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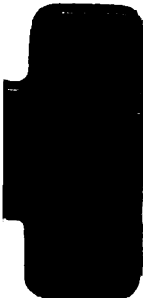
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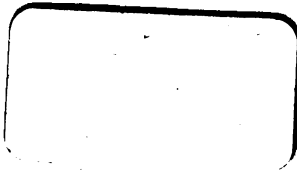
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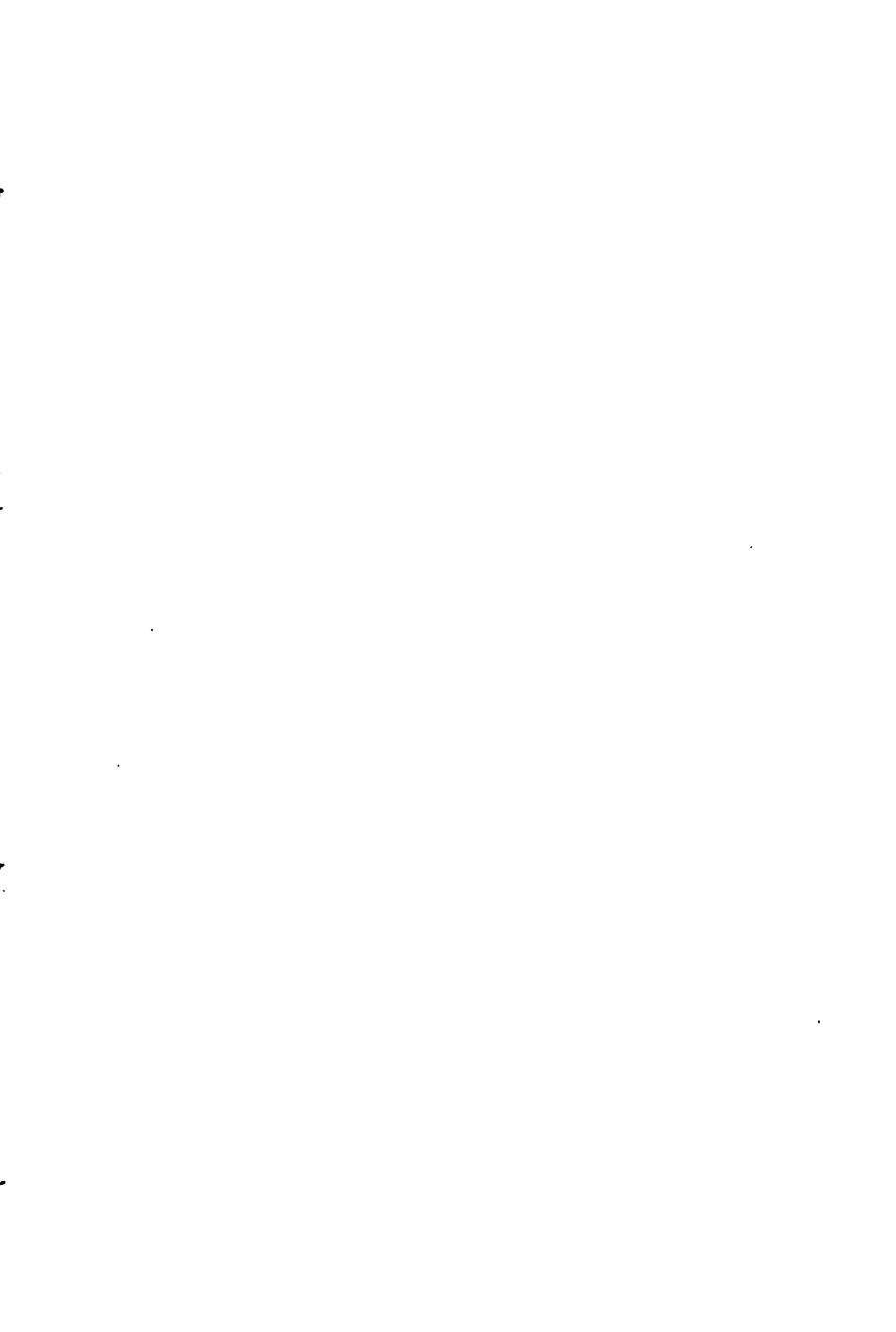
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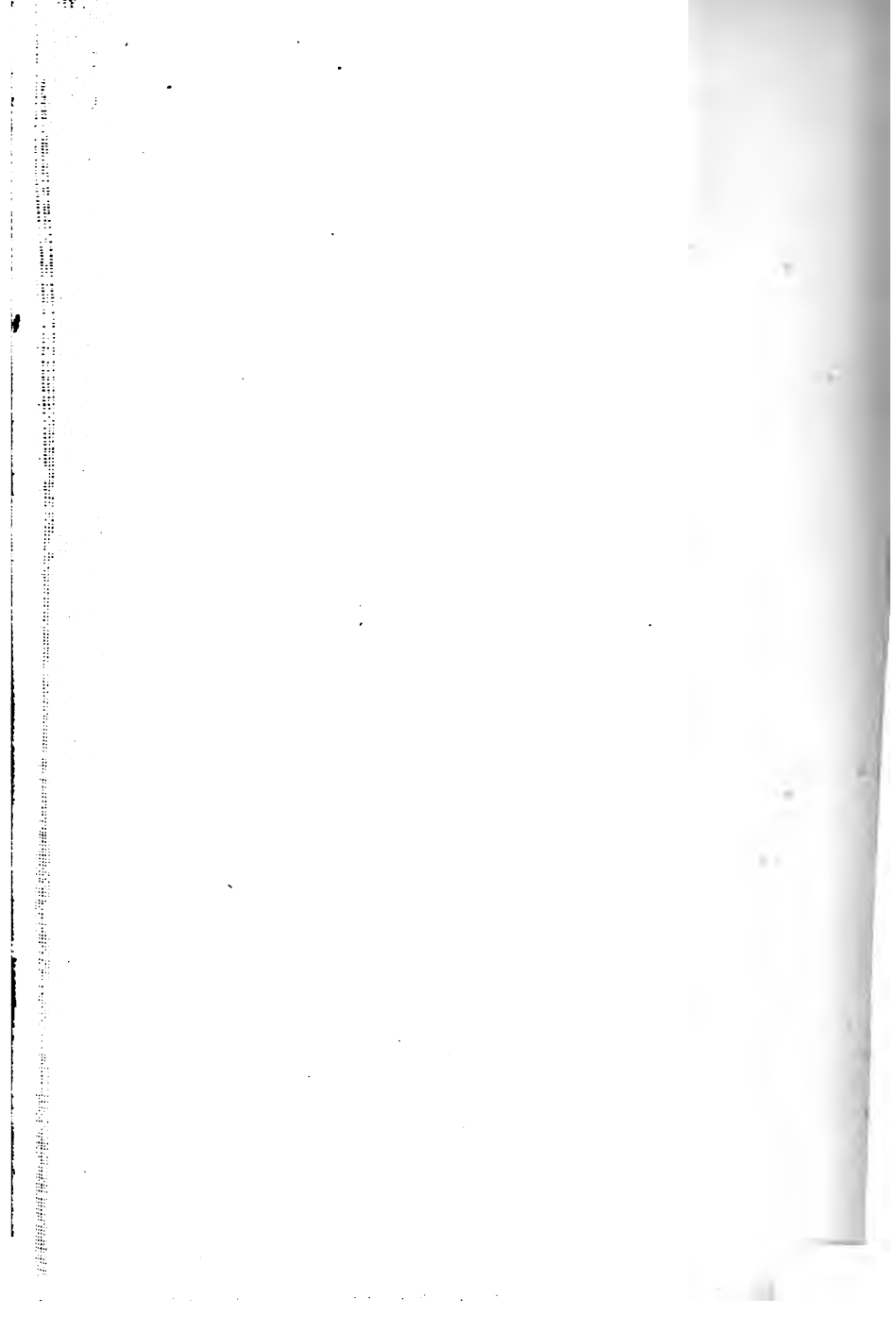






THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF  
EXETER CATHEDRAL.









THE  
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY  
OF  
EXETER CATHEDRAL

BY  
PHILIP FREEMAN, M.A.,  
ARCHDEACON AND CANON OF EXETER.

*A New Edition,*  
EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL MATTER, BY  
EDWARD VERE FREEMAN, M.A.,  
*Vicar of West Anstey.*

EXETER: HENRY S. ELAND, HIGH STREET.  
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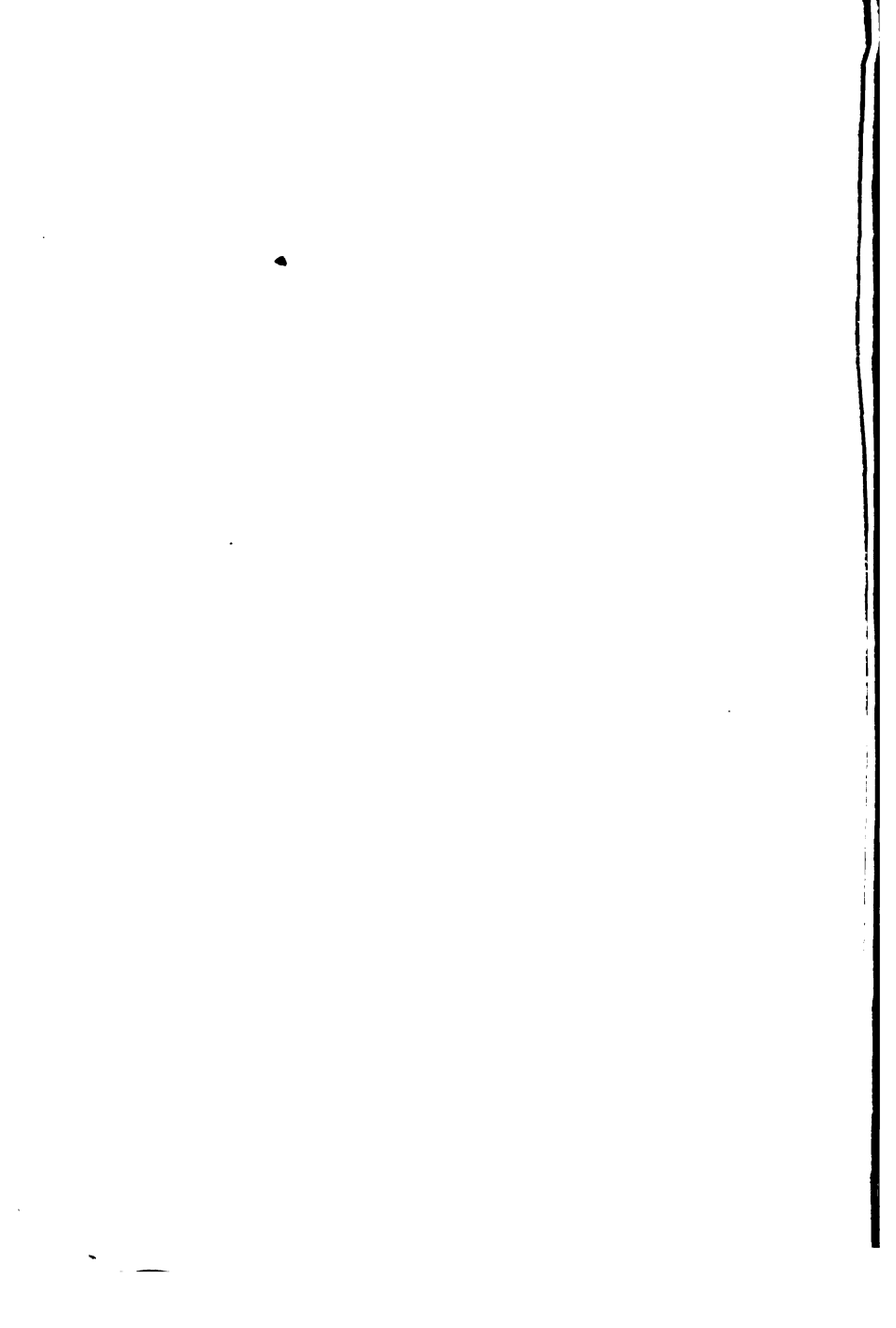
6-10-15

## NOTICE TO SECOND EDITION.

In preparing a new edition of my father's Monograph, the portion relating to the early history of the Nave has been recast and somewhat extended, in order to incorporate the results of the discovery of Norman remains which have come to light since the issue of the original edition. With the exception of trifling corrections, the original text is in other respects unaltered.

A brief survey of the recent Restoration is added.

E. V. F.



## PREFACE.

The following pages are an expansion of two Lectures delivered at Exeter.

My best thanks are due, and are hereby offered, to Stuart A. Moore, Esq., for valuable assistance in deciphering the Fabric Rolls and other documents; and to the Rev. Mackenzie E. Walcott, author of "Sacred Archæology," for placing at my disposal the rich stores of his ecclesiastical and antiquarian erudition.

EXETER,

*August, 1878.*

#### ERRATA.

- Page 14. *For* '(c. 1250),' *read* '(c. 1230).'
- „ 26. *For* '(see p. 14),' *read* '(see p. 20).'
- „ 32. *For* '(already referred to, p. 9)' *read* '(already referred to p. 11).'
- „ 32, lower down. *For* '(p. 12),' *read* '(p. 14).'
- „ 47. *Omit* '(1).'
- „ 60. *For* 'slab,' *read* 'tabula.'
- „ 90. *For* 'Voysey's,' *read* 'Veysey's.'
- „ 104. *For* 'fifth century,' *read* 'third century.'
- „ 123. *For* '(above p. —),' *read* '(above p. 14).'

**DATES OF BISHOPS, AND THEIR WORK,  
KNOWN OR CONJECTURED.**

<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Work.</i>
1. Leofric	1050-1072	SAXON Cathedral.
2. Osbern	1072-1103	
3. W. Warelwast	1107-1136	Began NORMAN Cathedral (Towers, Choir with Apse and Nave).
4. Chichester	1138-1155	Building continued.
5. R. Warelwast	1155-1160	Buried in Old Choir.
6. Bartholomew	1161-1184	
7. John the Chanter	1186-1191	Building resumed.
8. Hen. Marshall	1194-1206	Completed TRANSITION NORMAN Cathedral ; longer Choir, LADY Chapel, and six other Chapels; North Porch, Cloister Doorway.
9. Simon of Apulia	1214-1223	Tomb in Lady Chapel.
10. Bruere	1224-1244	CHAPTER House, stalls in old Choir.
11. Blondy	1245-1257	
12. Bronescombe	1257-1280	Chapels of St. Gabriel, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. James restored.
13. Quivil	1280-1291	Designed DECORATED Cathedral ; TRANSFORMED Transepts, with Chapels, east bay of Nave, Lady Chapel, and adjacent Chapels, Retrochoir.
14. Bitton	1292-1307	TRANSFORMED entire Choir, with its Aisles.

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15.	Stapeldon	1308-1326	TRANSFORMED Choir Transepts ; built Organ screen, Sedilia, Bishop's throne, began Cloister.
16.	Berkeley	1326-1327	
17.	Grandisson	1327-1369	TRANSFORMED six west bays of Nave, vaulting, aisles, west win- dow, north Cloister.
18.	Brantyngham	1370-1394	East window, west front, Cloisters.
19.	Stafford	1395-1419	Tomb canopies in Lady Chapel.
20.	Ketterick	1419	
21.	Lacey	1420-1455	Raised Chapter House ; glazed Nave windows.
22.	Neville	1458-1465	East window of Chapter House.
23.	Bothe	1465-1478	Roof of Ditto.
24.	Courtenay	1478-1486	Upper part of Towers.
25.	Fox	1487-1491	West front (northern entrance ?)
26.	King	1492-1495	
27.	Redmayn	1496-1501	
28.	Arundell	1502-1503	
29.	Oldham	1504-1519	Oldham and Speke Chapels ; 11 Chapel screens, screen round choir.
30.	Veysey	1519-1551	Speke Chapel finished.



## AUTHORITIES.

	<i>Date.</i>
<b>Original Charters in Cathedral Archives.</b>	
(1) Ethelred, Confirming Ealdred as Bishop of S. German's, No. 2070 ... ..	994
(2) Canute, Confirming Privileges of S. German's, No. 2071 ... ..	1018
(3) Edward Confessor, Conveying Holcombe Manor to his Chaplain, Leofric ... ..	1044
(4) Ditto, Founding See of Exeter, and installing Leofric Bishop, No. 2072 .. ...	1050
Fabric Rolls, 108 in number ... ..	1279-1514
Deed of Gift (No. 668 in Muniments, Exeter Cathedral), by Bishop Bruere, of site for Chapter House ...	1225
Ditto by Bishop Bronescombe, of Buckerell Church, for Chaplains in S. Gabriel's Chapel ... ..	1280
Registers of Bishops (Bronescombe's, etc.) ...	1257-1520
Chronicon Breve Exon Ecclesiaz, Cathedral Archives No. 3265	c. 1400
Leland's Itinerary .. ...	c. 1538
• Hoker's (or Vowell's) History ... ..	c. 1540
Izacke, Richard and Samuel, Antiquities of Exeter	1677-1724
Dean Lyttelton's Tract .. ...	1732
Britton's History and Antiquities of Exeter Cathedral ..	1826
Transactions of Exeter Architectural Society, vol. i. ...	1853
Oliver, Lives of Bishops' of Exeter, and History of Exeter ...	1861
Handbook of Exeter Cathedral (Murray). ... ..	
Hewett's History and Description. ... ..	

## CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

### FIRST PERIOD.

		<i>Date.</i>
SAXON CATHEDRAL ... ..		1050

### SECOND PERIOD.

NORMAN AND TRANSITION CATHEDRAL :—Begun	..	1112
Finished	...	c. 1200

### THIRD PERIOD.

EARLY ENGLISH CHAPTER HOUSE	...	1224-1244
Choir Stalls	...	1224-1244
Retrochoir windows	...	1230
Chapels of S. Mary Magdalene and S. Gabriel and S. James Restored	...	1257-1280

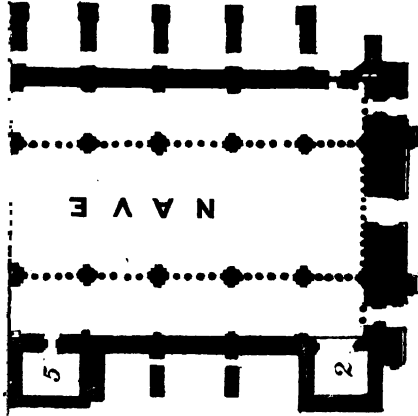
### FOURTH PERIOD.

DECORATED CATHEDRAL (by transformation of entire Norman-Transition Cathedral)	... ..	1280-1370
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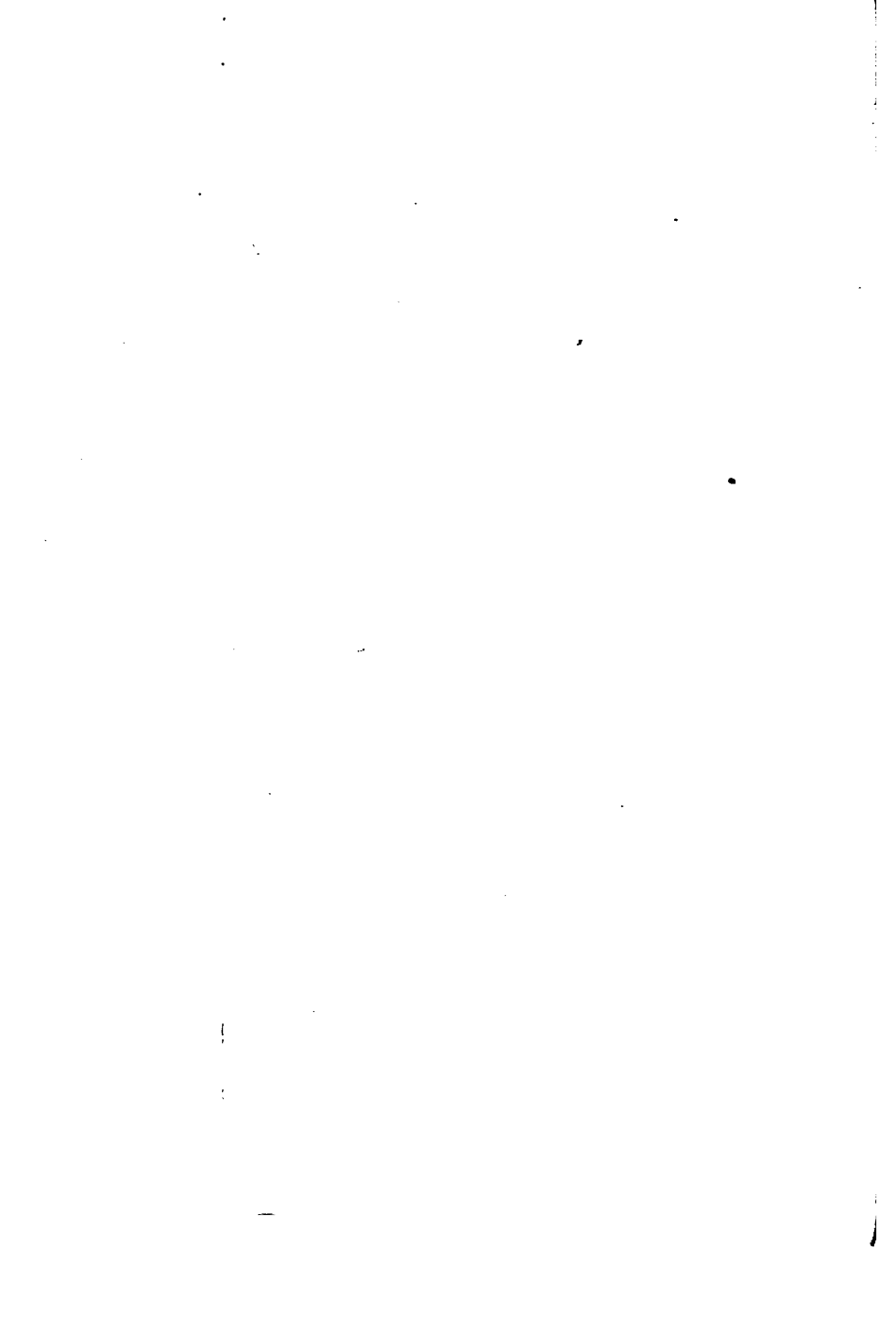
### FIFTH PERIOD.

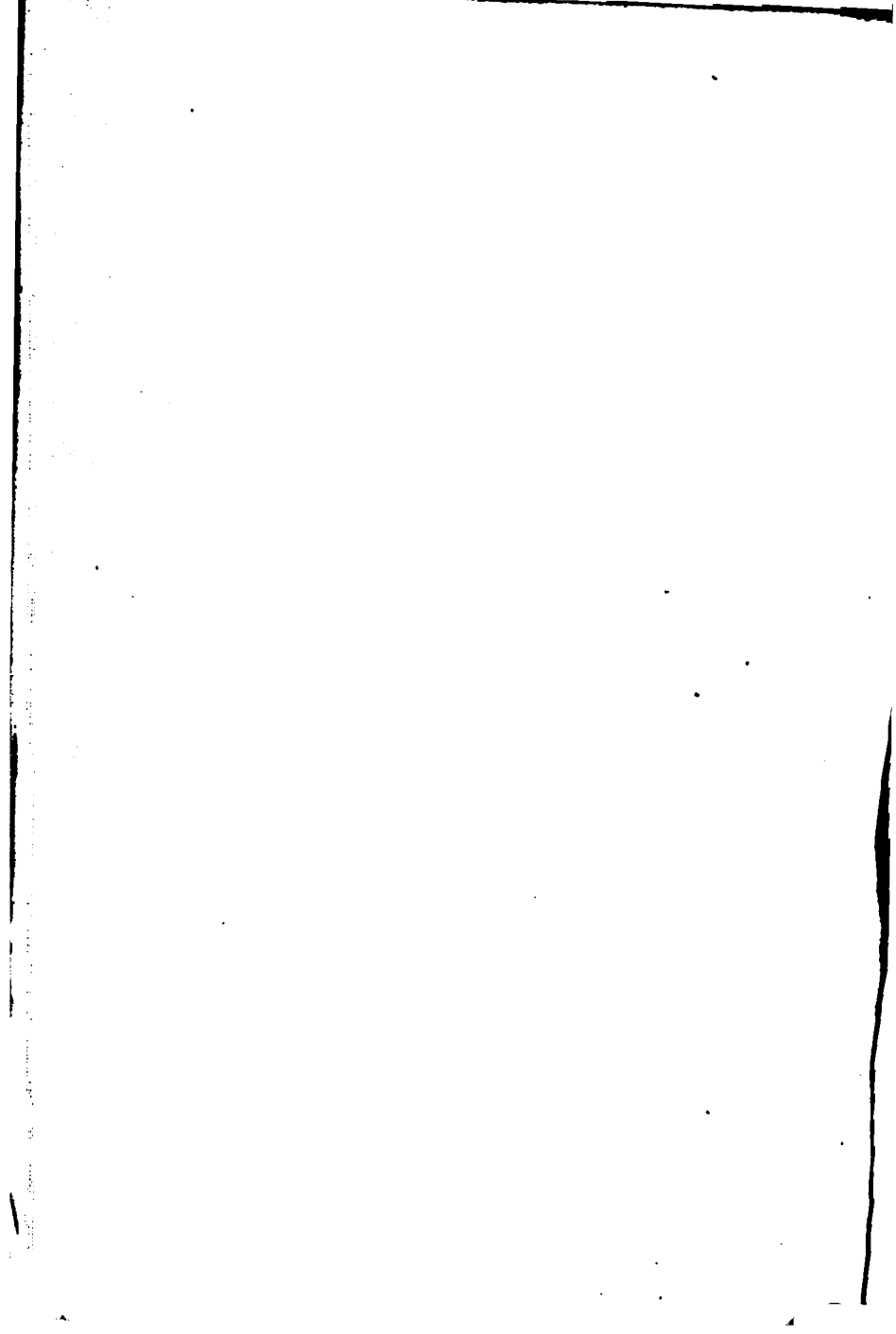
PERPENDICULAR WORKS, Chapter House (upper part), East Window, Western Screen ; Speke and Oldham Chapels, Screens of Eleven Chapels, new Cloisters, &c.	...	1380-1520
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- 3 S. JOHN THE BAPTIST'S CHAPEL.  
 4 CHAPEL OF THE HOLY GHOST.  
 5 NORTH PORCH.  
 6 S. PAUL'S CHAPEL.  
 7 SYLKE'S CHANTRY.  
 8 S. ANDREW'S CHAPEL.  
 9 SPEKE'S OR S. GEORGE'S CHANTRY.  
 10 BP. OLDHAM'S CHANTRY.  
 11 S. JAMES' CHAPEL.  
 12 S. MARY MAGDALENE'S CHAPEL.  
 13 S. GABRIEL'S CHAPEL.



CHRONOLOGICAL GROUND PLAN OF EXETER CATHEDRAL.







THE  
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF EXETER.

I propose, in the following pages, to speak of the Architectural History of EXETER CATHEDRAL; noticing by the way some of the characteristic features, or peculiar merits, of the structure.

What then, is the Architectural History and Chronology of the stately Fane, which, for more than 800 years, in one form and another, has, in the words of Ruskin, "lifted, from the midst of our populous city, grey cliffs of lonely stone into the midst of sailing birds, and silent air?"

FIRST PERIOD, SAXON CATHEDRAL, 1050—1112.

Now, that there was a Church here, the Church of the Monastery of St. Mary and St. Peter, in early Saxon days, we know. And further, when Leofric, the last Bishop of Devonshire, and of Exeter the first, was translated hither from Crediton sixteen years before the Norman Conquest (1050), that Monastic Church, restored and erected into a Cathedral, received him: for Edward the Confessor, and his Queen

attended by a crowd of nobles and ecclesiastics, placed the Bishop on his throne in St. Peter's Church. Of this Saxon Cathedral it cannot be affirmed with certainty that any portion survives.<sup>(1)</sup>

SECOND PERIOD, NORMAN AND TRANSITION CATHEDRAL,  
1112—c. 1200.

But it is not until the days of the third Bishop, William Warelwast, a nephew of the Conqueror, that the ascertainable history of our present Cathedral begins. In the year 1112, says the "Short Chronicle of Exeter," (among our archives, and copied in the MSS. of C.C.C. and in Archbishop Laud's papers in the Bodleian Library) "the Church of Exeter," (*i.e.* the present Cathedral Church, the Cathedral of Laud's days and of our own), "was first founded."<sup>(2)</sup> That Church, as we shall see hereafter, passed through two distinct phases or conditions, the one NORMAN with Transitional additions, the other DECORATED.

The great question about the Norman builders (1112—*circ.* 1200) is, How much did they do? How much, that is, of the present plan and structure of the Cathedral was included in their design, and how much was ultimately carried out by them?

Now, that they built the mighty Transeptal Towers, at once the glory and the riddle of our Cathedral, is certain from the architecture. The arrangement is very unusual, and very striking. There are, it seems, but three Cathedral Churches<sup>(3)</sup> in the world that have two towers in exactly that position: and (no doubt by imitation) the Church of Ottery St. Mary, Devon.



One word, first, as to the relative dates of our two Towers. We may, perhaps, place the Northern second, since we discern here a later variety of Norman work (c. 1150), in the interlacing arcade occurring half way up; though another account of this may be given, as will be seen presently. We may presume from hence, that the new Norman Cathedral began with the Choir and Southern Tower. There is some very simple and apparently Norman work hereabouts, viz., the Chapel of the Holy Ghost, south of this Tower. It may even, from the great simplicity of its vaulting, be Saxon—a relic of Leofric's or earlier times. And it is remarkable that here, in the Southern Tower, an inscription of the 16th century (1568) alleges that Leofric is buried. This inscription, it is true, and the monument on which it occurs, were placed there at the suggestion of our historian Hoker,<sup>(4)</sup> but an earlier monument was there already. Another account,<sup>(5)</sup> however, says that Leofric was buried in the crypt of his own Church which we shall hereafter see was probably in another position than this; so that we cannot rely on Hoker's evidence as to the date of this part of the Church. On the subject of the position of Leofric's Church, I shall have occasion to say more hereafter. I proceed to speak of the two Norman Towers.

One interesting question to which they give rise is this; Were they meant, originally, to serve as Western Towers to a fabric lying east of them, and only converted into Transepts as an afterthought? or, were they intended, from the first, to stand in their present position? The former view is, no doubt, attractive. But, after the fullest consideration, I have no hesita-

tion in joining with our best antiquaries in rejecting it. The facts on the other side are irresistible. First, there is no appearance, in the Western face of these Towers, of any suitableness to serve as a part of a façade: no portal, no ornamental work. Nothing can be more rudely simple than all the lower stages; one small window (and in the North Tower, a small door) is all there is to relieve their severity. In fact they are, up to nearly half their height, rather castles than towers. We know that (as my namesake, the great historian of the Norman Conquest, Mr. E. A. Freeman, has shown at large,) a Norman's ruling idea was to build a castle; and if he could build two, so much the better. And here our Norman architect did build two: and being under no inducement, either for ornament or utility's sake, to pierce them below (as he certainly would have been, had they been Western Towers), he gave full scope to his genius, and shut the world out most effectually. And it was no doubt owing to the fortress-like character thus imparted to the new Cathedral, that it was indebted for being soundly battered by King Stephen<sup>(6)</sup> in 1136, twenty-five years after its foundation. It is very possible that it is to a partial demolition, at that time, of the Northern Tower, that we owe the difference of character, above noted, of the upper half of it. But, secondly, the remains of Norman work west of the Towers, prove that they were from the first intended to serve as Transepts.—(See Plan).

If it be asked, Why build *transeptal* towers at all? it is obvious to rejoin, Why not? The real wonder is that there are no more of them in the world, rather

than that there should be so very few. For the arrangement is noble, and productive of a goodly external effect. The purpose of towers is not merely and solely to contain bells. They are to the exterior what the soaring arch and roof are to the interior,—the heavenward-reaching element,—the symbol of prayer. And if, in the case of churches so arranged, the central tower or spire reminds us of the folded, upward-pointing hands of some old recumbent effigy,—our two-fold towers may equally well image forth that ancient gesture of prayer, which prevailed alike among Pagans and Israelites (1 Kings viii, 54; Virg. *Æn.* i, 97), the lifting up of the outspread palms towards Heaven. It is, we may say, our Cathedral evermore

*“Duplices tendens ad sidera palmas;”*

*“Stretching forth both its hands to heaven.”*

At the same time, the interior is freed from one serious difficulty, that of providing support for a central tower;—a difficulty, which Winchester, and Wells, and Salisbury, though in different ways, know to their cost. And in one respect this treatment of the tower arrangement conduces both to beauty of interior effect, and harmony of plan. First, the magnificent uniform stretch of vault, of upwards of 300 feet, realised only here and (in a less degree) at King's College Chapel, is, of course, due to the absence of a central tower. Then as to the plan. Our Cathedral with its Transepts exhibits perhaps, the most perfect specimen in the world of bilateral (or right and left hand) symmetry. Not only does aisle answer to aisle, and pillar to pillar, and window-

tracery to window-tracery, but also chapel to chapel screen to screen, and even tomb to tomb, and canopy to canopy: St. John Baptist's Chapel and screen to St. Paul's, St. James's to St. Andrew's, St. Saviour's to St. George's, St. Gabriel's to Mary Magdalene's; Simon of Apulia's tomb and canopy (till lately) to Leofric's or some very early Bishop's; Bronescombe's to Stafford's, Oldham's to Speke's, &c. Now it is obvious that the grand characteristic feature of our Cathedral—the transeptal-tower arrangement—completes this balance of parts, or rather was the primary instance and model of it. The plan will exhibit this balance very fully.

But I have to speak, next, of the probable dimensions and appearance of the entire Norman Cathedral to which these Towers belonged. Now it may seem hopeless, at first sight, to recover these to any considerable extent; as scarce anything, besides the Towers, remains to tell the tale. The analogy, however, of other Cathedrals,\* joined to historical facts and dates connected with our own, enables us to approximate, at least, to such a result.

There are, then, two types of Norman Cathedral known to us in England: the greater—such as Peterborough, Ely, Winchester—having twelve bays in the nave; the smaller,—such as Chichester, Hereford, Durham, &c.—having seven or eight only. Ours, doubtless, belongs to the latter or smaller class. All alike, had, as a rule, a choir of three bays, and no more, with a circular or polygonal apse as its Eastern termination. Western towers were an almost universal feature: and I shall give reasons hereafter

for supposing that there were such towers here also, besides the transeptal ones, only smaller. And of all our Norman Cathedrals, there are reasons for specially singling out that of Chichester, as probably most nearly resembling what our own once was. That Cathedral is, first of all, very *plain* in style: as the few remains of ours prove it also to have been. Next, there was not a little intercommunication between the Sees of Chichester and Exeter at the Norman period. Osbern, who succeeded Leofric, and sat from 1072-1103, was Bishop when Domesday Book was compiled. And he is recorded<sup>(7)</sup> there as holding of the King, Edward the Confessor, the Church of Boseham, or Bosham, in Sussex; that famous Church, of which a rude portraiture is still to be seen on the renowned Bayeux Tapestry, as having witnessed the embarkation of Harold on his fateful expedition to Normandy. Now Bosham is but three miles from Chichester. Then Radulphus I., of Chichester,<sup>(8)</sup> who laid the foundation of its present Cathedral, soon after the year 1095, *i.e.* shortly before Warelwast began ours, (1112), was one of Warelwast's consecrators, and may well have influenced the style and design adopted here. And Warelwast himself may well have been familiar with the rising Choir and Transepts of Chichester: for he, too, had a great deal to do with the monastery, and probably with the monastic buildings, at Bosham.<sup>(9)</sup> Warelwast's successor, again (1138), of whom *Hoker* testifies (p. 110) that he was a liberal contributor to the buildings of his Church, was most probably a Chichester man; for his name, Robert *Chichester*, may well indicate as

much; just as his successor, Bartholomæus Iscanus, was doubtless an *Exeter* man; and Simon de Apulia, the next but two, really an *Apulian*.

But further, not only was our Norman Cathedral *begun* about the same time, and in the same plain style, as Chichester, and by men who may well have derived their ideas from thence, but it was also *finished* at very nearly the same time: viz., after the lapse of nearly 100 years. In both cases the work was perhaps delayed by destructive fires—ours,<sup>(10)</sup> probably, in 1161, that of Chichester,<sup>(11)</sup> certainly, in 1187. So that it was not till 1199, a full century after its foundation, that Chichester was finished; while ours, as Hoker informs us (p. 113), was completed by Bishop Marshall, who sat from 1194 to 1206. The coincidence of dates is most fortunate for our purpose; for it fully justifies us in conceiving Chichester Cathedral, as it is (for it has undergone no material alteration since) to reflect the main features of our Warelwast-Marshall Cathedral.

By putting together such evidences as remain, we may form some idea how far the plan was carried out in the earlier or purely Norman period. The Towers speak plainly for themselves. Eastward from them, at a point near the end of the third bay in that direction, apsidal terminations, traces of which have been found lately, mark the extent of the Norman Choir. Westward of the Towers, the lower courses of the Norman work are visible still, from the North Tower as far as the North Porch. The thickness of the great Western wall also accords with this date. On the interior face of both North and South walls of the

Nave aisles, disturbances of masonry occurring at regular intervals indicate the position of a series of Norman pilasters, the base of one of them having recently been found *in situ* beneath the stone seat. Outside, and corresponding to the position of each several pilaster, may be observed either flat buttresses of Norman form and masonry, or else traces of their removal. These remains, linking together the obviously Norman Towers and the massive West wall, point to the conclusion that the Norman Cathedral as Marshall found it, included the entire Nave. Thus, what was completed in the true Norman or round-arched period would seem to have been the Towers; the Choir of three bays with its apse and aisles; and (probably) apsidal Chapels east of the Towers, and north and south of the central apse; and the Nave with its aisles. All the windows were, no doubt, like those in the Transept, of a single light: the doors perhaps enriched with Norman mouldings. But the general aspect must have been as at Chichester, stern and heavy; the roofing probably as at Peterborough, of wood, flat and paneled.

Outside the South wall of the Nave, several consecration crosses, agreeing in character with Marshall's time, (c. 1200) are carved at intervals. These harmonizing with the great South-eastern Transition doorway into the aisle, possibly indicate that this part of the building was re-cast then. To the same period we may safely ascribe the small *quasi*-Transepts of the Choir, with their very plain two-light lancet windows above, and their heavily

weathered buttresses below. These last are continued—indicating still Marshall's hand—round the North of the Choir, and the Lady Chapel; and reappear in the North Porch, and again in the Consistory Court (or St. Edmund's Chapel) at the N.W. of the Nave. A two-light lancet window also survives at the top of the North Porch stairs.

We gather hence, as it should seem, that large additions were made at the Transition period. By Marshall's time, of course, the Transition to Early English had begun; and hence we have at Chichester, and once, no doubt, had here also, *pointed vaulting*, as well as other Gothic characteristics above named; only in an early stage. In Chichester Cathedral we cannot but observe the great plainness, even to sternness, of the Norman work. Not a zig-zag or a billet-moulding relieves the plain semi-circular arches; no sprays of foliage, no dragons with their tails in their mouths, play round the heavy cushion capitals. What ornament there is, was added at the Transition period; viz., the nook-shafts of Purbeck marble, and the flowered capitals of the vaulting-shafts.

But we must not take leave of our Norman-Transition Cathedral without fuller examination of Bishop Marshall's work. Hoker tells us (p. 113) that "he finished the building of his Church, according to the Plat and Foundation which his predecessors had laid." But, as has been already indicated, he must really have done much more than this: greatly enlarging, eastward, upon that plan. The remains of work of his date, as above described, shew that he added, first, behind the Norman Choir, four more



bays, with aisles and retro-choir, doing away with the apse. Exactly such an addition was made a little later (1237), to the extent of six bays, at Ely: and also, at this very period (1199), at Chichester, to the extent of two bays, still remaining; and traces of the apse were still visible there until lately. Such additions were the habit of the period.<sup>(12)</sup>

Another very important addition made to the Church at this period was the Lady Chapel.<sup>(13)</sup> Not, however, as we see it now—that is the work of a later hand, at least internally—but of the same dimensions as now, and occupying, probably, the site of Leofric's Cathedral, or rather of his choir: as will be shown hereafter. What the style of that first Lady Chapel was, the buttresses and corbel-tables remain to show: while internally, we have still remaining two pointed arches with solid piers,—totally different from any others in the Cathedral,—dividing the Lady Chapel from the side chapels. Though their mouldings have been altered to bring them into conformity with a later style, the solidity of these piers, and their quatrefoil plan, betray their real date. The side windows of this earlier Chapel were probably triplets of lancets: the east window of seven lancets. We gather this from the corresponding features of the Lady Chapel at Ottery St. Mary; which was in the 13th century,—and, though entirely rebuilt in the 15th, continues still to be,—a half-size copy of our then Cathedral.<sup>(14)</sup>

To Marshall, then, or his immediate predecessors, we owe, apparently.—

1. Additions to the Nave consisting of the North Porch, St. Edmund's Chapel, and the South East

Doorway; the introduction of pointed arches into the Transeptal Towers, with *partial* demolition of the partition between them and the Nave; larger Transept windows; Chapels of St. John and St. Paul.

2. The four eastern arches of the Choir, (now transformed into Decorated); its aisles, with the ambulatory or retro-choir; The Transeptal Choir Chapels; the pointed vaulting of the whole in a plain manner. There were two-light lancet windows, probably, below, and triplets in the clerestory.

3. The earlier Lady, Gabriel, and Magdalene Chapels; all now transformed into Decorated work.

We are now in a position to trace and discriminate the Norman and Transition work in the ground plan: tinted respectively *blue* and *yellow*. And two points are important to be observed in the Cathedral then completed: first, that it was comparatively *very plain*; and secondly, that it was not in one uniform style throughout, but in *two* styles or stages. For it was probably by these considerations that subsequent Bishops were moved to design and carry out the transformation of it into what we now see:—viz., a structure, which for combination of *architectural beauty* with *uniformity of style*, has not its equal, certainly, in England; nor, perhaps in the world.

Marshall lies buried just beyond the old apsidal termination of the Choir: on the north side (probably) of the then altar.

**THIRD PERIOD.—EARLY ENGLISH CHAPTER HOUSE—  
CHOIR STALLS.**

c. 1200-1280.

Taking leave now of our Norman-Transition Cathedral and its builders, we come upon a period of comparative repose. One noble accession was indeed made to the building at this time, viz., the Chapter House: and two Chapels, St. Mary Magdalene's and St. Gabriel's, adjuncts to the Lady Chapel, were partially reconstructed. But the Cathedral proper seems to have been left untouched for little short of a century. It had taken about 90 years to build, from 1112 to c. 1200; it was left alone for about 90 more—viz., from c. 1200 to 1280.

The Chapter House, our sole specimen of Early English is, as a deed of gift, lately discovered, shews, Bishop Bruere's (1224-1244).<sup>(15)</sup> And there is another work of importance, which proceeded, as the correspondence of style shows, from the same hand. I mean the fitting up of the Choir with stalls: of which the "misereres," or seats with carving under them, still remain; the earliest probably, and among the finest, in England. It was natural that Bruere should take this work in hand, since he it was that gave to the Cathedral body its present constitution, by placing a Dean at the head of it, and elevating the Precentor Chancellor, and Treasurer to the rank of dignitaries (*Oliver*, p. 34). Their places, and those of the whole

body, were no doubt duly assigned to them in the newly-built Chapter House: and to regulate and adorn their seats or stalls in the Choir was only to complete his work. It should be well understood, that the Choir of that day extended under the Transepts. And in the middle of it, as was most fitting, Bruere was buried. I shall give curious proofs of this, and enter somewhat into the subject of the "miserere" carvings, in the course of this History.

A little later than this (c. 1250) must be placed the unique pair of windows north and south of the retro-choir. The lights are lancet and uncusped: the circles in the head, in the south, as well as the north, were cusped originally. The roll-moulding, used on every part of our window-tracery ever after, appears here on the *principal* curves only. Later still, as the tracery shows, is the next pair of side windows; belonging to the Chapel of St. Gabriel on the south, and of St. Mary Magdalene on the north. These two windows are all that remains, apparently, of the more extensive restoration made by Bishop Bronescombe (1257-1280), of those two Chapels.<sup>(16)</sup> The Gabriel Chapel was destined by him for his burial place, and still contains his tomb: and the opposite Chapel was evidently restored at the same time, (judging by the remaining window), and in a perfectly corresponding manner.

FOURTH PERIOD.—DECORATED CATHEDRAL

1280-1370.

And now, with Quivil's accession, the 90 years' interregnum comes to an end. The Early English period, not unfruitful in accessories, but barren of operations on a large scale, closes; and the glorious Decorated period, the flower of Gothic architecture, sets in. It extends, for us, over yet another 90 years, viz., from Quivil's first year (1280), to Grandisson's last (1369); and to it we owe, in the main, our Cathedral as it is. I have already indicated the importance of Bishop Marshall's work, hitherto imperfectly appreciated. It is of still more importance that we should realise and appreciate Quivil's.

It was probably before his advancement from a Canonry to the Bishopric, that a magnificent conception had matured itself in the mind of the great master builder:—no other than the TRANSFORMATION of the Norman Cathedral into one of another style. A gigantic undertaking indeed, but (as I shall fully prove hereafter) really carried out. We can only say of it "There were giants in the earth in those days." For nearly two centuries, the heavy and stern old Norman edifice had frowned in stone upon the worshippers. To transmute this, without any pulling down, into a structure of the most airy lightness and grace, was a daring project indeed; the realisation of which was destined to be unremittingly prosecuted, through nearly a whole century, by men every way

fitted to the task. And Quivil make the first plunge :—

“ He was the first that ever burst  
Into that silent sea.”

His first work was the transformation of the great transeptal crossing from Romanesque ponderousness to Gothic grace. To appreciate the manner in which he initiated the process of translating the massive Norman-French into elegant Middle-Pointed English, we must take our stand in the transept crossing ; say at the south-west angle, looking north-east. The great features are the mazy window, fluted arches, branched vaulting, and slender Purbeck shafts, and the pierced balconies attached to the massive Norman walls. Quivil did not, however, as is commonly supposed, *originate* the pointed transeptal arches. What he did was to enrich the already existing arches and piers, and take down the partition walls, which still extended some way up to the towers. But we owe him much more than this. As will be shown at large in a later page the whole idea of the transformation was his ; as we may almost be sure that he left behind him the plans for it. And so entire was the metamorphosis, as not unfairly to have won for him the title of “ Founder of the New Cathedral,” which the “ Exeter Chronicle,” (15th century) has given him : (A.D. m.cc.lxxx.viii. *Fundata est hæc nova ecclesia a venerabili patre Petro hujus Eccl. Episcopo*). He was in reality *Fundator novi operis*. (Fabric Roll, 1308).

The document providing for his obsequies records that “ he enlarged the Church in respect of the new

work therein ;”(17) referring, apparently, to his throwing the whole of the Towers into it, thus converting them into Transepts. It is added, that he finished the greater part of the work at his own expense. Hence the Fabric Rolls, which only record works done at the common charge, mention nothing beyond the throwing down of the walls, and the enlargement of the windows. The costly work of fluting the earlier arches and pillars, and of substituting Purbeck marble shafts for stone, finds no mention there. How far therefore, Quivil's work extended westward into the Nave, we have no documentary evidence at this period to prove. I shall show by and bye, from later documents, that he completed the eastern bay of the Nave. But his greatest work was the transformation of the TRANSEPTS.(18)

And here it may be observed, that our Cathedral Historians (see list of their works, with dates, prefixed to this volume), are, to a great extent, utterly at fault as to the dates of the several parts of the building. Hoker evidently thought that Warelwast (1112), built the whole of the Choir, as it is now. Hence he concluded—for manifestly it was merely his own inference,—that the present Lady Chapel, exactly as it is, in respect of size, was the then Cathedral. Having no architectural knowledge, he and his fellows easily fell into errors of this kind. Thus he says, “Anno 1112, Bishop Warelwast began to enlarge his Cathedral Church, which at that time was no bigger than that part which is now the Lady Chapel, and laid the foundation of the Choir or Quier,” (p. 102). He evidently supposed, too, that

all that Marshall did was to finish off this Choir with the Transepts: there being as yet no Nave whatsoever. For he proceeds to ascribe to Quivil the original erection of the entire Nave: "Anno 1284, *Peter Quivil*, Bishop, finding the Chancel of his Church to be builded and finish'd to his hands, *beginneth and foundeth* the lower part or body of his Church, from the Quier westwards" (p. 103). And again, "He first began to enlarge and increase his Church from the Chancel downwards, and laid the foundation thereof," (p. 119). In all this, I need not say, there is an utter misconception of the whole matter.<sup>(19)</sup> The Nave had been finished eighty years at least: the Choir, for purposes of service, extending two bays down it; as will be shewn hereafter. Quivil's work, therefore, was properly not one of founding, but of transformation only.<sup>(20)</sup>

Another admirable feat of transformation which may, on various grounds, be safely ascribed to Quivil, is that of the LADY CHAPEL. We have seen (*Note 13*) that there was an earlier Lady Chapel, of about Marshall's date, and endeavoured to form some idea of its character. We have also seen that Bronescombe did a certain work of restoration in the Gabriel and Magdalene Chapels: which, no doubt, were coeval with the Lady Chapel: and that we can hardly be mistaken in assigning their present north and south windows to him. Now in the Fabric Roll of 1284-5, there are charges (see *Oliver* p. 379) for work done in S. Mary Magdalene's Chapel; and, as it seems, for making the windows there larger.<sup>(21)</sup> And accordingly we find, both there and in S. Gabriel's, east



windows greatly in advance, in style, upon those north and south ones which we have ascribed to Bronescombe. They are therefore, it would seem certain, Quivil's. And that he shortly after proceeded, from this beginning (which evidently extended to an entire re-casting of those Chapels,<sup>(22)</sup> except two of Bronescombe's windows), to transform the Lady Chapel in the same style, the agreement of the mouldings throughout demonstrates. We have, it is true, no notice of the work in the Rolls. But then the Rolls for the last seven years of Quivil's episcopate, 1285-1291, are not forthcoming. That the work, however, really was his, and that he had devoted himself especially to it, appears certain, from his having been buried in the centre of the Chapel; as well as from the provision made by the Chapter after his death, that he should be commemorated first among all benefactors at every Celebration in that Chapel.<sup>(23)</sup> Certain things, indeed, were left for Bitton to complete: more especially the painting of the bosses, and the leading: which were not done until Bitton's ninth and eleventh years, as we shall see presently. But we have pretty certain grounds for ascribing all the rest to the earlier of these two prelates. The recessing and arcading of the walls up to the window sills, the shafts, sedilia, and *double piscina*,—generally characteristic of the 13th century—have an early air, and must be Quivil's. The windows, it is true, exhibit an advance, in style, upon Quivil's windows in the Transepts (*see* Note 18). But they accord closely with those of Merton College, Oxford, of like date: and we have seen reason for

ascribing to him the similar windows in the side Chapels. This view is confirmed by the early character of the vaulting-rib-mouldings as compared with those of the Choir,—Bitton's undoubted work, as we shall see presently. On the whole, we may fairly, I think, leave Quivil "alone with his glory," as regards our beautiful Lady Chapel, and the Chapels adjoining it.

An interesting parallel to the transformation of our Lady Chapel, by Quivil and Bitton, is furnished by that of the Chapel attached to the palace at Wells. The original builder of that Chapel, as of the entire palace, was no doubt Bishop Jocelin (1206-1242).<sup>(24)</sup> But the banqueting house is known to be Bishop Burnell's (1275-1292)<sup>(25)</sup>: and from the close similarity of the tracery, the present windows of the Chapel must have been the work of Bishop Burnell also, or of his successor (1293-1302). And in this case, the insertion of the Decorated windows between the earlier buttresses is more observable than at Exeter, a totally different stone being used from that with which the Chapel was built at first. The parallel between the dates is remarkable: it stands thus—

Exeter Lady Chapel built c. 1200: transformed 1280-1301.

Wells Palace Chapel.....c. 1206: „ 1275-1302.

Quivil's successor, Bitton, took up the work where Quivil left it.<sup>(26)</sup> Unfortunately, the Fabric Rolls for seven years more at this period (1292-1299), are not forthcoming. Possibly, as no similar *hiatus* occurs during some 70 years (1279-1350), the whole expense during these 14 years (1285-1299), was borne by the

resources provided by Quivil, partly during his lifetime, partly by his will;<sup>(27)</sup> and so no Chapter accounts were kept for the whole period. However this be, the works carried on by Bitton were very extensive indeed.

And, first, the completion of the Lady Chapel. For in 1301, the second year after the resumption (or re-appearance) of the Fabric Rolls, we find a charge which can have no other meaning. It is for "painting *forty-nine* bosses (*claves*, keys, or key stones), "and other parts of the vaulting with gold, silver, azure, and other colours."<sup>(28)</sup> That this refers to the bosses of the Lady Chapel, with the SS. Mary Magdalene and Gabriel Chapels, is certain. For the number of bosses in them is exactly 49; viz., in the Lady Chapel, 31; in each of the other two, 9; while the colouring found to have existed on the minor Chapels, and now restored, consists of an *azure* ground, with *gold* stars and *silver* half-moons; that of the Lady Chapel being chiefly of gold, with red, green, brown, and "other colours." This entry, then, gives us the exact date of the *completion* of this beautiful work by Bitton, ten years after the decease of Quivil in 1291. The *leading* was not put on until about two years later.<sup>(29)</sup> And this entry being thus proved to belong to the Lady Chapel works, Dr. Oliver supposed, not unnaturally, that the next entry belonged to it also, and shewed that Bitton *glazed* the Lady Chapel. This, as we shall see presently, is a mistake. The "vaulting stones," in the same year, and carving of fourteen bosses at 3s. 6d. each, were probably for the choir-aisles. (See Note 35).

For a far greater work undertaken, and in the main accomplished, by Bitton, was the transformation of the CHOIR into the Decorated style, after the example set by Quivil in the easternmost bay of the Nave. The work would appear, from the Roll entries, (as we shall see presently), to have been taken in hand in two portions: the one extending to the first four bays, or the "presbytery"; the other to the remaining bays. And it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, vast as the work must have been, the *whole* of it, as regards the fabric (if we except the glazing of the western half, and the eastern triforium arcades), was actually the work of Bitton, during his Episcopate of fifteen years (Nov. 1292—Sept. 1307)—the last fifteen years of Edward I. The proof of this, in the absence of direct documentary evidence, rests upon the following facts.

We find from the Fabric Rolls, when we again catch sight of them in Bitton's seventh year (1299), that some great work is in progress, for which stone is brought in large quantities from Barley, and from Salcombe and Branscombe sandstone quarries. Caen stone is now first mentioned as having been bought in Quivil's time. (Dr. Oliver has printed this Roll at full length, pp. 392-407). From Hamhill, (*Oliver*, p. 379), stones are brought for the steps of the High Altar; and in 1303, the "three steps" are laid down, with a paved area on either side (*Fabric Roll*). This implies an advanced state of the choir works. Sir A. Raleigh was buried there in 1301. (*Deed* 2127).

But further, the Purbeck marble pillars, with their arches of native sandstone, must have been completed

at this time: together with the mullions and tracery of the windows, both in clerestory and aisles, to the extent of at least the four easternmost bays; and we cannot tell how much further. For in 1301-2, the stained glass is purchased for the great east window, and the circular gable-window above it, which lights the roof; as well as for the adjacent or easternmost pair of clerestory windows: costing £29 2s. 5½d. for the entire area of 1271 square feet of glass.<sup>(30)</sup> In the same year we have the glass for another pair: and two years later for four windows more, making in all eight clerestory windows.<sup>(31)</sup> It is interesting to observe that the glass for these, and, as a general rule, for all the windows, is ordered *in pairs* at a time; no doubt because the opposite windows are always of exactly the same pattern.

The glass for some of the aisle windows below was procured at the same time; viz., for one pair in 1302, and for another, in the retro-choir, in 1303.<sup>(32)</sup> Glass for a third pair must have been provided, though we have no record of it; for our next item, in the year last mentioned, (1303-4, Bitton's eleventh year), is for glazing the whole of the windows which have been specified. "Master Walter le Verrouer" (*i.e.*, the glazier) receives "for setting the glass of the upper gable, and of eight upper windows, and of six windows in the aisles of the new work, in gross, £4 10s."<sup>(33)</sup> A careful examination of the Fabric Roll entries, shewing the exact correspondence between the quantities of glass provided, and the area of the several windows which I have named, renders it certain that these and no others are intended: (*see Notes 31-33*). The cost

of the glass for a clerestory window was £6 4s. 1d. ; for an aisle window, £4 8s. 7½d.

We thus establish, as I conceive, with absolute certainty, the date of the completion of *the eastern half of the choir*—the “sanctuary” or “presbytery;” a point entirely misconceived hitherto. To Bitton, and not to Stapledon, it must be ascribed. And we shall see reason presently for ascribing to him the substantial features of the remainder, and the vaulting of the whole. But we may well pause here, for a moment, to estimate his work.

And it was a mighty stride indeed that was made by Bitton, in the way of carrying out the Quivilian idea. Boldly grappling with the difficulties inseparable from the solidity of the Norman walls, he pierced them with far wider and loftier arches, resting upon entirely new pillars of marble, raised and re-constructed the vaulting, and inserted both above and below, ample windows, occupying the entire space between the buttresses; which he elevated into “arcs-boutants” or “flying buttresses,” to receive the lateral thrust of the loftier vaulting.

The new pillars were formed of vast and solid horizontal slices (or partial slices rather, as examination shows) of Purbeck marble, from 9' to 15 inches thick; each pillar presenting, in its bold boutells or flutings, 5 on each side, the *appearance* of 25 shafts bound in one. Among them were no doubt included those two very remarkable pairs of Purbeck marble pillars, which flank the choir entrance: since there is a charge in 1302 for “great spikes (*spilis*) for the gate of the choir;” proving that, though the present screen was

20 years later, the western part of the choir was finished at this time, at least in a contemporary way. Eastward, the new work was carried on, as we have seen, to the altar steps, on either side of which there was paving; while for the general area of the choir we find 11,000½ of tiles laid down at 11s per thousand. The aisles were paved at the same time. (*Fabric Rolls*, 1302-3.)

The great work of the vaulting, though ascribed hitherto to Bitton's successor, was doubtless his alone, except the *painting* of the bosses and ribs. Preparations were made for the whole in his tenth year (1303). Stone in vast blocks was brought from Portland for the great central bosses; while capitals and bases (either for the side-shafts of each of the thirty windows, or for the aisle vaulting shafts) 60 in all, were imported ready carved. <sup>(34)</sup> The 30 great ridge bosses in the choir were carved on the spot, at 5s. each; those for the aisles at 3s. 6d. each. <sup>(35)</sup> And that the vaulting was actually *completed* in Bitton's time by the insertion of the "keys," or keying stones, in their places, is certain; since we find them all ready for colouring in the first year of his successor. The leading of the south aisle seems also to have been done in 1304 or 1305 (*Fabric Rolls*, n.d.) <sup>(36)</sup>: that of the choir was left for Stapledon.

It will be seen, from these interesting details, that the architectural fame of Bishop Bitton has hitherto been infinitely less than it deserves to be. The exquisite geometrical traceries, more especially, of the windows in the aisles and clerestory, (that of the East window, alas! is lost), while following, as will be seen

hereafter, the lead of Quivil's in the Lady Chapel, are a decided advance upon them in point of beauty. It may be well to add here, that the mouldings of Bitton's choir work are clearly distinguishable (*see p. 14*) from those of Quivil's work in the Transepts, first bay of Nave, and Lady Chapel; and fix the type which prevailed, with little or no variation, throughout the rest of the transformation period.

Bishop Bitton deceased September 25th, 1307: but, from various causes (detailed by *Oliver, Lives p. 55*), his successor, Stapledon, was not consecrated until October 13th, 1308. The Fabric Roll for this year of interregnum (Michs. 1307-8) is not forthcoming: an indication, perhaps, that the work was suspended, and that the carrying on of them depended much upon the personal activity of the Bishop for the time being.

Now Stapledon's first act, as recorded in the Roll of 1308-9, was (after inserting in the aisles some stained glass, <sup>(87)</sup> left already, no doubt, by Bitton), to colour the bosses in the vaulting of the Choir. It will be remembered, that these had been *carved* as long ago as 1303-4. This must have been done while they were yet upon the ground: and I am informed that the depth and intricacy of the undercutting forbids the supposition that they could possibly have been carved after they were elevated into their lofty position; nor is it usual so to carve them. The colouring, on the contrary, it is usual to lay on afterwards. Hence we gather, with certainty, that the *vaulting of the Choir was completed at some time between 1303 and 1308*. And this is a most valuable



date to have ascertained. It gives us exactly, as in the case of the Lady Chapel, the *epoch of completion* of one entire and very important portion of the Cathedral fabric. And to the glory of Bishop Bitton, and of him alone, among our Bishops and builders, does the great enterprise redound.

It is of the utmost importance to insist upon this, and to be quite clear in our minds about it, because the conclusion thus arrived at is entirely at variance with the account handed down by all our historians without exception. That account (assumed by me to be correct when my Lectures were delivered) ascribed the building of the four eastern bays to Stapledon. The inexorable testimony of the Fabric Rolls, however, leaves no room for doubting that this is an error. Nor is it difficult to see how this misconception arose, or to trace it to its first author.

And it cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that our supreme, and often our sole authority, in these matters, is the *contemporary* evidence of the Fabric Rolls, Registers, or other original documents. Whereas the respectable antiquity (it is no more than that) of our earliest historians, such as the compiler of the *Chronicon Breve Exoniense* (c. 1400), Leland (c. 1538), Hoker (1540-1583), Godwin (1587-1633) has beguiled later writers, as Izaak and Oliver, into elevating the chance *dicta* of these writers (founded manifestly on the documents) into independent authorities.

In the matter now before us, Leland (who began his "Itinerary" or account of his peregrinations, as he tells us, in 1538, temp. Henry VIII) has recorded of Stapledon that "he voltid the Presbytery." (Itin. iii,

60). Now I do not for a moment doubt that Leland's authority for this statement was no other than the Fabric Roll just referred to, which assigns the *painting* of the choir vaulting to Stapledon's first year. Whereas that entry really establishes the very contrary of what it is thus alleged to prove: demonstrating that all but the painting was done in Bitton's time. And as to all the other writers, they are merely copying Leland and one another. Dr. Oliver adds that Stapledon "rebuilt the four higher (*i.e.*, the eastern) arches of the choir," (p. 178): whereas he only added the triforium arcades (see *Notes* 54, 55, and text).

What Stapledon really did, in respect of the actual *fabric* of the choir, can have been little more than to give a few final, though not unimportant touches to the work of his predecessor. One very significant entry, in its bearing upon the state of forwardness of the works at his accession, is a payment, in his second and third years, for Purbeck marble. In 1310, William Canon is paid "for marble from Corfe," (in the Isle of Purbeck), "for the columns, £35 2s. 8d., and no more this year: because the same William received in the past year £26 13s. 4d." This, at first sight, might be taken to mean that the marble was then just imported for the columns: and that all the work had yet to be done. But if we may judge from a similar transaction twenty years later, 1332 (see *Oliver* p. 383, and below, *Note* 74 and Text), the erection of these pillars was done by contract; and so these payments were for *work done*: which agrees with our previous conclusion, founded upon the painting of the vault. And the

payment, by two instalments, regulated probably by the progress made, countenances the supposition. For the payments under the contract of 1332 were made in three instalments. (*Oliver* p. 383). Here then we obtain, what we have desiderated hitherto, some light as to the date and progress of the very important Purbeck marble works throughout the whole choir. For, by comparing the prices given in the later contract of 1332, for furnishing the *nave* columns, we gather, with tolerable certainty, *how much* of the choir-work was covered by the two payments here recorded. In that contract, each column cost £10 16s. The total sum of £61 10s., therefore, would at the most, after allowing for their slightly smaller size, purchase the eight westernmost columns of the choir, at about £8 a piece. This exactly falls in with indications which we have already met with, of the choir-work having been done in two successive portions. And there is reason for thinking that the *first* portion was finished, as far as concerns the pillars, by Christmas, 1299. For in the Fabric Roll of that year we find (*Oliver*, p. 392-396), "John of Corf, mason," (*cæmentarius*), receiving his wages weekly during the last quarter. We cannot say how long this had gone on; as the preceding Rolls for many years are wanting. But by the New Year, 1300 (the Rolls run from Michaelmas to Michaelmas), the name of John of Corf suddenly disappears, the other workmen remaining the same. This may fairly be taken to indicate that the "Corf" or Purbeck mason's occupation was gone. And thus we obtain January 1300 as the probable epoch at which the marble works of the *sanctuary* or

presbytery were completed; leaving much to do, no doubt, between that time and 1303, when the glass of this portion was, as we have seen, fixed in its place. Meanwhile, somewhere after January 1300, the marble works in the rest of the choir would be resumed; probably as the funds came in. We find that, just at this time, "all the Canons contributed to the new fabric," (*Oliver*, from *Rolls*, 1302, p. 380): while Bitton in 1303 set a good example, followed up by Stapledon for many years, by contributing the sum of £124 18s. 8d. And there must have been an earlier payment for marble; though, for want of the *Rolls*, we have no record of it. The only further notice of Purbeck work that we find at this time is, in 1303; "3s. for Master Roger's expences to Corf, to buy stones:"—not marble, but a very inferior material, used for steps and such purposes.

Thus far, then, of the marble works of the choir, which Stapledon, it should seem, found done to his hand: with, however, one curious exception. Above the arches, as a general rule, throughout the Church, we now have an arcading of clustered Purbeck shafts carrying sandstone arches, and surmounted by a balustrade pierced with quatre-foils. But it has come to light, in the course of the recent works, that the presbytery, containing the four eastern bays of the choir, was originally finished off without any such arcade. The sills of the clerestory windows were sloped down without interruption, and rested on the top of the great arches. In proof of this, the jamb shafts of the windows are found to have been carried down, at first, to that line: for they still remain, with their bases, only hidden

by the added masonry ; which has been visibly carried up, as an afterthought, so as to form an horizontal sill for the balustrade to rest on, and furnish a backing below for the marble arcade. The windows *west* of the presbytery, on the contrary, betray no change of purpose : *they* were constructed, from the first, with shorter jambs, and a horizontal sill ; and the arcade and balustrade are evidently coeval with them. In full accordance with this, the Fabric Rolls, of Stapledon's time (1316) mention thirty-eight columns, and "painting thirty-eight corbels (1318) for the galleries" (*aluras*) or triforia. Now this is exactly the number of triforium-columns in the presbytery, and nowhere else : viz., ten in each of three bays, and eight in the fourth, or easternmost ; which has only three compartments, and therefore only four columns, on each side. Stapledon, evidently, corrected this defect in Bitton's work. (*See Notes 54, 55*).

The interest of these details, for our present purpose, lies in the confirmation afforded by them of the choir having been treated in two portions. It is at the same time always interesting to trace the growth, in the minds of our great builders, of the conceptions which resulted in forms of so much grace and beauty. Nor can we fail to perceive how great a loss it would have been to our Choir, had the triforium arcade been partially omitted ; as in the original treatment of the presbytery it was. For nothing, it may safely be affirmed, is more cathedralesque, so to speak,—more essential, that is, to a Church of the very first order,—than a distinct and well developed triforium arcade. Our Norman-Transition Church, we cannot doubt, had

a regular triforium throughout. And it must ever be regretted that the absence of this feature, in the otherwise perfect Minster of York, should reduce it, in this respect, in the judgment of architectural connoisseurship, to a Church of the second order.

Another instance, which may be studied in our choir, of a great conception gradually arriving at perfection in the mind of an architect, is that of our marble pillars, one of the peculiar glories of our Cathedral. The compact diamondwise arrangement of their many shafts, so happily combining solidity with lightness of effect, and giving the utmost possible view from the aisles into the centre, and *vice versâ*, was not attained at one bound, or in a moment. The germ of it is found in those Transition pillars (already referred to, p. 9) which carry the arches between the Lady Chapel and the side Chapels. These are probably Marshall's work (c. 1200). And their quatrefoil plan is one step in advance, in point of lightness, on the circular Norman pillar. The next step is to be discerned in the unique pair of pillars which occupy the north-east and south-east angles of the choir. Here the plan has become octofoil; a slender shaft being introduced at each re-entering angle of the quatre-foil. Now these pillars are in the immediate neighbourhood of the pair—also unique—of retrochoir windows, before referred to (p. 12) as intermediate in character between Marshall's and Bronescombe's windows. The resemblance in style of these retrochoir windows to those of the choir in Westminster Abbey gives us c. 1230 as their probable date. And we cannot be far wrong in placing these pillars at the same date with them, as features in an

Early English modification of the retrochoir. We also observe that these pillars are of Purbeck; probably the first appearance of that marble, for large columns, in the Church; though, for arcading and shafts, we have it in the Chapter House, (c. 1225); and for tombs, *e.g.*, in the tomb of John the Chanter (1191), Marshall's (1210), and the early ones, whoever they belong to, in the Lady Chapel.

It only remained now to impart to this pillar, together with the nobler material, the more perfect diamond plan. This was carried out in the single pillar at the east end of the choir—midway between the two just described—by the introduction of two more shafts in each face of the pillar; the chief or cardinal shafts being greatly reduced in size, yet still sufficiently predominating. This, then (probably Quivil's earliest feat in columnar work, somewhere about the year 1285), became the typical pillar for the whole Cathedral. Quivil himself followed up this lead, in the transepts, and, as we shall presently see reasons for believing, in the first bay of the nave. The *mouldings* of this single pillar, and of the pillars of that bay of the nave are in accordance with those of the Lady Chapel; while they differ, though slightly, from those of the choir and rest of the nave. We are thus confirmed in the view that they all alike belong to Quivil: and that to him is due the idea, afterwards so magnificently carried out, of the great avenue of uniform columns, through which the eye is led on, or was intended to be, first to the *ostium chori*, and then to the glories of the Altar, Reredos, and Lady Chapel.

But it is time that we should return from this

digression respecting the marble columns, and consider in detail the various works of embellishment and equipment carried out by Stapledon in the choir which Bitton had bequeathed to him.

His first care was, as I have already said, to fix the glass provided, (apparently) by his predecessor, for the only pair of windows which remained unglazed in the eastern part of the choir. For in his first year we find three glaziers wages for "fixing the glass forms in the aisles of the new work, 13s. 4d."<sup>(37)</sup> And he proceeded without loss of time to complete the glazing, both in clerestory and aisles, and in the northern transeptal Chapel of St. Andrew. We have to regret, indeed, that we are not able to extract from the Fabric Rolls, from this point onward, so distinct and thoroughly satisfactory an account of the stained glass operations as heretofore. A change evidently took place, at this juncture, in the mode of measuring the glass; and this introduces some obscurity into the records. It will be remembered that, in Bitton's time, we found the most perfect correspondence between the quantities of glass ordered, and the area, by measurement, of the windows. Thus, if in the Rolls, we found 1271 feet of glass ordered for four windows, two in the east end and two in the clerestory; the measurement of them, according to a method still usual, (*see Note 30*), gives us 1269½ feet, or within a foot and a half of the amount ordered. For each of the remaining clerestory windows of the presbytery, again, 270 feet 9 inches were ordered; and the measurement gives us just 270 feet 1½ inches: while, for aisle windows, 190 feet, or exactly the area by



measurement, were purchased. (*Notes* 31, 32.) In all these cases too, the *whole* of the glass for one or more pairs of windows was ordered at a time. Nor is any distinction made between the glass for the lights, and that for the tracery. But on Stapledon's accession, the entries assume a different form. The glass is bought in smaller quantities at a time than an entire pair of windows required; and apparently in three portions. We have, *e.g.*, more than once, 182 feet for a *pair* of clerestory windows (<sup>38</sup>) *each* of which, we know from former entries, required 270 feet. And then we find separate entries, of a kind unexampled hitherto, for glass "*ad hernesium*." This cannot well mean anything else than the *tracery*. In the Middle Age Latin, (see *Ducange*, who however did not know of this sense of the word), *hernesium* meant any kind of "harness" or "equipment," and might well be used for tracery, as "furnishing" the head of a window. From 53 to 56 feet of glass are ordered in the entries for the *hernesium*. And it is carefully specified in one of them, that the amount of 182 feet, for other parts of the window, was arrived at by full "measurement in length and breadth," implying that the *hernesium* was not so measured.<sup>(39)</sup> And the truth would seem to be, that they began to think that the old way of measurement, (reckoning as if the lights ran all the way up to the top), was too expensive, and determined in future to buy their glass for the lights and for the tracery separately. And the 53 or 56 square feet is a fair allowance for the actual amount of glass in the heads or tracery of the windows in question. But even then the 182 feet of

glass for the lights must have been supplemented by another order, of which we have no record. By the next year, however, we find that they had resorted, (apparently), to the old system of measurement, or even consented to a more expensive one. For we have no less than 615 feet of glass ordered for a pair of clerestory windows : whereas the old quantity was 540. It is called this time, "perfect or finished glass:" and it had risen a penny a foot, from  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  to  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ <sup>(40)</sup> Perhaps there was a "strike" at Rouen in the year 1310-11.

These details,—which to some readers may seem to require an apology,—are not without their ecclesiological interest, as adding to our exact information about the proceedings of Church builders five centuries and a half ago; and they continue to verify and confirm the views above set forth, as to the date and authorship of the various portions of our choir. The number of clerestory windows for which provision is made in Stapledon's first years, (after the insertion of glass left ready for him), is exactly that which Bitton left unglazed, viz., three pairs (*Notes* 38-40). Master Walter le Verrouer is still pursuing his useful labours; and is not undeserving of the grateful recollection,—he and his "two boys,"—of an Exeter posterity, at any rate; as having, apparently glazed the whole choir, above and below, side chapels and all, with his own hands. And his prices continue to be fabulously reasonable: *e.g.*, for a fortnight's work, for himself and two boys, about one pair of clerestory windows, 6s.

The ornamentation of the choir was now finished.

For the colouring of the vault had, as has been already said, been among Stapledon's earliest cares. I will only add here that the Rolls supply us with brief but curious details of that process, (41) The total expense for oil and colours (nothing is said about the *gold*) was £1 9s. 7½d. ; of which all the particulars are given. There was first the "priming of the bosses" to be done, *i.e.*, the preparation of them to receive the gold : which was used in the greatest profusion, as may be seen in the exact restoration now made for them. The quantity of oil and colour provided for the bosses strikes us as very small ; being no more than 1½lb. of red lead, 31lbs of white lead, 1lb. 1oz. of vermilion ("cinople" or cinnabar), 7¼ gallons of oil, 3½lbs. of varnish. But the colours correspond accurately with those found upon the bosses ; and I am informed by our decorators that the quantities named are not inadequate, the largest portion of the bosses being gilt. The colouring of the *ribs*, and of the intermediate stone work, was another matter ; being done in distemper, *i.e.*, with size instead of oil. This coarser operation seems to have been committed to the care of "one daubeouer," *i.e.*, dauber, or plasterer, whose wages run on for many weeks in Stapledon's first year. Altogether, we cannot complain of the amount of information which we possess as to the colouring of the choir-vault,—the crowning work of that wonderfully graceful edifice. Some of the original red colour may still be seen tinting the wall above the screen-bay on the north side ; proving that that bay, with its pillars, was finished by 1308. And the rib, which divides the "presbytery" from the "chorus cantorum,"

retains nearly all its original colouring still; having apparently been more strongly coloured than the rest, with a view to marking the line of separation.

There was a minor piece of transformation which it fell to Stapledon to carry out, before he went on to his great and characteristic life's-work of providing the High Altar, and all other appurtenances of the Choir, in the most costly and magnificent form that money could command.

Dr. Andrew Kilkenny, Dean of Exeter, had left by his will in 1302 (Roll, in *Oliver*, p. 380) the sum of £6 13s. 4d. to the restoration fund. And that this was intended specially for St. Andrew's Chapel appears from hence, that in 1303, three years after the bequest, Bishop Bitton gave orders concerning Chantry services in that Chapel, in commemoration of Dean Kilkenny and certain of his relatives (*Oliver*, p. 203). The work of restoration was, however, necessarily deferred until the choir aisles, from which the chapel stands out, were completed. But in Stapledon's second and third years we find various entries (1309-11) for work done in certain "new chapels," including "marble columns, and metal rings for the same; bars for the windows, and iron work for the two upper windows; priming of the bosses, &c." (42) Now all these features are found in the transeptal chapels of the choir, and leave no reason to doubt that they are intended.

And it may be well to say something here of the history and purpose of these quasi-transepts as a whole. It has been conjectured by Dr. Oliver, that these projections were real transepts to the original choir. And though, of course, they cannot be coeval (as he supposed)

with the Norman Cathedral, they belong, I think, in their main structure, to Marshall's completion of that Cathedral, c. 1200. This appears from the architectural character of the buttresses without, and from that of the windows of the chambers above the chapels. Mr. Hewett has further suggested, with some plausibility, that "the corbels which, in the chamber above, support the vaulting, seem, by their size, to intimate that they were to be viewed from beneath." If so, then their whole idea of having chambers over the chapels was an afterthought. This, however, seems to be absolutely disproved by the existence of the spiral staircases, as a feature of the original structure. These cannot have answered any other purpose than that of giving access to chambers. Nor, indeed, are these quasi-transepts of sufficient height, or of a suitable character, to have ever served as actual transepts. There were, then, no doubt, chambers and chapels originally: and we may conjecture that Marshall substituted these for apsidal chapels belonging to the Norman choir, which would necessarily be destroyed when the apse was done away with. Then Bronescombe, it should seem, towards the end of his time, began to transform the Chapels into their present state,—just as he had, a little before, (see above, p. 14), almost reconstructed the Gabriel and Magdalene Chapels. For the very first entry in our Fabric Rolls is "for three windows for St. James's Chapel," *i.e.* the southern one, "8s. 9d.; for glass, 16s:" and this is on "the morrow of St. Michael, (Sept. 30), 1279;" Bronescombe's last year. (<sup>45</sup>) The putting in of the windows implies, as elsewhere, a forward state of the works. It is most probable that the St. Andrew's

Chapel was in part transformed at the same time, but left unfinished. For Stapledon's task, when he resumed the work thirty years later (1309-11), was confined, as we have seen, to providing marble shafts, apparently for one Chapel only, as the number (eight) indicates; with stained glass, window bars, and painting for the bosses. The *detached* shafts (for such they are) are not, at first sight, what we should look for: since this feature belongs rather to the days of Bronescombe or Quivil than to Stapledon's, and ceases to occur elsewhere after Quivil's time. But it would seem that Stapledon in this instance imitated, for harmony's sake, the earlier work of Bronescombe in the Southern Chapel; thus initiating the practice, which has so largely influenced the structure of our Cathedral as we have it, of following, as closely as might be, in the steps of predecessors. It is worthy of note that these Chapels are called in the Rolls "the new Chapels,"—a nomenclature peculiar to them, and confirming the supposition that they were very thoroughly reconstructed at this period.

The transformation of the Choir, with its transeptal chapels, into the Decorated style, was now complete. I have throughout spoken of the work as a transformation, and not a re-building in the strict sense: because I consider that the evidence for that fact is, though not obvious, perfectly irresistible. It may be well to note here the chief elements of proof.

There is then, first, the parallel case of other Cathedrals, in which transformations, no less vast, and perfectly discernible, have unquestionably been made. At Winchester (as Professor Willis acutely discerned,

and fully proved), the huge Norman Nave was transformed into Perpendicular by William of Wykeham, without pulling down a pillar of it. At Gloucester, again, in the Choir, the superinduced Perpendicular work hangs visibly, like a robe, upon the original Norman body.

But next, the fact of some degree of transformation in our own Cathedral is palpable, and cannot be called in question. No one doubts that the towers are Norman towers; so that their present Decorated aspect, internally, is due to transformation. Bishop Quivil, and in some degree Marshall before him, certainly initiated a policy of transformation here. They decided, that is, that it was better, as far as these towers were concerned, to remodel them, than to pull them down. The only question is, How far did Quivil and others carry on the work of remodelling, in lieu of rebuilding? And this, of course, depends in part on other questions, viz., How much was there for them to remodel? Was there really an older Choir or Nave? What proof have we that these were ever completed at all, before the Decorated period? Or if they were, were they not entirely pulled down then? There is not, to the eye of the superficial observer, nor even to the more practised eye at first sight, any appearance of their framework having been utilised, as in the case of the towers, by the Decorated builders. Nevertheless, as I have said, the proof is really incontrovertible: and the fact, once ascertained, is the key to the whole architectural history of the present Cathedral.

It was reserved for the acumen of Professor Willis, on the occasion of the meeting of the British As-

sociation at Exeter, to detect one certain proof of transformation, as distinguished from re-erection, in the Choir walls. That proof, with others to be adduced hereafter, rests on the obvious presumption, that no architect will willingly go out of his way to encumber himself with difficulties of his own creating. When we find that the harmony and correspondence which the eye expects in architecture, and which is nowhere more completely realized than here, was only attained by a number of ingenious artifices, as of masking and getting over certain inequalities and discrepancies, then we may be sure that these latter were none of the architect's making; but that he found them existing and was under the necessity of dealing with them as he best could. No one, *e.g.*, would voluntarily carry on a wall at a certain thickness to a certain point, and then suddenly make it a foot thinner, thereby involving himself in serious difficulties in the endeavour to make all look even and harmonious to the eye.

Applying this test to our Choir walls and arches, as they are, we see at once, when it is pointed out, that the existing *difference* of depth between that part of the clerestory arcade which rest on the three western arches, and that which rests on the four eastern ones, was necessitated by a sudden diminution in the thickness of the wall. The Norman Choir had evidently only extended, as usual, to three bays; and Marshall, in making his additions eastward, had not cared to make his walls so thick as the Norman ones. Hence the difference and the difficulty: a difficulty so great that, as I have shown above, Bitton was induced by it



to omit the arcading in the eastern part altogether. But Stapeldon, struck with the unsatisfactory appearance of its breaking off suddenly at the very point where ornament was most in place, determined to carry it through to the east end. And so felicitously is it done, that it is only on a second examination that the difference of depth in the arcading makes itself noticeable. As seen from the choir entrance, it appears as if the difference was due to the distance and the perspective.<sup>(45)</sup>

The same is the case with the *pillars* of the eastern portion or presbytery, as compared with those of the western portion; and from the same cause. Here, too, the difficulty arising from the sudden diminution in the thickness of the wall had to be faced and dealt with. The difference in the diameter of the pillars in the presbytery and in the *chorus cantorum* is accordingly about nine inches; in their circumference, two feet. But here, again, the inner line, as seen from the choir entrance, being unbroken, the discrepancy is not perceived. In the aisle the line *is*, of course, broken; but there it is of less consequence. The only real difficulty that arose was about the western half of the last pair of presbytery arches. The spread of the western pair of capitals being larger than that of the eastern, an awkward projection would have been the result. But a stilt or strut rising from the edge of the capital meets the arch and gets over the difficulty.

Such are the expedients by which our builders overcame perplexities arising, we cannot doubt, from the fact of their retaining and utilising the old walling.

And what puts beyond all doubt the fact of their having retained it, is that it has been found by the workmen, on removing the old coating of wash from the vaulting ribs, that the earlier ribbing, of Marshall's date, had been up to a certain point retained. Four or five feet were added to the height of the vault, and a new curve taken. But the earlier springing was preserved, with the necessary adaptation.

Another curious phenomenon in our Cathedral can only be accounted for, I believe, on the transformation hypothesis. I mean the *tiny* pair of arches (they cannot otherwise be characterized), forming a very minute bay, and flanking the screen at the west end of the Choir. Some have supposed (Winkle's *Cathedrals*, vol. ii, p. 100) that the space between the towers and altar had not been accurately calculated, and that this was the space left over; others, that the object was to have *some* feature of importance here, at the junction of Choir and Nave, to make up for the absence of a central lantern; others, that it was a mere setting for rood-screen. These conjectures are all alike seen to be gratuitous, when we consider what would of necessity happen in the endeavour to transform a solid Norman structure into a light and open Decorated one. There would naturally be, at the termination of the arcade on either side, broad wall spaces, serving by their solidity as an abutment for the long line of arches. These would in Norman work either be left plain, or be treated with solid engaged shafts. But the Decorated architect had to do something with the space: and in this instance he determined to introduce another pair of his magnificent shafted pillars, though at so small a

distance (only 2ft. 6in.) from the pair next eastward. And this was no mere "pomp and prodigality" of columnar work: since the pressure of the arcades from the east had to be provided for now, no less than in the Norman period. The expedient involved, of course, a very diminutive pair of arches; and the bay had to be eked out, above, with a single triforium arch, and above that, again, with a recess, in lieu of a clerestory window: all in a somewhat irregular and extemporized fashion. But the device was on the whole very successful; and being masked, to some extent, by the screen, is not felt to be an incongruity, but harmonizes fairly with the general design.

A curious confirmation of the view here taken of these arches is supplied by Ely Cathedral. There, at the junction of Bishop Northwold's Early English presbytery (c. 1237), with the latter (14th century) *chorus cantorum* of Alan Walsingham, exactly such a device was restored to, and evidently to meet the same difficulty. Northwold had left the Norman *chorus* intact (exactly as Marshall did at Exeter forty years before), including odd spaces left in this case at the east end of the Norman arcade. These exhibited *internally* Norman pilasters: and there he left the pilasters to this day. But out in the aisles he applied a new treatment to these spaces; introducing a very small pair of arches, forming a miniature bay in the *aisle*, exactly as ours do in the Choir itself. It will be shown hereafter that the difficulty of the corresponding odd space at the east end of our Nave was got over by another device.

I content myself for the present with these proofs

of the fact of transformation : only adding that it is quite certain, from documents, that there was a Lady Chapel as early as 1237 (*Note 13*) ; that there was also, then or earlier still (as the windows prove), a retro-choir ; that the upper windows in the transeptal Chapels, the crypt under St. James's, and also (as it seems to me) the buttresses all round the Choir and Lady Chapel, are of late 12th century date : to which may be added the corbel tables outside the east part of the Lady Chapel, and at the east end of the Choir. It seems impossible therefore to resist the evidence of the Norman and Transition structure having covered the same ground as the present one does. And the retention of its walls, in the main, is, I conceive, proved by the facts above given.

It was, then, into a Choir thus developed and transformed,—developed by Marshall, and transformed by Bitton—that Stapledon proceeded to introduce those splendid and costly equipments, which, when in their original state, and as yet neither tarnished by time and neglect, nor rifled by iconoclastic zeal, must have been almost dazzling in their magnificence. The loftiest and most elaborate episcopal throne or canopy (57 feet in height), the most exquisitely carved sedilia (27 feet high), the most costly altar, probably, (as an altar, and apart from jewels and gifts,) in the world ;—these were but a part of its furniture. Of the richness, again, of the “*tablature*,” or reredos, we can only form a conjecture from the sums lavished on it. And it seems a probable inference, as we shall presently see, that the throne was matched by stalls and other woodwork of corresponding costliness and beauty.

But let us take these various features in the order of their construction.

The first step, then, of which we have any record, was the removal of the *stalls* from their former position to the new one. For it should be well understood, that the new building involved new arrangements in this respect. In this, as in all Norman Cathedrals, the *chorus cantorum* extended originally, no doubt, across the transepts. And though we might have supposed that this arrangement would come to an end when the building was lengthened eastward by Marshall, there is every reason for saying that it was not so. In the parallel cases of Ely and Chichester (see above), the additional arches were not thrown into the Choir, but formed a retro-choir: as they still do at Chichester, and in part at Ely also. And in both those cases the Choir remained under the lantern<sup>(1)</sup>, as it still does at Chichester, and did at Ely, until Essex's alterations in the last century. The same was evidently the case at Exeter until Stapledon's time. It is true that of Marshall's four newly added bays, two, it is probable (from the position of his tomb), were thrown into the sacarium; the altar being removed much further eastward: while two, as at Chichester, remained behind the altar. This removal of the altar must have involved re-consecration; and accordingly, several consecration crosses, of Marshall's date, are still visible outside the south wall of the Nave, proving the correctness of the tradition, preserved by Hoker, that the first Cathedral was finished by him. The position of his tomb, in the third arch (counting from the east), on the north side,

is exactly what would be assigned to him as quasi-Founder, if, as I have supposed above, the altar of his completed Church was just there. But all this would not necessitate any alteration of the position of the *stalls*, but only an enlargement of the sacrarium. The stalls may hitherto have occupied the transept and first bay of the Nave, not extending into the eastern limb of the cross at all; as is still the case at Chichester. At any rate they were moved now,—I mean in Stapeldon's time. For we find in the Fabric Roll of 1309-10, a payment of 52s. 6d. to John de Glaston, for "removing the stalls" (<sup>44</sup>) (*stallos*); not the *walls*, as Dr. Oliver read it, taking it to refer to the substitution of new walls for the old: a work which, I have endeavoured to shew, never took place at all. The entry is valuable, as confirming the view that the stalls originally occupied a different position from the present one. It also falls in with the unquestionably early date of the *subsellia* or "misereres," still remaining. These, from the stiffness of their foliage, cannot be placed later than the middle of the thirteenth century: and I have accordingly ascribed them above to Bishop Bruere (1224-1244). The origin of the name of "miserere," or "misericorde," is curious. Originally, (as the term "stall," from *stare* "to stand," implies), the rule was for the clergy to *stand* during the service, when not kneeling. By the eleventh century, however, sitting had come partially into use. Afterwards the device was hit upon of making the seat move upon hinges or pivots, so that it could at times be turned up and present a smaller seat, giving less support. By this compromise the Monks or

Canons (as the case might be), were enabled to rest in some degree during an unusually long service, without altogether abandoning the standing position. As early as 1121, Peter of Clugny speaks of "the raising up of the seats," at a particular part of the service; and about the same time the word *misericorde* (or *miserere*) is applied to them, signifying the *indulgence* conceded by the use of them: whence the seat was also called a "patience" (*i.e.*, sufferance, or permission) a word used in that sense by Hooker and Shakespeare. <sup>(46)</sup>

Our stalls of the thirteenth century were no doubt devoid of canopies, as these seem not to have come in so early. But the presumption is that canopies were now provided by Stapledon. For it is very difficult to imagine that, at a time when (as we shall see presently) so rich and glorious a canopy was placed over the Bishop's seat in the Choir, there were no corresponding features added to the seats of the Dean, Precentor, and other members of the Cathedral body. Stapledon then, probably, supplied such a series of canopies as Sir Gilbert Scott has now erected. Dr. Oliver (p. 210) arrives at the same conclusion, viz., that "we cannot doubt that the stalls were in correct keeping with the episcopal throne."

It may be objected that Bishop Lacy, in the fifteenth century, gave hangings to be placed behind the stalls of the Canons and Vicars, to protect them from the wind and cold (*Oliver*, p. 205). But these were, perhaps, suspended *above* the stalls, and so hung down but partially behind them; whence we read, sixty years later (*ibid*) of "panni pendentés in choro:" <sup>(47)</sup>

the object of them being rather to protect the entire Choir than the actual backs of the Canons, which would, in ordinary canopied stalls, be protected by a wooden backing. There is, however, another not improbable conjecture; viz., that the stalls, though canopied, had an open arcading of stone behind them such as has been placed there in the recent restoration. This is rendered probable by the existence of somewhat similar arcadings behind the stalls at Canterbury; and still more by the open backs, peculiar to our cathedral, of the existing *sedilia* on the south side of the altar. It is further countenanced by the open screen-work, of later date, on both sides of the presbytery; and by the cornices, apparently of Stapledon's date, which now surmount the new arcades, and may well have discharged the same office towards older ones.

The "misereres," already mentioned, call for an especial word of notice for the quaintness and beauty of their carving. These fall under three heads:—(1) Foliage. (2) Figures from real life; a lion, with a serpent biting his heel; an elephant, probably the earliest carving of one in England; pairs of fishes and doves; combat of man and beast; a man playing pipe and tabor; another throwing a great stone; another upholding the seat. (3) Grotesque monsters and nondescripts; two Centaurs with bow and arrow; a Nebuchadnezzar, saddled, with hind hoofs and fore claws; mermen and mermaids; lion with bird's claws; birds with human hands, heads, and head-dresses, and flowery tails; a double bird with one human head; a swan drawing a knight in a boat, thought to refer to



an old Bohemian story. It is worthy of remark that Bishop Bruere, to whose time these misereres may, as has been said above, be safely ascribed, had spent five years in the East: to which may perhaps be attributed the strange and foreign character of many of the subjects; especially the introduction, probably unique, of the elephant. The new stalls, lately erected in the Choir, follow up the lead of the misereres, having foliage, animals, and human figures in great profusion, with an occasional grotesque subject.

We pass on to a remarkable and undoubted work of Stapledon's, viz., the Bishop's canopied seat, or throne, in the Choir. This, by a strange anachronism, has been referred by our historians to Bishop Bothe (c. 1470); and Dr. Oliver thinks it "evidently of his time" (p. 210). But the Fabric Rolls and the style concur in assigning it to Stapledon. In 1312 we have a charge for "timber for the Bishop's seat, £6 12s. 8½d." But the oak (from Newton and Chudleigh) was wisely kept for four years. It is not till 1316 that we find £4 paid to Robert de Galmeton (Yealmpton?) "for making the Bishop's seat by contract, (*ad tascum, i.e.,* by task-work)." There is also a charge of £1 10s. for painting, and must have been one for carving the statues in the tabernacle work (48). The cost of this vast and exquisitely carved canopy (about 12 guineas) is surprisingly small, even for those days. It was evidently intended to have a chair placed under it, and probably seats for the Bishop's chaplains, right and left of him. The carved work, which has been pronounced by good artists to be of unrivalled excellence, consists chiefly of foliage, with knops or finials of great

beauty, surmounting tabernacled niches. The pinnacle corners are enriched with every variety of heads of animals; as the ox, sheep, dog, pig, monkey, &c. Unfortunately it must be a matter of mere conjecture what the "ymagines" or statuettes were, which occupied the niches: the figure of St. Peter probably filled the topmost one.

But even this marvel of canopy work in *wood* is surpassed in beauty by the similar, but still more delicate one in *stone*, with which Stapledon adorned the "sedilia" of the reconstructed Choir. The "sedilia," it need not be said, are *the* "seats" *par excellence*; being intended for the use of the Clergy, or of the Bishop and Clergy, during part of the Church's most solemn services. They have been well described as "canopied and graduated stalls, for the Celebrant, with the sub-Deacon on his right and the Deacon on his left; or in England, more usually, for the Priest on the east, and then the Deacon and sub-Deacon (<sup>49</sup>)," recognised in our 24th Canon as the Gospeller and Epistoler. It is further remarkable, and is the key to some very interesting peculiarities in our sedilia, as well as to certain entries in our Rolls, that the earliest use of sedilia was, as we learn from the writer just quoted, to serve as *the Bishop's throne*, with seats for his assistants in ministration. "A single stall, near an altar, is found even in the Catacombs:" while "the earlier form" of the combined sedilia, occurring "in the catacombs, and repeated in the St. David's Cathedral, was a Bishop's throne, flanked by collateral seats." And there is very strong reason for saying that *our* sedilia, besides discharging their usual

functions, had an especial reference to the Episcopal Office. The Act Book of the Chapter of Exeter for the year 1639 contains an interesting record of a Visitation held by Archbishop Laud on the 20th of July in that year, at which he laid down the following Injunction: "Whereas the ancient monuments of King Edward the Confessor, and Egytha his Queen, and Leofric, first Bishop of Exeter, have, by injury of time, been much neglected and defaced; it is hereby ordered, that the same shall forthwith be repaired and beautified, and so kept from tyme to tyme clean and decent." This long forgotten Injunction, which appears to have been unknown to Dr. Oliver, is extracted, with a brief comment, explaining to what it refers, by Lyttelton, Dean of Exeter (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle), in his valuable remarks, published in 1754 by the Society of Antiquaries; a copy of which is in the Chapter library. And there can be no sort of doubt, unlikely as it may seem at first sight, that the injunction refers to our sedilia, as they then were. In proof of this, I remark, first, that just above each of the three seats is a small head; the centre one, though all are much mutilated, manifestly a Bishop's; those to the east and west of it being, no less manifestly, a male and a *female* head. This singular appropriation of the seats, by the way of symbol, involving so wide a departure from the primary and proper use of sedilia, can not otherwise be explained than by recurring (as Dean Lyttelton remarks) to the curious and well attested facts connected with the consecration of the original Cathedral, and enthronement of the first Bishop, Leofric; of which a full account will be found at the

close of this History. The most probable supposition is, that the fact of his having been placed in his Episcopal seat by Edward the Confessor and Eadgytha, each taking him by one arm (as is attested by our Charter of Foundation), was traditionally preserved ever after in the Cathedral, by means of the sedilia ; which thus served as an historic monument no less than as a ritual accessory. This tradition, including perhaps contemporary effigies of the personages concerned, Stapledon would naturally hand on in an enriched and beautified form. Accordingly, besides the small heads attached to the seats themselves, as just described, the canopied work is found, on examination, to contain three large niches, each about 5ft. in height, which evidently contained statues ; the sockets still remaining. And that one of them contained the statue of Queen Eadgytha, we have all but absolute proof. Such a statue, and that, too, evidently of considerable size, certainly existed in the Cathedral six years after Laud's Visitation ; who little dreamt, as we may remark by the way, that his Injunction would remain in force for so short a time, and continue in a state of suspension and oblivion for 200 years. Among the ravages committed by Fairfax's army, after the siege and capitulation of the city in 1645, the following is recorded by a contemporary writer, Dr. Bruno Ryves, in the "Mercurius Rusticus" newspaper, printed at Oxford in 1646 (*Oliver, City of Exeter*, p. 120.) "They pluck down and deface the statue of an ancient queen, the wife of Edward the Confessor, mistaking it for the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary." We cannot be mistaken in believing that this statue was one of three,

which occupied the niches in question; the other two being King Edward and Leofric: and that all three were removed and destroyed at this time, though this one attracted especial notice and insult. We can now better understand the language of Laud's Injunction, about preserving the "monuments" of these personages: a term not very likely to be applied to the small heads, but very suitable if there were full-length statues known to represent them.

Now, too, we obtain light upon some of our Fabric Roll entries. It seems to be absolutely certain that there were *two* structures in the Cathedral, both of which were called "the Bishop's Seat:" one of wood, and another of stone. That there was a wooden one, we have just seen. But in 1329, about twelve years later, there is a charge "for *scraping (frettenda)* the Bishop's seat" (*cathedra*), which Britton rightly interprets of a stone structure; and this can be nothing else than the sedilia. Rings and cloth are in this same year bought for this seat; probably to hang behind the open seat back, a treatment applied many years after, as we have seen, to the Canon's stalls. And the sedilia seem manifestly, once more, to be called the "Bishop's Chair" in 1348: when William Weredale, a glazier, and his two companions were paid 5s. for "cleaning the reredos (*retrodorsum*) of the great altar, and the chair (*cathedra*) of the Bishop," as if in *parti materia*. And, guided by this clue, we may fix, it should seem, the date of the erection of the sedilia; of which, singularly, we have not, as in the case of the throne, any direct record. Unhappily, the Fabric Rolls for 1313-16, the very years to which the work

may with much probability be referred, are not forthcoming. But in 1317-18, the year after the wooden throne was made, we have a charge of 32s. "for carving six statues for the Bishop's seat." <sup>(50)</sup> These might naturally, at first sight, be supposed to be for the completion of the throne of wood. But so it is, that there are but *five* niches there for statues; whereas in the sedilia the number is exactly *six*, as this entry requires: viz., three smaller ones, in addition to those above described. Moreover, we have no instance in the Rolls, I believe, of the word here used for "carving" (*talliare*, Fr. *tailler*) being applied to *wood*. I conclude therefore, that the sedilia statues are here meant. The sum is not inadequate, judging by the cost of the statues in the altar-screen four years later. These (see *Oliver*, p. 382) cost but 1s. or 1s. 6d. each. Even a figure of our Lord (apparently, from the context, a principal one, for the high altar), cost but 3s. <sup>(51)</sup> The sedilia statues were not actually put in their places, it seems, until 1319-20; when we have "2 lbs. of lead for the images in the Bishop's seat:" no doubt for fixing them into the sockets. And this is the year assigned by our historians (*e.g.* *Walcott*, s.v. *sedilia*) for the erection of the sedilia.

Another name by which the sedilia seem to have been known, in consequence of their connection with our first Bishop, was that of "Bishop Leofric's (monumental) stone." At least it is difficult to conceive what else can possibly be referred to in an entry in the year 1418 (*Oliver*, p. 389, who prints it without comment). "For writing on the stone of my Lord Leofric, first Bishop of the Church of Exeter, 20d." <sup>(52)</sup> It seems certain

that there never was any inscribed gravestone or tomb of Leofric in the Church. Leland makes no mention of it (*cir.* 1538), nor did Hoker, as we have seen (p. 3), know of any such, since he thought it necessary to supply an inscription. Nor is *scriptura*, in truth, a natural term to apply to any incised lettering. But there is a large blank wall space (10 ft. by 8 ft.) at the back of the sedilia, which may very conceivably have borne some sort of painted inscription, —perhaps an extract from the Foundation Charter (*see Photograph*), descriptive of the events commemorated by the sedilia. And, curiously, in the Fabric Roll of 1323, only two years after their completion, is a charge “for an inscription of 500 letters 12*d.*,” within 8*d.* of the sum charged 100 years later for “the writing on my Lord Leofric’s stone.” Traces of scroll work were discernible on the back of the sedilia when the plaster was lately removed. According to this view, then, the sedilia had come to be so closely identified with Leofric’s memory, as to be considered as his actual monument. A somewhat close parallel to this is afforded by the sedilia in Westminster Abbey; immediately *behind and under*, which is the tomb and effigy of Sebert, King of the East Angles, the first Founder of that renowned Minster; while on the back of the sedilia were painted the figures of *Edward the Confessor* (as second Founder) and Sebert, with St. John Baptist and St. Peter: and the corbels of the canopies represent two kings and a bishop. This removes the improbability which might seem to lie against such a mode of commemorating a Founder, or the events connected with the foundation of the Church

I have already spoken of the *beauty* of the sedilia, and the following estimate of them is worthy of being placed on record here. It is that of an architect and lover of art familiar alike with foreign and English Cathedrals. "The beauty and delicacy of the carving cannot be exceeded. But the canopy of the seat nearest the altar deserves particular attention. It is adorned with a wreath of vine leaves on each side, which meet at the point and there form a finial; and never did Greek sculptor, of the best age, trace a more exact portrait of the leaf of the vine, nor design a more graceful wreath of such leaves, nor execute his design with a more masterly finish." (53)

It is perhaps a not unreasonable conjecture that the lower parts of the sedilia, viz., the actual seats, including the small heads, are of earlier date than the canopies, and were preserved by Stapledon, exactly as the misereres of the Canon's seats were out of the older Choir. The four noble lions, which form the elbows, have much of the boldness and freedom of Early English work. It is an interesting question for the exercise of antiquarian acumen, to what date these lions and the heads belong. However that may be, it is noteworthy that the "arms or elbows" of episcopal chairs were often "decorated with lions," typical of strength and vigilance, as *e.g.* the throne of St. Hippolytus in the Lateran. (*Walcott*, s. v. Chair.)

It should not be omitted here, that the triforium arcading (also the work of Stapledon) immediately above the sedilia, contains a manifest repetition, in form of hood-terminations, of the royal and episcopal heads below. These then, being in excellent preserva-



tion, would furnish the *motif* for the restoration of those heads, and of the statues in the canopies. The head of the Confessor is encircled by the simple circle or "diadem" of the Saxon Kings for a crown, an indication, perhaps, of its being a traditionally preserved effigy. The head of the ascetic Confessor is that of "a lean and gnarled man." The countenance of the queen is more remarkable for vigour than for beauty.

Altogether there are few more curious and remarkable monuments in England than our present sedilia. We should be glad to know the name of the artist to whom we are indebted for the carving of the canopies: and though we have no direct evidence of it, it is probable that it was a Frenchman, William de Montacute. To him we certainly owe, among other work, carved doors (1302) for the Choir (now lost, unless the existing wooden ones are meant), and brackets and bosses, &c., in 1313.

Concurrently with the sedilia work, that of the triforium-arcading of the entire presbytery—Stapledon's supplement, it will be remembered, to Bitton's arcading of the *chorus cantorum*,—was going on. The "thirty-eight marble columns for the arcades (*alurae*, galleries), between the great altar and the choir, with little capitals (*capitrellis*) and bases" (Fabric Rolls, 1316,) <sup>(54)</sup> could not be more accurately described for purposes of identification. And we know the cost of them, viz., 5s. 6d. for each column; sixpence apiece more than was given a few years after for the corresponding shafts in the nave. The bill for colouring and gilding them is also forthcoming, bearing date two

years later (1318-19).<sup>(56)</sup> We have "nine heads," and again nineteen more "in the new arcades"—the rest of the work was flowers. The Choir aisles also, it seems, received at this time a finishing touch in the painting and gilding of their bosses<sup>(56)</sup> carved some years before (see *Note 35.*)

Stapledon had now worked his way steadily from the west to the east of the Choir, marking every step by fittings of the utmost beauty:—First the Stalls, then the Throne, then the Sedilia. It only remained to provide the High Altar itself, and furnish it with a reredos or screen. Of the altar, however, we find no other record than an order for "iron bars, for it and its tabernacle;" and the preparation of one large slab "for decoration." It is said by Leland, 1538 (*Oliver* pp. 176, 208) to have been of silver; and it certainly had a silver slab, as the rolls testify<sup>(57)</sup>. Of the canopied reredos we have fuller details. But while the Rolls (1318-1322) testify to the exceeding costliness of the work (as may be seen in *Oliver*, pp. 381, 382), we still can form but little idea of the character of it, save that it was rich with statuary, colouring, and gold. Every portion of it has long since disappeared. The cost of it was no less than £319 11s. 1½d.; a sum which must be multiplied by 25, at least, to give its present value—about £7500. We may gather from this, the lowest possible estimate of it, some idea of its magnificence. We know also (if we read the Rolls aright) that it contained no less than 54 marble columns or shafts, great and small, supporting capitals or brackets. Above, as it should seem (for the entries are very obscure), was a canopy of considerable extent,

wrought with bosses internally. The whole seems to have been surmounted by the figure of our Lord (<sup>68</sup>).

And now only one more feature was needed to complete the Choir fittings. This was the Screen at the west end. Our worthy historians in time past (especially *Britton* p. 90, and *Oliver*, p. 382) have been much exercised by numerous entries in the Rolls respecting "the pulpit"—"la pulpytte," as it is always written. This they supposed to refer to some pulpit for outdoor preaching, perhaps "on the north side of the cathedral." But it is plain that here, as in many other Churches, it meant the loft at the west end of the choir, called the pulpit, because the Epistle and Gospel, and sermons on occasion, were delivered from it. And we have very full details of the erection of our "pulpytte" by Stapledon. In 1317 there is a payment for "gear (hernesium) for 4 columns for la pulpytte." A deposit of 12s. is made "in part payment of 8 marks," *i.e.* £5 6s. 8d. In the following year we have, accordingly, "four columns with bases, sub-bases, and capitals, £5 6s. 8d.;" manifestly (though it is not so stated) the same articles as were bargained for in the former year. And in fact the details correspond very exactly with the four marble shafts now supporting the screen, more especially as to the unusual features of "bases and sub-bases." These entries, and others which follow, fix beyond a doubt the date of this erection; the depressed form of the arches notwithstanding. Other details are, 243 feet of marble steps (rather a puzzling item for the out-door pulpit theory); 500 lbs. of iron to make the great bars which, as is necessary in such structures, held the screen together,

and remain to this day; two altars, with marble fronts and other fittings (St. Mary's on the south, St. Nicholas, on the north side of the entrance <sup>(59)</sup>). The Dean and Chapter were so much pleased with the manner in which William Canon (of whom we have heard before, and shall hear again) executed the marble works contracted for by him, that they presented him "of their courtesy" (*ex curialitate*) with the sum of £4—fully equal to £100, at least, of our money. <sup>(60)</sup> Other charges occur for the doors of the screen, which still remain, and for carving the heads for the vaulting of the 'cloister' under it;" <sup>(61)</sup> for 2,000 tiles, many of which still remain in the floor of the organ loft; and for numerous statues, twelve of which occupied the upper two panels. <sup>(62)</sup> These entries belong to the year 1324-5; so that the work of the screen extended over seven years.

As to the purpose of this screen, it should be explained that it was not, as is commonly supposed, a "rood-screen" at all—that is, it did not carry the rood. *That* was placed—viz., a crucifix, of large size—with the addition probably in the 15th century (*Walcott* s.v.) of figures of B. V. M. and St. John,—on a separate beam or bar of iron, high *above* the screen; as at Nuremberg, Lanfranc's Church at Canterbury, Worcester, and elsewhere. Here the beam was of iron, erected in 1324; after the screen was finished <sup>(63)</sup>. The rest of it, cut out of the narrow arches on either side, were brought to view recently. As to the screen, it was really and primarily an *ambon* or high place for reading the epistle and gospel from. "In Belgium, at the close of the thirteenth century," says the learned

Mr. Mackenzie Walcott (s. v. Rood loft), "*and in France in the fourteenth, and generally in the fifteenth, the rood screen was adopted to furnish the accommodation for the epistoler and gospeller hitherto given by the ambons.*" This statement, as regards the mention of France, is the key to the peculiar nomenclature always used in the Rolls in speaking of this screen. It is manifestly, from first to last, a *French* idea, newly imported from France, and carried out in the main by French workmen. It is always "la pulpytte," the vaulting under it is "voutura" not "voltura:" and when a statuary is sent for "from London," to make some additional statues, "by the desire of the Treasurer" (who had perhaps quarrelled with the Frenchmen—certainly there is no record of his giving them anything *ex curialitate*), special mention is made of the fact, as something extraordinary. "The loft," says the same writer, "was used for reading the gospel and epistle, certain lections, letters of communion, *pastorals of bishops, &c.*: from it the episcopal benediction was pronounced. At a later date the organ and singers were placed in it." It was then, for the bishop at any rate, really a pulpit. And this variety of application of it will fully account for the existence, here and elsewhere, of two flights of stairs, without resorting to the supposition that they were for the gospeller and epistoler respectively. Our screen was furnished with an eagle desk; for there is a charge in 1330 for iron work about it. Beyond this we know of no other furniture as having been placed in it. Yet its great size, and its having been paved with costly tiles, suggests some further use for it.

And the probability is, to say the least, that the "organs" were placed here from the first, and that these were accompanied at times by other instruments. Certainly "the organs" (the word was always plural of old) existed long before this date, here and elsewhere—though probably of no great size. One of the earliest entries in our Rolls is for mending (*claudenda, i.e., closing*) the organs in 1280. The next mention of them is in 1429: but then it is a charge for making *new* organs, proving that others existed already. These, again, were replaced by others in 1513. (64) And this time it is expressly said, "new organs in the pulpit." So that it is a mistake to imagine that this position was invented for "the organ" after the Reformation. And it is so difficult to conceive where else the "organs" can have been placed all along, that we may safely consider that they took up their position there in Stapledon's days. Before that, when the Choir extended across the transepts, they may have been in the north transept, as at Winchester, or the south as at Canterbury before 1174; where, Mr. Walcott informs us, they stood on a "vaulted" structure, as with us (*above, note 61*), and as at Burgos, Sherborne, and Armagh.

The Choir, with all its furniture, was now at length completed. But the Choir, after all, was only a part of a much larger whole: and Stapledon, true to his rôle as the finisher and decorator of the works of others rather than the originator of anything of his own, was evidently bent on not withdrawing his hand until he had done complete justice to the solid labours of his predecessors. Quivil and Bitton between them

had carried (as may be seen in the coloured plan) the work of transformation right through the Cathedral to a certain point. From the Lady Chapel to *the first bay of the Nave* inclusive, all was now converted into the Decorated style; all the pillars were marble, all the walling shafted and corbelled, all the vaulting richly and deeply ribbed and lavishly bossed and coloured, all the windows traceried. But of the sixty or more large windows <sup>(66)</sup> distributed throughout the restored portion of the building, not twenty, that we know of, besides the great east window, (eight in the clerestory and ten in the aisles) were filled with stained glass at the time of Stapledon's accession. All the nine chapels; one half the Choir, above and below the Transepts; and the only bay of the Nave which could as yet boast of traceried windows,—were either glazed with common glass, or not glazed at all. How persistently and successfully, from 1308 to 1319, Stapledon carried out the work of filling them, or nearly all of them, with stained glass, the Fabric Rolls testify <sup>(67)</sup>. We are enabled to verify almost every window, the cost of it, and the proportion of coloured to grisaille glass, generally one fourth. The only windows about which there is some doubt are the great ones in the transepts, but they are probably to be included.

Two features in this great enterprise of glazing call for especial notice. The windows of the Lady Chapel had been left by Quivil, as far as we are informed, plain. And it required a special effort to accomplish this and other kinds of enrichment still wanting to that Chapel. As late as 1324, an "indulgence" was

issued for all who should in any way aid in the good work (Deed 2190). These efforts were not without effect. In 1317 we find more than 800 ft. of glass bought at Rouen. And the entry gives just enough glass for the four side windows. The effort of Stapeldon's followed the completion of the Choir window. And it is remarkable, as confirming the account here given, that the Lady Chapel glass is pronounced by good judges to be somewhat more advanced in date than the Choir glass.

The other entry of importance refers to the two windows in the Nave clerestory. These, as will be shown hereafter, had been included, as regards their framework, in Quivil's work, as long ago as 1285-90; only, no doubt, with plain glass. What is puzzling at first sight is, that the entry in question is for "two *great* forms," or shapes of glass, "in the Nave of the Church." Why "great?" for they are not larger now than the other Nave windows. But this is at once explained when we bear in mind that Quivil left all the other Nave windows in the simpler and smaller Norman or Early English forms, which Warelwast or Marshall had given to them. The scanty remains of glass in these two windows fully confirm the date thus assigned to them out of the Rolls. It must be borne in mind that some entries have no doubt perished; *e.g.*, in 1317-18, several entries respecting glass work are illegible.

It is interesting to observe that (as may be seen in *Note 67*), the glass for the Lady Chapel was the last that came from abroad, except that for the tracery of the great transept windows. In all the later accounts



the glass is English, at greatly reduced prices. And on the whole, the information we draw from the Rolls, and the light thereby thrown on the date of the Fabric, is marvellous, and probably almost unparalleled.

Nor can I forbear adverting to one or two entries of a very curious and at first sight incomprehensible character; which are however easily cleared up now that we know the history and facts of the great changes undergone by the Cathedral at this period. In 1319-20 occurs a most extraordinary charge of "9d. for digging and making a grave for my Lord William Bruere, Bishop," who had been dead nearly eighty years. But when we remember that he was a great benefactor (as shown above) to the Chapter, and the probable author of the original stalls, we see at once that he would naturally be buried (as the Cathedral martyrology testifies he was) in the midst of Marshall's Norman-Transition choir; and would be likely to have his honoured remains transferred to the corresponding place in the restored choir of Bitton and Stapledon: where accordingly they were found in 1763 (*Oliver*, p. 36). So again we find, in the next year, a similar entry of "9d. for making a grave for Lord R. Warwest," *i.e.*, for the second Warelwast; who had been dead 160 years. The actual burying, *i.e.* re-interment, is recorded in the same year.

And now it only remained to dedicate to its high purposes this "glorious work of fine intelligence:" the life's labour of three Bishops—Quivil, Bitton, and Stapledon. One Bishop had conceived and well begun the work; another had carried it out thus far; a third had adorned it. But it was reserved for a fourth,

Grandisson, to dedicate it. This was done on Sunday, Dec. 18th, 1328. (68) And the terms in which, in his well-known letter to the reigning Pope, to whom he had been chaplain (*Oliver*, p. 76), he speaks of the extent of the work, correspond exactly with the conclusions above arrived at out of the Fabric Rolls. "Ecclesia Exoniensis ferè ad medium constructa," he calls it: "the Church of Exeter finished to just about the middle" (*Grandisson's Register*, vol. i, fol. 37.) For, as we have seen, the transformation included one bay, though no more of the Nave. But we must demur, at the same time, to Oliver's statement that Grandisson "found the Cathedral in a very unfinished and deplorable condition." Unfinished, certainly; but in no wise "deplorable;" incongruous—"mulier formosa superne;" but not, as Oliver imagined, either devoid of a termination, or having a merely ruinous one. As the reader by this time understands, the remainder of the Nave was there, of Norman and Transition style, with massive pillars, painted vaulting, and windows in part round-headed, in part lancet-shaped, as in the cœval building at Chichester.

But there was still a mighty work to be done. And that it was done, and done by Grandisson, we know, in a general way, from the concurrent evidence of the style and the records. Unhappily, we know little more. Our hitherto faithful friends and chroniclers, the Fabric Rolls, do not indeed altogether desert us; but they fail to supply those details out of which we have been able, thus far, to construct a tolerably complete and well-authenticated history. We have, indeed, as before, hundreds of feet of weekly bills, ex-

tending, though with intermissions, over a period of nearly 200 years, 1327-1513. But they are chiefly devoted to the mere record of workmen's wages. We look in vain, especially in the great building period on which we are now entering, (during some years, indeed, 1334-40, the Rolls are wanting altogether), for those rich and fertile notices, however obscure and puzzling on occasions, which have enabled us hitherto to ticket with its exact date almost every feature, large and small; from the Choir and Lady Chapel, as a whole, down to the "formæ" and "hernesia" (glass shapes and traceries) of the windows, the "claves" and "sars" and "corball" (bosses, brackets, and corbels) of the vaulting; the "maremium" and "ymagines" (timber and statuettes) of the throne and the sedilia; together with the prices, for the most part, of every portion. Such notices of this kind as henceforth occur here and there refer chiefly to minor features, or to such as, having long ago utterly perished,—as the font, the cloisters, the cloister library, the "new vestry," and the western porches,—possess for us but little of present interest. Our chief loss, however, is that of glazing entries, as stained glass was not put into the Nave until the following century, and even then there is but a single entry on the subject.

On the other hand there are one or two splendid exceptions, and those, too, covering a great deal of ground, to this lack of documentary evidence: and to those I proceed to direct the reader's attention.

Bishop Grandisson's first care seems to have been to pay off arrears outstanding to the marble mason. In 1328 we have a payment of £92 3s. for marble to

William Canon of Corfe. The first payment of any consequence <sup>(69)</sup> after this, is for work "about the new font;" and again about the clock: the earliest mention of that useful piece of ecclesiastical furniture. <sup>(69)</sup> Both font and clock, however, were evidently provided already, probably by Stapledon. But these were minor matters. The vast enterprise of re-casting the Nave had to be faced and dealt with. And Stapledon, in the year of his ill-fated visit to London (1325), had evidently girded up his loins for the work. Unused hitherto, for the most part as we have seen, to other than decorative works, we now find him investing largely in building gear and materials. We read of "15 great poplar trees bought for scaffolds, and 100 alder trees." besides much timber from Torre Abbey (*viâ* Topsham), from Norton and Sidbury, and from London; and much stone from Beer, Burlescombe, and Salcombe. <sup>(70)</sup> The funds were also well in hand by Grandisson's second year (1330). In 1321 the expenditure had exceeded the receipts. But each following year exhibits a balance, varying from £43 to £419 (1330), the total being nearly £800, or from £16,000 to £25,000 of our money. This was made up in part by a final donation of Stapledon's of 1,000 marks (£666 13s. 4d.), and of £60 from Grandisson.

Thus armed, then, with materials and money, the Bishop, with the Dean and Chapter, set to work in good earnest, as we shall see presently. But before taking up the great work of transformation at the point where their predecessors had left it, they paid some degree of attention to the west front of the Cathedral. What that front was then like, we should

much like to have more distinct information than we possess. That it presented a very different appearance from its present one is certain ; and the analogy of all other Norman Cathedrals would lead us to the conclusion that it had two towers, though far smaller, doubtless, than the transeptal ones. They would seem to have carried a low pointed capping, and to have had between them a porch or Galilee of some pretensions, as at Ely, Chichester, and elsewhere. Such a porch (*porchia*),—described as being “between the gables or gabled towers (*pignones*, *Fr. pignon*, a gable) at the western part” of the Church,—was largely repaired in 1328-30. <sup>(71)</sup> In the same year “the great west door” is furnished with 100 ornamental nails, and the porch door is mended : and there is mention of windows for the “new chapel near the font,” which can be no other than St. Radegund’s in the western wall, on the south part of it ; since one of the windows is said to be “in the south gable” (or turret). <sup>(72)</sup> The interest of these details lies chiefly in the light they throw, however small, upon the original structure of the west end of the Cathedral, about which we shall find other hints further on. But we also gather from them the reason of the attention thus paid in the first instance—contrary to the usual law of progress—to the west end. Grandisson’s first object evidently was, after the religious fashion of those times (*see* above in the text, and *Note* 16), to provide for himself a place of burial, by restoring the ancient chapel of St. Radegunde, <sup>(73)</sup> as Bronescombe had restored the Gabriel Chapel, and Oldham, long afterwards (1519), restored the St. Saviour’s Chapel with the same object. And here

accordingly, after completing the Nave most magnificently, and after an episcopate of 42 years, he was buried at last (1369).

These details also shew the absurdity of Dr. Oliver's supposition, that the Cathedral, at Grandisson's accession, terminated at the north porch; "so that Grandisson extended the original length westward by four other arches" (p. 216).

The new campaign of restoration opens with one of those entries which I have spoken of, as redeeming the period from utter documentary barrenness. It is, in fact, not an ordinary entry, but a post-entry or memorandum extraordinary, attached to the Fabric Roll of 1332, and itself bearing date two years later, viz., 1334. As it is a document of so much value, both on general and local grounds, and as the exact purpose of it has not hitherto been thoroughly investigated, I shall make no apology for translating it at length. The original will be found in the Notes (<sup>74</sup>):—

"Memorandum.—That on Saturday next after the Feast of St. Vincent [Jan. 23] A.D. 1332, William Canon of Corfe reckoned with Messrs. the Dean and Chapter of Exeter concerning marble found as well by himself as by his father for the fabric of the Nave of the Church of St. Peter at Exeter. Namely for eleven and a half great columns, the price of a column £10 10s. total £124 4s. Also 60 pairs (or clusters) of columns for (*leg.* with) bases and capitals for the triforia (lit. galleries) £15; the price of each base, with capitals and columns, 5s.; also for 29 columns for the cloister, 21s. 9d.; total of the aforesaid sums, £140 5s. 9d. Whereof the said William received by three tallies (payments) from Messrs. Shireford and Peter de Castro, wardens of the Church aforesaid, £132 17 5d. And so there is due to the said William £7 8s. 4d, which he received on account by the hands of Master Peter de Castro, warden of the work. And he is bound to repair the whole of the aforesaid marble, and to make good the defects of the same at the time of its placing in the work, on reasonable previous notice. To

the doing of which he bound himself by his letters which remain with Master P. de Castro the warden of the work of the Church at Exeter. And if the said William shall have faithfully and well kept his covenant in the premises, as concerns the repairing and making good of the said marble, the said Dean and Chapter gave him hopes that they will satisfy him concerning 54s. for a quarter column, over and above their undertaking aforesaid. Afterwards the said William caused the columns and other defects to be sufficiently repaired, and therefore the said Dean and Chapter did satisfy the said William concerning 54s. for a quarter of a column; and so all was made smooth between the parties aforesaid. These last matters were done in the treasury of St. Peter's Church on Friday, the morrow of the Nativity of the B. V. M. (Sept. 9) A.D. 1334."

This very interesting and useful document is not, as Dr. Oliver represents (p. 383), an agreement or contract to furnish marble, but a *reckoning* concerning marble already contracted for, and in part furnished: the furnishing, and even the putting of it in its place, may have begun some time before. We must place that work earlier, too, than 1329: since in that year £120 17s. 5d. out of the £132 17s. 5d. spoken of in the "reckoning" was paid, and the remaining £12 in the following year. This was plainly for marble actually furnished. We are thrown back, then, to an unlimited period, apparently to Stapledon's latter years, for the preparation of the marble. And the purchase of scaffolding in 1325-6 may indicate the *terminus a quo* of the actual works in the Nave. This would allow about nine years for the preparation and putting up of the pillars, viz., from 1325—1334: by September in which year it is plain, from the document, that they were completed. This is perhaps, judging by our conclusions as to the time occupied in the Choir works (see above) a fairly adequate time for

the purpose. There would still remain gigantic works to be executed in the way of raising the clerestory walls to a greater height, putting on the vaulting and weather-roof of Nave and aisles, inserting the windows, remodelling the aisle walls, raising the flying buttresses, and in part erecting them from the ground: besides the building of the cloisters, about which alone we are supplied with dates by the Rolls. Otherwise, how much time the work occupied after 1334, whether four years or forty; whether Grandisson really finished it, or left some portion of it for his successor to do, we really have no absolute or certain information. I shall return to this subject presently. But meanwhile I would remark that the document just translated casts a curious light backward upon the architectural history of the Cathedral. It will be observed that the number of "great columns" which Canon had covenanted to supply for the Nave, was eleven and a half; the number of clustered columns for the triforium sixty. Why eleven and a half, and why sixty? For the number of columns in the Nave is, of course, fourteen and two half columns—fifteen in all; and in the seven bays of the triforium  $7 \times 10$ , or seventy. This is at first sight puzzling enough. And I cannot help thinking (to mention this by the way) that it is to a misapprehension founded on this paradox or puzzle, that we owe the strange affirmation of our writers from Leland downwards, that Grandisson "enlargid the west part of the Chirche, making vii archis wher afore the plot was made out of v." (*Leland*, c. 1538, Itin. iii. 65.) They naturally thought that there were then but five bays, requiring only ten pillars and



two responds, or half pillars (eleven in all) to be provided. And they proceeded to attribute the extension of the Nave two bays further to the same hand, as an after-thought. Imperfectly informed as they were, the uniformity of the work, and the lengthened duration of Grandisson's episcopate, naturally led to this conclusion. How else such an idea can have originated, I cannot imagine. It is certain, as we have seen, that Grandisson did *not* lengthen the Nave; since his first work was about the west front, containing then, as now, the Chapel of St. Radegunde.

And the true account of the order having been limited to eleven columns and a half, and sixty triforium pillars, has been already placed before the reader. Quivil, it has been represented, had completed the transformation of the first or westernmost bay of the Nave nearly fifty years before (c. 1284, see above); and Stapeldon had furnished all its four windows with stained glass in 1318. There thus remained only ten entire columns, and two halves or responds—eleven in all—to be supplied: with the addition (as the work still remaining shews), of two quarter columns, or thereabouts (*i.e.* one *half column*) for the aisles (N.E. and S.E. angles); and sixty triforium shafts. It is probable that the haggling about the odd "quarter of a column," between the Chapter and William Canon, referred to this small "extra," for which he thought more than the price of a "half column" ought to be allowed him. This they had refused at first, but consented to on the conditions stated; "so making all smooth between the parties."

But what proof is there, it may be asked, that Quivil

completed this bay so many years before? Why may not Stapledon, with his "scaffolding poles," have made this beginning in the Nave? Now it is of no sort of consequence to my theory (so to call it) as a whole, whether Quivil or Stapledon did this particular work. But so it is, that, on examination, the most cogent and convincing proof reveals itself, that it was Quivil's doing. First, the tracery of the two clerestory windows of this bay is identical in design, as far as it goes, with that of Quivil's acknowledged magnificent windows in the two transepts, having the *straight spoked* wheel and other characteristics, wherein they differ widely from the adjacent and all the other Nave windows. But, secondly, the mouldings of the capitals of these two first pillars correspond exactly with those in Quivil's great transeptal arches, while they differ from those of the Choir and Nave, being of earlier and less developed Decorated character. The bases of these pillars are still more strikingly different from those of the rest of the Nave; being much lower and with the members differently proportioned. And the whole bay "follows suit:" from the flatter style of the bosses, especially in the aisles, to the flying buttresses. These, as Mr. Luscombe, the Cathedral surveyor, was the first to point out, are very peculiar, having originally had a *double spring* or *arc-boutant* (though the lower one is now filled up), after the French manner.

Such is the curious confirmation which this document, joined to architectural considerations, supplies of the views advocated in this volume as to our Cathedral's history. It will also be perceived that this revelation, at once, and beyond all questioning, stamps Quivil as

the originator of the entire design of the Cathedral as it is. Not only was the Lady Chapel his own, but all that we have seen done in the Choir, all that we have yet to see done in the Nave,—pillars, vaulting, bosses, corbels, triforium, windows, buttresses,—all was a mere and faithful carrying out of a design, the *motif* of which was his, and his only.

But does this document throw any light *forward* on the probable *terminus ad quem*, or period of completion, of the Nave? It would seem that it does provided that we know how to interpret aright a subsequent entry of a very marked character. "In the first week after Trinity, May 20th, 1353," says the Roll of that year, "was the beginning of the *new work* of the Church of the Blessed Peter in front (coram) of the great cross (or rood), the expenses of which were altogether £46 0s. 11½d." This note of time has been eagerly caught at by our historians as proving that the entire work of the Nave was begun on the day here specified. "The Nave from the roodloft," says Oliver, "was commenced 20th May, 1353." Whereas the "reckoning" in 1334, twenty years before, manifestly implies that the pillars, at any rate, were then in their places. And that the rest of the work should have stood still for twenty years is simply incredible: and in truth the last clause of the entry disposes of this idea altogether. Cathedral Naves were not built for £46, even in those days. We are driven then to seek another interpretation altogether. Now there was in those days, here as elsewhere, a "great rood" or crucifix, not only in the roodloft, but also in the Nave. And we learn from an entry in 1407 (*Oliver*,

p. 388) that it stood in the south aisle. "Mending one door near *the great cross in the aisle on the south part.*" This is distinguished in the same entry from "the little cross in the Choir;" proving that it was itself in the Nave. Now if we suppose it to have stood in the third bay of the Nave from the east, facing northward (a very likely position, because of its facing the north door, and so being seen immediately on entering the Church), we are enabled at once to put a very reasonable interpretation on the entry of 1353. The "new work" will then be no other than the far-famed and unrivalled Minstrels' Gallery, "in front of the great rood." The expense may well have been £46: for we are now in times when money's worth has diminished, as compared with the early part of the century. And it would not be more than £460.

The conjecture that the "Minstrel's Gallery" is meant, is countenanced by the historical events of the period in their connexion with the city of Exeter. Exeter had of late begun to have closer relations with royal personages than heretofore; and it was mainly for the reception of such personages, by means of musicians, that "Minstrels' Galleries," here and elsewhere (*e.g.* at Winchester) were provided. Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, brother of Henry III., created Earl of Cornwall in 1225, had probably been a benefactor to the Cathedral, as had also his son Edmund; and their arms may still be seen on the tiles of St. Paul's Chapel, built by Quivil in Earl Edmund's days (*Oliver*, p. 187). The earldom had now become extinct: but Edw. III. "made a dutchy of it in 1336, and gave the same to his eldest son, Prince Edward

(surnamed the Black Prince, from his dreadful acts), and withal made this city a parcel of the said dutchy, as formerly it was of the earldom: this city being now held of the said duke, as parcel of the dutchy, by the fee farm rent of twenty pounds per. ann." (*Izacke*, p. 49); which is punctually paid to the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall, to this day. To this connexion we may with much probability trace the erection of the Minstrels' Gallery. For in those days duchies were territorial realities, and it would be likely enough that the Prince would pay an occasional visit to his feudal dependency to look after his rights. He had a contest for them in the King's Bench at Westminster in 1349, when it was ruled that all the profits arising from the "passage, lastage (ship's burdens) and quay of Exmouth were and are parcel of the fee farm of this city, holden of the Duke of Cornwall as a member of the Mannor of Lydford under the yearly rent of 2d." (*Izacke*, p. 53) And certain it is that the "Minstrels' Gallery" had not long to wait, before a very fit occasion arose for its use in 1357, three years after its erection, when "Prince Edward brought over into England John, the French king, and sundry of his noblemen, all as prisoners, who landed at Plymouth, and came thence to this city, where they were honourably received" (*Izacke*, ann. 1357), at the Cathedral (we may presume,) no less than by the civic authorities. The gallery may thus be viewed as calling to memory, by the probable first occasion of its being used, the conquering days of Poitiers.

The Black Prince was here again in 1371. Later on, *viz.*, the 6th of July, 1451, Henry VI. was received

by the Clergy and Choir at the Broadgate, and "followed them on foot into the Cathedral Church up to the high altar, and there paid his oblations" (*Izacke*, p. 81.) Edward IV. and Henry VII. also visited the city, and, we cannot doubt, the Cathedral. It is worthy of remark that the niches on either side of the Gallery, supported by the heads of Edward III. and Philippa, originally contained statuettes of St. Mary and St. Peter (*Oliver* p. 217). Now this is the original dedication of the Church, retained with little variation at the recent consecration in 1328 (see Note 68). And the arrangement interprets for us the true position and significance of such "Minstrels' Galleries," and such royal receptions. Sovereigns or Princes could not look up to that gallery, vocal in honour of them as vicegerents of God, without being significantly reminded, that one of their loftiest duties was to uphold the estate and due preservation of sanctuaries dedicated with such unsparing outlay of cost, of art, and of feeling to the glory of God, in the thankful remembrance of the true Princes and Benefactors of the human race.

The bearing of this erection of the gallery (supposing it correctly dated,) upon the date of the Nave at large, is this, that it was evidently an afterthought. In Canon's agreement *the whole* of the triforium arcading was agreed for: and it was no doubt executed by him, on a uniform plan: the corbels throughout being floral, and falling easily into the arch-curves. But the Gallery, it is clear, has replaced one whole set of arcade columns; substituting for corbels heads which trench visibly upon the original curve of the arch. And indeed the original balustrade still survives

within it. No doubt, then, the Nave was completed before 1353; and probably some little time before: so that this gallery could be called "the new work in St. Peter's Church," a term applied, in the great transforming days, to the enterprise at large.

Thus furnished, then, as it should seem with a date, *before which* the Nave was completed, (viz., 1353), we are in some degree guided to the interpretation of the Fabric Roll entries before and after that date. Now they include in 1332-3, (*i.e.*, while Canon was carrying out his contract) immense quantities of building stone from Silverton, Wonford, Whipton, Raddon, *i.e.*, Thorverton, Barley, Branscombe, Salcombe, and Beer, in Devonshire; Hameldon in Somersetshire; and Caen (*Oliver*, p. 179). These quarries include almost every kind of stone found to exist in Nave and Choir, from foundation to vaulting: as the coarser red sandstones of Wonford and Whipton for the sub-bases under the pillars; the delicate and creamy tinted variety from Salcombe and Branscombe (midway locally and geologically, between our reds and whites), for the interior walls; the semi-volcanic or trap of Silverton and Thorverton for outward facings, or for the "infillings" of the vault; the slabs of Hamhill for steps, like those of our altar; and the Pocombe from Barley, good for paving, and used with happy effect, alternately with Ipplepen and other marbles, in the restored Lady Chapel; finally, the soft grained products of Beer and Caen, for every kind of sculpture. So truly does our Cathedral gather into it and epitomize the choice "rocks" of the Diocese, and

(including the superb Purbeck) the marbles of her own and more distant regions.

The Rolls of the next seven years (1334-1341) are lost. But by 1338, oak timber, probably for the roof, was granted by the Bishop at the request of the Dean and Chapter; as is recorded, in quaint old French, in his Register (<sup>75</sup>). This indicates, of course, great progress in the works. Yet, still, there was much stone work to be carried out. In 1341, when the Rolls reappear, a large portion of the expenditure is still for stones and the carriage of them. This, however, is the last year of such expenses: and the next is the last of any very great expenditure at all. During the great building years of the Choir (1301-1324,) the annual outlay ranged from £100 to £247: with two exceptional years (1309 and 1310), when the disbursements were no less than £336 19s. 11½d., *i.e.*, no doubt, £337, a farthing per £100 being thrown back to the Treasurer (see above); and again £383, (*Oliver*, pp., 380, 381). And in like-manner, in those which seem to be the great building years of the Nave (1325-1342), the expenses range from £100 to £194, rising in one exceptional year, (1325 Stapledon's last) to £365. At the end of the period they fall at once to £35 and £50, and never rise again in all the days of Grandisson.

The great design then, we may fairly conclude, was completed in the course of the fifth decade of the century: perhaps in the actual year 1350. The first half of that decade might well be employed in using the materials so largely accumulated. And there were minor operations yet to be carried out. An extension of the Cloister, (heretofore confined, no doubt, to the



East side, as a necessary communication between the Chapter House and the great South door in the Nave,) had been in contemplation in Stapledon's time. In 1323, eight heads had been carved "for the vaulting of the Cloister," *i.e.* probably, for the bosses for each of the seven compartments, and one at the end of the ambulatory attached to the South wall of the Nave. But we hear nothing further of it until we come to Canon's contract which included 29 marble shafts for it; 4 for each of the 7 compartments. The hollows for most of these still remain. The roof and gates were finished in 1331-2: but as late as 1342, 28 heads are carved, probably corbels left in block hitherto, <sup>(76)</sup> and it was only now, it should seem (1342), completed as to the northern side.

A more important and interesting work in its bearing upon the question of the date and authorship of the Western front, was reserved for the latter half of this decade. The work about the "porches," begun by anticipation by Grandisson, at his accession (see above) is resumed in 1346: an indication that the West front had now been reached. A special entry records "further expenses about the porches:" and among them "wages of Luke and Alfred, for preparing 14 pieces of stone for the 'tablature' (flat screen work) at Wells, for one week, 2s. 8d., carriage of three pieces more, 3d; and wages of R. Crock for carving stones of the same tablature 8d."<sup>(77)</sup> As the "porches" are still spoken of as separate, we must not refer this to the great Western "screen" as it now is, but confine it to the tablature or *relievo* inside the entrances to the Church. The South entrance, then "a porch," is peculiarly rich

in interior sculpture: and this and the central one might well engage Grandisson's especial attention, as being on either side of his destined mortuary chapel of St. Radegunde. The northern entrance contains Perpendicular fan-tracery in the vaulting, and was evidently finished by a later hand. The work of the porches was still in hand two years later (1348), when Grandisson subscribed £10 towards it<sup>(78)</sup>. And in 1349, a special and final effort was made, as it should seem, to interest the faithful of the Diocese in the completion of the work: a curious entry recording the "hiring of a writer, at 8s. to write out 800 indulgences for the fabric of the Church"<sup>(79)</sup>.

And the next year, 1350-51, may well have witnessed the actual dedication of the "New Work." The entries towards the close of 1350 indicate all sorts of busy preparation, as if for such an event. "John Bellringer" is employed to clean all the statues above the high altar of the Church<sup>(80)</sup>. The bells are put in order: especially the bell called "Grandisson;" no doubt the gift of the large-hearted Bishop at an earlier period. Even the lock of the font is mended. A man is hired to clean the dwellings of the Chapter's men (*capitulares*), called "le Holdecheker:" apparently the chamber over the north porch, or "old exchequer" now superseded by the exchequer over St. Andrew's Chapel, and used within this century as a dwelling for the Sacristan<sup>(81)</sup>. In the Choir, two carpenters are busied for twelve weeks in making an entirely new set of forms, with lockers attached to them, for keeping the books. "New mats for the Chapter House," and the "trimming up of the garden of herbs within the

cloister," are minor indications that something special was imminent.

And one extraordinary kind of preparation (such at least it seems until explained), is the treatment applied to the windows of the Nave. These "by the advice of the Dean and Chapter," were "closed with clay" (*luto*). A little further on, however, it is called "*painting* all the windows with free mortar:" and large quantities of "white clay or chalk" (*argillum*) are bought for that purpose<sup>(82)</sup>. A preparation of *lime*, no doubt, was applied to them, as is still sometimes done, to subdue the excess of light: an interesting proof that they were not as yet filled with stained glass. One exception, however, there was to this rule. True to his life-long purpose, Grandisson, it should seem, would not that the Church should be dedicated until the Radegunde Chapel was completed by filling its two windows with stained glass: which accordingly was put in, with all its iron-work, about Christmas in this year (*Oliver* p. 384).

Now, too,—with the single exception of the entry in 1353, which has been referred above to the Minstrels' Gallery,—*the Fabric Rolls cease for twenty years, i.e.*, during the remainder of Grandisson's Episcopate: the next that we find being that for 1371. Surely we may say that this was for no other reason than because the "Novum Opus," the "Fabrica Ecclesiæ," which at first suggested the keeping of such Rolls, was finished. In the words of Hoker, Grandisson had completed the Church, and "fully atchieved the buildings of the same," in this year of grace 1350-51. The day of dedication, like the fact itself, we can only arrive at by

conjecture. But as it was after Christmas 1350, we may well surmise that "the Feast of St. Peter in Cathedrâ," one of his three great days, January 18th, 1351, (the others are June 29th, August 1st,) may have been selected for the purpose. Certainly the designation of the Church, seems to have been henceforth that of "St. Peter" alone; and the statue of St. Peter alone surmounts the western Front.

The work had thus fulfilled exactly 70 years from the accession of Quivil, and from his commencement of the work in his first year, 1280-81. It even seems probable that that work, too, was inaugurated by a high service on the Feast just mentioned. For great pains were taken to have "the organs" and the bells ready, and the great southern or Bell Tower opened and provided with a new window, against "The Feast of St. Peter in Cathedrâ," *i.e.* Jan. 18, 1281.<sup>(83)</sup> Truly we may say that those were seventy well spent years of architectural toil. Not in vain had Quivil adopted from Bronescombe (who had made some faint beginnings of the work) the motto "Vincit patientia;" nor had Grandisson failed to make good his hereditary blazon of "eaglets displayed or," with the motto "petit ardua Virtus."

One or two details of the work thus accomplished call for some notice here. The Eastern half of the Nave exhibits two incontestible proofs that that work was a transformation. The great towers on either side did not interfere originally, we may be sure, with the small Norman windows adjacent to them in the aisles. But when Quivil (or Stapeldon, if as is possible, he put in the tracery as well as the stained glass,) determined

to have large windows here in accordance with the general plan, the easternmost light in each of them was of necessity a blank one, being obstructed by the tower. And the same is the case with the easternmost light of the aisle window west of the north porch. There is a peculiarity, too, about the first pair of arches (eastward) of the Nave. They are 1ft. 3in. broader than the rest: no doubt because Quivil had to deal with broad surfaces, east of the Norman arches, and got over the difficulty by making his new arch broader than the rest could be. Bitton, we saw, solved the same difficulty in the Choir by a small pair of additional arches. At the west end, again, we find the last arch much *narrower* than the rest. But this becomes perfectly intelligible, if, as seems most probable, Grandisson found western towers there, and had to harmonize this part of his interior with the rest as well as he could. It is interesting to observe the more *flamboyant* character of the clerestory windows in the last two bays of the Nave, and of the *upper* window in the western gable. The difficulties attending the reconstruction of this portion of the Church will easily account for some delay, involving a slight change of style. And still, to the last, we seem to perceive the influence of French ways of building, of which we have seen many indications at an earlier period. We may now pass to the consideration of the comparatively minor operations of the Perpendicular Period.

## FIFTH PERIOD.—PERPENDICULAR.

## WESTERN SCREENS, ETC., 1370-1520.

The first of any importance, in this period, was the completion of the Cloisters, hitherto extending round but two or three sides. They were finished and glazed in 1380-81, and paved with marble in 1389 (*Oliver*, p. 386): and the fifty-seven bosses of the "south ambulatory" were painted fifty years later (1435, *Ibid.*) partly at the expense of the Priest's Vicars. Somewhere between 1377 and 1399, probably in Brantyngham's time, the Western Screen was, it seems, completed: if we except some portion of the northern entrance, which seems to be of the period of Henry VI. For the arms of Richard II. are the latest that appear upon it. The only intimation we have of a more exact date, is that six feet of stained glass, at 1s. per foot, were inserted "in the vestibule of the Church" in 1377-8, Richard II.'s first year. This indicates that some care and cost were now bestowed on the western facade.

The rest of the works of this and the following century are little else than petty restorations; of course in a later and inferior style, and generally to the detriment of the building. Such was the unhappy insertion of the present "great window at the head of the Church," *i.e.*, the east-end in Brantyngham's time (1390, *Oliver* p. 386). It is probable that Bitton's window here, no doubt of great beauty, had become

much decayed : as we have notices in 1374-77 of repairs about "the front of the Church ;" which always in those days meant the east-end. The Choir was paved with marble at this same time, and by the same liberal donor, Henry Blakborne, a Canon of the Cathedral (<sup>84</sup>). The upper part of both the towers was also altered in this and the next century. The Chapter House, having through some accident become ruinous by 1412, in Bishop Lacey's time, received its additional walling and windows : but the arms of Bishop Bothe, painted on the roof, indicate that it was not finished before 1465 (*Oliver*, pp. 108, 388). Stafford erected (c 1408) the canopies in the Lady Chapel (*ibid* p. 97).

And one work there was, by which, early in the fifteenth century, the Cathedral received a crowning feature, in a style not unworthy of it ; viz., the glazing of the Nave. In 1429, occurs a single and singular payment to "Henry, an Exeter man, for glazing a new window in the *western tower* of the Church." ("occidentali turri"). As no "western tower" in the ordinary sense can possibly have existed at this time, we can only suppose that the word is used with the same latitude by which S. M. Magdalene's chapel is called a "tower" (*Note 21*), meaning any part of the building rising much above the rest. All that we find recorded besides this is, twelve years before, an order for 102 feet of glass at 10d. a foot ; no doubt for some part of the Nave. That the whole was done, however, we have remains enough to satisfy us. The general tint was golden, while that of the choir glass was silvery ; a variation which must have had a charming effect : and the workmanship was excellent. The work would

appear to have been accomplished in the days of Bishops Stafford and Lacey, the successors of Brantingham.

And our Cathedral Church was happy, too, in the final touches imparted to it in the latest age of Gothic Architecture. Either to Richard Fox, the founder of Corpus Christi, Oxford (1487-91), or to Oliver King (1492-95) the founder of the present Bath Abbey, (after his translation hence,) we probably owe the northern entrance and other late portions of the western screen. And Oldham (1504-1519), Fox's friend and co-founder, must be credited not only with the exquisite Chapel which contains his effigy (St. Saviour's), but with the equally beautiful one of St. George (or Speke's Chantry) opposite to it, and with the delicate and elegant screening which imparts distance and veiling to all the nine chapels, and to Prior Sylke's Chantry (1508) in the North transept. This is proved by the identity of style throughout these chapels and screens, and by the occurrence of Bishop Voysey's arms in the St. George's Chapel, as Precentor (1508-9).

In 1520, then, closed this long roll of architectural achievement, extending in an unbroken series, I do not doubt (though the very earliest links of the chain are difficult of verification), from the days of Canute (1020) downwards: a period of exactly 500 years.



## RESTORATION.

It will have been apparent to the reader of the foregoing pages that the account they give of the Cathedral was in some measure derived from a study of the building during its restoration. But for this opportunity of minute structural investigation, it would not have been possible to establish, with anything approaching to certainty, the age to which almost every portion and accessory of the Cathedral may now be safely assigned. And it may be said to have been largely owing to the want of just such evidences as presented themselves to observant eyes during the restoration process that previous historians of our Cathedral have been widely misled by the evidence that was before them. Of that restoration, which has thus added so largely to our knowledge of the Cathedral's history, besides what it has done to bring back much of the grace and fashion which the genius of its builders gave it, some slight sketch is here appended; not, indeed, with the 'touch' of the historian's 'vanished hand' but at least with a desire to add a useful pendant to his work by giving such an account of the recent restoration as should show that the Cathedral in its restored condition presents a not unfaithful reflection, in a modern light, of its original state.

In its need for restoration Exeter Cathedral stood twenty years ago, on the same footing as the majority of the Churches, great and small, of our land: while in respect of its capability of regaining much of its lost beauty it may be said to have

presented a singularly favourable subject. For of the Cathedral Church that has been traced as rising in its Norman strength, and taking its larger plan at Bishop Marshall's hands, and putting on its Decorated vestures and Tudor veils, the fabric at large remained substantially intact. It is true that the glories of Stapledon's splendid equipment of the Choir were departed. The stained glass was almost entirely obliterated throughout. Neither gilding of bosses nor tinting of ribs enriched the roof. One general uniformity of buff shrouded the entire interior. Yet amid all losses and beneath all encasements the stately creation of the founders lived still, unimpaired by permanent disfigurements, and unencumbered by serious encroachments. Much had been lost, but far more remained behind to guide restoring hands and supply the *motif* for harmonious developments.

In order that the restoration may be understood, the story must first be briefly told of the chief decays and transformations that had taken place in the course of the three hundred and fifty years that elapsed between Bishop Oldham's finishing touches and the day when our recent restorers took it in hand. The condition of the building as they found it was the result partly of deliberate destruction, partly of natural decay, and ill-considered repair, and partly of the introduction of unworthy and incongruous fittings. We know that the spirit of destructiveness was abroad during Elizabeth's reign, at which time Bishop Grandisson's monument in the chapel of St. Radegunde was desecrated, (*Oliver* p. 181) and her "Visitors" defaced the Altars (*Hewett* p. 13).

Early in the seventeenth century, and before the Puritan inroad, there had already disappeared from the Nave two features which must have well exhibited in this portion of the church the balance of parts alluded to above as a leading characteristic of the entire Cathedral. These were Chapels standing on either side beneath the sixth bays (eastward) of the arcade: that on the North side reputed as St. Anne's, where Bishop Brantyngham, to whom chiefly we owe the West Front, was buried: and that on the South, said to have been dedicated to St. Agatha,—'a sumptuous curious little chapel,' (Westcote)—where Courtenays were commemorated (*Oliver* p. 215).

The magnificent accessories of the Choir which Grandisson had so boldly described as surpassing in its splendour all similar shrines of England and France, must have presented an exceptionally rich field to the Puritan axes and hammers, before which much seems to have gone down at this time. Stapledon's Reredos is believed to have been defaced in Edward VIth's reign, but the statues upheld among the shafts of the matchless sedilia are known to have fallen to the Puritans. Those of the Bishop's Throne can hardly have failed to share their fate. The stained glass was extensively destroyed. Frescoed surfaces and richly carved stalls would ill accord with the worship which prevailed when the Presbyterians assembled in the Choir separated by a vast whitewashed wall from the Independents who congregated in the Nave. The pillars of the Choir were ruthlessly hacked for the erection of galleries, mutilations and defacements were general, and the cloisters were pulled down. (*Oliver* p. 247.)

It will therefore be apparent that the restoration of the Cathedral had much ground to recover (some of it beyond recovery) if only to make good the devastations of these and earlier times. And seeing what a wealth of statuary the Cathedral possessed it is matter for rejoicing that the West Front and the Minstrels' Gallery should have ridden out the storm. Scarcely less effective, if less obtrusive, damage had been wrought by minor decays which in the lapse of time had accumulated about almost every portion of the building, to an extent that involved no small expenditure for their repair.

On the other hand, it would be wide of the truth to suppose that nothing had been done with a view to preserving and beautifying the Cathedral during these later Centuries. Since the Commonwealth, large sums have been expended from time to time in adapting it, with however little taste, to the needs and notions of the day. At about the year 1660, Dean (afterwards Bishop) Ward munificently devoted no less than £25,000, representing a very much larger sum according to present value, to extensive restorations and improvements. We hear of an elaborate "cleansing" in 1789. John Loosemoore's Organ of 1665, which was a noble enrichment for its time and has been many times added to since its erection, survives still as the foundation of the present instrument. The Bells are without exception recastings of various dates varying from 1616 to 1729. The walls of the Nave were at some time adorned in places with Heraldic emblazonments. A new Font was introduced in the year 1644 for the Baptism of the infant Princess Henrietta. Stained

glass was placed in the west window in 1766. Early in the present century the Lady Chapel was restored to its use as Morning Chapel, having been for many years used as Library. And at about the same time a new Reredos was erected to replace one in praise of which a historian has written thus:—"The Altarpiece is a very elegant and grand Performance in Painting; it perspectively represents the Front of, and three arched Entrances into, as 'twere, another Cathedral Church, the Gateways appearing as perfect Cavities, with Roofs and Sides curiously moulded. The Portraits of Moses and Aaron, supporting the two Tables of the Decalogue, seem as if really standing forward in full Relief, the first cloath'd in golden Raiment, the other with a Mitre on his Head, and array'd in other Pontificalibus, etc. The Drapery of both really admirable." (*History of Exeter, compiled from Hooker, etc., 1765*).

Such then was our Cathedral,—robbed of early splendours, extensively crumbled by decay, unworthily furnished, bare with monotony of yellow-wash—when its restoration was entered upon, under the guidance of Sir Gilbert Scott, in the year 1870. Of that restoration as a whole the point kept steadily in view may be said to have been to realize again so far as altered circumstances would permit, and where desirable to develop, the masterly conception of its original Builders.

Bearing this in mind a survey of the restored Choir, (to take that portion first), enables us to recognise in many respects its appearance as inherited from Bitton and Stapledon. In the first place, the gilding of bosses

and colouring of ribs and cells of the vaulting have given back to the roof its original richness. Not that the work here claims to be a *literal* reproduction; for neither are the corbels regilded nor do the colours above rigidly correspond to those formerly employed,—experiment having proved in this as in other instances that an exact resuscitation of mediæval colouring cannot be relied on to commend itself to modern judgment. Nevertheless, it is a point of the first importance to have regained substantially the original tone in such a feature as the roof which largely dominates the atmosphere of the whole. The effect would be greatly enhanced in this respect were it duly borne out by the restorations of the stained glass of the Clerestory windows. This was a matter to which the early builders evidently assigned much importance, hastening, where possible, to insert stained glass as soon as the windows were ready for it. Historically, it will be remembered, our Cathedral holds an almost unique place in the fulness of its records bearing upon its original stained glass. From the lights which survive and from the fragments worked up into the feeble glazing that now fills the unrestored windows, there could be little technical difficulty in restoring the stained glass of the Clerestory as the fitting complement of the colouring of the roof.

Much care and cost has been bestowed upon the floor of the Choir. Here the endeavour has been to give a suitable development to the original pavement, which may very probably have been less ornate than which has now been laid down. The expence for treatment was considerable, since, in obedience to a well-established ecclesiological principle the entire

space to the eastward of the Episcopal Throne is left clear of fixed benches. The original steps of Hamhill stone, dating from 1301, remain *in situ*, but otherwise the floor is new, and is formed of a blending of marbles and stones with encaustic tiles. Many of the former being from local beds the peculiar richness of the district in this respect is very fitly exhibited, rendering the pavement here in some sense an epitome of the geographical area of the Diocese. The quarry at Pocombe close to Exeter yields the pale red stone which pervades the whole. Another noticeable feature here is a collective memorial of the line of building Bishops who were chiefly instrumental in making the Cathedral what it is. On the surface of the plateau that rises eastward of the Throne may be seen displayed the arms of Warelwast who built, and of Marshall who extended, the Norman Cathedral; of Bruere, and Bronescombe, whose works were in the Chapter House and the Eastward side Chapels respectively; of Quivil who designed, and in part carried out, the great Transformation (*'Fundator novi operis'*); of Bitton who completed, and Stapledon who equipped, the Choir; of Grandisson who transformed the Nave, and of Oldham who screened off the Chapels. Their tombs and the work which bears the touch of each are their separate memorials. Here they are assembled as fellow-workers in a joint achievement.

Gathering additional richness about the Altar the pavement is figured in the sacrarium with evangelists and prophets, thus reflecting in part the subjects graven on the bosses overhead. The Altar itself (it need hardly be said), is new, that of the 14th Century having

long disappeared. It is, however, a matter of some interest that a marble slab has lately come to light which, from its being ensigned with five crosses after the well known rule, and from its great length, may be regarded with every probability as having served at some former time as altar-stone to the chief altar of the Church. The so-called Tomb of Leofric, a monument erected by the historian Hoker (*Note 4*) in the South Transept, on being recently taken to pieces proved to be constructed in part out of an Altar slab of which only a portion was employed, but sufficient to indicate by its crosses its original use, and that its length when entire must have been no less than 10 feet 10 inches. Stapledon's altar is commonly regarded as having been of silver; but this would not include the slab or *mensa*, for which the employment of stone was *de rigueur*. Such a phrase as '*tabula argentea*' (*Note 57*) would apply strictly to the front of the rectangular structure upon which the *mensa* was borne. (*Walcott, Archaeology, s.v. 'Altar'*). Other fragments of decorated tabernacle work and Purbeck shafts, etc., out of which this misleading memorial was oddly compounded are considered by Mr. Fulford, the well-known Church Architect, to be portions of Stapledon's elaborate Reredos. The removal of the high Altar of stone under a well-known Order in Council in the year 1550 and the destruction of its ornate accompaniments at the same time would thus appear to have furnished material which the antiquarian instincts of Hoker caused to be incorporated a few years later (1568) in his monument to the memory of Leofric.

However this may be, no attempt has been made to



reproduce the magnificent '*tablatura*' in which Stapledon's Choir culminated. The present reredos, happily unimpaired by misadventures which accompanied its erection, is a graceful work presenting centrally the Transfiguration, with the Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost on either side. With its delicate canopies of alabaster, and sculptures wrought in bold relief, its inlay of choice marbles, its redundancy of costly stones, and its attendant angel-figures, it enshrines a multitude of ideas well harmonising with its place and purpose. In point of magnitude it has been subordinated to a desire to admit the view from the Choir eastward into the recesses of the retrochoir and the Lady Chapel beyond. And in furtherance of the same intention a transverse dwarf-wall carrying a lightly-fashioned screen of iron to form the lateral extensions of the Reredos has been preferred to more solid treatment. The chief historical interest at this part of the Church necessarily attaches to the Sedilia. Here the work of restoration has consisted of a replacement, minute and painstaking to the full degree demanded by so exquisite a relic, of innumerable decays and damages. The exceeding beauty of this triple throne will never perhaps be fully realized until statues are given back to the airy niches prepared for them.

A kindred work to the restoration of the Sedilia is that of the Episcopal Throne. Buried in brown paint and varnish and in other respects impaired, this magnificent structure had long concealed the fulness of its beauty. Only the natural surface can ever rightly exhibit the peculiar merits of artistic work in

carved oak, and consequently so stately an example as the Throne could not fail to gain vastly from a plunge into the necessary bath. And it came forth thence in so fine a condition that all idea of reviving the colouring of which traces were found was well rejected. Early paintings about the base representing Bishops Warelwast, Quivil, Stapledon, and Grandisson have been cleverly resuscitated, but the five pedestals among the upper tabernacle work are as yet without statues.

A glance at the newly designed stalls which surround the *chorus cantorum* is sufficient to show that the canopies have been very fittingly made to reflect the Throne as their prototype. Being set against an open screen which replaces a dense wall, they have also a character of lightness and proportional altitude which further sustains the correspondence. In the niches formed among the shafts of the leading stalls, statues are introduced representing certain of the building Bishops. The original Early English misereres of Bishop Bruere's time are of course duly installed beneath the seats. Though born to some obscurity themselves they have done noble service in furnishing an inspiration for the profusion of carved work which characterises the entire range of new fittings below the stalls on either side. The restored Cathedral presents no more successful development than in the richly wrought succession of figures of angels and saints, of men of divers races, of beasts and birds, flowers and foliage that are scattered here with a free hand. Other fittings in wood, such as Litany faldstool, and Credence ; in lacquered metal, such as the Candelabra, Altar-rails and 'Golden gates'—well befitting the city once '*Clara*

*metallis* ; and in stone, as the Pulpit of marble and alabaster with its sculptured scenes in the lives of Our Lord, St. Peter, and St. Paul, are in due harmony with the rest. The *parclose* screens on either side are restored, and the beautiful brattishing along the top, which had been removed and set up elsewhere, is put back in its place. The extension of screens of equal lightness behind the stalls opens the Choir to its aisles from end to end, adding greatly to the impression of its breadth and also to some extent rendering the aisles available for congregation. The Organ has been largely added to and improved, and its case of classical design happily retained, with slight modifications, in spite of some incongruity of style. Historically it is not without a melancholy grandeur in being the solitary dignified addition to the Cathedral during a dreary space of three centuries and a half. It has an interest too as a memorial both of the era of the Restoration (of the Monarchy), and of the then restoration of the Cathedral.

The Nave and Transepts, though requiring much patient labour, naturally presented far less scope for decorative elaboration than the Choir, and consequently call for less remark. Here as elsewhere the careful removal of all-pervading colour wash was no unimportant part of the process. The Purbeck columns throughout the Cathedral had suffered so much from decay and mutilation as to require extensive superficial renewal in which several hundred tons of marble were employed. And it is characteristic of the scrupulous care bestowed on details that the marble for these repairs was expressly procured from the identical beds that

supplied it in the 14th Century. Previous repairs of these pillars had been executed in a mixture of tar and chalk. The vaulted roof in this part of the Church is left in the native tint of the stone, which though not uniform is not unpleasing, that its plainer treatment may mark the due relation of Nave to Choir. Looking for features of the Nave as it was in its prime the eye misses the effect of the stained glass which formerly filled its windows, the unfortunate character of that in the west window serving rather to emphasise the want. Some steps, however, have been taken to correct the deficiency, notably in the great Transeptal windows. Here, on the southern side, has been inserted in Quivil's beautiful tracery a commemorative window illustrating the Administration of justice as exemplified by characters in sacred and secular history, a subject not unworthy of a Cathedral Church, and specially befitting the Tower from whence the bells four times a year ring out the city's welcome to the Judges of Assize. The glazing of the corresponding window in the North Transept, inserted as the offering of many women, is occupied with subjects bearing on the office of women in sacred History and Christian life. Other glass in the easternmost window of the south aisle recalls the time when the shrine of St. Agatha, the burial place of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, stood over against it. Here are commemorated divers Bishops of that family, to one of whom who held the see 1478 to 1487 the Cathedral owes the majestic bell 'Great Peter.' The window at the westward extremity of this aisle felicitously restores the name and memory of Bishop Grandisson to the presence of his stately work.

Perhaps the boldest step in a restoration by no means timidly conceived was the piercing of the screen between Nave and Choir. Solid originally, and since the seventeenth Century surmounted by the Organ, it effectually bisected the Church into two separate areas for all practical uses. But it is obvious that previous to the erection upon it of the Organ, it must have offered far less substantial interference with the longitudinal unity of Nave and Choir which the vaulting of the roof, unbroken from West to East, imparts. Consequently, the retention of the Organ being deemed essential, an endeavour to lighten the obstruction by opening the screen below was amply justified, even though it involved considerable alteration of the original structure. Without pretending to open up a striking vista the piercing of the screen has extended the range of the eye at its natural level beyond the limits of the Nave to the Choir, and in a measure to the Lady Chapel itself, thus giving the length of the building its full effect. Moreover, a prevailing purpose with the restorers was, wherever possible, to advance the utility of the Cathedral for worship. It was felt that intercommunication between Nave and Choir enabling worshippers to take part in the Choir services from positions to the westward of the screen would be a useful modification:—an anticipation which is abundantly borne out by the result.

Among the various fittings provided for services in the Nave only the Pulpit calls for special remark. This Martyrs' Memorial, for such it is, though essentially modern in touch, will rank for beauty with anything the Cathedral possesses. St. Alban's martyrdom in

*John R.* the fifth Century, and that of St. Boniface (a Crediton man) in the eighth, are here associated with Bishop Patteson's in the nineteenth, in sculptured groups carved in Mansfield stone with a degree of skill and feeling that render the pulpit itself a 'sermon in stone.' The Cathedral Church of the Diocese from which Bishop Patteson went to his missionary labours could hardly more worthily preserve the memory of one of her most devoted sons.

From Choir, Nave, and Transepts we may turn finally to the Chapels. The restoration of the Lady Chapel, which includes the glazing of its windows, well exhibits the blending and maturing effect which only stained glass is able to impart. The lofty windows on the North and South are those which reproduce most faithfully the original glazing, being treated in careful accordance with evidence that survives as to the relative proportion of grisaille to more, deeply coloured glass in the original fourteenth century windows. (*See Note 67*). The result produced is not only beautiful in effect, but also interesting in the testimony it bears to the artistic skill of the *vitraryi* of that period. It is evident that they were wont to subordinate the glass, with infinite judgment, to its setting and decorative effect, while giving it at the same time a strongly marked beauty of its own. The ample surfaces of delicately lined grisaille glass allow to the stone tracery its full effect, accentuate the richer colouring, and admit the required light for uniting with deeper tints to mellow the general interior. The result in miniature in the Lady Chapel enables us to imagine the surpassing beauty of the Choir of old

when glass thus skilfully modulated occupied its windows throughout. A pavement of local stones and marbles, interrupted only where '*Petra tegit Petrum*'—Quivil's burial-place in the midst of his work—replaces a plainer surface; while the deeply coloured roof above reproduces faithfully the original. The centre panel of the arcade that stretches across the East wall to form a Reredos contained remains of its original decoration sufficiently well preserved to furnish a guide for the frescoes that are now restored to the entire series. The various costly fittings introduced into the shrine thus prepared are worthy of their surroundings, and combine with the architectural features to render the Lady Chapel a singularly winning interior.

The Chapels of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Gabriel, with the tombs of Stafford and Bronescombe, have each received a share of the renewal in detail which their intimate association with the Lady Chapel seemed to demand. Here, accordingly, the vaulted roofs have been richly coloured, in exact correspondence with original tints and patterns. The removal to more suitable situations of monuments which had been incongruously placed in these chapels brought to light two early Piscinas and cleared the ground for paving with tiles and marbles. One of the windows in St. Gabriel's Chapel, that on the South, is a skilful restoration of original glass: the East window, representing angel subjects, to harmonize with the dedication of the Chapel, is chiefly new. The Chapels of St. George and St. Saviour have received renewal of decoration in almost every detail. In that of St. George the doorway made through its Eastern wall in Puritan

times for admission to the Choir when the latter was built off from the Nave, has been done away, wall and window restored, and commemorative glass inserted. In the remaining Chapels restoration has everywhere given back original surfaces, laid floors of tiles, and effaced the accumulated decays and mutilations of piscina, canopy, corbel, niche, and screen; while here and there, as in the Chapel of St. John Baptist, stained glass has been placed in the windows.

The Chapter House remains at present *in statu quo*, much encumbered by the book-shelves of the Cathedral Library. But a very important work is in progress in the rebuilding of the Cloisters, concurrently with which a Library is being provided which will set the Chapter House free. The site occupied by the former Cloisters can be very accurately traced. The great doorway in the South Aisle of the Nave gave direct admission to them from the Cathedral, from whence the Eastern side of the square passed in front of the Chapter House to a point determined by remains that were incorporated with buildings subsequently erected partly on their site. Thence turning westward to form the South side they extended to the roadway, near to which their South West doorway, not improbably the "Door near the Precentor's House" mentioned in the Fabric Rolls (1389 *Oliver*), exists entire and in good preservation. A quatrefoil at some twenty feet from the ground at the southern end of the West Front of the Cathedral apparently ranges with a fellow quatrefoil lately brought to light on the building used as Chapter Clerk's Office, marking the limits of the western elevation. Among many fragments recently



exhumed is the socket of a cross which may be thought to have stood in the centre of the Quadrangle. The original Cloisters, it will be remembered, were not erected in one undertaking but in sections. The earliest portion, dating 1324 ("*Vetus claustrum*" *Oliver* p. 386) seems to have extended so far as to afford admission to the Chapter House. The ambulatory beneath the Cathedral buttresses was of Grandisson's date, while the remainder must have been carried out by Brantyngham and Stafford (c. 1380-1400). In due accordance with existing remains and with other evidence as to the date of the several portions the Architect for this work (J. L. Pearson, Esq.,) has designed a restoration which it cannot be doubted will substantially reproduce the Cloisters swept away in the seventeenth Century. And over the portion which extends from the Chapter House to the South Eastern angle, and thence to the Western limit, will be carried the Library; thus approximately replacing the original Library, erected about the year 1412, which "adjoined the Cloister." (*Oliver* p. 388).

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

It only remains to give a brief account of certain illustrations accompanying this volume.

One of these is a photograph of the FOUNDATION CHARTER of Exeter Cathedral, placed by EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, (as the document itself declares) on the altar of the Church of St. Peter, at the enthronement of LEOFRIC the first Bishop. This most interesting monument has been lately found, with other Charters, among the archives of the Cathedral. Its existence—that is, of the actual document here photographed—appears to have been unknown to our historians for three hundred years. Certainly none of them mention it, but refer only to transcripts of it (or rather of duplicates of it) preserved in Bishop Brantyngham's Register, and in the MSS. of C. C. College, from whence it has been copied by Kemble (*Codeæ Diplomaticus*). Those copies differ from the document before us in having a greater number of signatures. It was by no means unusual to make such duplicate charters at the time, not always signed by the same persons. That this is *an* original, will not, I conceive, be questioned by Saxon scholars and archæologists. Though written in Latin, it is endorsed in Saxon, and carries in it other marks of genuineness. The absence *e.g.*, of the *cross*, usually prefixed to the signatures, and the substitution for it of a *dot* after the name, is common to charters of Edward the Confessor's time, as

may be seen in *Kemble*, and in *Oliver*, p. 9. That this is, further, *the* original, and not a duplicate; that it is the very parchment which was laid by the Confessor upon the altar at Leofric's enthronement, is at least most probable, from the fact of its being found among the Chapter archives. The objections of Dr. Hickes (*Epistle to Showere*, A.D. 1702, p. 16) are fully refuted by the occurrence of the supposed marks of spuriousness in undoubted charters of the period (*Kemble*, p. 769, 796).<sup>(86)</sup>

The signatures attesting the Charter are of unique and wonderful interest. Those slightly undulating vertical lines of dots mark the places where, 823 years ago, the most famous men of the realm—some of whom, too, have left an indelible mark on the world's history—put their hands, not always very steadily, to a grant of no common significance. The Confessor himself and his two Archbishops,—Earl Godwin,—Earl Harold his son, afterwards King of the English, who fell axe in hand at Hastings fighting for his crown—and Tostig, his rebel brother,—are among the number.

As to the contents of the document:—after the usual religious exordium, the preamble sets forth that it is “glorious and most laudable to re-build sacred edifices when ruined, wherein to seek the divine aid; as also to vest the sacred altars with fair coverings (not forgetting to accompany them with the pure beauty of a pious heart); and to make every assembly of the faithful (*sinaxis*), whether by night or day, to resound with musical utterance.” “Wherefore,” proceeds the august document, or rather the King speaking through it, “I EADWEARD, by the grace of God King of the

English, possessed with the laudable desire (pursuant to the Divine decrees) of establishing the seat of a Bishop in the Monastery of the Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, situate within the walls of the said city, do, by the authority of the Supreme King, and by mine own, and by that of my wife Eadgytha, and of all my bishops and lords, by this charter and sign manual, to hold for all time, appoint the prelate LEOFRIC, that he be Bishop there, and after him all others who shall succeed him, to the praise and glory of the undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in honour of the Blessed Apostle Saint Peter." It proceeds further to give all the possessions belonging to the Monastery to God and St. Peter and the Canonical brethren serving there: and to signify to the reigning Pope, and to the nobility of the realm, that he makes over the Diocese of Cornwall to the See of Exeter, so that there may be one Episcopal seat; and this "on account of the fewness and wasted condition of goods and persons there: the pirates having been able to devastate the Churches of Cornwall and Crediton; wherefore it seemed good to provide better safeguard against enemies in the City of Exeter." "And therefore," he proceeds "I will that the See be there: that is that Cornwall with her Churches, and Devon (Devenonia) with hers, be in one Bishopric, and be ruled by one Bishop. Therefore I, Eadweard, King, with my hand do place this charter (*privilegium*) upon the altar of St. Peter; and leading the prelate Leofric by his right arm, and my Queen Eadgytha also leading him by his left, I do place him in the Episcopal Throne (*cathedrâ*), in the presence of my

lords and noble relations, and my chaplains ; with the affirmation and approval of the Archbishops Eadsine and Ælfric, with the rest whose names will be written out (*describentur*) at the end (*meta*) of this charter." Blessings and the contrary are then invoked, as the manner was, on the furtherers and hinderers of the good design respectively. The date is the year of our Lord's Incarnation 1050.

Such is the charter by which, properly and strictly, the See and Cathedral Church of Exeter, hold their original privileges and possessions. The genuineness of it is confirmed by the co-ordinate authority which it ascribes to Queen Eadgytha (or Edith). For, as has been shewn by the historian of the Norman Conquest, (Mr. E. A. Freeman), Exeter was most probably given to her as well as Winchester, as her wedding morning gift. And after the capture of the city by the Conqueror, two-thirds of the payment laid on the city was granted, in continuance no doubt of existing rights, to the then widowed Queen Edith. As Lady Paramount, therefore, she was naturally recognized in so important a step as the erection of the city into a See.

The *day* on which these memorable things were done is not named ; but it is a permissible conjecture that it was on the "Feast of St. Peter in cathedrâ." This derives some countenance from the fact that according to some, the installation took place in 1049 : to which year that day (Jan. 18) may by one mode of reckoning be assigned. If so, we see a further reason why that particular one among St. Peter's festivals should have been (apparently) selected both by Quivil and Grandisson for the inauguration of their work.

There would thus be exactly three hundred years from the first to the last dedication of Exeter Cathedral.

The interest of this document, for the purposes of an Architectural History of the Cathedral, lies in its significant recognition of the duty of restoring sacred edifices when ruined. We gather assuredly from hence that Leofric's Church had a real architectural continuity with that of the monastery, to whose privileges it succeeded; that it was in fact the self-same Church, that was rebuilt by Canute (c. 1020), Sweyn having reduced it to ruins in 1003. And this may carry us back still, and probably does, to the Abbey Church founded by Athelstan, c. 932 (*Oliver*, p. 173).

Happily too, we are not altogether ignorant of the outward appearance of the building which thus, for fully seventy years (1050—c. 1120), was the Cathedral of Exeter. Attached to more than one document of the period is the seal of the Bishop and Chapter, representing undoubtedly (as was the universal practice) the then Church. This seal is engraved by Dr. Oliver at the end of his *Lives of the Bishops* (No. 14, 15): but under the mistaken supposition that it represents the then Chapter House (*Ibid.* p. 189). The drawing is of course rude; but it exhibits two western towers, the one square, the other round (the latter probably preserved from the yet older structure); and a central *flèche* or spire. The *reverse* exhibits St. Peter in a boat. The position of this Church probably decided that of the present Cathedral. For it is difficult to assign any other reason for the latter having been built on ground sloping sharply from N. to S. (and, in a less degree, from W. to E. also),

than that the builders proposed in due time to absorb the older building into the newer, and with this view built their towers on either side of its prolonged axis ; though the southern one was by this means made to stand ten feet lower than the northern. The older Church may have reached no further than the apse of the new (occupying the site of the present Lady Chapel and Presbytery), and have been re-absorbed by Marshall in 1200.

Our second photograph exhibits the most characteristic feature of the Cathedral, viz., the magnificent perspective of fluted columns and richly ribbed roof. This is probably unrivalled in any country.

The coloured plan is an attempt, necessarily imperfect, (yet more perfect perhaps than there are *data* for constructing for any other Cathedral) to assign to every portion of the building its date and author. It will be seen that the Norman work is represented by *blue* ; the Transition and Early English by three shades of *yellow* ; the Decorated transformation works by four of *red* ; and the Perpendicular additions by three of *green*. The dates assigned to the windows are those of the tracery, not of the stained glass.

Lastly, the exterior of this volume carries the arms of PETER QUIVIL ; and I trust that it will be felt that what we now know of his work justifies the selection. He is, in truth, the man who gave us our Cathedral. He must, we may almost say, have left the plans for it ; and the reverence in which his memory was held secured the carrying them into effect, with the least

possible variation, by Bishop after Bishop, for a period of sixty years after his decease:—a rare case indeed in Cathedral history. The most perfect exemplification of this is to be found in the great west window, which adheres faithfully to the type of the transept windows with only an increased grandeur of scale, and the substitution of a mazy centre for the straight-spoked wheel of Quivil's design. Yet there must have been fully sixty years between the two. But indeed the windows throughout are to a marvellous degree his. Those of the Choir clerestory follow the type initiated by him in the Lady Chapel; those in the Choir aisles, the different type, also his, of the chapels adjoining it. But in the Nave a peculiarity appears which may, I conceive, without any stretch of the imagination, be traced to the *arms* adopted by Quivil. He had not, it would seem (from his adopting Bronescombe's motto), any hereditary arms. But his English birth (he was a native of Exeter), combined probably with a French descent—his mother's name was Heloisa, the name of the Conqueror's mother—led him to combine in his arms, as Bishop, the white roses of England (not yet publicly adopted as a royal cognizance), with the golden lilies of France. His coat, it will be seen, is "Azure, a cross argent, between two roses in chief and two fleur-de-lys in base or." But there was probably a further and deeper meaning in his assumption of this cognizance. The Rose is by ancient usage the symbol of our Lord's Divine Royalty, the Lily of His Human Nature: so that the coat, uniting these to an azure field and pure white cross, is largely symbolical of the mystery of our salvation. And the aim of



Quivil's life, it may well seem, was to carry out this beautiful symbolism in the goodly Church over which he was set to preside. He it was who first imparted to its interior the cruciform shape: and who provided that each arm of the cross should be enriched with the most lovely window tracery, exhibiting, almost to the exclusion of every other form, those of the lily and the rose. The pattern in each case is of a large rose, set around with lilies or roses or both, and resting as it were on "two heaps of lilies," one on either side. This for the extremities of the cross: while throughout the whole Church with the rarest exceptions, every window-light head is a trefoil or *fleur-de-lis*: the Nave windows below (except the two western bays) are of the lily pattern throughout; while in the Nave clerestory there is a regular alternation in the heads, of circles or roses with curved-triangle or lily forms. And all through the Church the triforium arcade, with the balustrade resting upon it, exhibits once more, in boundless profusion, the golden lilies below, the argent roses above.

## NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> There was a Monastery here in the 7th century, since Bp. Boniface of Crediton, who was martyred in 755, *æt.* 75, received his early education in it under Wolfhard, the Abbot, "In Exanchester, quod modo Exonia dicitur."—*Bp. Grandisson's Legenda Sanctorum*. On the later Saxon Church and Leofric's instalment, see *Oliver*. Athelstan is said to have dedicated the Church, *cir.* 932. to SS. Mary and Peter. (*Oliver* pp. 3, 173.)

<sup>2</sup> "Anno Domini M<sup>o</sup> Centesimo xii primo [not prima] fundata est Exon. Ecclesia." *Chronicon Breve Exc. Ecclesie*, among Laud's MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The *original* has just been found among the Cathedral MSS., (No. 3625, fol. 54-59).

<sup>3</sup> The Cathedral Churches are Chalons-sur-Marne; Lyons, (c. 1200 or earlier, *Wood's Letters of an Architect*, i., 130); Geneva (c. 1219 *Ibid* p. 181); and in some sense Barcelona (c. 1326). Here, however, the transepts only form the base of the towers, which are erected above them (*Street's Spain*, p. 298). Angoulême had originally two transept towers, but the Northern only remains (*Parker's Architecture*, xxxv., 44); Le Mans has a Southern one only. Single transept Towers, indeed, are not rare, as at Fountains and Doré. Canterbury, in its Norman stage, had towers standing N. and S. of the Nave-aisles, half-way down its length, ("Sub medio longitudinis aulæ ipsius [*i.e.* of Nave] duæ turres erant prominentes ultra Ecclesiæ alas,") dedicated to Pope Gregory and S. Martin (*Gervase* i., 292, quoted in Rev. E. Mackenzie Walcott's *Documentary History of English Cathedrals*, to whom I am indebted for this note). Exeter would seem to be one of the earliest known instances of the arrangement. Mr. Walcott considers that transeptal towers were for the convenience of the canons in ringing the bells for the choir services, the western towers containing the bells for festivals. (*Sacred Archæology*, p. 587.)

<sup>4</sup> Hoker's words are, "This Leofricus died an. 1073, and was buried in the Cemitory, or Churchyard of his own Church, under a simple and broken marble stone; which place, by the since enlarging of his Church, is now within the South Tower of the same, where of late, anno 1568, a new monument was erected to the memory of so good, worthy, and noble a Personage, by the industry of the writer hereof [*Mr. Hoker* or *Hooker*] but at the charges of the Dean and Chapter." P. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

<sup>6</sup> Muniment quoted by Oliver, p. 175: shewing that Stephen bestowed a rent out of Colyton Manor as compensation.

<sup>7</sup> "Osbernus Episcopus tenet de Rege Ecclesiam de Boseham, et de Rege Edwardo tenuit"—*Domesday*, vol. I. fol. 17.

<sup>8</sup> "Radulphus I. sedit annos Domini M.X.C.V.—hic reedificavit ecclesiam cic. inge combustam."—From an old 14th century *Register of Chichester Cathedral*.

<sup>9</sup> Leland, in his *Itinerary*, or record of journeys through England, "begunne about 1538, 30 Hen. VIII." (title), says, speaking of Plymton S. Mary Priory, "One William Warwist, Bisshop of Excester, displeasid with the Canons or Prebendaries of a Fre Chapell, of the Fundation of the Saxon Kinges, found means to dissolve their College, wherein was a Deane and four Prebendaries. The Prebende of Plymton self was the title of one . . . Bisshop Warwist, to recompence the Prebendaries of Plymton, erected a *College* of as many as were ther at Bosenham in Southsax, and annexid the gift of them to his successors, Bisshops of Excester. Then he set up at Plympton a Priorie of Canons Regular, and after was there buried in the Chapitre House.—Leland, *Itinerary*, vol. III. p. 45.

<sup>10</sup> It is not certain that the fire of 1161 injured our Cathedral. All that we know is that the city was burnt then. "Anno M.C.L.X.I. Exonia combusta est." *Angliæ Sacra, Annal. Eccl. Winton.*

<sup>11</sup> A second fire occurred at Chichester, October 20, 1187. *Matth. Paris*, i., 443. The Cathedral had just been finished by a second Radulphus, corresponding to our Marshall in date and works. "Radulphus Ecclesiam suam quam a novo

fecerat, cum fortuitus ignis pessum dedisset, brevi perfecit." (Willm. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontific.* 206.)

<sup>13</sup> In the thirteenth century, the tendency was to enlarge the eastern limbs of Churches on a larger scale. The famous rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury, late in the 12th century, had most likely set the example. The choir *sometimes swelled to a length as great or greater than that of the nave.* Sometimes the choir itself became cruciform *by the addition of an eastern Transept.* A distinct addition was made at the east end, an addition covering new ground which had not hitherto been part of the Church. This addition was no other than the present *Lady Chapel.*" (E. A. Freeman's *Wells Cathedral*, 1870, p. 108. These remarks furnish a valuable illustration of the text.

<sup>13</sup> The Lady Chapel is mentioned in a deed of Bishop Bruere's in 1237.—See Dr. Oliver's *Monasticon*, *Exon.* p. 55.

<sup>14</sup> Such, are, apparently, the real relations between Exeter Cathedral and the Church of Ottery St. Mary.

<sup>15</sup> The date of the original E. English Chapter House, heretofore a matter of conjecture, is now happily ascertained by the discovery among our archives, by Mr. Stuart Moore, of a deed of gift (No. 2084, no date), by which Bruere makes over "to God and the Church of St. Mary and St. Peter, a sufficient area to make a Chapter House, in our garden, near the Tower of St. John;" "areolam competentem ad capitulum faciend. in orto nostro, juxta turrim Sct. Johannis."

<sup>16</sup> Bronescombe's deed, dated St. Margaret's Day (July 20) 1280, appropriated Buckerell "for the sustentation of his chaplains in the almost re-constructed Chapel, near the Chapel of the Blessed Mary, in our Cathedral Church of Exeter, on the south side, where we have chosen our place of burial," ("in capella fere de novo constructa juxta capellam B. Mariæ, ex parte australi.") Given by Oliver, *Lives of Bishops*, p. 46. Exeter Cathedral Archives, Deed No. 668.

<sup>17</sup> Oliver, p. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Our authorities as to the exact nature of Quivil's work about the Transepts, are, I apprehend, solely and exclusively, the Fabric Rolle. It was from these, no doubt, that Hoker and perhaps even the *Exeter Chronicle*, got their information; which they magnified, as is pointed out in the text,

into something quite different from the reality. Thus, that Hoker wrote from a cursory inspection of the Rolls is plain, from his giving 1286 as the date of Quivil's beginning to touch the Towers. For this is at first sight, and without a lynx-eyed inspection, the earliest date of any Roll in Quivil's Episcopate. But the date which he (and Oliver after him) took to be 1286, is really of 1280, Quivil's first year. The *Exeter Chronicle*, still not quite correctly, though no doubt instructed by the Rolls, gives 1288, as we have seen. All the Fabric Rolls tell us is as follows: and it is only by architectural considerations that we can safely interpret it, and ascertain the limits of the work done. 1280. (Oliver mistook the figure for 1286.) "In muro præsternendo *sub archa* de tur. Sct. Johannis 2<sup>a</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. et ad magnam fenestram in turri Sct. Johannis aperiendum." This proves that the transept *Arch* existed already: the wall rose to some height under it. (See further below.) Other expences about the window follow: but the glazing was deferred until 1285. We see here that the Southern Tower (St. John's) was done first. "1285. Pro una fenestra vitrea in turr. Scti Johannis;" *i.e.*, for one glass window in St. John's Tower, 5<sup>a</sup>. For a window in St. Paul's Tower, 19<sup>a</sup>. 2½<sup>d</sup>. For glazing it, 6<sup>a</sup>. For removing the altar of St. Paul, and enlarging the window, 12<sup>d</sup>. Six workmen three days in throwing down the wall in the arch of St. Paul." 1287. "A new window made in St. Paul's (the Northern) Tower; and the altar removed from St. John's Tower, *viz.*, into the reconstructed Chapel of St. John, east of the Tower: which is thus proved to be Quivil's work, being an enlargement of the chapel of Marshall's time; the sloping weathering of which still remains.

<sup>19</sup> See obit of Quivil, in Oliver, p. 51: where we read that he conferred great benefits on the Cathedral by his gifts and also, "*eandem Ecclesiam quoad novam ejus fabricam ampliando.*" Quivil's work did really "enlarge the Church by the new work" done in it: but not externally however, nor as regards the nave; but only by throwing the Tower-spaces into it. These were therefore cut off, as I conceive, by two arches below, and perhaps by other arches above, from the body of the Church, just as is the case with the north part of the north Transept of Winchester to this day.

<sup>20</sup> The same view of Hoker's statement is taken by Dean

Littleton, afterwards Bishop of Durham, in his valuable tract, published by the Antiquarian Society in 1732.

<sup>21</sup> It is a matter of inference that we have actual *mention* of the St. Mary Magdalene Chapel window in the Rolls. The facts are, that we have mention in 1284 of considerable works about "the *Tower of St. Mary Magdalene: Turrim in capella B. M. Magdalene.*" Two carpenters are employed at 2<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>. a week, and an assistant at 7<sup>½</sup><sup>d</sup>. Now the throwing down of the great Tower wall cost only 2<sup>s</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>., as we have seen. This expence, then, cannot surely refer merely to the staircase turret of the chapel, but implies larger works. And I observe that the term "turris" is used with some latitude for any lofty and semi-detached erection. Thus we have in this same Roll, expenses about the "*turris ultra scaccarium*;" meaning the upper storey of the North Porch: which *we* should certainly not call "a tower." We proceed to the next year's expenses (1285), and find again "for work in the Chapel of S. M<sup>r</sup> Magdalene, 5<sup>s</sup>. 8<sup>d</sup>." Then follows, "Ad fenestram largiorem faciendam *in turri predicta*, et ad altare ejus removendum" 6<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>.: glazing the same window, 3<sup>s</sup>. 9<sup>d</sup>." What can "in turri predictâ" refer to, but to the Chapel? for the glazing is half as much as that of the great Tower window. If this then be granted, we have the east window, as well as other large works of restoration here stated to be Quivil's.

<sup>22</sup> Quæ quidem capellæ tempore confectionis presentium fuerunt in construendo."

<sup>23</sup> Obit of Quivil, as above, Note 19.

<sup>24</sup> E. A. Freeman, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 76.

<sup>25</sup> Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 567, quoted by E. A. Freeman, *Ibid*, p. 178.

<sup>26</sup> Hoker says of Bitton, "He continued in the building of his Church:" as indeed the Rolls largely testify: as does an appropriation deed, August 17, 1310, giving Westleigh to the Chapter (Oliver, p. 177).

<sup>27</sup> Hoker testifies that he had bestowed large gifts on the Church, not only in his lifetime, but in his last will.

<sup>28</sup> Roll 1301, "300 stones from Silverton ad voltam." "Ad 49 claves, 8 sars et alias particulas voltæ depingendas, una cum auro, argento, azura, et al. coloribus, 26l." "For painting 49 bosses, 8 corbels and other portions of the

vaulting, with gold, silver, azure, and other colours, 267." The vaulting of the Lady Chapel, on uncovering it, has been found, accordingly, to be of the indestructible volcanic or "trap" stone found at Silverton, Thorverton, &c. The strange word "sars," or "surs," occurs frequently, and must mean "source," an old French term for a corbel or bracket; a "springer." (*Walcott's Sacred Archæology*, s. v. Corbel.)

<sup>29</sup> Fabric Roll, 1303-4. "Wages of Thomas, plumber, for covering over the Chapel of B.V.M. and other parts of the new work." ad cooperiend. super capellam B. M. et alibi *super novum opus*."

<sup>30</sup> Fabric Roll 1301-2. "In 1271 pedibus vitri ad summās fenestras frontis novi operis, cum duabus formis in utraque parte, £29 2s. 5½d." "For 1271 feet of glass for the upper windows of the front of the new work, with two forms," or window patterns, "on either side, £29 2s. 5½d." "Et in 535 ped. vitri ad alias duas formas, pro pede 5½d." "And for 535 feet of glass for two other forms, at 5½d. a foot." These entries were supposed by Dr. Oliver (p. 177) to refer to the Lady Chapel windows: as they follow immediately the one above given, about painting the bosses. But that entry, taken with the corresponding one below (Note 34), for the painting of the *choir*-vaulting, conclusively proves that the windows must have been glazed already: not however, as it should seem, as yet, with stained-glass (see below, Note 67, 1). And there can be no doubt, from careful comparison of the terms here used with those of the later Rolls (1203-9-10, see Notes 32, 41) that the windows of the eastern part of the choir are meant. There is much obscurity, at first sight, about some of the terms used in these glazing entries. But "*summæ fenestræ*" clearly means the windows *above*, as compared with the aisle windows; not, as Dr. Oliver evidently thought, the windows furthest east, *i.e.*, those of the Lady Chapel. By the "front of the new work," I understand the east end of the choir, called in another entry (Note 32) "the upper gable." In this there are *two* "upper windows," the higher one lighting the roof; and both would naturally be glazed at the same time: though we should hardly have expected to find stained glass in the uppermost one. The "*formæ*," (or "*formæ vitræ*," Note 37), I do not hesitate, after much consideration, to interpret,

here and elsewhere, *the shapes of glass fitting into the lights and tracery of a window*; or into a portion of a window. They are almost always spoken of in pairs, for the reason given in the text (See notes 33, 37, 41). On measuring the windows named, according to my view, in this entry, we find that their area corresponds, with marvellous accuracy, with the quantity of glass here recorded as having been purchased. It would seem that, in this and all other cases, the measurement was taken, (as is sometimes done still in measuring such work), as if the lights ran uninterruptedly up to the top; thus allowing for the "cutting to waste" involved in adapting the glass to the tracery. Measuring in this way, we have the following figures:—

	<i>ft.</i>	<i>in.</i>
East window of choir 32f. × 23f. ...	= 736	0
Circular window lighting the roof 11f. × 11f. =	121	0
Easternmost pair of clerestory windows, each 25f. × 8f. 9in. or 206f. 3in. ...	= 412	6
Total ... ..	1269	6

That is to say, within *a foot and a half* of the area provided for in the entry, viz. : 1,271 feet, The second entry, of 535 feet for a pair of windows (or 267f. 6in. for each window), refers, no doubt, to the next adjacent, or second pair. These, like all the rest of the clerestory windows of the choir (except the easternmost ones just mentioned, which are smaller) are of one size. The outside measurement, taken as above, is about 25f. 6in. × 10f. 6in. = 267f. 6in., or precisely the area provided for in the entry. These correspondences leave no room for doubt that these are, in every case, the windows intended.

<sup>31</sup> Fabric Roll 1303-4. "In 1083 ped. vitri ad quatuor summas fenestras, £24 16s. 4½d., pro pede 5½d." "For 1,083 feet of glass, at 5½d. a foot, for four upper windows, £24 16s. 4½d." This is, no doubt, for the *next two, or third and fourth pairs*, and gives 270f. 9in. for each window, or 3f. 9in. more than was allowed (Note 30) for the preceding ones. They allowed, it seems, a higher measurement by about three inches this time; thus adding 10f. 3in. by 3in. = 3f. 3½in., making within 5½in., the area required.

<sup>32</sup> Fabric Roll 1302-3. "In 380½ ped. vitri ad duas



fenestras in alis." "For 380½ feet of glass for two windows in the aisles £8 17s. 2½d." "In 364 ped. vitri ad duas extremas formas in alâ novi operis faciend, £8 6s. 10d." "For 364 feet of glass for making the two furthest forms in the aisle of the new work, £8 6s. 10d." The former of these quantities agrees, *within half a foot*, with the area of the present aisle windows, which measure 19f. × 10f. each window, or 380f. the pair. The second entry, for the "two furthest forms in the aisle," refers most probably to the windows (above p. —) in the retro-choir. *Both* of these could be said to be "in alâ," *i.e.* in the cross aisle, which no other *pair* could. They are narrower than the other aisle windows, being of four lights only. Measuring them as 19f. by 9f. 6in., we get 180f. 6in., or 361f. the pair,—*i.e.* within 3f. of the Roll entry.

<sup>33</sup> Fabric Roll 1303-4. "Mag. Walter Le Verrouer as-sedent. vitrum summi gabuli, et 8 summarum fenestrarum, et sex fenestrarum in alis:" (*sic.*, not, as Dr. Oliver read it, "in aliiis," "in other parts") "novi operis, in grosso £4 10s." "Master Walter the glazier, for fitting the glass of the upper gable" (as distinguished perhaps from the "lower gable," at the east-end of the Lady Chapel: or it may be merely as ranging with the clerestory), and of eight upper windows, and of six windows in the aisles of the new work: total £4 10s." There follows an entry for "140 feet of painted glass (*depicti*) for two shapes in the new vestry, 72s. 2d.; setting the same, 2s." We do not know what or where this new vestry was: probably south-east of the Lady Chapel.

<sup>34</sup> Fabric Roll 1303-4. "In 18 magnis petris ap. Portland ad clave," (*i.e.* claves, "keys," or keying stones for each compartment of the vaulting, carved into bosses on the under surface), "empt. una cum 60 bas. et cap., cum carriagio per mare £4 16s. 8d." "For the purchase of 18 great blocks of stone at Portland for the keys or bosses, together with 60 bases and capitals, including carriage by sea, £4 16s. 8d."

<sup>35</sup> Fabric Roll 1303-4. "In 30 magnis clavibus talliand., £7 10s.; pro clave, 5s." "For carving thirty great bosses at 5s. a boss, £7 10s." On counting the great *ridge* bosses in the Choir, we find them to be exactly twenty-nine, and two half-bosses, or thirty in all. *Ibid.* "In 6 clav. in ala talliand. 21s. In 3 sars talliand. 25s. 6d. In 33 corball

talliand. 11s. "For carving six bosses in the aisle £1 1s. ; for carving three springers, £1 5s. 6d ; for carving thirty-three corbells 11s." The number of bosses for the aisle should be seven, one for each bay. Perhaps the chapel bay was provided for separately (see Note 42). The thirty-three corbels must be those which we find scattered irregularly up and down the aisles. The "sars," which occurred before, in reference to the vaulting of the Lady Chapel (Note 28) probably mean here the rich corbels of the Choir vaulting-shafts: the price being so great, viz., 8s. 6d.—3s. 6d. more than the great bosses.

<sup>36</sup> The date of this Roll is wanting, but is probably as in the text.

<sup>37</sup> Fabric Roll 1308-9. "In stip. 3 vitriar. assident. formas vitreas in alis novi operis, 13s. 4d." "Wages of six glaziers setting the glass shapes in the aisles of the new work, 13s. 4d."

<sup>38</sup> Fabric Roll 1309-10. "In 182 ped. vitr. empt. ad duas formas summi operis ; cum 53 ped. vitri ad (hernesium) of a third window-space £14 9s. 9½d., at 5½d a foot."

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. "182 feet for two windows of the clerestory, taking the length and breadth of the same" (ut in longitudine et latitudine earundem), "with 112 feet for the traceries (hernesia) of the same" (*i.e.*, fifty-six feet for the tracery of each window) £16 1s. 9d. "For 53 feet for tracery of a third form 28s. 8d."

<sup>40</sup> Fabric Roll 1310-11. "In 615 ped. vitri perfecti ad duas summas formas novi operis £16 13s. 1½d., 6½d. per ped." "Also the wages of Master Walter Le Verrouer, and his two boys, setting same glass, two weeks, 6s."

<sup>41</sup> Fabric Roll 1308-9. "Ad primandas" (priming to receive the gold), "claves volturæ." The expenses run on for many weeks, including those of "1 daubeouer" (dauber) probably for laying on plain stone-coloured wash, if such it was, on the fillings in between the vaulting ribs. "In una libra et dim. rubei plumbi 9½d. Pro decem libris de blank plumb, 5s. In 21 libr. ejusdem 7s. 10½d. In una libra cinopol" (cinnabar vermilion) 2s. 9d., 1 unc. 2½d. In 3 libr. de vernise (varnish) 21d. ; in 7½ galonis et uno quarterio olei 11s. 3d." Total expense for colours and oil for painting the (aisle) vaulting 29s. 7½d. The prevailing colour of the

bosses and ribs, as discerned on removing whitewash and dirt, is vermilion and other shades of red.

<sup>42</sup> Fabric Roll 1309-10. "In 8 column. marmor empt. ad capellâ 32s. In 4 annulis metall. ad columnas 4s." Roll 1310-11. "Ad fenestras novar. capellarum." 1 pictor deprimand. claves (bosses) capellarum 3s." Roll 1310-11. "6 annul. metall. ad column. 12s."

<sup>43</sup> Fabric Roll, September, 1279—1284. "In crastin. Sancti Michaelis pro tribus fenestris ad capellam beati Jacobi ex precepto seneschalli 8s. 9d. In vitro empto 16s." "On the morrow of St. Michael, for three windows for the Chapel of St. James, by command of the steward (?), 8s. 9d. For glass bought 16s."

<sup>44</sup> Fabric Roll 1309-10. Custos vitri et stallorum. Stip. mag. Joh. de Glaston ad removend stallos per 14 Sept., 52s. 6d." "Cost of glass and stalls. Payment to Mr. John de Glaston, for 14 weeks, removing the stalls, 52s. 6d," *i.e.* 1s. a-piece.

<sup>45</sup> I would refer the reader to an interesting parallel case; the attempt made, less successfully, to harmonise the *chorus cantorum*, and presbytery in Wells Cathedral (E. A. Feeman's *Wells Cathedral*, p. 111). In this case the arcades of the triforium were not on the same level in the two parts; and the result is, therefore, unsatisfactory.

<sup>46</sup> For all the information in the text as to stalls, I am indebted to the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott's learned work, *Sacred Archæology*, Art. Stalls.

<sup>47</sup> Oliver, p. 205.

<sup>48</sup> Fabric Roll 1312-13. Marem. ad sedem Episcopi £6 12s. 8½d." Roll 1316-17. "Custus sedis Epi. salut Roberto de Galmeton p. factura sedis Epi. £4 ad tascum." Then follows, with a line drawn through it, "Et Nicholas pictor pro ymaginebus 11s." "And to Nicholas, painter, for statues, 11s." And, again, "In sex, &c." There is also a charge for "Magn. claves [or is] ad cheveron Episcopi," meaning probably the oaken pins to hold the canopy together. *Chevron* is timber of any kind; but perhaps means here, as in heraldry, the wood forming any kind of *gabled* work, and so a canopy. "Clavis" may also be for rods or "shafts," from "clava," as below Note 58.

<sup>49</sup> *Walcott's Sacred Archæology*, s. v. Sedilia.

<sup>50</sup> Fabric Roll 1317-18. "In sex ymagin, talliand p. sede Episcopi 32s." "For carving six statues for the bishop's seat, 32s."

<sup>51</sup> Fabric Roll 1316-17. "Pro ymagine fact, nomine Salvator 3s." "For making one statue, called the Saviour, 3s." Next follow "tabulæ altaris."

<sup>52</sup> Fabric Roll 1418. "Pro scriptura lapidis Dominis Leofrici, primi ecclesiæ Exoniensis Episcopi."

<sup>53</sup> "By Robert Garland, Architect (*Winkles's Cathedrals*, 1838.)

<sup>54</sup> Fabric Roll 1316-17. "In 38 col. marmor. ad aluras inter magnum altare et chorum, cum capitrell. et basis ad idem £10 8s., pro quolibet column. 5s. 6d."

<sup>55</sup> Fabric Roll 1318-19. "In 9 capit. depictand, in novis aluris. in 19 cap. depictand. et deaurand. in novis aluris." Also "pro 2 ostiis ad aluras," "2 doors for the *new galleries*" to communicate with the old. Alure, a passage alley in a Church (*Walcott*).

<sup>56</sup> Fabric Roll 1316-17. "In 17 magnis clavib, de petra primand et apprestand. usque ad aurum 20s." "For priming and preparing, up to the gilding stage, seventeen great bosses of stone 20s." These were probably the choir aisle bosses.

<sup>57</sup> Fabric Roll 1319-20. "Pro 300 lbs ferri pro barris ad magn. altare." "In apprimand. unius magnæ tabulæ 3s. 4d." "6 barr. ad idem, 448 lbs, 12s. 4d.: et pro tabernac." Again in 1324, Joh. Aurifabro pro opere tabulæ argente. £5 18s." And his executors (*Oliver*, p. 209) provided the altar with a rich "frontel," probably of marble (see Note 59), as well as an embroidered covering, costing altogether £14 3s. 4d. (= £280 of our money).

<sup>58</sup> Various entries in 1316-17 seem to belong to this canopied reredos; called the "tablatura lapides summi altaris;" also "summa tabula" (compare the "summæ fenestræ" Note 30.) "In duabus cathenis ad summam tabulam empt. "For two chains bought for the upper slab." A bolt "cum plata rotunda et alia altiro ferreo ad summas claves lapideas faciendas" i.e. "with a round plate and other iron gear for making the stone bosses at the top." (The whole had to be held together with irons in these structures.) Again "pro factura 54 clavarum" (shafts? lit. rods or sticks) 6 magn. capitrell." 32 parv. capitrell. 6 magn. sars. 108s. 4d.

"For making 54 slender shafts, 6 little capitels of larger size, 32 smaller ones, 6 great brackets, 108s. 4d." "Pro 1 imagine fact. nomine salvatoris 3s." "Making one statue, called the Saviour, 3s.

<sup>59</sup> "Fabric Roll 1318-19. "In 4 columnn. cum basis, subbasis, capit. £5 6s. 8d." "In 43 ped marmor. grad pro la pulpytte." "Pro 2 altar. cum frontelis marmor et al apparat. 26s. 8d." "Pro 500 lbs ferri ad faciend. magnas-barras pro la pulpytte 15s. 5d." That the altars were those of St. Mary and St. Nicholas is proved by a deed of agreement between the chapter and treasurer (1419), about the payments arising from oblations at the various altars and images in the church (*Lytelton, ubi sup.*) This was a not uncommon arrangement. At Chichester the altars of St. Mary at the Choir door, and of Holy Cross and St. Augustine under the Cross are mentioned (*Leiger Book*), 251, 256.)

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. "Item. liberator. W. Cannon £4, in precepto Dom. Dei et capit. ex curialitate." "Item. livery, or free gift, to W. Cannon, by command of the Dean and Chapter, out of their courtesy, £4." (A similar gift is made this year of 2s. to a glazier, "out of courtesy," by the Treasurer.)

<sup>61</sup> Fabric Roll 1323-4, "Vertmell. gumph. bolt. serr. pro hostiis de la polpytte. In 5 cap. talliand. pro voutura clausuræ 8s." "Hinges, catches (?), bolts and locks for the doors of the pulpit. For carving five heads for the vaulting of the cloister" (or enclosure) called in the next year "clausura juxta la pulpytte."

<sup>62</sup> Fabric Roll 1324-5. "Pro 2000 tegulis pro la pulpytte 16s. Pro 12 imag. in 2 ultimis pannellis de la pulpit. In 10 parv. imag. juxta la pulp. talliand." "Imag. in angulo de la pulp. (1323)" "Solut. fact. imaginatori de Londonia pro imaginibus talliand. ex precepto Thesaurarii." Ibid. "For 2000 tiles; 12 statues in the two (?) upper panels; ten small ones: a statue in the corner of the pulpit" (the corner niches remain): "payment to a statuary from London for carving statues at the command of the Treasurer."

<sup>63</sup> Fabric Roll, 1324-5. "In fac. ferr. portant magnam crucem." "For making an iron carrying the great cross, or rood." So at Lanfranc's Church of Canterbury, "Pulpitum ex parte navis in media, sui Altare Crucis habebat supra pulpitum trabes erat, quæ crucem grandem sustentabat."

"The pulpit, *i.e.*, screen, on the nave side had in the middle of it the altar of the Holy Cross. Above the pulpit was a beam which supported the great Cross" (*Gervase, apud X scriptores*, c. 1200). At St. Alban's again, "Pulpitum in medio ecclesiæ cum magna cruce sua perfectit." (These references from Mr. Walcott.)

<sup>64</sup> Fabric Roll 1280. "Circa organa claudenda." "About closing (query, putting the stops) "the organs." Chapter archives 1429, "For making new organs,"

<sup>65</sup> Fabric Roll 1513. "In the account with John Major, clerk of the work ("clericus operis," or "fabricæ ecclesiæ") has a charge "pro novis organis in pulpit."

<sup>66</sup> The windows are as follows:—

Lady Chapel	...	...	...	6
St. Gabriel's and St. M. Magdalene's	...	...	...	4
Choir Aisles	...	...	...	12
St. James' and St. Andrew's Chapels	...	...	...	5
East-end and Choir clerestory	...	...	...	15
West ends of Choir Aisles, and East-ends of Nave do.	...	...	...	4
South Transept, with St. John's Chapel	...	...	...	4
North do., with St. Paul's do.	...	...	...	5
St. Edmund's Chapel, and two in Exchequer	...	...	...	3
First bay of Nave...	...	...	...	4
				—
		Total	...	62

1. <sup>67</sup> Lady Chapel windows. Fabric Roll 1317-18.

"In 1 homine emendando fenestras in capell. B. Maria." "One man mending" (*i.e.* probably, making good the stone work, &c., to receive the glass), "the windows in the L. Chapel." "In 629 peys de albo vitro empt. apud Rotomagensem £15 4s. 9d. pro pede 6d. Item in 203 peys de colore £10 3s. pro pede 1s." "For 629 feet of white (*i.e.* grisaille) glass bought at Rouen £15 4s. 9d., at 6d. per foot. Also for 203 feet of colour £10 3s., at 1s. a foot." The quantity of glass (832 feet) is about enough to glaze the four lateral windows in the L. Chapel. This is the first time we have any distinction made in the purchases between the plain or grisaille and the coloured glass. But now the borders and figure work (for such we know by the scanty remains, these windows were if the Lady Chapel is meant) is charged

separately, at just twice the price of the grisaille: exactly the difference charged by some glass manufacturers now. The price of the glass is also much greater than that of the choir windows, which were  $5\frac{1}{2}d.$  or  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  a foot all through. This is probably due in part, to the greater richness of the glass, intended to be near the eye, and for the Lady Chapel: though the rise of prices (above Note 40) may also have progressed further since 1310. We can scarcely err in referring this entry to the Lady Chapel. The coloured glass is nearly one-fourth of the whole: a proportion usually observed henceforth.

2. The great Transept Windows.—Ibid.

“Item vitrearo pro 240 ped. vitri de proprio vitro faciendo 52s. 6d., videlicet pro quolibet pede de albo..... In illis 240 ped., 66 ped. coloris. Memorandum quod fenestra est una fenestrarum.....” “Also to a glazier for making 240 feet of glass out of his own glass, 52s. 6d. viz.: for every foot of white glass..... In these 240 feet, 66 feet colour.” It is much to be regretted that this entry is in part illegible. There is some appearance of its going on to say “this is one of the Lady Chapel windows,” in continuation of the last quoted entry. But there is a strong presumption against this in the extraordinary diminution in the price of the glass which would hardly have been thought good enough, and my conviction, founded upon comparison with subsequent entries, is that this entry refers to *the great window in St. John's or the South Tower*. The Nave window nearest that tower was glazed (see below) with “white” glass at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  per foot: while one of the windows of the N. Transept cost 2d. a foot for the plain glass and 3d. for colour. Taking  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  and 3d. as the prices intended in the entry before us, we get 66 feet at 3d., 16s. 6d., and 174 feet at  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ , 36s. 3d.: making 52s. 9d., or within 3d. of the sum in the entry (52s. 6d.) Here then we have at once a presumption, that we are now dealing with a window in that part of the Church, which was evidently glazed at far other prices, and far lower ones, than the Choir and Lady Chapel. Now there is no window thereabouts so large as this entry requires, 240 feet, except the Transept windows. And if we go on to 1319-21 we find, among the entries about the minor windows, one which seems clearly to belong to the great window in

the North Tower: "In 200½ ped. vitri faciend 51s. 6d., et in ferr. pro magna fenestra in turri St. Paul fac. 23s. 6d." "For making 200½ feet of glass 51s. 6d.: for iron for the great window in St. Paul's tower 23s. 6d." The price here is 3d. a foot probably for the white glass for the lights; the coloured portion not being recorded. In the preceding year we seem to find the tracery of both windows (1319-20). "In 16 peyses de vitr. coloriat. 20s. 8d., de albo 5s. 4d.:" "16 peys. color. vitr. et 20 de albo, 23s. 8d.:" where, for the *tracery*, the high foreign prices re-appeared, with a further advance: the colour costing no less than 1s. 3¼d., the white 8d., as against 1s. and 6d. in 1317 (above in this Note No. 1). The number of sixteen pieces indicates the tracery or wheel of eight spokes, and sixteen large spaces, which is the characteristic of both these windows. And we may discern the interesting fact of a change, at this juncture, from foreign to English glass. The older entries specify nothing as to where the glass came from. But that it was French, we know, as the scroll on the one remaining Choir (clerestory) window testifies, being inscribed "S. Phelipe." But now it is expressly said that this high priced glass was from Rouen: while the next entry carefully specifies that the payment was "to the glazier, for making the glass." The difference in price is immense, and marks the distinction they were content to make between the Choir or Lady Chapel and Nave. Yet the foreign glass seems to be again called in for the tracery of the St. Paul's and St. John's windows.

### 3. Minor windows in Transepts.—Fabric Roll 1318-19.

"In 1 form. vitr. in Turri S. Paul 120 ped. unde de color. 24 ped. 26s.: videlicet pro pede albo 2d., et de color. 3d." "One shape of glass in St. Paul's Tower, 120 feet, whereof 24 coloured, 26s." Here the word tower is no doubt used with latitude for the entire Transept. The window meant is probably the cross window of the clerestory, above the entrance to the north choir aisle, reckoned as 20 ft. by 6ft. =120 ft. The glass still remains: very bold in pattern, and inferior, as the price would lead us to expect, to the Choir glass. We have no record of the opposite window, at the end of the north Nave aisle. But the corresponding window over the south Choir aisle, is expressly recorded: "In 1 verrator. ad ponendum 1 form. vitream *ultra hostium*



*chori.*" "One glazier putting in one shape of glass above" (*ultra* always means "above" in these entries) "the entrance to the Choir, 1s. 6d." Then, probably, the opposite window (east-end of south Nave aisle) "In 1 verrator p. Sept. ad ponendum vitrum *in ecclesia* 2s." "One glazier for a week putting in glass in *the Church*," *i.e.*, the Nave, as distinct from the Choir.

4. Chapels of St. Paul and St. John (north and south towers).—Fabric Roll 1318-19.

"Et 1 form in capella sci Pauli quæ continet 120 ped. und. de color 28 ped. 26s. 1½d. Et 2 al formæ in eadem capell. cont. 86 ped. 17s. 11d." "And one shape in St. Paul's Chapel, containing 120f., whereof twenty-eight colour, and two others in the said Chapel 86f." The areas are exact for the large window (15f. by 8f.=120f.); adequate for the small (15f. by 3f.=45f. each). A like entry follows for St. John's Chapel: except that the colour is reduced to 10f., the price is 25s. 5d. Here we are still in the region of low prices and English glass. The prices are 2½d. plain, 3d. coloured, (*e.g.* for the large window of St. Paul's Chapel, 92f. at 2½d.=19s. 2d.; 28f. at 3d.=7s., or 120f. for 26s. 2d.): precisely the prices of the great window of St. Paul's tower, according to my reckoning as above No. 1 in this note.

5. The windows in the eastern bay of Nave.—Fabric Roll 1318-19.

"Et in duab. magn. form. in navi eccles. quæ continent. 440 ped. unde de colore 112 ped. £4 6s. 3d., pro pede ut supra." "And for two large shapes in the Nave of the Church, containing 440ft., whereof 112 coloured, at per foot as above." These must be the two first clerestory windows in the Nave, as is explained in the text. The prices continue 3d. and 2½d. (112 at 3s. = 28s.; 328 at 2½ = 68s. 4d.; 440ft. for £4 6s. 4d.) It is curious that the vendor throws off a penny here, as he did a half-penny off the smaller sum for St. Paul's window (above No. 4): either for luck, or because he had received it as an earnest; most probably the former. "Luck-penny, a small sum given back to the payer by one who receives money under a contract or bargain." Hence we gather that this glazing was done by agreement. There is a further payment for iron and for setting the glass.

Then follow the two aisle windows below these. "Et 1 forma ultra hostium claustrii 69 ped. totum album 14s. 4½d." "And one shape above the door of the cloister, 69ft., all white;" no doubt because blocked by some external buildings. For this is expressly, by the description, the short window in the south Nave aisle. The price is 2½d. Then the opposite one to this. "Et 1 forma juxta domum panis, continens 101 ped. unde de colore 16 ped. 21s. 8½d." "One shape close to the House of Bread, of 101ft., 16 coloured." The "house of bread" was no doubt a place where the doles were given out, or kept; and access to it may have been through the now disused Norman door in the west wall of St. Paul's tower, mentioned also in 1332. "A lock for the Church door" ubi fuit domus panis. The price is still 3d. and 2½; this time paid in full (16ft. at 3d. = 4s.; 85 at 2½. = 17s. 8½d., 101ft. for 21s. 8½d.)

#### 6. Miscellaneous windows.

Other windows glazed were, one in St. Edmund's Chapel (north-west of Nave) 36ft. at 3d.; probably all coloured therefore; two in the exchequer, apparently over St. Andrew's Chapel, 13ft. for 2s. 11d. The following is a complete list of the windows glazed with stained glass from 1301—1321 with the cost of each so far as known.

	£	s.	d.
1301-2. Great east window of Choir, gable do., and adjacent pair of windows in clerestory ...	29	2	5½
The next pair, at 5½ a foot; each £6 1s. 7½d. ...	13	5	3½
1303-4. Two next pairs at do.; each £6 4s. 1½d	24	16	4½
1302-3. Eastermost pair in Choir aisle at do. (retrochoir?) ...	8	6	10
Another at do. in Choir aisle (presbytery); each £4 8s. 7½d ...	8	17	2½
Another pair not recorded ...			
1303-4. All the above glass set for ...	14	10	0
1308-9. (Three?) windows in (north?) Choir aisle, setting ...	13	4	
Three do. do. in south aisle ...			
1309-10. Two clerestory Choir windows and tracery of a third at do. ...	14	9	5
Three do., and do. at do. ...	17	10	5

1310-11. Two do. at 6½d. a foot; each £8 6s.			
6¼d. ... ..	16	13	1½
1308-9. Windows of Choir aisle Chapels (iron-work) no record of glass, but some remains ... ..			
1817-18. Lady Chapel, east window, no record; do. (four side windows, probably) ...	22	7	9
1317-18. Great window in south transept for the lights, at 3d. a foot, colour; 2d., plain ... ..	2	12	6
Do. tracery, coloured, and plain ...	1	3	8
Great window in north transept for the lights at 3d. (coloured not recorded) ...	2	11	6
Do. tracery colour at 1s. 3¼d.; plain, 8d. ... ..	1	6	0
1318-19. Clerestory window, end of north Choir aisle, at 3d. and 2d. } Do. end of south Choir aisle, glazier 1s. 6d. ... .. }	1	6	0
Clerestory window, end of north Nave aisle (?) ... ..			
Do. end of south Nave aisle, glazier 2s.			
St. Paul's Chapel, east window, 3d. and 2½d. ... ..	1	6	1½
St. John's Chapel, east window, 3d.	1	5	5
St. Paul's Chapel, 2 side do. at do ...	17	11	
St. John's Chapel, do. do. do ...	17	11	
Nave, eastern bay, clerestory, 2 windows	4	16	3
Do. do. south aisle, plain at 2¼d	14	4½	
Do. do. north aisle, 3d. and 2¼d	1	1	8½
St. Edmund's Chapel, at west end, glazier 1s. 6d. ... ..			
Two in the exchequer ... ..			

<sup>68</sup> Memorandum quod die Dominica prox. post festum St. Lucie Virginis, scil. xv. Kal. Jan. (Dec. 18) anno 1328, Dominus dedicavit majus altare in Choro Eccl. Cath. Exon. in honore beatissimæ Dei Genitricis atque semper Virginis, et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quibus etiam curam et custodiam ejusdem altaris commendavit.—*Grandisson, Reg. vol. ii, fol. 102.*

<sup>69</sup> I confess to being puzzled by the very first entry in Grandisson's time, Fabric Roll 1328-9. "In 22 bordnaill empt. pro la pulpytte, in turri Sct. Johannis 1d." What "pulpytte" can this be in St. John's Tower? I conceive it refers to the northern end of the screen, which is in some sense (see the last Note No. 5) in St. John's Tower. The next entry is, "Pro 2 cheynes, 2 ped. long. fac. de ferro B. Petri" (*i.e.*, out of iron belonging to the Cathedral) "pro volturâ ad novum fontem." "Two chains 2ft. long made out of St. Peter's iron, for the vaulted cover for the new font." Also "Hinges for the clock in the Nave": probably the present one (the first mention of it), "pro vertinell fact. pro horologio eccl."

<sup>70</sup> Fabric Roll 1324-5 See *Oliver*, p. 179, 382. For the stone: "Timber from Norton: 48 great trees from Langford. A boat from "Thopysham," usque ad Abbatiam de Torre pro duabus lignis ducendis usque la Sege." "To Torre Abbey for two pieces of timber to the quay, (*Fr. la Siege*)" and similar entries. Fabric Roll 1324-6. *Marem de bosco Sidebury*, "15 great poplar trees bought for scaffolds, and 100 alder trees, 13s. 6d. 10,000 lath nails, 7s. 8d." "Timber bought by the Bishop at London 13s. 6d."

<sup>71</sup> Fabric Roll 1328-9. "In 33 petr. de quarr. Silferton cont. 80 ped. long. pro tabellament. guttar. super porchia 20s." "For 33 stones from Silverton quarries, containing 80 feet run, for weatherings for the gutters above the porch." Fabric Roll 1329-30, "3000 wooden pins for the stone tiles": "55 petr. cavatis a Silverton pro porchia inter pignones in parte occidental. continent 123 pedes pro schywyes" (shoots?)

<sup>72</sup> Fabric Roll 1329-30. "In 100 nall. cum apparata eorundem empt. pro magno ostio." For 100 nails with their fittings bought for the great door." "Stip. ferr. 2 fenestr. in nova capellâ iuxta fontem." "Blacksmith's wages about two windows in the new chapel near the font." "In I bar. ferr. pro fenestra in pugnone australi 3d." For one bar of iron for the window in the south gable (or tower)." "1 bar. fact. juxta porchiam pro fenestra." "making 1 bar close to the porch for the window." It appears that this is the window, still existing, looking into the porch, or middle entrance. "In 1 magno gumph. de novo fact et 1 emend. pro. ostro porchiæ 2d." "For making one new hook, and mending one, for the door of the porch 2d."

<sup>73</sup> "The name of this Chapel (St. Radegundes) within St. Peter's Cemetery twice occurs in the deed belonging to the Chapter, and [is] dated in the Mayoralty of Walter Turbest, A.D. 1220, and attested by Simon de Apuliâ then Bishop."—*Oliver.*

<sup>74</sup> Fabric Roll 1331-2. After some entries about the cloisters, the following post entry is attached :—" Mem. quod die sabbi. prox. post festum S. Vincentii, A.D. 1332, Wills. Canon de Corf. computavit cum Dnis Decano et capitulo Exon. de marmore tam. per ipsum quam per patrem suum invento ad fabricam navis ecclie. S. Petri Exon. videlicet de 11 columpnis et dim. magnis, precium columpnæ, £10 10s. unde summa £124 4s. Item 60 paria columpnarum pro [*leg. cum*] basibus et capitell pro aluris £15 precium basis cujuslibet cum capitell. et columpn 5s. Item, pro 29 columpnis pro clastro, 21s. 9d precium columpnæ 9d. Summa summarum predictarum £140 5s. 9d. De quibus idem Willms. receipt per 3 tall. de dominis Joh. Shireford et Petro de Castro custodibus eccl. predict. £132 17s. 5d. Et sic debentur dicto Wills. £7 8s. 4d. quas receipt super computum per manus Mag. Petro de Castro custodis operis. Et tenetur ad reparandum totum marmor predictum et defectus ejusdem supplere tempore collacionis suæ in opere per rationabilem monicionem precedent suæ in ad quod faciend obligavit se per litteras suas quæ remanent penes Mag. P. de Castro, custodem operis eccl. Exon. Et si dict. Wills præmissa quoad reparacionem et supplecionem dicti marmoris fideliter et bene conventionem tenuerit, dict. Dec. et Capit. dederunt sibi spem quod satisfacient sibi de 54s. pro quarta parte unius columpnæ ultra receptionem suam predictam. Postea dictus Willms. reparare fecit columpnas et alias defectus competenter, et ideo dicti Dec. et Capit. satisfecerunt dicto Willmo de 54s. pro quarta parte unius columpne ut predictum et sic hic inde eque inter partes predictas. Acta fuerunt hæc ultima in scaccario eccl. B. Petri Exon. die Veneris in crastino Nativitatis B. Mariæ Anno Dom. 1334. In the 1333-4 Roll, the 54s. is said to be paid to Canon and 9s. for the wages of the men "apprecientium columpnas," "piecing the columns."

<sup>75</sup> Au Bailiff et Provost de Chuddelegh Saluz. Parceo que le Dean et Chapitre d'Excestre nous sunt ore tard (*i.e.* ad horam tardam? lately; *v.* Brachet, Dictionnaire Etym in *v.*

Desormais) requis, que nous lour cidessioms (cæderemus) de merym (maremium, timber) a performer leur (l'œuvre) de nre Eglise d'Excestre, nous mandons que vous facez livrer au gardeyne de meisme loevre 12 Cheynes convenables pour la dit Eglise Don a nre manoir de clist le v jour d Juyl lan de notre Sacre xi."—Grandisson, Reg. vol. ii. fol. 210).

<sup>76</sup> Fabric Roll 1331-2. "In 25 summis equorum zabilon. empt. pro claustro 9d." "For twenty-five horse loads of sand for the cloister 9d." "1000 lath nails, and "helyng pinnes, for do." "Iron for the gates 2s. 4d." Fabric Roll 1342-3. "S. Clifford sculpanti 18 capites, 3s. 9d. : 10 do. 2s." The price indicates small heads, and the number (28) suggests the cloister: just as in 1435-6, the Roll records "the painting of fifty-seven bosses in the *south* ambulatory," *i.e.* eight for each of the seven compartments, and two halves just as in the Choir, Note 35. The *older* cloister is no doubt referred to in Roll 1352 "the gutters of the work above the cloister." (*Oliver.*)

<sup>77</sup> Fabric Roll 1346. (Jan. to April) "Adhuc custus porticorum ecclesiæ... In stip. Luck. et Alfred preparant. 14 petras tabulaturæ apud La Welle per 1 ebdom. 2s. 8d. Etiam tribus petris ejusdem tabulaturæ usque Exon car 3d. Et in stip. R. Croek pro 4 petris ejusd: tabul. sculpand 8d."

<sup>78</sup> Fabric Roll 1348. "De 10 lib. recept ex Dono. Episc. pro constructione porticorum."

<sup>79</sup> Fabric Roll 1349-50. "In locatione unius scriptoris ad scribendam 800 indulgentia pro fabrica ecclesie 8s." In 1341 three Braunton men were fined for the benefit of the fabric. (Deed 710.)

<sup>80</sup> See the Roll, *Oliver*, p. 384.

<sup>81</sup> Fabric Roll 1350-1. "Ad purgandum domum capitularium quæ vocatur le Holdecheker: et mundandum erbarium in claustro eccl." Two carpenters ad faciendum novum opus, videlicet novas formulas in choro, et cistas ibidem.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* "In v. famulas ad claudendum fenestras circa ecclesium cum luto per consilium dominorum. Decan. et capituli 6s. 3d." "Hire of five servants to close the windows all round the Church (*i.e.* the nave) with clay." "One mason painting all the windows libero mortareo." "300½ barrow loads (summariis) of clay (or chalk) for closing the windows." "*Argillum*, a chalky earth," Façciolati in v.

<sup>83</sup> *Oliver* p. 379. The work about the bells called "Walter" and "Bokerell" is curiously parallel to that about the bell "Grandisson" in 1350: as no doubt both of these were the gift of *Walter Bronescombe*, the donor of "Bokerel" to maintain services in St. Gabriel's Chapel. *Oliver* p. 45, 40.

<sup>84</sup> *Oliver* p. 370. The Fabric Roll of 1392-3 has also "In rendic Henr. Blackburne per senesc scaccarii pro choro ecclesiæ 597 ped. marmor." From Henry Blackburne through the warden of the exchequer, 597 feet of marble for the Choir of the Church."

<sup>85</sup> Fabric Roll, 1429-30. "Solut. Henr. Glazier de Exon pro vitriatione novæ fenestræ in turri occidentali Cath. Exon per ipsum vitriat. hoc anno cont. in toto 258 pedes vitri, capient proquoque pede 14d. minus in toto 12d., £15." "To Henry, Glazier, of Exeter, for glazing the new window in the western tower of Exeter Cathedral, glazed by him this year, containing in all 258 feet of glass, he receiving for each foot 14d., *minus* 12d. on the whole, £15." The amount of glass is somewhat scanty for the west window, but white glass is perhaps not included.

<sup>86</sup> Dr. Hickea's objections are—(1) That the writing of the charter is Norman, or Roman, rather than Saxon, and is such as did not come into use until after Henry I, *i.e.*, for eighty years later. *Ans.* Edward Confessor's Norman education would lead him to employ Norman scribes, so anticipating the effects of the Conquest; and as a matter of fact, writing every way agreeing with this is found in numerous undoubted charters of Edward: *e.g.*, in his grant of land to Leofric, of which presently. The superior beauty of the execution of our charter is just what we might expect on so memorable an occasion. Dr. Hickea further declares that there is not a single Saxon letter in the charter. This suggests a suspicion that the Chapter of that day, who (he tells us) lent him the charter, sent him some duplicate; for in the one before us not only are the signatures Saxon throughout, but the Latin abounds in Saxon letters, as may be seen in the photograph. But (2) "According to the Saxon Chronicle," says Dr. Hickea, Eadsinus, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose signature is attached, resigned in 1043, and died in 1047, three years before." *Ans.* It is seldom safe, indeed, to dispute the authority of the Saxon Chronicle; but in this instance it is

certainly wrong. Florence of Worcester, and others, place his death at 1050, as Dr. Hickes allows. But in truth there are no less than *five* genuine charters of later date than 1047, signed by him; one as late as 1052. (*Kemble, Nos. 787, 790, 792-3-6*). And the fact of his resignation, which is at first sight fatal to our charter, turns to a strong testimony to its genuineness. For, as will be observed (see photograph), Eadsinus does not sign as "Archbishop of *Canterbury*," but only as "Archbishop," while Ælfric signs as Archbishop of York. This exact fitting in of the charter into the historic facts of the period is beyond the skill of the forger, and may alone be accepted as stamping it as genuine. But in truth the same habit of signature is found in *twelve* charters marked as genuine by *Kemble (Nos. 769-778, and as above)*. One of these is a grant of a manor in *Doflisc (i.e., Dawlish)* from Edward to Leofric, then his chaplain only, in 1044 (six years before); it is signed "Eadsinus Xti eccl. Archi præsul." (This has been photographed by the Albert Museum, Exeter.) But (3) says Dr. Hickes, "Archbishop Eadsinus is only so called by later, *i.e., Norman* writers, who could not pronounce his real name, *Eadings*." *Ans.* In this respect, too, Edward's Norman scribes anticipated the results of the Conquest; writing "Eadsinus" in *five* genuine charters dating from 1044—1058 (including the one just referred to), "Eadsi" (evading the consonant) in *five*, and "Eadsige" in *one only*. (*See Kemble, 709-796*). But (4) "There is no day of the month given, the forger fearing detection; no cross nor *mention* of cross or seal." *Ans.* Neither is there in the great body of charters I have referred to any date of day, or any such mention. A *cross* there is prefixed to this, and to Leofric's grant of 1044. (5) "History makes no mention of any such great gathering at Exeter." *Ans.* The event was of local interest, however important for Exeter. And early history omits many such things, for which charters, etc. are the sole evidence. Thus, *e.g.*, no historian says anything of the line taken by William the Conqueror towards the ecclesiastical authorities, after his capture of Exeter in 1068. But an existing charter in the Chapter Archives (photographed by the Albert Museum), shows that he then gave Leofric permission to bestow on the Cathedral seven manors in Bampton, Dawlish, and elsewhere. He calls himself in it



"Wilhelm, the victorious Basileus of the English," and Leofric "his faithful Bishop." It bears his *dot*, and that of his Queen Matilda, of Archbishop Stigand, of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (who fought mace in hand at Hastings), and of Leofric himself. But (6) Dr. Hickes objects that, in our charter, the Epact (*i.e.*, the age of the moon on Dec. 31st) for the year 1050, is wrongly given as xxv, instead of vi. Now even such an error as this might conceivably have proceeded from the ignorance or neglect of the scribe. But the truth is, as it should seem, that the charter is right, and Dr. Hickes wrong. The "Golden Number" for A.D. 1050 (*i.e.*, the number of the "Metonic cycle," or of the recurrence of eclipses), is (*Ducange s.v. Annus*) vi, and when that is the case, the Epact, as anyone may see in the Prayer Book, is xxv, as the charter says. Dr. Hickes seems to have looked at the next year (1051), in his tables, when the Epact is vi.

Thus every objection alleged against our Charter is fully refuted. And its genuineness is confirmed, on the other hand, by the early character of the *Saxon endorsement* on the back of it. The Rev. Prebendary Earle, late Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, and one of the first authorities in the kingdom on such a point, inspected the document at the late visit of the Archæological Institute, and has kindly sent me the following opinion of the endorsement:—

"I consider the general aspect of the writing to be that of the latter years of the Confessor's reign, and I think it unlikely that it could have been written (at latest) much after the Conquest. The technical feature is the substitution of the continental *f* for the Saxon *s*. In this endorsement they are pretty equally distributed. I have before my eyes a *fac simile* of a small Saxon charter by William, which, from its contents, would most likely have been rather early in his time, and it has but one instance of the Saxon *s* left standing, though the number of words in the document is nearly double of that in your endorsement."

I add to this, that in the charter itself, the same equal distribution of the two forms of *s* obtains—characteristic of Edward's reign. Of the Saxon subscriptions, ten end in the small *s* (others are in capitals); and of these five are Saxon and five Continental. The Latin in the body of the document has the long *s* throughout, the work, no doubt, of

a foreign scribe. The contents of the endorsement, as rendered by Prebendary Earle, are as follows :—

“This is the Charter (lit. Liberty) to the bishopric in Devonshire and in Wales (or, among the Wealas, *i.e.*, West Wealas) which Edward King decreed (*vel* gesette, or established) with the counsel of his witan, for his soul's redemption, into the Bishop-stool (See) at Exeter to Leofric Bishop, and his successors in perpetual inheritance.”

I will only add that it were to be wished that the very early Norman tomb in the Lady Chapel, discovered some years since behind the shelves of the then Library, and ascribed by Britton and others to Bartholomew or Osbern, could be proved to be (as good antiquarians have thought) as certainly Leofric's as the Charter is.

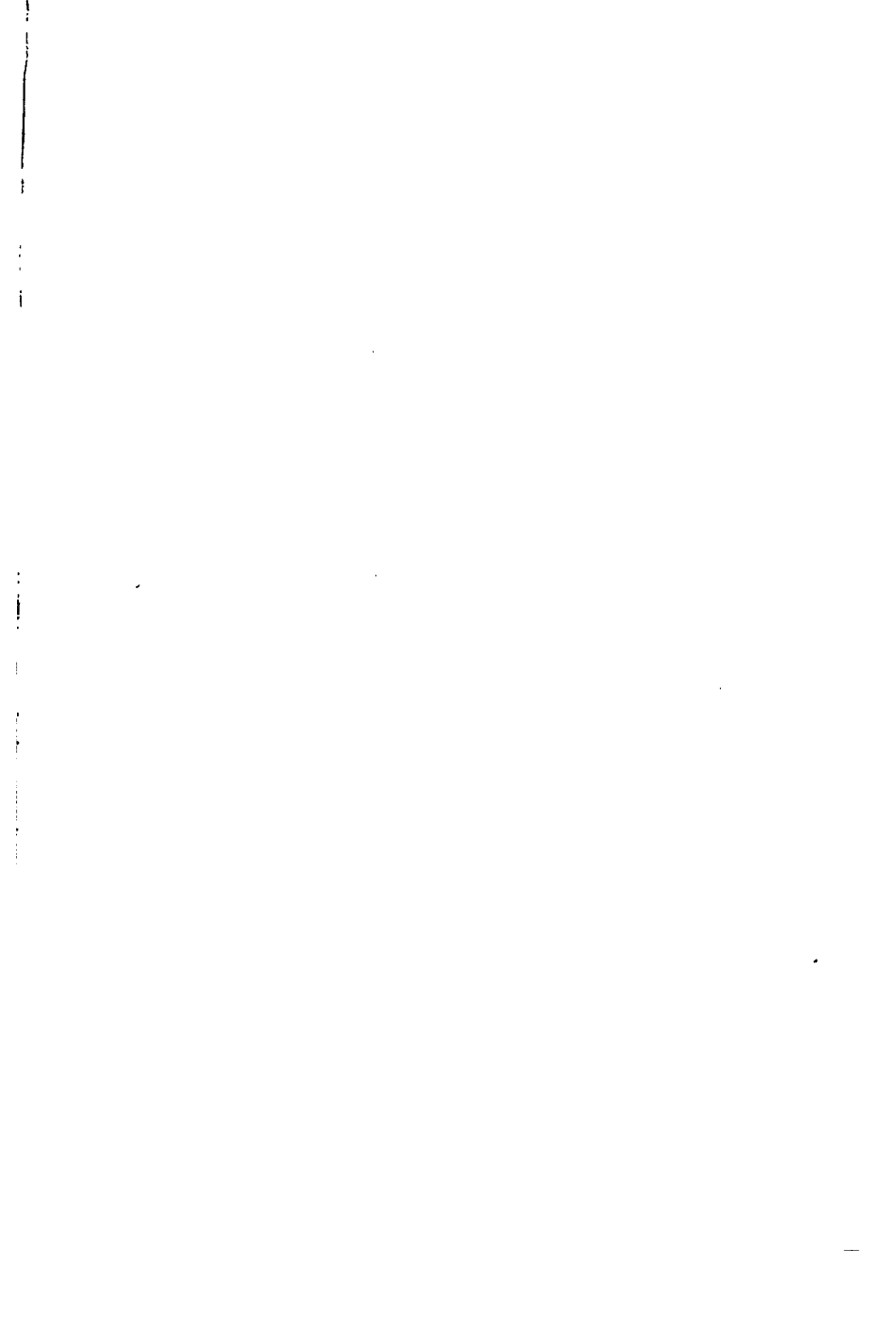
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