THE BUILDINGS OF BATH PRIORY

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SUMMARY

New insights into the layout and development of the cathedral priory at Bath have resulted from the marriage of documentary, topographical and fabric evidence.[1] Bath's thermal springs affected both the siting and function of the priory; medieval kings maintained lodgings near the King's Bath, while the infirm were cared for in a hospital beside the smaller baths. The Norman cathedral and cloister were laid out on a scale which proved over-ambitious; both were cut down later, but at different periods, creating a highly unconventional plan. After the Dissolution, the former cathedral became the city's parish church, but, like several monastic churches elsewhere, lost its Lady Chapel in the process.

THE SAXON ABBEY

Christianity may have an unbroken history in the Bath area. In the late Roman period, it perhaps made little impact on the city itself, where the worship of Sulis Minerva was an integral part of the city's function as a spa. A 4th century curse tablet thrown into the Sacred Spring provides evidence of divided loyalties. The writer, Annianus, asks the Lady Goddess to retrieve six silver coins from the person who stole them 'whether pagan or Christian'. Only a Christian would use such terminology, and yet Annianus did not shrink from invoking the powers of Sulis.[2] It is possible that Christianity kept a foothold in Bath after the Roman withdrawal, and even that it survived the capture of the city and the Severn valley in 577 by the West Saxons. When Augustine landed in Kent in 597, the nearest Christian territory in Britain was that of the Hwicce, apparently centred on Winchcombe, now in Gloucestershire. In 628 Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, defeated the West Saxons at Cirencester, possibly in alliance with the Hwicce. This would explain how the Hwicce extended their territory south to Bath, but came under Mercian domination.[3]

It is against this background that we should see the foundation of a religious house in Bath. In 676, Osric, king of the Hwicce, granted to Abbess Berta 100 hides near Bath for the erection of a convent. The preamble to Osric's charter explains that his first intention was to found a bishop's see, in accordance with synodical decree.[4] The synod referred to must be that held at Hertford in 672, where the establishment of more bishoprics was proposed.[5] The proposal was welcomed by the Hwicce, who in 669 had been swept into the orbit of the newly-created bishopric of Mercia based at Lichfield. The Bishop of

Mercia apparently did not favour the division of his huge diocese, however, and Osric may have hoped that a display of devotion to the faith would sway the leaders of the church. His charter to Abbess Berta was certainly brought to their attention: it was witnessed by Archbishop Theodore and five other bishops. In 679 the Hwicce did receive their own bishop, based at Worcester, though Oshere, the brother of Osric, has been given the credit for bringing this about.[6]

In the next century, Aethelbald of Mercia (d. 756) granted 90 hides at Bath to the monastery, under the Bishop of Worcester.[7] Then, in about 758, a charter specifically refers to the brethren of the monastery of St Peter in Bath.[8] Given that 90 or 100 hides would probably have represented the whole hinterland of Bath, it seems likely that the lands of the original convent had been transferred to a masculine foundation, rather than that two large monastic estates co-existed. Certainly Osric's charter to Abbess Berta was later entered into the cartulary of St Peter's.

We have a description in Anglo-Saxon verse of the city in which the religious community settled; it may even have been written by a member of that community. The poem powerfully evokes the ruined grandeur of the city, 'shattered by the Fates'.[9] The ready supply of dressed stone must have been a great aid to the monastic builders. By the later 8th century St Peter's was a 'celebrated monastery' in the 'celebrated town called at the Baths'.[10] 'The hot pool in the country of the Hwicce surrounded by a wall of brick and stone' was counted among the wonders of Britain.[11] Elsewhere, churches such as the minster at Wells and St Winifred's, Holywell, were sited close to specially venerated springs. At Bath we find the Norman monastic church placed near the main spring and the same was probably true of its Saxon predecessors.

In 781, Offa of Mercia successfully claimed St Peter's from the Bishop of Worcester.[12] Three and a half centuries later William of Malmesbury was no doubt recording the traditions of the house when he wrote that Offa had actually built St Peter's.[13] Offa gained papal dispensation to place under his lordship several monasteries all dedicated to St Peter, which he had acquired or erected.[14] Probably priests administered the monastic estates as part of the royal demense. This was a pervasive pattern at that period. During the next century and a half, English monasticism was in decline. After Mercia was taken over by Wessex in 920, St Peter's came under the patronage of Alfred's descendants, who treated its lands as royal property, sometimes allocated to lay owners.[15] King Athelstan was the first of the West Saxon kings to grant a charter to the 'venerable family' at Bath.[16] Two charters granted by King Edwy in 956 and 957 suggest a particular royal interest: the first mentions the hot springs and refers to the king's chaplain, Wulfgar, as head of the monastery; the second describes the monastery as 'recognised to be marvellously built'.[17]

The architecture of the monastery may have impressed simply by the re-use of Roman materials; but it is possible that Offa actually revived Roman building methods in emulation of Carolingian work. Offa was the greatest of English kings before Alfred and his dealings with Charlemagne betray a conscious rivalry. He followed Charlemagne in striking coins in a Roman style; and at Repton, the burial place of Mercian kings, mausolea have been found similar to the Roman mausolea favoured by Carolingian aristocrats in the late 8th century.[18] Apart from the church itself, there was probably only a loose grouping of cells for the priests and some communal buildings, on the Celtic plan.

When the lax monks of the Abbey of St Bertin in St Omer were expelled for resisting reform, King Edmund granted them refuge in St Peter's.[19] Edmund's son Edgar admired more rigorous ideals of monasticism and after he became king of all England in 959 he appointed the reformer Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury. Dunstan ushered in a period of monastic revival according to the rule of St Benedict,[20] and in the following years St Peter's was probably reorganised on Benedictine lines, with communal buildings around

a cloister. William of Malmesbury tells us that Edgar, delighted by the grandeur of the place, enlarged it after his manner.[21] It was probably not designed for a very large community; in 1077 there were 18 monks including the abbot.[22] Saxon burials discovered to the south of the present Abbey Church suggest that it was built close to the site of the late Saxon one. Finds in this area include a 10th century lead cross with an inscription referring to 'Eadgyvu . . . a sister of the community'.[23] The cross has been interpreted as marking a re-interment of one of the 7th century nuns, but seems more likely to record a benefactress to the monastery. Patrons of both sexes could receive honorary membership of a monastic community, which conferred burial rights. (In about 1200, Bath Priory took Isabella, the doubtless wealthy widow of William the goldsmith, into its society.[24])

Edgar was a generous patron of the monastery and chose it as the setting for his splendid coronation by Dunstan in 973.[25] But on 8 July 975, Edgar died suddenly and was succeeded by his young son Edward. Resentment of Edgar's generosity to the monasteries emerged into the open. Aelfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, headed the anti-monastic party and reinstated dispossessed clergy in his territory. According to Leland, he expelled the monks of Bath for a time.[26] However, in 978 Edward was succeeded by his half-brother, Ethelred, who was much influenced by Dunstan, and the monasteries once more had royal protection.

The early years of the reformed monastery are recorded by the biographer of Abbot Aelfheah (Elphege). Aelfheah left Deerhurst monastery for a hermit's cell near Bath, where he attracted followers much against his will. Once a monastery large enough to house them was built, he withdrew again to a solitary life, but later became Archbishop of Canterbury. During the abbacy of Aelfsige, the relics of the monastery included those of St Aelfheah, whose name was long venerated at Bath.[27] Most of the monastic relics were kept in a shrine, but some belonged to the altar of St Mary.[28] This may have been within the church of St Peter, but there are several instances elsewhere of a freestanding chapel of St Mary to the east of the main church.[29] Abbot Aelfsige appears to have rebuilt the Hot Bath, which is called 'Alsi's Bath' in medieval deeds.[30] He died in 1087,[31] the same year as William the Conqueror, and a period of great change followed.

The Layout of the Priory Precinct

The last Saxon bishop of Wells died in 1088 and William Rufus filled the vacancy with his chaplain and physician, John de Villula, also known as John of Tours. John also became Abbot of Bath to facilitate the transfer of the see from Wells to Bath.[32] The synod of London in 1075 had decreed the removal of bishops' seats from rural to urban centres, and Bath had become the leading borough of Somerset.[33] The move also served a second purpose. Norman churchmen encountered in England an unfamiliar hybrid – the cathedral priory – and adopted it with more enthusiasm than the natives. After the Conquest Durham and Rochester were converted from secular to monastic cathedrals, while Norwich was founded as a cathedral priory. Moving the Somerset see to Bath would create a cathedral filled with the prayers of monks. When a bishop was titular abbot, the practical head of the monastery was his second-in-command, the prior, which brought a change of status to Bath from abbey to priory.

Bath was ripe for rebuilding. In 1088, the city suffered for its royal ownership; it was burnt and plundered during the struggle for supremacy between William Rufus and his brother Robert Curthose. William granted the city of Bath to John of Tours shortly afterwards.[34] This gave the bishop the freedom to lay out a cathedral priory with, as William of Malmesbury tells us, 'a great and elaborate circuit of walls'.[35] The Saxons favoured a regular street pattern, remnants of which can be seen in early maps of Bath.

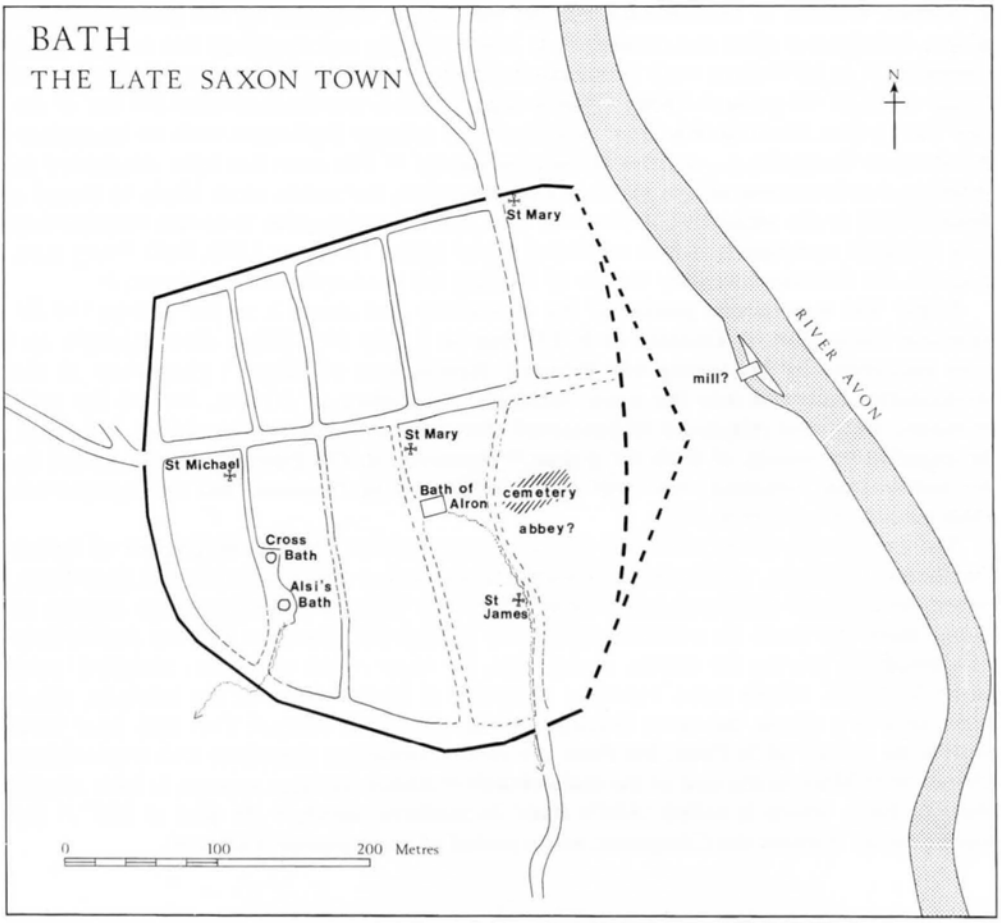

Fig. 1 Late Saxon Bath. Two possible alignments are shown for the eastern section of the city wall. *Adapted with his kind permission from a plan by Barry Cunliffe.*

Some of the streets survive today, and extrapolating from these, one can see the displacement caused by Bishop John's great building project (Figs 1 and 2).

Leland surmised that the east wall of the city was rebuilt at this time, since he could see no Roman fragments embedded in it, though he recorded a number in the northern and western walls.[36] Possibly the wall was moved eastwards to enlarge the area for the cathedral; the medieval wall was certainly conveniently angled out around it. The northern boundary of the precinct evidently respected the main Saxon cross-road of the city, but veered north to the east of it, displacing the east gate. This was just a postern, also known as the Lotgate (from *ludgeat*, the Anglo-Saxon word for postern), which could have been resited without too much difficulty. To the north of the cathedral was a large cemetery, with areas for lay and monastic burials. In 1296 two shops were leased in North Street which were stated to be near the new cemetery, called the monk's cemetery, with the entrance to the common cemetery of the city on the west.[37] It is surprising to find a cemetery laid out two centuries earlier still being described as new, even given the

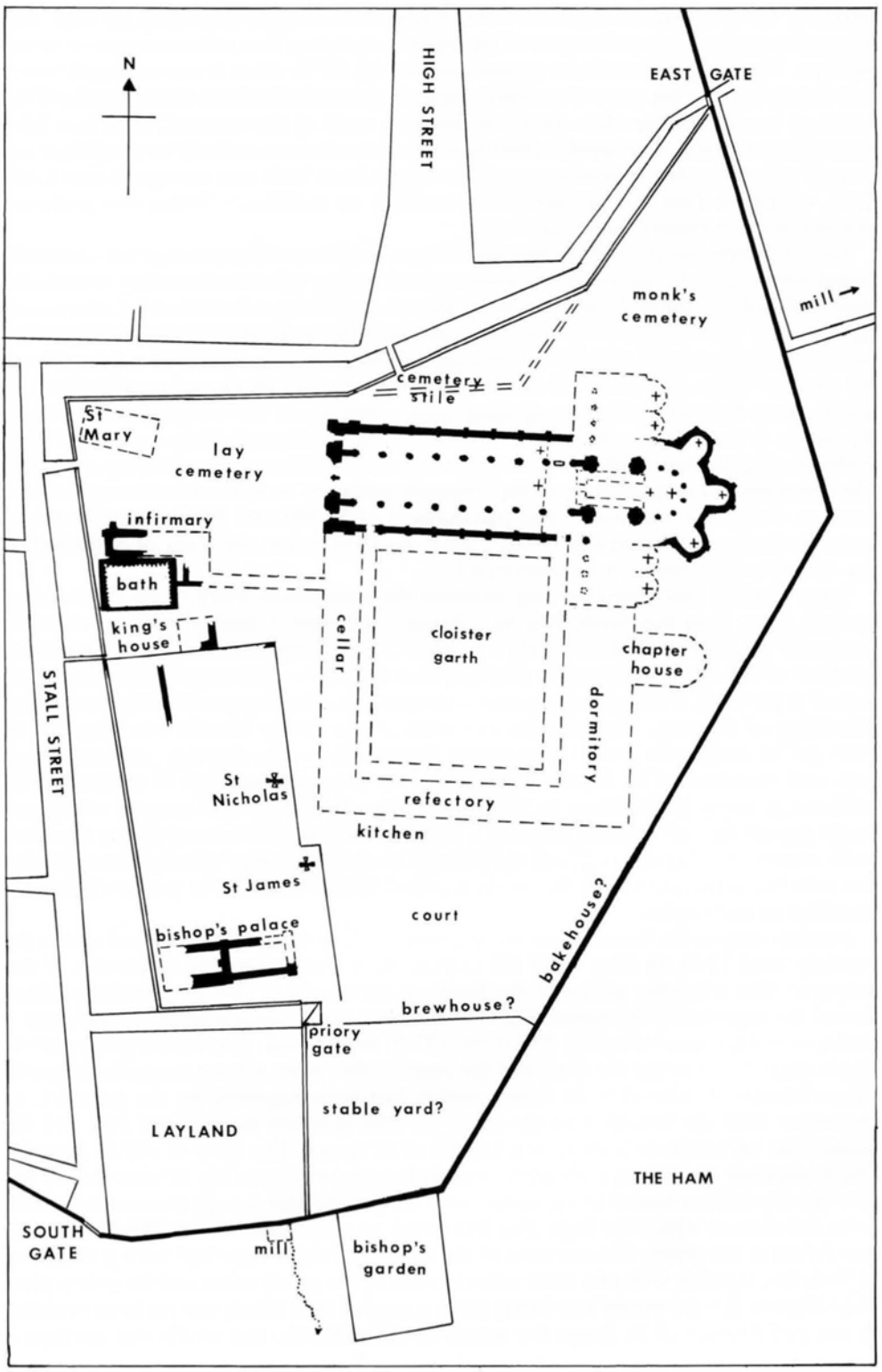

Fig. 2 Bath Cathedral Priory in the 12th century.

tendency for property descriptions to be repeated unchanged over long periods. The alternative explanation is that part of the monk's cemetery was a later extension to the precinct. The east gate was in its present position by 1279, when it was enlarged,[38] so it had clearly been on the same site earlier, suggesting that the northern-most triangle of the cemetery was of Norman date. However, the area north of the cathedral nave may have been a later addition. The monk's churchyard was also known as the Litten and there are several references to the cemetery gate or stile. Litten Stile was corrupted into Little Stile, which we find in later deeds that confirm its position.[39] There was a second entrance to the cemetery from Stall Street.

Barry Cunliffe has pointed out that the western boundary of the precinct was evidently drawn with a view to enclosing the main thermal spring.[40] Such a boundary would also have enclosed the site of St Mary of Stalls Church, and there is evidence that this was in fact the case. The church is first mentioned around 1190 as St Mary in the churchyard of Bath; a contemporary deed refers to the chapel in the cemetery of St Peter paying 30s to the sacrist.[41] Soon afterwards the church appears under its familiar name of St Mary of Stalls – from the stalls lining the adjoining street – making an 'ancient payment' of 32s to the priory. A century later the sacrist was still taking 32s from St Mary de Stalls.[42] This evidence suggests that St Mary's was a mortuary chapel in the corner of the lay cemetery. The description of that cemetery as the 'common cemetery' indicates that it served all the parishes within the city walls. The parishioners of St Michael Within were certainly buried in Stalls churchyard until 1400.[43] After the Dissolution, the Vicar of Stalls had to pay 4s rent to the Crown for his churchyard.[44]

Barry Cunliffe and Peter Greening projected the main Saxon artery of the city running straight down from the North Gate to a Saxon south gate.[45] Such a route would have presented the Norman builders with a problem. If they enclosed the whole south-east quadrant of the city as a monastic precinct, then the city's south gate would have to be resited to the west. Running the precinct wall round in a dog-leg would at least postpone rebuilding of the gate. The precinct area south of the Abbey Church was surveyed in 1725 for its owner, the Duke of Kingston; his plan shows the dog-leg, with the priory gate still standing in its inner corner (Plate 1). This arrangement is confirmed by medieval property descriptions. In 1263 Sir Anselm de Gurney held an area 'within the South gate of the city between the king's highway and the prior's court in one direction [west to east] and the city wall and the bishop's court in the other' [south to north].[46] By this time the south gate was at the southern end of Stall Street, but the precinct boundary fossilised an earlier plan.

Another strip of the Saxon north–south street seems to have been preserved within the precinct until 1279. In May 1275 the city of Bath returned to the ownership of the bishopric after a lengthy period in the hands of the Crown.[47] This gave Bishop Robert Burnel the opportunity for replanning. The bishop's close, containing his palace, was a rectangular area approximately 270 ft by 130 ft on the west side of the precinct.[48] It would seem that between the close and the court of the priory was a passage leading to a Saxon church, dedicated to St James, which had been engulfed by the precinct. In December 1279 the bishop gave the priory an area between the precinct wall and the South Gate on which to build a new church of St James. The nave of old St James's, which adjoined the bishop's chamber, was to be converted into his private chapel. He gave the site of the chancel to the priory, with the proviso that a large stone cross should cover the area on which the high altar had stood, to avoid desecration. The bishop also transferred to the priory the area west of the refectory, where there had been a chapel of St Nicholas, together with two other areas to enlarge the priory court and the priory gate. This suggests that the priory was being given a strip of land which was no longer needed by the parishioners of St James for access to their church, and which was perhaps a

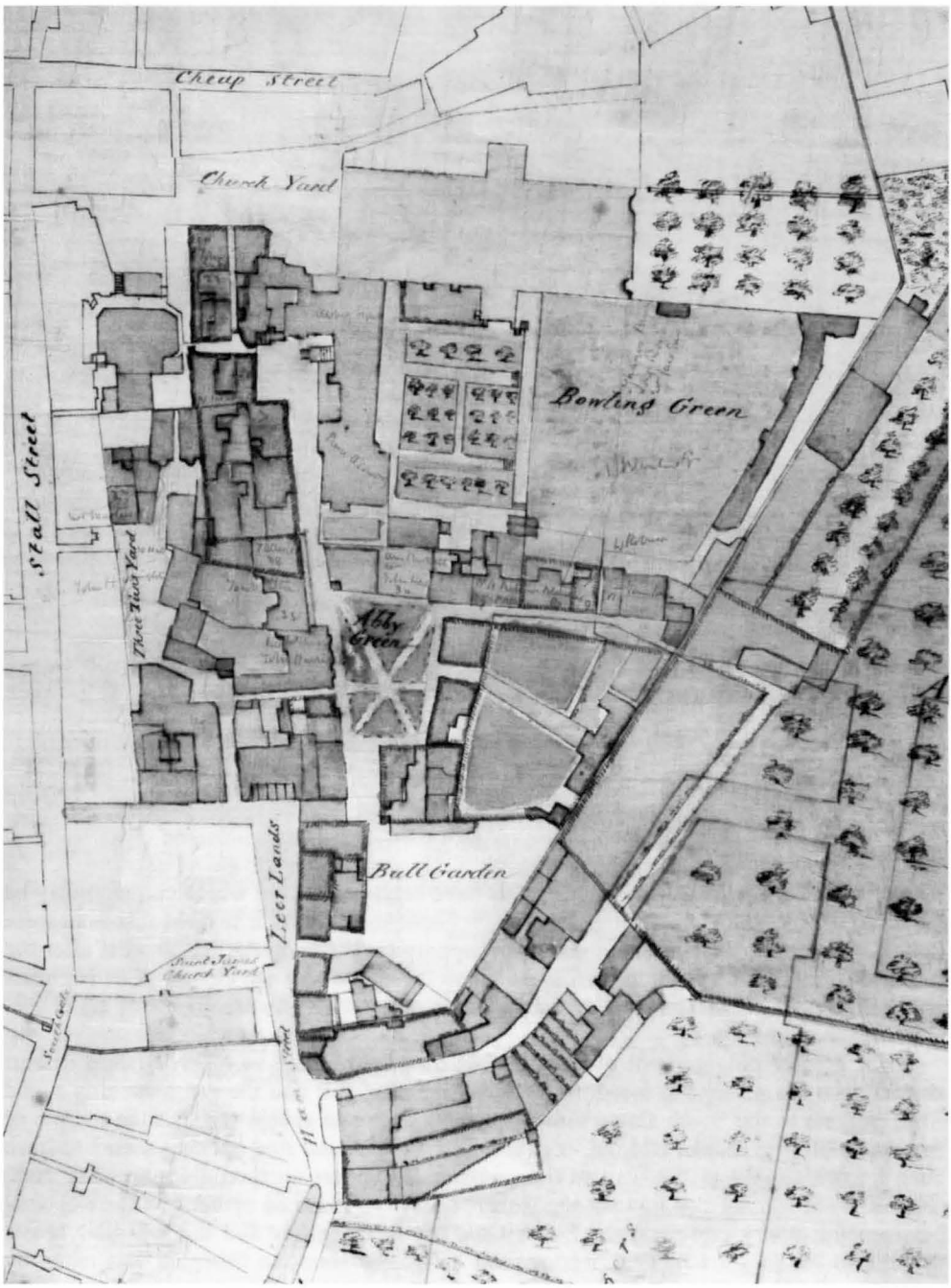

Plate 1 Detail from a survey of Bath made for the Duke of Kingston, 1725. *Photograph courtesy of Bath Central Library.*

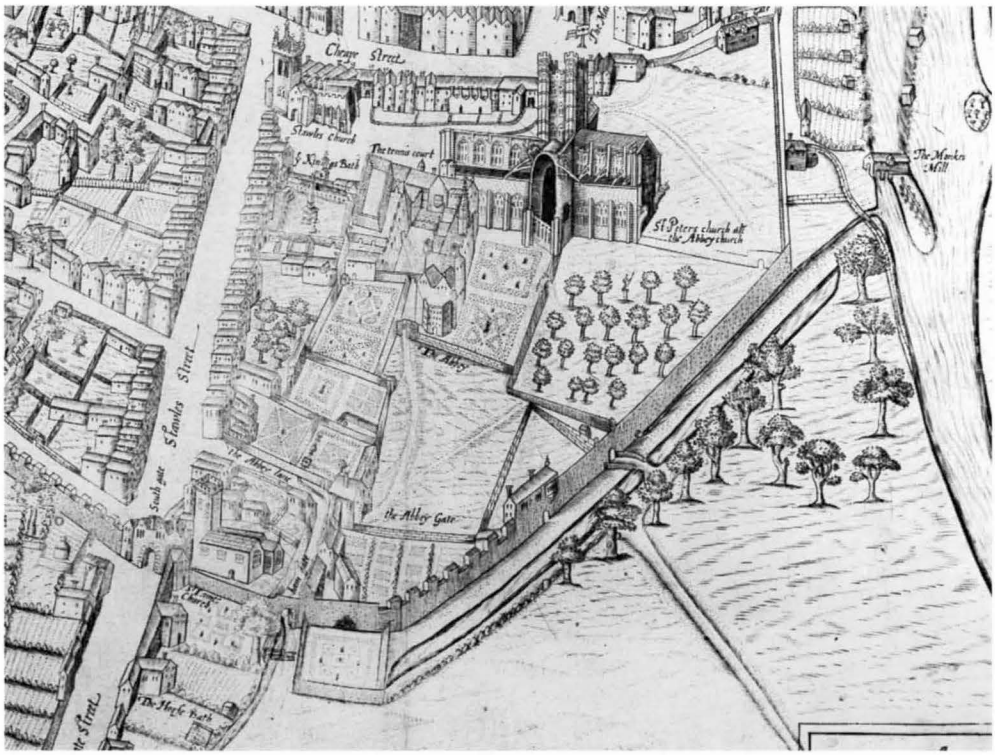

Plate 2 Detail from Henry Savile's map of Bath, *c.* 1600. *From a private collection. Photograph courtesy of Bath Museums Service.*

remnant of a former Saxon street.[49] Burials have been discovered which can plausibly be linked to the old churches of St James and St Nicholas and which suggest that both were Saxon.[50] However, dedications to St Nicholas only became popular in the west after the removal of the saint's body to Bari in 1087, so it may be that the chapel of St Nicholas was built by John of Tours over or near a Saxon cemetery. (The ornaments of his chapel are mentioned in 1106.[51])

A far greater enlargement of the precinct also took place in 1279. Bishop Robert Burnel gave the priory the meadows between the city wall and the Avon running round from Lotgate to the South Gate, with permission to create access through the middle of the city wall. The monks laid out an orchard to the east and this opening seems to have been known simply as the way to the orchard; it appears on Savile's map of *c.* 1600 (Plate 2). The monks also had Bishop Robert's leave to make an opening in the city wall between the priory close and the South Gate for carrying hay and driving their beasts through to the meadow.[52] The meadow was called the Ham, so this gate was naturally known as the Ham Gate. It is marked as such on Savile's map and its position can be plotted fairly accurately from the Kingston map (Plates 1 and 2). It was presumably a re-opening on the site of the Saxon south gate of the city. In 1951 a medieval gate was discovered which was thought to be the Ham Gate, but it lies too far to the east.[53] This gate may have been used for carrying manure direct from the stables to the garden outside the wall.

THE KING'S BATH AND ROYAL LODGING

The thermal springs were the whole reason for Bath's existence and as a physician, John of Tours no doubt took a considerable interest in their therapeutic properties. He has been credited with rebuilding the baths in their medieval form, with arched seats around the sides. A description in 1138 of 'a reservoir in the midst of arched chambers, splendidly arranged, providing in the centre of the town baths which are pleasantly warm, healthy and a pleasure to see' suggests that at least the main medieval bath had been built by then. The author continues: 'From all over England sick people come to wash away their infirmities in the healing waters, and the healthy to gaze at the remarkable bubbling up of the hot springs and to bathe in them.'[54]

Royal visitors seem to have come for pleasure. Henry I spent Easter at Bath in 1106 and his son, the ill-fated Prince William, brought his friends to stay with John of Tours one year for the festival of SS Peter and Paul.[55] There was an upsurge of royal interest after 1193, when Bishop Savaric surrendered the city of Bath to the Crown in exchange for Glastonbury Abbey.[56] King John maintained a house in Bath from at least 1201 and visited four times, though never for more than a day.[57] Frequent visits with a crowd of retainers could stretch a monastery's resources to the limit, so it was not unknown for patrons to build themselves lodgings within the precinct and treat them almost as a private house.[58] References in later reigns make it clear that such was the case at Bath. The royal lodgings were within the precinct, near the chief thermal spring. The Saxon name for this was the Bath of Alron (possibly *ald run*, the old mystery or old writing), which occurs in deeds around 1220, but by 1235 it had become known as the King's Bath.[59]

Henry III was a keen builder and spent far more than his father on the royal lodgings. He seems to have set work in motion when he visited in August 1235, for the following year the prior claimed for £13 11s recently spent on the repair of the royal lodgings and the wall round the King's Bath.[60] In May 1238 the sheriff was ordered to arrange for the king's chamber at Bath to be repaired and well roofed; £2 was spent on this work.[61] Henry was particularly fond of the colour green, spangled with gold stars, and had a number of royal apartments decorated in this way.[62] A building south-east of the King's Bath was known as the Star Chamber, which suggests just this type of decoration.[63] The Star Chamber (*camera stellata, chambre des estoiles*) at Westminster Palace was built by a later monarch in the same style.[64] St Osyth's Abbey, Essex, also had a Star Chamber, along with a Sun Chamber and Moon Chamber. Although Henry III visited St Osyth's in April 1256, there is no indication that these chambers were built by or for him. From the description of their contents and position at the Dissolution, they appear to have been high-status guest chambers, part of a new wing built by Abbot Vintoner around 1527.[65] However, the foundations of the Star Chamber at Bath were discovered and recorded on scale plan in the 19th century, and their width suggests a medieval rather than Tudor building.[66] The Star Chamber was depicted on Savile's map (Plate 2) before its rebuilding in 1611. Henry III's interest in architecture extended to St Peter's: in 1243 he contributed 60 marks to work on the cathedral.[67]

Edward I was evidently less willing than his father to maintain a lodging at Bath for infrequent visits. In 1274 the king's buildings within the abbey gates were reported to be out of repair. The cost of 'returning them to a pristine state' was estimated at 10 marks over and above the sum already laid out by the prior in rebuilding two houses in the king's area of the priory. Two years later the position was unchanged, as the king could see for himself when he visited Bath in September 1276.[68] The city of Bath had returned to the bishopric the year before and royal interest was waning; there are no more references to the royal lodging. Probably the king had his own gate into the precinct; deeds from 1310 refer to a lane going from Stall Street to the King's Bath.[69]

THE NORMAN CATHEDRAL

The building of a cathedral was a huge and costly undertaking. John of Tours devoted the revenues of the city to his great works. He also took the monastery's income into his own hands, to the distress of the monks.[70] Two of Somerset's barons contributed to the building effort, in the expectation of benefits beyond the grave. Walter de Douai of Castle Cary gave the church of Bampton, Devon, to the priory in return for the right of cathedral burial.[71] William de Mohun donated the church of St George beside his castle at Dunster on the condition that the priory rebuilt it and 'exalted' it, presumably to monastic status. Dunster became a cell of Bath and the monks of Bath remembered William in their prayers.[72] The priory's own tenant at Batheaston and Lyncombe, Walter Hussey, gave them his house in Holloway and the adjoining chapel of St Mary Magdalen, with a similar rebuilding clause.[73]

Shortly after acquiring the city, John of Tours made another useful purchase. For sixty pounds he bought the lands of Hugolin at Claverton, Warleigh and Batheaston.[74] Claverton Down no doubt provided the Bath stone for the cathedral, just as it did for the Georgian city. The new church was laid out on a grand Norman scale; its plan was reconstructed from archaeological evidence by Timothy O'Leary and Warwick Rodwell (Fig. 3).[75] The timetable of the building works can be deduced from events. The bishop's palace was apparently finished by 1106, when Henry I was entertained in Bath. John of Tours made his peace with the monks in that year, returning their revenues to their own management.[76] On 22 December 1122 he died, with the 'lower vaulting' (presumably of the choir aisles and ambulatory) already complete. He was buried before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[77] Centuries later Leland saw his tomb in the middle of the presbytery of the ruined Norman church, which suggests that his body was moved to a place before the high altar when the progress of building made that possible.[78] The next bishop, Godfrey, was buried in 1135 on the north side of the high altar, so it would appear that the choir and presbytery had been roofed by then.[79]

His successor, Robert of Lewis, dedicated an altar to the Holy Trinity in that same year. The importance of this event may be judged from the presence of the priors of Glastonbury and Taunton and a crowd of other churchmen.[80] There are intimations later of a particular reverence for this altar. A pair of jet and silver rosaries was bequeathed to the image of the Holy Trinity in 1404.[81] Such practices smacked of idolatry in the eyes of the Lollards, and in 1459 one Agnes Cole of Norton St Philip condemned pilgrimages and offerings to the Trinity of Bath in forthright terms.[82] Her remarks may have been inspired by the lavish provision which Sir William Botreux made for his soul in September 1458. He granted the priory the manor of Yeovilton in return for daily masses and obits for himself and his family before the altar of Holy Trinity.[83] This altar must have been prominently placed. Its dedication at a stage when the roofing of the choir may only recently have been completed might suggest that it was the choir altar, as at the Abbey of St Mary, York.[84]

With building work so far advanced, it must have been a bitter blow when the cathedral was devastated by fire in July 1137.[85] Analysis of fragments of the Norman vaulting suggests that much of the fire damage was simply whitewashed over.[86] Nevertheless, Bishop Robert was faced with a considerable task. He needed not only to undertake repairs but to proceed with work on the nave. Benefactors again came forward. Ralph, a citizen of Bath who was evidently both wealthy and pious, paid for the completion of the principal tower from the beginning of the windows, and contributed all the timber and lead for its roof as well as two great bells costing 100 marks. He later joined the monastic community.[87] The reference to a principal (presumably crossing) tower implies that there were others; two smaller towers flanking the west end would be

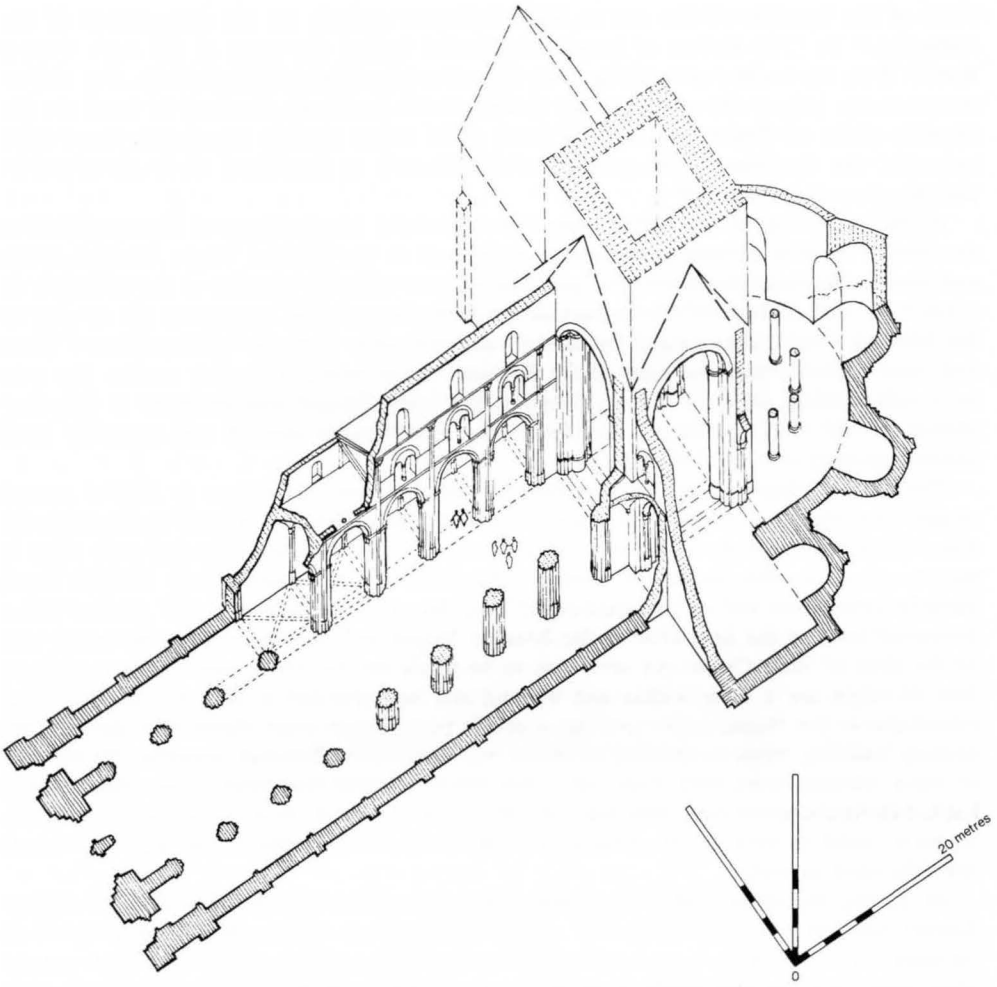

Fig. 3 The Norman cathedral reconstructed from remains recorded by James Irvine during 19th century alterations to the Abbey Church, and those discovered beneath Orange Grove in 1979. More recent excavations have indicated that the south transept was larger than shown here, with a western aisle. *Drawing by Sheila Gibson, courtesy of Bath Archaeological Trust.*

compatible with the archaeological evidence.[88] In 1153, Alexander de Alno of Compton Dando granted the manor of Cameley to the priory for work on the cathedral.[89]

The cathedral was clearly finished by Robert of Lewis, for in his time there was another important consecration. Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury and Bishops Robert of Bath, Mark of Clonmacnois and Nicholas of Llandaff marked it by granting indulgences to all who visited the cross in Bath Priory Church on the festival of the exaltation of the Holy Cross.[90] The cross in question was presumably the rood at the east end of the nave, so the ceremony evidently signified the completion of the nave. Unfortunately the date of the consecration is unknown and can only be placed between 1148 and 1161. However, it has been plausibly suggested that the papal confirmation in

1156 of the transfer of the see to Bath followed closely on the completion of the cathedral.[91] In 1166 Robert of Lewis was buried before the steps of the high altar at Bath.[92] With the burden of building over, his successor, Reginald FitzJocelin, was able to return to the priory the revenues his predecessors had long diverted to work on the church. (John of Tours had already done so in 1106, but his successors must have reversed the decision.) The profits of the church of Bathford were allocated to maintenance of the fabric.[93]

At the beginning of the next century the cult of the Virgin began to be recognised in the liturgy. Bishop Savaric instituted daily masses to the Blessed Virgin Mary at Wells and Jocelin Trotman confirmed the practice the year after his election to the bishopric in 1206.[94] At Bishop Jocelin's enthronement in Bath, he provided ornaments for an altar to the Blessed Virgin, consecrated by himself and two other bishops.[95] Since John of Tours had been buried before the altar of the Blessed Virgin nearly a century earlier, this may be a rededication after alterations. Perhaps the Lady Chapel was enlarged at this time and/or moved to the favoured position in the easternmost apse. It was certainly sited behind the high altar in 1502.[96]

The lay congregation would have had no access to this chapel, so in 1260 a second chapel was created in the nave. In April, Bishop William Bytton I granted indulgences for those contributing to the adornment of the Lady Chapel.[97] Its position becomes clear in the provisions for the chantry of Matilda Champfleur of Batheaston. Lady Matilda was a notable benefactor and in recognition of this, the prior in January 1263 granted her a perpetual mass at the new altar to the Blessed Virgin and St Catherine on the north side of the altar of Holy Cross. An arch was to be made for her tomb near the new altar, so that all might see it from within and without and be reminded to pray for her.[98] A floor raised above the Norman one and the scar left by a screen were discovered during 19th century building work in the first northern bay west of the Norman crossing. To the east of these remains were four steps up to the Norman north transept.[99] This suggests that Lady Matilda's tomb was between the choir and the nave (that is, in the retrochoir), where it could be seen by the monks, and that the arch was made to permit it to be seen from the nave as well.

At around the same time Prior Thomas granted masses for the souls of Lord Hubert Hussey and his wife Hawise at the altar of St Leonard, where their bodies lay.[100] St Leonard was a favourite with monks and his festival was among those on which special obits were said for past brethren of St Peter's. Other such festivals included that of St John the Evangelist, to whom an altar was dedicated.[101] The altar of St Martin is mentioned in 1333, when Elias de St Albans, vicar of Wethersfield, founded a chantry there. (The priory held relics of St Martin, Bishop of Tours.[102]) Presumably the altars to St Leonard, St John and St Martin were all in the monastic eastern part of the church, in the apses or transepts. Bishop Bubwith chose to adorn the nave. In October 1424 he made arrangements for masses in the chapel he had just built on the south side of the nave, with an altar to St John the Baptist, St George, St Fabian and St Sebastian.[103]

The changing pattern of burials in the cathedral priory over the centuries reflected shifts in status within the diocese and society at large. Bishops of Bath were buried in the cathedral until Jocelin Trotman died at Wells in 1242. Bishop Jocelin had a particular attachment to Wells, where he was raised and served as a canon, and he made arrangements to be buried there. The canons of Wells seized the opportunity to reassert their former primacy and a dispute with Bath priory followed. In 1244 Pope Innocent IV delivered a judgement of Solomon. In future both churches were to have cathedral status and the diocese would be that of Bath and Wells.[104] Honour was satisfied, but a body can only be buried in one place. Most of the later bishops preferred to live at Wells and were buried there.

Benefactors granted cathedral burial in the medieval period were generally landowners. One is of peculiar interest. The epitaph of Alexander de Alno was noted in 1582 'in the right arch of the ruinous temple formerly dedicated to Minerva, still standing'.[105] This is the earliest archaeological record relating to Bath. If Norman fabric was taken to be Roman, we can surmise the location. The epitaph was noted during a period of restoration work on the Tudor choir; at the east end of the south aisle the arch of the Norman crossing survives.[106]

In the 15th century, burghers of Bath, grown rich on the wool trade, find their place in the cathedral. The clothmaker William Phillips, founder of St Catherine's Hospital, specified burial in the nave before the high cross in 1444.[107] The wealthy clothier Thomas Chaunceler in 1496 asked to be buried in the chapel of Our Lady,[108] presumably the chapel of the Blessed Virgin and St Catherine in the nave. There is an interesting sequel. His widow Isabel died in 1534, after the church had been rebuilt, and she arranged for burial in the chapel of St Leonard in the north aisle. Assuming that she wished to be buried near her husband, the new chapel of St Leonard must have occupied approximately the same site as the old chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the nave.[109]

Many fragments of the Norman cathedral survive, but there are few clues to the craftsmen who built, adorned and maintained it. Cathedral building was directed by a master of works, usually a mason, to be distinguished from the monastic clerk of works, who administered the finances. (Some authors have mistakenly assumed that John, the monastic clerk of works in 1206,[110] is the earliest known architect of Bath.) Thomas the mason witnessed a grant to Bath Priory between 1174 and 1191; the document was almost certainly written at the priory, since another witness was Master Arnold, the monastery's physician.[111] William Verrarius (glass-maker) had a house in Bath in the mid-13th century,[112] and since glass was generally confined to ecclesiastical buildings in this period, he probably worked on the cathedral. Then in 1316 the prior gave John Wulfrich his freedom and a corrody on condition that he served the priory for life as a plumber and glazier.[113]

The Claustral Buildings

The layout of Benedictine houses followed a standard plan. The main buildings were arranged around a cloister, generally on the south side of the church, as at Bath. Usually the monks' dormitory was on the first floor of the east range, attached to the south transept, often with the chapter house beneath. The south range contained the refectory, while the west range contained the *cellarium* or storerooms, quite often with the abbot's or prior's lodgings above, as was the case at Bath. The projected size of the Norman cloister at Bath would have made it among the largest in the country, suggesting that John of Tours planned to place Bath among the greatest of monastic houses. He may have aimed to create a cultural centre to rival his native Tours. We are told that he selected monks noted for their learning, but there is no indication of their numbers.[114] By 1206 there were only 41, which cannot be considered a large community.[115] The Black Death of 1348–9 had its effect in Bath as elsewhere. In October 1344, there were 30 monks at Bath in addition to the prior, while in 1377 there were only 15, though numbers recovered gradually to around 20.[116] It would appear that the great Norman cloister was considered over-large by the 13th century.

Buildings framed or roofed in timber would have been worst affected by the fire of 1137. Robert of Lewis (1135–66) is credited with building the cloister, refectory, chapter house, dormitory and infirmary, which suggests that timber played a large part in the construction of the previous conventual buildings.[117] Claustral buildings were commonly

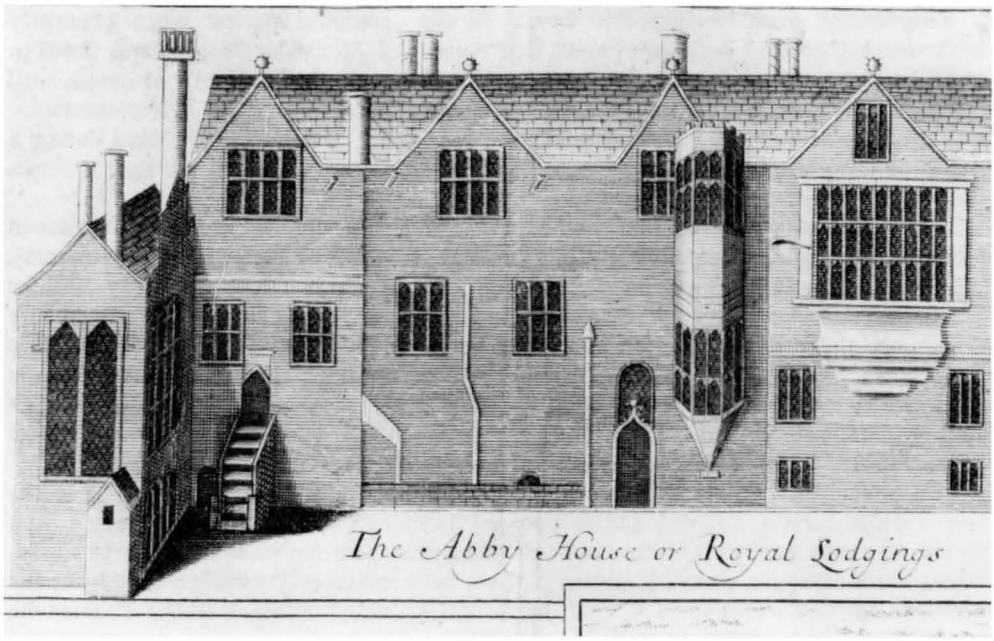

Plate 3 View of the Abbey House inset in the border of Joseph Gilmore's map of Bath, 1694. *Photograph courtesy of Barry Cunliffe.*

built in timber at first, to be gradually replaced in stone as funds became available. Excavations under Sally Lunn's House, North Parade Passage, uncovered the north wall and floor surfaces of a building occupied between the 12th and early 14th centuries. The low wall is of dry stone and would have supported a timber-framed building. Burnt stone in the foundations presumably came from the fire of 1137.[118] This is in the right position to be part of the refectory range built by Robert of Lewis. The south side of the presumed range can be traced in existing property boundaries. In 1620 it was asserted in a court case that a monastic building overlooking the way into the abbey orchard had been demolished by Matthew Colthurst, the post-Dissolution owner, who had created a new orchard on the site. The foundations of it were still visible.[119] Shortly afterwards building leases were granted for a row of houses inside the south wall of Colthurst's orchard, including what is now Sally Lunn's House.[120] North Parade Passage therefore preserves the line of the way to the priory orchard.

The west range is the one for which we have most evidence, since it survived the Dissolution and appeared on 17th century bird's-eye views and on the Kingston map (Plates 1 and 2). In the border of Joseph Gilmore's map of Bath is a particularly valuable view of the west side of what was then known as the Abbey House or Prior's House (Plate 3).[121] (The former priory has been popularly but erroneously known as the abbey since the time of Elizabeth.) The upper storeys, with their magnificent oriel windows, appear Tudor, while the ogee-headed doorway may be 14th century. This is in the narrow waist of the range, which was aligned with the west end of the Norman cathedral (inside the Tudor west end); presumably it preserved the line of the Norman west range. If the prior's lodgings followed the usual late medieval plan, the outside stair would have led to an antechamber or screens passage, with the great hall on the right. At the far end there

would have been a dais where the prior sat, lit by the smaller oriel window. Beyond this would have been the prior's great chamber lit by the larger oriel. The building at right angles to the main block was probably the prior's chapel, which has been found in a similar position in other monastic houses.[122] This would have been the 'chapel of All Saints in the monastery' where priory tenants customarily paid their rents.[123]

In the early days of monasticism the head of a religious house slept and ate with the other monks, but gradually the abbot drew apart, building his own separate hall, chamber and chapel. In a cathedral priory, the titular abbot was the bishop, and so he would have had separate accommodation from the beginning. As priors gained greater independence, they built themselves lodgings similar to those of abbots and acquired their own staff.[124] In 1242 the Prior of Bath received guests in 'the prior's chamber under the great hall'. From the time that Bishop Reginald (1174–91) handed over control of the priory finances to the prior, the latter would have been increasingly engaged in business, to which the cartulary now in Lincoln's Inn bears witness. By 1242, the prior was employing two clerks.[125] His appointment was still at the discretion of the bishop, but in 1261 the monks were given the right to make their own election as from the next vacancy, which fell in the same year. They chose their cellarer, Walter de Anno.[126] In 1263 Prior Walter granted board and lodging to a clerk, who was to become his chaplain, and the prior's great chamber is mentioned in 1305.[127]

Recent excavation has revealed a surviving stretch of 13th century masonry wall which appears to be the west side of the east claustral range, but in a most unconventional position, running into the Norman nave.[128] This suggests that when timber cloister buildings were replaced in stone in the 13th century, the opportunity was taken to cut the cloister down to a more convenient size (Fig. 4). The relationship of church to cloister certainly appears to have been conventional in 1263; the position of the nave altar at that time can be deduced from the excavated remains of the chantry presumed to be that of Lady Matilda Champfleur (*see above* p. 86). On either side of the nave altar, we would expect to find doors through to the retrochoir, from which there would be entry to the choir. In the heat of the struggle for primacy in the diocese, there were several deputations from Wells whose activities are recorded in valuable detail. On 5 February 1243 the Sub-Dean of Wells arrived at the priory at about the time of vespers and addressed the prior in the guest-house. He then passed through the parlour and entered the church. There the Sub-Dean waited by the door of the choir, hoping to appeal to the whole convent, but he was thwarted by the prior's clerks and physician. They arranged for the monks in the church to file out into their cloister and bolt the doors behind them.[129]

A great deal of the business of Bath Priory was conducted in the chapter house; many documents are dated from there. The most likely site is in the east range, under the dormitory. The prison cell might have been close by. Bishop Bekynton ordered one apostate to be brought back to the Priory and kept under lock and key in 1445.[130] Secure storage for valuables, including books and charters, would also probably be in the east range. In 1316 a document was specifically consigned to the treasury for safekeeping.[131] Books were in the charge of the precentor and in other monastic houses were often stored in a cupboard in the north cloister, where writing was normally done. However, there is a reference in 1325 to the chamber of the precentor facing the almoner's chamber,[132] which could have been the library.

Bishop Thomas Bekynton (1444–65) built a new dormitory for the priory at his own cost.[133] (Bekynton was an even greater builder in Wells.) Prior John Dunster (1468–81) followed by rebuilding the refectory, for which he raised over £666 in a variety of ways, including the sale of corrodies and annuities. This left the priory financially burdened for many years. After he became Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1482, John Dunster

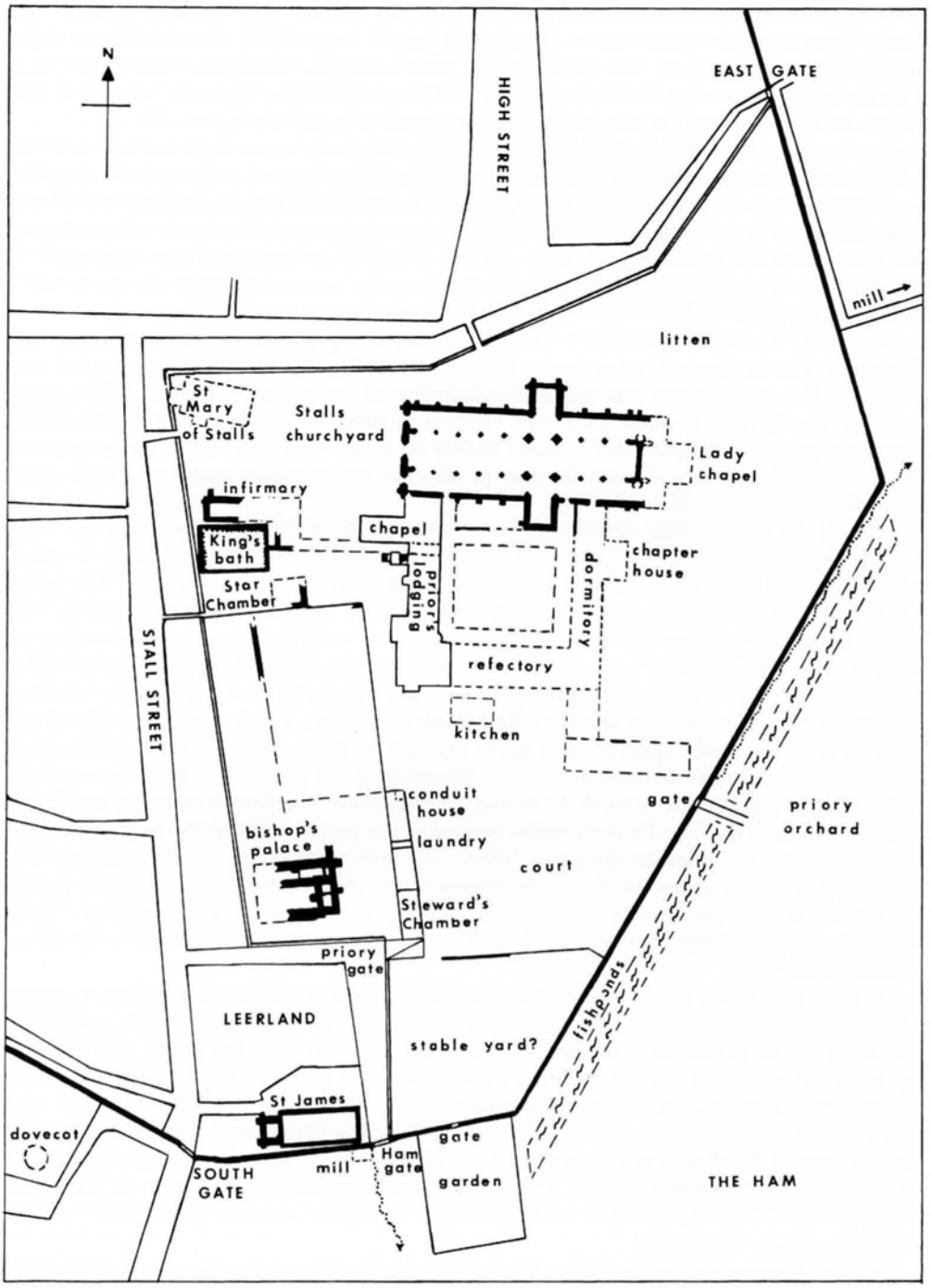

Fig. 4 Layout of Bath Priory at the time of the Dissolution.

had to face legal proceedings against him by his successor, the former sacristan John Cantlow. According to Prior Cantlow, Bath Priory was 'in grete povertie for manye causes' including the 'soden ruyn of the most of the church of the seid Priorye [and] the charges and costs of repare'.[134] It seems that his plea was accepted in the highest quarters, for Bath Priory was excused paying tenths to the Crown from 1485 to 1496 as a poor house with ruinous buildings.[135]

In fact Prior Cantlow was as eager a builder as his predecessor and showed no reticence about it. In June 1483 he petitioned the Pope to unite the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen to the priory, since the negligence of past rectors had left it ruinous, impoverished and in debt. If it were so united, he promised to repair its buildings.[136] The Pope granted permission and Prior Cantlow was as good as his word, as a verse inscription records:

> Thys chapell floryschyd with formosyte spectabyll
> In the honoure of M Magdalen prior Cantlow hathe edyfyde
> Desyring yow to pray for hym with yowre prayers delectabyll
> That iche will inhabyt hym in hevyn ther evyr to abyde.

Prior Cantlow also added the chancel to the chapel of St Catherine, Batheaston, in 1490. Here the inscription identifying him as the builder is contained in the stained glass of the east window, which also depicts the kneeling figure of the prior and his coat of arms. Another window has eagles (the symbol of St John the Evangelist) holding scrolls inscribed 'prior Cantlow'. The eagle badge also appears on the north side of the Church of St Thomas à Becket, Widcombe, completed after Prior Cantlow's death. The east side of the tower has a mitre surmounting a weaver's shuttle, which has been assumed to refer to the priory's involvement in the cloth trade, but which must be the badge of another Tudor prior. (The pope granted the priors of Bath the right to use pontifical insignia in 1456). The same badge appeared on the Abbey House.[137]

On the south side of the Abbey House, 'in certain old lodgings belonging to the monks...in a windowe in that room called the parlour', two early antiquarians noted the eagle badge of Prior Cantlow and the arms of his successor, Prior Birde.[138] The monastic parlour was a room where the monks could communicate with visitors; in earlier periods it tended to be a cold, dark passage between the court and the cloister. The parlour seen by the antiquarians was evidently a more cheerful Tudor replacement. It was on the ground floor, for the window above it is also mentioned. Savile shows a two-storey, battlemented Tudor bay window (Plate 2), which is presumably the bay shown on the south side of the west range on the Kingston map (Plate 1).

Prior Cantlow probably improved his own lodgings as well as the monk's parlour. Abbots and priors up and down the land were doing the same. It was the last great flowering of monastic architecture, though much of it was notably secular in style, funded by a general rise in the profitability of land.[139] Additional space may have been needed; we are told that Prior Cantlow rode around the countryside with no fewer than eighteen servants in livery;[140] but also the traditions of monastic austerity were giving way to a taste for greater comfort. In earlier periods the only heated living rooms in a monastery were the warming house and infirmary. The Savile map shows a late medieval or early Tudor crocketted chimney rising from the middle of the west range, confirming that the prior's hall was a heated room at least by that time.

Possibly it was one of the Tudor priors who created private baths in the monastery, though the technology to do so would have been available much earlier. Leland noted 'ther goith a sluse out of [the King's] bath and servid in tymes past with water derivid out of it 2. places in Bath priorie usid for bathes.'[141] According to John Wood, a survey made

when the priory precinct was sold by Edmund Colthurst to John Hall in 1612 mentioned a disused bath in Hodnett's tenement, which had been operational in living memory. William Hodnett took out a lease in 1611 of the rebuilt Star Chamber and the garden to the south.[142] A bath in this area could have been for the use of guests, with a second one perhaps attached to the west range for the prior.

THE INFIRMARY AND HOSPITALS

The infirmary was built (or rebuilt) in the 12th century by Prior Robert of Lewis along with the claustral ranges, but would have been a separate building. All but the smallest monasteries made provision outside the cloister for their old and sick. Infirmaries were usually placed away from the bustle of the outer court and close to the cemetery. Bath had a particular asset in its thermal waters and the natural site would be between the King's Bath and the cemetery. Norman foundations have been uncovered there, substantial enough to suggest a two-storey building. Pottery dates indicate that it was built after 1100.[143] Gilmore's view of the Abbey House (Plate 3) shows a door to the left of the staircase, while his view of the Abbey Church shows a corresponding door on the east side of the Abbey House. This was probably the passage that was conventionally provided to give monks in the infirmary access to the cloister.

The inmates were in the charge of the infirmarer, but their medical care was entrusted to physicians who were secular clergy, rather than monks, and so were free of the monastic rule. The first physicians mentioned are Masters Arnold and Roger in the late 12th century. They were followed by Master Simon.[144] Then in 1328 the prior granted the physician Master John de Bath a corrody and a chamber within the gate of the priory, in return for attending the infirmary with medicines.[145]

The infirmary was reserved for monks, but provision was made elsewhere for the poor infirm. St John's Hospital by the Hot and Cross Baths was founded by Bishop Reginald FitzJocelin around 1180 and put under the management of the priory about ten years later. St John's seems to have been on the usual pattern, comprising a hall, with a chapel at one end.[146] Those with infectious diseases were best housed outside the city; the Hospital of St Mary Magdelen was ideally placed across the river in Holloway. By 1212 this was a hospital for lepers and so it remained until after the Dissolution.[147]

THE GUEST HOUSE AND LODGINGS

Hospitality was a duty of all Benedictine houses and we may be confident that a guest house was provided at Bath at an early stage. The deputations from Wells in the winter of 1242–3 were received in the hall of the guest-house and the chamber below it, indicating a two-storey building. Probably it lay in the court, since the Sub-Dean passed through the parlour to get to the church.[148] Around 1300 the guest house was demolished.[149] The king had apparently ceased to maintain his lodgings within the precinct by this time, so they may have been converted into a new guest house, or possibly the old one was being rebuilt. There is no indication that there was ever more than one. In 1339 the prior appointed a principal sergeant to the hall of the guest house and in 1537 a rent was paid to the priory 'hostrye'.[150]

In July 1336 the priory began renting the bishop's palace and close, no longer needed by the bishop, who lived at Wells. The buildings were ruinous, but once repaired would have provided convenient accommodation for staff and others. The bishop himself reserved the right to stay there when in Bath.[151] In 1347 the clerk Reginald de Buggewell

(later Dean of Exeter) was granted the chamber under the Bishop's chamber, with the chapel and garden adjoining.[152]

Some useful accommodation resulted from a difference of opinion with the pope. On 26 February 1332, Prior Robert de Clopcote died. He had previously sent his resignation to Pope John XXII, who therefore considered that he had the right to appoint a successor and chose Thomas Christi. Meanwhile, the monks had elected Robert de Sutton,[153] who inevitably had to stand down. In October he became Prior of Dunster, with a generous pension and permission to retire when infirm to the chamber he had built in Bath.[154] Presumably he did so in July 1337, when Adam de Cheddar was appointed Prior of Dunster,[155] but he did not enjoy a long retirement. In July 1339 Prior Thomas granted Sir Walter de Rodeneye (keeper of the bishop's parks) the chamber in the priory which Dom Robert de Sutton had built, with the ground about it and accommodation for his esquire, chamberlain, three grooms and horses.[156] This was clearly a detached building of some status. Savile (Plate 2) shows a house within the former precinct against the east wall of the city. Gilmore's view of it shows an early Tudor facade,[157] but this may nevertheless represent Robert de Sutton's house as improved by one of the late Tudor priors.

Service Buildings and Water Supply

While the cloister was the centre of intellectual life in a monastery, the great court was the hub of its practical support. Around the court were ranged the kitchen, bakehouse, brewhouse and workshops. South of the court was an area used for stables after the Dissolution,[158] and probably put to the same use before. Detailed leases survive for the final years of the priory which give fascinating insights into its provisioning. Tenants supplied straw for the stables, and fuel for the brewery.[159] (The brewhouse and its furnace oven are mentioned in 1484.[160]) Tenants of Monkton Combe, Weston and Bathford were required to bring grain to the garner (granary) within the monastery.[161] Immediately after the Dissolution, the Crown rental of ex-Priory property included 'Hambrigg medys' with a dovecot and a barn or granary next to the monastery.[162] This is Ambry Mead, between the city wall and the Avon on the south-west of the city. Savile's map shows a circular building close to the South Gate, which could well be a dovecot (Plate 2) but it is impossible to identify the granary, which could have been demolished between the Dissolution and Savile's survey.

For convenience, the kitchen was generally sited close to the refectory and *cellarium*. Bread was a large part of the monastic diet and it was usually baked in an oven separate from the kitchen. The warden of the bakehouse is mentioned in 1243 and a servant of the prior's baker in 1379.[163] St Benedict enjoined his followers to 'abstain entirely from the flesh of four-footed animals', so there was a great need for fish. Ponds ensured a fresh supply. Bishop Robert Burnell, having granted the priory the meadows by the Avon in 1279, also donated £10 for the construction of two fishponds.[164] These are presumably the long ponds alongside the east wall which Savile depicts (Plate 2). Ponds in this area are mentioned in 1613.[165]

The entry to the court was through the great gate of the priory, which survived until 1733. John Wood described a middle aperture and northern postern.[166] The standard monastic gateway had one portal for horses and wheeled traffic and another for pedestrians, as in the surviving example at St Augustine's, Bristol. It was served by a lay porter, who had a lodge beside it.[167] After the way to the old church of St James was thrown into the great court in 1279, a room for the cellarer was built on to the gate.[168] No doubt this was a convenient place to check the provisions coming into the priory, but such was the pressure on accommodation that in 1293 a corrodian was granted the

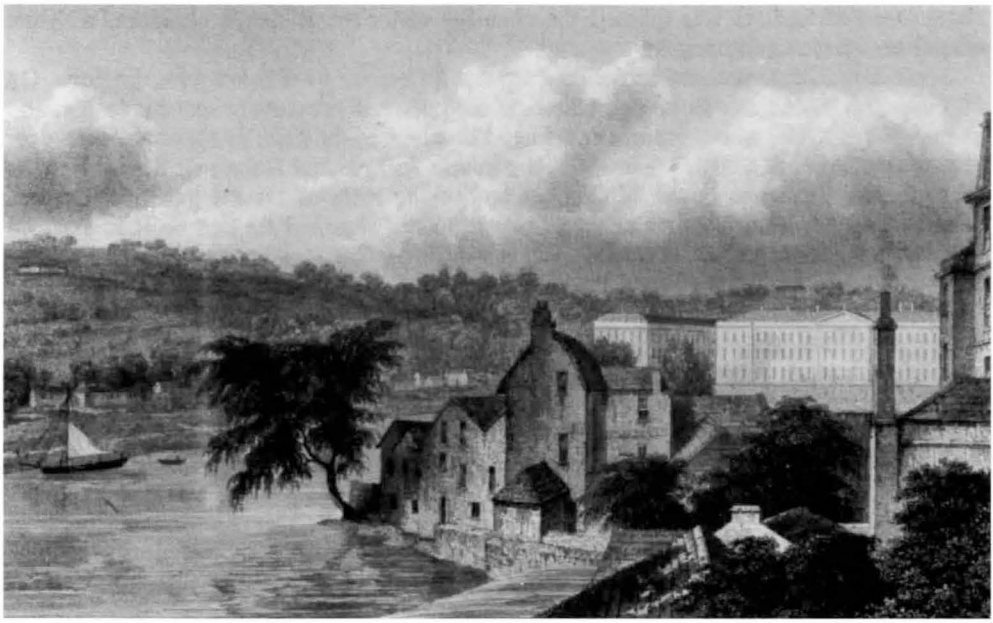

Plate 4 Monk's Mill in the 19th century, engraved from a drawing by William Westall. *Photograph courtesy of Bath Central Library.*

cellarer's room next to the gate.[169] Later this room was used by the lay steward of the priory. The last steward, Thomas Llewellyn, was granted a 'room within the gate of the priory called the Stewards Chamber' on his appointment in 1519. In 1616 the porter's lodge, steward's chamber and rooms over the gate were leased, with a supply of water from the ancient priory conduit.[170]

A few days earlier the walled garden to the north had been leased for building, with permission to demolish the little conduit house.[171] This building can be seen on Savile's map (Plate 2) at the north-east corner of the garden. Although the conduit house was being taken down, clearly the priory conduit was still in working order. Monastic plumbing was notably advanced, and Prior Walter de Anno seems to have been particularly active in this field. In 1263 he bought a piece of land measuring 12 ft by 8 ft inside the South Gate to build a cistern, which replaced an earlier one.[172] Since the new church of St James was built close by *c.* 1280, this cistern became known as St James's pipe or cistern. The water for it was brought across the river from Beechen Cliff. In about 1280 he struck a mutually beneficial bargain with the Mayor of Bath: permission was given for the citizens to make a water conduit through the middle of Barton Field from Broadwell at Beckenove (Beacon Hill) to the cemetery stile on the north side of the conventual church.[173] Both the city and priory thereby gained a supply of fresh water and the city continued to maintain these conduits after the Dissolution.[174] It was also probably Prior Walter de Anno who converted part of the extra ground gained in 1279 into a laundry area.[175] This must be 'the pipe and place called the watering place'[176] visible on Savile's map just north of the steward's chamber.

Monk's Mill, on the Avon east of the precinct (Plate 4), is the best documented of all the priory buildings other than the church, since it survived until the 19th century, though with many alterations and additions.[177] Mills tend to remain on the same site, however

many times they are rebuilt, so Monk's Mill may have been Saxon in origin. Bath Abbey certainly had a mill in 1086.[178] In 1585 it was both a corn mill and a fulling mill.[179] Around 1200 the priory leased its three mills below the city walls, which may mean that Monk's Mill was already a corn and fulling mill by then.[180]

The third mill was not on the Avon. Bishop Robert Burnell's grant of the Ham to the priory in 1279 included the Isabel Mill with a garden adjacent.[181] Presumably this was the mill that the priory had been given permission to build in 1135 near the bishop's garden in the suburb of Bath.[182] When Leland visited in 1542, the water from the King's Bath was being used to drive a mill, before running down to the Avon above the bridge.[183] He can only be referring to the Isabel Mill. An inquisition in 1276 found that the prior had built a causeway of eight perches from the south gate to the mill of the monks.[184] If the jurors were using the regular perch of 16 ft, this indicates a site for the Isabel Mill on the west side of the Ham Gate. The outflow from the King's Bath ran out through the Ham Gate at least by *c.* 1600, when it is visible on Savile's map (Plate 2).[185] The mill itself had disappeared by that time.

ALTERATIONS TO THE CATHEDRAL

As in many Benedictine houses, the late 13th century seems to have been a progressive period for the priory, with generous bishops and greater independence. A new priory seal probably brought into use at this period shows SS Peter and Paul holding a cruciform church with a central tower crowned by a spire (Plate 5).[186] The new seal presumably recorded the addition of a spire to the cathedral at this time and the inspiration may have come from Salisbury. Bath Cathedral had new glazing in this period with a grisaille decoration similar to glass at Salisbury.[187] There was certainly a connection with Salisbury in the next century. Richard Davy of Farleigh was already working at Bath when he was appointed Master Mason of Salisbury Cathedral in July 1334.[188] In fact he has traditionally been credited with building the spire there, but a date between 1280 and 1310 seems more plausible for Salisbury's spire.[189]

On 2 January 1300, a high wind from the south caused great damage to houses and trees and destroyed belfries.[190] No doubt the priory suffered along with others, adding to the never-ending burden of maintenance. In 1310 Bishop John of Drokensford agreed to collections throughout the diocese for the repair of the priory church. Bath Priory seems to have been in deep financial distress at about this time; Prior Robert was briefly excommunicated for non-payment of a clerical subsidy. Prior Thomas Cristi was borrowing money heavily in the 1330s and Prior John de Iforde did the same immediately he was appointed in 1340.[191] It seems unlikely that anything more than necessary work was done on the cathedral. Rather poor quality 14th century patterned floor tiles may well belong to this period.[192]

As we have seen, Prior Cantlow complained of the ruin of the church in 1482, but it would appear that he did little to rectify the matter. Bishop Oliver King was translated from Exeter to Bath and Wells in 1496, but his role as Secretary to Henry VII kept him out of the diocese until 1499.[193] On 15 July that year Bishop King visited Bath Priory and was not impressed by what he found. The church was utterly ruined, a state of affairs he ascribed to the negligence of the prior and his predecessors. Prior Cantlow died in the following month and was replaced by William Birde.[194] In October 1500 Bishop King wrote to the new prior with his considered views on the church, formed after discussions with prominent persons. Out of the priory's annual income of some £480, about £300 was to be devoted to rebuilding, but the bishop also intended to raise funds himself, with the aim of a speedy completion. He hoped to do

Plate 5 Seal of Bath Priory, used from *c.* 1300. This well-preserved example comes from the priory's deed of acknowledgement of the Act of Supremacy, 1534 (PRO, E25/8/1). *Photograph courtesy of the Public Record Office.*

in a few years what could scarcely have been done in a hundred by the monastic community alone.[195] Presumably among those whom the bishop consulted was his royal master. Henry VII had visited Bath in 1496 and 1497 and must have been familiar with the priory church.[196] It was not long before the king's master mason, Robert Vertue, was involved in the rebuilding project. Bishop King paid a long visit to Bath in the spring of 1502, when the foundations of the new church were probably being laid.[197] It was to cover only the site of the Norman nave, so services no doubt continued in the choir while rebuilding was going on. An ordination was held in the Norman Lady Chapel behind the high altar in March that year.[198] A priority, therefore, would have been roofing the new south nave aisle to give the monks a sheltered passage through from their dormitory to the Norman choir; one corbel survives of an early timber roof in this aisle.

In January 1503 Bishop King was back in Bath, preparing for the new season's work. Robert Vertue and his brother William visited him there to discuss their design for the chancel vault. They assured him that 'ther shal be noone so goodely neither in england nor in france'. Bishop King estimated that the church would be covered throughout by November that year, so evidently the plan was to throw a roof over the shell and to construct the stone vaulting under shelter, as was the common practice. The decision to vault the new choir appears to have been made when the walls were already up. The square head of the east window indicates that a flat timber ceiling had originally been intended and indeed it may even have been built by January 1503; there are horizontal slots for beams around the choir walls in the roof space above the vault. The nave was not as far advanced and the fabric indicates that the great west window was altered during construction. It was given a pointed head compatible with a vaulted nave. Bishop King was pushing ahead at great speed. He had already sent for 100 cases of Normandy glass, coloured and plain, and was insistent that no masons were to be let off for other work. In particular he badly needed the mason Thomas Lynn, one of those appointed by Robert Vertue.[199]

Bishop King remained in Bath for the next six months and in May exempted the priory from payment of a subsidy.[200] It must have given him great satisfaction to see his new cathedral rise. We are told that the bishop's determination had arisen from a dream in which he saw the church 'rebuilt by an olive tree and a crown', which he took to refer to both himself and the peace of Henry VII.[201] These symbols are carved on the west front, along with the bishop's arms.[202] However, its chief creator never saw the cathedral complete. On 29 August 1503 Bishop King died. His will provided for burial in the choir of the new church in the first arch on the north side next to the altar. A vault was prepared there, but it would appear that he was actually buried at Wells.[203]

He was succeeded by Cardinal Hadrian de Castello, who was an absentee bishop, but work on the cathedral continued unabated under Prior Birde. The arms of Bishop Hadrian are on the choir vault and could be seen among the angels on the west front in the 18th century, though weathering has now removed them.[204] The arms of subsequent bishops are notably absent, so the bulk of the stonework must have been complete by 1518, when Bishop Hadrian was replaced by Cardinal Wolsey. With Bishop King's support gone, however, it seems that plans to vault the nave were abandoned. The stumps of flying buttresses on the exterior of the nave can be seen in a number of views of the abbey church, starting with Savile's (Plate 2). The flying buttresses would have had to be cut off to avoid their weight pushing in walls which lacked the compensating thrust of vaulting. (Full flying buttresses were added in the 19th century when the nave was finally given its vault.) Both of the transepts were fan-vaulted. The vault of the south transept can be seen on the Savile map through the gaping hole

caused by the removal of the cloister which had acted as a buttress. The weakened wall was buttressed in 1576, and the vaulting of the south bay was restored in plaster a few years after Savile's view was made.[205]

Apart from the fan vaulting, the outstanding internal feature of the present church is Prior Birde's chantry. The prior, who died in 1525,[206] presumably started work on his chantry well before he expected to need it. The delicate 'filigree' design is very much in the style of William Vertue, who was evidently 'consultant' mason at Bath after the death of his brother Robert in 1506. William was appointed Master Mason to Henry VIII in 1510 and died in 1527; his will was witnessed by John Molton, who followed him as the King's Master Mason.[207]

Molton in his turn seems to have been involved in the works at Bath, for on 1 February 1537 Prior Birde's successor, William Holloway, mentioned Molton's 'former diligence and faithful service' in the grant to him of the post of Superintendent of Works, to be operative after the death of Edward Leycester. In the meantime he was to act as Leycester's deputy.[208] Leycester actually outlived the Dissolution and was still being payed a pension in 1553.[209]

The glazing and fitting of the church may well have continued for some years after the masons had finished. Thomas Chapman's will of August 1524 specifying burial in the cathedral also arranged for the glazing of a window,[210] presumably in the nave. The choir was fully functional by May 1525, when the newly-elected Prior Holloway was carried to the high altar to the sound of a Te Deum with organ accompaniment.[211] It has often been stated that the cathedral was incomplete at the Dissolution, but Leland, a contemporary witness, tells us that:

> Oliver King Bisshop of Bath began of late dayes a right goodly new chirch at the west part of the old chirch of S. Peter and finished a great peace of it. The residue of it was syns made by the priors of Bath: and especially by Gibbes [Holloway] the last prior ther, that spent a great summe of mony on that fabrike.[212]

The King's Commissioner, Dr Richard Layton, confirmed this impression in 1535. He reported that the buildings were in good repair, but that the priory was £400 in debt.[213]

THE TUDOR PLAN

Prior to the excavations of 1993, the final position of the cloister and its ranges (Fig. 4) was plotted by the author partly from the Kingston map and partly by reference to the fabric of the Abbey Church. The excavations have now provided corroborative evidence, which will be published elsewhere.[214] Both Tudor-arched cloister doors are still *in situ*. The western one remained in use as a private door from the garden of the Abbey House until this was demolished in 1755.[215] It now leads into the vestry range added in 1923. The Jacobean vestry was built on to the eastern door. Both doors open outwards from the church, since they would originally have been sheltered by the cloisters. They appear off-centre under the present windows, which have been widened. Originally the rhythm of bays on the south side of the church was disrupted by the claustral ranges (Plate 6). The prior had a small door leading into the south-west corner of the church, which survives. He also seems to have had a series of squints, the outline of which could be seen before 19th century alterations (Plate 7).

The bay of the church east of the old vestry has no external plinth, since it was once an internal wall linking the church to the dormitory. Internally it is set back by about 1 ft, following the line of the Norman cathedral wall.[216] Possibly the Norman church

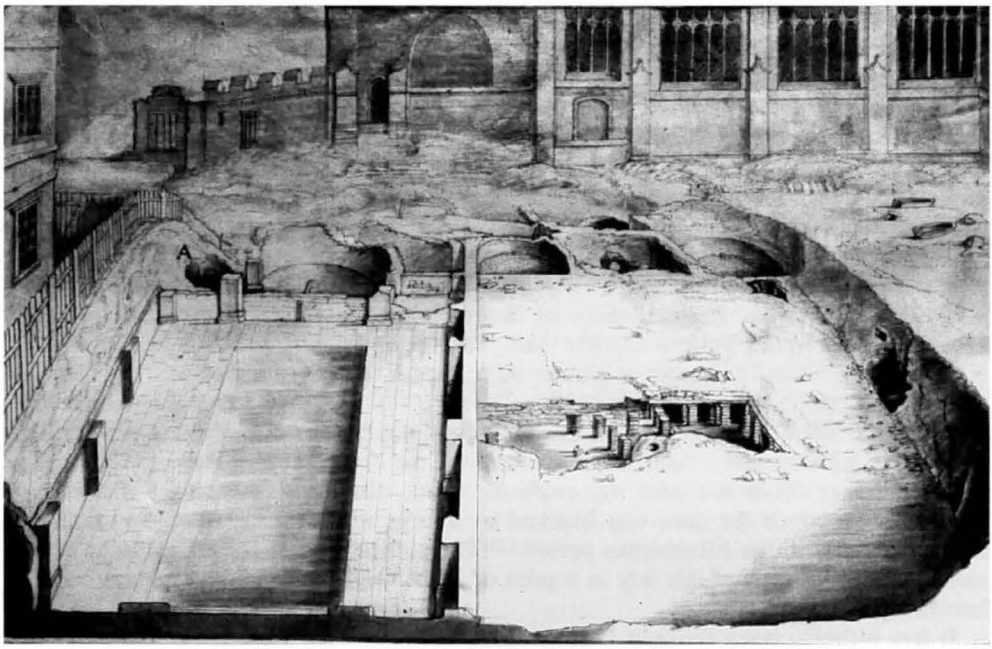

Plate 6 View by William Hoare of excavations on the site of the Abbey House, demolished in 1755 (BL, Add Ms 21577B). *Photograph courtesy of the British Library and Bath Museums Service.*

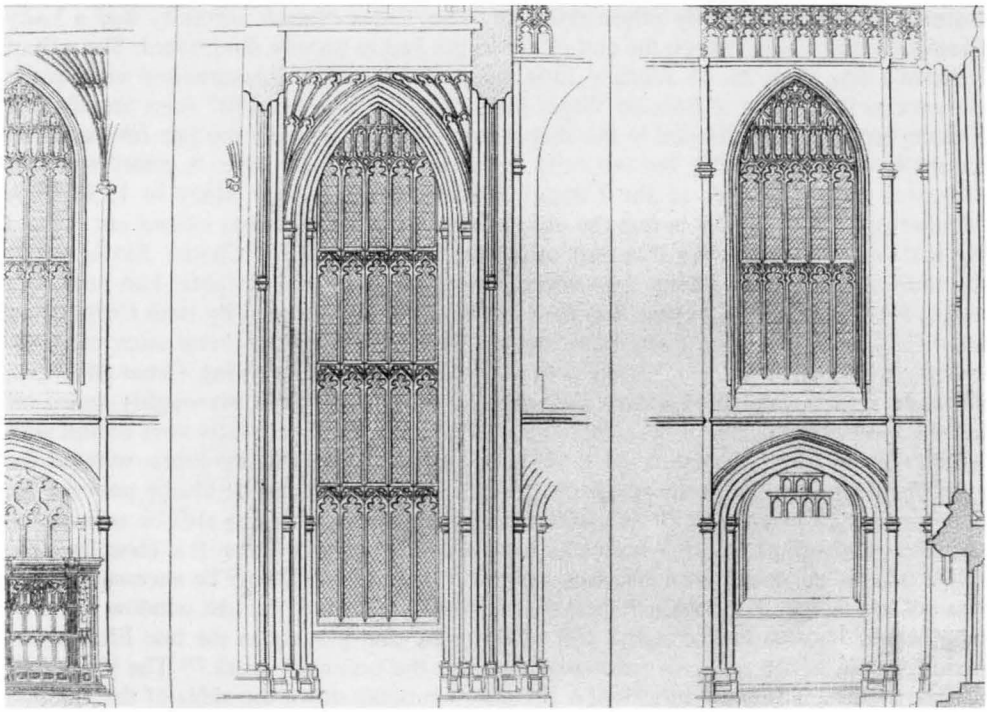

Plate 7 Section through Bath Abbey Church from J. Britton, *History and Antiquities of Bath Abbey Church* (1825), showing the prior's squint (right). *Photograph courtesy of the Somerset Archive and Record Service.*

wall was left standing where it abutted the dormitory range and then incorporated into the Tudor church; if so, subsequent alterations have masked any remaining Norman fabric.

The return of the south range is visible on the Kingston map, along with paths marking the position of the cloister alleys (Plate 1). Since the dormitory range was rebuilt before the church, it did not run into the Tudor south transept. The latter had to be built beside it, making for a decidedly unconventional layout. The north cloister had to be moved south to clear the transept.

The ground level around the Abbey Church was raised by as much as 8 ft during the 18th century.[217] Originally the great west door had a flight of steps up to it, which can be seen on a sketch of the west end made by Hawksmoor in 1683.[218] Gilmore's map of 1694 shows steps up to the western cloister door. The Tudor nave floor is 6 ft 4 in. above the Norman nave floor,[219] placing it almost on a level with the first floor of the claustral ranges. The prior's door is two feet above the nave floor level and probably led directly into his first floor lodgings. A door in the second bay to the east of the south transept could have led with just a short flight of steps into the dormitory. Until its replacement in 1994, the inner sill of this door was markedly worn, which must have been the work of monastic feet, since the door was blocked by a large tomb shortly after the choir was restored for use in the Elizabethan period.[220] The outline of a Tudor-arched door can be seen in the stonework of this bay in a print of 1825.[221] The present mock-gothic door is late 19th century.[222]

It has hitherto been thought that the plan of the Abbey Church is just as it was designed for Bishop King, though the east end is architecturally less than satisfying. However, a small Lady Chapel at perhaps the height of the aisles is shown on Smith's map of Bath of *c.* 1568 (Plate 8). This bird's-eye view is thoroughly unreliable, but in this instance it is supported by other evidence. The Tudor church certainly had a Lady Chapel, as one would expect; the cult of the Virgin had in no way diminished. The will of Richard Lacy, made on 18 January 1504, requested burial in the cathedral next to the entrance to the chapel of Blessed Virgin Mary, while in October 1507 John Stradling of Kelston arranged to be buried in the chapel itself.[223] This is surely too late for burials in the medieval Lady Chapel, but too early for burials in the new nave. A priory rent was allocated to the Keeper of the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1538.[224] A peculiarity of Bath Abbey is that the eastern ends of the choir aisles extend out beyond the east window, suggesting that they originally led into the Lady Chapel. Savile shows the remnants of arches jutting from these eastern ends, as though fabric had been torn away (Plate 2). It would appear that the Lady Chapel was removed by Bath Corporation after 1572, as surplus to the requirements of a Protestant church. Several other monastic churches lost their Lady Chapels after the Dissolution, including Great Malvern, Pershore, Romsey and Tewkesbury. Probably the choir aisles were just roughly sealed off initially. Towards the end of the Corporation's restoration, the end walls were rebuilt with windows and doors; the latter are a restrained echo of the western doors, without the symbols of the Passion in the spandrels. Jeffery Flower of Norton St Phillip paid for the east wall of the north aisle.[225] His initials and fleur-de-lys arms can still be seen in the spandrels of the door. In 1616 buttresses were added by another donor. It is clear from the fabric that the south-eastern buttresses are also an addition, as would be necessary if this was not originally an end wall. With the Lady Chapel removed, the east window could be lengthened. Thomas Bellott spent £60 on its repair and glazing in the late Elizabethan period, a sum which seems large enough to cover the necessary work.[226] The lower half of this window is flanked by inserted stonework running down the sides of the external stair turrets, possibly marking the position of engaged shafts from which the chapel vaulting sprang.

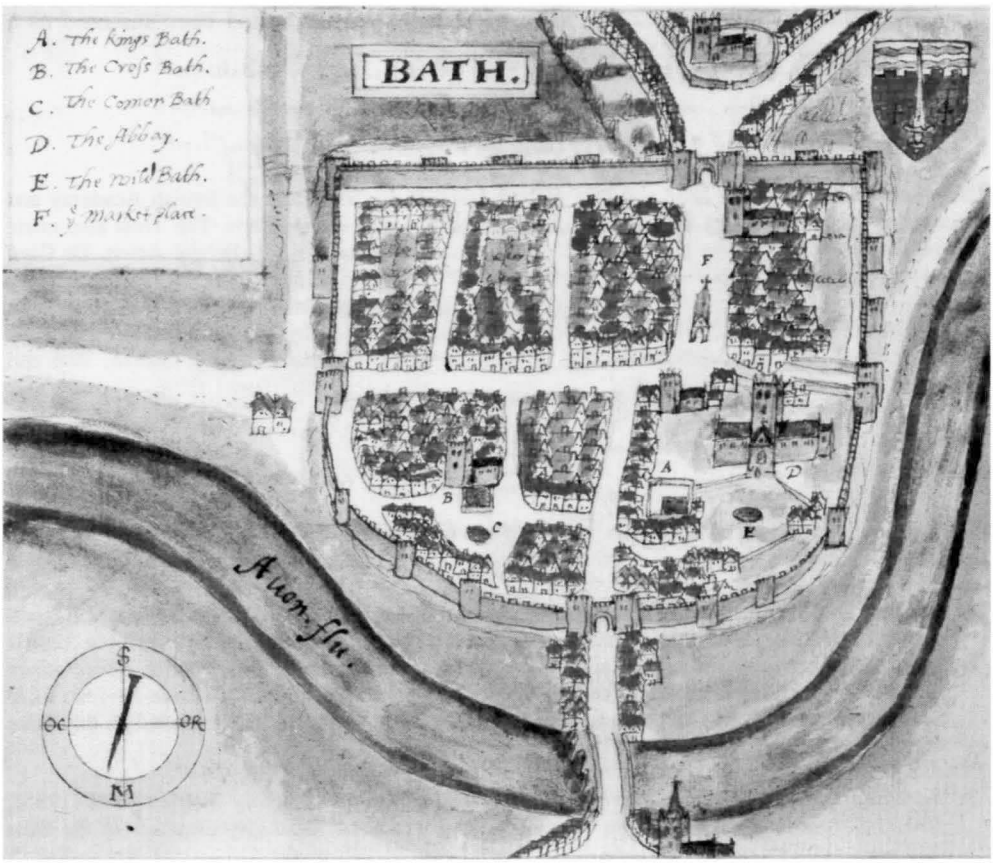

Plate 8 Bird's-eye view of Bath by William Smith, *c.* 1568, from his 'Particuler Description of England with the portratures of Certaine of the Chieffest Citties and Townes 1588' (BL, Sloane Ms 2596). *Photograph courtesy of the British Library and Bath Museums Service.*

AFTER THE DISSOLUTION

On 27 January 1539 Prior Holloway surrendered Bath Priory to the Crown.[227] A way of life was at an end. Lead was stripped from the roof. Eight bells were taken from one tower and three bells from elsewhere. Iron and glass were ripped out and the materials of the cloister, refectory and dormitory were sold.[228] The aim at Bath as elsewhere was to make it impossible for the communal life to be resumed. In March 1543 Matthew Colthurst purchased the site of the former priory.[229] His main residence seems to have been at Wardour Castle, but he was MP for Bath in 1545 and undoubtedly spent time in the city.[230] However, under his son Edmund, the ex-priory properties were leased, mortgaged and eventually, in 1612, sold to John Hall of Bradford on Avon.[231] From 1568 the old Bishop's Palace was used as a stone quarry,[232] and gradually priory buildings that had survived the Dissolution were lost in one rebuilding campaign or another. After the Abbey House was pulled down in 1755, the only monastic building remaining within the inner precinct was the Abbey Church itself. The gutted shell of the church was granted to

the Corporation by Edmund Colthurst in 1572 and by 1617 it had been restored as a magnificent parish church for the city.[233]

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2. R.S.O. Tomlin, 'Voices from the Sacred Spring', *Bath History*, **4** (1992), 16–7.
3. Venerable Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, trans. L. Sherley-Price (1955), 100–1, 227; H.P.R. Finberg, 'The Princes of the Hwicce' in *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961), 167–71; S. Basset, 'In Search of the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms' in S. Basset (ed.), *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms* (1989), 6, n19.
4. Hunt, *Two Chartularlies*, i, 7. Finberg (*Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 173–4) dismissed the preamble as spurious. He argued that a prince whose ancestors were Christians would not use the language of a convert: 'We have accepted baptism and overthrown heathen practices'. However, the use of the first person plural could include Osric's ancestors. The reference to creating separate houses for men and women, also regarded as dubious by Finberg at this date, could have been calculated to appeal to Archbishop Theodore, who disapproved of double houses.
5. A.W. Haddon and W. Stubbs (eds), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1839-48), **3**, 210.
6. *The Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*, trans. T. Forester (1854), 27–8, 423.
7. Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, **1** (1961), 466. The gift by Aethelbald is deduced from the successful claim by Offa in 781 that these lands were his in right of inheritance.
8. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 19.
9. N. Kershaw (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (Cambridge, 1922), 54–7.
10. J.M. Kemble (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, (1839–48), 170–1.
11. J. Morris (ed. and trans.), *Nennius*, 81. Present author's translation. Nennius, writing in the early 9th century, drew on earlier British materials.
12. *See* note 7 *above*.
13. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (ed.)*Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, Rolls Series, **52** (1870), 194. The Saxon buildings were torn down before William of Malmesbury was born, but his sympathetic account of the complaints of the Saxon monks against John of Tours suggests a personal acquaintance. Since major benefactors would be remembered in the prayers of the community, monastic tradition could be quite accurate.

14. W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), 29–31.
15. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 11, 17.
16. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 9.
17. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 5, 18.
18. R. Hodges, *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement* (1989), 126–9.
19. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 318.
20. H.P.R. Finberg, *The Formation of England* (St Alban's, 1974), 168–9.
21. Hamilton, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis*, 194.
22. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 4.
23. B. Cunliffe, 'The Abbey and its Precinct' and D. Hinton, 'Saxon Finds', in B.W.Cunliffe (ed.), *Excavations in Bath 1950–1975* (Bristol, 1979), 90, 138–40; R. Bell, *forthcoming*.
24. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 19.
25. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 20–5; J. Raine (ed.), *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, Rolls Series, **71**(1) (1879), 436–8; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. D. Whitelock *et al.* (1961), 76–7.
26. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 77–78; L. Toulmin-Smith (ed.), *Itinerary of John Leland* (1907), **1**, 143. If so, Bath must still have been in Mercia.
27. 'Vita Elphegi' in [Warton (ed.)], *Anglia Sacra* (London, 1691), **2**, 122–42; D. Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses 940–1210* (Cambridge, 1972), 28.
28. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, lxxv–vi.
29. In the 11th century a porticus was added to the church at Ely, with an altar to the Virgin Mary (E.O. Blake (ed.), *Liber Eliensis*, Camden Society, 3rd series, **92** (1962), 132). At St Augustine's, Canterbury, and St Andrew's, Wells, there were early freestanding chapels of St Mary (G. Coppack, *Abbeys and Priories* (1990), 34; W. Rodwell, *Church Archaeology* (1989), 154–5).
30. C.W. Shickle (ed.), *Ancient Deeds Belonging to the Corporation of Bath* (Bath, 1921), v, 66–78; B.R. Kemp and D.M.M. Shorrocks (eds), *Medieval Deeds of Bath and District*, Somerset Record Society, **73** (1974), i, 47–8. The name 'Alsi's Bath' occurs from *c.* 1200 to 1366, when the Cross and King's Baths were identified as such, so it must be the Hot Bath.
31. *Florence of Worcester*, 185.
32. Hamilton, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis*, 194; *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells*, **1**, Historical Manuscripts Commission (1907), 12–3; **2**, Historical Manuscripts Commision (1914), 547, charter 3; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 37.
33. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods* (Oxford, 1981), **1**, no. 92. By the time of Domesday, Bath had been transferred from Mercia to Somerset.
34. *Florence of Worcester*, 189; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.O. Coxe, English Historical Society (1841–2), **2**, 42; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 38. This charter is undated, but can be placed between 1089 and January 1091.
35. Hamilton, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis*, 195–6.
36. Toulmin-Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, **1**, 141.
37. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 511.
38. In 1279, Bishop Burnel granted to the priory a curtilage outside the city wall between Lotgate and the mill of the monks and granted permission for the enlargement of the gate. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1257–1300*, 219–20.
39. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds of Bath*, vi, 42; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 369; BL, Egerton MS 3316, f. 63; B[ath] C[ity] R[ecord] O[ffice], survey of Bath, 1641, ff. 33, 67.
40. B. Cunliffe, 'Saxon Bath', in J. Haslam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester, 1984), 351–2, Fig. 115.
41. *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **1**, 25; Kemp and Shorrocks, *Medieval Deeds of Bath*, i, 4, 173.
42. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 76, 96, 142, 327.
43. *Calendar of Papal Letters, 1396–1404*, 313. Before *c.* 1350, lay burials were described as being in the churchyard of SS Peter and Paul, whereas later ones were in the churchyard of St Mary of Stalls. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds of Bath*, i, 61–2; v, 47; vi, 27, 31; Revd F.W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1383–1500*, Somerset Record Society, **16** (1901), 30–1, 399; Revd F.W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1501–1530*, Somerset Record Society, **19** (1903), 332.

44. PRO, SC6 3144; SRO, T/PH/vch 6.
45. Cunliffe in Haslem, *Anglo-Saxon Towns*, 351–2; P. Greening, 'The Origins of the Historic Town Plan of Bath', in *A Second North Somerset Miscellany*, Bath and Camerton Archaeological Society (Bath, 1971), 14.
46. BL, Egerton Ms 3316, f. 62.
47. *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **1**, 472; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward I, 1272–1279*, 45.
48. Dimensions taken from PRO, C143/231 (15), an inquisition *ad quod damnum* by local jurors. In this document, the word *ducentos* is broken between two lines. The scribe copying the details for Letters Patent did not notice the 'du' and so gave the dimensions as 170 ft by 130 ft (PRO, C66/183 m. 7). In a further error, these were calendared as 170 ft by 30 ft (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1330-1334*, 559). For the history and archaeology of the bishop's palace *see* P. Davenport with E. Lucas, 'Excavations at Swallow Street', in P. Davenport (ed.), *Archaeology in Bath 1976–1985* (Oxford, 1991), 40–103.
49. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1257–1300*, 219–20; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 808.
50. Davenport, *Archaeology in Bath*, 104, 109, 116, Fig. 91.
51. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 53.
52. *Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1257–1300*, 219–20.
53. W. Wedlake, 'The City Walls of Bath', *SANH*, **110** (1966), 97, Fig. 5B.
54. K.R. Potter (ed. and trans.), *Gesta Stephani* (2nd ed., 1976), 38–9. Present author's translation.
55. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 180; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 49.
56. Adam de Domerham, *Historia de Rebus Gestis Glastoniensibus*, ed. T. Hearne, (Oxford, 1727), 356–7.
57. Doris M. Stenton, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fourth Year of the Reign of King John*, Pipe Roll Society, New Series **15** (1937), 85; Doris M. Stenton, *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Fifth Year of the Reign of King John*, Pipe Roll Society, New Series **16**, 157; The itinerary of King John in the introduction to T.D. Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* (1835).
58. M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House* (1987), 142–3.
59. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds of Bath*, i, 13, 14; ii, 84. *See* note 30 *above* for the early nomenclature of the Hot Bath. The Cross Bath occurs in deeds from *c.* 1280, but the name is likely to be considerably older.
60. *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Henry III, 1234–1237*, 125, 187; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1232–1247*, 115; PRO, E372/80, rot. 16d.
61. *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, 1, 1226–1240*, 330.
62. M. Wood, *The Mediaeval House*, (1965), 396–67.
63. M. Inskip, 'Two Views of the King's Bath', *Bath History*, **3** (Gloucester, 1990), 40–1, Fig. 2.
64. H.M. Colvin (ed.), *The King's Works 1: The Middle Ages* (1963), 545–6.
65. *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1260–1267*, 277–8; *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, **5** (1870), 61–2, 64–5; *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex*, 3, Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (1922), 198–204.
66. Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 197H, plan 10, by Richard Mann, 1900.
67. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Henry III, 1232–1247*, 407.
68. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, **2**, 123, 132–3; *Calendar of the Close Rolls, Edward I, 1272–1279*, 310.
69. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds of Bath*, iv, 50, 53, 55–7.
70. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 53; Hamilton, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis*, 195.
71. C. and F. Thorn (eds), *Domesday Book 8: Somerset* (Chichester, 1980), 24; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 35.
72. Thorn, *Domesday Book*, 25; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 34; ii, 808.
73. Thorn, *Domesday Book*, 7.10; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 73; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. and trans. J. Caley *et al.*, **2**, (1819), 263.
74. J. Hunter (ed.), *Ecclesiastical Documents*, Camden Society, Old Series **8** (1840), 21; Thorn, *Domesday Book*, 45.9–11; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 53.
75. T.J. O'Leary and W. Rodwell, 'Reconstruction of late 11th–12th century Cathedral Ground Plan', in Davenport, *Archaeology in Bath*, 32–7, Fig. 33.
76. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 53.
77. *Florence of Worcester*, 234; Hunter, *Eccesiastical Documents*, 22; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 808.
78. Toulmin-Smith, *Leland's Itinerary*, **1**, 143. In the 18th century, a stone with a bishop in high

relief and the words 'Pontifices...emptor Bathonie', identifying him as John of Tours, could be seen embedded in the wall of a house opposite Walcot Church (R. Warner, *History of Bath* (1801), 63n.).

79. Hunter, *Eccesiastical Documents*, 23.
80. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 61.
81. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds of Bath*, iv, 75.
82. Sir H.C. Maxwell-Lyte and M.C.B. Dawes (eds), *The Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Part I*, Somerset Record Society, **49** (1934), 1276.
83. W. Dugdale, *Baronage*, **1** (1675), 630.
84. *City of York, 4: North-East*, Royal Commission for the Historical Monuments of England (1975), 12.
85. *Florence of Worcester*, 253.
86. W. Rodwell, 'The Stone Mouldings', in Davenport, *Archaeology in Bath*, 28.
87. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 808 (p. 159).
88. Davenport, *Archaeology in Bath*, 37.
89. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 67–8; ii, 808; *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: the Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countess of Gloucester to A.D. 1217*, ed. R.B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), no. 5.
90. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 2.
91. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, i, 74.
92. Hunter, *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 28.
93. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 808.
94. Calendar of Wells Manuscripts, **1**, 53–4, 377.
95. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 808.
96. SRO, D/D/B Reg 9, f. 126.
97. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 179.
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100. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 214.
101. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 811.
102. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, lxxvi, ii, 785–7; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III, 1330–1334*, 234.
103. *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **1**, 467; 2, 666–7, charters 576–7.
104. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, liv–lviii; *Calendar of Papal Letters, 1, 1198–1304*, 208.
105. Warner, *History of Bath*, appendix li.
106. I am indebted to Robert Bell for identifying the location.
107. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1501–1530*, 338–9.
108. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1383–1500*, 341–4.
109. Revd F.W. Weaver (ed.), *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1531–1558*, Somerset Record Society, **21** (1905), 24–5.
110. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, lii (from Dean and Chapter of Wells MSS, charter 40).
111. *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **1**, 470. *See* note 144 *below* for Master Arnold.
112. Shickle, *Ancient Deeds of Bath*, iv, 12.
113. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 818.
114. Hamilton, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis*, 195.
115. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, lii (from Dean and Chapter of Wells MSS, charter 40).
116. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 344; *Bath Field Club*, **6** (3), 298; excluding those at Dunster and in Ireland, the numbers of monks were 15 in 1412, 19 in 1447, 18 in 1495, and 19 in 1499 (Thomas Scott Holmes (ed.), *Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, II*, Somerset Record Society, **30** (1914), 475-9; Maxwell-Lyte and Dawes, *Register of Thomas Bekynton, Part I*, no. 1651; *Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486-1500, Volume 2*, Canterbury and York Society, **78** (1991), 100; SRO, D/D/B Reg 9, f. 139).

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125. *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **1**, 90–3.
126. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 251–9, 808; *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **1**, 143.
127. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 15, 352.
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130. Maxwell-Lyte and Dawes, *Register of Thomas Bekynton, Part I*, 39.
131. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 810.
132. Lincoln's Inn Library, Hales MS 185, p. 255.
133. William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. J. Harvey (Oxford, 1969), 295.
134. Miss G. Bradford (ed.), *Proceedings in the Court of the Star Chamber*, Somerset Record Society, **27** (1911), 40, 45–47; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 942. The last reference to Prior Thomas Lacock is dated 9 October 1467, and a Prior John is mentioned on 18 February 1468 (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward IV, Henry VI, 1467–1477*, 10, 65). In 1471/2, Prior John Dunster made a land conveyance and references to him continue until 14 August 1481 (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, A5506, B11023). However, the sequence of priors in this period is confused. During John Dunster's term of office, there are references to a Prior Richard, presumably the sub-prior, Richard Whiting. Also Prior Peter Pope was evidently in office briefly between John Dunster and John Cantelow (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476–1485*, 571), but some references to him bear earlier dates as yet unexplained (Dom Aelred Watkin (ed.), *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea*, Somerset Record Society, **56** (1941), 90).
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136. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 15, 168.
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151. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, Edward III, 1330–1334*, 559; but *see* note 48 *above*; Thomas Scott Holmes (ed.), *The Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, Somerset Record Society, **9** (1896), 291–2, 314, 330; *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **1**, 473; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 732; BL, Egerton MS 3316, ff. 46–7.
152. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 894, 898.
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154. Holmes, *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, 121.
155. Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 780.
156 Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 799; Holmes, *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, 95.
157. J. Manco, 'Bath and the Great Rebuilding' *Bath History*, **4** (1992), 31.
158. BL, Egerton charters 5803, 5848.
159. BL, Harleian MS 3970 ff. 17d–19d, 20r–21d, 31.
160. Bradford, *Proceedings in the Court of the Star Chamber*, 45.
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164. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. Abbot J. McCann (1952), 97; Hunt, *Two Chartularies*, ii, 808.
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196. G. Temperley, *Henry VII* (Westport, Conneticutt, 1914), itinerary.
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198. SRO, D/D/B Reg 9, f. 126.
199. Westminster Abbey Muniments, 16040, 16046, published in *SANH*, **60** (1914), ii, 4. The documents comprise two letters from Oliver King to Sir Reginald Bray, dated 18 and 25 January from the monastery of Bath (no year stated). Bishop King was in Bath in January 1503 (Maxwell-Lyte, *Registers of Oliver King and Hadrian de Castello*, 78). Sir Reginald Bray was present when the foundation stone of the Henry VII chapel, Westminster, was laid on 24 January, 1503 (Colvin, *The King's Works*, **3**, 211), which accounts for the letters remaining there.
200. Maxwell-Lyte, *Registers of Oliver King and Hadrian de Castello*, 78–81.
201. Sir J. Harington, *A Brief View of the State of the Church of England As it stood in Queen Elizabeth and King James his Reigne to the Yeare 1608* (London, 1653), 101–2.
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203. *Calendar of Wells Manuscripts*, **2**, 171–2; Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1501–1530*, 44–6; Irvine, *Description of the Remains of the Norman Cathedral of Bath*, 90.
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209. W.A.J. Archbold, *Somerset Religious Houses* (1892), 144–5.
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223. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills, 1501–1530*, 108–9. I am indebted to Elizabeth Holland for pointing out the Stradling will.
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225. A. à Wood, *Monumental Inscriptions*, 14.
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