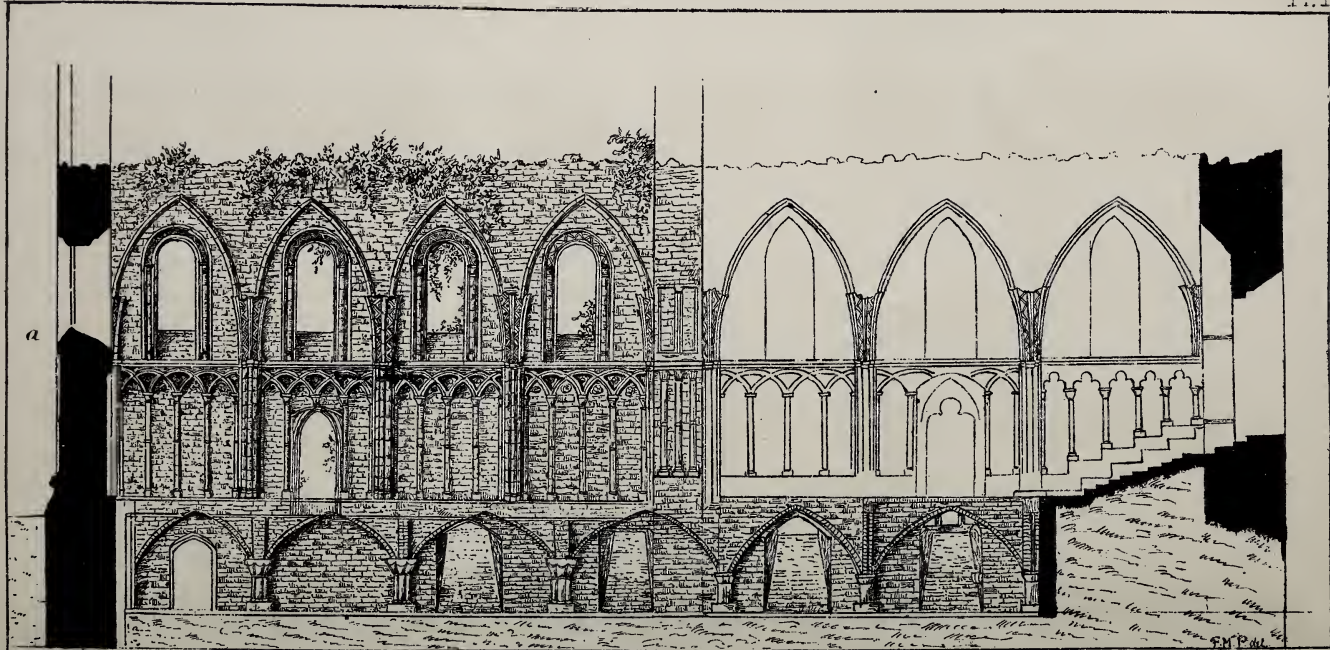


GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

Pl. I



ELEVATION OF NORTH SIDE OF CHAPEL AND GALILEE



S. MARY'S CHURCH

called in later times

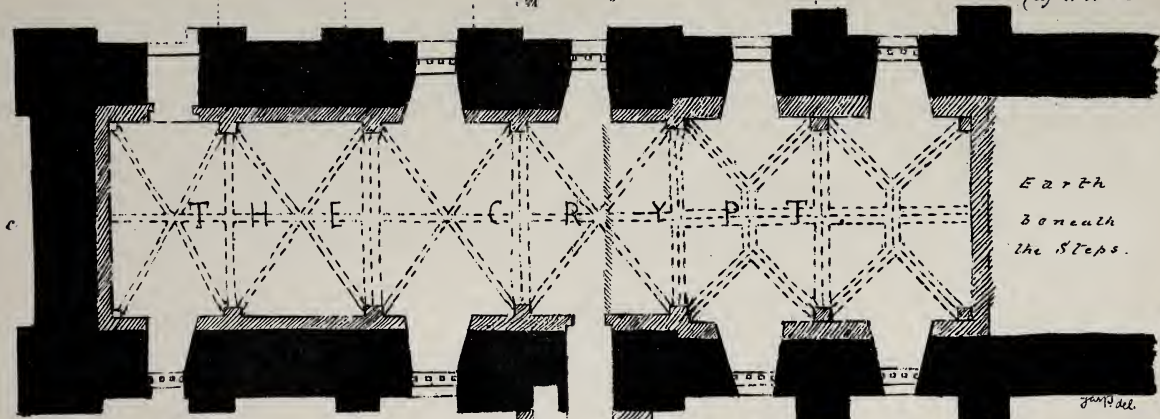
S. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

THE GALILEE.

(so called)†

PLAN OF CHAPEL AND GALILEE

(after Willis)



Earth
beneath
the Steps.

Jeap^d del.

PLAN OF CRYPT, BENEATH
S. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL - GLASTONBURY.
(After Willis.)

0 5 10 15 20 30 40 50
Scale of feet

Glastonbury: The Abbey Ruins.¹

BY JAMES PARKER, M.A., F.G.S.

The following summary of the lecture includes the observations made on the spot, together with further historical details,² and references to the sources from which they are obtained.

S. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

I NEED not dwell upon the details of the legends of the early churches of Glastonbury: how Joseph of Arimathea is said to have built a church here of wood in A.D. 63, in honour of the Blessed Virgin; and how Phaganus and Diruvianus built another of stone, in honour of S.S. Peter and Paul, in A.D. 166; how S. David built another, and King Ine a fourth, though at this point, as I have already said in my lecture of this morning, we pass from the region of legend into that of history. In one of the passages in William of Malmesbury's treatise "*De antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*,"³ it is implied that all four churches were erected on different sites, in a line with one another, from west to east; but on the other hand, it seems that there were only the two churches standing in his time [c. 1130], and that what he has written of the position of the other two is derived only from legend.

That which seems to stand out clear from amidst a mass of vague and incredible statements, is that an early wooden church was built here, and was for long preserved as an object of

(1). See Part I, pp. 43-48.

(2). I have taken the opportunity offered me of revising the reporter's notes, to insert such historical matter which neither the time at my disposal, nor the circumstances of open-air lecturing gave me an opportunity to introduce when on the spot.

(3). *William of Malmesbury*, p. 53. This treatise is printed in Hearne's edition of *Adam of Domesday* (and from this I shall quote throughout, in preference to Gale's edition). The exact date of the original treatise is not ascertainable. It was after 1126, and probably not later than 1135.

veneration. We are not dependent wholly upon the traditions collected by William of Malmesbury in his book, as to the existence of the "wooden church," for two of the charters, copies of which are preserved elsewhere, are dated as having been signed in this "*Lignea Basilica*."⁴ How long this wooden church was preserved seems doubtful. The name possibly survived the actual structure,⁵ and we soon meet with another name more frequently applied to the same building, namely, "*vetusta ecclesia*," or as Malmesbury writes—which is called the "*ealdechirch*." Nowhere does Malmesbury imply that the wooden church was standing in his time. But what is certain is that it was dedicated to S. Mary. It is certain, also, that a later and greater church was built to the east of it, but probably never actually part of it; and that the building by which we are standing, and now called S. Joseph's Chapel, occupies the site of the "*vetusta ecclesia*" dedicated to S. Mary; while the ruins beyond occupy the site of the larger church, dedicated to S.S. Peter and Paul. There is no suspicion of these dedications having been shifted, and though errors sometimes creep in from confusing the dedications of certain altars with the dedication of the churches, there is no room for such error here.

Now the special feature of this Church of S. Mary, or Lady Chapel, as there is some reason to suppose that it was afterwards called, is that it stands at the west end of the church, and was once evidently an absolutely distinct building. The common position for a Lady Chapel is at the east end of the minster; but at Durham an example exists at the west end, and there was a special reason for it in that case. In many cases too

(4). The one of King Ine, A.D. 704. [See *Kemble's Codex Diplom.*, No. 51.] The other of King Cnut, A.D. 1032. [See *K.C.D.*, No. 747.] Copies of these are found in the Secretum, or Chartulary of Glastonbury, preserved in the Bodleian.

(5). The wooden church of York, it will be remembered, was afterwards enclosed with a stone one, which was again enclosed by a still larger church; but here the analogy with Glastonbury ceases, because there by extension westward as well as eastward, the individuality of the first church was entirely lost.

there is a Lady Chapel adjoining the north transept, and in one, the south transept. There are also many examples where the Lady Chapel is a separate building, though not one, perhaps, where it is so much detached as this must have been before the Galilee connected it with the west end of the church. But we must bear in mind that there are special reasons why it stands where it does: the first church had been originally dedicated to S. Mary, so another chapel dedicated to her was not absolutely needed, though of course such may have been built elsewhere.⁶ When the larger church was required there was probably no room to build to the westward of S. Mary's Church, or from the nature of the ground it was unadvisable; consequently the larger church was built eastward. And also, whereas in many cases the earlier and smaller church has been absorbed, so to speak, into the larger church, here the halo of reverence with which the antiquity of the building seems to have been surrounded, and the special sanctity which it obtained on account of the burials, or relics, within it, caused it to be preserved as a separate structure.

The starting point in the architectural history of this building is the year 1184, when, as we learn from Adam of Domerham's Chronicle, "In the summer, on S. Urban's day (May 25), the whole of the monastery, except a chamber with its chapel, and the bell tower, was destroyed by fire."⁷ We learn from the same writer, as well as from the chronicle of John of Glastonbury, who had access to much the same series of records, that

(6). The "Sacellum in Capella S. Mariæ a boreali parte chori" (Leland, *Itin.* iii. fol. 86) is explained by Professor Willis to be a small chapel or oratory, built out from the north side, towards the eastern end of this chapel, and not on the north side of the choir of the great church. Willis' *Glastonbury*, p. 14. Undoubtedly Leland is no longer speaking of the choir of the large church, for after giving a list of tombs in the choir, and then in the nave, he speaks of the Chapel of S. Mary. It may be therefore, that he refers to this chapel, though I confess to being unable to see the traces of the Sacellum in the ruins of the present building. It must also be admitted that in the view given by Stukely (dated 1723) one of the chapels on the east side of the north transept is marked as "S. Mary's Chapel," and in the letterpress he writes "On the north side is S. Mary's Chapel, as they told me, used as a stable, the manger where the altar stood."

(7). *Adam of Dom.*, Hearne, p. 333.

Henry II, after the fire, committed Glastonbury to Ralph Fitz-Stephen, one of his chamberlains; and that "he completed the Church of S. Mary of *square stone* of most splendid work, in the place where from the beginning the *old church* had stood, sparing nothing which could add to its adornment." It was dedicated, so John of Glastonbury adds, "by Reginald, Bishop of Bath, on S. Barnabas' day (June 11), *about 1186.*"⁸ I do not stop now to question the dates, but I think the care shown by the insertion of the word 'about' adds to our confidence in the general accuracy of the writer's statement. Probably there was no year given in the register from which he copied, and he therefore judged of the date from the sequence of other entries as nearly as he could. There can be no doubt whatever that the existing building (that is, the four westernmost bays of the whole structure), is the church meant in this passage as being dedicated on S. Barnabas' day; there can be no question that this was what they began building first of all after the fire of 1184, leaving the larger church still in ruins.

One or two questions arise, however, not easy to answer. Was the site of the original "*vetusta ecclesia*" identical with what we have now, and was its eastern wall originally in a line with the wall marked in the plan as separating the chapel from the site of the Galilee? And secondly, was there a space between the two churches, such as that now occupied by the Galilee?

As to the "*vetusta ecclesia*," the chronicle above referred to, describing the building and dedication of the structure, says distinctly that "the new Church of S. Mary was built in the place where, *from the beginning*, the *old* had stood." This should not, however, be taken too literally, for it is very possible that the older church would have been enclosed, and the remains of the burnt church not moved away till the present was built around it. They would have been, at that time, very careful of disturbing the graves and relics of the

(8). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 335. *John of Glaston*, p. 180.

saints, and as they had no building ready⁹ as yet to which they could translate them, it is more probable that they built new foundations round the outside of the old church, than that they attempted to make use of the old ones (which probably were not of much value), or that they dug them out in order to place new ones in their exact position.

As to the other question. First it might be assumed that the western wall of the larger church stood nearly where it now does, and that the space between the two buildings was open; but there are one or two considerations which might be advanced against this theory. The fire evidently consumed *the two churches*. Now fifty feet space would probably have formed a limit to the flames, unless we pre-suppose a strong wind, and unusual facilities for the flames to spread. Still it may be contended that it was very possible that there was a building existing here of some kind, and that it was this to which William of Malmesbury obscurely refers as the Church of S. David, or of the "Twelve Converts," as being in a line with the others. If he had only described what he saw there would have been some chance of coming to a conclusion on the question of the churches here, but as he is in this passage evidently telling either what the monks told him, or what he deduced from the records, it is hopeless to obtain trustworthy evidence.

Another paragraph, however, elsewhere might be said to imply that the two churches were joined, for our author in recording the burial place of the Abbot Tica (*c.* A.D. 750-760), says that when he departed this life, he had a remarkable tomb made for him in the right hand corner of the greater church,

(9). It is true Adam of Domerham, soon after the commencement of the rebuilding of the new church (Hearne, p. 335), writes, "*At this time* the bodies of S. Patrick, from the right side, of the altar of Indractus, and his companions from the left side, and S. Gildas from the pavement before the altar, were dug up, and put *into shrines*;" but these are special cases, and the putting them into shrines was probably with the view of securing more offerings towards the building; they were no doubt exhibited still in the Church of S. Mary. The position of the relics, as recorded by Adam of Domerham, does not agree exactly, it may be observed, with that given in William of Malmesbury's treatise.

near the *entry* of the old (church).¹⁰ It may however be said that this may mean only that there was a passage or some connecting building between the two.

Another and last hypothesis would be that the new church, dedicated to S.S. Peter and Paul, was commenced at the eastern end of the old church, and that the site had been followed by the later structure, up to William of Malmesbury's time. I shall, however, have something to say upon the probable length of the larger church later on.

Now S. Joseph's Chapel, as we see it, the foundation of which was laid in, or soon after 1184, and completed ready for consecration in, or soon after 1186, is consequently all of one date and style from the ground to the top of what remains of the walls. The eastern wall, as the plan shows, was removed when the walls connecting the chapel with the western end of the church and enclosing what is called the Galilee, were erected. We have no record as to when this Galilee was designed, but it will be seen that it formed a grand porch of three bays, with a long flight of steps extending the whole width of its eastern end, as shewn by the marks in the north wall now remaining. It had buttresses and windows ranging with the series of windows of S. Joseph's Chapel. It was evidently an after thought, and was included in the building of the larger church which went on year after year as funds were forthcoming, or as money could be set aside from the ordinary revenues of the abbey, and hence we do not find any notice of it amongst the benefactions recorded by Adam of Domerham, and John of Glastonbury. No abbey account rolls exist, and even if they did, it is not often easy to fit the weekly wages and the varieties of the material purchased to portions of building remaining. All that can be said is that the style of architecture seems to shew that the Galilee is of the 13th century, and quite fifty years later than the chapel. In its present dilapi-

(10). "In dextero angulo *majoris ecclesie* juxta introitum *vetustæ*." William of Malmesbury, *De Antiq. Glaston.*, p. 28. See also *ibid.*, p. 63.

dated state we find no remains of the southern side, and of the northern side so small a portion has survived, that there is not much to be said about the style; but it will be worth while to examine carefully one or two points at the junction of the old work with the new. The exact site of the eastern wall, which was pulled down, is clearly marked by a projection forming a kind of pilaster, over which in its altered state a large arch was evidently thrown: it is probable that the bases and columns which ornament it, and even the ashlar work, with the hollows corresponding with the columns in front, is material used up from the older building. In the small portion remaining, one may trace, in spite of the ivy, the junction, almost stone for stone.¹¹ Whether this wall had an eastern window, or was originally pierced by a doorway, there are no traces sufficient to show, and no documents to throw any light on the subject. The walls of the additional work were evidently set back about one foot on either side, so that the Galilee was two feet wider than the chapel on the inside; but on the outer side the two presented one continuous line, the ten or twelve inches therefore in reality representing only the difference of the thickness in each of the two walls.

There is another point deserving attention, namely the junction of the Galilee with the western wall of the large church. Only a small portion remains, but it is sufficient to show, it seems to me, from the state of the bonding, that the Galilee was not added after the western wall was completed, but that the walls were carried up together, and that the idea of uniting the two suggested itself during the building of the western wall, and when it came to the question as to what kind of porch should be provided. It is very unfortunate that we have not a larger portion remaining; had a few feet more been preserved, we might have been more certain of the design.

And now as to the practical use of this large porch. As a

(11). I observe in the masonry of the south wall, a bonding stone, to all appearance taken from the base of one of the buttresses, and used up in an inverted position.

porch, of course it must be considered as part of the design of the large church. As a Galilee, it must be taken in connection with the chapel, and I believe the only passage which can be said to throw any light upon the use is that which John of Glastonbury has preserved from the register, in respect of the benefactions of Abbot Adam of Sodbury [1322-1335]. "He assigned to the office of the Sacrist twenty marks annually for the maintenance of four priests well skilled in singing, who, together with the two anciently appointed to the 'Galilee,' and the other two who are supplied by the sacrist and the almoner, shall daily perform the service, with melodious singing in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, clad in surplice and amice, and shall come after the same manner to the solemn masses of the choir."¹² We may perhaps from these words understand the Galilee as serving for the Church of S. Mary the same purpose as the choir served afterwards for the larger church. It is impossible, of course, to say what the interior arrangements were. The steps extending from side to side prevented the placing any altars against the east end, as was the case in the Galilee at Durham; there must therefore have been a screen of some kind, against which the altar stood, and this screen or reredos was no doubt a low one, reaching a height, perhaps, but little above that of the level of the top of the steps—say in all some seven or eight feet. Standing, then, with his back to the western wall of S. Joseph's Chapel, the spectator would, on looking over the screen, and through the open western doors, obtain a view of the whole length of the grand nave, rising by steps up to the space beneath the tower, and then probably by further steps to the choir, and the east end where the altar stood. Such an interior view could not probably have been found elsewhere in England.

As I have already said, there appear to have been only those two churches in existence in historical times, viz., the

(12). "Cum duobus de Galilæa antiquitus ordinatis." *John of Glast.* (Hearne), p. 268.

ecclesia major and the *ecclesia vetusta*. No mention of any other church is found in any of the records which we possess. While the one church bears the name invariably of the “*ecclesia major*,” the other is usually known either by the name of “*ecclesia vetusta*,” or *ecclesia S. Mariæ*. And in references to the saints, etc., buried within it, and gifts made to it, which I am about to detail, it will be seen that it is described equally under both these titles, and they can refer but to one and the same building. It will be seen that from the time of Abbot Michael (1253) onwards we find no longer any reference to the Church of S. Mary—but to the “*Capella*” of S. Mary. That this is the same building may perhaps be said to be not proved, although the evidence, as already said, points in that direction.

William of Malmesbury, in referring to S. David, says: “Some, indeed, affirm that the relics of the holy and excellent man, together with those of S. Patrick, had been deposited in the “*vetusta ecclesia*;”¹³ and again, a little later on, he says that “King Ine had caused the bodies of the martyr, Indractus, and his companions to be translated from the place of their martyrdom, and buried in that same church. His bones were placed in a stone pyramid on the left of the altar, but those of the others beneath the pavement, as chance fell or care determined.”¹⁴ And to this list should be added the remains of one of the early Abbots, by name Hemgislus, in the account of whose death the same record says “he rests ‘in *vetusta ecclesia*.’”¹⁵

In speaking generally of the many saints buried in this church, William of Malmesbury expatiates on the sanctity of the building and the reverence in which it is held; he writes,

“In it, besides S. Patrick and the others of whom I have spoken, there are preserved the human remains of many saints,

(13). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 26.

(14). *Ibid*, p. 28.

(15). *Ibid*, p. 51.

nor is there any space in the building which is free of their ashes. So much so, that the stone pavement, and, indeed, the sides of the Altars, and the very Altar itself, above and below, is crammed with the multitude of the relics. Rightly, therefore, it is called the heavenly sanctuary on earth, of so large a number of saints is it the repository."¹⁶

And a little later on he describes the stone pavement: "Where also you may observe in the pavement, stones arranged with great ingenuity, in alternate triangles and squares, and marked with leaden patterns. If I believe that in these there is something of sacred mystery contained, I do no wrong to Religion."¹⁷

Then, too, we have the account of the discovery in this chapel of the small Sapphire Altar, supposed to have been presented to S. David. The story is unquestionably an interpolation by the later copyist in Malmesbury's treatise, made probably soon after the fire of 1184. But still it represents the belief of the twelfth century, and the discovery which is recorded may well be an absolute fact. The passage runs: "But when this oft-mentioned stone had for a long while lain concealed, having been hidden of old for fear of the accidents of war, no one knowing the place, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, Abbot of Glastonbury, of *pious memory*, found it in a certain doorway of the *Church of S. Mary*, and adorned it exquisitely with gold and silver and precious stones, as it now appears."¹⁸

(16). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 27. I might quote more in the same strain. One illustration I must, however, add, characteristic of the habits of the time: "Antiquitas et Sanctorum congeries excivit reverenciam loco, ut vix ibi quis noctu præsumat excubias agere, vix interdiu excrescens flegma projicere."

(17). *Ibid.*, p. 27. I do not know the precise meaning of "lapides plumbo sigillatos," but probably they were small incised slabs, in which the pattern was brought level with the surface, by being filled with lead, instead of the black mastic, traces of which are sometimes visible in the incised slabs of a later date.

(18). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 42. The words "of pious memory" imply that the Abbot was dead, though not perhaps a long while. He died 1171. But William of Malmesbury died nearly 30 years before this, so could not have written it. In the chronicle of Adam of Domesday this account of Bishop Henry ornamenting the sapphire altar which he had found in "quodam hostio ecclesie B. Mariæ," occurs in its proper place. [*Ad. of D.*, p. 317.]

And now to speak of some of the gifts. Sigericus, or Siger, Bishop of Wells, who died in 997, is recorded to have given seven sets of hangings to Glastonbury, ornamented with white lions, and with which the "*vetus ecclesia*" should be hung throughout on his anniversary.¹⁹

Later on, Walkelin [le Warren], when he granted the church of Winford to the abbey of which Herlewin, his brother, was abbot (1102-1120), is recorded to have laid the deed-of-gift on the altar, "in illa vetusta ecclesia quæ *alde chirche* vocatur."²⁰ Lastly, under Abbot Henry (1126-71), a rental from Puckle Church was granted for a wax candle to be kept burning in *the Church of S. Mary*, which, because of its great age, was called *Ealde Churche*.²¹ I perhaps also should not omit to mention certain indulgencies granted to the church of S. Mary by Reginald, Bp. of Bath and Wells (1174-92), and by Walter, Bp. of Waterford.²²

After this date, as far as I can see, we cease to hear of the Church of S. Mary, but we hear frequently of the Chapel of S. Mary. As already said, it is open to doubt whether another chapel, with an Altar in it to S. Mary, was erected in the North Transept; or whether the church of S. Mary became the Lady Chapel. Professor Willis adopts the latter view without even question.

Abbot Michael of Ambresbury, who died 1253, left two silver cups and two silver basins, which he had vowed to *the Chapel of S. Mary*; ²³ and in the time of John of Taunton (1270-90), Adam le Eye leaves a rental, from which is to be distributed by the hands of the monk who is warden (*custos*), five shillings annually, half of which is to go to supply a candle on the five

(19). "Hic dedit vii. pallia Glastoniæ cum albis leonibus de quibus *vetus ecclesia* in anniversario ejus tota ornatur." W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 92.

(20). From the "Auctarium" at the end of the same MS. at Cambridge, from which Hearne has printed *Adam of Domerham*. Hearne, p. 618. [MS. folio 121a.]

(21). *Adam of Dom.*, Hearne, p. 309.

(22). From charters, &c., printed by Hearne at the end of *John of Glas.* p. 385.

(23). *Adam of D.*, p. 523, *John of Glast.*, p. 224.

chief feasts of the Virgin in the said *chapel*;²⁴ and about the same time William Hogheles gives a rental of 13d. (payable in four quarterly payments of 3¼d. each), to keep up the light of the *Chapel of S. Mary* of Glastonbury.²⁵ Abbot Adam of Sodbury, who died 1335, amongst other gifts, gave eight surplices, and eight decent amices for the *Chapel of S. Mary*, for vesting the chaplains;²⁶ while Abbot John de Breynton, who died 1342, gave to the *Chapel of S. Mary* a red suit with gold thread (which afterwards brother John Payn, the sacristan, gave away to the Church of S. Benignus).²⁷

The above series of references will show the various ways in which this building is spoken of from the 11th century onwards: never, it will be observed, by the name of S. Joseph's Chapel.²⁸

The Crypt beneath S. Joseph's Chapel.

Besides the remains of S. Joseph's Chapel, and of the Galilee, there is a feature to which attention should be drawn; namely, their two crypts. The first question to be asked is, "Had S. Mary's Church, as built in 1184-86, a crypt?" A careful study of all the details, with the measurements and notes made by the late Professor Willis, leaves one in no doubt. It had not. The present crypt was built, or rather "dug out," in the fifteenth century. It will be seen at once that the windows of the crypt are most irregularly cut through the

(24). From charters, etc., printed by Hearne at the end of John of Glast., p. 366.

(25). *Ibid*, p. 368.

(26). *John of Glast.*, p. 269. See also *ante*, p. 32, where Abbot Adam assigns 20 marcs for the daily service in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin. The passage however does not prove that the Chapel of the Virgin and the Galilee were parts of the same building.

(27). *Ibid*, p. 271.

(28). I must add that I have not met with the name of S. Joseph's Chapel in any single document, or in any description previous to the 18th century. Leland does not know the name, at least he does not give it. I am rather curious to know who was the author of the name. Was it given after the Dissolution with a view of staying the hand of the spoiler? or is it an instance of the slipshod and blundering nomenclature, not infrequent with seventeenth and eighteenth century antiquarian writers, and which frequently give rise to myths, which undermine the true history?

side walls, nor are there any traces that, in the original structure, there were any such in their places; nor, indeed, are there any signs of a doorway earlier than the one of the 15th century. This, of itself, would be sufficient evidence: but when it is found that the new work is of so different a kind to the old—when the walls are seen to be faced with ashlar, belonging to work undoubtedly of the 15th century,—when we see, too, that by the insertion of the crypt the floor of the chapel must have been raised, so as to be level with the original bench-table,—the matter, taking all the circumstances into account, is put beyond all question. The only argument on the other side presenting any difficulty, is the danger which would have been incurred in digging out twelve feet of earth, unless the foundations of the chapel went down to that depth. Not having had any opportunity for investigating the question (and it could not be settled without some digging on the outside, for there is no opening on the inside, as far as I can discover, sufficient for distinguishing the older work), I cannot say whether the foundations go down or not. If they did not, it was a matter of great risk; and unless it was found that the lias beds were exceedingly firm, it could hardly have been attempted without much positive danger, even with the two feet of extra walling introduced on each side.²⁹ It is possible, however, that the walls of the 12th century building were carried down to that depth; since it might have been that it was necessary to reach a bed of the harder lias rock, or it might have been thought advisable to go down deep, in order absolutely to enclose the “older church,” supposing that the theory which I have advanced, as to this enclosure, is a correct one. But even if, in the fifteenth century, they found the foundations extending to this depth, it was still a hazardous thing to do, to dig out the middle.

(29). I reckon from wall to wall in the crypt little more than 20 feet. From wall to wall in the chapel itself above 24 feet. In the Galilee, the walls being set back each a foot, there is some three feet gain in thickness on each side below.

It will be seen also that the same irregularities in the position of the windows, when viewed in connection with the design of the upper portion, are apparent equally in the two eastern bays of the crypt, beneath the Galilee, as in the four western bays beneath the chapel. This shows that in the 13th century, when they erected the Galilee, they had no idea of inserting a crypt, as they would have left openings for the windows, instead of doing as they have done, namely, made two doorways, in places where it will be seen their position rendered it impossible to insert a window beneath; and (so far as can be judged from what is preserved on the north side), when they made the windows in the 15th century in the crypt, they had to block up the two doorways above, which, till then, had led into the Galilee, and gave access to the steps leading up into the larger church, without passing through the chapel.

We read of their removing relics of saints, and placing them in shrines, as the great church was nearing its completion, and so it is quite possible that the ground of the chapel, by the close of the 14th century, no longer answered to the pious description given by William of Malmesbury and by the interpolating scribe, to which I have already referred. Consequently there was no religious scruple in digging the earth out. Possibly, also, there were reasons why a crypt was needed. The accession of relics required larger space for displaying them, and probably new benefactors required their tombs to be erected within the buildings; hence it was found that neither in S. Joseph's Chapel, nor in the Galilee, could such be provided, without interfering with the due celebration of the services, or spoiling the general aspect.

It will be observed that the crypt is not extended beneath the third or eastern bay of the Galilee, as this would have disturbed the steps, and perhaps endangered the western wall of the church.

The two bays which were excavated beneath the Galilee, are found to exhibit architectural details sufficiently different

from the rest, perhaps, to show that they were erected first; that is, the architect did not disturb the chapel proper till the crypt under the Galilee was completed. It will be observed, too, that the four western bays extend to, and are united to, the two eastern bays, and that they do not coincide with the bays of the chapel above. The explanation of the latter circumstance is, that in the upper part of the building the space of seven feet, where once the old eastern wall stood, was left, or, rather, was occupied by a broad pier on either side, with an arch above, as already explained; while below, no space being left answering to it, the vaulting of the western bays begins immediately from the line of the eastern side of this thick wall. In other words, the 12th century architect had above a distance of about 53 feet to divide into four equal parts; while below, the 15th century architect had a clear 60 feet, and this space he also divided into four equal parts; consequently the divisions did not coincide. Had there been originally a crypt, no doubt the architect would have followed the older divisions. As it was, they removed the foundations of the eastern wall (if these actually went so deep, which I much doubt), and treated the space as if nothing of the kind had ever been there. The irregularity of the work of the two levels is seen clearly by looking at the elevation of the structure itself.

One other point should be noticed, though of little importance, perhaps, to the history of the building, but it has misled observers. The voussoirs, that is, the stones of the vaulting supporting the crypt, as far as they remain, are of twelfth century character, and some have thought, therefore, that the crypt *must* therefore be of that date. But this is not sufficient evidence by itself; while, on the other hand, the form of the arch is sufficient to show that it is not of that period. It may be contended that it is old material used up again; but then it would not follow that the material had already been used previously on the spot where we find it. Professor Willis suggests that it might have come from the chapter-house built by Henry

of Blois (1126-71), which is recorded to have been rebuilt early in the 14th century, at least, the foundations were laid by Abbot Fromund (1303-22), and though the whole was not completed till Abbot Chinnock's time, who was appointed in 1374, one would have supposed that this stone would have been used up in the many buildings going on simultaneously, and scarcely kept till almost the close of the 15th century; for neither the eastern part, nor the western part, can be put earlier than this date.

Judging by the style of the windows, the crypts might well be part of the work of Abbot Beere (1492-1524), who, according to some notes taken by Leland (from a book which he says Abbot Beere had given himself to the Abbey), spent a considerable sum in building, and added certain chapels and vaults to different parts of the church. When we look to the springing of the vault, we find without doubt an abacus and capital combined, in a rude imitation of the Norman style, but such as was certainly never cut in the twelfth century, the springer being of a unique, not to say extraordinary, shape. Now to all appearance the voussoirs are of the same kind of stone, and of the same style of workmanship and general appearance. Of course it would be argued that the respond was made to match the voussoirs, but I think it must be admitted that those who cut one may well have cut the other. And further, there is this consideration which militates against this being a case of old material used up. The voussoirs of a semicircular arch would not work into an expanded, almost flat, arch, unless re-cut, or at least here and there others of a less rapid angle introduced. I see no traces of anything of this kind. The voussoirs seem to me to be uniform, and to be cut for the place they were intended to fill, and the capital, abacus and springer, part of one and the same design. I admit there is a clumsy appearance about the whole, but then I think it is capable of another explanation. The monks in the 15th century believed their

church to be the veritable "vetusta ecclesia," itself, and if they knew better it would still have been expedient that others should believe it. To have put in a crypt, strictly of their own style of building, would have altogether destroyed the illusion of this being the very burial place of the saints, beginning with S. Joseph, and including every name of the saints of Britain, or early England, which could be thought of. The architect had therefore instructions to build in the Norman style. He took for the character of his mouldings the earliest piece of work he could find standing, and designed his capital, abacus, and arch on that model. He was not successful in his imitation, at least not more so than several architects were, some forty years ago, when trying to build in the Norman style. I look upon the crypt then as an insertion, and every stone cut for the purpose, and none earlier than about Abbot Beere's time.

The Well.

Connected with the crypt is a Well. Of this I can tell nothing. It is not mentioned, so far as I can see in any of the documents through which I have gone to discover whatever notes I could of any buildings mentioned. It has been thought, because the arch in it has Norman work, that the well is of Norman date, and that it was an ordinary external well, of no special sanctity, and used for the purposes of cleaning the church, etc.: as there is no document referring to it, it is impossible to say whether it is so or not. As it is so close to where the pyramids stood and where King Arthur was found, I think, if it had been known in the 12th century, it would have been turned to account in describing the wonders of the spot. But my examination of the masonry (so far as the light and time at my disposal would allow) failed absolutely to detect any junction of the work of the 15th century with the work surrounding the well. If access was gained from the outside, and steps to the same, I should have expected to have found some traces of the breaking in of the 15th century upon the older work. I cannot say it is not there, but till I am

shewn it I shall be more inclined to think well and passage to be all of one date, and that the date of the crypt. As the arch is semicircular, the same objection to the material being used up again would not hold, as I have contended is the case with the flat crypt arches.

The Architecture of S. Joseph's Chapel.

Before quitting the subject of S. Joseph's Chapel, I would just say a word or two as to its interest and importance from a purely architectural point of view. It is a dated example, that is, we know the exact year of its foundation, and very nearly the year of its completion. It must have been commenced not earlier than the close of 1184, and it was dedicated in May, 1186, or the year after. And this is a most interesting and instructive period of architectural history. The Norman style is giving way to the Gothic, but it is giving way gradually; the pointed arch and the slender columns, the undercut and delicate ornaments, did not all come in at once, but grew, as it were, gently and by degrees, out of the Norman. Of this transition style, no more instructive example could perhaps be found. The round arch is still retained, but the mouldings are no longer the heavy and solid squares and rounds of the Norman style. There is a general lightness in the arrangement which is beginning, as it were, to dawn, and if we had but the original vaulting preserved, this would have been more apparent. Many of the shafts, of which there are traces, were evidently detached, and slender in proportion to their height; while the intersecting arcade, it will be observed, combines the round arch with the acutely-pointed. Each pair of columns taken alternately are surmounted by a round arch; while each pair taken consecutively are surmounted by a pointed arch. In a sense, too, the ornamentation (the little which is left of it)³⁰ displays the characteristic ornamental

(30). The ornamental bosses introduced into the upper portion of the panels of the arcade seem to me to be rather different to the rest. They may have been carved in 1186, but I confess to thinking they must be additions.

mouldings of both the styles. The zigzag moulding so characteristic of the Norman style by being undercut, and so to speak duplicated, has produced an ornament not altogether unlike that of the tooth ornament of the Early English style. It is a great misfortune that the vaulting has been swept entirely away, only the commencing of the ribs here and there being left to show something of the skill and beauty with which the roof was designed. The portion, too, remaining of the arch which spans the space where the east wall was cut through, is suggestive of some skilful treatment which one would much like to have seen as it was carried out by the architect. More than all, perhaps, one would desire to have had handed down to us sufficient remains of the walls shewing the position of the reredos and the general arrangements of the chapel, as well as of the Galilee; and thus to have been enabled somewhat to have pictured to our imagination the appearance which the chapel must have presented, with its screen and altars, its stained glass, painted walls,³¹ and its ancient incised floor. Probably all this remained intact at the Reformation, but the notes of William of Worcester, and those of Leland give us no insight into all this. The former contents himself with dry measurements; the latter but tells us the position of some of the tombs. While bewailing the polemical hate and fury, or the wretched greed for the value of the stones, either one or the other of which, or probably both together, have robbed us of so grand and eloquent a monument of the skill and piety of past ages, all we can do is to care for and treasure up the few traces which remain to us.

(31). Traces of paintings on the walls were a few years ago visible, so one writer says.

II. THE GREATER CHURCH.

The party next proceeded to the ruins of the larger church, and having taken up a position beneath where the central tower stood, MR. JAMES PARKER continued his lecture.

We are now standing in the midst of the greater church, which, roughly speaking, may be said to be four hundred feet long. This, as you may imagine, well bears comparison with our Cathedrals. Canterbury, for instance, including the space beneath the towers at the western, and Becket's Crown at the eastern, end, is little over 500 feet; and if we add the Galilee and S. Joseph's Chapel here, which we may fairly do to make the comparison equal, I do not know but that Glastonbury has the advantage by a foot or two. The total of York is given as only 470, and while Norwich and Gloucester are about the same length as the one church of Glastonbury between the east and west walls, Chichester, Worcester, Wells, and Exeter, are some ten to twenty feet short of the 400, while Rochester is only just above 300 feet.

The history of the building, up to a certain date, followed very much that of many of our larger and ancient cathedrals and minsters. We have very few records on which to rely, and the misfortune is that we have no remains which belong to the earlier history. In the story of S. Joseph's Chapel I passed over the account of the Churches of Joseph of Arimathea, of S. Patrick, and of S. David, as little worthy of credit, but observed that the existence of the Church of Ine rests upon much surer grounds than any of those just named.

There is of course no saying what that church was like. King Ine's church (A.D. 688-728), dedicated to S. Peter and S. Paul, may well, like the church recovered by S. Augustine at Canterbury (A.D. 602), have been raised and enlarged some two hundred years after, when the roof would

need repair; and S. Dunstan, who was Abbot here, while Archbishop Odo was restoring and raising his metropolitan church (940-960), and who was an active builder in stone as well as a patron of all mechanical work in metal, would have been the most likely Abbot to have commenced such a work before he left Glastonbury himself to succeed Odo as Archbishop of Canterbury.³² Generally speaking the Danish incursions would have prevented much energy in building between the times of Dunstan and those of Cnut, and we read that the Abbots Egilward and Egilnoth (1027-77) did nothing to help the church; during that time therefore the church was going to decay. But just as Lanfranc, immediately on his appointment to Canterbury, began to build and completed his church between 1070-1077, so we may fairly accept the statement of the chronicler that Thurstan began to rebuild his church, and we may assume that he did so immediately on his appointment in 1082, and that he had completed the choir with its triforium gallery when an outbreak, to which I have to refer, took place.

The Church of Abbot Thurstan, 1082—1101.

Egilnoth (or Ailnoth), the last Saxon Abbot of Glastonbury, was, according to Gervase, deposed in the 4th Council which Lanfranc held, namely, at London, in the year 1076,³³ and to him succeeded Thurstan, in the year 1082, who from the circumstance

(32). There is no definite record of his rebuilding or enlarging his church in the short account of Dunstan which William of Malmesbury has preserved. It is perhaps implied, however, that he did something since he speaks of "*Dunstanus cujus industriâ refluoruit ecclesia*" (p. 92), and he goes on to add that he made organs for the church and two chief signa, *i.e.*, bells struck like a gong. Probably these and such like ornaments bore his name, while the registers, in which were recorded what he built, may well, during the troubles with the Danes, have been lost. And work begun by Dunstan may have been continued after he left Glastonbury, and explain the line in a short biographical notice of King Edgar (959-975), "*Glastonbury, quod Pater ejus fundavit ipse perfecit.*" [MS. quoted by Hearne, in appendix to *Adam of D.* p. 665.] It is singular, however, when Edgar's body was brought to the church they were obliged to bury it at the doorway leading from the Chapter House. It looks as if the church was not sufficiently completed for its reception. W. of M. p. 87.

(33). Gervase Actus Pontif. Cantuariensium [Twisden col., 1654] De Lanfranco.

which I have to narrate, gained, not unreasonably, an unenviable notoriety with the chroniclers. It seems this abbot, not being able to bend the English monks to his will, employed an armed force, and two or three of the monks were killed.³⁴ I must confine myself to that part of the story which concerns the building, but I must premise that the cause was a "Ritual question," namely, he wanted to introduce the Norman chants, while they held tenaciously to that which they had learnt, and were accustomed to, namely, the Gregorian. The story, as told by William of Malmesbury in Latin, differs only so much from that told in the Peterborough continuation of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle in English as might reasonably be expected in the same story, told by different chroniclers; each deriving his account from a good source. The part of the story as told in the English chronicle, relating to the church, is as follows, and under the year 1083:

"One day the Abbot went into the *Chapter House* and spake against the monks, and would misuse them, and sent after laymen, and they came into the chapter house upon the monks full armed: and then the monks were greatly afraid of them, knew not what they were to do, but fled in all directions: some ran into the *Church*, and locked the doors after them: and they went after them into the minster, and would drag them out, as they durst not go out. But a rueful thing happened there on that day. The Frenchmen broke into the *Choir* and hurled towards the altar where the monks were; and some of the young ones went up on the *Up-floor*, and kept shooting downwards with arrows towards the sanctuary, so that in the *Rood* that stood above the altar there stuck many arrows. And the wretched monks lay about the altar, and some crept under, and earnestly cried to God, imploring His mercy. . . .

(34). For his part in this scandalous business the Abbot was for a time expelled. W. of Malmesbury records that there is good reason for believing that on William Rufus coming to the throne Thurstan bribed him with 500 pounds of silver to restore him to the abbey (p. 116). He was undoubtedly restored, and there is no improbability in 500 pounds being the price.

Three were slain to death, and eighteen wounded.”³⁵

The question is, had the narrator of this story (which happened in 1083) the Church of Thurstan before him, or that of Herlewin, which was built afterwards (1101-20)?

The passage in the above chronicle is in the same handwriting as that which extends to 1121, and may therefore presumably be written at about that date. William of Malmesbury did not write his book, *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ*, much before 1130,³⁶ while Orderic Vital, in his fourth book, has a short abstract of the circumstance,³⁷ which particular book must have been written between 1125 and 1127.³⁸ Consequently, we have no direct proof that the description refers to Thurstan's Church; and we know how frequently historians apply stories, and translate details, to fit the buildings which exist at their own time. But as the three accounts seem to be all derived from an older source, and not to be copied one from another, I think we may fairly assume that the description is accurate, and that the narrator has not fitted the story to a newer and later church. The special point on which this

(35). William of Malmesbury's version (p. 114) makes the Rood struck by a single arrow, and adds an account of a miracle, how that blood issued from the wound. One of the monks had used the Rood as a means of defence; and the soldier who shot the arrow was so frightened at what he had done, that he rushed out and destroyed himself. But this divergence in a particular point does not militate against the general accuracy of the story. Again, Malmesbury makes but two slain, and fourteen wounded. It would almost look as if the story came direct from different eye-witnesses.

(36). It is true it was one of his earlier books, but he is supposed only to have been born c. 1095.

(37). Ordericus Vitalis, book iv. cap. 13.

(38). M. Delisle's preface to the edition of *Orderic Vital*, published by the Société de l'Histoire de France, cap. iii. It is rather singular that at the end of his short chapter describing this disturbance, William of Malmesbury adds, "Hujus etiam rei testis est Orosius, Anglorum Historiographus." I think this must be a blunder of the copyist for Ordericus; and if what I have said about the date of writing the two works be correct, it is quite possible for William of Malmesbury to have seen Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History*. Supposing that this line is not an insertion of the copyist, William of Malmesbury is the first writer who gives Orderic that title of Historiographer of the English. But as Orderic wrote his books irregularly—books 1 and 2, and 11 and 12, not being written till 1136, and book 13 not till 1141—it would appear that Malmesbury, if the view be taken that he wrote the line in his original copy, must by some means or another, have obtained early copies of Orderic's history as the several chapters were written.

evidence bears is the mention of the "Upp-floor" in the English MS. It finds its equivalent with William of Malmesbury in the word *Solarium*, and this would mean here a gallery over the vaulting of the aisles, opening into the church. In other words, it shows that the Church of Thurstan was a church with a choir which had aisles, and with what we call, commonly, a triforium over them. The use of the word "Solar," which simply means an upper chamber or gallery of any kind—or as it is so well expressed in the English "Up-floor"—is in several cases applied to this part of the church. In the account, for instance, of the fight in the Church of S. Donatien at Bruges, given us by Galbert de Bruges, in his chronicle of the death of Count Charles the Good of Flanders,³⁹ much of the action of the exciting drama takes place in the *Solar* of the church. It was before an altar here that the Count was murdered, and there is a vivid description of one of his followers hiding here, behind the organ, and thinking to escape by jumping down on to the top of the choir stalls. Also, when vengeance came upon the traitors, they in their turn took refuge in the Solar of the church, and cast down upon their assistants below what missiles they could obtain from the fabric. There is something similar to this in the vivid scene described as taking place at Glastonbury, where the archers from above shot their arrows or cast down their weapons upon the monks beneath.

Now in respect of Thurstan's successor, Herlewin, we are told that "he pulled down the church which Thurstan had begun,"⁴⁰ and it is interesting to remark how the History of Glastonbury seems to coincide with that of Canterbury.

I shall assume that the description of the choir, in which the soldiers mounted up into the triforium, belonged to the church

(39). It will be found printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Mar. 2, 179-219, where I have referred to it. The same chronicle is also I believe printed in Pertz, vol. xii. p. 561-619. The Day of the Assassination was Mar. 2, 1127, and all the events take place within the few days following.

(40). "Ecclesiam a prædecessore inchoatam." W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 117.

which Abbot Thurstan was building; for I have given reasons why the description did not probably belong to the new church of 1102-20, which took its place; and that it applied to the old church which Thurstan found existing when he was appointed, in 1082, is, on the whole, improbable.

It may be remarked that in the description we possess of Lanfranc's church by Edmer the singer, we find that the church at Canterbury had a triforium gallery, the wall above the arches "being set with small dark windows." This would have supplied just what the graphic account of the soldiers shooting *down* at the unfortunate monks below, from the up-floor, would imply to have existed at Glastonbury.

The Church of Abbot Herlewin, 1102-1120.

Again we must remember that at Canterbury, within twenty years of Lanfranc's completion of his church, Anselm, his successor (1093), was dissatisfied with the extent and height of the work which was done, and pulled the choir down. The chronicler gives no definite reason; he implies, however, what I have said, by adding that "Anselm erected it so much *more magnificently* that nothing like it could be seen in England."⁴¹ Just so was it at Glastonbury. In 1102 Abbot Herlewin was appointed, and all that William of Malmesbury records respecting the church is, "He pulled down to the very ground the church begun by his predecessor, *because it did not correspond with the importance of their possessions*, and began a new one on which he spent four hundred and eighty pounds."⁴²

Passing over Sigfrid, abbot from 1120-26, of whom nothing is recorded as regards building, we come to the appointment of a great builder, namely Henry of Blois, the nephew of Henry I. He had only been Abbot three years, when he was appointed to the See of Winchester, but still retained his position and emoluments of Abbot. So far as can be judged from the records of his works the abbey did not suffer from this partition

(41). William of Malmesbury *De Gestis Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 138.

(42). W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 117.

of his time and energies. When we examine the list of buildings recorded to have been erected by him, we may, I think, come to the conclusion that the new church had been pretty well completed by his two predecessors.

William of Malmesbury records the appointment of Abbot Henry in 1126 in a chapter of very few lines of a complimentary strain. He does not refer to the Abbot's appointment as having just happened when he is writing, so it may be presumed that two or three years had elapsed; but with this short chapter he terminates his treatise *De Antiquitate Glastoniae*.⁴³

Though we lose William of Malmesbury, another chronicler takes up the story from this date, namely, *Adam of Domerham*, and from the extracts which he has given us (from the Abbey Registers probably) we learn that this Abbot Henry, during his somewhat long tenure of office, erected the following buildings:

“A certain royal palace which was called ‘Castellum.’

Also the Bell Tower.

The Chapter-House, Cloister, Lavatory, Refectory, and Dormitory.

The Infirmary with its chapel.

An external Gateway, remarkable for its ‘squared stones.’

A large brewery, and many stables for horses.

These he erected from their foundations to their completion.”⁴⁴

As I am not in this lecture dealing with the buildings of the monastery generally, the only structure calling for remark is the Campanarium or Bell-tower. I see no reason for supposing it to be a detached building, and as one only is mentioned, it seems to me reasonable to suppose it formed a central tower to the church. It was frequently the case that the tower was left to the last, and as may be seen in numerous examples, the

(43). The last line of his treatise runs “Habet enim hoc proprium, ut quamquam laudanda faciat, landari tamen crubescat. Finito Libro, &c. (M.S. fol. 18b. Hearne, p. 122.) Abbot Henry was appointed in 1126, and this treatise, which was probably sent to the Abbey about 1130, is inscribed to him.

(44). *Adam of Domerham* (Hearne's ed.), p. 316.

upper stages of the tower are of a later style and date than the lower.

There can be little doubt that the new cloisters, with the chapter-house, refectory, and dormitory, &c., on three sides and with the recently-built church on the fourth, were erected much upon the same site as had been occupied by the former cloisters existing in Thurstan's time, though possibly larger in extent. Their site now is occupied by the orchard, and so far as I understand even the foundations are not to be traced.

The successor of Henry of Blois in 1171, a certain Prior of Winchester, Robert by name, is not recorded to have done any work to the church. On his death, in 1178, the Abbey remained in the hands of the King, Henry II. Some few years after, having occasion to transact some business at the court of Rome (so Adam of Domesday writes),⁴⁵ and finding a certain Peter de Marci of great service to him, he put the Abbey into his charge. Peter de Marci was very anxious that the monks should elect him as their abbot, but he could not succeed in satisfying them. It was during this vacancy that the fire broke out, which destroyed all the buildings which had been erected. It will be well however before speaking of what the fire did to say something as to the state of the church as it then stood.

Description of the Church before the Fire, 1184.

Following so closely in the wake of Canterbury, and with such resources as is betokened by the chronicler saying that Herlewin did not consider the previous church to be worthy of the revenues of the abbey, I cannot think Glastonbury was inferior in work or size to Canterbury Cathedral of that date, and as there is no evidence to the contrary, it seems to me it is only right to assume that it occupied much the same site as the present building. I mean the building of which we

(45). *Ad. of D.*, p. 332.

have the few remains. Following the ordinary course I should expect the central tower to be the portion most likely to be constant. Some few churches have been elongated westward; most have been elongated eastward by successive builders, but I cannot call to mind any case in which there is evidence of a central tower having been shifted. The reason of the site of the tower being retained is obvious in all ordinary cases; namely that while the choir is being rebuilt the nave is used for the services, and while the nave is being rebuilt the congregation use the choir. Now if we measure from a point directly in the centre of the space beneath the tower and carry the line to the west end of this church, we find the distance to be 210 feet. Taking the same measurement at Canterbury we find it to be 230 feet; but that distance includes the space between the two towers, which probably in Lanfranc's and Anselm's churches was separated off from the nave by an arch. Hence the nave in each would be of about the same length.

When we measure the width between the two side walls I find Glastonbury about 72 feet and Canterbury 75 feet. At Canterbury some of Lanfranc's walls remain though concealed by later facing, and a good deal of Anselm's walls also. Here however at Glastonbury not a vestige remains. Still I think we may fairly conclude from analogy that the nave of the old church before the fire was as long as the remains shew the church built after the fire to have been, and I see no reason to suppose it longer. Therefore it follows that the present church not only would occupy the same site, but probably also was of the same extent as the ancient church, the cloisters being retained in the same position.

Before coming to the account of the fire, I would say a few words as to the objects which the old church seems to have contained worthy of note. The records are so few that it is impossible to attempt a picture of it as a whole, but they help somewhat to give a slight idea of its interest. First I would mention the ancient altar in front of, or rather over which

there was carving or painting of the three first abbots with their names, viz., Worgret, Lademund, and Bregoret, and to this William of Malmesbury appeals as evidence of the great antiquity of the foundation.⁴⁶ This was probably the high altar, and it was the same altar perhaps which was ornamented so handsomely by Abbot Brithwin before he was elected Bishop of Wells in 1027, with panels of elaborate gold and silver work inlaid in ivory.⁴⁷

Two or three crucifixes are also incidentally mentioned, but the chronicler does not generally describe where they stood. King Edgar before his death (A.D. 975) is recorded to have made a present of a handsome crucifix "over the high altar."⁴⁸ There was the figure of our Lord also which the young monk Ailsi passed by several times without making due reverence to it, and which, when at last he did make it, spoke as if it had a human voice—*Nu to late Aylsi ; Nu to late !*⁴⁹ and there was the image of the Virgin which, when everything was burnt around, remained entire, and even the veil not burnt, though the heat blistered the face as if it had been human.⁵⁰ A third image mentioned however seems to have stood in the refectory and not in the church, but this was as remarkable as the others, inasmuch as when Abbot Dunstan and King Edgar were sitting at table, it shook off its crown, so that the crown fell between them. Dunstan took it as a warning not to do what he was then purposing in his mind to do. Lastly there was the image with the mark of the arrow or arrows, to which reference has already been made, whence the blood flowed during the ritual riot.⁵¹ Possibly this was the same as that

(46). W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 48. The description however is obscure—"Nomina illorum et dignitates in Majori Ecclesia, prodente secus altare picturâ, sunt in propatulo." It may have been a kind of rearedos.

(47). "Fecit tabulam ante altare, auro et argento et ebore polimitam et crucem." W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 87.

(48). W. of M., p. 86, "Fecit crucem super majus altare."

(49). *Ibid.*, p. 38.

(50). *Ibid.*, p. 40.

(51). *Ibid.*, p. 38 and p. 115. William of Malmesbury's story differs, as I have said, from the English version already told, in that it would appear to have been moveable and not fixed, and that only one arrow is related to have pierced it, and not several. See note, *ante*, p. 47.

over the high Altar, which Edgar had given. There are, of course, numerous references to silver images and the like, but I do not note them, as they do not affect the fabric.

But the glory of this church of Glastonbury was that it contained the tombs of three English kings, the first King Edmund, King Edgar, and King Edmund Ironside. There can be no doubt as to the fact of the Abbey Church holding the mortal remains of these kings, whatever may be said of their possessing the remains of King Arthur.

As regards King Edmund, who died A.D. 946, though the Saxon chronicles do not actually state that he was buried at Glastonbury, still under that year they tell us how Liöfa stabbed him at Pucklechurch (in Gloucestershire, but close to the borders of Somerset, and one of the possessions of Glastonbury) on S. Augustine's Mass Day. Florence of Worcester, however (possibly on the authority of one of the chronicles now lost), adds that he was carried to Glastonbury and buried by S. Dunstan. Under a previous year, viz. 945, the chronicles refer to Edmund's regard for Glastonbury where it is stated that he "delivered Glastonbury to S. Dunstan, where he afterwards became first abbot."⁵² William of Malmesbury definitely records that "he lies buried at Glastonbury, on the left side, in the tower of the larger church."⁵³

Of King Edgar's place of burial, A.D. 975, the copies of the existing Saxon chronicles are silent. Florence of Worcester, however, under his account of the death (mainly taken from the chronicles) adds, "And his body was brought to Glastonbury and there entombed in a royal manner."⁵⁴ William of Mal-

(52). The expression "first abbot," in the chronicles, may have given rise to the supposition that Dunstan founded Glastonbury, a view which William of Malmesbury takes the trouble to refute. Hearne's ed. p. 71.

(53). W. of M. *De Ant.*, p. 75. It probably means on the north side of the centre of the cross, between that and the north transept, *i.e.*, on the left side of any one facing the high Altar. The words "In turri ecclesiæ majoris," need not, I think, imply that the tower was a separate building, but would bear to be translated "in the cross or transept," which may be understood as comprising the whole space between the north and south walls.

(54). *Florence of Worc.*, sub anno, and most of the later chronicles.

mesbury tells us "he was buried in the chapter-house at the door of the church," but that afterwards "he was translated."⁵⁵ I can suggest no reason why he should have been buried here, except that the church might have been at that time undergoing repairs and not sufficiently completed, and to this I have already referred in discussing what was the state of the church when Thurstan was appointed Abbot.⁵⁶

Of the translation here referred to we have a description; though it does not help us, unfortunately, in obtaining information as to the arrangement of the church, still the incident is a curious one. William of Malmesbury (if the passage be his) gives us details of the manner in which, because the grave was too small to get at the body easily, one of the workmen sacrilegiously used an iron implement to it (a pickaxe probably). Indeed, it is implied that the miseries which fell upon Glastonbury during the tenure of Abbots Egelward and Egelnoth (1027-53 and 1053-77) were due to this infamous act.⁵⁷ There is something awkward as to the record of the date when this translation is made to take place. William of Malmesbury places it under Egelnoth, but says that it happened forty years after Edgar's death—which calculation would bring us to 1015, that is some years before either of the Abbots were appointed; and on the other hand, when we turn to John of Glastonbury, he puts the translation under Abbot Egelward, and, giving no reason for the date, fixes it at A.D. 1052, the year before that abbot's death.⁵⁸ We are therefore without any grounds for discussing what the probable circumstances were which brought about the translation. It seems the body was not put into another tomb, but "the royal bones" were put into a shrine and placed upon the altar, together with the head of S. Apollinaris, and the relics of S. Vincent. And at the same time

(55). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 87.

(56). See note on the question of repairs by Dunstan, *ante*, p. 45.

(57). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 90. "Ausus facinus auditu, nedum actu grave."

(58). *John of Glaston.*, p. 153.

they put the remains of the Abbot Egelward, who had succeeded Dunstan, into the empty tomb. There is a good deal of inconsistency in many points, and I am rather inclined to think that it is a later interpolation, when it was needed to support the authority of the relics which were exhibited in the shrine, and to give a circumstantial account of how and when they were placed there.

Of the third king whose burial honoured Glastonbury Abbey (A.D. 1016), Edmund Ironside, we have it recorded in the same chronicle that—"Then at S. Andrew's Mass (Nov. 13) died King Eadmund. And his body lies at Glastonbury, with his grandfather, Eadgar." And the Glastonbury record tells us that "he received burial in front of the high altar."⁵⁹

We thus have three kings buried here in the seventy years, 946-1016. No kings have been buried here since, but to say that none were buried here before, would be rash, with the not improbable inscription to King Kentwine; and perhaps treasonable with the legend of King Arthur, so closely interwoven into the history of the place, and the occasion of the royal visit of King Edward and his Queen, when the bones were duly labelled by royal authority.

As regards this first period, we have but few records of the burial of abbots, but what there are suggest one or two points as to the arrangements of the building. The first tomb noticed is that of Abbot Tica. He had come from the north in A.D. 754, and was supposed to have brought a very large number of relics with him, such as of Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne, of Ceolfred, and Benedict, Abbots of Wearmouth, and of nearly all the other saints found mentioned in Bede's history, and even the bones of the venerable Bede himself: "When he died, he had his tomb in the corner of the 'Ecclesia Major,' close by the entrance into the 'Ecclesia Vetusta.' And it was remarkable both for its size and the skill displayed in the vaulting."⁶⁰ The addition of these words seems to show it was standing at

(59). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 88.

(60). W. of M., *De Antiq.*, p. 29.

the time William of Malmesbury's treatise was written, and therefore was preserved throughout the successive churches of Dunstan and Edgar, of Thurstan and of Herlewin. Elsewhere in his treatise William of Malmesbury says: "Where he and his companions were buried this epitaph testifies, and I have not neglected to copy it;" and after it he says "that if any one tries to remove the tomb he is struck with blindness."⁶¹

I have already referred to this tomb in speaking of the probabilities of the extent of the larger church in reference to the space between it and the "Vetusta Ecclesia." Everything depends upon the meaning attached to the word "entrance" (*introitus*). If it necessarily means a doorway, then it must follow that the western wall of the original church and the eastern wall of S. Mary's Church were much closer together than the western wall of the existing church and that of S. Joseph's Chapel are now. But I think the word may fairly bear a meaning which we should express by the word "passage." But then, as to what buildings were connected with this "passage," and in what manner it joined S. Mary's Church—whether the entrance was by a doorway at the east end or not,—I have no grounds whatever for offering any opinion.

William of Malmesbury does not mention the tomb of Stiwerd, elected Abbot probably about 890 (though there is some confusion in the chronology at this time), but he notices that his figure is always to be seen accompanied by a whip or a birch; whence he ventures to estimate his character.⁶²

And now we come to the tomb of Dunstan: not that he was originally buried here, but as it was very important to have his relics, the story ran that they were stolen from Canterbury, after the attack by the Danes upon S. Alphage, A.D. 1012. I do not attribute any of the three or four chapters in the *De Antiquitate Glastoniæ* (for it is a long story in all) to William of Malmesbury, but all to the interpolator. Their possession of the body, however, has been the occasion of much

(61). W. of M., p. 63.

(62). W. of M., p. 71.

dispute,⁶³ and there is as much ingenuity displayed, to my mind, in the story of their hiding the body and finding it again as in that of their having stolen it at all.

The latter story told is this:—For fear of it being stolen back again, the grave was made very secretly, and the secret was always kept by one monk only, and when dying, he was by arrangement to select some trustworthy successor to whom to disclose it. After a general explanation to the above effect, the account of the burial of the relics is thus given: “Two (who had charge of the matter) take a wooden coffin, suitably prepared for the purpose, and paint it on the inside, and on the right side they put an *S.* and on the left a *D.*, intending that they should stand for the name of Sanctus Dunstanus. Putting the relics into this coffin, they bury it beneath a stone, taken out for the purpose, in ‘the Larger Church,’ by the side of the Holy Water Stoup, on the right hand side of *the entrance of the monks*: every body else was ignorant of the place altogether. There *for a hundred and seventy years* it lay, the secret being committed only to one at a time, according to the manner arranged.”⁶⁴

We then have a rather pretty story: how a young monk wheedled the secret from his master, who happened to be the trusted holder of it at the time.⁶⁵ And the young monk told it

(63). As late as 1508, a scrutiny was made of the genuine relics at Canterbury, in order to show that the Glastonbury relics were false. The correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury [Warham] and the Abbot of Glastonbury [Beere] will be found printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. pp. 227-233. See also Eadmer's letter, written, as the internal evidence implies, about the year 1124, and in which he ridicules the Glastonbury story of the theft of the body of S. Dunstan. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

(64). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 36. It seems the “translation” (as the pretended theft was called) was made in 1012, that is the second year after the murder of Abp. Alphege, and the 24th after the death of Dunstan. *Ibid.*, p. 34. As the writer says they lay there for 170 years, the date of his writing must be after 1182. In fact, it shews that this, like numerous passages in this treatise of William of Malmesbury, has been interpolated some time after his death.

(65). As the story is told, the old man is made only to reveal the secret enigmatically in these words: “Fili mi dilectissime, non ingredieris Ecclesiam, aqua benedicta te aspersurus, quin lapidem vestibus tuis contingas, sub quo reconduntur, quæ requiris. Sed de hoc amplius nihil me pulses, sed audita mente tacita sagacique pertracta.” W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 37.

to others, and so it happened that after the fire the secret was known, or otherwise it would have been lost altogether. Of course, eventually, everything was found as described—the inside of the coffin being painted in azure and vermilion colours. The entrance referred to was probably on the south side of the church, as the monks would enter ordinarily from the cloister.

There are records of three other abbots and one monk having been buried here. “In 1034 died Brihtwi, Bishop of Wells and Abbot of Glastonbury. He lies on the north side in the Apsidal Chapel (porticus) of S. John the Baptist.”⁶⁶ Next Brihtwald, who, from being a monk at Glastonbury, was promoted to a bishoprick, and who died in 1045, and “was buried with Brihtwin on the northern side.”⁶⁷

We have also the note that Abbot Herlewin, on his death, in 1120, “was buried next to Thurstan, in S. Andrew’s” [? Apse].⁶⁸ I have no authority for saying that this was the name of the apsidal chapel on the east side of the south transept, but I venture to think it would be so. There must have been an apsidal chapel on the south side of the church to answer to that on the north, and I find no other saint named to whom to ascribe the altar in it. And that two of the abbots should be buried in one transept, and two in the other seems very probable.

And lastly there is the record of the death of Abbot Robert, the last of the abbots before the fire, viz., 1178. He was buried in the Chapter House, on the south side. No reason is given for this, yet there must have been room for more tombs either in the north or south transept.

(66). W. of M., *De Ant.*, p. 94. The word “Porticus” must signify apse here, though it has different meanings in other places. It was probably on the east side of the north transept.

(67). *Ibid.*, p. 95. He was Bishop of Salisbury, p. 94 (Ramsbury), 1005-45.

(68). *Ibid.*, p. 118. “Sepultus est juxta Turstinum ad Sanctum Andream.” If it had been that Brihtwin was so buried, I should have understood that it was S. Andrew’s Church of Wells which was meant. But I cannot see any reason why Thurstan and Herlewin should be buried at Wells, and therefore an altar or chapel must have been so dedicated at Glastonbury.

Beyond the above list of burials I have not observed in the records preserved by the three local historians, William of Malmesbury, Adam of Domerham, or John of Glastonbury, a notice of any others of importance which belonged to the old church. But from other sources I find the following, which may be noted, though no information is given as to the portion of the building in which their bodies were deposited. They may indeed have had only a resting-place in the cemetery.

“A.D. 867. In this same year died Eanulf, Ealdorman of the shire of Somerset and the body of the said ealdorman lies in the monastery which is called Glastonbury.”⁶⁹

“A.D. 971. The same year died Alfeag, Ealdorman of Southants, and he was buried at Glastonbury.”⁷⁰

“A.D. 1033. In this year died Merewhit, Bishop of Somerset, and he was buried at Glastonbury.”⁷¹

These are all the historical notes which I can glean bearing upon the church, which whatever its origin, whether first built by Ine or not, however restored and enlarged under Dunstan or Edgar, was practically no doubt rebuilt by Thurstan, and again rebuilt by Herlewin, and last of all destroyed by the fire in the year 1184.

The great Fire of 1184.

Here is the brief account of the fire given by Adam of Domerham :—

“In the following summer, that is to say on S. Urban’s day, (May 25, 1184) the whole of the monastery, except a chamber with its chapel constructed by Abbot Robert (1171-78), into which the monks afterwards betook themselves, and the *Bell tower*, built by Bishop Henry, was consumed by FIRE.”⁷²

(69). “Dux provinciæ Sumersætun.” Ethelwerdi Chronicon, *Sub anno*.

(70). “Suthantunensium Dux.” Florence of Worcester, *Sub anno*.

(71). Merewhit biscop on Sumersætun. Saxon Chronicles, *Sub anno*. He was Bp. of Wells, 1027-33, and succeeded Brihtwi, mentioned just above. But there is a curious confusion in the chronicle of the Bishop’s, given by the Canon of Wells [Wharton A.S.I. 558]. He puts under Merewhit “qui et Brihtwinus dictus.”

(72). *Adam of Domerham*, (Hearne), p. 333.

And here I would remark that still once again the story of Glastonbury seems to follow in the wake of that of Canterbury. As regards the latter Gervase (an eye witness of what he describes) writes "In the year 1174 by the just but occult judgment of God the church of Christ at Canterbury was consumed by fire in the forty-fourth year from its dedication." At this point however, the resemblance to Canterbury, as we shall presently see, ceases.

It is not very clear at first sight how it comes that a whole monastery should be destroyed by fire. We associate in our minds with these structures nothing but lofty and massive walls, which in some cases we know have stood erect through several fires. But there was besides, as there are now in many of our towns, a quantity of wooden and plastered buildings, which were sufficient to supply the fuel for carrying on the work of devastation from building to building. One would have expected that with little trouble a fire could have been confined to the church, if it had broken out there; or if in the dormitory or refectory, it could have been confined to the cloisters. But the appliances were few for extinguishing the flames, and as a rule the wind carried the burning rafters from roof to roof. The scene at Canterbury, as witnessed by Gervase, in the afternoon of Sept. 5, 1174, may well have repeated itself here ten years later. "While a south wind was blowing furiously, beyond all human experience, a fire broke out before the gate of the church and *outside the walls* of the courtyard, by which three cottages were half destroyed. From these, while the citizens were assembling and attempting to put out the fire, burning rafters and sparks were carried by the high wind and deposited upon the church, and through the force of the wind got in between the joints of the lead, and settled upon the decayed boards. Presently as the heat increased the rotten rafters catch alight. Then the larger beams with their purlines catch fire, no one perceiving it or coming to help But as the beams and their purlines ignited the flames shot

up into the top of the roof, and the sheets of lead not being able longer to withstand such heat, began by degrees to melt. The raging wind then, finding a freer access, drove in the flames so that they ranged the whole length. And suddenly when the flames began to shew themselves a cry arose from the churchyard, Oh! Oh! the church is on fire.”⁷³ And the further details go on to show how they failed to stop the flames when once they had got hold of the roof.

Thus it is easy to understand how in the same manner at Glastonbury the great church, as well as the ‘*vetusta ecclesia*,’ the cloisters, with chapter-house, dormitory and refectory, the abbot’s chambers, and all the offices belonging to the several departments, yielded one after the other to the flames. Only a new chamber, which had just been built, with its chapel (possibly because it was isolated, in consequence of some of the buildings having been pulled down to make way for new work), and the great bell-tower remained. No wonder we find words of heartfelt lament. The writer, probably Adam of Domerham himself, says:—“The beautiful buildings lately erected by Henry of Blois, and the church, a place so venerated by all, and the shelter of so many saints, are reduced to a heap of ashes! What groans, what tears, what complaints arose as they saw what had happened and pondered over the loss they had suffered. The confusion into which their relics were thrown, the loss of treasure, not only in gold and silver, but in stuffs and silks, in books and the rest of the ornaments of the church, must even provoke to tears, and justly so, those who far away do but hear of these things.”

The Foundation of the New Church, erected soon after the fire of 1184.

The Abbey, as we have said, was in the king’s hands, though in charge of Peter de Marci; but before the end of the year De Marci died. The king, however, according to our au-

(73). “*Gervasius de combustione et reparatione Dorobernensis ecclesie.*” Twysden D.S. col. 1289.

thority, "had compassion upon the monks in their calamity, and committed the care of the Abbey to the custody of his chamberlain, a certain Ralph Fitz-Stephen, on the condition that the monks taking only sufficient for their maintenance, should spend the whole of what remained of their revenue in repairing their buildings and constructing their church."

But the king did more than this. At the end of the year he issued a charter, the substance of which was, to the effect that besides confirming all previous liberties to the monks, and granting them others, he practically made himself responsible for the cost of the church. The charter is worth attention. It begins :

"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy, etc., to my Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, etc., etc. 'That which a man sows, that also shall he reap.' I, laying the foundation of the church of Glastonbury, which whilst it was in my hands was burnt by fire and reduced to ashes, have determined to repair it, to be completed either by myself or my heirs : by the will of God, and at the instance of Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem ; of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury ; of Richard, Bishop of Winchester ; of Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter ; of Ralph de Granvill, with many others, etc."

The charter then introduces a recital of some of the ancient Glories of Glastonbury, mentioning the early kings (King Arthur included, for already the romance had been fitted to Glastonbury). And then follow the liberties and grants, which I need not here detail. The following lines, however, show the spirit by which King Henry was actuated :

"But chiefly that the town of Glastonbury, in which the ' *Vetusta Ecclesia* ' of the Mother of God is situated, which is truly reckoned to be the source and origin of all religion in England, should be free above others, together with its islands, etc."

Now the charter is not dated, but by attending to the signatures, which are mainly a repetition of the names already

given, with some few others, we arrive at the date within very few weeks.

Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, had already come to England as an embassy, to offer the Kingdom of Jerusalem to Henry, though I cannot find the exact date of his arrival. The meeting at Reading, where his message was formally delivered, was not till the January of the following year. But the name of Archbishop Baldwin is of some importance as to date, and is of historical interest. The great dispute concerning the appointing of Baldwin (the Bishop of Worcester) to the See of Canterbury occupies several pages of Gervase's chronicle, and is referred to by several other historians. After a conference at Reading, on August 4th, 1184, at Windsor on Dec. 23rd, the discussion was adjourned to London for S. Andrew's day (Nov. 30th). It appears, while the discussion was going on (and it lasted some few days), the prior and monks who laid claim to the appointment and had elected some one else, heard suddenly the *Te Deum* being sung, for the rival candidate elected by the suffragan bishops. As I understand it, the date of the election was practically Advent Sunday, Dec. 2nd, 1184, and before that day Baldwin could not have signed as Archbishop of Canterbury. Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, who also signs the same document, died Dec. 17th, 1184, and consequently the date is comprised within that fortnight.

I should expect that the commencement of the new buildings must be dated from this time. Till this charter was obtained, the monks would have scarcely done more than cleared out some of the ruins, and covered in temporarily just sufficient of the walls left standing to house themselves. This charter being obtained, no doubt they set to work, and as I have already said, the Church of S. Mary (that is, what has come afterwards to be known as S. Joseph's Chapel) was the first erected, and completed speedily—possibly by June 11th, 1186; more probably by the same day in 1187.

I have said that after the fire the history of Glastonbury

ceases to follow that of Canterbury. At the latter, and, indeed, in most other great churches, the work of building and rebuilding was gradual. Funds were a great difficulty, and consequently a portion only was built at a time, and even then what was useful was kept standing. Nave and chancel are not often of the same date, but each may contain portions of earlier work. Here circumstances were different from what they were in such cases as I speak of, since they had the king's order. The revenues of the monastery were large, and when they failed the king supplied money from his treasury. Here, then, was an opportunity of carrying on the work, after what may be called a royal manner; and it seems to me highly probable that the Church of S. Mary being complete, the architect swept away *all* of the "Great Church," intending to build one of one style from end to end, as was done at Salisbury some thirty years afterwards, where there was a clear space, and no buildings whatever to trammel the architect's design.

The words of the record are few, and not very explicit. They are:

"He [*i.e.*, Fitz-Stephen] repaired all the offices, and afterwards laying the foundations of a most beautiful church, carried them to the length of four hundred feet, and to the width of eighty feet. Pressing on rapidly with the work, he spared no expense. What he could not obtain from [the revenues of] Glastonbury, that the royal bounty supplied. In the foundations of this church were put, as well, the stones of that vast Palace built by Abbot Henry, [1126-71] as those of the wall surrounding the court. Building, then, a good part of the church, he would have completed the rest, if God had prolonged the king's life. But, alas, covetous and too ready, Death snatched him away, and so inflicted another wound upon the monks, who were only just recovering from their last misfortune.⁷⁵ . . . King Henry died on the 6th July, 1189."⁷⁶

(75). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 335.

(76). *Ibid.*, p. 340.

We gather that at this time Ralph Fitz-Stephen, to whom had been committed the charge of the buildings, died also, and he may very well himself have been the designer of this vast building, of 400 feet in length.

Had Adam of Domerham been living at the time, his few notes would have been of great value; but as he did not write till 1280-90, and as these events happened long before he was born, it is probable that he only obtained his information from such general statements as the registers afforded, or such stories as tradition had handed down. So we must not attach too much importance to such expressions as, "He built a large part of the church;" or that the "stones of the Bishop's Palace, were laid in the foundation." The chronicler would be anxious to attribute as much as possible to Ralph, and the using up the palace stones might be introduced rather to convey the idea of how entire the destruction had been, than as the copy of a recorded fact.

The works of the Church are stopped, 1189.

On King Henry's death all the work appears to have ceased, "King Richard's mind," as the chronicler puts it, "was more directed to military matters than to going on with the building which was begun; so the work was stopped, because there was no one to pay the wages of the workmen."⁷⁷

But it seems also that the cessation of King Henry's subsidy to the building, and the death of Fitz-Stephen, was not the worst part. So far as I can read between the lines of the bitter complaints which the monks make, the revenues of Glastonbury were simply perverted to subsidise the See of Wells when Savaric was elected.

At first Henry of Souilly (de Soliaco), of royal blood, was appointed to the Abbacy, but after a couple of years he was translated to the See of Worcester, and the revenues, above and beyond what were necessarily for the subsistence of the

(77). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 341.

monks, were, in spite of all resistance, as I have said, appropriated by his successor, the Bishop of Wells.

During the short rule of Abbot Henry of Souilly there seems to have been some attempt to create an interest in Glastonbury, and so, perhaps, obtain help for its buildings, by 'discovering' the bones of King Arthur, unless, indeed, the record of the 'discovery' is as fictitious as the burial itself. Adam of Domerham, in his chronicle, after the paragraphs recording that King Richard appointed Henry of Souilly Abbot, inserts a short chapter, "De Translatione Arthuri;" and either from the same, or from some other source, Matthew Paris has fixed the exact date as 1191. It is quite possible that some ceremony of the kind was got up, as the story of King Arthur was a popular one, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's semi-historical romance was as much sought after, in comparison with more sober works, as a popular novel of the day is now. This is shown by the large number of the MSS. of his book existing.⁷⁸ But the circumstances connected with the discovery of the bones belong rather to the legendary than to the architectural history of the Abbey.⁷⁹

Another feeble attempt on the part of the monks is recorded at this time by Adam de Domerham, to go on with their church, but it does not appear to have been in the least successful. He writes :

"The said abbot in no way whatever would lend a helping hand to the work which had been begun, wherefore the monks, anxious about their building, sent out preachers through the provinces with relics and indulgences, and strove by these

(78). The twelfth century copies existing of the MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth exceed by far those of any other twelfth century writer.

(79). If one could fix the date of the narrative given by Leland in the *Assertio Arturii* (p. 55), as to their removal, it would be worth considering the description of the spot to which they were translated. The passage runs : There is an apse on the south, and a chapel—where there is a way to the almonry ("Porticus ad meridiem est, et Sacellum, quo iter in gazophylacium"). But in 1191 the old church was in ruins, and the new church not built. Hence, any argument from the passage is very unsatisfactory.

means to obtain, somehow, out of charity, enough to carry on the work.”⁸⁰

The character of this abbot is best shown by the circumstance of the trouble he took to obtain from Pope Celestin the privilege of wearing the mitre and ring—not but that this would have been honorable to the Abbey in days of its prosperity, but with its church probably only a few feet from the ground, it seems to show that the abbot was thinking more of himself and his own glory than the glory of the Abbey.

But as soon as Abbot Henry was translated to Worcester things went from bad to worse. It would be quite out of place here to describe the several phases of the controversy; the appointment by the monks of their own abbot (William Pyke), and the excommunication pronounced by the bishop; the seizure of the messengers sent by the monks, and the actually breaking down of the gates of the monastery, when the bishop entered by force, and the Abbey being put under interdict. All this, however, is graphically told by the chronicler. And then follow the long contentions and the compromises during King John's reign, and the series of ‘agreements,’ ending in the Monastery being mulcted in a large part of its property. These events bring us to the reign of Henry III, at the beginning of which matters seem to have begun to settle down. But they so far bear upon the history of the buildings that we may be almost sure that no funds were forthcoming for building purposes during the continuance of these disputes, and that the foundations and walls, so far as they were erected, remained all this time exactly as Fitz-Stephen had left them.

In the year 1218, the final agreement appears to have been signed; and in 1219 the monks were allowed to elect their Abbot, namely, William Vigor, on the eve of S. Benedict (Jan. 11). He was Abbot for five years, but I find no mention whatever of anything he did, directly or indirectly,

connected with the building of the church. The usual summary of the benefits which he conferred on the monastery is given, and it begins—"In the first place he improved the beer."⁸¹

I think we may conclude, too, that no progress had been made with the church, for on his death, in 1223, he was buried in the chapter house, on the north side. Robert of Bath, the next Abbot, seems to have fallen into difficulties, and after eleven years retired, and the monks allowed him sixty pounds a year pension. All this points to their being very poor.⁸²

The Work of Rebuilding goes on, 1235.

During all their troubles with Savaric and Jocelin, the successive Bishops of Wells, the abbey property was no doubt let out on leases on lives, and so their annual income was small; but it seems that in 1235 they appointed a man of considerable business qualifications, named Michael of Ambresbury. During the eighteen years of his rule, he is recorded not only to have cleared the Abbey of its difficulties, but to have left it in a flourishing condition. There is no mention of his going on with the church, but there is of his "applying his mind sedulously to the question of building;" and it is recorded that altogether, within and without the monastery, he erected one hundred houses from their foundation.⁸³ It is not likely but that some masons were employed upon the church, and I expect that his tenure of the Abbacy marks the date of the taking up again of the work of the great church, though there were but little funds as yet to expend upon it. He retired in 1252 to the Manor House of Mere, but the

(81). "Imprimis, ad emendacionem cerevisiæ, singulis bracinis, dimidiam summam frumenti, et dimidiam summam avenæ." *Adam of Dom.*, p. 476. I see he also 'redeemed' the porter's lodge (Portarium) from a certain Walter, who had been porter of the Abbey, and restored it to the purposes of the Monastery. This shows into what an impecunious state the Abbey had fallen.

(82). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 502.

(83). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 505.

monks provided him also with chambers at Glastonbury, and also with full allowance of food for himself and servant, and one hundred and sixty pounds besides; so fully did they desire to recognize the services he had rendered them. He had been Abbot eighteen years, and only lived a year after his retirement. Neither Adam of Domerham, nor John of Glastonbury, mention his burial; but when Leland visited the church, before the Dissolution, he records the tomb with the epitaph, beginning—"Qui serpentinis fraudes et vincla resolvit," as then standing *in the north transept*, together with two other Abbots of later date.

Abbot Roger Forde, who succeeded him, seems not to have done anything to win the praise of the chronicler, but rather the contrary. His burial is duly mentioned, but it was not in the Abbey, for, dying while he was on a visit to the Bishop of Rochester, his body was carried to Westminster.

Robert Petherton was appointed in 1260, and he seems to have worked very successfully in looking after the property of the Abbey, and obtaining instruments of confirmation, etc., besides, as I understand it, considerable accessions. No notice—as, indeed, it is not to be expected—is taken of any work which he did to the church. Adam of Domerham, however, gives an account of his death in 1274, and mentions his own name as amongst those present at the funeral, so that we may rely upon his statement. The following remark is important:

"On the Thursday following [his death] his body was buried by the neighbouring priors and abbots who had been invited for the purpose, and lies before the *Altar of S. Thomas the Martyr*, on the left hand of Abbot Michael."⁸⁴

Now Leland gives his epitaph next to that of Michael Ambresbury, beginning: "Liberat oppressos Pedreton ab ære alieno;" and both as existing in what he describes as "In transepto Ecclesie in Boreali parte." Two things, I think, are involved

(84). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 538.

in these considerations; the first, that the altar in the north transept was dedicated to Saint Thomas, still at that time very popular; the second, that the north transept was at this date (1274) sufficiently advanced to have an altar dedicated, and to receive the tombs of two of the abbots.

There was again a dispute 'as to the election of the next abbot, John of Taunton; but though the first election was quashed, after several pages of 'Compositions,' between Robert, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and John of Taunton, Abbot of Glastonbury, and certain 'Concordiæ finales,' and 'Letters Patent,' we find that finally, on S. Barnabas's Day, 1274, he is declared duly elected.

The event of his tenure of office was the visit of Edward I, with his Queen, to Glastonbury. Adam of Domerham, being present, has handed down a very full account of the proceedings. They came the Wednesday before Easter, April 13th, 1278, and were joined the next day by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Passing over the details of the first few days, namely, how the archbishop consecrated the sacred oils on the Maundy Thursday (the bishop of the diocese being absent); how he held an ordination on the Easter Eve, and how throughout the three days he officiated Pontifically; and how on the Easter Monday the King and Queen were present at the Assizes held in the town, we come to the Tuesday, which was the great day, when the abbot entertained the royal party, and proceeded to open the tomb of King Arthur. There were duly discovered the bones of the renowned king, and the bones of his queen, Guinevere, with the proper inscriptions. On the Wednesday—the king bearing the bones of Arthur, and the queen those of Arthur's queen, wrapped in most precious palls—they placed the relics in a tomb (sepulchrum) which they had ordered to be made before the high Altar, except some few which were left outside. They duly affixed their seals to a document asserting 'that these were the bones of King Arthur,' with the date of the deposition in their new

resting place, viz., the 13th of the kalends of May (=April 19), 1278, and with the names of the witnesses.⁸⁵

Although we have here the high Altar named, this part of the church could not have been by any means complete. Certainly the altar was not dedicated; perhaps it was not even erected, but only its site determined. Probably workmen were cleared out, and the place was made decent, and some shelter afforded by a temporary roof, in case the day should prove stormy. It is a great pity Adam of Domerham, who was eye witness, has not handed down some more details as to the state and appearance of the building in which the proceedings took place.

We now lose our chronicler, Adam of Domerham. He ends his story with the death of Abbot John of Taunton, which took place on Michaelmas Day, 1291, on his return from the burial of Eleanor of Provence, the king's mother, at Ambresbury. He was ailing previously, but obeyed the king's desire that he should perform the funeral office. Dying at Domerham, his body was brought to Glastonbury for burial. All the chronicler says, however, is that "he was honourably buried."⁸⁶ He does not say in what part, but Leland again helps us, for he gives his epitaph next to the other two, beginning: "Ut multo tandem sumptu multoque labore." So that the first three abbots who were buried at Glastonbury, after the church was commenced, were buried *in the north transept*, and we are now brought to the year 1290. I shall speak of the dedication of the church, in connection with the choir, and I shall have to

(85). Abridged from the account given by Adam of Domerham, p. 588-9. This translation of the bones of Arthur appears to have been an after-thought, as no place was prepared. It will be observed the sepulchre was ordered to be made, and, not being ready, it appears the bones were not deposited till the Wednesday, though the document bears the date of Tuesday.

(86). *Adam of Dom.*, p. 596 and last. He mentions the burial of Queen Eleanor of Castile as taking place at Westminster, on S. John's Day (Dec. 27), 1290. Afterwards he was called to assist at the ceremony of the burial of Eleanor of Provence at Ambresbury, whither she had returned. She was buried on the Feast of the Nativity (Sept. 8), consequently in 1291 (Walsingham 1292); so that John of Taunton's death—S. Michael's Day (Sept. 20)—must be 1291, and not 1290, as Adam de Domerham states.

depend upon other sources, in order to obtain the history of its progress.

But before I leave this spot I would just point out generally what it appears to me may be deduced from the documentary evidence which I have given with respect to the remains before us.

Survey of the Nave and Transepts.

As I have said, we must not expect to find any vestige whatever of the successive Norman churches. All these appear to have been absolutely and cleanly swept away in the time of Henry II, when there was every reason to suppose that, with the royal exchequer at command, a building would be erected from the ground, whole and entire, as a memorial of his piety, and as a monument of the skill in building of that century. That the building was planned with this idea is proved by the statement that the foundations were laid for a church four hundred feet long, by eighty broad—dimensions which agree very accurately with the remains.⁸⁷ From the very little which has been preserved, it is impossible to say how high the walls had reached, when Henry's death put a stop to the work. No doubt, if we had all the walls standing, we should, by observing carefully the continuity of the joints of the masonry, and by comparing large portions one with another, be able to give a tolerably sure answer to the question. As it is, our evidence is of the very slightest. A string-course moulding, at about three feet from the ground, is continued round the outside of the north transept, and again in places outside the southern wall of the choir; and still again, in a more perfect condition, along the outside of the eastern wall. It is similar to—indeed, appears to be a copy of—the external string, at the same level, round S. Joseph's Chapel; but it has not been cut by the same mould. It is possible that up to this point, at least (and per-

(87). Within the walls the measurement gives somewhat over 380 feet, and allowing for the thickness of the walls—say six feet at either end—it may be said to be a building of above 392 feet.

haps higher), Fitz-Stephen had carried his work, before the death of Henry II, and the great stoppage, which lasted for some fifty years afterwards. Still, I have nowhere detected traces of this stoppage, as I should have expected to have been able to do.

One feature, however, which is most striking in the aspect of the portion beneath which we are now standing, is that while the design generally, and the mouldings in some few instances, are in the Early English style, and the general effect produced by height and lightness marks the work to be of the thirteenth century, here and there are details—especially the zigzag mouldings—which seem to carry us back to the twelfth. From the evidence of so small a portion existing, it is dangerous to assign the reason: two, however, suggest themselves.

The first is this: I think we ought always, in judging of the date of a building by the style, to make allowance for the desire of the architect to retain continuity in his design with that which is existing already; and bearing this in mind, the following consideration must be taken into account. On the carrying up of the western wall, when the works were re-commenced in the thirteenth century, it was decided, evidently, to throw open to the rest of the Church the ' *Vetusta Ecclesia* '—the ' *fons et origo* ' of Christianity in this country, as it had been termed in the charter. And with so much of the marked features of the Norman style remaining, which, in themselves, in the middle of the thirteenth century, would be associated with great antiquity, the architect would be almost bound to recognize the same in designing the rest of the church, both for the sake of the continuity and harmony, as well as on account of keeping up the ancient character of the church. This would be a sufficient reason for retaining the zigzag ornament prominently in the arches in question, as well as in several other places where we find it.

But next, when we carefully examine three of the arches

which, it will be observed, are different to the rest,⁸⁸ an additional reason seems to me to suggest itself. I may be wrong, but when I look at these arches, I fancy the voussoirs were not cut for the place they occupy. There is an irregularity, due, not to decay, arising from the lapse of time, but to the irregularity of the original setting. They appear to me to have been cut for a round arch, and adapted—not very successfully—to a pointed one. Whether taken from the work of Henry of Blois—perhaps from the great tower which he had built, and which is said to have escaped the fire,—or from other buildings, is not of any moment. But it seems to me quite possible that they may have attempted to go on with the work, and, in their poverty, used whatever material they had at hand, and these three arches so repaired gave the key note, as it were, to the architect's design for the rest.

To the remains of the tower and transept arches I feel it impossible to assign an exact date. I have already implied, from historical notes, that the transepts seem to have been taken in hand before the choir, and the north transept first of all, in which the three Abbots appear to have been buried. There is nothing, so far as I can see, to militate against this, either in the style, or in the structure.

Again, the large mass of masonry still remaining on the south side of the Nave has an early look about it. It may be from the round arches, or from its massiveness, the wall being eight feet thick. It was against this, as is plainly visible on the outside, that the cloisters abutted, and that may have been a reason why it should have been erected early in the work, as the buildings round the cloisters would have been required at once by the monks. One jamb of the doorway leading to the cloisters remains. This I observe is very similar in character to the work of S. Joseph's Chapel, and therefore may

(88). On the south side, both the arch at the end of the choir aisle, as well as that opening at the side (at right angles to it), into the transept chapel, have the old zigzag. On the north side, the choir arch has the *new* zigzag—that is, similar to the advanced style; but the arch into the north transept chapel has the old zigzag.

be the work of Fitz-Stephen; and if the upper part also belongs to his work, Fitz-Stephen's design would appear to have been generally followed throughout.

It will be seen by what remains that the nave consisted of ten bays, and the portion of wall just referred to, which consists of three bays in extent, enables us, pretty accurately, to gauge the rest, and to fix the places of the nine piers equidistant from each other between the tower piers and west wall, and supporting the ten arches on either side the nave. These two tower piers, against which the nave arches abutted, have been swept away, but the other two, namely the eastern pair, remain.

The space enclosed by the four tower-arches is about forty feet either way (measuring from a point taken in the centre of each pier). On either side are the aisles in continuation of the aisles of the nave, each twenty feet wide (measured in the same manner); and again the transepts beyond, also forty feet each, so that across the transepts, from wall to wall, we obtain a total length of about 160 feet, though the present state of the ruins will not allow of an exact measurement.

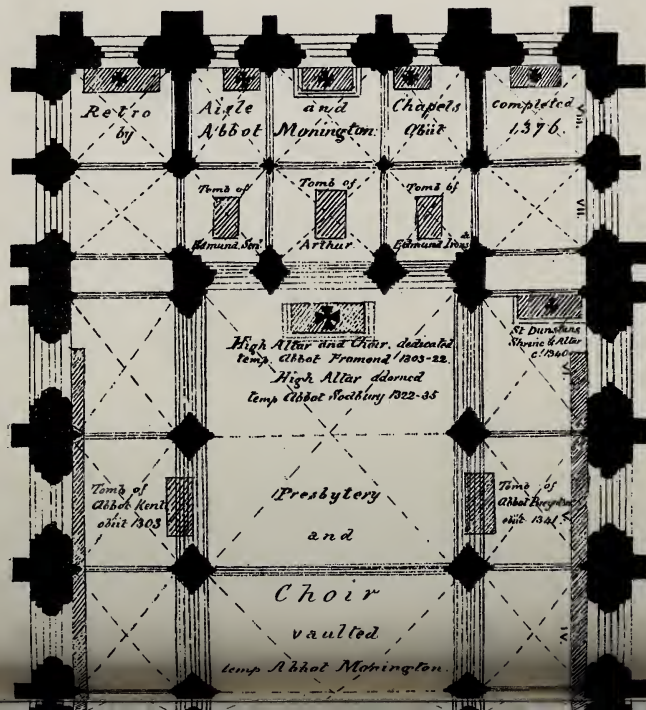
On looking at a complete plan, it will be seen that each transept was again divided into two bays, parallel with the aisles, and all these four bays were extended eastward, forming, each one, in its eastward extension, a small chapel. On the north side a portion of one of the chapels remains tolerably perfect, and the commencement of the second. On the south, only a small portion of that nearest to the choir.

At first sight the piers and arches of the tower appear complicated, but it must be born in mind, that the two piers which are left standing are the easternmost piers of the tower; and the two arches at the side, in a line with the choir walls, are arches leading out of the western bay of the choir aisles into the transept chapels of which I have spoken.

We can judge, somewhat, by the small portion remaining, of what great beauty must have been the whole: and if we examine the capital on the inner side of the large tower arch, with its

GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

PL. II.



Scale of feet. 0 5 10 15 20 30

TOMAS, &c NOT ASSIGNED TO PLACES.

Tomb of Abbot Vigor - in Chapterhouse
obit 1223

Altar of SS Silvester & George - erected by
Abbot Southbury; c. 1330

Tomb of Abbot Southbury - in Nave
obit -1335.

" of his father on rt. & mother on lt.
Tomb of Abbot Monington - in Choir
obit 1374

Tomb of Abbot Chinok - in Chapterhouse
obit 1420

Tomb of Humphrey Stafford (Earl of Devon)
[Edward III 1305] in Nave.

Tomb of Abbot Fremund - in Nave.
obit 1456

Tombs of John Bricnell and
of William Stour } in Capella
of S. Marico }

Chapel of our Lady of Lortle - in Nave

" of the Holy Sepulchre " " "
both by Abbot Beere c. 1320

Tomb of Abbot Beere - in Nave.
obit. 1524

delicate carving and graceful design, we can form an idea of the rich ornamentation which has been wilfully destroyed. And as one gazes at it in its almost solitary state, but out of reach of human hands, and subject only to the rain and the frost, the snow and the wind, and all that nature can do to destroy, it seems to speak very eloquently of the cruel wrong done by man, contrasted with the gentle kindness of Time. I cannot name any place where the historical associations, both real and ideal, combined with the beauty and skill of the workmanship, of which we have this evidence, could have pleaded with greater force for the building to be spared. And yet few places have seen the destruction by the vandals of the sixteenth century, so wanton, so ruthless, and so complete. The opening words of one of the chapters in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* are brought forcibly to my mind:—"Tempus edax, homo edacior; ce que je traduirais volontiers ainsi: 'Le temps, est aveugle; l'homme, est stupide'."

III. THE CHOIR.

The third portion of the lecture was delivered on the site of the ancient choir, near the place where the high altar originally stood.

Although we lose our chronicler, Adam of Domerham, we find another who practically takes his place, and as most of the observations which I have to make relating to this part of the building are dependent on this new chronicler, namely, John of Glastonbury, I have thought it better to begin my story in this place with the accession of John de Cancia, or, as he may be called, John of Kent, the abbot elected at the date when Adam of Domerham ends his chronicle, viz., 1290.

Historical Notes.

We may gather that the church was nearing completion; we have seen that already one altar in the transept had been dedicated—possibly more than one,—and we now begin to find frequent gifts to altars chronicled, which imply the places in

existence for their reception. Although Adam of Domerham records only John of Taunton's death, John of Glastonbury tells us that he gave numerous hangings and ornaments for the altars, as well as vestments, and that he also gave a crystal cross.⁸⁹ But John of Kent's gifts are more numerous; he gives a precious cross, silver gilt and with three images; a silver holy water stoup, with a silver sprinkler; also a censer of copper gilt, with the chains of silver, and various other ornaments and vestments, implying the existence of altars already dedicated, or ready for dedication. We find from Leland that he was buried in the *north aisle of the presbytery*, shewing, I think, that the work was so far complete in this direction that a tomb might be placed there, which it seems was 'of lofty construction.'⁹⁰

The most important event however takes place during the time of his successor, named Geoffrey Fromond, who was elected on the day of S. Thomas the Martyr (Dec. 29), 1303. The same abbot, so John of Glastonbury records, 'caused the conventual Church of Glastonbury to be dedicated.'⁹¹ This is of course a landmark in the architectural history, for we have seen that between the laying of the foundations by Ralph Fitz-Stephen and this dedication, some hundred and twenty years have elapsed. It is not too much to suppose that during more than half that time the buildings were not touched, and when the work was again taken up in the middle of the thirteenth century, it went on so slowly that the fourteenth century dawned before the church was in a sufficiently forward state for the high altar to be dedicated.

(89). *John of G.*, p. 251.

(90). John of Glastonbury as a rule omits the place of burial, and we are almost entirely dependent for such notes on Leland. In Leland it runs thus: *In boreali insula, adjacenti Presbyterio Joannes de Cantia Abbas Glaston. in alto tumulo.* Brown Willis, in his *Mitred Abbeys*, says 'he died on the eighteenth Kalends of December (Nov. 14), 1303, and was buried in a fine new tomb which he built for himself on the north side of the high altar.' This looks as if Brown Willis had had access to some other authority than any I have found.

(91). *John of G.*, p. 255.

Now that the church was so nearly complete, we are not surprised to learn that the same abbot, Geoffrey Fromond, spent a thousand pounds and more on other buildings within and without the abbey.⁹² And Leland, amongst his notes, writes: 'Gualterus [*i.e.*, Galfridus] Fromont, abbat, began the great Haul.'⁹³ Leland gives his tomb amongst those in the *South Transept*.

Walter of Taunton, who succeeded in 1322, died a few weeks after his appointment, but he lived long enough to see the *Screen* put up (or provided the funds and gave direction for it), and it is accordingly credited to him, for John of Glastonbury gives this account of him:—"He constructed the Rood loft [*pulpitum*] of the church, with ten images, and erected a large cross with the Figure of our Lord and of Mary and John."⁹⁴

Nothing remains of this screen, but on the inner faces of the two eastern tower piers there are grooves and other marks which may well be those of the bonding in of the work of the screen, and the two bases are cut away. Had not Leland, however, implied that the screen work was of stone, one would from the faint traces on the piers, rather have supposed it to have been of wood. Abbot Taunton was buried, according to Leland, '*in the north transept*,' but as he adds 'before the image of our Lord crucified,' and in connection with the note about the screen, and the '*crucifix*,' I am inclined to think his tomb may have been beneath the arch leading to the north transept.

Adam of Sodbury was elected on February 5, 1323, and the record tells us he added considerably to the embellishment of the church. This is the list:

"He adorned the *High Altar* with a large Image of the

(92). *John of G.*, p. 256.

(93). Leland, *Itin.* iii. p. 103. But he adds, 'Gualter Monington *next Abbate* to him ended it.' There is here of course some error.

(94). *John of G.*, p. 260. Leland has a note to the same effect, possibly taken from the same original:—"Hic fecit *frontem chori cum imaginibus [et] lapideis ubi stat Crucifixus.*" (p. 101).

Virgin Mary and a Tabernacle of beautiful work. He built the Altar of SS. Silvester and George, which he adorned with images, vestments, &c.”

“He vaulted [voltavit] the greater part of the nave and ornamented it with beautiful paintings.”

“He made in it the large clock [horologium], remarkable for the movement of the figures and the variety of the exhibitions.”

“Also an organ of wonderful size.”

“He cast eleven bells, six of which he had hung in the church tower [turri ecclesiæ], and five in the steeple [clocherio].”⁹⁵

To enumerate the ornaments of other kinds, though the list is an interesting one from an antiquarian and ecclesiological point of view, would not throw any light on the architectural history, and would therefore be out of place here.⁹⁶ But from the additions here recorded, taken in connection with what has been before described, I venture to think that we obtain an insight into the history of the very gradual completion as it were of this large minster. Step by step, or stage by stage, under succeeding abbots, the work seems to have been going steadily on. We have seen evidence of work in the transepts, then in the choir; then the dedication of the High Altar, then its ornamentation, and then the screen; and now we have the vaulting and furnishing of the nave. The vaulting—and I think the word implies it must have been of stone,—we can imagine, as we have several fine examples of thirteenth and fourteenth century work; but we have in few cases records distinctly stating that the painting was added by the builder of the vault. This makes us especially regret its loss. We

(95). *John of G.*, p. 263. But Leland in his notes gives a single line to Adam of Sodbury, thus—“Abbate Adam gave a vii great Belles.” I cannot reconcile the discrepancy.

(96). The mention of a sacristy (vestiarium), to which he gave “tabulam lapideam, Imagine et quatuor historiis de Beata Maria decenter insculptam” (p. 264), seems to shew that this had been rebuilt with the rest of the church. I see no trace of it; probably it was attached to the south transept.

have the clock, mentioned above, remaining; that by some good fortune found its way into Wells Cathedral, and it ranks with the celebrated medieval clocks of Strasbourg, Lyons, Beauvais, and Rheims. We could not perhaps expect the organ to be preserved, but one would much desire to know where it was placed, whether in the triforium gallery, or whether it had a gallery of its own.

I am at a loss to interpret the meaning of the 'clocher' with respect to the distribution of the bells. The church tower is mentioned as distinct and separate from it. On the whole I am not inclined to think that we must look at it as pointing to a western tower, or any building attached necessary to the church. It may have been a detached belfry, as examples of such remain, possibly but a small turret connected with his clock, containing the five bells which struck the chimes.⁹⁷

According to Leland Adam of Sodbury was buried *in the nave*—the nave which he himself had vaulted. And Leland adds, in his list of the tombs, that his mother was buried on his left and his father on his right.⁹⁸

John of Breynton, first of all monk, then prior, and then unanimously elected abbot in 1334, is noted for having erected the Prior's Hall and various adjoining offices. Also on the completion of the Abbot's Great Hall—probably the Guest Hall—he expended a thousand pounds. But his recorded gifts as regards the church are mainly of ornaments and vestments for the altars. On S. Dunstan's shrine, wherever this was, he spent 500 marks.⁹⁹ This was no doubt made a very prominent

(97). That 'he left two shillings' to be paid on certain anniversaries to the ringers—"pulsatoribus de clocherio"—(p. 269), need not militate against this, for a word like this is used in several senses. The "ringers of the clocher" in that case would be of the belfry in the church tower.

(98). As I mentioned the visit of Edward I and Queen Eleanor to the Abbey under Abbot John of Taunton, I ought perhaps to note that Adam of Sodbury had the honour of entertaining Edward III and Queen Philippa at Christmas in 1331, costing him eight hundred pounds. They staid from S. Thomas' Day (Dec. 21) till Christmas Eve, when they went to Wells. Their gifts to the monastery do not touch the architectural history.

(99). *John of G.*, p. 270.

and important feature in the church. Amongst his benefactions I observe he gives certain vestments to the altar of S. Andrew, and it will be remembered that in the old church there was an altar so dedicated, before which Abbots Thurstan (1101) and Herlewin (1120) were buried. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the old site was retained: indeed it is not beyond possibility that the old altar itself was preserved. The place of his burial, according to Leland, was ‘*in the south aisle adjoining the presbytery,*’ and I shall have to say something further on this circumstance when I come to the architectural description.

Walter of Monington, or Mointon, who succeeded in 1342, is recorded by John of Glastonbury to have added considerably to the monastic buildings, as well as to have built one or two houses in the town for the benefit of the monastery. But it is to Leland that we owe the only record which is important in the history of the church. He says, ‘he was buried *in the choir. He made the vault of the choir and presbytery,* and increased the length of the presbytery *by two arches.*¹⁰⁰ As in the previous case I shall have to say more about his work hereafter.

John Chinok succeeded in 1374 and lived 46 years. John of Glastonbury devotes only half a dozen lines to his benefactions of certain rents, &c., but Leland has preserved the record that while ‘Gualter Monington made to the midle parte the Chapitre House, John Chinok his successor performid it, and ther is buried in Sepulchro cum imagine Alabastri.’¹⁰¹

Nicholas Frome, elected in 1420, presided for 36 years. According to John of Glastonbury it was he who added so much to the building rather than his predecessor, and as he records that ‘he worthily completed the chapter house begun by his predecessor,’¹⁰² we must come to the conclusion that

(100). Leland *Itin.*, vol. iii., p. 102. “Gualterus Monington, *in choro* Abbas Glaston. *Hic fecit voltam chori et Presbyterii et auxit longit[udinem] Presbyterii 2 Arcubus.*”

(101). Leland *Itin.*, vol. iii., p. 103.

(102). *John of G.*, p. 280.

there is an error somewhere, either with Leland or with John of Glastonbury. The evidence I think points to the error being on the part of the latter, because Leland gives so substantial a piece of evidence of John Chinok having completed the Chapter House by the circumstance of his tomb, with a figure of himself in alabaster, being placed there, while he with equal distinctness mentions Nicholas Frome's tomb in the nave. Still both may be reconciled by supposing Abbot Chinok to have left the money, but that the work was not completed till Abbot Frome's time.

Of the few months tenure of office by Walter More in 1456 (of whose election so complete an account has been preserved, with copies of the numerous and tedious documents belonging thereto),¹⁰³ there is nothing recorded by the chronicler touching buildings, but Leland's note informs us that his tomb was by the side of the four other tombs of abbots mentioned already as buried in the *north transept*.

John Selwood, elected at the close of the same year (1456), made several bequests, but none affecting the architectural history. Leland's note shews he was buried in the *south aisle* adjoining the presbytery, that is in the same aisle as John of Breynton's tomb, and, he adds, 'Ante cap. S. Andreae.'¹⁰⁴

And here we lose our third local chronicler. From other sources we learn that John Selwood's successor, Abbot Beere, was elected Jan. 30, 1493, and Leland has preserved an important record respecting the work done under him to the church. He says:—

“Abbate Beere buildid Edgares chapel at the est end of the chirch. But Abbate Whiting performid sum part of it.”

“Bere archid on bothe sides the est parte of the chirch that began to cast owt.”

(103). Hearne has printed them at the end of his first volume (after William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastoniæ*), p. 123.

(104). Leland, p. 102. It will be remembered that John of Breynton was a benefactor to the Altar of S. Andrew. (See *Ante*).

“There be vi goodly windowes in the top of eche side of the est part of the chirch”

“Bere made the volte of the steple in the transepto and under two arches like S. Andres Crosse, *els it had fallen.*”

“Bere made a rich altare of silver and gilt: and set it afore the High Altare.”

“Bere cumming from his Embassadrie out of Italie made a chapelle of our Lady de Loretta, joining to the North side of the body of the Chirch.”

“He made the chapelle of the sepulcher in the southe end navis ecclesie, wherby he is buried sub plano marmore yn the South Isle of the Bodie of the Chirch.”¹⁰⁵

Leland also in his list of tombs in the nave of the church gives that of ‘Richard Beere, Abbas Glaston in Meridion[ali] insula Navis Eccles[ie].’

Of Edgar’s chapel, and the casting out of the eastern wall, I have to speak presently. When the tower arches required support, and they inserted a second arch below with an inverted arch above, making what may fairly be called a S. Andrew’s Cross, they but followed the example of the Cathedral of Wells hard by. The Loretto and Holy Sepulchre Chapels were not probably additional buildings, but erected inside the church.¹⁰⁶

Dying on the 20th of January, 1524, Beere was succeeded by the last and the most unfortunate abbot of all, Abbot Whiting, who, in 1539, was hung on the ‘Torre,’ and his body when cut down was brutally quartered and dispersed, the head being hung upon the abbey gate. Hence I have not to record his place of burial.

And with the last abbot the history of the Abbey comes to an end, and soon after when the site was sold the beautiful buildings quickly became a prey to wild fanaticism, or else to

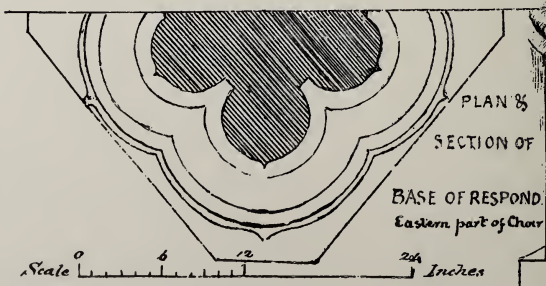
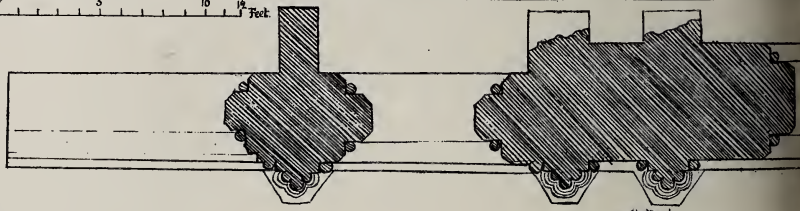
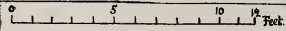
(105). Leland *Itin.*, vol. iii., p. 103.

(106). There is a good example of such a little chapel on the north side of the nave in Burford Church, Oxon, which has lately been restored.



Scale of Plan and Section

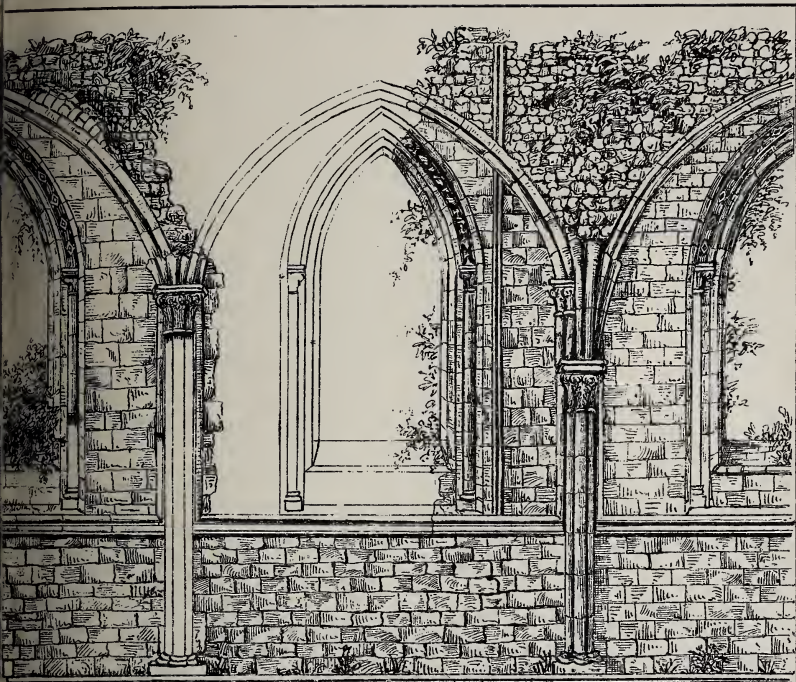
PLAN AND ELEVATION OF



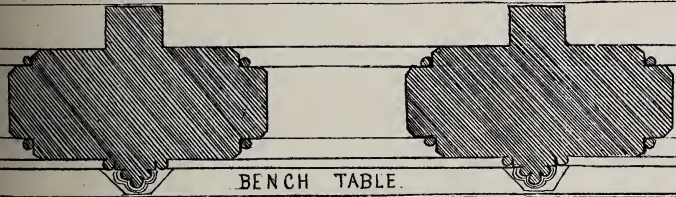
PLAN & SECTION OF

BASE OF RESPOND Eastern part of Choir

Scale 0 6 12 24 Inches



R EASTERN BAYS OF CHOIR AISLE.



BENCH TABLE.



PLAN &
SECTION OF
BASE OF RESPOND
Western part of Choir.

0 6 12 24
Inches

J.P. del.

the calculating spirit of gain, and in a short time little more was left than that which we have now before us.¹⁰⁷

Architectural Description of Choir and Presbytery.

I propose now to attempt to put together, so to speak, the vestiges which we have of the ancient choir, applying, as far as I can, the words of the records to their explanation.

The chief part remaining is the outer wall of the south aisle of the choir. It will be seen that it extends from the line of the tower piers to within a few feet of the eastern extremity of the church.

The first bay at the western end is occupied by an arch opening into the transept chapel. The second is occupied by a window which is somewhat remarkable, in as much as, though similar to the rest in general appearance, it has, instead of the ordinary splay, an oblique opening in a south-easterly direction. The reason of this appears very plain when it is seen on the outside. The extension of the chapels on the east side of the south transept would have absolutely blocked up the window, if planned like the others. It is evidently no after-thought, but a part of the original design; the object of the architect being to get as much space as possible for his transept chapel; and yet to do this without either blocking up the window or yet interfering with the unity of the design.

The 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th bays are similar to each other,

(107). Still there was something more, even so late as the eighteenth century: Stukely has preserved a picture shewing that the north side of the choir was then standing with its arches and six clerestory windows. His note too is a very suggestive one—"As yet there are magnificent ruins, but within a lustrum of years a *Presbyterian tenant* has made more barbarous havoc there than had been since the Dissolution; for every week a pillar or buttress, a window jamb or an angle of fine hewn stone is sold to the best bidder. Whilst I was there they were *excoriating* S. Joseph's Chapel for that purpose, and the squared stones were laid up by lots in the Abbot's Kitchen; the rest goes to paving yards and stalls for cattle, or to the highway (p. 152)." The above was written during Stukely's visit in 1723.

Confirmatory of this is the account given to Brown Willis by Samuel Gale, which he refers to as a survey lately taken, and his book was published in 1719. After describing the transepts and three arches of the South Cross remaining, he says, "Both the walls and *the side aisles by the choir remain*, containing eight windows in each, and the wall *at the east end for about three foot high*, is yet seen above the rubbish.

each containing a good Early English window ; but here also, as in the rest of the church, the Norman zigzag moulding is retained. A little closer examination, however, of the window in the 4th bay, shows that during the construction a slight change of plan was here contemplated, by bringing the sill of the window lower down, and so lengthening the window ; but the plan was evidently not adopted, and the sill was built over, and the same high level sill retained throughout.¹⁰⁸ It may be observed, too, that on the right hand side of the window in the 5th bay there is a peculiar groove cut in the wall, and passing behind the wall of rib of the vault, it appears to have communicated with the roof, and to have served for the passage of a pipe or rope.¹⁰⁹

It will be noticed that between the 5th and 6th bay, while the moulding along the sill of the windows remains the same, there is a change as regards the height of the capitals, and consequently of the form of the wall-arch : a small shaft has been inserted on the left hand side of the vaulting shaft, between bays four and five, with a pseudo-capital, in order to make the wall-arch symmetrical. In the south bay, it will be observed, also, that the bench-table ceases, and that the bases of the shafts rest on the floor.

The point, however, perhaps most important to notice is that between the 6th and 7th bay there is a portion of wall about four feet wide between the two responds—in fact, a small bay of itself, though I do not reckon it in the number in counting. On the outside it will be seen that this portion of wall is provided with a double buttress. This shews that at this point

(108). It can only be seen by going round to the outside. I was led to examine it by the circumstance that the bonding of the masonry in the lower part is awkward. It looks, at first, as if there had been an opening, and afterwards filled up.

(109). I do not think any 'sanctus bell' would be in a position here for a rope to be available. If I make a guess at all, it would be to afford means of communication with the organ—supposing, that is, that there was a triforium gallery, and that the organ was placed in it. Outside the eastern end of the church it will be seen that a deep groove is cut across one of the buttresses ; this was evidently intended for a water spout, and may well be of early date.

there was some special reason for extra strength. By taking into consideration the analogy which similar buildings to this afford, we may be quite sure that at this point we are opposite the eastern wall of the choir and presbytery of the church, the gable of which was no doubt carried up to a considerable height, and probably over a large eastern window, such as is seen in many of our cathedrals. It would be very necessary therefore, to supply as much support as possible, and the double arch over the aisle, and the double buttress outside—surmounted, possibly, by flying buttresses—would provide, in the most effectual way, the support needed.

The last two bays, No. VII and VIII, it will be seen, are somewhat narrower than the others. These belonged to a continuation of the aisle, as it were, behind the lofty eastern wall of the presbytery, which, no doubt, in the lower part was arched, and intended to be open into the aisle beyond. This retro-aisle, then, as it may be called, completed the processional path round and behind the choir and presbytery.

Almost immediately in front of this pierced gable wall stood, no doubt, the High Altar.

So far it may be said there is little or no difficulty in interpreting the remains. But when we pass into the details, and try to apply the words of the chroniclers exactly to the existing remains, we find that more than one view may be taken.

The chief records bearing on the architectural history, which Leland has either transcribed from some register which he saw when he visited the Abbey, somewhere about 1538, or which he put down in his note book, from what the abbot or prior told him, are, as I have said, that Walter of Monington, who was buried in the choir, made the *vault of the choir* and presbytery, and increased the length of the presbytery *by two arches*.

Now, although there is a slight variety in detail between the first four western bays and the two next, it does not seem to me to be sufficient to warrant the theory of any change of general design or plan.

Professor Willis, who attributes the work of these two next bays, *i.e.*, Nos. v and vi, to Abbot Monington, seems to lay some stress upon the four responds having plain, cylindrical shafts, while the other two have shafts with a slightly keeled edge. But the case is not quite as he puts it.¹¹⁰ In the four western series of triplets it is only two of the shafts in each that are plain cylinders; for in all cases the front shaft is keeled, and it will be observed also that the secondary shafts, by the side of the others (which only extend down to the window sills), are keeled throughout. So that in the four western groups there are sixteen keeled, with four plain, cylinders, against the ten keeled shafts of the two eastern groups—no very great difference. And it should be remarked that throughout the building this mixture is the rule. In S. Joseph's Chapel even the plain cylinder and the keeled cylinder are found side by side. So that I am convinced this feature cannot be appealed to, as marking any change of style or difference of date.

I observe that Professor Willis, in the passage in question, speaks of the western shafts as the *earlier* shafts, and I think that this is the case, for the building of the choir (at least, for the greater part of the walls above the foundations) seems, from the evidence I have given, to have gone forward from the west end—that is from the tower piers—and *not* to have been begun at the east end;¹¹¹ and what I have shewn to have been the case as to the use of the transepts, first of all for burial, and the existence of the first altars there, bears this out. The reason I should assign why Glastonbury did not follow the ordinary plan, was that the monks continued to use S. Mary's Church as their choir, while the church was building, just as they had done for the fifty years while no building was going on.

(110). All of them consist of a triple group of shafts, but the *earlier* shafts are plain cylinders; the three *later* have a sharp vertical edge or keel upon them. Professor Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Glastonbury Abbey*, p. 37.

(111). Yet in one place Professor Willis says "the new church which was of course commenced at the east end, and carried on westward;" p. 35.

I attach, then, little or no importance to this very slight variation in the detail of the mouldings, nor, indeed, to the change in the carving of the capitals, except that they show how slowly the work dragged on. I mean they do not show the special work of any one man, or that his work was an addition or an after-thought. The change of height, coupled with what seems to me a more marked feature—the cessation of the bench-table—seems to suggest rather some special purpose to which these two bays were appropriated.

We learn from Leland, as I have said, that Abbot Breynton, who died in 1342, was ‘buried in the south aisle *adjoining the presbytery.*’ He was a great builder, and benefactor to the Monastery, and had been elected abbot unanimously, on account of the good qualities he had shewn while serving the office of prior. I attribute the completion of bays No. v and VI, then, to his time; and, so far as the ornamentation is concerned—at least, such as is left of it—it is certainly very consistent with his date. Now it is exceedingly probable—following the analogy which several other cases afford—that the part where he wished his tomb erected would be that part completed under his own directions. In the north aisle—probably in the corresponding bays—John of Kent had been buried; for the words are similar, viz., ‘in the north aisle, *adjoining the presbytery.*’ Abbot Breynton being, as I have said, much respected, it is very probable something of the nature of a chapel would have been erected here to his memory; or indeed, he might have obtained the leave of the brethren to design the same himself, had he wished it, and this would account for the cessation of the bench-table, which, according to my view, shows that an altar was erected here, against an eastern reredos of some kind, beneath or near to the double abutment arch.¹¹² But it was no addition, or,

(112). He is recorded to have spent 500 marks on S. Dunstan’s shrine. As this was an important shrine the date may mark the removal of the relics into a suitable resting place, and it would not be inconsistent to suppose that he was buried near the shrine, and so this would fix the chapel as S. Dunstan’s Chapel also.

indeed, important alteration in the general plan, because before this the foundations had been carried to the end of the building, and the double buttresses to support the eastern wall and gable had been erected. Still, these two bays need not have been completed when the church was dedicated by Abbot Fromond, in 1303-22, as to carving and fittings. Whether or not before the death of Abbot Breynton they had been opened to the church, or whether the presbytery arches remained temporarily blocked up by hoarding, is a detail which, of course, need not be determined.

This view, I am aware, involves the supposition that the altar was dedicated some time before these eastern portions of the church were complete. But, then, almost any view must involve this. It is a question only how much or how little was complete at the time of the dedication, and what was the progress of the work afterwards.

My opinion is that the High Altar was, at the time of the dedication, in the place it was intended to occupy, and afterwards did occupy. In other words, that six bays of the choir and presbytery were completed, though covered in perhaps by a wooden and temporary roof. That four bays of the aisles were complete and open to the choir and capable of use; but of the two eastern bays of the aisles, only the shells were complete: and in a similar state were the aisles at the back of the presbytery. The walls and just so much of the vaulting, of course, must have been there, as would be necessary in order to support the choir arcade.

Professor Willis's theory, on the other hand, is, as I understand it, that the choir and presbytery consisted only of four bays at the time of dedication (1302-22), and that the High Altar then stood at the eastern end of the 4th bay, and that the two bays which I attribute to Adam of Breynton were portions of "the side aisle continued *beyond the eastern gable*, so as to connect the north and south aisles into a procession path; and that there were chapels projecting from this procession path

eastward.”¹¹³ A little later on he says that the bay or “Severy 5-6 was the south end of the procession path, and 6-7 part of the side wall of a chapel; it must be supposed, therefore, that the increase of elevation of the shafts was intended to give greater loftiness of character to the chapels and to the procession path which led to, and extended in front of, them.”¹¹⁴

I venture to say, with all due respect to the high authority of Professor Willis, and to the close investigation which he has made, that I do not see sufficient evidence for this theory, based, as it is, upon the virtual shifting of the east end, two bays forward, at a later time. I ask, was it a temporary ‘east end gable’ of which he speaks as existing at the time of the dedication? Surely such an hypothesis is not justified by the observation of a mere change of ornamentation, and a slight change in moulding, which is all the evidence he adduces: and at the same time it presents several difficulties. First of all, it militates against the statement recorded by Adam of Domerham, that the foundations were laid for a church of 400 feet in length by the original architect. As he closes his chronicle in 1290 (and died soon after), the statement could not have been influenced by the church at any time afterwards, having been extended to four hundred feet. It follows that the original plan, for which the foundations were originally laid, was carried out to the end. Next, I think, the general proportions of the church, viewed as a whole, strongly militate against the theory of a choir with only four bays. But the crucial point, I think, is this. The ‘original high east gable,’ of which Professor Willis speaks, would as much have required abutments, as the later gable did, and since there are no traces of them, either inside or outside of the southern aisle wall, it is impossible to believe that such a gable was either designed or built in that place.

(113). Willis, p. 38.

(114). Willis, p. 38. It must be borne in mind that Professor Willis enumerates the Responds, while I have numbered the Bays. Hence his Severy 5-6 is equivalent to my Bay v, and Severy 6-7 to my Bay vi.

I ought to mention, however, that Professor Willis relies on another statement of Leland, viz :—

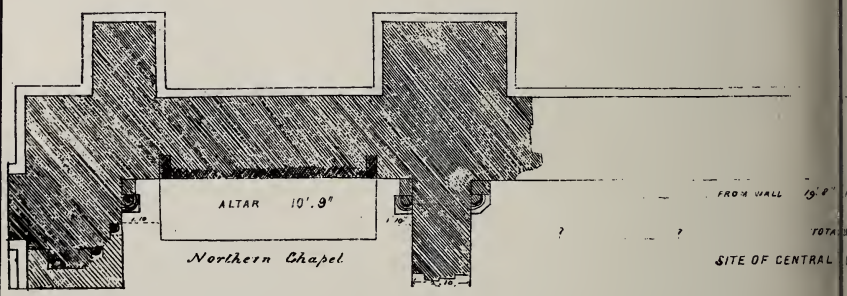
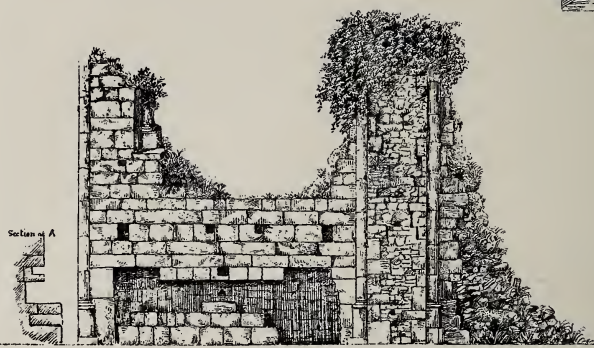
“There be VI goodly windows in the top of each side of the est part of the church. There were 4 of old tyme, sins 2 added and the presbyterie elonggied by Gualter Monington, abbot.”¹¹⁵

Leland's note, however, is not sufficiently definite to build a large hypothesis upon it. He either was copying from a record, or it was told to him. If the latter, it is not of much account. If the former, it is, perhaps, but a repetition of the note which he had already transcribed, “et auxit longitudinem presbyterii 2 arcubus;” and he would apply this to the upper part of the presbytery proper instead of to the lower part, comprising the retro-aisles.

On the whole, then, I do not attribute to Abbot Monington the ornamentation, much less the building of the two bays, No. v and vi. But I do attribute the completion of bays No. vii and viii—that is, the two bays beyond the eastern gable—to him. The foundations, as I have said, had been laid before, but it is quite consistent that nothing more had been erected than was considered necessary, on structural grounds, for safety to the other part of the building.

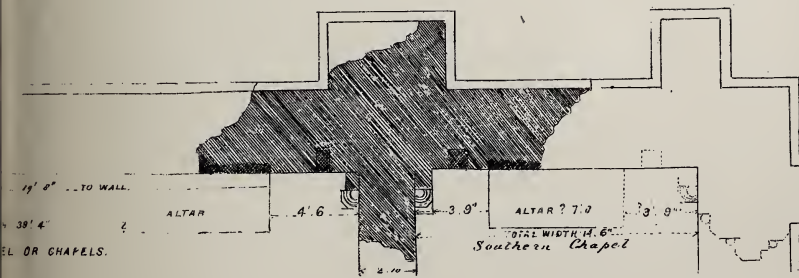
Abbot Monington, however, I take it, completed not only the two eastern bays on either side, but the whole length of the aisles at the back of the presbytery: and it was the throwing open these, when completed, to the presbytery, which would occasion the chronicler, whom Leland has followed, to speak of the Abbot as ‘increasing the length of the presbytery by two arches.’ It would further appear that the vaulting of the whole choir and presbytery was effected at the same time; and this is but natural, inasmuch as they completed the vaulting of the surrounding aisles, before venturing to insert the more lofty vaulting of the central space. It will be observed that the vaulting of the choir and the extension of the aisles is mentioned in one paragraph.

(115). Leland's *Itin.*, vol. iii, p. 103.

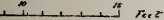


PLAN AND ELEVATION OF
GLASTONBURY

Scale of Plan & Elevation



MAINS OF EASTERN END OF ABBEY CHURCH.



Of these retro-aisles, it is a great misfortune that so little is remaining in order to guide us to the arrangement. A processional aisle, however, or path, at the 'back' of the enclosure or presbytery proper, in which the High Altar stood, was the rule, as may be seen in nearly all cathedrals: and from this aisle the eastern chapels were projected.

I have already stated that bays No. VII and VIII, as shewn by the responds on the southern wall, were erected somewhat narrower than the others, though the style and general character is the same as that of Nos. V and VI, of which they are a continuation; the mouldings of the windows in No. VII, and those of the portion which remains of No. VIII, being identical with the rest: the same advanced zigzag ornament, the number of arches, the splays, and even the bases of the inner shafts, are also the same throughout. The walls, however, are thinner by about one foot; but then, this variation cannot be reasonably attributed to change of style, or principles in construction, since a more simple reason is at hand: the wall from this point had no longer the serious duty to perform of resisting the thrust of the arches of the aisle against the lofty walls of the choir and presbytery, and therefore there was no need of the extra foot of masonry.

Of the eastern wall itself, there is enough to show that there were two partition walls projecting westward from it, but not sufficient to *prove* that there were more. The first partition occurs at 14 feet 6 inches distance from the southern wall, and is 2 feet 10 inches in thickness. On a portion of the inner surface of this partition wall remaining, there is enough ashlar to show that there was a moulded arch-line and a string, corresponding with the moulded arch-line and string surrounding the window opposite. The treatment must have been exactly similar to that of the surface of the wall remaining perfect on the north side of the chapel in the south transept.

At the north end of the retro-aisle is another chapel, very similar, but in some respects more perfect than that at the

southern end. There are remains of a window over the Altar, looking out towards the east, as well as of a window on the northern side, each presenting sufficient details to show that their character was precisely similar to the other windows of the choir; while the traces of a partition on the southern side of this chapel exhibit a wall of exactly the same thickness as that at the other end. It may be, however, said, generally, that several particulars which the one supplies are wanting in the other. In each chapel, in the outside wall, it will be seen that there was a large locker or Aumbry. The width of this northern chapel is, as nearly as possible, the same as that of the southern, namely, 14 feet 6 inches; but the partition wall having been much disturbed, it is impossible to measure exactly to an inch. The space between the two partition walls is close upon 39 feet, and the destruction has been so great that it is very difficult to conjecture how the space was occupied.

Before, however, I speak of the vestiges of structural evidence remaining, I should give what documentary evidence we have, which latter, I may say in passing, is equally imperfect and unsatisfactory.

Leland (to whom I have had to refer so constantly), after the mention of all those who were buried in the choir—the last of his list being Monington, who had increased the length of the presbytery by two arches—goes on to give an inventory of what is ‘in the Presbytery’.

“In Presbyterio:

Edmundus Senior in Bor[eali] parte;

Edmundus Ironside in Merid[ionali] parte;

Arturus in Medio.”

He then gives two lines of verse, as the epitaph written by Abbot Henry Swansey on King Arthur, and two lines at the foot of the tomb in reference to Arthur’s Queen, and then the following:

“Inscript[io] in capite tumuli.

Henricus Abbas;

Crucifixi imago in capite tumuli ;

Arturii imago ad pedes ;

Cruæ super tumulum ;

Leones in capite et duo ad pedes tumuli attingentes terræ."¹¹⁶

Now the question is, in what sense does Leland use the word 'presbytery' here. Was the tomb of King Arthur, with the tombs of the two King Edmunds on either side, *in front* of the High Altar? I think not. I know of no such arrangement elsewhere, and it must have been exceedingly inconvenient. Nor would there be space at the back of the High Altar, between that and the reredos. Consequently, I am inclined to think that Leland here uses the term presbytery in the sense of the retro-aisle with its chapels, behind the presbytery proper (but, of course, open to the rest of the presbytery by the arches); and that here the tombs of the three kings were placed.

We have one other piece of documentary evidence bearing on the question. William of Worcester,¹¹⁷ like Leland, visited several abbeys, churches, etc., but some sixty years before Leland's time. He has written, amongst his very rough memoranda :

"The choir of Glastonbury contains in length 42 yards; its width, with the two aisles, contains 24 yards. And ten yards beyond the reredos."¹¹⁸

(116). Leland, iii. p. 102. This Henry Swansey is the same as Henricus de Soliaco, the abbot appointed in 1189, by King Richard, and the first abbot after the fire. It was during his rule, as I have before narrated, that the tomb of King Arthur was supposed to have been discovered. (See *ante*, p. 67.) Perhaps we may interpret Leland's obscure note to mean that Arthur's tomb and the memorial to Abbot Swansey were one and the same construction.

(117). William of Worcester seems to have written his itinerary about 1475-1480. He was born in 1415; came to Oxford to study in 1431, and entered at Hart Hall in 1434. The MS. is in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and I have quoted from Nasmith's printed version (Cambridge, 1778), in preference to that of Brown Willis.

(118). *W. of W.*, p. 292 : "*Chorus Glastoniae continet in longitudine 42 virgas. Latitudo ejus cum duobus alis continet 24 virgas, et 10 virgæ ultra le reredes.*" William of Worcester adds another line, "Thus, in the whole, it contains 34 yards." This is obviously a blunder, as he has added the ten yards additional *length* of the church on to the *width*. It should have been "thus in the whole length 52 yards."

Now these measurements are as accurate as one would expect from the rough manner in which they are taken, and the omission of the points from and to which they are taken. If we measure from a point between the two tower piers at the west end of the choir, and in a line with what I consider to be traces of the screen, to a line drawn across from the centre of the abutment space between bay No. VI and VII, I find the distance to be exactly 40 yards. From this same point, as far as the eastern wall, exactly 10 yards. It is possible that he began his measurement of the choir westward of the screen; not improbably from the top edge of the steps beneath the tower; or else he is two yards out in his reckoning. I find the total width from inside surface of the two outer walls to be nearly 74 feet; so that it is nearer 25 yards than 24.¹¹⁹ Later on he states:

“On the north side of the choir are six large, tall, glazed windows, and the same on the south side of the choir; and each window has six lights, and therefore there are 72 small lights in all.¹²⁰ There are on either side of the choir aisles eight windows.”

These large glazed clerestory windows are what we should expect, and it is a very trivial error that in counting the windows in the bays of the aisles on either side of the choir he should have reckoned the bay which has only an arch leading into the transept chapel, and no window at all. Then we come to the next paragraph, which is exceedingly puzzling, even allowing for the roughness which I have shown belongs to his notes generally. I must give it in the original.

“In orientali parte altaris Glastoniæ spacium de le reredes

(119). Elsewhere in his notes (perhaps the rough notes from which these were copied) he calculates by paces. I rather expect he has reduced his paces to yards, and that he did not measure with a rod, and hence the discrepancies.

(120). *W. of W.*, p. 293. I take this to be the meaning; but, as I have said, his notes are very rough, and scarcely intelligible. The passage in question runs, “In qualibet [? boreali] parte chori sunt 6 magnæ altæ fenestræ vitreatæ et tot[idem] in meridionali chori et in qualibet luce sunt in qualibet panella et 6 lucas, i.e., parvæ fenestræ sunt in qualibet magna fenestra : sunt in toto 60 [? 72] parvæ fenestræ.”

ex parte orientali magnæ altaris sunt 5 columnæ seriatim. Et inter quamlibet columpnam est capella cum altari. Et spacium capellæ in longitudine continet 5 virgas et spacium interceptum inter capellas et le reredes continet similiter 5 virgas."

The last two lines may, perhaps, be only an amplification of what he had given before, namely, that the space beyond the reredos extended for ten yards. Here it is that the aisle is five yards wide, and the chapel extends five yards beyond it. If this is his meaning, it does not throw any light on the *width* of the chapels. But how are 'the five columns in a row,' and 'between either column a chapel with an altar,' to be explained?

Professor Willis remarks that 'the passage *as written* would give five responds and four chapels between them,' and then goes on to say that "the position of the Altar [against the eastern end of the second chapel] and the foundations preserved in Wild's plan appear so strongly to prove that there were five chapels, that I am led to the conclusion that Worcester has fallen into a mistake which he is very apt to commit, namely, when counting the number of arches in an arcade, to set down the pillars as equal in number with the arches."¹²¹

Of this kind of error of Worcester's, there are no doubt frequent examples, and it is a very natural one; but as to Wyld's plan, I must say I do not rely upon it as throwing any light upon the question. He speaks in the letterpress, referring to his plan of "*a a*, two pillars of *singular form and situation*; probably part of the crypt," and the plate is dated so late as 1813. Now Wyld was an architectural draughtsman and had drawn many plans, and I cannot think that if they were solely the bases of the vaulting shafts belonging to the series—implied by Worcester to be in a row, and of which the end one still remains perfect against the southern wall—he could possibly have mistaken them. That they were below the level of the others I think is shewn by his suggestion of their being

(121). Willis, p. 41.

probably *part of the 'crypt.'* It is useless to conjecture what they were. Whether connected with any work of the reredos or altar, or with King Arthur's tomb itself (supposing it to have been there), it is hopeless probably to determine, as the stones have been no doubt removed, and perhaps even gone to mending roads before now; but the evidence, I contend, is not such as to suggest that they were the reponds attached to two partition walls.

We have therefore only to deal with the evidence of the structure, such at least as is left of it. Here I am at once at a loss to see how the position of the 'Altar at the southern end of the central opening' supports the view that there were five altars and not four. I should have expected that there were five, but the difficulty lies in interpreting the evidence which this altar affords in favour of four—that is to say, supposing each altar had its chapel; and this may be said to be implied by the words of Worcester, that is if they are to be applied to this eastern end at all.

As I have said the total length from wall to wall may be reckoned at 74 feet. Against the eastern wall are remains of two partitions, each 2 feet 10 inches in thickness, and (more or less) of three altars, so far as the breaking away the ashlar marks their site, or the holes of the brackets of the altar beam over them point to their position. The following is the formula with which we have to deal.

A.		B.		A.	
Chapel. 14.6	2.10	Space. 39.4	2.10	Chapel. 14.6	
1.10 Altar 1.10		? Altar.		3.9 Altar 3.9	
10.9				7.0	

In the northern chapel there was an exceedingly long Altar, 10 ft. 9 in., leaving only a space at either end of 1 ft. 10 in. Thus we see how the space of 14 ft. 6 in. was occupied. In the southern chapel we find that 3 ft. 9 in. was left on one side of the Altar. The other has been destroyed, but if the Altar was in the centre it must have been 7 ft. only in length. All

the data we have for the middle space is that one Altar begins at 4 ft. 6 in. distance from the southern wall.

Now if we put this Altar at 9 ft. 3 in. (which is not far from the mean of the other two Altars of which we have the respective lengths), and take this 4 ft. 6 in. as the datum for the next compartment and an Altar of the same, we find that four Altars exactly fill up the space. The formula will stand thus :

A.		B.		B.		A.
14.6		18.3		18.3		14.6
1.10 Altar 1.10	2.10	4.6 Altar 4.6	2.10	4.6 Altar 4.6	2.10	3.9 Altar 3.9
10.9		9.3		9.3		7.0

I confess to being very loath to suppose four chapels, but on the other hand, for the reason I have given, I cannot accept Professor Willis' arrangement of five distinct chapels, with the central one of 14 ft. in width, according to his data, *i.e.*, nearly the same as the side chapel. It would leave for each Altar, of which we have the traces (supposing it stood in the middle of the chapel to which it belonged, and the whole arranged symetrically), only 10 inches. Thus—

A.		B.		C.		B.		A.
		9.10				9.10		
		4.6 Altar 4.6	2.10	14.0	2.10	4.6 Altar 4.6		
		10 in.				10 in.		

making up the 39 ft. 4 in. of the central space. Of course it is possible that this altar stood in one corner and not in the middle of the chapel; but with the two end chapels, arranged as we see them, it is highly improbable that such a design should have been adopted.

While then I cannot follow Professor Willis' plan, and yet am loath to adopt the theory of four chapels (though Worcester's description, and alike the traces of the Altars point primarily to this), I would venture to suggest that after all there may have been but three chapels, in the strict sense of the word, namely the two end ones, of which we have the remains, and one large central one, in which were placed three Altars instead of two. Without the division wall there would

be space for three, because it is not only the thickness of the wall which is gained, but the extra space on either side of it. With three altars, say of an average of seven feet in length each, and a space of 4 ft. 6 in. at either end, we have a space left of full 4 ft. 6 in. on either side of the central Altar. Thus—

A.									A.
	2.10	4.6	Altar 7.1	4.6	Altar 7.1	4.6	Altar 7.1	4.6	2.10

which will thus fill up the 39 ft. 4 in. required. In all probability the altars would not be all of the same size, and if the two side altars were but five feet in length, and at a lower level, there would be a good space between each, and the central altar would stand clear of the other two.

As regards reconciling William of Worcester's notes, we may suppose that he counted the Altars and not the pillars, and also reckoned each Altar as a separate chapel; but we are still left in doubt as to the arrangement of the pillars in the central space, as well as the distribution of the tombs of the three kings, supposing that they were placed here. I cannot think, however, with the evidence of the marks of the Altars so plain, that there were five distinct chapels.¹²²

There is one other incidental matter connected with the plan of the east end on which I think it well to say a word, and connected with it are the last additions which the abbey seemed to have received. Professor Willis in his plan has drawn, as I have said, a projecting chapel at the east end, and this he thinks was the site of Edgar's Chapel. The passage relied upon is that from Leland. It has already been quoted in the historical summary, but it will be convenient to repeat a portion here:—

“ Abbate Beere buildid Edgares Chapel at the est end of the chirch: but Abbate Whiting performid sum part of it.”

(122). It appears to me that this end was thrown down mainly to give an open view from the house which was built here (since Stukely's time), and that they might not have taken the trouble to dig up wholly the foundations, and so it might be determined whether there were any projecting walls of a central chapel on the outside, or any projecting partition wall on the inside.

“Bere archid on both sides the est part of the Chirch that began to cast owt.”

“There be vi goodly windowes in the top of each side of the est part of the chirche,” &c.

“Bere made the Volte of the Steple in the Transepto and under 2 arches like S. Andres Crosse, els it had fallen.”

Of work which can be ascribed to Abbot Bere, elected only seven years before the close of the 15th century, I can find none remaining at the eastern end,¹²³ nor are there any other guides to help us in interpreting Leland's meaning.

The question is, what does Leland mean by the ‘est end of the Chirch?’ Does he mean of the choir? Of course I cannot say he does not. But there are two considerations. The first is the view preserved by Stukely, taken by his friend Mr. Strachey, before the abbot's house was pulled down, and, as I understand it, some few years before 1723. In this a larger portion of the second chapel in the south transept remains than now, and it is lettered ‘Edgar's Chapel.’ He seems to have obtained his name from hearsay, and possibly therefore no importance ought to be attached to the tradition by itself. The other consideration seems to me to be more worthy of attention, and may perhaps support the tradition. When it is said, in the next paragraph which Leland gives in reference to Abbot Bere, that he ‘arched’ on both sides the east part of the church, if it meant the eastern end of the presbytery to which I have drawn such minute attention, I cannot but think that in the northern chapel, which for some 8 feet or so in height is nearly perfect, as well as in the southern chapel, some traces would still be visible of this ‘arching.’ Nor do I quite see from what cause this part of the ‘church’ would have ‘begun to cast out.’ The large eastern gable might have done so, but this would have been met by some additional

(123). A small fragment of stonework, about three feet in length, at the eastern end, may possibly be of the 15th century, and be the base of some panelling inserted there; but there is not sufficient to judge with any degree of certainty as to the date, or that it is in its original position.

large buttresses, and of such I think traces must have remained at the eastern end ; the two buttresses belonging to the original work happen in this part to remain particularly perfect, and show no marks of any alteration to meet such an emergency as described.

On the other hand what I should expect 'to cast out,' as it is termed, would be the tower and the adjoining walls, particularly the eastern walls of the nave and aisles, and arching the transepts would be the best means to be taken of preventing further mischief. The next paragraph but one seems to refer to a continuation of the same work. It is not quite certain what Leland means by the vault of the steeple *in the transept*, but probably he means that Bere vaulted over the central space beneath the tower, where very often there is but a wooden floor for the ringers. The fitting in the S. Andrew's Cross to the piers (although in the two piers which are remaining there are few traces which can be with certainty connected with the work), receives, as I have said already, an illustration from Wells and elsewhere, and seems connected with the same giving way of masonry : in fact, all the circumstances seem to fit together. The absence of any evidence of such work which we might reasonably expect to have found at the east end of the presbytery, coupled with the difficulty of suggesting any cause, seems to throw doubt upon the application of Leland's words to the east end of the choir ; while the fact so definitely stated that the tower had to be 'supported els it had fallen,' leaves the balance very much in favour of supposing that the work of 'arching' at the east end of the church meant at the east end of the nave and aisles, and not of the choir ; if so then Edgar's chapel belonging to the same work, and described as being at the 'est end of the chirch,' would belong to the transept also, and there it is placed, in the only engraving which gives the name.¹²⁴ On the whole I

(124). Stukely's engraving (see *ante*) ; also in vol. ix of the *Proceedings* of the Somersetshire Society (1859) a reduced copy of Stukely's view will be found.

think it must be left an open question as to what Abbot Bere built; at least, that the evidence is not sufficient to justify putting Edgar's chapel at the east end of the choir.

Abbot Bere's other works, it will be observed, were about 'the body,' *i.e.*, the nave of the church, where he was buried, but no traces whatever are remaining.

Conclusion.

I believe I have noticed all the documentary material which can be fairly said to throw light upon the architectural history of the building. I am accustomed to find the recorded history of a building very imperfect, sometimes scarcely any whatever, but I have not before attempted to describe a building where the remains have been equally imperfect. And I have also here met with another difficulty, namely that Glastonbury when viewed by the little light which I have tried to glean from the scraps of history here collected, seems to have had a peculiar and extraordinary history of its own, and to present therefore few analogies as regards its existing remains with the history of other buildings. The circumstance of the fire happening while the Abbey was in the King's hands, and that King Henry II, with the memory of the murder of Becket still unbanished from his conscience, seemed at first to be a stroke of fortune which has fallen to the lot of few if any other Abbeys. But while for the remaining years of his reign the summer of the royal bounty favoured the growth of the Abbey buildings, such as none others had enjoyed, it was followed beneath the two succeeding monarchs by a frost, which, perhaps, scarcely any Abbey, previous to the Reformation, has ever had to endure. It was not only favour withdrawn, and the cold of neglect, but the fierce blast of confiscation which swept over the unhappy spot. With their church probably but very few feet above the ground, and their revenues confiscated, the plight of the monks was far worse than if no church had been begun at all. The great name of Glastonbury, and the claims it had advanced to so high honour among other Abbeys, required

funds to maintain its grandeur and position ; and as its wealth, so to speak, had been its ruin, so its great name was the trouble to it during its adversity. Possessing the foundations of a church laid, worthy of its name, it was necessary to keep in view the grand scheme which had been set out ; and under ordinary circumstances the revenue of so large an Abbey would have been sufficient to carry the work speedily to a successful termination. But here was one half of its revenue swallowed up in the ordinary requirements—the regular life and work of the monastery, and that barely sufficient for their members : the other half diverted to Wells. And so the work of building, which might have been completed in twenty years, dragged on for a century and a half, during the greater part of which time it was not touched ; and during the other part, by reason of the spoliation of the funds, it advanced but very slowly.

Yet through all these times, not only the old lines of the plan were obliged to be followed, but even for the most part the old style. In other churches architects came and finished their work. The next generation would add, or pull down and build afresh ; insert a larger window here, or open a doorway there ; throw out an aisle on this side, or build out a chapel on that. But here it seems it was one long monotonous work, going on in the same groove, so to speak, to the time of its dedication, at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Windows that were just glazed then, could not be distinguished as regards style and mouldings from windows which had been first glazed perhaps in the twelfth century. Here and there, as in the capitals of the tower piers, a later style peeps out ; and so we see in one or two capitals, completed after the dedication, evidences that years were rolling by as the work went on : but, compared with other buildings, the uniformity is striking indeed. Hence the peculiar history has to be taken largely into account in attempting to interpret the existing remains, and no dependance can be placed upon arguments

from analogies of plan or procedure, as is the case in any ordinary building.

There was, too, coupled with this sad story, it seems to me, a strong and definite inclination on the part of the successive occupants to live in the past. It was not only that their circumstances had prevented them from keeping up with the times, and introducing the latest novelties in design and construction, but they were actuated, also, by a feeling that antiquity was their strongest claim. The 'eald chirche' described in Henry's charter as the fountain of Christianity in Britain, was their chief pride; and the names of early saints and martyrs, in which the legends attached to their church abounded, seemed fitly to be associated with architecture which belonged to bygone ages, rather than that of the day. It was that which probably suggested to some later abbot to build the crypt under S. Joseph's Chapel in the Norman style, as it had prompted earlier builders to retain the zigzag moulding round the windows, as a distinguishing feature of the work of older ages. The zigzag—the typical ornament of the twelfth century—is the persistent ornament throughout, coupled, however, with the pointed arch, and with mouldings and details which mark the work to be of later date: in other words, the past seems to have had a special charm amongst the dwellers in this Abbey to the very end. Nor is it surprising. A church which, somehow, had possessed itself of the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, and had associated the names of saints, like S. Patrick of Ireland, and S. David of Wales, with its history; that was believed to possess the bones of Aidan, the Apostle of the North, and of the venerable Bede, and from having been once the home of Bishop Dunstan, to have rightly possessed itself of his sacred body; that was able, too, to gain the credit of the burial place of the greatest hero of romance—the renowned King Arthur; and still, beyond all this, could truly boast of being the spot where three English kings, who had ruled this land before William the Conqueror landed here,

were interred—was a church which might well call up feelings of veneration for the past. And so with the various links which bound Glastonbury to those bygone ages, it is no wonder that the architecture which it presents is different from that which other buildings present—begun, perhaps, under less happy auspices, but continued under far less grievous trials.

Compared with other buildings, too, not many have encountered at their end so melancholy a destruction as that which has befallen this Abbey, after all the troubles and adversity through which it had bravely fought.

It is probably beyond restoration—but not beyond preservation. The present owner has not only done his best to preserve all that stands, but also to collect and store all the scattered fragments which could be found; and though they are in disorder, we can see what they are. And more than that, by a judicious liberality and management, the Abbey each day, while it delights and charms the architect, the archæologist, and the artist, tells its sad tale to the many visitors, and sends many home, it is to be hoped, with feelings of deeper respect for the glorious monuments which grace our land, and veneration toward the piety of those who reared them; with, on the other hand, a just abhorrence of the foolish spite, or wretched vandalism, which has destroyed the fruit of such patient skill and labour, as the remains testify to have once been here bestowed. All must be gratified that what past generations have left us is being so diligently treasured by the present, and that this ruin has fallen now into good hands.
