handbook to the Western Cathedrals.*)

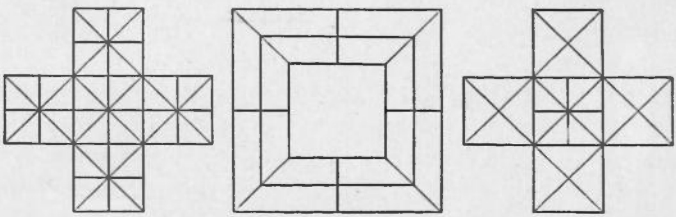
was also, as at Durham, "a place for marchannts to utter ther waires."[1]

[1] *Rites*, 44.

The west alley wall towards the garth has ten six-light windows, with unglazed openings below the transom, now all bricked up. Below the southernmost window, and in the third bay from the north are doors into the garth.

The north alley was closed at both ends by screens, and must therefore have had some special use. From analogy with the arrangements at Durham there can be little doubt that this alley was partly appropriated to the novices. At Durham the north end of the west alley, near the Treasury, was so used, and "over against the said Treasury door was a fair stall of wainscott where the Novices were taught. And the master of the Novices had a pretty seat of wainscott . . . over against the stall where the Novices sate. And there he taught the said Novices both forenoon and after noon. No strangers or other persons were suffered to molest or trouble the said Novices or Monks in their carrels while they were at their books within the Cloister. For to that purpose there was a Porter appointed to keep the Cloister door."[1]

We have moreover curious evidence that the north alley at Gloucester was appropriated to the novices in the traces of the games they played at in their idle moods. On the stone bench against the wall are scratched a number of diagrams of the form here represented:



DIAGRAMS OF GAMES IN THE CLOISTER AT GLOUCESTER.

The first, of which there are several, is for playing the game called "Nine Men's Morris," from each player having nine pieces or men. The other two are for playing varieties of the game of "Fox and Geese." Such traces of games may generally be found on the bench tables of cloisters, where they have not been "restored," and excellent examples remain at Canterbury, Westminster,

[1] *Rites*, 71, 72.

Salisbury, and elsewhere, though they have not received the attention they deserve.[1]

At Gloucester they are almost exclusively confined to the novices' alley, the only others now to be seen in the cloister being an unfinished Nine Men's Morris board in the south alley and one or two crossed squares in the west alley.

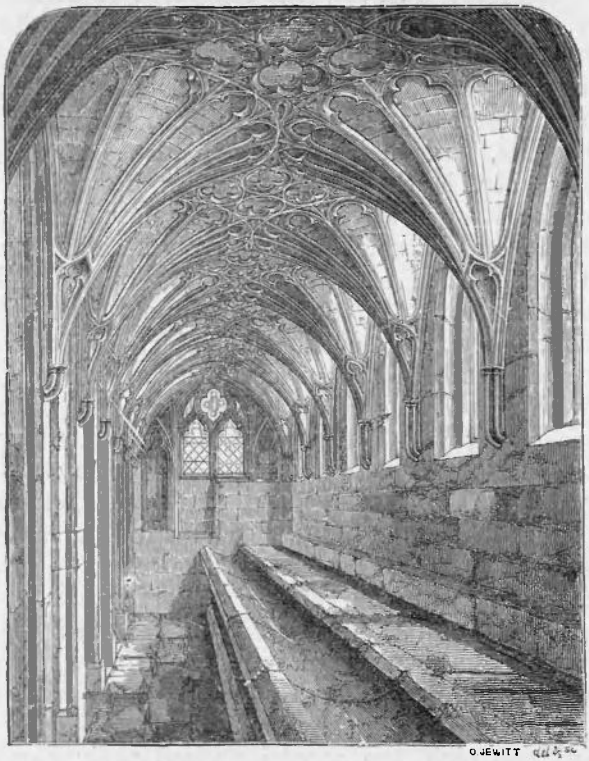
The north alley wall towards the garth is divided into ten bays. Of these, the five eastern bays have the usual window of six lights in the upper half, but the lower half contained six small openings, all now bricked up save two or three that have been re-opened. Unfortunately all have lost their sills, and their sides have also been cut away, perhaps, as Mr. F. S. Waller suggests, to fit a certain sized brick; it is however clear that they were glazed. In the fifth bay is a small and narrow blocked doorway into the garth. The next four bays are occupied by the very beautiful lavatory, one of the most perfect of its date that has been preserved. It projects eight feet into the garth and is entered from the cloister alley by eight tall arches with glazed traceried openings above. Internally it is 47 feet long and 6½ feet wide, and is lighted by eight two-light windows towards the garth, and by a similar window at each end. One light of the east window has a small square opening below, perhaps for the admission of the supply pipes, for which there seems to be no other entrance either in the fan vault or the side walls.

Half the width of the lavatory is taken up by a broad flat ledge or platform against the wall, on which stood beneath the windows a lead cistern or laver with a row of taps, and in front a shallow trough originally lined with lead at which the monks washed their hands and faces. From this the waste water ran away into a recently discovered tank in the garth. This will be noticed when describing the water supply.

In the eastern half of the bay west of the lavatory is a very curious arrangement. It consists of a large opening in the lower part of the window, occupying the space of two lights, with a square chase in the head carried up

[1] An interesting paper *On the indoor games of School boys in the Middle Ages*, by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., is printed in the *Archæological Journal*, xlix. 319–328. The Gloucester examples are therein described and figured from my notes.

vertically on the outside. It had a transom at half its height, now broken away, as is also the sill. My friend, Mr. J. W. Clark, F.S.A., has suggested to me that the chase (which was probably lined with wood) was for a rope, and as a bell in the vicinity of the frater, to call the brethren to meals, was a not uncommon feature, the bell may very likely have been here placed at Gloucester.



VIEW OF THE CLOISTER LAVATORY, GLOUCESTER.
(From Murray's *Handbook to the Western Cathedrals.*)

In the north wall of the cloister opposite the western bay of the lavatory is a groined recess or almery where the towels were hung. At Durham, where there was an almery on either side the frater door, "all the forepart of the Almeries was thorowgh carved worke [for to geve ayre to the towels] and iij dors in the forpart of either almerie, and a locke on every doure, and every Monncke had a key for the said almeryes, wherin did hinge in

every almerie cleane towels for the Monncks to drie there hands on, when they washed and went to dynner."[1]

The Gloucester towel recess was also closed by doors, the hooks and other traces of which still remain. Above the doors is "through carved work" or open tracery like that formerly at Durham. The towels were hung in two wooden cupboards at the back.

At the north end of the east alley of the cloister, and almost concealed by the later panelling, is an early-English doorway opening into a vaulted passage or entry, chiefly of the thirteenth century. This entry passes between the east gable of the frater and what I have suggested may have been the common-house garden, and leads straight into the infirmary cloister. The passage is covered by a stone vault of four bays supported by heavy moulded ribs springing from corbels. The south half of the passage is 6 feet 10 inches wide, but the northern half of the east wall is set back so as to increase the width to 7½ feet. This passage was lighted in the first bay by a single light with trefoiled head, with very wide internal splay. In the wider end were two other openings now blocked. That to the north had a transom two-thirds of the height up, above which the rear-arch is moulded, while below it is plain. The other is not carried above the transom level and the sill has been cut down and the opening made into a doorway into a house outside; in which state it remained until within the last forty years. That some thirteenth century building stood here seems evident, and the upper half of the north opening was clearly a window above the roof to light that end of the entry.

The north end of the entry opens directly into the east alley of the infirmary or "farmery" cloister, which is built against the north side of the east end of the frater.

It is an irregularly shaped area of about 54 feet square, and consists of a central garth surrounded by covered alleys. The garth wall is of good Perpendicular work with five traceried openings on each side.

The south side is still covered by a lean-to roof, but the west alley forms part of a fifteenth century house which is built over and to the west of it.

The north alley and most of the east alley, which are

[1] *Rites*, 37.

now open to the sky, were not long ago also covered by part of a large house on the east. The room or rooms over them, on a plan made in 1831, kindly lent me by Mr. Waller, are called Babylon. Probably this is an old name, and we have analogous cases in Jerusalem Chamber and Jericho Parlour at Westminster Abbey, and the two upper chambers in the pentise gatehouse at Canterbury called Heaven and Paradise. In the thickness of the north wall is a stair now blocked, which led to Babylon, and seems to show it was an old building, but Babylon itself has now disappeared and with it all the old work on the east side of the cloister. Whether as at Canterbury there was an infirmary cloister here in Norman times we cannot now tell, but the present one, excepting of course the garth wall, was certainly built (or rebuilt) with the frater in the thirteenth century, and there may still be seen in the south alley, against the frater wall, part of a moulded half-arch that crossed it at its east end to carry the thrust of the frater gable, and some of the hooked corbels that supported the lean-to roof. But the early-English arrangement differed considerably from that now existing, since there must have been some means of bringing carts through it to the archway into the cellar under the frater.

Part of the court of the infirmary cloister at Canterbury was in Norman times the *herbarium* or herb garden, and it is quite possible that the small garth at Gloucester was used for the same purpose.

On the north-east of the infirmary cloister stood the infirmary itself. It consisted of a great hall standing east and west, built like the nave of a church, with north and south aisles, pier arches, and clerestory windows above, with a large chapel attached to the east end of the hall, as at Canterbury, Ely, Peterborough, and elsewhere. There was also a kitchen and other offices, and sometimes other chambers were added like the "table hall" at Canterbury and Ely.

It was usual at the suppression to pull down most of the "farmery" as being "deemed superfluous," but the minor parts of it, being purely domestic in character, were often converted into dwelling houses for the prebendaries and other members of such new foundations as

Gloucester, and so considerable portions have been preserved. Here the chapel was destroyed, and the great hall unroofed and partly demolished, but its west end and six arches of the arcade escaped, the latter probably because, as at Canterbury, the south aisle had been previously cut up into sets of chambers. All these remains are of admirable early thirteenth century work, and it is much to be regretted that in clearing away the old houses in 1860, it should have been found necessary to also remove a curious vaulted lobby and other remains on the east side of the little cloister. The main entrance was originally in the west end of the hall, where part of the doorway still remains, and was probably covered by a pentise or porch with a door (still remaining) from the infirmary cloister, so that there was a continuous covered way from the farmery to the church. A more important entrance seems however to have been made later at the west end of the south aisle.

Owing to the cramped space in this part of the abbey precinct, all the subordinate buildings of the farmery were placed on the south side of the great hall. They are shewn in Carter's plan, incorporated with later dwellings, but have unfortunately all been removed, and only one house containing old work now remains. This however I have not yet had an opportunity of examining, but in one of its outhouses is to be seen a corner of the farmery chapel. Such space as there was on the north, and that to the west was the infirmary garden.

The popular notion of a monastic infirmary is that it was simply the hospital for sick monks. But this was only one of its uses. As its very name tells us it was also the abode of the infirm brethren, and the *sempectæ* or monks who had been professed fifty years, and were then no longer bound to adhere strictly to the Rule, also lived there. Besides these, there were also admitted any of the monks who were temporarily released from the observance of the Rule, such as the *minuti*, that is, those who had been let blood. The beds of the inmates were originally arranged in the aisles of the hall, but in the fourteenth century and onwards the aisles were generally cut up into a number of little rooms.

Among the buildings of the farmery was probably the

hall in which the monks were allowed to eat flesh and drink freely by special leave of their superiors, and this being an indulgence (*misericordia*), the hall was called the "misericord." Though I cannot fix its site, such a hall certainly existed at Gloucester, as may be seen from one of the injunctions issued to the monastery by Robert of Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1301:

> Injungimus etiam vobis districte quod quandocunque fratres monachi pro recreatione in infirmaria comederint, duæ partes ad minus comedant in refectorio in conventu abbatiæ: et cæteris officialibus quibus incumbit cura hospitum et infirmorum continua cum tertia parte existente in recreatione in infirmaria minime computatis cum laborantibus et debilibus abbati et priori liceat dispensare.[1]

On the west side of the little cloister, and partly overriding it, is a medieval house of several dates, from the thirteenth century to the suppression and later. Owing however to modern partitions and fittings and repeated alterations it is somewhat difficult to trace its architectural history. The oldest part of it consists of a vaulted undercroft of early-English work extending north and south beneath the western part of the house. It consists of three bays, of which two now form the kitchen of the house, and the third or northernmost is walled off to form a passage outside. More work of the same period adjoins this on the west, including a good doorway with moulded head. This doorway was clearly, as now, an external one. The undercroft stops short about 12 feet from the frater wall (or wide enough to leave a cart way) and there is nothing to shew that it extended further east. Looking at its position so near the great cellar, the kitchen, and other offices, it is very probable that the original upper floor was the cellarer's checker, or counting-house, and the undercroft a place for stores. Such an arrangement had its parallel at Durham, where the cellarer's checker adjoined one "end of the Great Kitchinge, having a longe greece goynge up to yt over the Fawlden yeatts."[2] Such a greece or stair may well have been approached by the early-English external doorway here. The cellarer's office at Durham "was to see what expences was in the Kitchinge, what beffes and muttones was spente in a weeke, and all the spyces and other necessaries that

[1] Hart, i. lxxxvii.

[2] *Rites*, 83.

was spente in the Kitchinge, both for the Prior's table and for the hole Covent, and for all strangers that came. Yt was his office to se all things orderlye served, and in dewe tyme. The chambre where he dyd lye was in the Dorter."[1]

We must now pass to the examination of the hospitate buildings, or those devoted to the reception of guests. These were generally arranged in three groups. The abbot's group, where the king, distinguished ecclesiastics, or nobility were entertained, at first stood on the west side of the cloister. But in the fourteenth century a new lodging for the abbot was built on the north side of the precinct, and his first lodging handed over to the prior. The second group was in charge of the cellarer, and stood somewhere in the great court; in it were lodged merchants, franklins, and other middle class folk. The third group, where the lower orders, pilgrims and paupers, were housed, stood in the immediate neighbourhood of the great gatehouse. This was in fact the casual ward, which on account of its costing least, is the only form of public hospitality that has survived down to our own time, for it must not be forgotten that the passing of the Poor Law was a direct consequence of the suppression of the monasteries.

The old abbot's lodging, afterwards the prior's house, and now the Deanery, stands on the west side of the cloister. It consists of two main blocks, built on two sides of a court; the one to the south in the angle formed by the cloister and the church, the other to the west with the court between it and the cloister.

The southern block, which contained the private apartments of the abbot, consists of three large square Norman chambers, one above the other, with their original windows enriched within and without with zigzag mouldings. Each chamber has also in the north-east corner an inserted or altered doorway into a garderobe tower shewn in Carter's plan but now destroyed; and the two lowest chambers have their southern corners crossed by stone arches, moulded or covered with zigzag ornament. All these chambers are sub-divided by partitions into smaller rooms.

[1] *Rites*, 13.

The ground story is entered from a vaulted lobby or antechamber, now modernized and converted into a porch. The first floor has a similar antechamber, as had originally also the second floor, but this has been altered. These antechambers are all of early thirteenth century date, with a good deal of excellent work remaining about the windows.

Between the church and the rooms just described is a building of two stories. The ground story consists of a vaulted passage already described as the outer parlour. It is on a lower level than the cloister, which is reached from it by a flight of steps. Over it is a lofty room, also vaulted, which was the abbot's chapel. It is now entered by an awkward skew passage from the first floor antechamber.

Both the chapel and outer parlour were once 9 feet longer, but were shortened, and their west ends rebuilt with the old masonry, at the same time that, I have reason to believe, the west front of the church was rebuilt and also curtailed of a bay in the fifteenth century. The first floor of all this part of the house contained the abbot's private apartments, namely, his dining room, bedroom, solar and chapel. The second floor was devoted to his own special guests, while the ground story contained a reception room and probably accommodation for one or more servants.

At the north-west corner of this southern block is a semi-octagonal turret. Until this was altered a few years ago it contained the front entrance into the deanery, and within it a flight of stairs led to a series of landings communicating with the antechambers on the first and second floors, as well as the rooms on the north. Both the turret and the landings replace a much earlier entrance tower, nearly square in form, and of the same date as the antechambers. Many traces of this remain, and shew that it was a handsome and important structure.

The western block of buildings, which is connected with the southern block by the turret and landings, has been so altered in the fifteenth century, and further modernized and enlarged of late years, that it is very difficult to make out the original arrangement. The

southern half is two stories high, with a large hall on the upper floor, and the servants' department below. The hall is now divided into two rooms lined with good Jacobean panelling, and its fifteenth century roof underdrawn by plaster ceilings.

At the north end of the hall is another two-story building. The lower floor is of stone, and now contains various domestic offices. But originally it formed part of a building of considerable architectural importance, as may be seen from the jamb of an elaborate early-English window at the north-west corner. From its position, this early-English building, which seems to have extended westwards as far as the inner gate, was most likely the abbot's hall, and here doubtless took place the famous historical dialogue between Edward II. and abbot Thoky.[1] Some time before the end of the fifteenth century this hall was cut down and an upper story of wood built upon it, of which the east end still remains. At one time it evidently extended further west. Internally it has been gutted and now contains nothing of interest to shew its use.

The court of the abbot's house was probably enclosed by covered alleys on the west and north sides to enable the abbot to pass into the cloister under cover. In recent alterations to the deanery a block of additional rooms has been built on the west side of the court against the hall.

During the first half of the fourteenth century the abbot removed from the old building on the west side of the cloister to a new lodging on the north side of the monastery, and the old abbot's house became the abode of the prior.

The history of the new lodging is as follows:

Between 1316 and 1329, while John Wygmore was prior, "he built the new *camera* of the abbot beside the infirmary garden."[2] Abbot Thomas Horton (1351–77) built "the abbot's chapel beside the infirmary garden."[3]

These extracts from the Chronicle of the abbey, when compared with the plan of the group of buildings they

[1] See *Hart*, i. 44.

[2] "Dum prior ejusdem monasterii extiterat cameram abbatis juxta gardinum infirmarie construxit." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii, f. 139; and Hart, i. 55.

[3] "In edificiis tam extra quam infra multum ampliavit ut capellam abbatis juxta ortum infirmarie." *Ibid.* f. 140*b*; and Hart, i. 48.

refer to, which until 1862 formed the bishop's palace, are easy of explanation. First as to the meaning of the word *camera*. This in medieval language is not always restricted to a single room, but may mean a group of chambers, or even a hall with the chambers and offices annexed to it. The letters patent of Henry VIII. founding the bishopric of Gloucester in 1541, among other things, grant to the bishop for his residence all the premises known as the abbot's lodging, of which a detailed description is given in the charter.[1] Until the building of the present palace, this ancient dwelling of the abbot and his successors the bishops of Gloucester remained substantially intact, and through Mr. Waller's kindness I am able to give plans and drawings of it made before its destruction. (See plate III.) From a careful comparison of the plans and elevations with Henry VIII's charter we can make out its original uses fairly accurately.

Broadly speaking the house consisted of the great hall with the abbot's *camera* on the east, and the servants' department and lodgings for guests on the west. From the abbot's apartments, where he also entertained special guests, a gallery led eastward to another *camera* close to the infirmary, containing a hall, pantry, kitchen, chapel, and bedrooms, which were the private apartments of the abbot himself. All these buildings had cellars and offices beneath them. On the east of the abbot's lodging lay the infirmary garden, on the west the inner court, and on the south the abbot's garden. The north side was bounded by a street. The sequence of the buildings I take to be as follows:

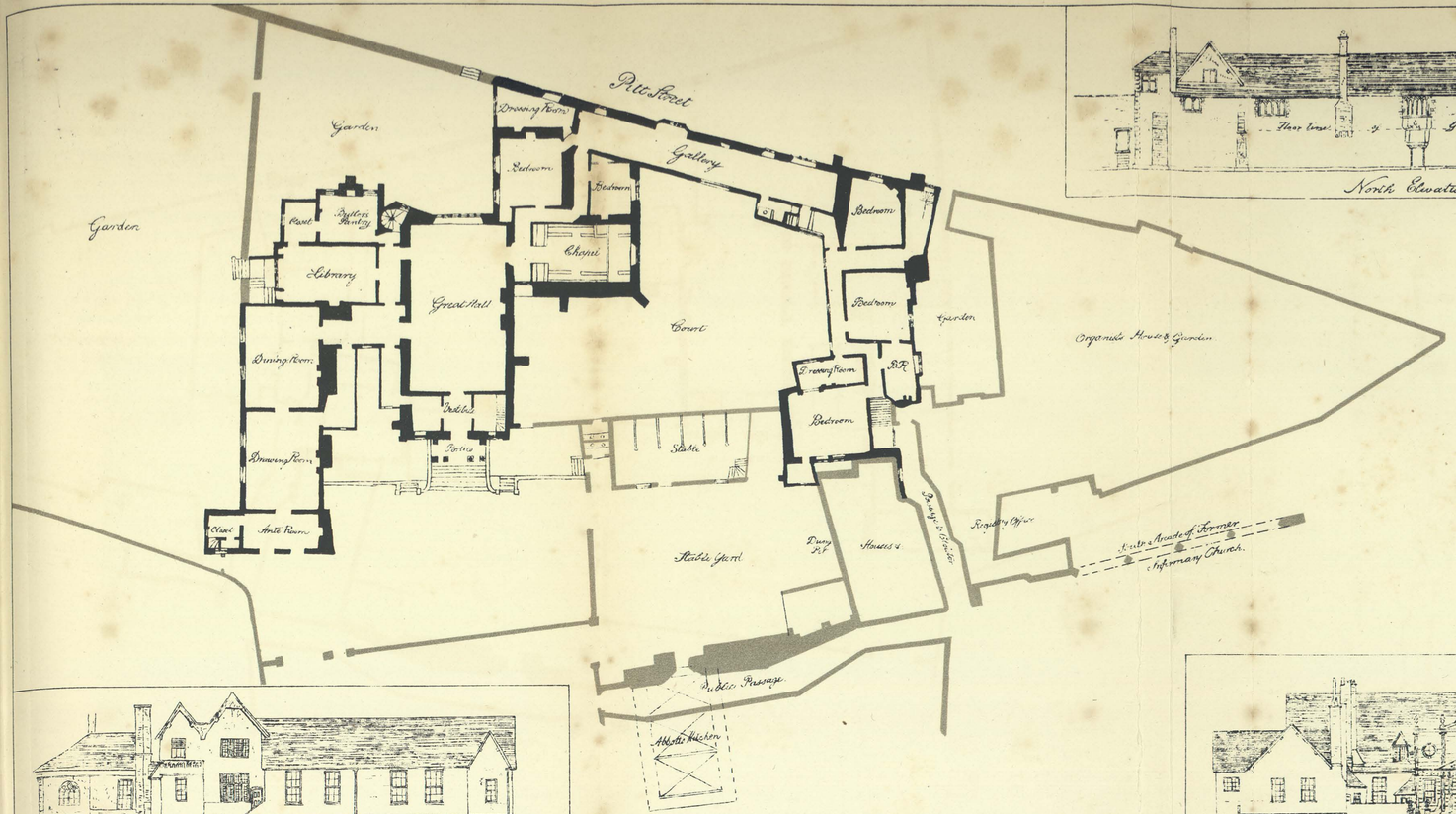
The eastern *camera* was that built by Wygmore, while prior, beside the farmery garden. The great hall was probably also Wygmore's work, to which were added, by abbot Horton, the abbot's apartments on the east and the little hall for the servants on the west.

The use to which all this large establishment was put is well described in *Rites of Durham*, where the Prior

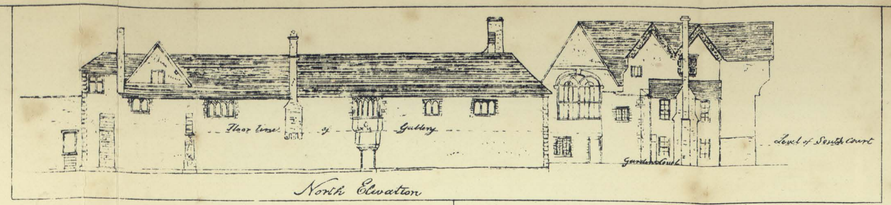
whose hospitallie was soch as that there neaded no geist haule, but that they weare desyrouse to abound in all lyberall and fre almess geving, did keppe a moste honorable house and very noble intertaynement, being attended upon both with gentlemen and yeomen, of

[1] See Appendix.

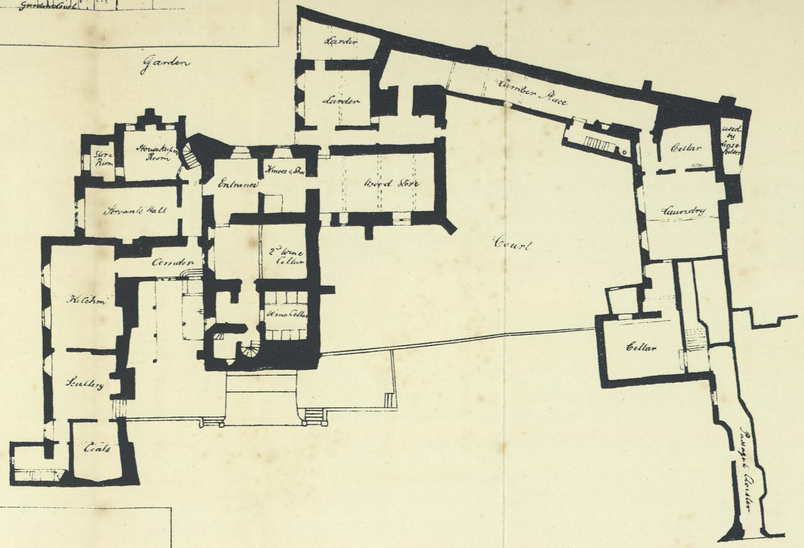
Reduced from copies made by Mr. F. S. Waller in Feb. 1881, of tracings (dated 1856) in the custody of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.



Plan of Principal Floor

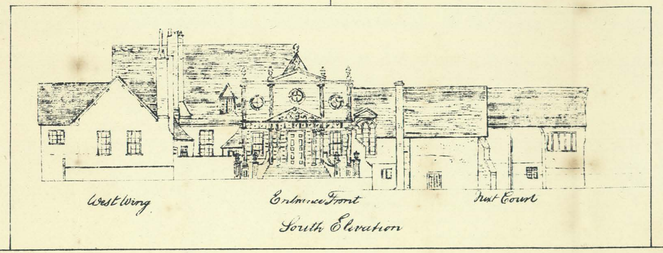


North Elevation



Basement Plan

West Elevation next Garden



South Elevation

ST. PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER.—PLANS AND ELEVATIONS OF THE OLD EPISCOPAL PALACE, FORMERLY THE ABBOT'S LODGINGS.

the best in the countrie, as the honorable service of his house deserved no lesse; the benevolence therof, with the releefe and almesse of the hole Covent was alwaies oppen and fre, not onely to the poore of the citie of Durham but to all the poore people of the countrie besides.[1]

We must now pass to the cellarer's buildings and "casual ward" in the outer court.

Concerning these buildings we have very little historical evidence, nor are there any remains of importance to enable us to re-construct their plans and arrangements.

The first notice of the buildings in the outer court is of their being almost all burned in the fire that destroyed great part of the city in 1190.

In 1300, on the feast of the Epiphany, a fire began in a timbered house in the great court, from which it spread to the small bell-tower, the great *camera*, and the cloister.[2] This bell tower was perhaps a Norman north-west tower, and the great *camera* must I think be the abbot's house, now the deanery. The wooden house whose burning began the mischief was probably therefore on the north side of the court.

In 1305 the king's justiciars were entertained by the abbot at a solemn and sumptuous feast "in the great hall in the court of the abbey."[3] This of course may have been the abbot's own hall on the north side of his old lodging, but it is more likely to have been the great guest hall under the charge of the cellarer.

Thomas Horton while abbot (1351–77) built the "covered *camera* of the monks' hostelry and the great hall in the court where the king afterwards held his parliament."[4]

This parliament is said to have been held in 1378 in the *aula hospitum* or guesten hall, so that the *magna aula* and the *aula hospitum* are one and the same building. Adjoining it was a guest's chamber (*camera hospicii*), where the privy council met, "which was anciently called the king's chamber on account of its beauty."[5]

[1] *Rites*, 76.

[2] See note *supra*.

[3] "In magna aula in curia abbatie." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 136*b*; and Hart, i. 38.

[4] "Item cameram monachorum hostolarie coopertam et magnam aulam in curia ubi postmodum rex parliamentum suum tenuit erexit." *Ibid.* f. 140*b*; and Hart, i. 50.

[5] This parliament sat from 22nd October to 16th November, 1378. The king (Richard II.) stayed sometimes at Gloucester, sometimes at Tewkesbury. The account of his visits to Gloucester furnishes some curious evidence con-

It appears from these extracts from the Chronicle that the hall where the judges feasted in 1305 was rebuilt by Horton, together with other buildings for the accommodation of guests. Where they stood is doubtful, but most likely in the south-west part of the court, where some old remains still exist in the houses there. As to their probable arrangement I cannot do better than again quote from *Rites of Durham:*

There was a famouse house of hospitallitie, called the GESTE HAULE, within the Abbey garth of Durham . . . the Terrer of the house being master thereof, as one appoynted to geve intertaynment to all staits, both noble, gentle, and what degree so ever that came thether as strangers, ther interteynment not being inferior to any place in Ingland, both for the goodnes of their diett, the sweete and daintie furneture of there lodgings, and generally all things necessarie for traveillers. And withall, this interteynment contynewing, not willing or commanding any man to departe, upon his honest and good behavyour. This haule is a goodly brave place, much like unto the body of a Church, with verey fair pillers supporting yt on ether syde, and in the mydest of the haule a most large rannge for the fyer. The chambers and lodginges belonging to yt weare so swetly keept, and so richly furnyshed that they weare not unpleasant to ly in, especially one chamber called the KYNGS CHAMBER, deservinge that name, in that the King him selfe myght verie well have lyne in yt, for the princelynes therof. The victualls, that served the said geists, came from the great Kitching of the Prior, the bread and beare from his pantrie and seller. Yf they weare of honour they weare served as honorably as the Prior himselfe, otherwise according to ther severall callinges. The Terrer had certaine men appointed to wayte at his table, and to attend upon all his geists and stranngers, and, for ther better intertaynment, he had evermore a hogsheade or two of wynes lying in a seller appertayninge to the said halle, to serve his geists withall.[1]

Among the officers of the household mentioned in the survey of 1540 we find "Thos ap Morgan Porter at the

cerning the monastic buildings and the uses to which they were put:

"Sed cum esset Gloucestrie tam ille quam tota familia sua in abbathia hospitabatur que eis in parliamento ita undique erat impleta ut conventus per aliquot dies in dormitorio postea vero in domo scole utilius consultus tam diebus carnium quam piscium durante parliamento necessitate urgente integro manducaret. quibus diebus in pomerio eorum prandium parabatur. Igitur in refectorio de armorum legibus tractabatur, aula autem hospitum communi parliamento erat deputata. Porro in camera hospicii que Camera Regis propter ejus pulchritudinem antiquitus vocata est consilium secretum inter magnates versabatur ac in domo capituli consilium commune. Martilogium hiis diebus preter in diebus festis quibus quisque abierat in sua in choro legebatur nulla mentione de ordine propalata. Nempe omnia loca in monasterio patencia sic ad parliamentum venientibus frequentata fuere ut magis loca nundinarum quam religiosa cernentibus apparerent. Nam viridum claustri tanta luctancium et ad pilam ludentium exercitacione extitit deplanatum quod nulla viriditatis vestigia in ibi sperabantur." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 141*b.*; and Hart, i. 53.

[1] *Rites*, 76.

hall door & verger" and "Walter Holder & Robert Harryson wayte in the hall."

Of the "casual ward" I have met with no historical evidence. It probably formed part of a long range of buildings extending southwards from the abbey gate along the west side of the court, where the lower part of a wall with a chamfered plinth still remains as the street boundary.

Finally there were the almonry buildings, of which also we have no historical record. They perhaps stood between the great gate and the inner gate.

This inner gate gave access to the inner court, known of late years as Miller's Green, where the bakehouse, boulting house, brewhouse, stable, mill and such like offices were placed. It was also the way to the later abbot's lodging. The existing gateway is of the 14th century, and has a single passage, in the west side of which is a blocked doorway. The passage is covered by a lierne vault.

Of the buildings in this inner court we know very little. The bakehouse evidently stood in the corner by the great gate, for a settlement made in 1218 with St. Oswald's priory mentions a boundary line descending in a direct line from the garden through the frater, larder, and bakehouse as far as the new wall next St. Oswald's.[1] Next to it was the brewhouse and another building, for a fire that in 1223 destroyed all St. Mary's parish before the abbey gate also burned "part of the bakehouse and brewhouse, and a house between the gate and the stable." Perhaps however this house and stable were in the other court.

The mill stood on the north side of the inner court. A millstone still remains in a cellar of a house on the site. John the miller was also one of the officers of the household at the suppression.

Of the positions of the abbey gates and divisions of the precinct I have already spoken.

The great gate, which stands nearly in the middle of the west wall of the precinct, is a fine example of the thirteenth century. It has a gate porch entered by a wide but low pointed arch, with an inner arch where the doors were

[1] See note, *ante*.

hung. The gatehall thus formed also had doors towards the court and in its south wall are two recesses. The upper story has towards the street an arcade of four arches. The outer pair have each a trefoiled niche or panel in the back. The other two arches are of larger size and are both pierced with two interesting square-headed lights, also of the 13th century, with dividing mullions. In the gable, within a large triangular panel, is a niche of three arches originally carried by detached shafts, but these are now broken away.

The gateway on the south side, towards the city, has been almost entirely destroyed, and only a fragment of the west side remains. It was known as "King Edward's Gate" from its having been built by Edward I., "qui portam illam hujus monasterii ejus nomine insignem construxit."[1] It was afterwards "restored and beautified" by abbot Malverne *alias* Parker (1514–1539), "qui portam illam hujus ecclesie meridionalem Edwardi regis nomine ut ante insignitam et palatii episcopalis januam ampliavit et adornavit.[2]

The remaining turret of the gate, on the west side towards the church, is probably part of Parker's work. To Parker also we may perhaps attribute the small cemetery gate to the east of King Edward's gate. It retains a flattened archway flanked by canopied niches, but the upper part has been destroyed.

Concerning the water supply a good deal has yet to be made out, especially as to the lines of the service pipes and the exact course of the main drains.

As was nearly always the case, there seem to have been at Gloucester two water supplies, one for drinking, washing, and domestic purposes generally; the other for keeping the drains clear and turning the mill.

The fresh water was usually led by pipes from some reliable source of supply to a main conduit, from whence it was distributed by a regular system of pipes to the different places where it was wanted.

At Canterbury, where we know for certain the whole system of the waterworks from a twelfth century drawing, the water was first received in a conduit in the infirmary cloister, and from thence it passed to a second conduit in the

[1] *Memoriale* in Dugdale, i. 564. [2] *Ibid.*

great cloister, whence it was distributed to the various parts.[1]

Such a conduit was made at Gloucester by Helias of Hereford, who was sacrist in 1222 and till 1237,[2] and some remains apparently of it were found a few years ago in lowering the cloister garth. From these pieces the conduit seems to have been placed above a lavatory, the bason of which was multifoil in plan; the arrangement resembled in fact that at Durham, which was "a fair LAVER or CONNDITT, for the Monncks to washe ther hands and faces at, being maid in forme round, covered with lead, and all of marble, saving the verie uttermost walls. Within the which walls you may walke round about the Laver of marble, having many litle cunditts or spouts of brasse, with xxiiij cockes of brasse, rownd about yt, havinge in yt vij faire wyndowes of stone woorke, and in the top of it a faire DOVE-COTTE, covered fynly over above with lead, the workmanship both fyne and costly."[3] The base of another such laver and conduit, of very fine Transitional work, remains in place at Wenlock Priory.

In the time of abbot Reginald (1263–84) a grant was made to St. Oswald's priory of the superabundant water in the lavatory, which the canons might draw off and lead to the priory.[4]

The second water supply, that for clearing the drains, etc., was obtained from the Crown in the reign of Henry I., who granted and confirmed to the monks "the water which is called Fulbrook, which runs beside their abbey, that they may turn and dispose it and draw it off through their offices at their pleasure."[5] The course of this has been fairly accurately determined and laid down on plan, but there is still much to make out. The Fulbrook entered the present precinct on the east, near the site of the Roman north gate, and about 90 feet north-east of

[1] See Professor Willis's admirable explanation in vol. vii. of *Archæologia Cantiana*.

[2] "Anno Domini M°.CC°.XXXVIJ°. quinto idus Novembris obiit Helias de Herfordia monachus qui . . . conductum aque vive fecit." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 133; and Hart, i. 28.

[3] *Rites*, 70.

[4] "Quod possint de aqueletio seu lavatorio nostro aquam ibidem superabundantem extrahere et usque ad prioratum suum deducere." Hart, i. 172.

[5] "Rex Henricus senior concessit et carta sua confirmavit monachis Sancti Petri Gloucestrie aquam que vocatur Fulbrok que currit juxta abbatiam suam ut vertant et disponant eam et trahant per officinas suas secundum voluntatem suam." *Cott. MS.* Dom. A. viii. f. 149*b*; and Hart, i. 78.

the chapter house was divided into three branches. The central or main branch proceeded across the infirmary cloister, under the passage at its north-west corner, and straight thence to the mill, where it turned at a sharp angle, but just before it reached the inner gate it was again turned westward out of the abbey precinct. A branch of it turned off just beyond the site of the kitchen, and after skirting the buildings immediately south of the frater, passed under the north end of the deanery into the outer court, back through the inner gatehouse, and then joined the main branch.

The second branch passed under the farmery and abbot's new lodging on the north, and rejoined the main stream just before it entered the mill. The third branch has not been traced to its junction with the main stream. It however passes across the north side of the cloister garth and was there intercepted by a curious tank found in 1889. This tank at its lower or western end had a sluice gate to dam the water if necessary for flushing purposes, and from it the drain continued under the present deanery to join the sub-branch of the main drain.

In conclusion I must express my indebtedness to Mr. F. S. Waller for much valuable information and kind help, and for the loan of various plans and drawings of the monastic buildings.

I have also to thank my friends the Rev. J. T. Fowler, D.C.L. F.S.A., Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., Mr. J. W. Clark, M.A. F.S.A., and the Rev. W. Bazeley, M.A., for various useful criticisms and kind suggestions.

I am also much indebted to the Very Rev. the Dean of Gloucester for affording me every facility in my examination of the church and abbey buildings.

The engravings of the cloister, the lavatory, and the chapter house have been obligingly lent by Mr. John Murray, F.S.A.

Appendix.

The letters patent of Henry VIII., dated 3rd September 1541, founding the See of Gloucester, assign to the Bishop all the premises formerly occupied by the Abbot, in these terms:

Et quia volumus dictum Episcopum Gloucestrie et successores suos honorifice dotari damus et per presentes concedimus eidem Episcopo totam illam aulam nostram plumbo coopertum [*sic*] vulgariter vocatam plumbam [*sic*] aulam ac unum panarium unum promptuarium cum una coquina duobus domiciliis ad cibaria reponenda ac unam parvam quadratam cum quodam stagno sive vivario ad quod refluit aqua dulcis scituat et existent in orientali fine ejusdem aule Necnon unum magnum cubiculum in quo servi quondam Abbatis edere solebant scituatum et existens in fine occidentali dicte aule ac eciam unum panarium unum promptuarium et unam subterraneam officinam cum quadam via ducente ad eandem scituat et existent in australi parte ejusdem magni cubiculi ac eciam quoddam quadratum seu locum vacuum continens per estimacionem in longitudine duas perticatas ac in latitudine unam perticatam et tres pedes eidem magno cubiculo adjacens Necnon unum aliud Cubiculum communiter vocatum quadratum cubiculum scituatum in boriale parte dicti magni cubiculi cum tribus aliis cubiculis super dictum quadratum cubiculum superedificatis.

Ac unum aliud magnum cubiculum in quo dudum abbas dicti nuper Cenobii edere solebat cum uno panario uno promptuario et una subterranea officina scituatis et existentibus in australe fine ejusdem cubiculi Ac eciam unam domum deambulatoriam scituatam in dicto fine australi ac ex parte orientis ejusdem cubiculi ac unum cubiculum scituatum in australi parte ejusdem deambulatorii cum tribus cubiculis insimul constructis et scituatis in boriali parte ejusdem deambulatorii ac eciam omnia illa tria interiora cubicula cum uno meditullio una Capella et alia domo deambulatoria eisdem tribus cubiculis annexis et dicto nuper Abbati peculiaria scituata et existentia in boriali termino dicti magni cubiculi in quo dudum Abbas sedere solebat et ex parte orientali ejusdem cubiculi Necnon unam aliam aulam unum panarium unum promptuarium unam coquinam et duo cubicula scituata et existentia in fine orientali ejusdem deambulatorii.

Ac eciam omnia et singula cubicula domos edificia officinas subterraneas et alias officinas quascumque scituatas sive edificatas subtus aut supra dictas aulas cubicula deambulatoria et cetera omnia et singula premissa aut subtus vel supra aliquam inde parcellam necnon quendam ortum continentem in longitudine per estimacionem sex perticas et decem pedes ac in latitudine septem perticas et tresdecim pedes et dimidium Qui quidem ortus in longitudine protenditur et extendit se ante dicta tria interiora cubicula et cetera edificia dicto nuper Abbati peculiaria ac eciam omnia et singula

mesuagia habitaciones domos edificia structuras cum terra et solo eorundem ortos pomaria loca vacua muros et cetera omnia et singula hereditamenta quecumque cognita per nomen vel per nomina de *le Abbotte Lodgyng* seu scituata et existencia infra totum illum precinctum circuitum et ambitum cognitum seu appellatum *le Abbotte Lodging* qui quidem circuitus continet in parte australi novem perticatas et decem pedes et in boriali parte novem perticatas et sex pedes ac in termino occidentali octo perticatas novem pedes et octo polices ac in fine orientali octo perticatas et sexdecim pedes qualibet perticata continens in se octodecim pedes dimidium et tres polices Que quidem aule domus edificia deambulatoria ac cetera omnia et singula premissa necnon terras et solum eorundem scituantur jacent et existunt infra precinctum dicti nuper Cenobii sive Monasterii. * *

Ac eciam volumus quod dicta mesuagia habitaciones aule cubicula ac cetera omnia et singula premissa decetero censeantur nominentur et appellentur Palacium Episcopi Gloucestrie et successorum suorum.

This interesting description of the Abbot's lodging may be thus translated :

"And because we will that the said Bishop of Gloucester and his successors be honourably endowed, we give and by these presents grant to the same Bishop all that our hall covered with lead commonly called the "leaden hall," and a pantry and a buttery, together with a kitchen, with two little houses for storing food, and a small court with a certain pond or stew to which fresh water flows, situated and being at the east end of the hall.

Also a great chamber in which the servants of the late abbot were wont to eat, situated and being at the west end of the said hall, and likewise a pantry, a buttery, and an underground cellar, with a certain way leading to it, situated and being on the south part of the same great chamber; also a certain court or waste place, containing by estimacion 2 perches in length and 1 perch and 3 feet in width, adjoining the same great chamber.

Also one other chamber, commonly called the court chamber, situated on the north part of the said great chamber, with three other bedchambers built over the said court chamber.

Likewise one other great chamber in which the late abbot of the said late House was wont to eat, with a pantry, a buttery, and an underground cellar, situated and being in the south end of the same chamber. And also a gallery (or walking-place) situated in the said south end and on the east part of the same chamber, and a bedchamber situated on the south part of the same gallery, with three bedchambers together constructed and situated on the north part of the same gallery ; and also all those three inner bedchambers with a middle chamber, a chapel, and another gallery adjoined to the same three bedchambers, and privy to the said late abbot, situated and being on the north end of the said great chamber in which the late abbot was wont to eat, and on the east part of the same chamber.

Also one other hall, a pantry, a buttery, a kitchen, and two bedchambers, situated and being at the east end of the same gallery.

And also all and singular the chambers, houses, buildings, under-

ground cellars, and other offices whatsoever, situated or edified under or over the said halls, chambers, galleries, and all other and singular premises, or under or over any parcell thereof.

Also a certain garden containing in length by estimation 6 perches and 10 feet and in width 7 perches and 13½ feet. Which garden is prolonged and extends itself before the said three inner bedchambers and the rest of the buildings privy to the said abbot.

And also all and singular the messuages, dwellings, houses, edifices, and structures with the land and soil of the same, the gardens, orchards, waste places, walls, and all other and singular hereditaments whatsoever, known by the name or by the names of 'the Abbottes Lodgyng' situated and being within all that precinct, circuit, and court known or called 'the Abbottes Lodging,' which circuit contains on the south part 9 perches and 10 feet, and on the north part 9 perches and 6 feet, and at the west end 8 perches, 9 feet and 8 inches, and at the east end 8 perches and 16 feet, each perch containing in itself 18½ feet and 3 inches.

Which halls, houses, edifices, galleries, and all other and singular premises, also the lands and soil of the same, are situated, lie, and be within the precinct of the late House or Monastery. * * *

And likewise we will that the said messuages, dwellings, halls, chambers, and all other and singular premises whatsoever be deemed, named, and called the Palace of the Bishop of Gloucester and his successors."

The foregoing transcript is from the Patent Roll, 33 Henry VIII. part 2. m. $\frac{38}{9}$. The original letters patent are now, most improperly, in the custody of the Mayor and Corporation of Gloucester. The document is printed in full in Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv. 724, etc. and in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel (London, 1817), i. 553, etc. A translation will be found in Rudder's *History of Gloucestershire*, Appendix, p. xiii. and in W. H. Stevenson's *Calendar of the Records of the Corporation of Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1893), 19–26.