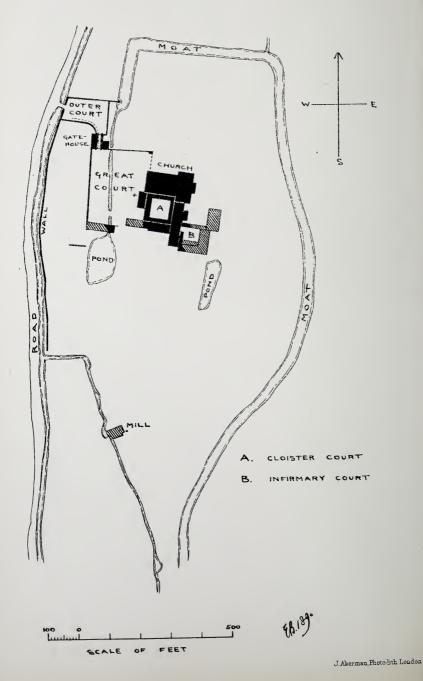
GENERAL PLAN



The Buildings of Cleve Abbey.1

BY EDMUND BUCKLE, M.A.

THE ruins of Cleve Abbey are justly famous for their intrinsic beauty and for the completeness with which the buildings surrounding the cloister garth have been preserved. And these domestic buildings have for the antiquarian an additional interest, since their arrangement is in some respects different to that which is found in the great majority of Cistercian Abbeys. It is well known that while the buildings of most medieval Monasteries have a general resemblance, still each of the great orders of monks followed a ground plan which differed in some points from that used by any other order. The Cistercian plan was founded upon the older one in use among the Benedictines; but two important changes were made in that plan: the chapter-house was divided into three alleys by two rows of columns, and the

¹In volume vi of these *Proceedings* is an account of the Charters of the Abbey by Hugo, and a description of the buildings (which is not entirely trustworthy) by Warre. This and the succeeding volume contain some good drawings by Giles and Mr. A. A. Clarke. In volume i, new series, is a short description by Mr. C. H. Samson, accompanied by plans. Walcott has written accounts of the Abbey, published in the *Proc. R.I.B.A.*, 1876, and the *Journal of the Archael. Assoc.*, 1876. A drawing by Bonnor may be found in Collinson's *History*, and two more drawings may be seen in Grose's *Antiquities* and Boswell's *Antiquities*. These old drawings are useful as showing parts of the buildings which were standing in the last century, but have since been pulled down.

refectory was turned round, so as to have its axis pointing north and south, instead of east and west. But though the builders of the Cistercian Abbeys all followed this modified Benedictine plan, no two of their houses were identical in plan and arrangement; on the contrary, there is considerable variety in the minor details. At Cleve, however, the departures from the typical plan are very marked; the chapterhouse is without the two rows of columns, the refectory is on the upper floor, and has its axis east and west, and the cloister walk is broken off and interrupted at the south-west corner by the kitchen. There are other variations of a less essential character, but these are important enough to arrest the attention at once, and to arouse considerable curiosity as to the cause of these anomalies. It is at once apparent that the hall and kitchen are structures of the fifteenth century, and that the earlier plan of cloister and refectory followed the normal arrangement. The reason for these great changes we can only guess, and before hazarding any suggestions upon this point it will be desirable to examine the buildings themselves in some detail. Meanwhile we may direct attention to the fact that the remains of Cistercian buildings elsewhere are almost entirely of earlier date, and that the normal plan to which attention has been called is that which was developed in the latter half of the twelfth century, and was in general use throughout the thirteenth century; and it is not surprising that when, after an interval of two hundred years, an extensive rebuilding was decided on, a radical change should have been made in the plan and general arrangement. But the peculiar form of the chapter-house comes under another category; here it is the original thirteenth century building which is abnormal.

Cleve Abbey was founded in 1188, by William de Romara, and colonised with monks from Revesby. The mother house of Revesby was Rievaulx, itself a daughter of Clairvaulx. Among the Lenefactors of the Abbey were Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, the father-in-law of William de Romara; Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall; Reginald de Mohun; his brother, William de Mohun; King Henry III; Gilbert de Wolavinton; Osmer de Tregu; King Edward IV; Ralph, son of William de Wydecume; and Robert, son of Hugh de Wude.

Before the end of the thirteenth century the church, the dwelling-rooms, and all the necessary buildings had been solidly built in stone. In the year 1297 the number of monks was increased from 26 to 28. In Pope Nicholas' taxation in 1291 the house was valued at £32 5s. 8d. In 1483 the Abbot of Cleve was one of the Visitors of all Cistercian houses throughout the realm, appointed by the Pope, the other Visitors being the Abbots of Stratford, Fountains, and Woburn. During the fifteenth century the south and west sides of the cloister court were rebuilt. The last Abbot, William Dovell (1510-36), rebuilt the gate-house. At the dissolution the income of the house amounted to £155 10s. $5\frac{1}{4}d$.; the Abbot received a pension of $\pounds 26$ 13s. 4d.; the Prior a gratuity of £4 3s. 10d., and thirteen other monks £1 6s. 8d. each. In 1541 the Abbey was granted to Robert Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex. The property passed afterwards to the Botelers, and it is said that Robert Boteler, who died in 1606, lived at the Abbey. His son built Bynham in 1624. In recent times the buildings have been used as a farmyard. In 1875, however, Mr. Luttrell having acquired the property, rescued the ruins from this degradation, and with the assistance of the late Rev. Mackenzie Walcott and Mr. C. H. Samson, disclosed many portions which were previously buried beneath the soil.

On the drawings which accompany this essay a uniform system of shading is employed. The original buildings of the thirteenth century are indicated by the solid *black* shading; all subsequent additions are shewn a *light grey*; and conjectural restorations of the earlier work are *cross-hatched*; of the later work, *singly hatched*.

THE GENERAL PLAN.

Crossing an ancient bridge and passing through a gateway, of which only one jamb remains, we find ourselves in a small outer court, of irregular shape (see Plate I). Along one side of this court is a footpath, paved with pebbles from the beach; and a similar path may be seen leading over the hill from the Abbey to Old Cleve Church. The gate-house stands between this outer court and the great court within. The great court seems to have had no buildings (except the gate-house) on the north and west sides; on the south side there were some workshops or farm buildings; and the east side was occupied by the west end of the church and the buildings surrounding the cloister. In the north side of this court is a small gate-way, which seems to have had a porch; and the west and south walls each contain a small gate-way. The steps of a cross remain on the east side near the end of the church. A small stream passes under the building on the south side, and flows across the court. The cloister court is surrounded by the usual buildings, which will be described in detail. To the east of this there appears to have been another small court and other buildings. Here probably stood the infirmary and the Abbot's house.

The land on which the buildings were placed was well enclosed. A stream flows along the west boundary of the land, and on its bank a strong wall was erected. This wall is also carried round the north side of the outer court, and a little beyond; it then terminates with some buttress slopes, and its place is taken by a moat, which forms the northern and eastern boundaries of the home estate. Further south, neither wall nor moat at present remains. Within the enclosure were at least two ponds for the supply of fish, and also the Abbey mill, for we may safely assume that the modern mill which now goes by that name occupies the ancient site. A short length of wall remains near the west pond, but there is nothing to indicate to what it belonged. The mineral railway now

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follows closely the course of the moat on the east side; the rest of the moat and the ponds form marshy hollows.

THE CHURCH.

Unfortunately, little more than the foundations of the church remain. Its plan has however been completely recovered (see Plate II), and it proves to be a typical example of an early Cistercian church, absolutely unaltered by later generations. The choir and presbitery seem to have been enclosed on three sides by solid walls, only the western end above the screen being open to the nave; but there may have been arches opening into the transepts. On the eastern side of the transepts are chapels, two in each arm. These chapels were vaulted, but every other part of the church seems to have had a wooden roof. In two of the chapels indications of the altar remain, and in one the piscina is still to be seen. In the north transept the base of another altar remains in front of the pillar between the two chapels, and over against this altar is a flat tombstone, bearing only a blank escutcheon. In the south transept is the door to the sacristy, and above that the door to the dormitory, but the dormitory stairs have entirely disappeared. In the south-east corner of this transept there is also a doorway connecting the dormitory with the triforium space over the vaults of the eastern chapels. Possibly this led to a watching chamber overlooking the chancel. Bonnor's drawing, published in Collinson, shews that the triforium space in this transept was left blank, and that the clerestory was lighted by lancet windows. Grose's sketch also indicates the same facts. The nave contains four bays in length, and has aisles north and south. In the south aisle wall are three lancets, above the roof of the cloister walk outside. Only one door remains, that from the east walk of the cloister into the south aisle, opposite the blank wall of the choir. Presumably there was a door at the west end of the nave, and possibly one in the north transept. There seems also to have

been a door for the converts in the south-west corner of the south aisle. The two doors near the west end of the south aisle, one above the other, are both modern, and were formed probably in connection with the house which Bonner shews standing in this part of the church. Of the screens with which the Cistercians always sub-divided their churches, but one fragment remains; that is attached to the base of the south-west pier in the nave.

The church was constructed in two parts. The eastern part, as far as the west end of the choir, was first built, that being the part most needed by the monks. The break is clearly indicated on the south aisle wall, and by the differences in the character of the work within. The eastern part was ascetically severe. The piers have no bases, only plain chamfered plinths. And they almost certainly had no capitals; the arch mouldings, consisting merely of two chamfered orders, were carried continuously down the piers, and stopped just above the plinth. The triforium was a plain, blank wall. On the other hand, the piers of the nave are circular, with moulded bases of the ordinary thirteenth century character, and they must have had capitals to correspond.

Several portions of the tile paving are well preserved. Not only the encaustic tiles themselves, but the patterns in which they were laid are here preserved. These tiles are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and appear to be of the period of Henry III or Edward I; so that they may well be the original paving of the western part of the church. Such a paving was, however, in contravention to the rule of the order, which forbade all ornament which might prove to be a distraction to religious meditation. These tiles bear numerous coats of arms, which are laid in patterns along with tiles of the more usual floriated type. There are also in other parts of the buildings tiles of similar date, in the paving of the old refectory, and in the window seats of the dormitory and other rooms, where odd tiles, taken up from older floors, appear to have been used up indiscriminately. The various coats of arms are detailed in the following list: $-^2$

1. Three lions passant gardant.-ENGLAND.

2. A lion rampant within a bordure bezantée.—RICHARD PLANTAGENET, King of the Romans, son of King John; and his son, EDMUND PLANTAGENET, Earl of Cornwall.

3. Three chevronnels.—CLARE.

The above coats occur on 8-inch tiles in the refectory. All the other tiles are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches square. ENGLAND and CLARE are also found on the small tiles.

4. A cross engrailed.—MOHUN.

5. Quarterly, 1 and 4 plain, 2 and 3 a fret, over all a bend.—LE DESPENCER.

6. A trivet.—TRIVET.

7. Five fusils in bend (sinister).-RALEIGH or SYDENHAM.

8. Quarterly, a bend (sinister).—FITZNICHOLAS or W. BEAUCHAMP.

9. Fretty.—STANTON of Timbsborough and Stowey, temp. Henry II and Henry III, and Whitestanton, temp. Edward II. Or BEAUCHAMP of Eton.

10. Vair.—BEAUCHAMP of Hache.

11. A fess between 6 crosses fleurée (or potent).—The form of these crosses varies; perhaps there are two different coats; if crosslets are meant, this is the principal coat of BEAUCHAMP.

12. Gironny.-PEVERELL.

13. Quarterly, per fess indented.-FITZWARINE.

² For a more detailed description of these tiles, and of the families to which they refer, see a paper by Col. J. R. Bramble, in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xxxiii. I give here his conclusions where they differ from mine :--

9. AUDLEY.

22. On a bend 3 roses.-CARY.

14. Barry of six.-POYNTZ.

23. Six roses.—PALTON.
24. A bend between 6 cinquefoils.

Not noticed.
 ALESFORD.

A bena between 6 cinque Brideport.

In the cases in which the description of the shield differs, it is possible that both varieties occur, but that owing to their similarity each of us has overlooked that noticed by the other.

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14. Two bars.—FITZRALPH, temp. Henry II. But it is doubtful whether this is the Somerset Fitzralph.

15. Five fusils in pale.-FURNEAUX.

16. Three cinquefoils, 2 and 1.—BARDOLF.

17. Three fusils in fess.--MONTACUTE.

18. On a bend (sinister) 3 mullets.—BAMPFYLDE of Weston Bampfield.

19. Checquy; over the shield is a triple-towered castle as a crest or badge.-WARREN or ST. BARBE of South Brent.

20. Fretty engrailed.—Perhaps CAMFIELD, Co. Norfolk. Charlton Horethorne was anciently called Charlton Canfield or Canville.

21. A chevron between 3 crescents. — BARKEROLLES or POLLARD of Kelve.

22. On a bend (sinister) cotised 3 cinquefoils. Perhaps AUDRY, Co. Wilts; or a differenced form of CARY, who bear On a bend 3 roses.

23. Three cinquefoils 2 and 1, on a chief as many more of the same.

24. Party per pale, a bend between six crosses patonce.

In the above list the word *sinister* is enclosed in brackets in the cases where the shield is reversed. It is assumed that this is due in all cases to the carelessness of the pattern-maker. One other tile should be included in this list which is presumably of an heraldic character, though not, like the others, upon a shield.

25. An eagle displayed having two heads—the badge of RICHARD PLANTAGENET, King of the Romans.

This tile is found in the refectory, the floor of which is almost entirely composed of tiles bearing the shields of ENGLAND, EDMUND PLANTAGENET, and CLARE, together with floriated designs. The few other coats found here may be the result of accident; some, at least, have been inserted to replace broken tiles. The tiles in the refectory may be safely attributed to the period between the coronation of the King of the Romans in 1257, and the divorce of Margaret Clare from Edmund Plantagenet in 1294. Since Edmund cannot have been born before 1244, and he was not the eldest son, it is hardly likely that he should have been a benefactor to the Abbey before the death of his father in 1271, and his elder brother in that or the following year.

The SACRISTY opens as usual out of the south transept. Here it has no second door, giving access directly from the cloister. It is lighted by a large circular window at the east end, which appears to be original, since its internal arch exactly fits the line of the original vault, and there are no signs of the masonry having been interfered with at either end of the chamber (Plate IV). If this is the case we have here a remarkable instance of the early use of the scroll moulding, a feature not generally met with until near the close of the thirteenth century. The window was not actually so large as it now appears, for it has lost at least one inner ring of masonry, and it was probably also traversed by bars of tracery. Such a window is not usually found in the sacristy; it may be remarked, however, that since the Cistercian rule forbade the use of precious metals in the service of the Church (except for the chalice and paten, which were to be silver gilt), there was no great necessity for the small and heavily barred windows generally to be found in this situation. The sacristy was originally covered with a plain, semicircular vault, the outline of which is visible on the wall at both ends. Subsequently, this has been altered to a barrel vault of flatter pitch. In the walls are various recesses for shelves and cupbords, and a piscina in a position which indicates the existence of an altar under the east window. Part of the tile floor remains, and on the plaster of wall and vault are remnants of colour.

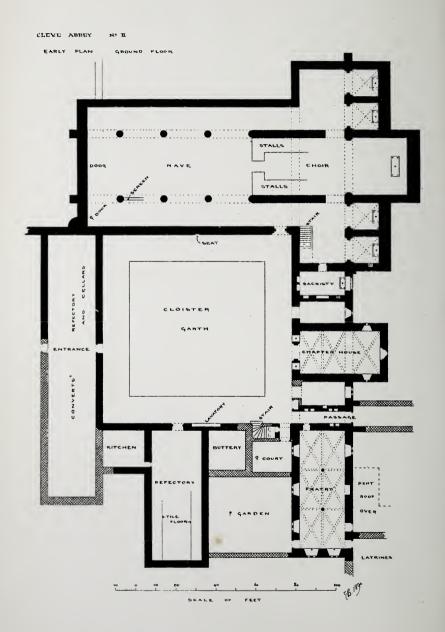
THE EARLY DOMESTIC BUILDINGS.

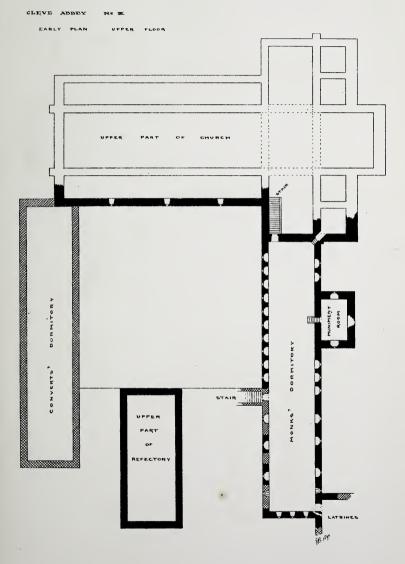
The general plan of the early buildings is shewn on Plates II and III, on which those parts which still remain, or of

which the foundations can be clearly traced, are shewn black. In the course of the detailed description of the different buildings, the evidence in favour of various portions of the restorations will be discussed. It will be shewn that the original plan accorded in most respects with the normal arrangement of Cistercian houses, and a few lines, for which no direct evidence remains, have been filled in on the supposition that in these particulars the buildings conformed to the usual arrangement. The object of these two plates is to indicate the general resemblance of these early buildings at Cleve to those in other contemporary Cistercian Abbeys, and to serve as a key to the alterations subsequently effected.

After the completion of the eastern half of the church, the next work taken in hand was the block adjoining the south transept, which contains the most necessary rooms, the chapterhouse, fratry, and dormitory, and which includes the sacristy already described. There is a difficulty, however, in understanding precisely in what order this block was built, for round arches appear in unexpected places, in close connection with pointed arches, and the sacristy window is ornamented with the scroll moulding already mentioned. The nave of the church and the south side of the cloister appear to have followed rather later. Of the building at the west side of the cloister nothing remains from which its date can be conjectured.

The CHAPTER-HOUSE is approached from the cloister as usual by an archway between two windows, and as usual we find that the archway has never been closed by a door, nor the windows with glass. The chapter-house was covered with three bays of quadripartite vaulting; the two bays under the dormitory being very low, but the third, which forms a projection eastward of the dormitory, much more lofty. We learn from Grose's and Boswell's sketches that there was a single lancet on the north side of the lofty bay. Doubtless there was a similar lancet opposite, and also one or more windows in the east wall. Portions of the tile floor and of the colouring





I Akerman Photolith London

The Buildings of Cleve Abbey.

on the vault remain. The windows on each side of the entrance arch are divided into two lights by a slender lias shaft, and the head is pierced with a quatrefoil. The capital and base of the shaft are also of lias, and these are worked with exceedingly fine and delicate mouldings, presenting a strong contrast to the massive simplicity of the rest of the building; and the capitals, though duly proportioned to the size of the shafts, are barely large enough to receive the stone springers of the tracery which rests upon them. It looks as though the marble mason and the stone mason were working independently, neither knowing what the other was doing. If an order was sent to a marble mason at a distance for two lias columns, with capital and base complete, of such a height, such a combination as these windows present would be a very natural result. The label over the three arches at the entrance to the chapter-house has been hacked off flush with the wall.

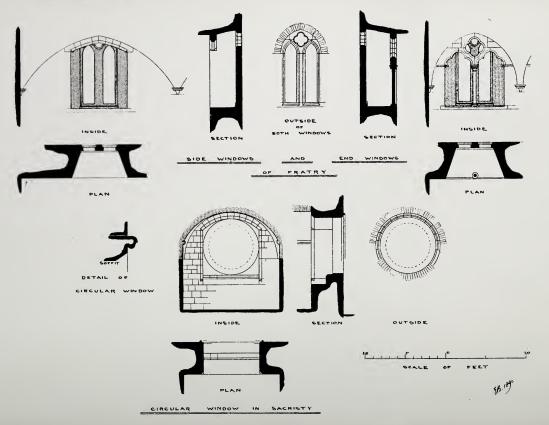
The unusual plan of this chapter-house has been already noticed. Mackenzie Walcott states that the only other instances (in Great Britain, presumably) of Cistercian chapterhouses of plain oblong plan occur at Ford, Whalley, Sawley, and Louth; while Margam has the altogether exceptional treatment of a polygonal chapter-house. The Monastery originally founded at Stanlaw only migrated to Whalley in 1296, and the chapter-house of the new home cannot have been built for some years, as it is a late Decorated building. Consequently this chapter-house belongs to a later period; but the other three are, I believe, all of early date. It seems that the old Benedictine plan of a chapter-house without internal columns was sometimes followed by the Cistercians.

On either side of the chapter-house is a small room. That on the north side has a semicircular barrel vault, similar to the one which formed the original covering to the adjoining sacristy. It is lighted by a single lancet at the east end, the sill of which was originally at a lowor level than at present. This room has at some period been divided into two by a wall

across the middle. The original entrance to it was through an open archway, six feet wide. Subsequently this has been walled up, and a small doorway substituted (see Plate VI).

The chamber south of the chapter-house has a pointed barrel vault, indicating a slightly later date. It is lighted by a pair of lancets at the east end, which have more acutely pointed heads than the window to the room last mentioned. A considerable alteration has been made to the entrance of this chamber. Although many of the stones used on the dormitory stair, and the archway leading to it, bear marks of having been worked in the thirteenth century, a little examination of the work is sufficient to show that the whole of this staircase is an insertion of the Perpendicular period. On the upper part of Plate V will be found a plan and elevation of this corner of the cloister court in its present condition; below this is a suggestion for the restoration of the older arrangement. In the wall over the doorway to the room in question a relieving arch may be observed in what is now an absolutely useless position. This, together with the thin jamb now built up in the wall below, gives a clue to the original design. Supposing this room, like that on the other side of the chapter-house, to have been originally entered by an open archway six feet wide; one side of this arch, the relieving arch, and the other side of the arch leading into the passage, would form together a single constructional arch, which would take the weight of the wall over, and relieve from any undue pressure the narrow piers of the cupboard below.

Some small rooms are always found on the east side of a Cistercian cloister, but their number, size, and position differ in the various houses. One of these is supposed to have been the library, the other the parlour (the only place within the cloister where silence was not absolutely enforced). The cupboard adjoining the last described of these rooms must have had some clearly defined purpose, for its insertion in this place would otherwise have entailed a needless weakening of the wall. CLEVE ABBEY Nº IX



The Buildings of Cleve Abbey.

The passage at the corner led through the eastern block of buildings to a small, square court (probably the infirmary cloister), from which it seems to have been separated by a wall. Indeed, the passage had a wall on either side, and a lean-to roof over. The excavations have not been continued in this direction, but it is obvious, from the look of the ground, that the adjoining meadow contains the foundations of several buildings. The Abbot's lodge and the infirmary probably lay in this direction. The passage through the building which remains has a pointed arch towards the main cloister, and a round-headed doorway at the east end. The doorway opening from it into the fratry has also a round head. At this stage of the building, apparently, the round arch was still retained for door heads, though the pointed arch was in general use for other purposes. In this passage are several square recesses for lockers.

The FRATRY³ extends from this passage to the south end of the building. The vaulting in this room was similar to that in the chapter-house, and was supported by two circular columns in the centre of the room, and corbels in the walls. Two windows at the south end remain in a fairly perfect state (see Plate IV). These are composed each of a pair of lancets under a quatrefoil opening in the head. On the inner face of the wall the design is repeated, with a difference. Instead of the mullion we have a lias shaft with capital and base (the capital is stone, with a lias abacus, the base lias), and a head composed of two trefoil arches and a central quatrefoil; the impost of the jambs is marked by a lias string-course, having the same moulding as the central abacus. The side windows were similar externally; but there was no repetition of the tracery within, they were finished with a plain internal arch immediately below the vault. There were three such windows on the west side, one only on the east. In the centre of the

⁸ This word is in general use, and is convenient, though its correctness has been disputed. The room described was the monks' sitting-room, by whatever name they called it.

east side was a large fireplace, with a tile back, chamfered jambs, and a projecting hood over. At the south end of the west wall was a doorway leading into a small garden, the boundary wall of which can still be traced, starting from the end wall of the fratry. Opposite this door were two others, close together. One gave access to the small cloister on the east side. The corbels to carry the roof over the west walk of this cloister remain in the outer face of the wall for twothirds of its length. Apparently, however, the roof was not carried past the fratry window, so that it did not interfere with the light at this end of the room. The other door led to the latrines, which were situate in a building attached to the fratry by a corner only.

On the upper floor the DORMITORY occupied the whole length from the transept of the church to the extreme south end, measuring 138 feet 9 inches by 23 feet 9 inches. The day-stair and door must have originally stood in the position shewn on Plate III, as will be clearly proved further on; otherwise the dormitory remains very much as it was first built, though the roof and the wall across the middle are both modern. At the north end are two doorways into the church. The principal one communicated with the floor of the church by a straight flight of (? wooden) steps in the transept, by which the monks descended to the midnight service; the wide splay on the internal jamb of this doorway has been cut off subsequently, probably in the fifteenth century. The other door is in the angle of the room, and led up by about four steps into the space over the vaulting of the transeptal chapels, and thence probably to a watching loft overlooking the chancel. A doorway high up on the east side was approached by a flight of steps, and gave access to the muniment room over the eastern bay of the chapter-house; a lancet is shewn by Grose in the north wall of this room. In the south-east corner of the dormitory is a wide doorway leading into the upper part of the building containing the latrines. The door here was

hung upon central pivots (of which the marks remain), so that when open the door stood in the centre of the archway, but at right angles to the wall, and formed a screen, dividing those entering from those returning. At the side of the door is a skew window, by means of which a person standing in the corner of the dormitory could look into the adjoining room, and in the lintel of this window is fixed an iron ring. The windows, which are all lancets, are ranged in a rather irregular fashion, which needs explanation. The wall which overlooks the cloisters was pierced with ten lancets, close together, and the opposite wall (except where the muniment room interferes with the arrangement) has also windows close together. In this half of the dormitory, apparently, one window was allotted to each cell or cubicle. If this was so, the cells would have been each about 6 feet 6 inches wide, by say 9 feet long. In the southern part of the dormitory, however, the windows were spaced at wider and more varied intervals. These intervals were probably more regular, however, than they now appear, for the piece of blank wall against the end of the present hall was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, and this space originally included the entrance door, and probably a window. The blank wall at the south end of the same side seems also to have been rebuilt, and the central of the three windows between these two blank spaces is undoubtedly a later insertion. Plate III is an attempt to restore the original disposition of the dormitory. Two varieties of windows were employed. The three at the south end, the southernmost window on the east side, and the central one of the three southern windows on the west side differ slightly from the remainder, and appear to be of a slightly earlier character. These are smaller, and have rounder heads. The one on the east side has also an original stone window seat, whereas the rest of the windows had originally flat stone sills without window seats, of which only one specimen remains absolutely unaltered, beneath the window immediately over the present staircase. All the

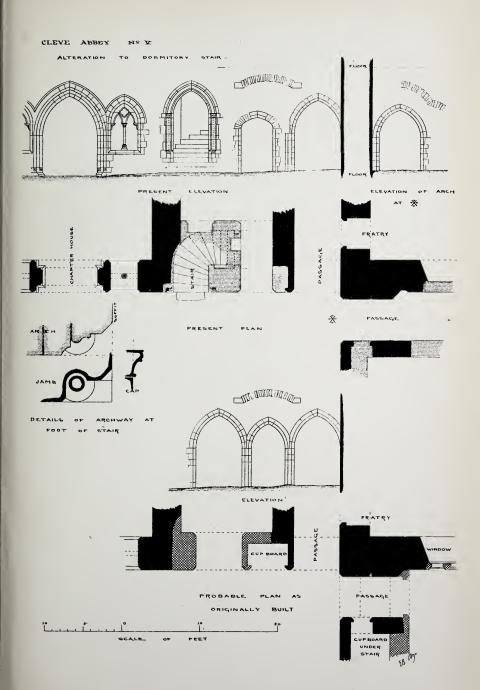
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windows were closed with internal shutters; but like most, if not all, of the other windows of early date, they were originally unglazed.

On the SOUTH SIDE OF THE CLOISTER much less remains of the original buildings. In the angle adjoining the fratry is a pointed arch, having over it a relieving arch of a curious cusped form (see Plate V), which like the relieving arch previously mentioned, has now no duty to perform. Just within the archway on the right hand side is a small, square-headed doorway, partly blocked up with later masonry. In the passage may be observed, on the left side, a little further on, the marks of a cross wall, corresponding with a vertical crack upon the right side; and on the left side, still further on, a change of masonry, where the window from the fratry has been blocked up. Putting together these various signs, we may safely conclude that Plate V fairly represents the original plan of this part of the building. The small doorway led into a cupboard under the stairs to the dormitory, and the relieving arch was required to carry the stairs over the thin wall of the cupboard. The jambs of the arch at the foot of the present stairs are of Early English character, with detached shafts, which are now lost, and there can be little doubt that they were taken out from their original position at the foot of the old stairs and re-used. The arch in the corner of the cloister led under the stairs to the little garden previously mentioned. But there is one point which needs explanation; it seems that a cross wall started from the fratry westward, nearly where the south wall of the present building stands, apparently enclosing a very small courtyard. What was its purpose?

The principal building on this side of the cloister was the REFECTORY. The doorway of this room still remains at the foot of the stairs leading to the later hall. Each jamb was ornamented with a detached shaft, having a lias capital, and the arch is of two orders, the inner chamfered, the outer (which rests upon the capitals) well moulded, and the whole finished



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with a moulded label. Inside the hooks for the door remain in the jamb. Beside this doorway is the broad low arch over the lavatory with two chamfered orders and a rounded label. The level of the water trough can be distinctly traced at both ends. This arch is very like an arch in the wall of Dunster churchvard which presumably contained a water trough. Part of the west wall of the refectory is still standing; this wall contains a doorway which probably led to the kitchen. The foundations of the other walls have been discovered by excavating. A splendid tile pavement, measuring 34 feet by 13 feet 6 inches, has also been discovered within the walls. It appears, from the description of this discovery given by Mr. John Reynolds in the Journal of the Archaelogical Association. vol. xxxiii, that the tiles extend right up to the southern end of the refectory, but leave a clear space of about five feet along each of the side walls. This space on each side had doubtless a wooden floor, for the tables were ranged along the two side walls of the room, the monks sitting on benches placed outside the tables, so that their faces were towards the wall. This refectory was without the central arcade which is found in some Abbeys. The tiles have been already described; it seems probable that the pavement in its original state contained few, if any, heraldic emblems except those of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall; his father, the King of the Romans and his wife, Margaret Clare; together with the lions of England, which mark his royal descent. Is it too rash to surmise that the refectory may have been built at his expense?

Probably the buttery and the kitchen occupied the spaces to the east and west of the refectory.

On the WEST SIDE OF THE CLOISTER we should expect to find a long building of two storeys in height, closely resembling the fratry and dormitory of the monks. This was divided by cross walls into various apartments. Part of the ground floor formed cellarage, part formed the refectory of the converts (their only sitting room), and a passage across it led

from the great court into the cloister court. On the upper floor was the dormitory of the converts, and perhaps also the guest chamber. The *converts* were the artizans and labourers who did the manual labour needed upon the Abbey estates. They were regular members of the Cistercian order, though the rule by which they were bound was necessarily less strict than that followed by the monks. They had no voice in the management of the Abbey, but their position was superior to that of hired servants. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the converts were more numerous than the monks.

Foundations have been discovered at Cleve which indicate that a building similar to that just described once existed on the west side of the cloister. Part of the outer wall of the cloister belongs to this older building, and the doorway in this wall which still remains must have formed the communication between the great and the cloister court.

The NORTH SIDE OF THE CLOISTER was against the wall of the church. In the centre of this wall is a shallow niche with a graceful trefoil head. This marks the seat of the presiding officer at collation (the ceremony of reading extracts from the lives of the Fathers, etc.); the reader's desk was opposite this chair, and the monks sat on benches on either side.

The lower part of the GATE-HOUSE is of this period. This forms as usual a long vaulted chamber, with the gate placed in the centre of the length. The entrance arch has lost its inner order. The cross wall in the centre contained the large gateway, with a separate wicket gate on the right, through which passed the pebble pathway already mentioned. A pointed barrel vault covered the whole except a small piece just inside the gateway; a change was necessary here, to enable the great gate to open back flat against the side wall. Consequently, this part was vaulted in the following manner: from each of the two corners, where the cross wall containing the gates meets the side walls, half a diagonal rib was thrown

across as far at the crown of the vault; and a transverse rib passing through the intersection of these two ribs, separated the groined compartment from the barrel vault beyond. In fact the part groined formed half of a sexpartite bay of vaulting. At the intersection of the ribs was a boss carved with a simple rose, which is now deposited in the cloister. In the side walls are three wide low arches; one of which appears to have formed an opening in the wall, while the others covered recesses in which were probably benches to accommodate persons kept waiting just within or without the gate. The fourth space (in which there was no wide arch) contains the door into the porter's lodge, and his spy-hole by the side of the door. The porter's lodge was a single small room, under a lean-to roof; some plaster remains within it on the outer side of the gate-house wall. Opposite the porter's lodge, on the side of the foot-path, was one of the recesses; the other was outside the gate, on the side of the roadway. Opposite to this, on the foot-path side, was the open archway through the wall, which gave access to two small chambers on the west side of the gate-house, and also to the upper floor. These rooms were entirely outside the great gate of the Abbey (though within the gate of outer enclosure), having no means of communication with the inside of the Abbey, except by passing through this gate. Probably the almonry was situate on the ground floor here, while the room over the gate was intended for the holding of Manor Courts and the various other civil business entailed upon the Abbey by its position as a great landlord.

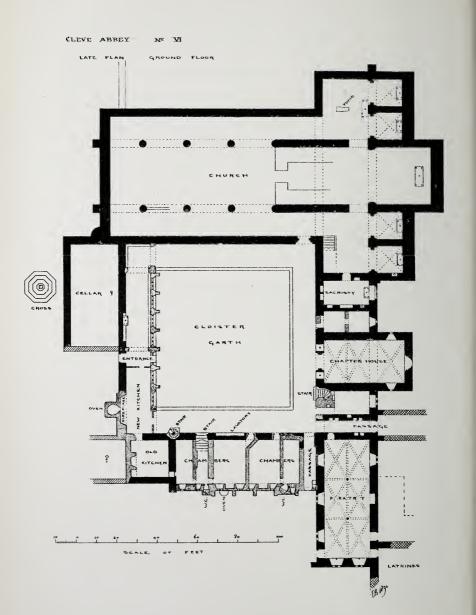
It seems then that (except in the case of the chapter-house) the earlier buildings followed throughout the ordinary Cistercian plan. Some of the early refectories were divided into two aisles by a central arcade, but this was by no means a constant feature, and its absence in this case requires no explanation. When we examine the architectural character of

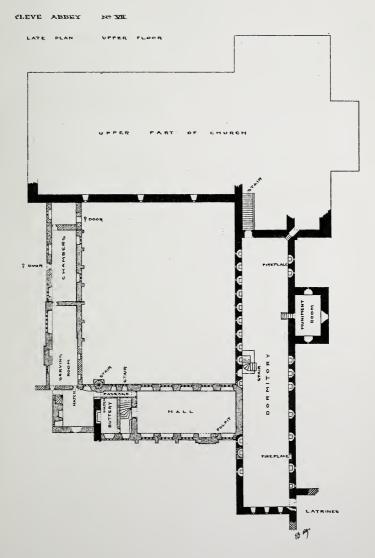
these buildings, we are struck by a peculiarity in the form of the vaults, both in the fratry and in the chapter-house. Ordinarily, the compartments into which these buildings are divided are nearly square, and the transverse arches in the two directions, at right angles to each other, are of similar shape. Here however the compartments of the vault are very oblong; consequently the arches are of a totally different form in the two directions. Those lying east and west have the usual pointed outline, but the others, lying north and south, have a very slight rise compared with the width of their span; and the centres from which these arches are struck are far below the impost level, so that the arches leave the capitals at a sharp angle (Plate IV). Perhaps the most probable explanation of this peculiarity is to be found in the supposition that the building was put up in the cheapest possible way, and the number of piers consequently reduced to a minimum.

Very little moulded work is found on any of these buildings. What does occur is all of the ordinary Early English type (except the scroll moulding round the sacristy window). Nowhere is there any appearance of the local style in which Glastonbury Abbey and the nave of Wells Cathedral are built. A resemblance has been pointed out between the windows of the fratry and those in the oldest part of Wells Palace; it may be added that in both cases also the groining springs from corbels against the walls, and the ribs are simply chamfered; also, that the mouldings of the refectory doorway closely resemble those of the doorway which remains at Wookey Manor House.

THE LATER BUILDINGS.

The alterations seem to have begun in the north-west corner of the cloister. This corner bay was rebuilt in stone, apparently for the purpose of obtaining a small room over. Probably the entrance to the room was through the converts' dormitory adjoining. The doorway now existing from it into





the church is modern, though that shewn by Bonnor on the east side may be ancient. The window on the west side, of which one jamb remains, was probably put in at a later period, when the rest of the cloister was altered. The wall in which this jamb remains has been recently rebuilt, having been destroyed by the fall of a bough from the walnut tree in the church.

On the east side of this building the weather-course over the cloister roof remains, and also the finish of the coping to the dwarf wall forming the boundary of the cloister walk. A corresponding stone may be seen at the west termination of the south walk. From these indications, and the roof corbels in the walls round, the width and height of the walk round the cloister court can be determined.

The chief alteration in the plan of the buildings took place when the old refectory was taken down and the present HALL set up to take its place. At this time the whole of the south side of the cloister court was rebuilt, with the exception of some parts of walls which were utilised in the new building, and which are distinguished by the dark tint in Plates VI and VII. On the ground floor the passage at the east end was retained, and at the outer end, under a new window, was fixed a stone seat and footstool for a porter; and the steps up to the hall were introduced so as to lead through the old refectory doorway. The old kitchen beyond seems not to have been much altered. The rest of the space was occupied by two sets of chambers, each consisting of two rooms and a privy. In each case the principal room contains a fireplace, with moulded jambs, between two windows; while the inner room, which is only half the width of the other, has but one window. All the windows look out south, and most have tiled window seats. The set of chambers to the east was very plain, the windows mere square openings, unglazed; in the floor of the inner room are some large pieces of timber, the purpose of which is not known, nor the time when they were

placed there; the small doorway in the north-east corner of this room was walled up at the time these rooms were formed. In the other set the windows have transoms and cusped heads, and they were partly glazed; the ceiling of the large room is better finished than the others, and there is a nice piece of stone tracery over the lobby inside the entrance door. The object of this lobby, which takes a corner out of the next room, is obviously to save interfering with the lavatory outside. In this case the inner room is reached from the large one by passing through a storage space under the stairs. The doorway on the west side of this inner room was blocked at the time we are speaking of. The head of the window belonging to this inner room is now lying on the hall stairs. The two doorways with wooden frames, connecting these two rooms with the hall staircase, are later insertions. An oven, partly lined with encaustic tiles, has been subsequently built on at the back of the fireplace in the large room, partly blocking up the window; and a sink and drain has been formed on the other side of the fireplace. In considering these and other alterations, we have to recollect that the buildings have been continuously inhabited down almost to the present time. This room has at some period been used as a kitchen, but that is clearly not the purpose for which it was designed. The entrance doorways to these chambers have delicate Perpendicular mouldings, with Early English stops above the floor, and Early English labels over the arches; but since the arches are four-centred, the lower part of the label must have been newly worked in all cases, and the terminations are fifteenth century heads. These labels are of the same section as that over the adjoining lavatory arch. This is not the only case in which the fifteenth century builders have re-used thirteenth century stones.

In ascending the stairs to the hall we notice the wavy outline of the fourth step; the widening of this step in the centre suggests the notion that it may have been used as a platform from which to address persons assembled below. Higher up the steps wind round to the hall door, and at the same time continue straight on to the landing and buttery; the whole treatment of the staircase at this point reminding one of the stairs to the Wells chapter-house, the upper steps of which are of about the same date. One side of the landing is occupied by a stone bench.

The HALL is a beautifully proportioned room, measuring 51 feet by 22 feet, with a fine timber roof, of the wagon form so common in the west country. The principal ribs, which spring from bold angel brackets, have delicate Perpendicular tracery carved upon their sides along their entire length. Smaller angel brackets over the window heads support the intermediate ribs. Each angel bears a scroll, and each stone corbel supporting the base of the brackets a shield; but scrolls and shields are alike blank. Carved bosses occur at all the intersections of ribs and purlins, and the cornice is richly moulded and carved. The roof is said to be made of chesnut wood. On the north side of the hall are five windows; on the south, four only, since one bay is occupied by the fireplace. The southern windows are particularly fine, having the usual Somersetshire tracery in the heads, and transoms containing an open quatrefoil on each side of the cusped head of every light. The sills of the windows on the north side had to be kept up much higher, on account of the roof of the cloister outside. So these windows have no transom, but the tracerv in the head is the same as that on the other side. All have three lights. Externally the windows have a narrow casement moulding, and a moulded label terminated by carved heads; inside they have deep splays and a bold rear-arch, with plain stone window seats. One peculiarity deserves notice; the small quatrefoils in the transoms are formed on the outside by soffit cusps, though these cusps are treated in the usual manner on the inside. These quatrefoils were not glazed. The fireplace has a simple chamfer round the opening. Near it is a small recess New Series, Vol. XV, 1889, Part 11. 0

in the wall, which formed the reader's pulpit. At the lower end of the hall are two openings; a wide central arch (without doors) forming the approach from the staircase, and a small door in the corner leading by a gallery over the lower part of the staircase to the rooms beyond. This doorway is contemporary with the hall, having the same detail as the doorways to the chambers below. But the central arch is a later insertion; it has an ugly outline and large coarse mouldings, quite out of character with the rest of this building. The blank wall at the upper end of the hall was covered with a painting on a large scale, now much faded, representing the Rood, with Mary and John. The floor (like all the upper floors in this building) was formed by laying thick planks over the joists, in the same direction as the joists, and covering these with a coating of mortar. Probably in the hall tiles were laid upon the mortar bed, though it is quite likely that the mortar formed the finished floor in some of the other rooms. It is remarkable that no tiles which are distinctively of this date have been found; those laid in the window seats being all earlier tiles re-used. The present tile floor at the east end of the hall is entirely modern, though the tiles of which it is composed are old ones, found in various parts of the buildings. The hall had no bay, and it is doubtful whether it had a dais.

On the other side of the staircase was the buttery. Both this room and the landing outside have two-light windows, with tracery in the transom and under the square heads. The doorway to this room is similar to those below, but a triffe simpler; and the room contains a fireplace moulded like those below, but with the addition of a projecting hood which has now perished. The walls have been covered with paintings, of which considerable traces remain on the east side. This wall has been painted twice over, and what we now see belongs partly to one and partly to the other painting. Most of it, however, belongs to the later painting, which depicts three figures, of whom the central has a grey beard, besides several monsters. In the upper part of the wall are some small angels, which seem to belong to the earlier work.⁴

The passage which starts from the small door in the hall leads across the staircase and past the buttery, to a room over the old kitchen; and this passage deserves particular attention. Over the stair it is carried by a large moulded beam, and screened off by a substantial piece of framing, which is also moulded on the side visible from the stairs. Similar, but quite plain, framing divides the passage from the buttery; in this framing was originally a small hatch, which has been subsequently converted into a door. The hall floor is one step higher than the buttery floor, and the floor of this passage is again higher than the hall floor; raised, doubtless, for the purpose of giving ample headway below; so that the floor of the passage is considerably above that in the buttery (say, nearly two feet). The construction here is most extraordinary for the whole depth is built up solid; a stone wall being formed under the partition, and the whole width of the passage filled in with rubbish and concrete, with the mortar floor floated over the top. All this rests on the wooden floor of the buttery. It is not surprising that this floor now requires a strut below to hold it up. The passage is lighted by two small square windows on the north side. The room to which it leads has been much modernized, but its north side is fortunately unaltered. There has been no door where the passage enters it; perhaps the passage was screened off from this room, as in the case of the buttery. Entering, we find another square window on our right, resembling in all respects the two previously mentioned, except that those have sloping sills, while this one has a flat sill at a convenient level for use as a shelf; then we reach a doorway leading into a room built over the west walk of the cloister. This doorway has been fitted with the lower half of a door, so as to form a movable hatch. The rebate for the

 4 Walcott considers that this painting represents SS. Theela, Margaret, and Katherine.

door reaches only half-way up each jamb; so that the upper half of the arch must have always stood open. Moreover, the two jambs of this doorway differ; that nearer to the hall having been smoothed down—and, indeed, the whole wall from this jamb to the entrance to the present passage has been splayed off, to facilitate the carrying of trays from the hatchway to the hall. There can hardly be any question about the meaning of these arrangements. This hatchway must have been the point where the cooks handed over the dishes to the waiters to carry into the hall; the other small hatch in the wooden partition enabled the same waiters to communicate with the butler; so that the whole of the service for the hall passed through this passage and the narrow door in the corner of the hall. But how the food was conveyed upstairs from the kitchen to the hatch is a problem.

The service passage is very narrow and was not probably found to be convenient. It seems likely that the main doorway into the hall was enlarged not long after the hall was built, in order to make it easier to carry the food up the stairs and in by this opening. This doorway has never had doors hung in it; and doors would be of no use if the food was brought in this way, for they would have necessarily stood open during the whole meal. Probably a screen stood in the centre of the floor in front of the doorway. I believe that at Winchester College the dinner is still carried up into the hall by the front staircase.

Somewhere in the room to the west of the buttery, there may have been a stair up to the room over the buttery; for there is a doorway opening into this room immediately over the west end of the passage just described. In the same corner of this upper room is another doorway at the head of a turret stair, which started at the ground level and led direct to the upper room without any opening into the passage on the first floor. This room is under the same roof as the hall; here also the roof is wagon shaped but much simpler than in the hall. On each side there is a window similar to that on the landing below but covered internally with a wooden lintel; and the floor remains in a very perfect condition. The partition which now divides it in two is of the same date as the two doors with wooden frames at the foot of the hall stairs.

Outside, the walls of this building are finished with a moulded stone eaves-course, which does not appear ever to have carried a parapet. On the south side there is a buttress to each bay of the hall; two of these sustained the chimneys from the fireplaces on the ground floor, but these do not now rise above the roof. The great chimney stack for the hall fireplace occupies the whole of one bay, stretching from buttress to buttress, and, except for the lowest stage of the buttresses, it has a greater projection than they have, and so makes these buttresses look rather foolish. One of the privies is constructed in the base of this chimney stack, the other forms a square addition against the side of one of the buttresses, and this projection is carried up needlessly high, so as to partially block the lower part of the window on the landing above. A drain close outside the face of the wall passes under the two privies. On the north side, near the top of the wall. over the doorway leading up to the hall, is a projecting bellcot of pleasing design, intended doubtless for the dinner bell. The arrangement of the windows on this side with the weathercourse and corbels below clearly proves that the builders of the hall intended to preserve the southern walk of the cloisters entire, though the projection of the turret stair was allowed to encroach upon this walk to some extent.

Now let us turn to the consideration of the effect the building of this hall had upon the block on the east side of the court. The dormitory stair was taken down and had to be replaced; one window of the fratry was walled up (the rough arch of this window is still visible in the end wall of the hall, a little above the floor); and in the dormitory, besides the door, it is probable that at least one window was closed by the new

building, though we cannot know certainly what openings there were in this wall, since the wall itself was taken down as far as the dormitory floor and rebuilt. The new dormitory stair is ingeniously planned so as to encroach as little as possible upon the dormitory itself and the room below. It has a double curve like the the letter S, and like the hall stair it is wide but steep. The entrance from the cloister is through an archway with Early English jambs and a Perpendicular head. These jambs, which bear a considerable resemblance to those of the refectory doorway, are probably the same which had previously stood at the foot of the old dormitory stair. They have been decorated with detached shafts of which the capitals and bases remain; the capitals however have lost their abaci in the course of the move. The arch over has a non-descript sort of moulding (shewn on Plate V), and seems from its form to be intended more or less to imitate the old arch; the inner order of this arch is formed of but two stones meeting at the head. The lower part of the stair is vaulted over, and at half the height a doorway occurs with folding doors opening outwards; an inconvenient arrangement, but necessary in this case, since the steps above would effectually prevent any doors from opening inwards. In the dormitory a very rough dwarf wall protects the edge of the staircase. On the ground floor the introduction of the staircase at this point necessitated the destruction of the cupboard under the relieving arch previously described, and an alteration of the entrance to the small room within. Instead of the wide archway previously existing a small doorway was substituted, and two cupboard recesses were formed in the square mass of masonry enclosing the stairs. It may be remarked that a corresponding alteration had already been made to the room on the north side of the chapter-house; the wide archway had been filled in and a small door substituted for it. In building the new staircase a quantity of old material was used up. The jambs of the narrow doorway just mentioned have wide chamfers; so

has the angle of the mass of masonry within; so have the two angles where the staircase turns, and the jambs of the doorway in the middle of the staircase. The whole of these chamfered stones are Early English work, as might be judged by the character of their masonry, which differs widely from that of the later work in which they are inserted; it is, however, made absolutely certain by the masons' marks which can be seen on almost every stone, and which are all to be found on other portions of the building which are undoubtedly of the thirteenth century.

In order to make up to some extent for the windows of the dormitory closed by the new building, an additional window was squeezed in, overlooking the cloister court. The end window of this series adjoining the new hall, though a lancet in form and superficially resembling the rest of the windows, is undoubtedly of the Perpendicular period, as is evident from the character of the masonry. The central light, too, of the three on the south side of the hall has clearly been inserted after the wall surrounding it had been built, though the window itself seems to be, if anything, rather earlier than the wall in which it is inserted.

Other alterations to the dormitory which may be of about this date may be here enumerated; these include the wide chamfer taken off the jamb of the doorway leading into the transept of the church, the two small fireplaces introduced on the east side, and the window seats formed in most of the windows. The fireplace at the north end of the east wall seems to be contemporaneous with the alteration of the window sills, since the old sill is re-used to form one jamb of the chimney opening. The old window sills formed flat shelves about 3 feet above the floor level, but they have subsequently been altered to form window seats, and lined with a miscellaneous collection of thirteenth century tiles. From what part of the buildings these old tiles were taken it is impossible to say. Another alteration to the windows

deserves notice. All the windows have had a wooden shutter hung inside, and none were originally glazed; the external moulding consisted of a plain chamfer. But at some period most of these windows seem to have been either wholly or partially glazed. A rebate has been formed in the external chamfer, apparently for glass, either all round or (in several cases) round the upper part of the window only. It looks as though each monk was free to do as he pleased in his own cell; otherwise it is difficult to account for the variations found in the treatment of the different windows.

The alterations to the WEST SIDE OF THE CLOISTER COURT are of three different dates. Mention has been already made of the alteration to the north-west bay, which was built in stone for the purpose of sustaining a small room over. At a later period a similar change was made at the other end of this west walk. In the description of the hall reference has been made to a serving room situate over the end of the cloister walk; and it was apparently for the purpose of supporting this room (or set of rooms) that the four bays at the south end of the cloister walk were rebuilt in stone. These bays have been much altered since and it is difficult to trace the original arrangement, though there can be little doubt that the ground floor formed originally the cloister walk. The arches over two of the cloister windows still remain, while the positions of the third window and of the archway leading into the south walk of the cloister are clearly indicated by the thin walls which fill in the spaces between the piers. Before long, however, three of the four bays were converted into a kitchen; the old kitchen having presumably been found inadequate to supply the dinners required in the new hall. The large fireplace (now filled in to receive a small range), and a great oven, measuring 7 feet 6 inches across externally, shew the purpose for which the room was used. This kitchen occupied the three bays adjoining the old kitchen, and was separated from the fourth bay, which formed the entrance passage into

the court, by a thin partition containing a doorway. The construction of this partition is plainly visible; it is framed in oak, with panels of basket-work filled in with clay (wattle and dab) and finished with a coat of plaster.

On the upper floor no traces remain of the old partitions, if any existed. At the south end is the hatch doorway already described. On the west side are a two-light and a five-light window, of which the heads have perished, and between them a fireplace, the lintel of which was originally a monumental slab. The one small light on the east side appears to be modern; it is not shewn in Bonnor's drawing, but there are shewn instead a couple of two-light windows, of which no trace now remains. The buildings just described form now the care-taker's dwelling.

Bonnor's drawing shews also a large porch in front of the doorway leading to the hall, and a pent-house filling up the corner of the court between this and the kitchens. There is nothing in the drawing to indicate the date of these buildings, and they may be post-reformation additions, made when the buildings were converted into a dwelling-house.

The west walk of the cloister still retained four wooden bays, wedged in between the two portions which had been rebuilt in stone; but not for long; these also were rebuilt in a style similar to that employed in the adjoining bays. But the windows in this portion have late arches, formed of two straight lines with a quick curve at the springing, instead of the rounder arches in the earlier portion. The elegant Perpendicular tracery remains in two of the heads, whereas none of that which formerly filled the older windows has survived. A wide recess in the west wall is due partly to the fall of the sycamore tree, of which the dead trunk may be seen growing out of the steps of the cross; but there seems to have been previously a recess in this position, and at the base of this recess may be noticed the square plinth of an altar, with a rough space hollowed out over for the reception of relics.

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Little remains of the upper storey, but Bonnor's view shews that the buttresses between the windows rose as high as the tall buttress at the corner of the care-taker's dwelling, and that two of the bays contained windows, each of two lights, with a transom and traceried heads. There was a doorway communicating with the rooms over the southern bays, and probably another leading to the room over the northern corner bay. On the west side were two windows, one of which had two lights, and between them either a fireplace or more probably a doorway. If this was a doorway, it can only have led into a closet or other small projection. The only access to these upper rooms seems to have been through the servingroom at the south end of the range. But in the end room over the corner bay at the north end Bonnor shews a doorway on the east side; if this was ancient it indicates that a staircase led up to it from the north walk of the cloister. This end room had a window on the west side, probably an insertion of this date.

Along the whole length of this range of building windows are found looking out westward. If there was any building adjoining the cloister on the outside, it cannot have risen above the ground floor. But there is every reason to suppose that the dormitory of the converts originally occupied this position and stood over this refectory and the cellarage on the ground floor. The inference is plain that this dormitory must have been pulled down before the upper storey was added to the cloister. And there is nothing strange in this; for it appears that as time went on the number of converts in the Cistercian houses decreased, until in the fifteenth century few, if any, remained. Apparently the granges were then let out to tenants to farm, and the manual labour required upon the home estate was obtained from hired servants. It appears from the Chronicle of Meaux that there were in that Abbey in 1249 ninety converts, but that in 1349 their numbers had fallen to seven, and thirty years later there seem to have been none left;

though possibly these statements may refer only to the number of converts employed at home, excluding those employed upon the granges. In any case there would be no further need for the converts' dormitory, for the servants were doubtless lodged at a greater distance from the monks, among the farm buildings which surrounded the great court. But the cellars under the dormitory would naturally be retained; and there is an indication that this was so, for the wall from the church as far as the entrance doorway has on the outside a set off on which the roof over these cellars appears to have rested.

There only remains the GATE-HOUSE to consider. William Dovell, the last Abbot, who was appointed in 1510, found this building in a dangerous condition. Possibly the foundations obtained for it in the marshy ground were originally insufficient; at any rate it is certain that the barrel yault had thrust the walls apart, and that they required additional support. This was supplied by the buttresses which Dovell added. At the same time he seems to have taken down to the ground and rebuilt a part of the wall adjoining the porter's lodge, and he certainly rebuilt the whole of the upper storey. The filling in of the wide arches on the ground floor with solid masonry seems to have been an earlier attempt to prop the building up. The upper floor forms one long room, with a square-headed window of four lights at each end, and a fireplace in the middle. This was doubtless intended for the holding of manorial courts and similar purposes, and probably takes the place of a similar room of the same date as the gateway below. On the outer face of the gate-house one buttress on the left hand side only was added, and this was not very well bonded into the old work. Under the window is a square tablet with the inscription in black letter-

Porta patens ello nullí claudaris honefto

Among the abbreviations employed in this inscription there is

one of a very remarkable nature. Nulli is written ulli, with a bar across the ll. Not only is it unusual to represent an initial n by a bar, but in this case the whole meaning is inverted by the omission of the n; and the bar which is its sole representative is barely visible from the ground level.⁴ Over the window is a small niche containing a sculptured figure of the Virgin. This sculpture appears to be of considerably earlier date than the building of which it now forms a part.

The inner face of the gateway has been more completely transformed. A buttress has been added on each side of the archway, and the lower part of the walling seems to have been refaced, so that nothing remains of the original design, except the archway itself. Over the arch is a string-course, and between that and the window-sill is an oblong panel containing the name of DOVELL in Gothic capitals, surrounded by some delicate carving of grape branches. Over the window are three niches; a large central one with a pyramidal roof containing a crucifix, the foot of which is supported by an angel corbel; and two small ones now empty, but intended doubtless to hold statues of John and Mary.

In spite of Dovell's restoration the building has again become ruinous, and it is now only upheld by some huge ungainly modern buttresses.

Now that the history of the buildings has been carried down to the period of the dissolution, it may be desirable to say a few words in reference to the architectural character of the later works. The quatrefoils which occur in the transoms of the hall windows are a local peculiarity. Many examples of this feature are to be found in the neighbourhood, as for example in the churches of Minehead, Wootton Courtney, Selworthy, and Dunster. But their treatment at Cleve is in one respect remarkable, for externally the cusps spring from the

⁴As the fact of this abbreviation was disputed at the time of our visit, I may add that I afterwards examined it closely with the help of a ladder, and am satisfied that the above description is correct.

soffit of the mullions,-an arrangement out of harmony with the usual Perpendicular practice, and one generally accepted as a sure sign of Early English work. The heads of these windows contain the usual Somersetshire tracery, but the cloister windows are filled with tracery formed of a series of vertical lights, which is more common in other parts of England than in our own county. The domestic and almost modern character of the architecture of the hall block deserves notice. Some of the windows of the lower rooms are simply square openings, such as might be fitted with modern sash windows, and the tracery of all the other windows (except those of the hall itself) is kept within very narrow limits, but the effect of the whole building is exceedingly beautiful. It would be interesting to discover the date of this building, but the architecture of Somersetshire retained such a similar character for over a century, that it would be rash to fix the date with any acuracy; but it was certainly erected within the fifteenth century.

The alterations that have been described involve four radical changes in the plan of the convent buildings; the substitution of a hall in an abnormal position for the ancient refectory, the interruption of the cloister walk by taking part of it for a kitchen, the destruction of the converts' dormitory, and the erection of additional chambers over the west walk of the cloister and under the hall. The change in the position of the dormitory stair seems to have been merely of an incidental nature, and not to have implied any change of habits on the part of the monks; but the introduction of fireplaces, window glass, and tiled window seats into the dormitory is evidence of an increase of comfort in their mode of life.

The Benedictines placed their refectories parallel to the south walk of the cloister, with the kitchen on the south side of the refectory, quite cut off from the cloister. They employed hired cooks, so this was a perfectly natural arrangement. On the other hand, the Cistercian rule enjoined that every monk

should take his turn for serving in the kitchen. Accordingly, we find that the Cistercians turned their refectories with the ends towards the cloister, so as to allow space for kitchen and buttery on either side, in close connection with the cloister. By the fifteenth century however the distinction between the two orders in this respect had passed away; the Cistercians also employed cooks. They had also learnt to copy the Benedictines in other matters, for by this time the early piety of the Cistercians had vanished, and with it had gone their early popularity, and they were glad to follow the lead of what was now the more powerful and more respected order. So it is not surprising that when the refectory was rebuilt a plan should have been adopted similar to that in vogue among the Benedictines.

William of Wykeham, in both the colleges of his foundation, Winchester College and New College, Oxford, placed the hall and chapel in a continuous range along one side of the quadrangle, and in order that the roof line might be carried continuously through he raised the hall (which was the less lofty room) upon a basement story and obtained access to it by a flight of steps leading up from the quadrangle. His arrangements were copied elsewhere, and in the later foundations of Eton College and Magdalen College, Oxford, the halls were similarly raised upon a lower storey. In 1436, S. Bernard's College⁵ was founded at Oxford for the Cistercians, by Archbishop Chichele, and Wykeham's plan was closely followed in the buildings; but in this case the chapel was less lofty and the hall was kept upon the ground floor. In 1483 the buildings of this college were still in progress; and in this year the Abbott of Clyff (or Cleve) was one of the "Reformators and Visitours of all the ordre of Cisteux" in this realm. The Abbot of Stratford was especially charged with the duty of collecting money for the building fund of the college, but doubtless the other reformators must have been aware of what

⁵ Now S. John's College.

The Buildings of Cleve Abbey.

was doing in Oxford, and their duties must have obliged them to be great travellers, going about to visit the houses under their charge. The similarity in plan of the new hall at Cleve Abbey to the halls built by Wykeham and his imitators suggests the idea that it may have been built by the Abbot of whom we have been speaking. His name is unknown, but we may fairly assume that he possessed considerable influence, and his position as visitor would clearly have given him great opportunities for the collection of subscriptions. If it is the case that this Abbot built the hall on what may be called an Oxford plan, it is certain however that he employed a local architect.

That the Cistercians in these latter days exercised hospitality upon a great scale is clearly proved by the mere existence of such a hall as Thomas Chard built at Ford Abbey in Devonshire at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This hall is 115 feet long and 28 feet wide, or nearly three times as large as the hall at Cleve. It is then not surprising to find that the kitchen at Cleve required to be enlarged, but the manner in which this was effected indicates a further change in the habits of the monks from their primitive ways. Originally a large part of their various duties seems to have been carried on in the four alleys of the cloister, but it is natural that as time went on they should have got into the habit of doing their work in comfortable rooms with windows and fireplaces, and used the open sheds (which is all that the cloister walks seem to have been) merely as passages connecting the different rooms. This change of habit, together with the increasing desire for privacy which may be observed in the purely domestic architecture of the time, fully accounts for the presence of the additional chambers under the hall and over the cloister. But the cloister walks were used also for a processional path; and a question arises whether the procession round the cloister had fallen into disuse, or whether when the kitchen was intruded into the cloister walk the procession was

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driven out into the open court for a part of its course. The door at the north end of the kitchen is too small to allow us to suppose that the procession passed through the kitchen. If the porch, etc., shewn by Bonnor is of pre-reformation date, the processional path was still further interrupted. It is just possible that the kitchen in the cloister walk belongs to the post-reformation period, but the doorway in the wattle and dab partition does not look so late as this. Another example of the destruction of the cloister walks is to be found at Ford, where Chard rebuilt the cloister walks on the north side (in this case the buildings lie on the north side of the church) in a manner which makes it clear that both the east walk and the west walk were destroyed.

While these great changes were being made in the domestic buildings, the church remained virtually unaltered. It is true that during the thirteenth century, the period when additional space for numerous altars was most in demand, the monks were busy completing their original quadrangle, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that they cared more for their own comfort than about the adornment of their church.