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PAPERS, ETC.

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AN ATTEMPT TO SEPARATE AND DESCRIBE  
IN THE PROPER ORDER OF THEIR EREC-  
TION THE VARIOUS PORTIONS OF THE

*Fabric of the Cathedral Church of  
St. Andrew at Wells.*

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BY MR. J. T. IRVINE.

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THE Church of St. Andrew in Wells is supposed to have been founded by King Ina about A.D. 708.

The actual foundation of the present See of Wells is believed to have been the work of Edward the Elder, between the years 905 and 910.

A church of stone had most likely been built about 970, as Brihthelm, the first bishop buried here, died in 973,

and almost all his successors (before the removal of the See to Bath, about 1092) were interred at Wells. Of this building the greater part stood until taken down by Bishop Josceline de Wells probably after 1218. To the Saxon church Bishop Gisa after the Conquest added a cloister and other buildings, pulled down again by his successor Bishop John de Villula.

To this Bishop John is owing an alteration in the See, which had in the end considerable results on the architectural history of the present Cathedral. In this wise:—

Procuring from King William Rufus a grant of the town of Bath, to which place in accordance with the decree of the Council of London (1078), he removed his seat (about the year 1092) and changed his title to "*Bishop of Bath.*" He thus abandoned what had been used for about 180 years.

Here Bishop John commenced erecting a new cathedral in the somewhat heavy Norman style of his time, of wonderful magnificence and so durably constructed that neither the wilful neglect and carelessness of its monks during 370 years (which drew down the sharp reproaches of a later bishop), nor the re-use of its materials in the present church, nor the vicissitudes of now more than 750 years have sufficed wholly to eradicate its remains. Some idea of his design may be obtained from the fact that the extreme *external* length at present of "the Bath Abbey" is only about some five feet or so longer than the mere nave of his cathedral. He seems to have designed to reduce Wells to a country seat of the bishops of the See. I suspect the entire removal of the prebends to Bath was only prevented by the fact that Wells had secular clergy while Bath was held by monks. Bath now became the resting-place of the bishops. John de Villula was followed

by Bishop Godfrey, who also called himself "*Bishop of Bath*," and thus had little inducement to repair Wells. One Historical Chapter sitting here, we find him however trying (though ineffectually) to recover their lost property for them.

His successor, Bishop Robert, prior to his accession, had had charge of Glastonbury, where he probably had felt the full blaze of the rising sun of the monastery of Bath, which now threatened to scorch its more ancient and aristocratic brother at Glaston. Thus from local attachment (although he had finished the buildings at Bath) still he may have desired to raise at Wells a counterpoise to that monastery. For in his very first year he set about regulating and renovating the somewhat shattered community in this city, and enjoined that himself and successors should again be termed Bishops of "*Bath and Wells*."

As the restorer of the old historical title there followed a direct interest in the spot, and we are told he rebuilt the east end or apse\*—a construction now indeed entirely removed, but still affecting the later alterations. This may be seen by those who inspect the fragments of this *later* apse attached to the side walls in the space below the exterior roof of choir but over the perpendicular vaulting, on a transverse line, corresponding below with that pier in the

\* Towards the close of the year 1873, Canon Bernard had the chapel under the clock cleared out to form a vestry for the use of the vicars. In removing a rude stone staircase, perhaps built some time in 1600, a loose Norman base was found, very similar in section to the work found at Bath, and some time afterwards, when the Canon was having an opening for water pipes cut through the floor of the small vaulted room in the corner of the north transept, out of the heart of the wall was taken a Norman fragment, half of a dragon's head, stopping to the label of an arch mould of about the date of Bishop Robert. These two fragments, of little value elsewhere, are here curious, as they are the only Norman fragments known to have been found in the Cathedral at Wells.

chancel against which the Bishop's throne is placed. These remains, coincident with the rebuilding of the transepts, mark the line of the interior of the apse of Robert.

To the time of Bishop Robert we probably owe the font, though the chiselling off of the figures, with which it was once surrounded, prevents its late Norman date being recognised. It is now the only bit of that style left in the Cathedral. However, in the south-west angle of the house, which J. H. Parker, C.B., has so nobly and liberally restored, are still seen some Norman remains and walling, possibly one jamb of a gate at the north-east corner of the great cemetery. Robert, who died in 1165-6, sleeps at Bath, and the See remained afterwards vacant more than eight years. He was succeeded in 1174 by Reginald Fitz Joceline, who eventually termed himself Bishop of *Bath and Wells*. I believe he had much to do with the design of the present west-front. He certainly could find little scope for additions to the Cathedral at Bath or its monastic buildings (completed as we are told by Bishop Robert); nor had the Lady Chapels of later times then become the grand features they afterwards did attain to. Indeed no such service even as yet seems to have existed at Wells.\*

\* Joceline. "Hic primo anno consecrationis suæ servitium B. Mariæ in Ecclesia Wellensi fecit quotidie decantari." Canon of Wells.

"Joceline, in 1215, gives 10 marks yearly from y<sup>e</sup> Church of Chew, besides which 20 marks from the Provostship of Coomb to maintain a perpetual and solemn service of y<sup>e</sup> Virgin Mary, every day and every hour in y<sup>e</sup> Church of Wells. 10 marks more of y<sup>e</sup> Provost of Coomb, for a full and solemn service for y<sup>e</sup> dead, to be for ever celebrated, every day, in y<sup>e</sup> said church; and y<sup>e</sup> goods assigned for y<sup>e</sup> performance of y<sup>e</sup> said services by y<sup>e</sup> Bishops, our predecessors, and others; and y<sup>e</sup> portion of y<sup>e</sup> said goods w<sup>h</sup> used to be assigned to y<sup>e</sup> vicars of y<sup>e</sup> said church, who assisted in y<sup>e</sup> said services according to y<sup>e</sup> appointment of Bishop Joceline."

"3 marks a year from y<sup>e</sup> Church of Chyuton, for maintaining y<sup>e</sup> candle

After the death of Bishop Reginald, in 1191, the remarkable changes of title which the See had undergone did not terminate, for Savaric, a cousin of Bishop Reginald, succeeded and again changed it to that of Glastonbury; or, as Mr. Serel informs me, he terms himself in his charter to Wells city, Bishop of *Bath and Glastonbury*, thus again abandoning that of Wells. Elected in 1192, he remained for about seven years abroad in Burgundy, and lived for four or five years after his return at Bath. He died in 1205.

The architecture led me to suspect at one time that he raised the west-front, as in 1203-4 his property was sequestrated for a debt of £1000. As his return was only some four or five years before, there was scarcely time left for the execution of such an undertaking.

The new title was scarcely relished by the Glastonbury monks, who probably saw by the fate of Bath that the monastic property would practically pass under the Bishop's control, and that their own rights to its use would be thus

of y<sup>e</sup> Blessed Virgin, in y<sup>e</sup> Church of Wells, by y<sup>e</sup> appointment of Bishop Jocelin."

In Reg. Well. I. fol. 43. In the year MCCXV. Josceline, Bishop of Bath and Glaston, grants a pension of 10 marks, payable out of the parsonage of Chew.

"Ad Servituum Gloriosæ Virginis in ecclesia Wellen: solemniter faciendum in perpetuum."

"100 pounds of wax, paid by y<sup>e</sup> Parson of Weston, near Worspring, to y<sup>e</sup> Treasurer of Wells, for maintaining lights in y<sup>e</sup> Church of Wells, appointed by Bishop Josceline, who procured the advowson of Weston to himself and his successors for ever."

"2 marks per annum, paid by y<sup>e</sup> Archdeacon of y<sup>e</sup> place to the Treasurer of Wells, for finding eight tapers, at y<sup>e</sup> feet of y<sup>e</sup> crucifix, on y<sup>e</sup> altar of St. Andrew, to burn whilst y<sup>e</sup> Divine Mystery is celebrating in y<sup>e</sup> said chapel, on all y<sup>e</sup> greater double feasts, to be paid out of y<sup>e</sup> yearly rent payable by y<sup>e</sup> Archdeacon to y<sup>e</sup> Bishop. Appointed by Bishop Josceline."



curtailed. On the death of Savaric in August, 1205, their struggles against the Bishop openly commenced by an appeal to the Pope. The monks of Glastonbury carried on a war of twelve years, from 1206 to 1218, with Bishop Josceline Trotman (or de Wells), who succeeded Savaric both in the See and the title which he took. At last Josceline retired by a compromise from the struggle, and, abandoning the appellation of *Glaston*, returned to that of Bath and Wells, retained and used to the present day by all by whom the seat has been filled down to him who so zealously and painfully shepherds the fold at the present time.

During these twelve years of contention with Glaston Bishop Josceline had also been engaged in a contest with King John, by whom he had been banished (after holding the seat about three years), and he did not return home until some five years afterwards. Josceline was a Wells man and a prebendary. To his time the Saxon church had stood with only the addition of the presbytery of Bishop Robert, who in an age of change had likewise termed himself Bishop of Wells. The Cathedral at Bath was one of mark.\* The new erection at Glastonbury was also of ex-

\* The nave of the Cathedral at Bath was about one-fourth longer than that at Wells; but, as it had only 8 bays, its arches were much wider than those of Wells, where the bays number 10 to the tower, or 9, if we exclude that ranging with western aisles of transepts.

Josceline seems to have had an Obituary Service for his soul at Bath, as well as at Wells. There is a document preserved at Wells, executed by John (Clerk), Bishop of Bath and Wells, ordaining that a Mass, instituted by Bishop Josceline, shall be restored, A.D. 1535.

In the list of obits, "from an old book of the Vicar's," given in the "Long Book," it appears in the first quarter, under the head of "Solemn : Jocelini episcopi, 01., 00., 00."

The services for the soul of Bishop Josceline were to be said at the Altars of the Virgin and St. Martin, 1243.

treme beauty. Josceline's long connection with Chichester had been at a time when abundant rebuilding was going on in that southern diocese, and the work at Canterbury of both the French and English Williams (its architects) had but lately been completed. Every inducement, even his defeat at Glastonbury and fresh adoption of the title of Wells, lent an additional spur to his reconstruction, in a manner somewhat worthy of the time of the "ruined walls" and "broken frame" of his native Cathedral—that minster wherein his successors were to have a seat and after which they were to be named.

It is no longer necessary after the death of Josceline, in 1242, to follow the historical descent of the Bishops of the See. For two reasons : first, because no one has ever ventured to suppose the early work of the west end could by any possibility be later in date than the time of Josceline ; and secondly, because from his time, and even earlier, a change was taking place both at Wells and other Cathedrals—the transference of property and wealth, and thus the ability to produce works of this sort, from the hands of the Bishops into those of the Deans and Chapters of our Cathedrals. A change not always unaccompanied by local contentions, such as at Wells, commencing under the first Bishop Button, culminated in the time of Bishop Drokensford. When the Chapter finally triumphed under the leading of Dean Goodeley, who was himself one of the greatest restorers of the whole building.

For convenience I will therefore divide the building roughly into the *five* divisions, into which, to the stranger visiting the Cathedral, the interior architectural features naturally group themselves. Time will not permit the consideration of any of the external buildings though all are of extreme interest.

I. *The First Division* consists of the west-front, including the north and south towers, for about three-fourths of their height.

II. *The Second Division* consists of the nave and central tower up to a few feet above the apex of the present nave roof, a great part of the transepts, and the whole upper walls above the string over the three western arches of the choir only.

III. *The Third Division* consists of the three eastern arches of the nave and a fraction of one triforium pier on each side over parts of its arcades; also the walls of nave aisle on the north as far as slightly beyond the north door; and on the south side for about three bays from the transept; the lower parts of transept walls and some work of pillars; the three western arches of choir, and part of the corresponding aisle walls.

IV. *The Fourth Division* consists of the whole portion east of the Bishop's throne in the choir and the upper (structural) part of the central tower.

V. *The Fifth Division*, a small one, comprises the upper part of the three eastern bays of chancel, and the recasting and altering the inside of the rest of the before-mentioned western half of the choir, triforium, and clerestory.

These two last divisions, although separate works and mostly of different styles, were probably yet divided by no such marked pause between their execution as the foregoing parts. I of necessity omit the perpendicular additions to the west towers, as well as the abundant repairs, especially in the central tower, and the insertions of screens, windows, and window tracery, &c., throughout the Cathedral. The three first divisions of these five are popularly



attributed to Bishop Josceline de Wells. The carved decorations of each possess features totally distinct in themselves and, with the exception of numbers 2 and 3, have in their mouldings an equally decided separation. In the first division the mouldings are composed of a succession of rounds and hollows, *rarely fillets*, and these, when found, only at the extreme angle of the orders. This part (No. 1) I believe to be the earliest in date, and to have had originally the next three bays of nave nearly completed. In Nos. 2 and 3, the hollow mouldings have had a remarkable increase of fillets added at their sides, the result being that the sharpness and brilliancy of the lights are softened and the depths of the shadows correspondingly sacrificed. The change in the mouldings of the fourth and fifth divisions being still greater. In the fourth the first *marked* trace of the Perpendicular style and its great casement or flat hollow moulding appears in the east windows of the choir aisles; and in those of the Lady Chapel: *afterwards* extending to the columns of new part of choir, these being built *last*. On this ground plan of the Cathedral ( $\frac{1}{4}$  inch to foot) I have coloured in different shades those parts of the building which are the execution of the various times, and mostly divided from each other by joints in the masonry, easily recognisable by the ordinary observer after a little study. In the large longitudinal and transverse diagrams (which I wish it understood do not pretend to be to scale, but only rough quantities) I have endeavoured to do the same though not always with equal accuracy. Large portions of what looks old work being in west piers of central tower rebuilt with old materials.

The supposition that to Reginald Fitz Joceline, Bishop from 1174 to 1191, is owing the construction of the *architectural part* of the west-front and towers (*though not the*

*figures* which fill in its niches), necessitates a short review of his history and a slight glance at the changing state of architecture during his time.\*

\* As it may seem placing the commencement of the Pointed style early to attribute the west front to Bishop Reginald Fitz Josceline, who died in 1191, I may here copy some notes from a description by Sir G. G. Scott, which tell somewhat on the point. He says, "So that the works at Lincoln, the Lady Chapel at Winchester, and west portals of St. Albans and Ely, all of which date from 1195 to 1215, mark the *perfectly developed Early English style*, but are readily distinguishable from contemporary works in France." "The English works of this period have, at least, to my eye, a more advanced appearance than the French." "The round form of abacus, the greater richness and delicacy of the mouldings, and generally a more decided severance from the manner of Romanesque forms." (The italics are mine.)

And in a similar manner, J. H. Parker, C.B., in his paper on "Medieval Architecture in the south of France." *Archæologia*, vol. 36, page 324 :—"The different provinces of France differ much more from each other in their architectural character than the northern provinces do from England. The style of the south of France is totally different from that of the north, and in the 11th century clearly indicates a more advanced state of civilization. The intermediate districts of Anjou and Poitou, which I have described in my previous letters, are extremely interesting from the mixture of the styles of the south and the north in the 12th century, *especially in the time of Henry II* (1154 to 1189). The hospital, which he founded and built at Angers, appears to me in a more advanced style of art than any other building in France or England of its date. It is more light and elegant, more decidedly Gothic, than the east end of Canterbury; and Notre Dame at Paris, which is nearly contemporary with it, is half a century behind it in style; the one has all the heavy massive character of the Romanesque; the other all the lightness and elegance of the Gothic. "Henry II, as Count of Anjou, resided much at Angers, and held his court there, (see note of Bishop of Angers, from 1178 to 1200), which was frequented by the English nobility and the higher orders of clergy, among whom the architects of the day must be looked for; and as architects at all periods were ready to pick up and carry away new ideas, it seems probable that the English architects were much indebted to their observations in Anjou, for several ornaments, especially the tooth ornament, are common there in buildings of earlier character than any in which we find the same ornaments in England or in other parts of France. The pointed arch was common there in the 11th century, as in the south both round and pointed arches were used indiscriminately according to convenience. That the Normans at that period were behind the south in civilization, and consequently in architectural progress, is evident in many ways. I have mentioned the town of Moissac, built at the end of

His father, Josceline, Bishop of Old Sarum, was present

the 11th century in a finished style of art, and with pointed arches, afterwards fortified by Richard I (1189 to 1199), and partly incased in rude and clumsy Norman work with round arches. The contrast of the styles of the south and the north, when thus placed in juxtaposition, is very remarkable, and shows a decided superiority in that of the south at that period, from about 1050 to 1150; but the south stood still while the north progressed rapidly, and the Gothic style is decidedly of northern origin, although some of the intermediate steps may have derived considerable impetus from the collision of the two styles in Anjou. These English provinces were in a more advanced state of civilization than England itself was at the time these buildings were erected—that is before the time of Henry II (1154 to 1189); after that period a great change takes place, and during the following century it is still doubtful which country had the priority in the architectural movement, and the French buildings of the time of Edward I are not equal to the English. It is chiefly in the earlier periods, especially in the 11th century, that the difference is so remarkable, and the advantage so much in favour of France. This gradually gives way, though they were probably still somewhat ahead, until towards the end of the 13th century, when the tables were turned in our favour. But this subject requires further investigation, and a more careful examination of dates of the buildings in both countries. Much of the change was probably owing to the character of Edward I, in whose time art was in higher perfection in England than it ever was before, or perhaps I may venture to say, it has ever been since.”

Mr. Parker has given woodcuts of a window (in the *Archæologia*) from the Church of Mercadel, at Bazas, in the south of France, the sections of the mouldings of which closely resemble the sections of the mouldings of the west front of Wells. It is well worth noting that the mouldings of the work, said to be St. Hugh's, at Lincoln, though of the same style, are different in section, and look to me later than Wells. Through the kindness of Mr. Parker, I was able to have a sheet of them (taken full size) hung up in the Chapter House when this paper was read.

It is worthy of note also that many prelates in France were Englishmen: Will<sup>m</sup>. of Corboil had been Archbishop of Canterbury, 1123 to 1136.

John Petit, or *John of Salisbury*, Bishop of Chartres, 1176 to 1182.

Robert de Beaumont, or of Warwick, son of Henry, Earl of Warwick, had been Archbishop of Rouen, 1164 to 1183.

*Henry of Salisbury* was Bishop of Bayeux, 1165 to 1203.

Ralph Beaumont, a natural son of Henry I and an Englishman, was Bishop of Angers, 1178 to 1200.

Walter de Contances, or Walter Constantine, a native of Cornwall, was removed from being Bishop of Lincoln to be Archbishop of Rouen, in 1183.

St. Hugh of Burgundy, removed from Witham to be Bishop of Lincoln, 1186 to 1200.

at Bishop Robert's dedication of his newly-erected presbytery, &c. Among the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Wells is preserved a document by which Louis VII. of France appoints Reginald Fitz Josceline, then Archdeacon of Sarum, Abbot of St. Exuperantius, at Corboil, near Paris (believed to be of the date of 1164). In the year before had been laid the first stone of the Cathedral of Paris.

Reginald Fitz Josceline was ambassador to the Pope in 1171, and was consecrated to this See on his return from Rome in 1174. In that year Canterbury Cathedral was burnt. (Its restoration commenced in 1175.) Reginald, as Bishop of Bath, gives a grant to Wells city in 1174 or 1175, to which is still attached his seal in excellent preservation, both seal and counter-seal.\* Reginald signs documents in 1177. The French William fell from the scaffolding at Canterbury in 1178. Reginald again proceeded to Rome and was present at the Lateran Council in March, 1179.

After three years the French William returned home, and the English William continued the work at Canterbury in 1180.

\* From the fact that Dean Richard signs as a witness to this charter of Bishop Reginald to Wells city, there seems no reason to doubt it was executed in the Bishop's first year. The seal, and counter seal (in green wax) are in excellent state. The mitre is hollow in front. The pastoral staff, held in the left hand, has the crook turned to the person. Both figures are similar in these respects. The large one reads—

✠ REGINAVDVS DEI GRATIA BATHONIENSIS EPISCOPVS.

The small—

✠ RAINAVL' DEI GRATIA BAHONIENSIS EPISCOPVS.

The documents belonging to the town of Wells appear to be all in an excellent state, both documents and seals. Those of the Chapter precisely the reverse, with seals mostly lost or in bad state. In the case of the seal of Savaric, in his charter to Wells city, the mitre is pointed in front.



Paris Cathedral was so far advanced as to have its high altar dedicated in 1182.

Bishop Reginald Fitz Josceline signs the King's charter for rebuilding Glastonbury, which had been burned in 1184. He dedicates the new work there in 1186. He is found signing and obtains a grant from King Richard, 1189.

Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury (1185-1190), to curb his monks built a college at Hackington, near Canterbury. Pope Celestine sent a bull to the Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, after the death of Baldwin in 1190, ordering its demolition which the monks did instantly, not even waiting for the King's permission.

The monks of Canterbury elected Reginald Fitz Josceline to be Archbishop, but his death took place before consecration in 1191. He was buried in Bath, near the high altar. (Godwin, pp. 100, 363): "Sepultus est autem Bathoniæ prope majus altare die S. Thomæ Martyris." (Ralph de Diceto.) At Bath he is said to have rebuilt the Church of St. Mary de Stalls, and founded (or refounded?) the Hospital of St. John, with its chapel, and in connection with the same hospital he rebuilt the Church of S. Michael within the walls. The whole of these having been since destroyed or rebuilt leaves us unable to say how far any similarity to the work of the west-front at Wells may have existed.

This Bishop, to whom the work of the rebuilding of the Cathedral at Paris was well-known, and who had these refoundings of Canterbury and Glaston going on around him, must surely have had a strong inducement to connect his name with a reconstruction of the old Saxon Cathedral, then contrasting so strongly, in all its poverty of design and decayed state, with its younger and more showy brother at Bath.



After carefully weighing all the available evidence I have become fairly satisfied that his name may be connected with a proposed reconstruction of Wells, intended to have been executed on a scale more magnificent than any the world had seen, or the brain of Gothic architect had as yet ever conceived.

To obtain at the earliest moment a portion to be used for Divine service, the construction of large churches began generally at the east end. But the very practical men of the early school were on the whole guided by the peculiar circumstances of each case. Here the east end had been built by Bishop Robert so recently, and, no doubt, so well in the late Norman style of this day, that Divine service could be carried on in it and in the Saxon church, while the new work should rise around both. The scheme therefore became one to build the new west end in front of the still standing church and gradually to envelope both the old Cathedral and its services together within the walls of the new minster. The design was worthy of the purpose for which it was intended. A west end of singular magnificence was to present in its decoration (whereon the sculptor should expend all his art) the scheme of man's redemption, the object and purpose of his creation, and the love, sufferings, and glory of his triumphant Redeemer. In a line above the apex of the west door, framed in quatrefoils, commenced, on the right, the creation of all things, the world, Adam, Eve, &c., which passing through the whole scripture history, as it passed completely round the building, was to return and finish on the left of the same point with the close of the Apocalypse. The new building had been erected of the best local materials. The blue lias (its fickleness perhaps not then known) served when polished instead of black marble, to give contrast in strings, shafts,

bases, and abaci, to the light-coloured Douling stone. In the interior the more durable red conglomerate from Draycot lent richness and beauty of colour to the nave piers and aisle wall-shafts.

If we have to thank Bishop Reginald Fitz Josceline for originating the design of the reconstruction, there is strong reason to believe that some one else largely assisted. Over what was the *great entrance* (not the present west door of nave, but the *ancient great door*, that from present west cloister walk into the south-west, now "Harewell's" tower), in one of the intersecting arches on the east side of the staircase buttress (looking east) is a secular figure sitting on a cushioned throne, dressed in simple costume, and having *no tonsure*. This the only figure which can undoubtedly be said to be coeval with the erection of the west-front, and carved by the hands of those who executed the rest of its foliage, every pane of which is of different design. Retired among which this one figure was placed in a position where it had escaped notice until the present restoration, when from its character and position it became evident that it was intended to commemorate a person in some special way connected with the erection of the structure.

That the west end was built prior to the erection of the nave, the sections of its mouldings and many small facts in the construction seem strongly to prove.\* I will

\* Since this paper was written I have obtained a drawing, showing the junction of the new work of north aisle to the east wall of the north-west tower with the jointing of the stones. This shows so clearly the dates of the two works that I have withdrawn the other drawings of the jointings on the south side. It will be seen that the stone next to string under the sills of window had, to fit on it the new jamb of window of aisle, been reduced till a bottom slip of two niches, and about the same proportion of back end were left. The evidence of this drawing I think may be simply left to speak for itself, as it is irresistible.

mention two special items. The return pieces of the moulded marble string intended to divide the first clerestory from its triforium, whose fragments were preserved from the original design by the builders of the present nave when pulling down the old side bays to join their work home to the west wall. Had these fragments been used in building the west wall up against the west ends of nave walls they would have been purposeless, and how could the west half arches of these nave openings have stood? Secondly, if any one will trace in the south aisle wall (of nave) the thin courses of stone, representing the line of the polished lias abacus of the tower caps, he will see it extends just so far eastward as the original walling of the west end goes and no further, while the wall above the springing lines of the window arches is of the date of the new nave. Had the nave been erected first what could have been the reason, or was it at all possible that a course of constructional stones was introduced in work they were then executing connected only with a design not yet dreamed of or imagined? (The refacing of the interior of the north wall, that which had no doubt suffered most from the south-west rains, has left only a short length to the first column on that side.) The spurs or projections of the side walls of the west end, serving as buttressings, are covered by the later nave aisle walls, as we should expect in work executed in divisions.

The front may have been commenced shortly after 1182, and ceased to be proceeded with about 1191. The use of the round abacus exists throughout the design, and it was at least not before 1218, that the square abacus (never in marble) was first introduced by Bishop Josceline de Wells—architect (who ever he was). It is no where used in the west-front work inside or out. The work of Bishop

Josceline de Wells, and the later periods have always moulded neck moulds to caps. These, in the early work of the west-front, are invariably simple rolls.

To recover the original conception of the Cathedral, designed by the architect of the west-front, has, I confess, had to me an interest before which the gradual progression of the parts of the existing building paled : especially since the careful study of those very parts gave forcible evidence that this building as then existing governed, at least in effect, the later design of the transepts and choir : and so it probably also did the now destroyed work of Bishop Josceline in the construction of his chancel. From this cause the transepts, built while yet the old western bays of the first design stood, possess a simplicity and strength in the parts of their interior composition totally wanting in the later work of the nave, whose multitude of openings are destructive of contrast and that proper continuation of the masses which should be constructively formed over the points of support in the columns below. These last, even in the time of Josceline de Wells, became mere bundles of stone rods, grouped gracefully on end to support the arch orders. The vaulting shafts of nave are reduced to a sort of pendant toy, instead of supporting the weight they carry, as they do so well now in the transepts, and did in the chancel till the last alteration. In the early design single nook shafts of polished red Draycot and dark lias marble, alternately supported the orders. These were then based on a solid stone bench remaining now only to the western responds. The vaulting shafts of dark polished lias were intended to pass down to the string below the triforium at least, and may even have alternately reached the abacus to pillars of the great arcade.

On these diagrams I have humbly sought to approximate



to the original conception of Bishop Reginald's architect. (Certain items, as in the simplicity of the window openings, are in strict accord with the work of the Cathedral at Paris.)

The works at Canterbury and Glaston may assist our comparison, their dates being known. This diagram of the interior of Canterbury, 1175, presents a treatment of the marble parts precisely similar to Wells. Unfortunately no west-front exists in either case whereby to extend it. The Glastonbury work began later than 1185. That building (the most sacred of all), called the "Ancient Church," at the west end was first commenced, from which reason a sort of archaic treatment was retained, travelling afterwards through the whole church eastward.\* Both at Canterbury and Glaston the tide of Norman feeling is still flowing strongly "out in the sound" of the composition, and in the zigzag ornamentation of the parts, from the necessity of copying or imitating older work. But at Wells no such demand was made, nor did any consideration for the existing Saxon church hamper the designer, whose production was therefore far in advance of both. Here older feeling is only seen in the skeleton of the west end. In the intersecting Pointed arches on the sides of the buttresses, and their somewhat abrupt terminations, and also in the general low pitch of the arches. At Paris Cathedral, as in Canterbury, it appears in the round heavy shafts of the choir and in the zigzag ornamentation of the circular windows which existed over triforium (now removed) and of the bases; and at Glaston in a way not very different. At Wells the arrangement of the

\* In the matter of dates of work, it is well worth comparing the section of the tower pillars at Glaston with those at Wells, now partly hid by the St. Andrew arches, but which can easily be recovered by going up into the organ loft. There cannot be much difference in date between these two works.



masses is so strongly Norman in tone that prior to 1824 the writer of the architectural description of this Cathedral for Britton's work remarked it, and from this internal evidence alone, was led to doubt the correctness of its attribution to Bishop Josceline de Wells, suggesting instead its having been the work of Bishop Robert, who died in 1165-6. Right in suspecting an error, he however failed in its correction, unless it could be supposed that the Wells men of 1160 were so far in advance of those of Paris in 1163, of Canterbury in 1175, or even of Glaston in 1185, as to be free from all but the slightest trace of Norman influence. To prevent interference with the interior perspective the western towers were placed externally to the aisles—an unusual arrangement.

In England I have only been able to discover one other certain example, that of the west towers of St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester, of late Norman date, with intersecting arcading of round arches, formed of Roman brick.\* Excepting Rouen I am not able to mention any in France.

G. E. Street, Esq., R.A., in his work on Spain, has given plans of three examples—Santiago, Leon, and Sigüenza; from the first of these, if not from St. Botolph's, I suspect the idea of the arrangement at Wells was obtained.†

\* After the paper had been read, J. H. Parker, C.B., kindly showed me some most beautiful drawings and plans of Lincoln and Peterborough Cathedrals, which had been taken for him shortly before, and on the plan of Peterborough directed my attention to the fact that prior to the Early English additions, that abbey had also western towers of Norman date, placed externally, like those of St. Botolph's, at Colchester.

† The plan of the western part of the Cathedral at Dronthiem, where the two towers are placed in the same way, is said to be a copy from Wells. If so it must have at least been made some 50 years later, as Archbishop Sigurd is supposed to have commenced the nave there about 1248. In a chapel connected with its eastern end sleeps St. Olaf, the martyr king of the Norwegians, who fell in the fight at Stiklestad, against the Pagan party.

While the treatment of the marble in the interior of Wells, as originally designed, resembled that of Canterbury,\* it yet had the superior advantage of the polished red Draycot shafts contrasting with the dark lias. Of the Draycot columns we have still happily three remaining in the western responds. These, thanks to Canon Meade, were lately restored to that original polish and lustre which nearly 700 years exposure had somewhat dimmed.†

Western towers thus placed were unusual, but in this case that plan was the more readily adopted, as the tower on the south side was intended to form the great entrance porch to the Cathedral. This peculiarity arose from the fact of the three annual fairs having been held from an early period in the great cemetery and even in the church, till the services of the sanctuary of peace and truth were unheard, and overwhelmed by the roar and whirl of the more gorgeous ritual of the service of mammon. Bishop Robert had issued mandates against this abuse. Bishop Reginald found it necessary to confirm and strengthen them. He had also set apart a fresh space, the present market-place, probably then also containing the ground on which the "Nova Opera," or new work of Bishop Beckington, was afterwards erected. Opposite this spot both the original entrance and the early gate-house leading into the cloister still remain. The entrance passing

\* I strongly suspect that at Canterbury it was only when the work of the French William got as high as the caps of the columns that the monks had gained the courage to use the clustered marble shafts which run up to take the vaulting, and that this change in the design produced the very rude and somewhat unsightly marble brackets above the abacus upon which the base of each clustered shaft rests.

† The fourth, that in the south aisle, of white stone, has been removed and replaced in polished Draycot, in the spring of the year 1874, at the expense of Canon Brown, Archdeacon of Bath.

from thence by the *grand door* under the south-west tower into the church ; nevertheless the slight remains of the work of the very beautiful first cloister, together with this gatehouse, was an afterthought, the architect of the west-front not intending to place his cloister so far west, and only arranging for a low wall here of which the bond stones still remain in the lower part of the present buttress and wall (this last perhaps itself of three buildings). When the works of the west-front design were abandoned, parts were left incomplete, some of the small items so remained in our day. And B. Ferrey, Esq., F.S.A., the architect for the present restoration, has most carefully had these so preserved for that very reason. Such are some of the bases and their sockets to the terminals of the small gablets on both extreme north and south angles, blocked, but neither the foliage carved nor the sockets sunk. The projecting heads to the lower large gablets of buttresses, and also the heads covering the points of junction of the top canopies were carved at a later time. The inner jambs of the west door, worked into shape when the new nave was executed, and the *old orders* on inner side of arches into the west towers intended originally to be carved, but still plain. The white lias heads terminating labels inside had been added when the completion of nave took place, as well as those terminating the exterior labels of the two west doors to aisles. Prior to the present restoration these last were so decayed that of those to north door all trace of what they had represented was gone, and also to that on north side of south door, the slightest fragment of a very flat mitre and of the neck could be seen on that to south of this last door.

Of the exterior of the west-front (which will be much more ably described to you by Mr. Ferrey) the greater

part of the old top stories of the early towers remain built round, or rather fresh skinned, by the Perpendicular works, *said* in the case of that on south side to be of Harewell's time (?) 1366-1386 (I think it may have been built after his death), and that on the north to be erected by the executors of Bishop Bubwith after 1426.

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To sum up the result, as shown on diagram No. 1, we have at the period of the cession of the west-front, the Saxon church standing, with Bishop Robert's presbytery at its east end. In advance of the west-front of this Saxon church, stands a *new west-front* of a commenced cathedral, together with its side towers, and three bays of its nave partially completed.

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To the visitor entering at the west end of the nave (the portion No. 2) would be the next seen, but as the lower western arches of chancel are that part truly next in architectural order, I will proceed to take it first, and then return to No. 2 afterwards.

This part No. 3 consists of the north aisle wall of the nave up to the sills of the windows as far west as slightly beyond north porch; the south wall also for three bays west,\* but in the last only up to the sill of the window; the

\* Although I leave these notes unqualified here, I have no doubt whatever that the keener eyes and sharper survey of such excellent and careful observers as you have in Mr. Freeman, Mr. F. H. Dickinson, and Mr. T. Serel, each of whom has made so particular a study of the Cathedral, will even reduce still further the amount of work yet remaining, which I have here given to Bishop Josceline de Wells (perhaps more especially in the western sides of both transepts).



other two to the springing of its arch ; the first three bays of nave arcade, including a very small fragment on each side of one mass of clerestory wall ; the lower parts of walls of transepts as high as arcades, but not all the columns ; also the three western arches of choir with their spandrils, but no higher than the destroyed string over. The whole above-mentioned I believe may have been the work of Bishop Josceline Troteman (or de Wells), as here all evidence, not only of common tradition and history but those of actual fact, are most admirably in accord. We are told he rebuilt the Saxon church which was deformed with ruins and almost level with the ground, "for which purpose he pulled down from the presbytery all the west-end." To this effect, says Bishop Godwin, and the existing facts fairly agree and are quite reconcilable with the Bishop's words. For if the presbytery of Robert was preserved by Josceline—and we suppose for a moment the new west-front of Bishop Reginald's proposed cathedral standing in advance of the ancient structure,—Bishop Troteman must of necessity have removed the old church *inclusive* of its ancient Saxon west-front to connect the two newer and undilapidated parts.

Mr. Freeman has most kindly shown me one of his continental sketches illustrative of the same thing as it exists to the present day in the case of Wetzlar Church in Germany, where before the original west-front of the Romanesque building (intended to have been swept away when the other was finished) stands a considerable part of a new west-front of rich Perpendicular or Flamboyant date, never completed, and consequently its old neighbour is still preserved, with a tower of each building standing.

Sir H. L. Dryden when at Wells a few weeks back told me that he had a strong belief that the same thing had



taken place in the Cathedral Kirk of St. Magnus, at Kirkwall (the whole of which building he has most carefully measured and studied with the greatest care).

In a most valuable paper by J. H. Parker, C.B., on "The English origin of Gothic Architecture" in *The Archæologia*, he says: "It was very usual to build the west end and one of the western towers for the bells after the choir was completed, and to leave the nave to be built afterwards when the funds could be obtained. In many churches in France the nave has never been built, although both the choir and the west end have been finished. Cologne Cathedral is another example of the same plan. The choir and one of the western towers for the belfry were built in the 13th and 14th centuries. The nave was not built until the 19th." The Nunnery of Davington, in Kent, is an example in point of the two west towers, only one seems to have been finished.

In this Chapter-house to tell the citizens of Wells that the "Great Josceline of Wells" did very little of what they see here and attribute to him of their Cathedral, and that even that small part is marked with little elegance or dignity, or that his highest aims for his new Cathedral were quite satisfied by the simple efforts of native talent which his masons, Adam Lock, Thomas Lock, Deodatis, and Thomas Norais, &c., displayed, must, I am afraid, seem heresy of a character beyond all forgiveness. Nevertheless careful search after truth prevents me coming to any other conclusion. While the pages of the "Long Book" (belonging to the Dean and Chapter) abundantly prove that if "this man was such" as the Canons of Wells have never since seen, it was rather because he increased the quotidiens from those of the Bishop himself down to those of the vicars choral and humble sacrist, than from

the exaltation of the glory of the fabric of their minster.\* That he pulled down their Saxon church, I doubt not, or that he raised anew the parts tinted lake on the ground plan and sections. As we easily mark the stiff foilage and peculiar curl in every one of his capitals left, and also a good deal of his material—a “grey lias” obtained from above Chilcote (the old Saxon *Gillcoten* or *Gillcote*), together with a rough but durable white conglomerate which is found overlying it. His mouldings are marked by the addition of fillets to each side of the hollows—a peculiarity which from the preservation of his arcades in the choir, and more especially in the eastern arches of nave necessitated their retention westward in that portion built by his successors, who however adopted their own later character of mouldings in the triforium and so much of the central tower as they then erected.†

Bishop Josceline in all probability did not commence

\* “Quotidians appointed by Josceline, Bishop; John Saracen, Dean; 1242, 16 kal. Nov. The Bishop 8<sup>d</sup>, and 5<sup>d</sup> for bread every day. The quotidians before being 6<sup>d</sup>, and for bread 4<sup>d</sup>. Before this time the Bishop used to receive, from the grange daily, 6<sup>d</sup>, and for bread 4<sup>d</sup> while resident in Wells, which for 365 days was £15,,04,,02.”

“The *quinque personæ*, the Dean, Chantor, Archdeacon of Wells, Chancellour, and Treasurer, used to receive 6<sup>d</sup>, and two white loaves and two brown; the other canons received 3<sup>d</sup>, and one white and one brown loaf. The vicars, every other day, had one loaf.——But by Bishop Josceline’s settlement, the Bishop was to receive, every day he was resident in Wells, 8<sup>d</sup>, and for bread 5<sup>d</sup>, which for 365 days comes to £19,,18,,05. The five dignitaries above, called *quinque personæ*, are to receive 8<sup>d</sup>, and for bread 4<sup>d</sup>, which for 365 days comes to £18,,05,,00. The other canons 4<sup>d</sup>, and 2<sup>d</sup> for bread, which for 365 days is £09,,02,,06. The vicars were to receive a penny a day, which for 365 days is £01,,10,,05. Others, who used to receive quotidians, I suppose the sacrist, &c., were to receive a penny, and for bread a halfpenny, which for 365 days is £02,,05,,07.” From the “Long Book,” page 19.

† In Josceline’s arch moulds in chancel and nave, the rolls and hollows are always divided by the fillet. This section is not found in the triforium or above, nor yet in central *tower* arches, in all of which there is a want of fillets, and the roll often presents a sharp keel edge.

building till after 1218,\* and the work was so far advanced that before 1238 a service for the soul of Peter de Cicester, Dean of the Cathedral, who died in 1236, could be performed in the Chapel of St. Kalixtus. Josceline dedicated his work in 1239 (but I do not think this fact is here of much value). He most likely did erect a chapel beyond the presbytery of Bishop Robert, but how the junction of the internal apse and external chapels was managed is a matter of much difficulty to understand, and the total removal of all below that could assist in its examination, renders the question exceedingly difficult to solve.

The whole of Josceline de Wells' work is now very fragmentary, the lower parts of the walls of his transepts (all left) being greatly cased and patched. Of his windows not one remains perfect throughout the church, but we have left the interior enclosing order of the two in the east wall of the north transept. One cap in south side of window next choir is his, the others are insertions. Parts of the bottom of each window (now built up) can be seen on careful search in the walls below. (Unless the rebuilt triplet in front of gable of north porch is the filling in of one of his windows, we have no other light to guide us.)

His second pillars from the tower in the eastern arcades of *both transepts* have been entirely rebuilt from floor to abacus. While next the tower that on the north side had only been rebuilt from about half way down, that in the south transept has been left perfect (though at a still

\* King Henry III. grants, to the new works at Wells, 5 marks for twelve years, 1225 to 1237. It is worth noting that the will of Hugh II. or de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, whereby he devised certain estates to his Brother Josceline de Wells, was made in 1233, when the works at Wells were certainly going on. (See notes to paper on Lincoln Cathedral, the paper by Rev. G. A. Poole, M.A. ; notes by Rev. J. F. Dimock, read before the Lincoln Diocesan Society, and printed in reports of the Joint Diocesan Architectural Societies for 1873.)

later time having its front cap altered). Both the responds are new. This remarkable removal and rebuilding in both transepts of the farthest column *only* leads to the supposition that in each case the extreme arch opening at present may replace what before had been solid wall ; or the gables of the Saxon transepts having stood at this point and been re-used as foundations for his work, but giving way necessitated their entire renewal. No trace of the upper part of Josceline's choir remains. Parts of its aisle walls still stand : and there is reason to believe these last terminated in small square chapels. Of what connected them and covered the remains of the Norman presbytery, we have little evidence. No part of the triforium of his transepts remains. In the nave over the first pillar on the south side is a fragment of plain stone ashlar of the back and return of a pier, and a slighter trace remains directly opposite in the north triforium. These few stones give no idea of what the design was, and the whole of the mouldings on the side towards the nave are new. In the south aisle wall the stepping back to support the transept can be clearly recognised, the dividing joint line just reversing what takes place at the west end.

The recovery of the names of some of Bishop Josceline's masons we owe to T. H. Riley, Esq., who discovered among the documents of the Dean and Chapter the grant of a house to the schools by Adam Lock, mason, son of Thomas Lock, mason, and witnessed among others by Deodatis and Thomas Norais, both masons. (This house I strongly suspect was that unfortunate building now called the "Organist's House.") The similarity between the names of this Thomas Norais and that of Godfrey de Noyers (Gaufride de Noiers) the architect of St. Hugh of



Lincoln, in 1200, is somewhat remarkable, especially as St. Hugh had gone to Lincoln from Witham Friary.\*

In 1242 Bishop Josceline de Wells died and was buried in the centre of his new choir in front of the high altar, it being reserved for the late restoration of the chancel to "restore" off the face of the earth altogether the last fragments of the slab containing the indent of his lost brass—a memorial which even the Cromwellian ages had respected.†

To sum up the appearance of the alterations of the church at the time of Josceline's death (diagram No. 3, but 2 in architectural date), the Saxon Cathedral had disappeared entirely, but Bishop Robert's Norman presbytery or apse probably still stood. Westward of which Josceline had built a new choir of three bays (the square east end of which reduced the presbytery to a sort of vestry, as seen still at Malvern Abbey); he had also added a central tower, transepts with aisles on both sides, and three bays of a nave, as well as a long low length of north aisle wall fencing in the rest of the intended nave. But a large void

\* Among the documents of the town of Wells is one which bears the seal of Robert Noreys, possibly the grand-son of Bishop Josceline's mason of that name.

† "Jocelinus Sepultus in medio Chori eccl : Wellen: tumba alta cum imagi : area." Leland's *Itin* : vol. 3, page 107, fol. 89.

On January 22nd, 1874, in laying down larger gas pipes, for supplying the lights in the chancel, the stone coffin of Bishop Josceline was exposed, where (as it will be seen on the plan) literally it could not be better described than is done by Leland, the top of Josceline's square east wall having been also seen at the same time. The total removal of this last above ground, and the considerable extension of the present chancel eastward, had led to the idea of this "centre," where the remains of the Bishop lay, being just west of the present throne. The full account of the discovery may be seen in a letter by your member, Mr. T. Serel, which appeared in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly News* of that date. The inscription, previously cut by order of Canon Bernard, now marks the spot where the coffin lies.



space intervened between his new work and the west-front, built possibly by Bishop Reginald Fitz Josceline.

After the death of Josceline, in 1242, there was a short vacancy. The Bath monks then elected Roger, Precentor of Sarum, who was ineffectually objected to by the Chapter of Wells. In 1246 the church was in debt to the Roman lawyers, 1765 marks—tolerable evidence that British oysters had not lost their interest in Roman eyes, albeit they were not the same sort as of yore. All this time the works had been slowly going on, for the very year in which Bishop Roger died, 1247-1248, an earthquake threw down the stone vault or spire. The new Bishop, William Button (1st), was abroad in 1258, and after his return he was engaged in a struggle—the first of the great insurrections made by the Dean and Chapter against the See. He died in 1264-5, and was buried “in the new Chapel of the Virgin.” His successor sat only about a year and a half and was followed by the second William Button, called the “saint,” in 1267. I shall now return to the second division to the visitor, but truly the third in architectural date. The “multitudes of miracles” said to have taken place at the grave of Bishop Button, the saint, were at least followed by that multitude of solid offerings, which went far to raise the present edifice. He died in 1274 and about 1284 a convocation was called to procure contributions to the new building and grant a tenth for the repair of the old work. Even so early as 1266 John of Axbridge, sub-dean, had founded an obit at the altar of St. Mary Magdalene in the north aisle of the choir. In 1268 Galfre de Briddeport founded an obit to the souls of his parents in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, made in the south part of the Cathedral. Bishop William (the saint) himself leaves money to support two lamps “behind the great

altar" of the building,\* but his principal obit was erected in the Chapel of our Lady in the Cloisters (first heard of by that name in 1260) by John Button, the provost, who had built the altar of St. Michael in that chapel, at which *very altar* he orders the service to take place. Thomas Button (late dean) when Bishop of Exeter (1293 to 1307) gave *pro anima* of Bishop William Button the great bell in the tower. Strong evidence of the date of the erection of this new work is seen in the carved caps of the west arcade of both transepts, where heads displaying various stages of the toothache are introduced. One shows the agony the sufferer is in, another points to the fact that it has only left him one tooth, another points to that tooth in which the pain is, &c. Now although not prepared to say that a sculptor would never otherwise have selected such subjects, yet I do think that in the building St. Button's peculiar property here was supposed to be the ability to cure this disease. If the work was erected by gifts at his shrine, and therefore after his death in 1274, it became a fit and appropriate field to select subjects from, and thus far helps to fix the age of this part of the fabric. Although he is said to have divided with the dentists the removal of this disease down far into the 17th century, yet in the first stage and the want of a fine field for advertisements, it must have required some few years to impress the public with the full advantage to be derived from a trip to Wells.

\* In the settlement of Bishop Button's chantry, in 1279, mention is made both of the Chapel of St. Mary, in the Cloisters, and also of St. Marie's Chapel, behind the high altar and—money is assigned—"Ad sustentandi duos cereos in Capella bte Virginis assignetur." Dated 1279. (Thomas de Button and Roger de Crukern, his Executors.)

1284. "Convocao de Contributor ad Ecllam qua in novâ structurâ per ficienda et antiquâ reparandâ indijet repatoe Decimæ Præbendarum." P. 198, small Liber Albus.

Therefore the convocation about repairs and building in 1284 would fairly agree, even supposing the actual works had begun somewhat earlier.

Other carvings in the south transepts may assist us. A figure is there seen turning up his foot from which he extracts a "burr" or thorn—possibly a play on the name of Bishop Button's successor, Bishop *Burnell* (1275 to 1292), or on that of Dean William *Burnell* (prebend of St. David's), who following Dean Thomas Button, sat from 1292 to 1295. The rebuilding partly with old materials of the north porch seems also to harmonize, for on the eastern caps of the external arch are sculptured scenes from the history of St. Edmund, King of the East Angles, the name saint possibly of Edward of Knolle, dean from 1256 to 1284; and on each side of the door from this porch to the church, are the figures of a dean\* and bishop intended, I think, for the very Thomas Button, who was dean after this Edward of Knolle, from 1284 to 1292, in which year he became Bishop of Exeter, and so represented here on the right side of arch. It is worthy of remark that to the little Church of Tugford in Corvedale, Salop, there is a door very much humbler in scale and ornamentation, but resembling closely in details the outer arch of this porch.

An item which may have to do with the roofing of this new work appears in the records of the Parliament at Northampton, 29 Edward I. (1300-1301). The warden of the Forest of Dean is to deliver to Peter de Insula,

\* The figure of the Dean bears a staff, and holds a label, partly destroyed, but still retaining the letters—

✠ INT : INGAVD \* \* \* \* II : TVI

which Archdeacon Freeman, of Exeter, translated as—"Enter into the joy of thy Lord." Could it refer to the late Dean being then Bishop?

Archdeacon of Wells, 10 oaks, and an equal number to Philip Martel. De Insula (or de Lisle) was archdeacon, at least in 1296-1301, and although I have not yet found the name of Philip Martel at the Cathedral, John de Martel or Marsel, as a canon, appears in 1319, 1327, 1330, and his chantry was founded at the altar of St. Catharine in 1341.

As Josceline's Cathedral had little beyond a choir and transepts available for use, unusual doors at the ends of the eastern aisles of transepts had been found necessary. Of these, the north was afterwards continued as an entrance to the stairs to the new Chapter House. The other in the Chapel of St. Martin, now the Canons' Vestry, is blocked by the monument of John Storthwaite, precentor, who died shortly after 1451. On both sides the exterior label moulds, covering most likely wooden porches, are perfect.

The building of the nave and rebuilding of the transepts had so far advanced that, in 1297, it became necessary to issue orders regulating the opening and shutting of these doors, including also the great entrance door from the western Cloister below the south-west tower—evidence fairly conclusive of the ability to make use of the newly completed nave.

A somewhat similar idea to these peculiarly placed transept doors is found at Drontheim Cathedral in the angles between transepts and choir (other remarkable agreements in intention govern the group of Cathedrals composed of Wells, St. David's, Wales; St. Magnus, Kirkwall; and that at Drontheim).

The use of entry obtained under the south-west tower is followed by the result that, in 1300, William de Wellington founds a chantry at the altar of St. Crucis, under the same tower (he having founded another at another altar



of St. Crucis near the door to the Chapter House, in 1299 and in 1305-6). Two new altars are mentioned at the door of the choir, one to St. Andrew on the south, and one to the Virgin on the north (in front of which the indent of a fine brass to a lady is still seen).

In 1248, as before-mentioned, by reason of an earthquake, the "Tholus," a vault or spire, fell. Mr. Freeman says it is recorded to have done more damage to the caps than the bases. As the further pair of Joceline's columns in the choir still retain their caps, while the next seem to have been recarved, I am led to think that the Rev. Prebendary Scarth's view is correct and that it was the hollow stone spire of the central tower that fell, rather than the vault of the choir; for of Josceline's tower scarcely any fragments of the eastern piers are left, and of the western a good deal of what seems to be his work has been rebuilt with the old materials. Probably some time elapsed before they summoned courage to again proceed with the repairs. On the diagram, the dark pink marks the portion of Bishop Josceline's building preserved and re-used in the new work. This rebuilding probably began in the south transept, where at the base of the eastern respond their foundation-stone may still I think be seen with its crosses. These were full of mortar until I cleaned them out with my knife. Reconstructing entirely this and the next column they preserved the pillar, abacus inclusive, next to the tower of Josceline's building (but its front cap at a still later period has been renewed). Inserted in the spandril over is a curious small grey lias stone. At first sight I had hoped this bore an inscription, but found it perfectly plain. In the north transept a portion only of the first pier was preserved, and the other, as before-mentioned, entirely rebuilt together with the respond.

The erection of the transepts arose till overflowing the remains of Josceline's choir arcades, and giving them a new triforium and clerestory they then produced a fresh apse to match. Remains of the starting of whose circular walls are seen over the present choir vault. Considerable remains of the large pinnacle standing at the connecting point of the curved apse and straight wall can be seen behind the present triforium wall on north side of choir, enough of its plinth mould remains to show that the triforium passed quite round it. On the exterior the lines are quite perfect of the arches of clerestory windows of this period. The jambs and the vaulting shafts next tower wall remain precisely similar to those in the transepts. The marks of the first triforium arch on each side can be seen, while on the back side of walls they are perfectly preserved on both sides, although built up when the inside was recast.

The central tower, when totally rebuilt from the ground, had been designed for vaulting, and the wall ribs remain at present below the line of the Perpendicular vault. Building to this height necessitated the erection of a portion of the triforium and clerestory wall of nave sufficient to resist the thrust of the great transept arches, and in doing this the very slight fragments of Josceline's triforium masonry were preserved (as before-mentioned). The part then erected is marked by the preservation of three of the circular bosses of foliage of earlier carving than the rest—two above the north triforium arches and one on the south side, the rest having been removed or hidden when the second repair (or perpendicular needling) of the central tower took place. These early bosses, I confess, I took to be remains of Josceline's work until a careful inspection in front con-

vinced me that they were of a later time and period. Having finished these eastern portions they then turned their faces westward, boldly advanced, and after two or three efforts succeeded in filling up the open space which had divided them from "the work so long begun" at the west end, joining their work to it. To do which in a respectable manner they were obliged to remove (unfortunately for posterity and Wells) the three west bays (partly built) of the more costly and loftier design. The western span-drills, at present of large stones, are probably composed of the courses of the pillars and old work pulled down. The size of the courses agree fairly with those used in the early work. The returns of the upper marble strings bonding the *detached shafts* of the west window jambs were allowed to remain, but during the Perpendicular additions, removed and replaced by solid attached stone ones to obtain additional strength. The outline of the original nave vault was not intended to be so pointed as it is at present, the springing lines are therefore lowered, but the exterior heights of roofs and walls were fixed of necessity by the old west wall. The flying buttresses, omitted at first, were now built, and in the western sides of the north and south transepts it can be distinctly seen that the rough stone plastered wall had stood exposed until part of the plaster had scaled off, over which the guide lines for the position of the buttress had then been drawn on the wall, and consequently the point used to make the the line had marked the plaster, the scaled off surface, and the exposed stone also.

Flushed with successfully completing the nave they then would be satisfied with nothing less than possessing an open lantern over the *crux*. Abandoning the vault and disregarding the rough masonry wall prepared for

it to butt against. From the floor above, which they kept as it was, they commenced afresh an open lantern tower, richly arcaded, in the interior of which one stage, and rather more than half the next, was completed, when from some cause the whole erection came to a stand still. A temporary roof was put on, and it was left to be seen from the floor of the Cathedral. The work now stood so long that all the masons employed (more than 40 in number) whose "banker marks" had given me the greatest assistance in tracing the continuity of the work in transepts, nave, choir, and triforium, &c., having with the greatest regularity followed us from the pillars of nave and aisle wall in cloister up to this joint in the second arcade of the lantern, at *once* cease and are no more seen. When the work again recommenced they are replaced by the totally fresh marks of the new workmen. A changed character appears also in the sections of the mouldings. During the time this delay took place the unfinished lantern, seen from below, was to the height now built, decorated in a very curious manner. Having no windows in its own walls, and only obtaining reflected light from beneath, or from openings in a rudely gabled roof, and therefore dark. Instead of the red lining into stones, the usual decoration of the time, (fragments of which may yet be seen in the Chapel of St. Martin now the Canons' Vestry), it was formed of *white* lines on a cream-tinted ground—a very good plan, and one I do not remember elsewhere, thus enabling it to be seen from the Cathedral floor. When the works again *commenced* a fresh design (*though not one of equal merit*) was adopted, the lantern scheme being retained.

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To sum up the result as shown on diagram No. 2 (but third in architectural date) we have of Bishop Robert's presbytery, (if anything) only the lower arches left. Of Bishop Josceline's work merely the three choir arches and parts of their aisle walls ; the lower parts of transept walls and portions of the pillars ; the three eastern arches of the nave and slight traces of triforium masonry ; part of north aisle wall up to window sills, and a small part of that of south aisle. His central tower is utterly removed down to the floor. Bishop Reginald Fitz Joceline's west end and its towers remain, but his internal arcade is gone, and most of his north aisle wall recased. (It is a question if his architect may not have intended to gable his aisle walls to each two bays, if so this idea was also abandoned.)

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The new building at this time became all the upper part of choir and its apse, both triforium and clerestory, nearly the whole nave and most of the transepts, the central tower from the very ground up to a short way above the apex of nave and chancel roofs. They had also begun the exterior wall of the undercroft to the new Chapter House, and the passage to it from the choir aisle. This, however, was after the *whole* of the rest had been completed (a second effort in that case completed the present stairs to a Chapter House, which remarkable to relate was shortly afterwards pulled down to build the present (or third) one.

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Proceeding now with the fourth part, the next great commencement began with the extension of the east end

and completion of the central tower.\* Small works were however going on before, for in 1305 a chantry is founded for Dean Henry Huse, at the altar of the Crucifixion at the south part of the entrance to the choir. On examination I found the crucifix still remaining perfect in the glass of the window whose stonework had no doubt shortly before been inserted. In 1311 William Yatton, sub-dean, had a service behind the high altar, and in the same year in the will of Richard de Chepmanslade there is also mention of the light of the Blessed Mary behind the high altar.

In the new exterior of the eastern end a portion was built every year leaving inside the old eastern chapels for use as long as possible. The joints mark the portions of every fresh year, and a distinct change took place above the sills of the east windows of choir aisles. The side windows having the early section, the first appearance of the broad casement moulding of the Perpendicular style taking place in the east windows of the side aisles, and passing round those of the Lady Chapel. In 1325 Dean Goodeley orders the ruinous stalls to be remade, and each prebend is ordered to be at the cost of his own. Some of these have the *misererie* carvings only commenced, and still remaining unfinished. Before the death of Bishop

\* Campanile Ecclesiæ Wellensis. Decima quinque annalis pro constructione ejusdem Reg 1, 143, Anno 1317.

New campanile building, 1318, during the time of Bishop Drokensford, 1309 to 1325. In a general chapter, held 18th May, 1318, among other acts then decreed, this was one—"Item cum magna pecunia proveniat diversi modi tam de decimis quā oblationibus Sti. Willelmi sequestris et Fraternitatibus Sti. Andriæ ad fabricam Ecclesiæ et Campaniliam foret utile quod inde fieret Ratiocinium modo debito per Receptores Pecuniæ antedictæ per aliquos. Canonicos per Capitulu deputandos Responsio Deputentur Duo Canonici ad audiendū computu singulorū Receptorū oblationes Sti. Willelmi." Old MS. belonging to Mr. T. Serel.

Drokensford, in 1329, the eastern extension had so far advanced that he could be interred in the Chapel of St. Catharine.\* In 1332 the great Dean Goodeley died ; he had undoubtedly been the prime actor in these last extensions of the fabric, as well as the victorious leader in the last final and successful rising of the Chapter against the See. The work would not appear to have been completed when he died, for in 1337, the Chapter took into consideration the means whereby to raise the sum of £200 to pay off the debt incurred in restoring a great part of the fabric. There is a document dated in 1337 (preserved among the Chapter documents) a bond to Dean Charletone for £20 lent by him to the Chapter to be expended on the building. This looks like some matter of considerable moment requiring instant attention. In 1338 the church is described as much fractured and requiring to be repaired, and, in 1339, there is an imposition of a tenth to raise £300 for repairing the Church of St. Andrew. Ralph of Salop had become Bishop of the See in 1329, and his decease took place in 1363. Mr. Freeman (in that most valuable little volume of his which should

\* To the efforts of Canon Bernard we owe the discovery that the tomb, in front of the south choir transept, must unquestionably be that of Bishop Drokensford, as one result of his researches was the discovery of a document, by which Philip de Drokensford, of Oakhampton, (son and heir of Philip de Drokensford), and nephew of the Bishop, grants lands to Dean John de Godelee and Hamelino de Godelee, his brother, to this document, nearly perfect, is preserved the seal of \*PHILIPPI D. DROK'NEIS \* \* \* bearing a shield, quartered with the chess rooks (precisely as on tomb), and with a label of three points over. Round the tomb are repeated these two shields in nearly every panel. 1st, a shield bearing Drokensford, quarterly or and az., four rooks' heads coupé two and two, addorsed and counterchanged. The other shield or, six ermine spots, 3, 2, 1 sa : on a chief gu. two stags' heads cabossed, a label of three points for difference. The arms of Drokensford seem to be a play on the name.

be in the hands of all who wish to understand Wells aright) has well suggested that his place of sepulture in front of the high altar (the communion space at present) decidedly marks him as one of the founders. He who built so much of the close\* could scarcely be unconnected with the works going on in his Cathedral. In the Lady Chapel at east end the name of its builder had been placed in the stained glass, but is now lost.

When the *new* upper portion of the central tower had been commenced it was from quite a fresh design, the result of which was that the uncompleted arcade was reduced in height, over which a lofty stage of three square-headed panels (each containing two long pointed but uncusped openings) formed the exterior design of each side. The whole of this work is meagre in the extreme. Under the present modern roof of the central tower, are still seen traces of the points where the beams rested (the corbels to support the curved braces still remain) dividing the flat roof into a series of square-moulded panels, open to view from the floor of the church. This weak design could not have existed long. A fresh idea entered the minds of the Chapter. They resolving to change the upper part into a belfry, divided it off by a wooden floor still remaining (and yet retain a portion of the light). For this purpose a set of massive square-headed stone window frames of two lights, strengthened by a transome, were inserted over the second arcade in the base of the long openings, forming the inner thickness of the double

\* Of the houses of the Vicar's Close, most of the parts of red stone, the projections of chimneys, and many of the jambs of windows, although not the tracery, is of his work. The transformation, by Bishop Beckington's executors, too often causes the considerable amount of early work to be overlooked and disregarded.



wall of the tower (built thus to save weight). On the top lintels of these stone window frames the beams of the new floor for the bell-framing rested. The wood of this bell-framing seems, from what I can learn, to have been sawn up for other uses and sold not many years ago. The floor in *the tower* still remains in its place.

This change into a belfry did not answer constructively, the tower walls rent, and the danger became so great that it was necessary to shore up the great arches below with strong timber, marks of which are now seen in the west arch. They then built as permanent shores the St. Andrew arches across the north, south, and west openings. It is possible that Dean Charlton's bond in 1337 may be connected with this. The strutting of the tower arches was effectual for the time, but at a later date the insertion, I think, of the present Perpendicular vault made it necessary to needle the tower by stone flying arches cut into the thickness of the walls at the north-west and south-west angles, filling up also solid, part of the triforium openings and necessitating new ashlar for the spandrels of the arcades of the nave, they also inserted Perpendicular arches under the two first openings of nave arcade, and of those arches leading from nave aisles into transepts. From the loss of the Fabric Rolls I am unable to say when the bells were first removed into the western towers, but we may fairly place it after Harewell's time. The openings for sound in the central tower being no longer wanted (the light being cut off by the Perpendicular vault), were then filled in with the Perpendicular panelling, which so strengthens the design at present. The lower parts indeed even seem to have been before treated in this way. The pinnacles of the tower were also recast. The Decorated main centre

spires in each case were preserved, the surrounding small ones and those in the sides changed to Perpendicular, and the niches and figures added (possibly by Bishop Bubwith's executors).

During the time of the erection of the central part of the nave (about 1280-1297) the figures in the west-front were being gradually executed and placed, commencing in the centre and working to the sides,\* and then gradually downwards.† From the change in the treatment of the drapery lines it is evident a considerable time was required to complete the whole, and it was most likely not till the period of the erection of the top of the central tower and the eastern chapels that those of the coronation

\* Mr. B. Ferrey, when making the survey of the west-front, discovered on the groups of figures in the resurrection tier the Arabic numerals which are found on all those on north side of the centre line of the front. But Roman numerals are found on all those on south side of centre line.

† The famous angel choir at Lincoln was executed about the same date. Commenced by Bishop Lexington, about 1256, it had been finished by Bishop Oliver Sutton in 1280. It is remarkable to see how the idea of the exterior buttresses at the east-end are obtained from Wells. A diagram of each was hung up when these notes were read.

The seal of the "Church of Wells" bears on it the figure of an Archbishop—I suspect St. Thomas of Canterbury). This is found, *seal* and *counter seal*, to have been used to the certificate of the election of Bishop William Button, in 1247. One half at least was used down to the year 1539, and is engraved in the new edition of the *Monasticon*. (Bishop Savaric mentions that he had got the seal of the Church of Wells as well as his own appended to his grant to Wells City, but unfortunately that seal has crumbled to powder.) On the breast of the dress of the Archbishop is a curious trefoil ornament. This same ornament is found on the dress of one of the figures intended to represent Saxon bishops, which originally lay over the bones, removed and placed by Josceline (?) between the pillars of his choir arches. Moved again, when lately the chancel was restored, this one had remained in the under-croft till Canon Bernard had it and another placed as near as could now possibly be done, to where some lay before, under the south arcade. Which of the early bishops these were intended to represent is not known.

of the Virgin (the latest of the whole) were placed over the central door. From some reason the central pinnacle on the west-front was placed at this time, being similar in date to those on the parapet of the present (or third) Chapter House.\*

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The result of the fourth alteration may be summed up in the facts that—Reginald Fitz Josceline's west-front stands, but has now received the addition of the figures up to the great marble string over the resurrection tier. Of Josceline de Wells' work the arches (only) of the choir remain, some in nave, and slight fragments of the transepts. Of the third work, the new nave, chancel and transepts stand, to which has now been added the fourth work; the upper part of central tower; the eastern and Lady Chapels.

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In the centre of these eastern chapels stood probably that so-called of St. Mary de Jusyan, and perhaps that

\* To see fairly the remarkable care with which these restorations are done one must mount to the lead roof of the room over the Chapter House, and note where the rebuilding of the parapets and pinnacles, &c., of north transept, and the repairs below the corbel table can to the present day be distinctly noted—almost every stone by their different colours; and the evidence of the pinnacle at junction of apse having existed, till removed for the extension of choir, will be seen by the unperforated piece of new parapet which comes up to it as at angle of tower and to pinnacle of transept. Some even more remarkable lettings in of stones, and reductions of them to the proper face, may be seen by crawling in under roof of Chapter House stairs over the vault from triforium of the transept, through the opening below the north window (over which the old tomb slab is used as a lintel). (Some curious working drawings remain on the east as well as on the wall of west sides of this transept.

of the Stable of Christ,\* if this last was not in one of the recesses on the west side of the passage to the undercroft of the Chapter House.

The fifth division will not delay us long, being only the upper part over the three eastern bays of choir, the last of the great changes which left the Church of St. Andrew as we now see it. For this the apse of the third work, with its triforium and clerestory, was removed, destroying the great pinnacle on the south, and most of that on the north side. They erected a new square end, three arches farther east, and an unusual triforium (if it may be so termed), with a clerestory having windows of three lights; afterwards re-casting the rest of the second work of the choir westward over Josceline's three arches, changing only the front of the wall, and building up the triforium rear arches (of the date of new nave), this work being before, in design, precisely similar to that of the present transepts.

\* "From the valuation of the Archdeaconry of Wells taken from the First Fruits Office when Polydore Virgil was Archdeacon:—

In Annuali pensione Soluta Communario ecclesiæ Wellen versus sustentationem iij Capellanorum Celebrantium pro animabus Willelmi Button et Willelmi Button quondam epis. coporum Wellen	...	...	...	10,,00,,00
Annualis pensio soluta prætato Communaris ratione ap- propriatarum ecclesiarum de Doultynge et Est Brent	...	...	...	01,,06,,08
Annualis pensio soluta Thesaurario dicta ecclesiæ pro certis cereis sustentandis in Scabello Crucifixi	...	...	...	01,,06,,08
Cuidam vicario choralis celebranti ad altare Sancti Calixti in dicta ecclesiæ pro anima Petri de Cicestria annualum ex ordinatione	...	...	...	01,,15,,00
Solutio pro Obitu Petri de Cicestria in Choro inter minis- tros dictæ ecclesiæ ex ordinatione	...	...	...	00,,10,,00
Annualis Solutio Vicario Choralis præbendæ de Hewish et Brent pro stallo choralis ejusdam præbendæ annuatim	...	...	...	02,,00,,00
Et pro feodo. Johannis Eye receptoris dicti archidia- conatus per annum Willi priest senesichalli ibidem cu pro feodo	...	...	...	02,,00,,00
Solutio alio Vicario Choralis ex ordinatione	...	...	...	00,,15,,00
				19,,13,,04



The single lancets of clerestory were altered to three lights, to be somewhat in harmony with their own. This work must have been rather a continuance than separate from the building of the Lady Chapel, the Perpendicular style first dimly seen in it and in east windows of choir aisles becoming here more marked. No doubt the old eastern chapels had been preserved as long as possible; and the whole of the columns in the eastern part of the church were therefore built last. The remarkable fragment of wall now doing duty as a reredos to the communion space, looks as if it had been part of the west wall of these old chapels. If so, there may have been an open space behind the early apse, as existed at one time at St. David's Cathedral.

Mention is made of the Chapel of St. Salvator in the angle of the choir, and of a pix of St. Michael in the angle of the presbytery. In 1381, William de Odcombe gives a great figure of St. Peter for the choir; (it is said to be on the right side of the tomb of Bishop Ralph, of Shrewsbury, where he has an obit). This gives us some idea of the time before which this extension of the choir had taken place. In 1381 the Chapter obtained a grant of a quarry on the glebe, at Doultling, in the fields named "East Hay Farling" and "Chenelynych" (still known by the names of Hayfurlong and Chillinge). I am sorry to say the stone used at the Cathedral since that time has never stood so well as what they had obtained before. I have not been able to discover with certainty, however, where the former was obtained.

There were reredoses to the backs of all these altars, the fate of some are told by the Fabric Roll for 1550, which states that the tabernacle work to those next the altar in choir were sold to the Lord Suffragan of Wells for 9s. I have not been able to discover who was Suffragan

Bishop in that year. A William Finch was so in 1538, Rector of West Camel, in May 8, 1544, and a Prebendary of Wells (of that name, I think, was of the number), January 6, 1577.\* No sure evidence of any vaulting of the chancel can be found until the erection of the present Perpendicular-pointed waggon groining, at which time the front shafts of choir arches received alteration all the way to the floor, as may be seen by a glance at the carved caps. At this time the flying buttresses were added, consequently the stumps of their terminal pinnacles (now lost) are more Perpendicular than the walls they butt against.

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The result of the building of the 5th division was to fill up the great gap before existing between the present Lady Chapel and that point where the old circular or octagonal apse (the work of the date of new nave) had ended the former Cathedral, and produce the present length and proportion of the building. Other later alterations, but not of such consequence, took place. The introduction of Perpendicular tracery into all the windows, the vaulting of the choir and its aisles; the building of the upper part of west towers, and the addition at the same time of all those figures above the great marble string at top of the west-front. The whole having little effect on the general mass, with the one great exception of the addition to west towers. These last not having received the intended leaden spires fail to produce the result they eventually will when sooner or later they are erected.

\* "William Finch is no doubt the man. He was consecrated *Suffragan Bishop of Taunton* Apl. 7, 1538, and died 1559. He was one of the Suffragans created by virtue of the Act 26 Hen. viij. c. 14. I think your rector and prebendary may be the same, but if so the date of latter must be wrong. See Stubb's Reg. Sac." Information kindly obtained from Rev. Wm. Hunt.

I cannot close without returning my best thanks to the Dean and Chapter for the facilities they, through the kindness of Canon Bernard, granted me for obtaining access to several of their records; to Prebendary Clarke, for valuable information regarding the Lady Chapel in the Cloisters; to Mr. Freeman and to J. H. Parker, C.B.; to Mr. J. O. Scott, who placed the whole of Sir Gilbert Scott's drawings connected with St. David's at my disposal; to Mr. T. Serel for the loan of an extraordinary quantity of MS. materials (including those of Dean Creswick), bearing on almost every point that can be raised relative to the history of the Cathedral—so valuable indeed that I trust it may some day find a secure deposit among the collections towards that most desirable thing—a good county history of Somerset; above all to Mr. F. H. Dickinson, of Kingsweston, whose self-sacrificing labours among dusty MSS. and mediæval Latin, both at Wells and in London, and to whose unsparing kindness in supplying me with translations, is owing a very large part of the matter here put together by his deeply obliged servant, the humble writer of these notes, in his effort to fulfil the request your Society did him the honour of making through Mr. Freeman.

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