# THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY


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**REV. R WILLIS, M.A., F.R.S., &c.**

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# PLATE I

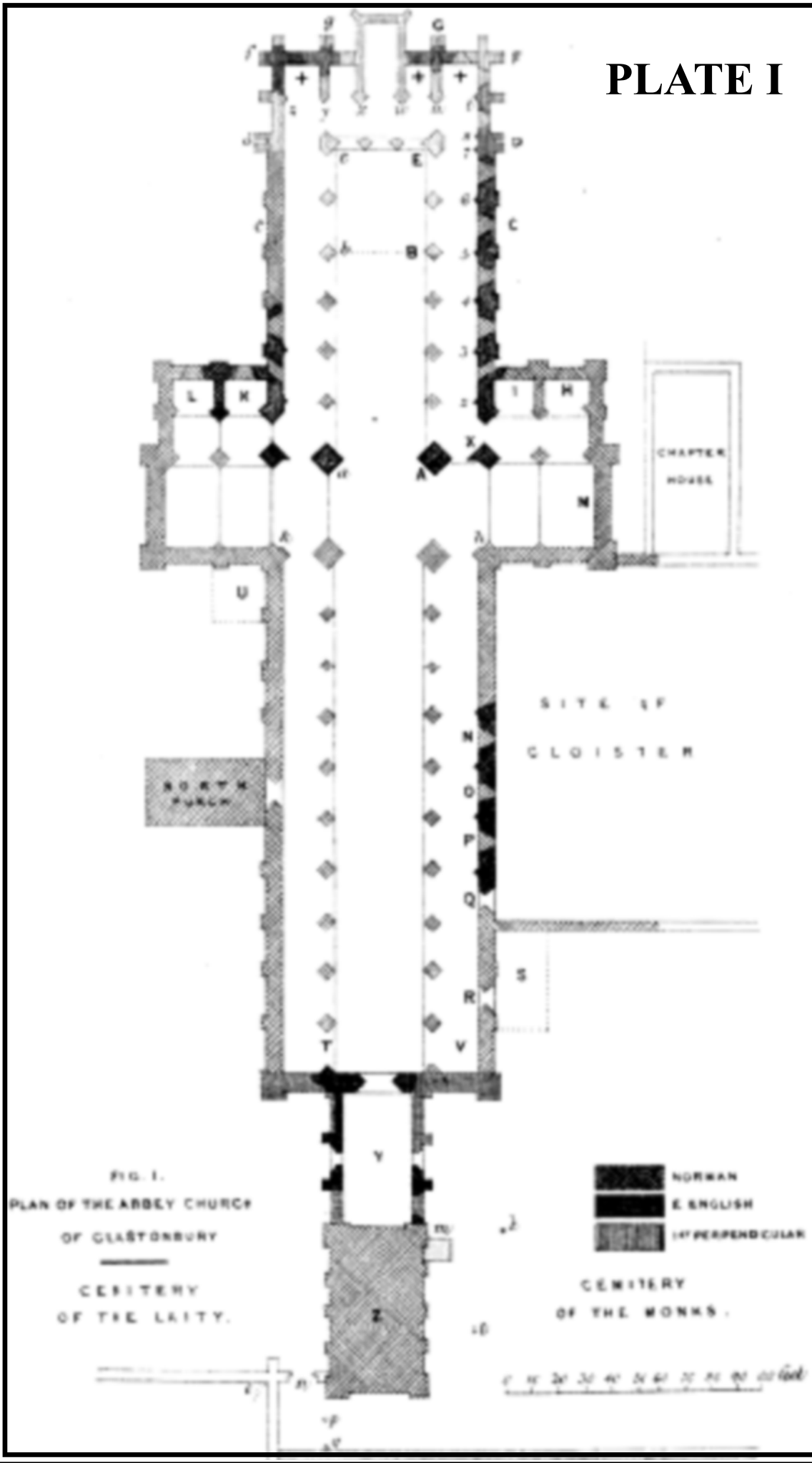


FIG. 1.
PLAN OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF GLASTONBURY

# INTRODUCTION.

**THE ABBEY OF GLASTONBURY** is one of those to which a peculiar interest has been always attached. The boldness of its legendary history, which claims for its site the privileges of being that on which the first Christian church was erected in our island, and the burial-place of King Arthur and Joseph of Arimathea : also the peculiar architectural character and beauty of the chapel which now bears the name of St Joseph, its singular plan and position; and lastly, the picturesque remains of the great church itself, little inferior to the chapel in beauty, and of the celebrated kitchen and barn;—these furnish sufficient grounds for the interest which has been maintained up to our own time, and has made this place the theme of so many writers, ancient and modern, that the subject might appear to have been exhausted in all directions.

Yet it must have been perceived by the readers of these writers, that the interpretation of the documentary evidence, with reference to its application to the buildings, is still enveloped in indecision and conjecture.

Yet few monasteries have left to us a better collection of historical documents, including the memoranda of Leland and William of Worcester, both written before the Reformation, or furnish a more instructive example of the manner in which such buildings were carried on and altered. My first acquaintance with these venerable ruins in 1863 convinced me that the cloud of vague conjecture which still hung over their architectural history might be partly dispelled by a personal and repeated study of the structures themselves, combined with a careful analysis of the chronicles and records, selecting from them those passages only which have reference to the arrangement and purposes of the buildings, the time and mode of their construction, the manner of raising funds for that object, and the motives which caused them to be undertaken.

This in fact is the system that I have pursued throughout my researches into the Architectural History of so many Cathedrals and Monasteries, and the following pages contain the result of its application to Glastonbury. Several visits to the ruins, employed in sketching and measuring; alternating with the home examination at leisure, of the documentary evidence; have emboldened me to assert with confidence the identity of the so-called chapel of St Joseph with the Lady chapel of the Abbey church and with the site of the original wicker church or "Old Church," the "Vetusta Ecclesia" of William of Malmesbury, and thus not only to fix the date of this most valuable piece of transition work to the year 1184, but to identify a spot, which, without crediting the tradition literally which assigns the date of the "Old Church" to A.D. 63, was certainly occupied by one of the very earliest of the British churches.

I have pointed out that the tradition of the visit of Joseph of Arimathea, hinted at by Malmesbury, and evidently neither really credited by him, nor held forth as one of the prominent attractions of the site up to his time or that of his continuator Adam de Domerham, was brought into excessive importance and made a source of profit and honour to the Monastery in the fourteenth century. Thus, finally, the popular name of St Joseph's chapel has superseded the original dedication of the Lady chapel.

Lastly, I have shewn that the crypt is entirely a construction of the fifteenth century, inserted in a building which had no previous crypt, and have endeavoured to explain the steps by which this remarkable undertaking was carried out. As far as I know, this fact has escaped all previous writers.

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## CHAPTER



# ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY

## CHAPTER I.
## DOCUMENTARY HISTORY FROM A.D. 63 TO THE GREAT FIRE IN 1184

**THE** singular position and proportion of St Joseph's Chapel, projecting from the west end of the great church, makes it the great characteristic feature which distinguishes Glastonbury Abbey. It can only be understood by taking a cursory view of the legendary history of the monastery, not because implicit credence can be accorded to these tales, but that they were taught by the monks to the devotees who flocked to their shrines, and the peculiar arrangement of the church was adjusted in accordance with them.

It is true that these legends have been recited in every essay upon this subject, in some form or other, and may be found even in the guide-books, yet I must be permitted to state briefly those parts of them only which relate especially to the history of the structures I am about to consider. This I shall do in the form of a continued narrative, which might be termed the Pretensions of Glastonbury, written, with the original book of Malmsbury, lying before me[1], and preserving, as far as possible, his phraseology in the legendary portions.

In the year of our Lord 63, St Philip, then preaching the word in France, sent twelve of his disciples into Britain for the same purpose. Their chief being, as it is reported, his dearest friend Joseph of Arimathea.

The king and his barbarian people rejected the mission, but permitted the missionaries to retire to the present site of Glastonbury, at that time an island, called Yniswitrin, on the confines of his dominions, covered with trees and brambles, and surrounded by marshes. Afterwards, two other pagan kings, hearing of their holy life, granted to each of them a portion of land.

These saints, thus dwelling in the same desert, were after a short time admonished in a vision, by the Archangel Gabriel, to construct a church in honour of the Virgin Mary, in a certain place indicated.

They, not slow in obedience to the divine precepts, did there construct, in accordance with that which had been shewn to them, a chapel (capellam), whose walls below were formed round about with twisted or wattled rods, misshapen in form but endowed abundantly with heavenly virtues. And this chapel, because it was the first in that region, was by divine command, dedicated to the Virgin. The twelve dwelt in this spot, dying off one after the other, until the place became a solitude and a resort of wild beasts. The oratory of the Virgin (oratorium B. Virg[2]) remained concealed and unknown for many years'. At length, in the year 166, Pope Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, king of the Britons, sent two missionaries named Phaganus and Deruvianus, who baptized the king and his people in that year, and in the course of their subsequent progress through Britain, preaching and baptizing, they arrived at the island Avallonia (or Yniswitrin) i.e. Apple land, which they entered.

There they discovered the church (ecclesia), the work of the disciples of St Philip, and were miraculously informed of its divine dedication to the Virgin Mary. One hundred and three years had elapsed between the advent of the first missionaries and the coming of the second. These two saints protracted their dwelling in this place for nine years, and elected out of their converts twelve persons, who with the consent of King Lucius, took up their residence in the island in

separate places as anchorites, and in the same spots where the primitive twelve had dwelt. In the old church (*vetustam ecclesiam*) they frequently met for the daily performance of divine service. They obtained from the king the confirmation of the old grants of twelve pieces of land for their sustenance.

Their number was now maintained by the election of others as death removed these second occupants, and this system continued until the Irish apostle St Patrick visited this spot about 300 years afterwards. Certain devout converts added to the church thus discovered another oratory in stone work, which they dedicated to Christ and the holy apostles Peter and Paul. And by their labours the *vetusta ecclesia* of St Mary at Glaston was repaired and restored.

The island was now becoming inhabited by settlers from the northern parts of Britain, and the church, which from its antiquity was, by the English especially, denominated the Old Church, or *Vetusta Ecclesia,* became a most attractive place of pilgrimage for all ranks, and was frequently visited by holy and learned men.

Thus Gildas, the historian, ended his life here in 512, and was buried in the *vetusta ecclesia* before the altar. St Patrick, returning from his successful mission to Ireland in 433, visited Glastonbury, and found the twelve anchorites living as above in separate dwellings. He taught them the regular coenobial life, assuming the office of abbot, and so remained for 39 years, until his death in 472, at the age of 111. He rested in the *vetusta ecclesia*, at the right (or south) side of the altar for 710 years, until the church was consumed by fire[3]. His body was placed in a stone pyramid close to the altar on the south.[4]

St David, the archbishop of Menevia, who died in 546, is related to have prepared a solemn dedication for this vetusta ecclesia, but was warned in a dream that it had been at the beginning dedicated to the Virgin by the Lord himself. The archbishop therefore built another church near the first, and dedicated that to the Virgin.[5]

**A.D. 625 - 644**

Thus far our narrative has been wholly or partially of a legendary character, but one fact can be certainly derived from it, namely, that there existed on the spot which is the scene of the tale, a structure of twisted rods or hurdles, which was believed to have been built as a Christian oratory, and reported to be the earliest church erected in Britain. Also, that it especially bore the name of *Vetusta Ecclesia,* the "Old Church," and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. To shew the veneration in which the structure itself was held, the chronicler records, that "according to the traditions of the fathers, St Paulinus, archbishop of York, and subsequently bishop of Rochester, clothed the Old Church, which before was made of intertwined rods, with boards, and covered it with lead from the top to the bottom[6]; and he continues, "assuredly this praiseworthy man exerted all his skill to do this, in such a manner that the church should lose none of its sanctity, but acquire great increase of embellishment. For it is certain that the adornment of churches renders them more impressively influential in alluring uncultivated minds to prayer, and in bending the stiff-necked to submission."

We have now arrived, however, at a period of authentic history,, and may pursue the narrative of the successive changes in the buildings with more confidence.

**AD 610-725**

William of Malmsbury, in his Deeds of the Bishops[7], speaks of Glastonia as a town nestled in a morass, which can only be reached on foot or on horseback, and with no advantage either in respect of site or pleasantness. Here King Ina, by the advice of the blessed Aldhelm[8], built a monastery and endowed it largely. In the Antiquities of Glastonbury, Malmsbury says, that Ina founded the major ecclesia, the &eat church of the Apostles Peter and Paul. He then takes

occasion to say that as several separate basilicas stood on this spot, it may be well to enumerate them with their founders.

The first and oldest was that built by the twelve disciples of the Apostles Philip and James. This stood to the west of all the others.

The second was made by St David, at the east part of the oldest church, in honour of the blessed Mary.

The third was made by the twelve converts who came from the north part of Britain, and this stood similarly to the east of the *vetusta ecclesia.*

The fourth and greatest was built by King Ina in honour of the Saviour and the Apostles St Peter and Paul, to the east part of all the others, for the soul of his brother Mules.

We gather from this, that at the beginning of the eighth century, these basilicas, chapels or churches, constituted a group of separate buildings, after the manner of the Greek convents. The old wicker church, or *vetusta ecclesia,* stood to the west of all the others, and the major *ecclesia* of King Ina to the east of all the others.

The two first were dedicated to the Virgin, and the fourth (as well as the third, as appears above) to Christ and the Apostles Peter and. Paul.

It may be remarked here that the history of Canterbury Cathedral resembles that. of Glastonbury Abbey, in that St Augustine at his coming in 602, found there an early church. This however had been. constructed by Roman believers and he consecrated it, as is well known. Also that in 740 another church was constructed by Archbishop Cuthbert to the east of it and almost touching it, after the same manner as' the basilicas above mentioned. Many other similar cases might be adduced.

## A.D. 871 - 900

The monastery of King Ina brilliantly maintained a succession of monks up to the coming of the to 9,00. Danes in the time of King Alfred, But then, like others, it remained for years in a state of desolation. At length the illustrious Dunstan, a monk of the house, repaired all that the wars had ruined, by the liberal help of the Kings Edmund and Edgar[9]. King Edmund had appointed Dunstan. abbot for the purpose of introducing the Benedictine rule into England, and he immediately, according to his biographer Osbern, set about to lay the foundation of a large church and a complete set of monastic offices according to a plan which had been shewn to him.

When these were finished he assembled a numerous and worthy body of monks, and thus became the first abbot of the first Benedictine monastery in England[10]. But this monastery remained complete with its books, ornaments, and estates, until the time of the Normans, whose first abbot, Turstinus, was installed in 1082.

How far the wicker church or its representative, and the other basilicas, were affected by these changes we are not informed,[11] but it is certain that at the time of the Conquest the churches were considered as consisting of two only, namely, the *vetusta ecclesia*, dedicated to the Virgin and representing the primitive wicker church, and the major *ecclesia*, the great church. This distinction is expressed in Malmsbury's mention of Abbot Tica, who died in the eighth century[12]. " He was buried in the right corner of the great church, near the entry or passage to the old church ;" and we shall find it laid down with equal clearness in the account of the rebuilding of the churches after the great fire of 1183.

After Norman abbots were established in this place they soon began their usual course of reconstructing the great church and monastic buildings in their own manner.

"A new church commenced by the first Norman abbot was pulled down to the ground by his successor Herlewin because it did not correspond in magnitude to the revenues, and he began a new one upon which he spent 480 pounds[13]."

Herlewin was abbot during nineteen years, from 1101 to 1120. This period was amply sufficient to complete at least all the portions of a Norman church that were required for the services, and even more, if the works were carried on continuously and energetically. No farther particulars of it are recorded. His successor Sigfrid occupied the abbacy for six years, and the next abbot, Henry de Blois, succeeded in 1126. He was made bishop of Winchester eight years after, but retained the care of Glastonbury to the end of his life, and presided over it altogether during forty-five years. He was a great builder and his works are thus recorded by Adam de Domerham (p. 316). "In this monastery he built from the foundations a Belltower, Chapterhouse, Cloister, Lavatory, Refectory, Dormitory and Infirmary, with its chapel; a beautiful and ample palace; a handsome exterior gateway of squared stones; a large brew-house; many stables for horses, and other works ; besides giving various ornaments to the church."

From this enumeration it is plain that the abbot occupied himself wholly with the construction of a complete Norman monastery, and as the church is not alluded to, we may suppose that it was finished before he came into power in 1126. It would thus have been in use for more than sixty years, when the fire of 1184 dismantled it.

This abbot also assigned to the sacrist's fund a pension for the maintenance of a wax-candle to burn perpetually before the image of the Virgin Mary in the *vetusta ecclesia*, a phrase which at that period, when a new Norman great church had just been completed could only apply to the smaller one which occupied the site of the wicker church of the Virgin.

It is also related that at this time, "a precious portable altar of sapphire which Saint David had presented to Glastonbury, but which in the time of the wars had been concealed in a place long forgotten, was discovered in a certain recess in the church of St Mary. Abbot Henry decorated it with silver and gold and precious stones, as it now appears[14]."

These passages seem to chew that the old church had not been rebuilt by the Normans, but remained as they received it from the Saxons at the Conquest.

This opinion is strengthened by comparing the passages in Malmsbury, from which we learn that in this *vetusta ecclesia*, or wicker church, St Gildas, St Patrick, St Indractus and others were buried, with the passage of Domerham's chronicle which informs us that after the fire these very saints- were dug up in the *vetusta ecclesia* and placed in shrines.

In 1171 Henry de Blois died and Abbot Robert succeeded, and ruled the abbey seven years. After his death "it remained in the hands of King Henry the second for many years, and was committed to the charge of Peter de Marci, a Cluniac monk, who was his camerarius or chamberlain."

During this time, on the 25th May, the day of St Urban, 1184[15], "a fire consumed the whole monastery, except a chamber with a chapel built by Abbot Robert, in which the monks afterward took refuge, and except a campanarium built by Bishop Henry. The beautiful group of edifices so lately erected by this bishop, with the church venerable to all, and sheltering so many saints, were reduced to a heap of ashes. Soon after this Peter de Marci died suddenly in the year 1184[16]." In a passage apparently interpolated into Malmsbury's Chronicle, it is said of this fire that "it consumed not only the church and the rest of the buildings, but its ornaments, its treasures, and, what was more valuable, the greater part of the relics." The writer declines to dwell upon the affliction thereby occasioned, but adds, that the monks sought consolation by employing

themselves in gathering together the few fragments, principally of relics, which had escaped the flames.

The abbey was at this time, as already stated, in the hands of the king; and in his charter, issued soon after the fire, we read his declaration that, "Because that whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap, I, in the act of laying the foundation of the church of Glastonbury (which, being in my hands, has been reduced to ashes by a fire), do decree, by the persuasion of Heraclius, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and many others, that, God willing, it shall be magnificently completed by myself or by my heirs[17]."

The direction of the works was committed to his camerarius, Radulphus, the son of King Stephen. " He completed the church of St Mary in the place where from the beginning the vetusta ecclesia had stood, building it of squared stones of the most beautiful workmanship, omitting no possible ornament. It was dedicated by Reginald, bishop of Bath, on St Barnabas' day (June ii), A.D. 1186, circiter[18]. He repaired all the offices of the monastery, and, lastly, laid the foundations of the *ecclesia major*, 400 feet in length, and 80 feet in breadth."

## Notes to Chapter 1

1. The early traditions were first collected by William of Malmsbury in a chronicle which is made up of a series of extracts from documents, short narratives and charters, concluding with the succession in 1129 of Henry de Blois, the fourth Norman Abbot, to the see of Winchester. This chronicle was continued by Adam de Domerham to 1290, and finally, J. Glaston wrote a complete chronicle of the Abbey from the beginning, in which he employs those of the above writers, and continues the history to 1493. That this Malmsbury is identical with the historian of the Kings and Bishops of England, is shewn by a passage in his ***Gesta Regum*** (Savile, p. 14), in which he alludes to the first chronicle by its own title, De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesicæ, when praising the virtues of King Ina, especially for building the monastery of Glastonbury, "the additional splendour he gave to it, is shewn in the book which I have written concerning the antiquity of that monastery" *(cui quantum splendoris adjecerit, libellus ills docebit, quern de antiquitate ejusdem Monasterii elaboravi"*).

From internal evidence afforded by his writings, this historian is supposed to have died in 1142 or 3. The last event recorded in his Antiquities of Glastonbury is the accession of Abbot Henry de Blois to the bishopric of Winchester in 1129, and this chronicle is preceded by an address to that bishop, in which the author commends the work which he has completed to his indulgent perusal and attention. The bishop died in 1174, ten years before the great fire. Yet the chronicle contains several allusions to this fire, and a description of its effects, evidently by an eyewitness.

Now, as the complete chronicle was delivered to a bishop who died long before it happened, it follows that these allusions must have been interpolated by some subsequent writer. Indeed, every one of these allusions has the air of a marginal gloss. Amongst them we may well include the puerile stories of the hiding and finding of Dunstan's relics, in which most of them occur.

2. Malmsbury here informs us that he derived the above narrative partly from a charter of St Patrick, dated after 430, which he gives verbatim, and partly from the writings of an ancient British historian, whose works he had found at St Edmund's and St Augustine's. The name of this writer and his period are not mentioned, but he may be identical with Melkin, who flourished c. 550 (vide below, p. 15). The charter is a series of inconsistencies and absurd visions.

3. Which by these dates must be the fire of 1184.

4. Beside the personages already mentioned as buried in the old church on account of their connection with the abbey, a long list of the bodies of other celebrated saints were laid claim to in this establishment under various pretences, many of which existed in duplicate in other monasteries, but were asserted to have been removed to Glastonbury from the ruins of monasteries destroyed in 754 in the Danish excursion. Thus they asserted the possession of St Hilda, abbess of Whitby, of the venerable Bede, St Aidan of Lindisfarne, also of St Dunstan in 912, removed from the ruins of Canterbury after the Danish sack in 901, of which more presently. St Benignus, who visited Glastonbury in 460, was a disciple of St Patrick and his third successor in the Irish episcopate. He was translated to Glastonbury in 901, or, as Malmsbury says in another place, in the days of Turstinus, the first Norman abbot, He was in 1091 brought to the great church and placed before the high altar (J. Glaston, 160).

5. It will be observed, throughout these legends, that the fact of the dedication of the church to the Virgin, in 63, is never said to have been performed by the agency of man, but to have been divinely effected and communicated in dreams to the missionaries, and this fact again in another dream to St David in the sixth century, it follows that it is not worthy of the slightest attention. The church was probably dedicated to the Virgin Mary for the first time, when St David visited it.

6. Paulinum… asserit patrum traditio, ecelesiæ contextum dudum, ut diximus, virgeas, ligneo tabulatu induisse, et plumbo a summo usque deorsum cooperuisse," p. 300.

7. De Gestic Pontifical, p. 254

8. Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborn (705-709)

9. Malmsbury, Gent. Pant. p. 254, and J. Brompton, p. 758; also Osborn De vita Dunstani, p. 100.

10. Dunstan was appointed abbot of Glastonbury in 940, consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in 957, and died in 988.

11. It is in the highest degree improbable that the wicker church, clothed with boards and lead by Paulinus in 625, should have remained in this condition for 560 years, and through the Danish ravages to the time of the fire of 1184, as John of Glaston asserts in an addition at the end of the paragraph concerning the work of Paulinus, which he has copied from Malmsbury (vide page 5, above). The ground of his assertion appears to be another sentence of Malmsbury, which declares that St Patrick "was buried in 472, and rested in the *vetuata ecclesia,* at the right side of the altar for 710 years, until the burning of the church" (p. 4, above). These numbers shew that the fire of 1184 was meant, but as Patrick was buried in a stone coffin, the church above might have been rebuilt over and over again without disturbing him.

The charter of king Cnut giving privileges to Glastonbury in 1032, is promulgated in lignea basilica (323),

12. Malmsbury, p. 301, "...Tice cum valefecisset vitæ, in dextero angulo majoris Ecclesicæ juxta introitum yetusks notabilem accepit sepulturam…..

13. Ecclesiam a prædecessore in-choatam, quia magnitudini posses-sionum suarum non respondebat, solo tenus eruit et novam inchoavit, in qua CCCCLXXX libras dispendit (Maim. p. 533). For in qua J. Glaston substitutes circa quam consummandam (164).

14. W. Malmsb. 305, J. Glaston, 168. This sapphire came into the hands of King H. VIII. at the dissolution of the Abbey

.

15. 1184, 30 H. II. "Eodem anno combusta est Abbatia de Glastyngbirie." Rog. de Hoveden, Annalea, p. 624. Savile.

16. Domerham.

17. "Quoniam quæ seminaverit hæc et metet; Ecclesiæ Glasconiensis fundamentum jaciens, quæ, dum in manu mea fuerat incendio consumpta in cinerem resedit: earn Domino volente, persuadentibus Era-clio, Patriarchæ Hierosolymitano, Baldwin Arch°. Cant'. Ricardo Winton'. Ep°. Barth°. Exon'. Ep°. Radulf°. de Glanvill, cum multis aliis, per me aut per heredes meos consum-mandam magnificentiis reparare decrevi " (Hearne, Hist. of Glastonbury, p. 126). The charter is not dated, but the signature of the bishops and the date of the fire place it between 1183 and 1186.

18. "Ecclesiam sanctæ Mariæ in loco quo primitus vetusta steterat, ex lapidibus quadric opere speciosissimo consummavit, nichil ornatus in ea pretermittens, quam dedicavit Reginaldus tune Bathonicæ episcopus. A°. mill°. center. octogesimo circiter sexto, die S Barnabcæ." Ad. do Domerham, 335, and Joh. Glaston, 180, who adds the sentence in italics, probably from the bishop's register

# CHAPTER II
# IDENTITY OF ST JOSEPH'S CHAPEL WITH THE SITE OF THE WICKER CHURCH AND THE LADY CHAPEL OF THE ABBEY

THE date of the dedication of St Mary's church (1186, circiter) is recorded in a manner which shews that the document from which it was taken, probably the bishop's register, did not furnish the last figure precisely, but only inferentially. Probably it was entered between two other events that were accurately dated: 1186 would give barely two years for the building of St Mary's church, and we are at liberty to suppose that rather a longer time was actually occupied. Still, the short time shews that it was a small work, and the expressions employed with respect to the site, "where from the first the *vetusta ecclesia* had stood," leave no doubt that it was erected on the spot, traditionally occupied by the wicker church of St Mary, and that it is identical with the so-called Joseph's chapel, standing to the west of the major ecclesia, but separated from it as the primitive church of St Mary stood with respect to the other basilicas, and subsequently to the great church of King Ina.

I will now endeavour to skew that it was also the Lady chapel of the Abbey church.

The common assertion that the Lady chapel of Glastonbury was on the north side of the choir of the great church is founded upon a sentence of Leland, who, after transcribing and noting in order the monuments and inscriptions in the transepts, choir, presbytery, and nave, concludes with, "I*n Capella S. Mariæ, a Boreali parte Chori in Sacello, Joannes Biconel Miles et Elizabeth. Gul. Semar Miles in eadem Volta[*1];" that is to say, " In the chapel of St Mary, on the north part of the choir, in a small chapel," are buried the persons indicated.

Now the "choir" in question has been assumed to mean the choir of the great church; consequently, the sentence would place the Lady chapel on the north part of the great church. But the word "choir" may mean the choir of the Lady chapel itself; in which case, the persons indicated would be buried in a small sepulchral or chantry chapel on the north side of the *choir* of the Lady chapel, which I venture to say is the true interpretation, for it will appear as we proceed to be perfectly consistent with other evidence[2].

The most complete testimony to the identity of this Norman chapel with the wicker church and the Lady chapel of the abbey, is obtained by comparing the narrative of William of Worcester's visit in 1480 with the tradition of the burial of Joseph of Arimathea here, which had gradually acquired such immense importance at the time of the Reformation, as I will first shew.

In Malmsbury's Chronicle the name of Joseph occurs but once, at the beginning, when he tells us that "St Philip sent twelve disciples, over whom, as it is reported (*ut ferunt*), his dearest friend, Joseph of Arimathea, the same who buried our Lord, presided." Not another allusion is made to him, not even in the charter of St Patrick,which contains a summary of the history of the mission; or in the list of the "various relics deposited at Glastonbury[3]," although that list begins with the "twelve disciples of St Philip." Evidently Malmsbury attached no credence to the legend of Joseph, and it was not at that time put forth as one of the great glories of the abbey that Joseph was buried there. Adam de Domerham, the next chronicler, is equally silent on this subject, and we are thus carried to the end of the thirteenth century.

The belief that Joseph of Arimathea was really buried in the cemetery appears in the fourteenth century; when in 1345 J. Blome obtained a royal licence "***to seek within the boundary of the monastery of Glastonia for the body of Joseph of Arimathea,***" in consequence, as he asserts, of a divine injunction and revelation made to him. The licence, dated June 10, 1345, permits him to dig within the precinct of the monastery for this purpose, provided that it be done without endangering the church and buildings, and also with consent of the abbot and convent[4]. This is the only record left of the project, but the chronicle of R. de Boston (p. 137), under the year 1367, states that the bodies of Joseph of Arimathea and his companions were found in this year at Glaston[5]; a probable mistake for sought. These are at least indications of the growing tendency to encourage the belief in a tradition to which, as I have shewn, the earlier chronicles of the monastery attached but small credence. On the contrary, John of Glaston, their last historian, writing at the beginning of the fifteenth century, dwells upon this tradition and. spares no pains to establish it.

The authority which John Glaston quotes in support of the, ,actual burial of Joseph in the cemetery is an ancient British historian, named Melkin, who lived before Merlin, and wrote concerning the mission of St Philip's disciples; that they died in succession, and were buried in the cemetery. "Amongst them Joseph of Marmore, named of Arimathea, receives perpetual sleep. And he lies in linea bifurcata near the south corner of the oratory, which is built of hurdles[6]."

It is worth remarking here that when Leland visited Glastonbury, about 1540, Abbot Whiting admitted him to the library of the monastery, in which he found a fragment of Melkin's history, Historiolam, de rebus Britannicis : an author, as he tells us, entirely unknown to him. He read this fragment with great interest and pleasure, and found in it the very narrative quoted above. Doubtless the manuscript was the identical one employed by John of Glaston, whose chronicle was unknown to Leland. Melkin was placed by Leland in his catalogue of British writers[7], and figures accordingly in the works of his copyists, Tanner, Gale, Pits, and others.

Leland gathered from the manuscript that the author was a Welshman and a Bard, and that he flourished about the year 550 A. D. ; that is to say, about five hundred years after the alleged burial of Joseph. He cannot therefore be considered as an authority in that matter, yet John of Glaston accepts his account unhesitatingly, and interpolates Joseph in the sentences which he copies from Malmsbury. To the list of the saints buried at Glastonbury he adds not only Joseph of Arimathea but also his son Josephes[8].

This tradition not only brought a great accession of devotees and pilgrims to the abbey, but gave rise to an intense desire in all ranks of the people to be buried in or near the holy ground that was the resting-place of so many saints, for which privilege they gave immense gifts.

Now William of Worcester visited Glastonbury about 1478, and, according to his practice, gives us the particulars and measures of the whole church and its appendages. After surveying the choir and the nave he comes to the Lady chapel, which he describes in the following sentence: [Church of the blessed Mary at the end of west door of the nave of the church]

"The length of the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which is conterminous with the west part of the door of the nave of the church, is 34 yards and its width is 8 yards, and on both sides there are large windows. And opposite the second window on the south there are in the cemetery two stone crosses hollowed, where the bones of King Arthur were buried, and where in *linea bifurcata* lies Joseph of Arimathea[9]."

This last phrase, identical with that of Melkin and John of Glaston[10], identifies the Lady chapel in which Worcester was standing with the traditional site of the wicker church, while his exact description of the position of this Lady chapel attached to the west end of the church, shews that it was identical with the present chapel of St Joseph; and if more evidence be required, the coincidence of the dimensions will supply it. For Worcester's measure gives 102 feet long by 24 broad, and the interior is actually 109 by 24 mean.

The length being measured from one end to the other also shews that when Worcester measured it, it was thrown into one apartment as at present.

After the Reformation, the ruins and history of Glastonbury occupy many writers. Camden, in his Britannia (1607), amongst other things, quotes from Giraldus the finding of King Arthur's tomb, but not a word of the state of the ruins, or of St Joseph. But Hollar, in the first edition of the Monasticon, 1655, engraves views and a plan of the ruins, in which the western chapel is lettered Josephi sacellum. Mr Ray, in his Itinerary, 1662, rode to Glastonbury, and "saw Joseph of Arimathea's Tomb and Chapel at the End of the Church, &e p. 261.

Hearne gives an excellent anonymous History of Glastonbury, known however to have been written by Mr Eyton, 1716, a Roman Catholic. He tells us that " St Joseph's chapel was so called, not that it was dedicated to him, but because St Joseph built it." p. 24.

Stukeley, in his Itinerary, p. 153, gives drawings and a plan, dated on the plate 17th Aug. 1723, and simply terms the chapel in question, "the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea, the patron and asserted founder of the whole.

This they say was the first Christian church in Britain. The present work is about the third building on the spot." It appears probable from this series of writers that the name of Joseph's chapel had been popularly fixed upon the Lady chapel even before the Reformation, and it has retained it to the present time, as a most curious record of the permanency of local superstition. But the memoranda of Leland and Worcester chew that the monks themselves termed it the chapel of St Mary; and from all existing documents, it is manifest that the epithet "Saint" was not prefixed at Glastonbury to the name of Joseph of Arimathea until the 18th century. It first occurs in Mr Eyton's history, as above, and is now always employed in the name of this remarkable building[11].

In Spelman's Concilia, Vol. 1. page 20, there is given the impression of an inscribed brass plate, which, as he relates, was dug up at Glastonbury, and came into his possession. The shape of the plate is an irregular octagon with a prolongation below, and from each side a little ear projects, with a hole through it, by means of which the plate was anciently riveted to a stone pillar, as the inscription testifies. The plate is covered by a Latin inscription in black letter, not later than the 14th century; and Spelman has printed this inscription from the plate itself, by using it as an engraver's plate. But as this reverses the letters of the inscription, he has also given a transfer from the impression on the opposite page, by which the inscription is presented as it appeared on the plate itself.

The inscription recites at length the visit of the first missionaries, with Joseph of Arimathea at their head, the miraculous dedication of the first church to the Vir-

gin, as revealed by the dream of St David, and the addition which he made to the first church, which is said to have been like a chancel projecting eastward. It then proceeds as follows: " Lest the place and magnitude of the first church should by such augmentations be forgotten, this column was erected on a line passing through the two eastern angles of that church, and protracted southward, thus cutting off the aforesaid chancel. And the length of the church was 6o feet westward from that line. Its breadth 26 feet ; and the distance from the centre of this column, to the middle point between the two said angles, is 48 feet." These dimensions are very nearly those of the Norman chapel itself. Its length inside is 55 feet, outside 64 feet, supposing its east wall standing. Its breadth inside is 24 feet 6 inches, and outside 32 feet 6 inches.

Evidently the plate was fixed to a stone pillar in the old cemetery of the monks, on the south of St Joseph's chapel[12], and was possibly a second edition of an older one that was perishing by age. The plate is now, I presume, lost[13]. I describe it simply as offering an example of the care with which the monks fostered the traditions of their church, and presented them to the multitude. The pillar is alluded to in the preface added to John Glaston's chronicle by a greatly subsequent writer[14], in which the early legends are summed up. The writer, after relating the addition of a chancel by St David, adds'[15] "And that the point where this chancel joined the church might be always known, a certain pyramid outside on the south, and a certain interior step within, on the same meridian line, marked the division between them. Near this line, according to certain ancient writers, lies St Joseph with a great multitude of saints." This writer appears to confound the meridian line with the linea bifurcata.

## Notes to Chapter 2

1. fin. f. 86.

2. On the north side of the eastern part of the Lady chapel there are manifest indications which shew that an attached building had been added to it between the buttresses, which might well have been one of those parasitical chantries that occur so commonly in such positions. Some writers place the Lady chapel at the east end of the great church.

3. P. 301.

4. Rymer, v. 458.

5. Sparke, Script.

6. "Inter quos Joseph de Marmore ab Arimathea amine, cepit somnum perpetuum et facet in linea bifurcata, juxta meridianum angulum oratorii cratibus prceparatis" (Melkin, apud Glaston, pp. 30 and 55). Linea, according to Ducange, is an under garment, close fitting, and made of linen; "vestis interior stricta, ex lino confecta, unde nomen;" "a camisia, subucula, or shirt;" the epithet bifurcata, peculiar, I believe, to this example, appears to imply that it was divided below into two flaps like that ordinary garment. The passage therefore simply reads that Joseph of Arimathea was buried in a linen shirt. A dalmatic, being open at the sides below, also deserves the epithet bifurcate.

7. Leland, De scriptoribus, p. 41.

8. J. Glaston, p. I6.

9. Eccl'ia b'te Marie in fine occi'tlis pte navis dc'e ecclie Long'do capelle b'te Marie qua est 9t'mia ex p'te occnt'li p'te Navis ecclie 9tnet. 34. virgas ej's 9ti'et 8 virgas Et in qlbt latere s'nt fenestre magna Et ex opposito s'cde fenestre ex p'te est in cimit'io due cruces lapidee concavate ubi ossa Arthuri regis recondebat' ubi in linea bifurcata jacet Jh'o ab Arimathea.

10. p. 16, above.

11. A piece of indirect evidence to the position of the Lady chapel is contained in the following transaction. When Savaricus was made bishop of Wells (1192 to 1206) he annexed the abbey to the bishopric, assuming the title of bishop of Glastonbury. The papal confirmation of this transaction commands that " the bishop shall have those houses near the capellam beats Maria, which belonged to the abbot, with the inclosure by the wall which extends from the larder to the corner of the said chapel, and he shall be allowed to make his portal towards the market-place of Glastonbury." Ad. Domerh. p. 421. This is clear evidence that the so-called chapel of St Joseph is the chapel of the Virgin, as the position of a wall connecting the kitchen court of the abbot, where the larder would be, with the Joseph chapel is well known. It is shewn at the bottom of the plan Fig. 1, extending from the right, where the kitchen court is placed, and running within a few feet of the west end of the chapel.

12. In the plan I have marked the spot, 48 feet south from the centre of the chapel, which would be the site of the pillar.

13. Hearne says that in Mr Brough-ton's time it was in the custody of Thomas Hewes, of the city of Wells. Hearne's Glastonbury, p. 118. Broughton's Age of Faith, Vol. L cap. 222 p. 110

14. Printed in Hearne's John of Glaston, and Dugdale's Monasticon.

15. "Et ut semper nosceretur ubi Capellæ istæ conjungebantur quædam piramis in parte septentrionali exterius et quidam gradus interius, et meridies linealiter eas abscindunt. Juxta quam lineam secundum quondam antiquorumjacet Sanctus Joseph cum magna multitudine sanctorum."


# Inscription on the coffin of King Arthur

# CHAPTER III
# DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE GREAT CHURCH FROM 1184 TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERY

THE position and date of the church of St Mary being fixed, we may proceed with the history of the new *ecclesia major*, or great church, of which, as we have seen, the foundations were laid by the king's camerarius, Radulphus, son of King Stephen, 400 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth. The chronicler Domerham goes on to relate that, " Persevering in the work continually he spared no expense, for the king supplied the means when the resources of Glastonbury failed.

"In the foundations of the church were placed the stones, not only of the great palace, built by Bishop Henry, but of the entire wall which surrounded the court of the monastery.

"Great part of the *ecclesia major* having been built, the rest would have been beautifully completed had the Lord prolonged the king's life. But alas, covetous death snatched him away too hastily, and the monks, just recovering breath from their last misfortune, were smitten with a heavier wound, for he died on the 6th of July, 1189, after reigning for 35 years.

"He was succeeded by his son Richard, whose warlike tastes diverted his attention from the building of Glastonbury church. Wherefore the work stopped, because no funds were forthcoming to pay the wages of the workmen."

**A.D. 1189 to 1193.**

As the fire happened in 1184, the work had only proceeded for five years. The abbot at this period was Henry de Soliaco, nephew of Henry II.;

"but he lent not his hand to the work of rebuilding, and quarrelled with the convent." The monks therefore set about to raise money by the usual expedient of " sending preachers selected from their brethren through various provinces with relics and pontifical indulgences, to solicit alms for the carrying on of the work." Thus says the historian.

It may be remarked in this place that the old church of St Mary had preserved up to the time of the fire the arrangements of the Saxon church. The body of St Patrick (who died in 472) rested in a stone pyramid at the south or right side of the altar, which pyramid the historian tells us had been subsequently plated handsomely with gold and silver.

St Gildas remained in front of the altar, as he was buried beneath the pavement in 512. The martyr St Indractus and his companions had been translated hither by King Ina. The former was placed in a stone pyramid at the left of the altar, the others buried under the pavement. Beside these, a quantity of relics of innumerable saints are mentioned which were placed above the altar or elsewhere. When the fire happened, Malmsbury expressly declares that it consumed the greater part of the relics, a phrase which may be supposed to include the latter class ; for those which were enclosed in tombs or buried under the pavement must have escaped. There were also many shrines and relics in the great Norman church which must have suffered.

It was in perfect accordance with the practice of the period at which this fire took place, that the monks should remove the remains of these saints from their tombs and from under the pavement, and place them in coffers or shrines as they were called. Domerham expressly states that " at this time," that is to say, during the reconstruction of the church, "the bodies of the saints, Patrick, Indractus and Gildas, were dug up in the *vetusta ecclesia*, and placed in shrines;" which

manifestly admitted of being removed to make way for the work of rebuilding, and also of being displayed at the proper time for the attraction of offerings.

But sudden difficulties require extraordinary remedies, and I have often had occasion to point out that in the middle ages the raising of funds for the rebuilding of churches, after great conflagrations or the sudden ruin of a tower, has been promoted by the opportune production of a new and attractive saint, or of some monkish marvel, that served to direct popular attention to the church and bring offerings to the treasury.

Accordingly it happens that at the very period we are considering the monks produced the relics of St Dunstan, and the abbot disinterred King Arthur and his queen. These afterwards ranked amongst the greatest attraction and ornaments of the Abbey church.

I will relate the leading particulars concerning the relics of St Dunstan on the authority of Malmsbury or his interpolator[1].

The monks of Glastonbury asserted that, after the Danish sack of Canterbury in 1011, while that church remained desolate for many years, a party was dispatched from their monastery to steal the body of Dunstan. They broke open his tomb, carried off his bones, his ring, and other relics, and were received with great joy on their return to Glastonbury. This translation, as they termed it, took place in 1012.. But when they began to consider the case coolly, they perceived that possibly, after the country had recovered its prosperity and the church of Canterbury its authority, the Archbishop might insist upon the restoration of the abstracted relics. They therefore commissioned two of the older brethren to undertake the deposit of the holy bones in some secure place known only to themselves. This secret to be handed over to another only when the last possessor was on the point of death, so that one person only should possess it until the time came when it could be safely revealed. These trustees enclosed the bones in a box with proper inscriptions, and hid it in a hole which they dug under the pavement of the great church, near the holy water at the right hand of the entrance, and there it remained undisturbed for one hundred and seventy-two years, as Malmsbury or his interpolator declares.

But although the hiding-place was concealed, the possession of these relics was not forgotten, for about a century after these transactions the monks began to boast that Dunstan was in their possession, and immediately a strong letter was written from Canterbury by Edmer, reproaching them for their dishonesty, and ridiculing their pretensions, on the ground that fifty years before, he himself had witnessed the translation of Dunstan's coffin inviolate, upon the occasion of the building of Lanfranc's cathedral. This letter seems to have produced no result.

When the fire happened in 1184, and the monks were dolefully collecting their scorched relics, and trying to make the most of them, they became anxious to find Dunstan. It soon appeared that the secret of the hiding-place was known to most of the monks. Two, bolder than the rest, raised the stone near the holy water-stoup and found the box beneath, strongly bound with iron.

The prior and convent assembled, the relics and the ring were found, as well as the inscriptions, painted by those who concealed the box, which declared the remains to be those of St Dunstan. The monks now took courage to produce the relics for the first time to the world, and accordingly they were placed in a shrine handsomely clothed with silver and gold.. The arm and forearm of St Oswald, king and martyr, were enclosed in the shrine, which was removed to the great church, and as Malmsbury's interpolator states, great miracles and cures were wrought upon the worshippers[2].

That it was, up to the Reformation, one of the principal shrines of the great church, is proved by the second correspondence which took place between the authorities of Canterbury and Glastonbury upon the subject, in the 16th century[3]. This throws so much light upon the nature and intensity of relic worship in the middle ages, that I will extract some particulars from it.

A formal scrutiny of the shrine of St Dunstan was made at Canterbury in 1508 in presence of Archbishop Warham and Prior Goldston. They report to the Abbot of Glastonbury that their shrine contained all the principal bones, and as much of the body as could possibly have remained entire after so many centuries, besides a leaden plate bearing the name of the saint and other matters. Also that it exhibited no appearance of having been ever opened. The archbishop therefore requires the abbot and rest of the convent to abandon their pretensions to the possession of St Dunstan, and no longer to offer the relics for the adoration of the people.

The Abbot of Glastonbury (Bere) replies, amongst other things, that if any bones remain in the shrine of Canterbury, they must have been left behind by those who removed the relics to Glastonbury; and declares that for more than two hundred years the shrine of their patron St Dunstan has been set up in the church under the sanction and authority of the Bishop of the Diocese, with power to remove it from place to place[4]. That yearly, on the feast of their patron, all the parishioners, laying aside domestic work, keep holiday, and come to the abbey church, both men and women, with the greatest veneration. And should any one refuse to do so, and continue to attend to his work or affairs, nothing prospers with him in that year, and grave injury results to his property and his family. And this, he declares, perpetually happens. Whoever, he adds, saw the earnest concourse of people daily supplicating at this shrine with bare feet, and garments cast aside, would say, "Let them alone, lest haply we be found even to fight against God[5]"

The reply of the Archbishop, after enlarging in strong terms upon the indecent phenomenon of two churches claiming respectively the possession of the body of the same saint, declares that unless the Abbot transmits to him before All Saints' Day, evidences to satisfy him of the genuineness of these relics, the strongest legal measures shall be put in action to terminate this scandal.

will now, without stopping to discuss doubtful points, simply relate the leading parts of the history of the disinterment of King Arthur's remains, as I gather them from the best authorities[6]. It happened that King Henry the Second, on occasion of his expedition for the conquest of Ireland[7], embarked with his army from Milford Haven. But while waiting at Menevia (St David's) for that purpose, he was entertained at his feasts, after the manner of the country, by the songs of the Bards with their harps.

One, the most learned of these, sang the praises and history of the renowned King Arthur, comparing him with the future conqueror before whom he stood, who lost not a word, but listened with the most intense gratification and pleasure, and dismissed the Bard with a munificent reward. From him he learnt the traditional particulars of Arthur's mortal wound at the battle of Kamlen in Cornwall[8], and how he was conveyed by water to the monastery of Avalonia, and buried near the old church there, in a wooden coffin, deep in the ground. Also, that the spot was marked by two pyramids richly sculptured, and set up to his memory.

The king earnestly pressed upon his nephew Henry de Soliaco, then, or soon after, abbot of Glastonbury, the importance of removing the remains of King Arthur to a more honourable position, within the church, in accordance with the ideas and practice of that time. But it was at the beginning of the reign of Richard 1.[9] that the abbot, on a certain day, commanded the place indicated between the pyramids, to be surrounded with curtains and excavated. Everything happened in accordance with the legends of the British Bard. They dug sixteen feet downwards, and then came to a wooden sarcophagus of enormous size, made out of a hollowed oak.

When raised to the surface and opened, its cavity was found to be divided into two parts. The one which occupied two-thirds of the length from the head, contained the bones of a man of immense stature, so great, that the leg-bone, or tibia, set upright on the ground, reached to the middle of the thigh of a tall living man.

In the shorter cavity were deposited the bones of a female, supposed to be those of his queen Ginevra ; and there was seen a tress of flaxen hair, preserving its form and colour. But a certain monk snatching at this too hastily, in the attempt to raise it from its recess, it immediately fell to dust.

They also found a leaden cross with a Latin inscription, declaring that "Here lies buried, in the island AVALONIA, the renowned King Arthur."

The relics were removed to the great church, built by Henry II., and placed in a chapel in the south aisle, through which is a passage to the almery[10]. Afterwards they were transferred to a black marble mausoleum, divided within into two parts, as in the original receptacle. The king's relics at the head of the tomb, the queen's at the foot, towards the east. This was placed in the middle of the presbytery; and finally, in 1276, Edward I. and his queen visited Glastonbury, and the sarcophagus was opened for their inspection. The separated bones of the king, of marvellous magnitude, were seen. The sepulchre was ordered to be placed before the high altar. The skulls of the king and queen to remain outside for the devotion of the people. Leland saw the tomb at the latter end of the 15th century.

Malmsbury (p. 306) mentions the burial of Arthur and his queen between two pyramids in the monks' cemetery, which Worcester saw on the south side of the chapel[11]. But Malmsbury describes two other pyramids[12], which, he says, stand several feet distant from the vetusta ecclesia, and in front of the monks' cemetery. The nearest to the church is 26 feet, the other 18 feet, high; and he describes their ornaments and unintelligible inscriptions. He professes entire ignorance of the origin of these pyramids and their meaning, but suggests that they contain bones deposited in cavities within the stones; and that the words inscribed upon them, are the names of the persons.

## A.D. 1303 to 1322

We may now return to the large church, great part of which was built, as we have seen, when King Henry died in 1189, and the monks were driven to their wits' end to raise money for completing it. This was dedicated in the time of Abbot Galfridus Fromond, and must therefore have been roofed in and completed in all essential parts.

Walter de Tantonia, his successor, died eleven days after he was consecrated abbot. He was previously prior. "He made the *pulpitum* (or choir screen) of the church, with ten images, and set up the great rood with the crucifix, Mary and John[13]." This must have been done when he was prior, and probably before the dedication, as necessary for the completion of the fittings of the church. Leland notes that he was buried in the transept "before the crucifix," that is to say, in front of his work, as was very usual.

## A.D. 1322 to 1335

The next abbot, Adam de Sodbury, “vaulted to 1335. nearly the whole of the nave, and ornamented it with splendid painting." He was buried in the nave, also under his work. "He gave the great clock, which was remarkable for its processions and spectacles[14]," after the manner of that period. Leland records the position of the clock, at the south part of the transept, and the inscription on it:

"**Petrus Lightfote, monachus, fecit hoc opus**,"

—which gives the maker's name. The clock itself, or rather great part of its automatic mechanism, is in Wells cathedral to this day, whither it was transferred after the fall of Glastonbury; this automatic lock is the oldest on record as a clock, self-striking hours

with a count wheel, the next being Walingford's, it St Alban's, 1326 to 1334, and the next the *Horloge du Palais* at Paris, made by a German, *Henri de Vic, in* 1370.

This abbot also gave organs of wondrous magnitude and endowed the Lady chapel with four additional priests, Df which more below. He also decorated the high altar with an image of the Virgin in a tabernacle of the highest workmanship[15].

**A.D. 1341 to 1374.**

The eastern part of the church, according to this history, appears to have been now completed for service, but was soon subjected to alterations and improvements, for the record of which we are indebted to Leland alone, for although John Glaston's Chronicle is continued down to the year 1493, it contains no allusions to the works in question.

Leland says, writing in Latin, that Abbot Walter Monington, buried in the choir, made the vault of the choir and presbytery, and enlarged the

length of the presbytery by two arches[16]. This is another example of a benefactor buried in the place of his work.

In a subsequent page we find—*"There be vj goodly windows in the top of eche side of the Est part of the Chirch. There were 4 of old Time sins 2 addid and the Presbyterie enlonggid by Gualter Monington Abbate." William of Worcester confirms this, by a note that "in each part of the choir are six great high windows, glazed… and in each side of the aisles of the choir 8 windows."*

**A.D. 1493 to 1524**

No other works about the church are mentioned till we pass over more than a century, to Abbot Richard Beere. Leland's visit to this abbey was made, as he tells us[17], in the time of Beere's successor, Richard Whyting, the last abbot, and he records his works in the following memoranda:

“Abbate Beere buildid Edgares Chapel at the Est End of the Chirch but Abbate Whiting performed sum part of it. Bere Archid on bothe sides the Est part of the Church that began to cast out.

Sere made the Volte o the Steple in the Transepto and under 2 Arches like S. Andres Crosse els it had fallen." Bere made a rich Altare of Sylver 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 church. He made the Chapelle of the Sepulcher in the South End Navis Eccl. whereby he is buried *sub plano mar-more* yn the South Isle of the Bodies of the Church[18]."

Thus ends the recorded history of the building of the great church. It was rich in monuments and saints. In the presbytery the monument of King Arthur and his queen was placed in front of the high altar, with King Edmund the Elder on the north side, and Edmund Ironside on the south, as founders of the church. King Edgar, another founder, had a chapel allotted to him, apparently at the east end, for he was a saint, and his bones were translated to a shrine.

The dedications of the chapels have been lost, but we may suppose that they were appropriated to St Dunstan, St Patrick, St Benignus, St Gildas, and the other saints, to whose entire bodies the history of the abbey lays claim. The monuments of benefactors to the works of building and ornamentation are remarkable, as I have endeavoured to shew, for the numerous examples they present of being placed in contiguity with the works themselves.

# Notes to Chapter 3

1 Malmsbury, 301.

2, I have condensed the above history of St Dunstan's relics from Malmsbury's Chronicle, 304. Domerham, 336. J. Glaston, 180.

3 Anglia Sacra, Vol. IL pp. 222-233

4. I An inventory of the bones in the shrine of St Dunstan at Glastonbury, is in the Cotton MS. Titus, D. vu. 1, and printed by Hearne

5. Acts V. 38, 39.

6. Vide Leland's Assertio Arturii.

7. A.D. 1171.

8. This event took place in the middle of the sixth century, c. 543.

9. 1191 is the date given by Wend-over and Matthew Paris, and the ***Cronica Persorana***, and is the most consistent with the history of the abbey.

10. The words employed by the monk of Glastonbury, quoted by Leland in reference to this first place of deposit, are "Porticus ad meridiem est, et sacellum, quo itur in gazophylacium." Assertio Arturii, p. 55. Gazophy-lacium is, properly, the chest in which alms to be given to the poor are kept, and as this would be deposited in the almonry, or eleemosynaria, of the monastery, the word may be fairly translated almonry or almery. This monastic office was always placed close to the entrance gate of the curia or outer court.

11. p. 17, above.

12. Part of them were standing in Whitaker's time (1777), on the edge of the burial-ground, a few feet from the north-west angle of St Joseph's chapel. He mistook them for Arthur's pyramids (or stone crosses, as they are now termed), Life of St Neot, P. 35. 3809.

13. J. Glaston, 250

14. "Magnum horologium processionibus et spectaculis insignitum et organ mime magnitudinis in eadem (Ecclesia) construxit." J. Glaston, 263.

15. Mr Warner (xciv.) refers to this passage as authority for asserting that he built the Lady chapel 90 feet long at the east end of the church.

16. These are the words of the original Latin, vide Leland's Itinerary Vol. III. fol. 85, &c.: "Gualterus Monington in Choro Abbas Glaston Hic fecit Voltam Chori et Presbyteri

17. Arcubus. Vide his account of the discovery of the MS. of Melkin in the library at Glastonbury, p. i6, above.

18. Leland also found a lectern of his gift in the choir, “Lectura antiqui operis ex dono Richardi Bere, Abbatis Glaston."

# CHAPTER IV
# STRUCTURAL HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT CHURCH

**HAVING** now collected all the documentary information that belongs to the construction and alteration of the great church, I will proceed to apply it in illustration of the plan and arrangement of the building itself, of which unfortunately so few fragments remain. When the chronicler Domerham speaks of the fire, he declares that it consumed the whole monastery and the church, reducing them to a heap of ashes.

This expression is to be understood as applying to the burning of the roofs and wood-work of the buildings, and the general desolation which an extensive conflagration produces, the stone-walls escaping either unhurt or suffering only to a certain extent from calcination. For in other cases where a church and all its monastic offices are said to have been utterly consumed, as at Worcester[1] in 1202, abundant remains exist of Norman work to spew that the fire did not essentially damage the walls. And in this example at Glastonbury it is simply said that when the king's camerarius came down after the fire he " repaired all the offices." We hear no more of them till the fourteenth century, when the cloister and its chapter-house, dormitory, refectory, &c. were rebuilt. But the "church," under which term the *vetusta ecclesia* and major ecclesia are included, was dealt with in a manner due to royal devotion and magnificence. We have seen that the *vetusta ecclesia* was built from the foundations on its old site, complete, and in the richest and most substantial style of that time. But the great church was laid out, apparently, without the least respect to the plan of the old one, excepting, perhaps, its western boundary, and on the highest scale of magnitude.

We have not a fragment remaining to shew the extent of the first Norman church, and may therefore dismiss it altogether, conjecturing only that part of its nave was possibly roofed in and fitted up for the use of the monks during the construction of the new church[2], which, of course, was commenced at the east end and carried on westward, and, as we have seen, was not dedicated till after 1303, 119 years after its commencement. As the plan chews, it was a cruciform church, square ended, the nave contained ten severies, the eastern arm of the cross four severies, at first, augmented to six in the latter half of the fourteenth century. The transepts had three severies each, two of which had chapels projecting eastward, and the third opened to the aisle of the choir as usual. But these chapels have the peculiarity, that they consist of two compartments each, or in other words, as the plan will shew, that the transept has an eastern aisle and chapels of one compartment beyond that.

It may be remarked that the mother church of Wells, set out after the above was commenced, has the same number of severies in the nave and transepts. But the eastern arm had but three, augmented to six, in the first half of the fourteenth century, which, perhaps, induced the Glastonians to enlarge their own choir about the same time. Wells, however, has western aisles to the transepts, but no chapels projecting from their eastern aisles.

There is no evidence to shew whether or no this church had western towers. It is not probable that these members were omitted. Worcester mentions an entrance porch of large dimensions[3], which I imagine was placed in a similar position to that of Wells, on the north side of the nave, and therefore opposite to the principal gate of the abbey, which Hollar places on the north of the cemetery of the laity, and at the end of a short lane opening from the great street at a point facing the parish church of St John. A small chapel through which was the passage to the "*gazophylacium*" or almery, is mentioned as the place where the remains of King Arthur were deposited at first.

Only two severies remain to shew us a specimen of the design of the central parts of this great church. These are on the east side of the transepts, both in similar but opposite positions, and

each including one of the tower piers. Not one of the ordinary piers remains either in nave or choir. But the general plan of the latter piers can be obtained by inference from the great tower pier and from the north-west respond of the nave. The transept severy has in its lower story the pier arch which gives entrance to the end of the side aisle. Above is a triforium and a clerestory; the clerestory has one large window, and in front of it the usual triple arcade, consisting of a high, wide, stilted pointed arch, with a low narrow pointed one on each side. The gallery passage passes between the window and arcade as usual. But the shafts which commonly support this arcade are not employed. The arch moldings here are continuous.

The fragment of the south side-aisle wall of the choir, which is still standing, is shewn in elevation, fig. 2, and its plan in fig. I from X to F. In the elevation the numerals correspond to those in the plan. These drawings shew that the aisle included eight severies from the tower pier A at the west end to the east wall at G. The first severy (1, 2, fig. 2) reckoning from the west, contains a pier arch opening to the transept chapels II, I (fig. 1), which were possibly employed as vestries on this side of the church. The second contains a window, which is skewed aside to avoid the chapel on the south of it, as the plan shews.

The next four severies, which extend to .D, have a window each. The last two from D to F are separated from the former by two respond piers at .D, very near together (7, 8 in the elevation), indicating that opposite to them was a thick terminating east wall Ee, the gable of the choir. Such a pair, for example, occur at Sherborne in the same position.

The last two severies like the others are provided with windows, but the wall is thinner, and manifestly belongs to a later style. Yet the windows themselves are exactly the same as those of the earlier wall CX. Turning to the elevation we find that the responds 7, 8, 9 differ from the earlier ones I to 5. 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 and their bases have high cylindrical plinths with the same keel. But the earlier shafts I to 5 have their bases set upon thin semi-octagon plinths which rest on the bench table, like those of the side-aisle wall of the nave and Norman chapel.

The later bases are found along the east wall Ff (fig. I). The capitals of the responds from 1 to 7 (fig. 2) have the semi-octagon abacus with foliage forming one bushy capital common to the three shafts of the triple group below it, although the neck mould follows the plan of the shafts. But the capitals of 8, 9 have the abacus composed of separate portions appropriated to the three shafts, so that the foliage and abacus combine with the neck mould in representing a group of three united capitals. The moldings of the abacus are also much later in style.

The wall from 2 to 6 has a bench table, upon which the bases of the responds stand, but this table extends only eight or nine feet beyond 6 and is then cut off.

Now these appearances are quite consistent with the written history, which tells us that Abbot Monington elongated the choir. The choir " had four high windows at first," and, consequently, four pier arches below, which (vide plan) extended from A to B. Bb is therefore the place of the original high east gable of the choir.

But as the original side-aisle wall extends two severies farther to D, it is plain that this old choir, like those of all the great churches of this period, had the side aisle continued behind 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. The procession aisle extended from C to c, and the line Dd is the position of the east wall of the chapels, so that the last severy (6, 7, fig. 2) of the side wall was the side of the south chapel.

When Monington added two arches (B to E, fig. 1) on each side to the length of the choir his new eastern gable was placed at Ee, and the old side aisle and chapel wall CD served the purpose of a side-aisle wall to his new pier arches.

But beyond these he erected a new procession path and chapels in the space DdfF, apparently exactly on the same plan as those he had pulled down to make room for the extension of the presbytery.

It must be observed in fig. 2, that the capitals of all the responds from i to 5 are at the same level, and that those from 6 to 9 (and of course 10, which has disappeared in ruin) are three feet higher. The change of elevation is made at 5. The capital of every one of the responds receives on its abacus three separate vault ribs of the side-aisle vaults; namely, one transverse rib in the centre and one diagonal rib on each side of it. The wall ribs of the vaults of Glastonbury pass down from the apex of the wall continuously, until they reach the string mould under the windows, and there the wall rib mitres like a picture-frame and runs horizontally above it.

At the change of elevation on the abacus of 5 a small shaft is provided on the east side of the transverse rib, with a small capital which receives the diagonal rib of the compartment 5, 6. The molding of this little shaft is of the same section as the rib[4].

According to the explanation I have given, the wall from 1 to 5 was opposite to the oldest pier arches. The revery 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 this increase of elevation in 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.

No change fakes place in the height of the arches, the apexes are exactly at the same level from one end to the other of the series in the elevation (fig. 2). Consequently the ridges of the side-aisle vaults were of the same elevation throughout the side aisles.

The only remains of the east wall Ff (fig. 1) of the chapels are two fragments, three or four feet high, shewn by the dark shade upon the plan. One of these retains (at Gu) a portion of the eastern part of one of the dividing walls of the chapels, shewing its parallel face above the string course, exactly in the manner of the dividing wall between the chapels K, L of the north transept, and of the narrow space between the two respond piers at D.

There are distinct traces of the attachment of altars to the wall at the places marked with +.

These evidences are sufficient to skew that a series of chapels existed at the east end of the church, similar to those at L, K, I, II, on the east sides of the transepts.

The only doubtful point to be decided is whether the number of chapels was four or five, or in other words, whether two or three chapels were placed between G and g. I have introduced three for the following reasons.

It happens that in Wild's plan of the ruins made in 1813, he has inserted at w and x "the bases of two pillars of singular form and situation, probably part of the crypt," as he says[5].

These pillars, evidently exposed at the time of his visit, consist of a respond, with a portion of wall projecting eastward, and evidently the same as the partition walls of the transept chapels K, L, or as the partition wall Gu, when it was complete.

They stand also exactly in the line opposite to the respond t, or x of my plan. I have no doubt that these were the foundations of the separating walls, and that they therefore skew the number of chapels between G and g to have been three.

But William of Worcester, describing the arrangements to the east of the altar of Glastonbury writes, "In orientali parte altaris Glastonie. Spacium de le reredes ex parte orientali magne altaris sunt 5 columpnæ seriatim et inter quamlibet columpnam est capella cum altare.

"Et spacium capellæ in longitudine continet 5 virgas. Et spacium interceptum inter capellas et le reredes continet similiter 5 virgas."

The reredos manifestly was erected against the piers of the eastern gable wall Ee; and he, describing the arrangement of the space behind it, tells us that " there are five columns in a row, and alternating with each column is a chapel with an altar."

The columns must be the six responds t, u, w, &c., and the passage as written would give five responds and four chapels between them.

But the position of the altar between u and w of my plan, 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.

According to my own measurements, the width of the chapels t, u and y, z, at the end of the aisles, and taken between the walls, is 14 feet 6 inches[6]. The distance from the face of the partition y to that of u is 38 feet 10 inches. The thickness of the partition walls is 2 feet 10 inches. This distance will allow of a central chapel 14 feet in breadth, and of two lateral chapels of 9 feet 7 inches in breadth[7].

It is probable that, as at Wells, the choir gable was sustained by three equal pier arches, and the vault ribs springing from these to the three unequal arches that opened to the chapels would produce an effect of intricacy of the same kind.

Unfortunately the practice in respect to these ruins until the beginning of this century and later was always to remove not merely the wrought stones, but also to eradicate the foundations. And although the remains have been for many years protected from this kind of destruction, there is no hope left of recovering any details of plan by excavations. Happily for the interests of archæology the present proprietor Mr Austin is an ardent admirer of these magnificent and beautiful fragments of antiquity, and spares no pains to preserve them from further mutilation.

A strong double. buttress is placed on the south side of the wall at D, and of course a similar one was on the north at d. They were employed to receive flying buttresses from the great gable Ee which terminated the choir. Such a pair of flying buttresses are in the same position at Winchester, with long buttresses below, and serve to resist the thrust of the great arched window of the gable. Two other buttresses are at G and g, at the east end of Glastonbury, and received flying buttresses from the east ends of the clerestory at right angles to the former pair. A similar pair may also be seen at the end of Winchester choir. Leland's note, which tells us that Abbot Bere arched on both sides the east part of the church that began to cast out or lean outwards, apparently refers to these buttresses.

This abbot also introduced arches under the great tower arches to prevent them from giving way. The term St Andrew's Cross, which Leland applies to them, skews that they were like those at Wells. in the same position under the tower arches; consisting namely of a low pointed arch with an inverted arch above, forming a figure at the meeting of their apices resembling the cross of St Andrew.

As Bere is also said to have built Edgar's chapel at the east end of the church, it is probable that this chapel was one of those that we are considering, and that Bere fitted it up, and completed it.

The complete eradication of the east wall of the church in the centre may be accounted for by supposing that the central chapel projected eastward, as I have shewn in the plan, and that this chapel was Edgar's; for if it had been only one of the ordinary chapels, it would not have been worth mentioning as a distinct building.

Fragments of the respond, pier arch, and triforium, as well as the entire lower part of the jamb of a clerestory window, still adhere to the eastern faces of the tower pier, especially the southern one. From these it appears that a Perpendicular facing had been given by Monington to the old triforium and clerestory when he elongated the choir. This consists simply of tiers of panelling, beginning from the spandrels of the pier arches.

As far as I was able to observe, the string mould of the choir windows within is at the same level as that of the nave. But the stone bench of the choir is 7 feet below that string, and that of the nave 10 feet 7 inches.

Thus the pavement of the side aisle of the choir is 3 feet 7 inches above that of the nave. The nave is 6 feet above the Early English galilee, which height is divided into 13 steps, at 52 inches to each step.

A tolerably level grass-plot now occupies the eastern ruin, extending beyond the tower arch. The nave is occupied by another at a lower level. The boundary of the two is a well-defined slope, like the edge of a terrace, with rustic steps in the middle, built up of the voussoirs of the crypt of St Joseph's chapel. This terrace slope is placed on the line kh in the plan. It may be inferred that the transept pavement was all on the higher level when the church was complete.

Collinson, the historian of Somersetshire, writes[8], that "under the body of the church there were three large vaults, supported by strong massive pillars, in which were entombed many corpses of the most illustrious persons." By the body of a church is generally understood the nave. But it is possible that Collinson did not use the word strictly in that sense. These vaults belonged, of course, to a crypt, the position and history of which cannot be inferred from so meagre a notice. This crypt may either have been a relic of the Norman church, or a part of King Henry's church, or a late construction, like that under the Lady chapel. The windows of the side aisles of the choir are of the pointed Norman type throughout. Their escoinson arches within are ornamented with zigzag work of the late intricate kind, in which straight lines alternate with the angles, thus: — v — v —. These occur in the north porch of Wells Cathedral. In the south wall of the presbytery aisle three different patterns of this class, distributed in successive order, are used in the six remaining window heads. Unfortunately, the easternmost is utterly ruined.

To judge from the remains of the transept and its chapels, zigzag was profusely given to the pier arches, and even to the triforium of these portions of the church.

## A.D. 1312-35

Four of the side-aisle windows of the nave remain on the south side at N, 0, F, Q, in the plan. The escoinson arches of these windows are not pointed as in the choir, but are round headed, like those of St Joseph's chapel; and the zigzag work is only given to the alternate ones, as 0 and Q; the others have plain moldings. Only half of the wall of the compartment Q remains, and this retains the jamb of the cloister door-way below. The vault shaft between P and Q has a springing stone with the branching ends of vault ribs of a Decorated pattern, chewing that the five compartments from P westward were vaulted at a later period than the other five. This is explained

by the chronicle which states that the Abbot Adam de Sodbury vaulted the greater part of the nave[9]. This was after the. dedication of 1303.

The windows of this wall opened above the cloister roof, their sills are consequently raised higher than those of the choir, and the outer arch-heads which received the glass are raised much higher than the crown of the inner or escoinson arches, and are of the pointed form. This compensates for the higher window sills by enabling the light to slant downwards to the round headed arch-heads within.

Although the nave, as far as the fragments chew, was completed with the same details as the east end of the church, the case is different with the west front, of which the central door, and a portion of the walls, remain. This is in fully developed Early English of its later character, and thus far Wells and Glastonbury resemble each other; for, as I have shewn[10], Wells nave was carried on in the original style westward to the end, although that style was in disuse elsewhere. But the west front was built in connection with it, in the Early English of the period of its erection.

At Glastonbury, the west end was also provided with a Galilee in the style of this front, by which the Norman Lady chapel was united to the great church.

Thus, the isolated buildings which were commenced at the west end by the Norman chapel, and then abruptly recommenced at the east end of the great church, were then carried on westward, until at its junction with the first work, the late style was brought into contact and contrast with the first style.

## Notes to Chapter 4

1. Vide my Arch. Hist. of Worcester, Archcæological Journal,Vol. XX.

2. Domerham has informed us that the monks took refuge in Abbot Robert's chapel immediately after the fire (vide p. 11, above).

3. "Porticus introitus ad magnam ecclesiam ; continet ejus longitudo videlicet 15 virgas et latitudo 8 virgas." The great thickness of the side-aisle walls indicates a high triforium, and the roof lines that remain on the ruin of the eastern tower piers, shew that the triforium of the choir was lower than in the transept, and consequently the clerestory higher. Wells also has thick side-aisle walls.

4. In the compartment 1, 2, the wall rib after descending, like the others to the level of the window sill, again rises to pass over the pier arch, as the drawing shews

5. Britton's Arch. .Antiquities, Vol. iv. p. 195.

6. The dimensions which Worcester gives for the length of the chapels, 5 yards, and 5 yards for the breadth of aisle behind the reredos, agree with the actual measure, as nearly as usual ; for the length from the corner at F to the respond at .D is 31ft. 3in.

7. In Borromeo's rules the breadth of the side chapels of naves are said to be from 9 ft. 7 in. to 15 ft. The width of the transept chapels at K is 16ft. If the space Gg at the east end of the choir were divided into two chapels, their width would be 18 ft.

8. vol. n. p. 259.

9. Page 30, above. The Norman cloister was rebuilt by Abbot Chinok (1374 to 1420), and the toothings of the flying buttresses that spanned the roof of the cloister still remain.

10. In a Lecture given at Wells to the Archaeological Institute in 1851, and later in 1863 to the Somersetshire Archæological Society, of which an abstract is given in their Volume for that year.

# CHAPTER V.
# ST JOSEPH'S CHAPEL

**I WILL** now return to the Norman chapel and the Early English addition by which it was united to the great church, which collectively bear the name of St Joseph's chapel; and will endeavour to describe the architectural character of these two buildings and their purposes, as well as the changes of arrangement that were made in them in course of time; and lastly, the structural history of the crypt. I have reserved these descriptions for the conclusion of this Architectural History, because, notwithstanding that the Norman chapel was built before the great church, the Early English addition and the crypt followed the completion, or was carried on simultaneously with the changes of the church, and, consequently, their histories should naturally be placed after the buildings of the church have been thoroughly explained.

The Norman chapel as it was first built in 1184 was an isolated rectangular edifice with a turret at each angle, and it remained isolated until the Early English portion was built, by which it became connected with the west front about the middle of the thirteenth century. Subsequently the east Norman wall was pierced by a large arch, the flat piers or pilasters of which remain, and shew its exact position.

The style of decoration is florid, and the workmanship admirable, fully justifying the assertion of the chronicler that it was "built of squared stones of the most beautiful work and no possible ornament omitted[1]."

Its plan, apparently simple and regular, consisting of four similar severies, presents upon close examination some singular irregularities, which we will enquire into presently.

Rich interlacing arcades with Purbeck shafts, ornament the space beneath the windows within and without. Purbeck vault shafts in quadruple groups carried the vault ribs. Their plinths rest on semi-octagon blocks or foot-stalls, which project from the face of the stone bench.

Two richly carved Norman doorways occupy the north and south walls of the second severy from the west.

The south door, which opens to the ancient cemetery of the monks, the reputed site of the graves of King. Arthur and Joseph of Arimathea, and also to the side of the church on which the monastery stands, was probably employed by the priests, and also for introducing visitors and devotees into that venerated ground; while the north door, opening into the ordinary cemetery

of the laity, was intended for the people. The latter cemetery was entered by the great north gateway, which opened toward the High street of the town.

There is another small, ornamented door on the south side in the eastern compartment; but this was introduced, as its decorations shew, in the fifteenth century, after the chapel had been elongated, and will be described below.

Four round-headed Norman windows on each side, richly moulded, give light to the chapel, in addition to a triple window at the west end. Possibly there was a similar one in the east wall.

The wall ribs and transverse ribs of the vault are pointed arches, and the latter have rich complex zigzag ornaments; but the diagonal and wall ribs have plain moldings. The capitals throughout are foliaged, and the square or octagonal abacus employed. No example of the round abacus occurs in this Norman chapel, but it is used in the Early English portion and in the west front of the church.

The buttresses have a peculiar termination finishing with a corbel, which probably carried an image.

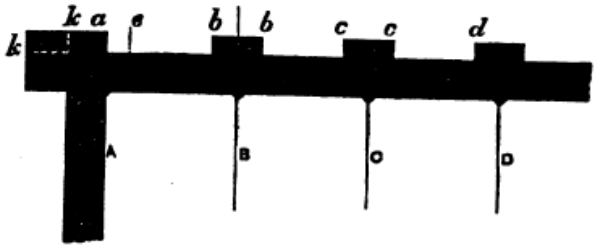
The round church of the Temple, dedicated 1185, and therefore nearly contemporary with our chapel, resembles it in having piers formed of four separate shafts with a connecting ring in the middle. Pointed arches for-the piers and the vault ribs, and round arches for the windows and doors. An intersecting round-arched arcade also runs round the triforium, but the arcade of the side aisle wall is of pointed arches. No zigzag work occurs in the Temple, and the moldings belong to a school of masons different from those of Glastonbury. Some of them appear to have had their forms altered by subsequent workmen.

The interior of our chapel is divided into four severies. These are separated from each other by the vault shafts which are placed against projecting piers. Their capitals are united under a semi-octangular abacus, from which the vault ribs spring. At the angles a single shaft receives the vault ribs (fig. 4).

The outer face of the side walls is divided also into four severies. A square turret is placed at each angle, -and between the turrets the severies are separated by buttresses of the same projection as the turrets, but their faces are rather more than half the breadth of the latter. The chapel exhibits some strange irregularities of plan and elevation which deserve attention. These are faithfully shewn in the plates. But it will be seen that in these the chapel itself is represented in simple outline. The architectural details being omitted excepting in the crypt ; for the chapel itself has been completely illustrated in many works, but the crypt, as far as I am aware, has never been architecturally investigated, nor have architectural drawings of it been published.

To understand the irregularities we must consider the common case of a similar building, in which the buttresses are placed opposite to the transverse ribs of the vaults, as they ought to be, in order to resist the outward pressure of those vaults, which is the purpose for which they are intended.

This sketch (below) represents a corner of such a building with its angle turret and buttresses. A, B, C, D are the dividing lines of three severies AB, BC, CD, of equal breadth.




But it is evident that ab, the breadth of the outer wall of the first severy, is less than AB by half the breadth bb of a buttress; and be, the outer wall of the second severy, is less than BC by

two halves of a buttress : thus the intermediate outer severies be, &c. are necessarily narrower than ab. This could only be remedied by placing the side a of the turret at e, so that ae should be equal to half a buttress, which would make the turret too massive; or else by making the end severy AB of the vaulting narrower than the middle ones.

This difficulty always occurs at the ends of a vaulted building. Generally two buttresses at right angles to each other, as shewn by the dotted lines kk, are used, but this does not affect the irregularity. It follows that in the end revery AB, the centre of the inner wall cannot be opposite to the centre of the outer wall ab, and therefore the window cannot coincide with the centre of the outside compartment if it does with the inside, and vice versa.

Our Norman architect disposed of the difficulty by abandoning the principle of placing the buttresses opposite to the vault shafts, and also the principle of placing the windows in the centre of the external compartments.

The plan of the chapel (fig. 4) shews that the outside severies are made all of one breadth, and the inner severies also of one breadth, certain minor inaccuracies excepted.

The exterior elevation, fig. 5, shews that the windows are placed quite out of the centre of the outside severies, and (as the section fig. 6 shews) are, with one exception, in the centre of the interior severies. The easternmost window, M, has its ornamental inner arch (or escoinson arch, as it is termed) in the centre of the compartment. But minor inaccuracies in setting out the plan, which it would occupy too much space to explain fully, have forced the centre of this arch so near to the buttress, that the window light is pierced considerably to the east of that centre, to enable it to be freed from the buttress.

Fig. 9, plate vii. is a plan of the turret at the northeast angle to explain the junction of the Norman chapel with the Early English part, and also the construction of the flat pier which belongs to the great connecting arch. The plan of the eastern wall through which this arch was cut is given in dotted lines.

The shafts in the Norman chapel were detached and probably Purbeck, and those of the internal and external arcades had a curved channel sunk in the wall behind, as shewn in this plan. This artifice gives lightness of effect by providing a free space between the shaft and the wall, and at the same time enables the shafts to be set nearer to the wall. The same device occurs in the presbytery of Rochester cathedral.

The walls of the chapel within and without are of exquisite masonry, the beds worked with such truth that the mortar joint is scarcely perceptible. Like all mediaeval walls it is formed of rubble within, faced with ashlar (as shewn in fig. 9). The courses of stone on the exterior run continuously at the same level round the buttresses and behind the arcade shafts, and the courses of the interior also run continuously. But there is no coincidence between the levels of the inside courses and the outside courses.

In fig. 8 the courses are laid down to scale[2] in the section of the wall on the left side of the drawing, and the great vault shaft, CL, with the interior and exterior shafts of the arcades are shewn in their relative positions. It will be seen that the two sets of shafts are alike in height and diameter, but the base line of the former is 2 feet 2 inches lower than that of the latter.

In fig. 9 the columns of the internal arcade are shewn at 1, 2, 3 ; 4 is the vault shaft ; 5, 6 are the places of the shafts which carried the arcade of the original east wall, which we may suppose was continued above the altar in a similar manner to the arcades of the nine altars at Durham. Externally, the shafts of the north wall are shewn at 13, 14, 15, and the places of similar shafts at 9, 8, 7, on the outside of the east wall.

It happens that the channelled recess for the shaft 9 still remains, and in a position which upon examination I found to be exactly symmetrical with the shaft 13, to which it corresponds on the north wall, as 14 and 15 correspond to 8 and 7 respectively[3].

Now the external ashlaring remains perfect from J to L, but is broken off there, having been removed to allow the bonding of the Early English wall. It is resumed at M, and continues from M to N and R. At R it is necessarily cut off by the opening of the arch.

But from careful measurements I ascertained that the courses of masonry at RN correspond exactly with the general external system at JL, course for course, to the height of 7 feet 7 inches above the basement, moreover, in the channel behind 9, the half decayed Purbeck block remains below, which was once the plinth and base of the shaft 9, and this is exactly at the same level as the external bases at 13, 14, 15, and therefore totally different from the level of the inner bases at r, 2, 3. This is sufficient to chew that the Norman chapel had no chancel, for as NR is thus shewn to be a continuation of the outside wall there is no room left for the walls of a chancel between the eastern turrets, indeed Lady chapels were not furnished with chancels, and apsidal recesses had been abandoned at the date of this building.

There is an irregularity in the plan of the angle RNM of the turret with respect to L, which appears to indicate that in the original state of the Norman chapel there was a projecting graduated buttress on the eastern faces of the turrets.

Between L and Ma mass of irregular rubble, W, projects beyond the base line of the building, and above this are indications of some subsequent jutting appendage, which may have been an oriel chamber, or a stair tower. But the Early English wall between LM and the next buttress is entirely demolished, so as to make it impossible to determine the exact nature of this addition. Leland, as we have seen (p. 14, above), records a sepulchral chantry chapel in a position which would agree with this point. This chapel may be supposed to have been carried by an arch from buttress to buttress on the outside so as not to obstruct the crypt window below[4].

The face QR of the pier has three vertical channels for shafts at 10, I I, 12, which were exactly the same in dimensions as the arcade shafts of the original building, with bases and capitals, and a ring in the middle indicated by its narrow course of masonry.

Now as the courses of masonry at Q belong to the inner ashlar, and at R to the outer ashlar, the coursing of the face of the pier is necessarily irregular. It is manifest that the intermediate stones of its face (white, in the plan) were derived from the demolished east wall, as well as the three above-mentioned shafts, bases, and capitals which stood in front of them. The plinths of these shafts stand upon a projecting mass of masonry QSTR, shewn also in the section (fig. 6), and this is plainly indicated by the masonry itself, to have been built up from the old foundation wall of the east end, and underpinned to the stones at Q and R.

The three capitals sustain a long string course obtained from the same source, and the arch itself has a broad soffit concentric with the original eastern wall rib of the Norman chapel, under which it was inserted. This soffit was ornamented with panels of shallow tracery of which only a small portion remains (fig. 6), containing the lower ends of the panels. These shew that there were two parallel sets; but the heads of the panels having vanished, there is no clue to the style to which they belonged.

We may now examine the Early English building which unites the Norman chapel with the church. Unfortunately the spoilers' hands have spared but one compartment of this, and that one is greatly dilapidated. But the wall rib of its vault remains, and records that the ridges of the Norman and Early English transverse vaults were at the same level at the side walls (vide fig. 6), and that therefore the arch above described, with its broad soffit, was parallel to the vaults of the two buildings which it connected.

The Early English building is considerably broader than the Norman chapel, and although "very nearly of the same interior length measured from the Norman partition wall".[5] is divided into three severies instead of four.

Two opposite doors occupy the central compartments. The north, of rich Early English work, is nearly perfect, and the south utterly obliterated beyond evidence enough to shew that a door was there. A handsome flight of steps, extending across the whole from wall to wall, occupied nearly the whole of the eastern severy, and led up from the pavement of this building to the great west door of the church, which terminates the interior eastward, and was designed and built in connection with it. The steps themselves have all disappeared, but the traces of their abutments and housings on the north wall of the building were sufficiently distinct to enable me to obtain the section sketched in fig. 6.

This Early English portion has been so mercilessly stripped of its ashlar, and in other respects ruined, that it is impossible to recover the complete details of its architecture. But enough remains to chew that, although in a different style from the Norman, it was designed in imitation of it, and with its leading architectural lines so nearly at the same level, that it must have been intended from the beginning that the east wall of the Norman chapel should be removed so as to make the second building a continuation of the first. In both, the vaults rise from vault shafts, whose plinths project from the front of the stone bench, and their abacuses are at the level, and in continuation of the string mould under the windows. Also the wall below the windows is ornamented in every severy with an arcade interrupted only by the doors, in the first building of interlacing round arches, and in the second of richly moulded round-headed trefoil arches[6]. A single window occupied in each severy the wall above the arcade. Not one of these in the second building is perfect enough to show its details, but they appear to have been of one light simply.

The springing stones of the vault of the Early English building shew that there were two intermediate ribs between the transverse and wall ribs, as in the presbytery of Ely Cathedral, finished about the middle of the thirteenth century. But the rib moldings here appear to be of rather a later type than those of Ely. The dotted lines in the compartment vi. vii. of fig. 4 shew the plan of the ribs. The outer surfaces of the walls are in worse order than the inner; but it may be perceived that the buttresses had niches or tabernacles for images in the upper story, after the manner of Ely presbytery[7].

Architectural researches are sadly obstructed in this place by the matted stems of ivy which cover the walls in all directions, concealing some of the most beautiful decorations, and gradually helping to moulder and decay the details of this valuable specimen of mediæval art.

In considering the objects for which this Early English building was constructed, it at once appears that the flight of steps leading up to the west door of the church, combined with the two lateral and opposite doors, wholly unfit it for the reception of an altar at its eastern portion, and shew that it could not have been intended in the first instance for a second chapel.

The only purpose it could have served was that of a Galilee porch to give access to the western door from the old cemetery on the south, and from the cemetery 01 the laity on the north. It was probably used for the egress and regress of processions on certain feast days Privileged persons would have been permitted to enter the porch and occupy the western severy and the graduated bench tables that flank the steps of the eastern one.

It also greatly improved the dignity and architectural effect of the group of two churches. For the distance of the small *vetusta ecclesia* or Norman chapel from the great west front of the *great church* was but fifty feet, and the two buildings when entirely disconnected must have stood in damaging contrast to each other. But by uniting them, the two became parts of a whole; and the length of the smaller building, now increased to 115 feet, compensated for its inferior altitude, and added to the magnitude of the mass.

Yet, although this Galilee was intended for a purpose different from that of the Norman chapel, we have seen that its architectural lines were arranged so that it might serve internally as a continuation of it.

It is manifest that it rendered the east windows of the chapel useless, and the only way in which the continuation could have been intended was by substituting an arch of connection for the east wall, and placing a reredos on or near the site of that wall, which would separate the chapel from the Galilee porch behind it. The reredos rising to or near the level of the string mould over the arcades would give to the Norman chapel the benefit of the light from the Galilee windows with increased space and air, and the perspective of the Galilee vault, in the manner which imparts so great a charm to the mediæval churches.

A small lateral door at the north and south extremity of the reredos according to the usual arrangement, would give to the priests the advantage of passing from the great church to the chapel through the galilee.

There are no traces of the abutments of such a partition, or reredos, against the present walls, but the most probable place for them is at H and K (fig. 4), where a plain face of Norman[8] wall about two feet five inches broad occurs on each side, and would hardly have been allowed to remain in this state in the enriched Galilee porch if it had not been destined for such a purpose as this from the beginning. The western face of the reredos would thus coincide with the line RT, fig. 9, which is the eastern face of the back wall of the Norman arcade, and it would rest upon the Norman foundation wall of the demolished eastern gable, which wall extended farther eastward than the gable itself, because it had to carry the sloping basement mold[9].

The panelling of the soffit of the connecting arch seems to skew that the opening of the arch between the chapels was not carried out immediately after the completion of the Early English Galilee, for such panelling belongs to the end of the thirteenth and to the succeeding centuries. Possibly the Early English work may have been carried on slowly to its completion with the same style and moldings as when first designed, as in the case of the nave of the church and other examples.

## Notes to Chapter 5

1 See page 12 above.

2. This although laid down for convenience on the section of the south wall really belongs to the north wall. H

3 The diagonal line 4L which joins the internal angle of the chapel with the external angle L of the turret, makes angles of 45° with the walls of the chapel, and shews that the eastern turrets were placed symmetrically to the eastern angles, in the same manner as at the western angles. The channelled walls behind the arcades are also in the plane of the return of the turrets. Thus AN is in one straight line on the plan, and similarly, BC. Also the dotted line which joins the angles 13 and 9 is at right angles to the diagonal 4L, and is bisected by it. Therefore the channelled recess and its shaft at 9 and the similar recess dad shaft at 13 stand symmetrically with respect to the turret.

4. The fragment of the eastern wall BC, fig. 6, which still projects from the south wall above the ruin of the spring of the flat soffitted arch, enables its position with respect to the southeast turret .DE above, to be compared with the similar relative positions of the western wall FG, and the north western turret HI, a relation easily observed by means of the shafts with which these turrets are faced. As far as my observations went, the two cases are exactly alike, as the measurements from which I constructed the plan fig. 9 also shew.

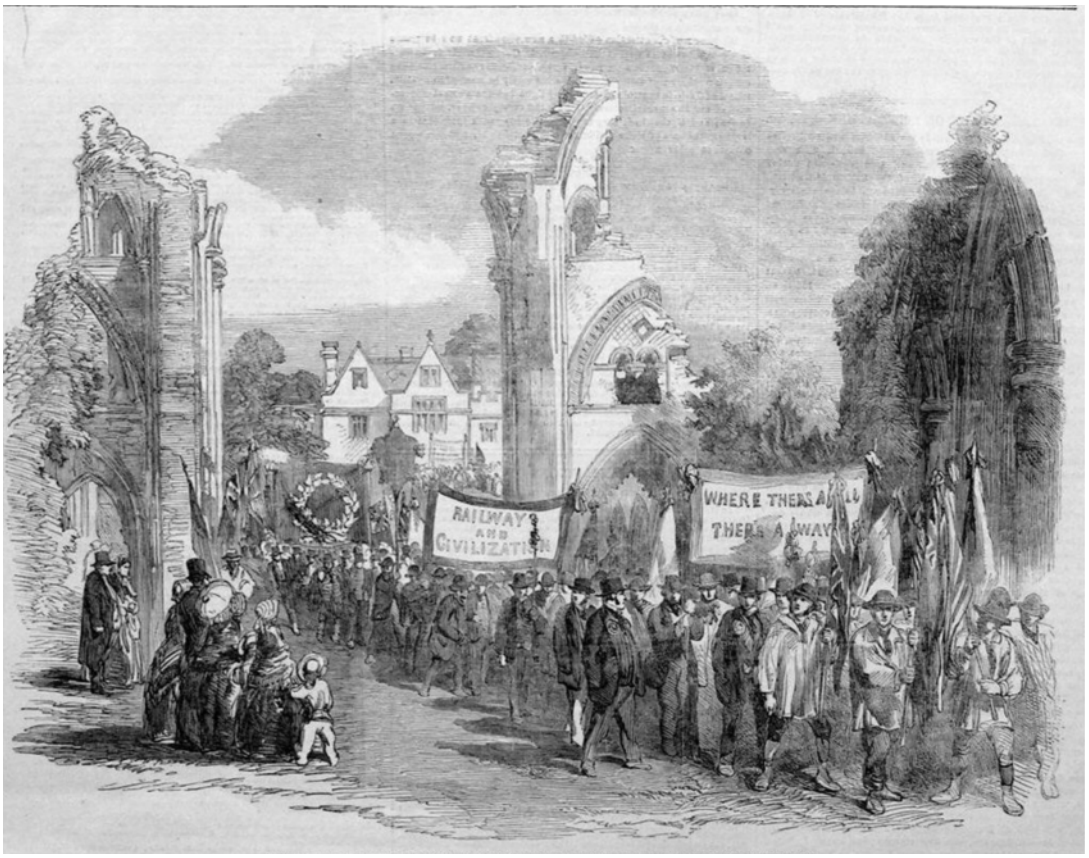
5. The length of the Norman chapel is 53 feet, and that of the Early English building, 51 feet.

6. I have sketched the arcade in the eastern compartment of fig. 6, to show its arrangement in connection with the rising steps. The irregular coursing of this eastern severy and of the wall east of the door jamb indicates that the greater part of it was carried up simultaneously with the west front of the church, probably because it formed the lower stage of a buttress to the front; and that the connecting wall between the Norman chapel and this first erected portion was built afterwards.

7. I have sketched these roughly in fig. 5 at 6. The base mould of the Early English wall is five inches higher than that of the Norman wall, as shown in fig. 5. Part of the stones of the south junction of these bases happens to remain in situ (near V, fig. 4).

8. Shewn more clearly at N9, fig. 9, and below B in fig. 6.

9. Vide longitudinal section, fig. 6.




**Opening of the Central Somerset Railway. -
Procession in the Abbey Grounds, at Glastonbury.
Date: 1854**

# CHAPTER VI.
# THE CRYPT OF ST JOSEPH'S CHAPEL

THE building itself skews that the arrangement I have described in the last chapter turned out to be a transition one.

William of Worcester has already given us reason to believe that when he saw it c. 1480, the Lady chapel was all laid into one[1], and I will now proceed to develop this transformation, which is confirmed by the remains of the building. One of its most curious features is the crypt[2], which extends continuously from the western wall of the chapel to the foot of the flight of steps at the west front of the church ; thus occupying the whole ground-floor excepting the eastern severy of the Early English porch, which was appropriated to the great steps, under which this crypt was not extended.

I shall as I proceed adduce abundant evidence to skew that this crypt was entirely a construction of the fifteenth century, never contemplated by the original builders, either of the Norman chapel or of the Early English porch, and therefore utterly unprovided for in the structure of either.

The vault of this crypt was in a state of utter ruin when Stukeley saw it in 1724. He relates that underneath the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea "was a vault, now full of water, the floor of the chapel being beaten down into it. It was wrought with great stones. Here was a capacious receptacle of the dead ; they have taken up many leaden coffins and melted them into cisterns. Hence is the subterranean arched passage to the Torr according to their notion[3]."

In 1826 Mr John Fry Reeves[4], the then proprietor of the monastic enclosure, cleared out all the earth and ruins, and repaired and improved the stone steps which led down to it. Soon after this the walls of the chapel appear to have threatened failure, and led to the construction of the transverse brick bonding arches which now connect these walls at the level of the chapel pavement. But the crypt itself is now completely emptied of ruins and rubbish, perfectly dry and open to the sky. Its floor is simply hard earth, excepting a portion at the east end where one severy of the vault still exists, but unfortunately in a very trembling condition. That portion retains a coarse pavement of plain tiles.

The construction' and proportions of this crypt and Stukeley's record of the leaden coffins taken out of it chew that it was not built, like the early crypts, for subterranean chapels and places of interment with sepulchral monuments; but for the reception of coffins like a catacomb or charnel. There are no traces of altars or piscinas, or other evidence of ritual apparatus. A rude block at the north-east angle has indeed been mistaken for a piscina, but is not pierced, and is apparently a bracket to support a lamp. Mr Warner tells us, that when the crypt was cleared, the Roman Catholic clergy said that it was not intended for worship.

The reason for its construction may be found in the revival of the tradition of St Joseph, and in the words of the preface to Glaston's Chronicle, that in the old times kings and queens, bishops and nobles of both sexes, esteemed themselves blessed if they could but obtain the privilege of a burial-place on that ancient site where Joseph was buried with a multitude of saints, or even elsewhere with a small portion of that holy earth.

The manner of its construction, according to my examination of the ruins, will be understood from the section (fig. 7, plate vi.[5]).

The section, which looks westward, is made on the right side through the wall and respond 6 (fig. 6) cutting along the transverse rib of the vault. The left-hand half of the section is taken through the middle of the compartment 6, 7, and therefore through the crypt window.

Mediæval buildings of importance are provided with substantial foundation walls which are carried down to the firm ground below. Of such walls I have seen many. which happen to have been exposed during repairs, as for example, at the cathedrals of Lichfield, Ely, Hereford, and others ; in which, not only the outer walls, but the ranges of piers, are set upon continuous foundation walls of rubble constructed with great care. That this was the case at Glastonbury is manifested by the crypt itself ; and was necessary, because the Norman building was erected in an ancient cemetery, employed for centuries, and the earth consequently wholly unfit to bear an important building without such deep foundations. The level of the ground when the walls were built is marked by the basement moldings as at A, fig. 7. Below this the rubble foundation wall extends downwards twelve or more feet, as the case may be, and its thickness corresponds to that of the upper wall measured at the level of the basement and pavement, which is six feet. The pavement of the crypt is eleven feet below the pavement of the Galilee. To form this crypt, it was simply necessary to take up the latter pavement and excavate the earth from between the foundation walls to the required depth. For the construction of the vault the inner rough surface of the walls was then lined with a wall of coursed rubble which serves as the facing of the north and south boundaries of the vaulted compartments.

No wall ribs are employed for the vault, but this facing is "rebated" or set back over the arched line of abutment of the vault so as to form a resting-place for it (as at fig. 7, B, C). As the whole of these vaults have fallen, with the exception of the eastern compartment, this construction is plainly seen, in the longitudinal section (fig. 6) from one end of the crypt to the other.

The transverse and diagonal vault ribs spring in a group from low pilasters or responds (DF, fig. 7) between which these facing walls were built.

In most of these compartments a window is provided of a kind which is usual in crypts. Sections of two of them appear in the left-hand sides of fig. 7 and 8.

The floors of crypts are always sunk to a lower level than the outer surface of the ground, but not so completely as in the present example, in which the outer surface of the ground (A) coincides with the crown (B) of the vault. In the Norman crypts that were planned simultaneously with the superstructure, the outer surface level is at half, or two-thirds, of the height of the vault, so as to allow the window of the crypt to open fairly into the open air; as, for example, at Canterbury and Winchester. There the windows are pierced completely through the thick wall, and their inner sills coincide with the inner surface of the wall.

In the later crypts, as at Becket's corona and Rochester, the window opens inwards to a deep arched recess, or rear-vault, which rises from the floor of the crypt. This feature is employed in our case ; but, in addition, the arch or vault which crowns it is sloped upwards and outwards excessively, so as to enable the external window frame to be placed in the basement moldings of the chapel immediately under the cap mould.

The back wall of the recess, instead of being vertical, slopes backwards so as to admit the light, and act as a retaining wall or buttress against the high mass of earth without, and also to avoid the necessity of cutting away too much of the foundation wall out of which these recesses were excavated. Thus the original structure of the chapel is not nearly so much weakened by the formation of these recessed windows as might appear at first sight ; indeed the sections shew that the greater part of the arched recess is contained in the facing wall with which the foundation walls are lined, and that the outer opening of the window is a comparatively small breach in the original basement mould. But the arch-heads of the recesses are of various forms, and all of a Perpendicular character. The jambs of the recesses are carefully built with quoins of masonry, and evidently constructed at the same time as the facing wall which they pierce.

The longitudinal section shews that on the north side the first severy of the vault has a doorway instead of a window, this being, in fact, the entrance to the crypt from without. The second severy

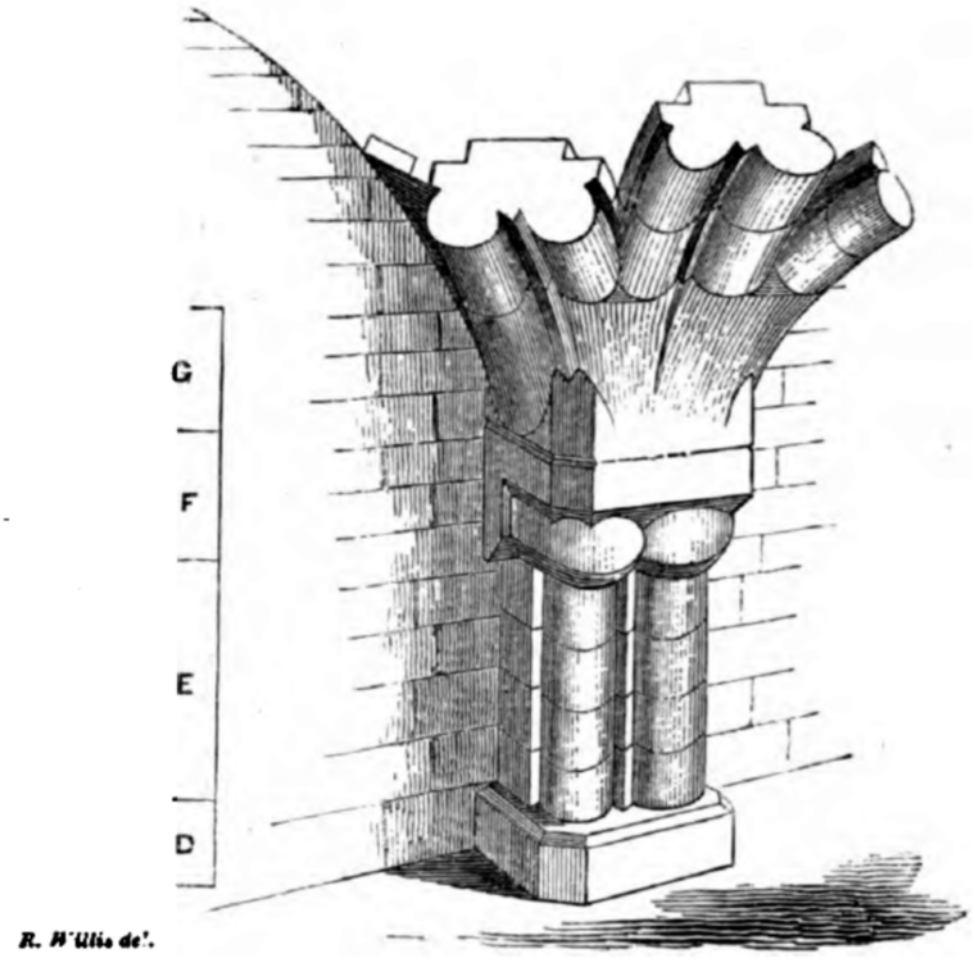
is bounded by a blank wall, for being under the entrance doorway, it was not only unadvisable to risk the settlement of the wall above, but also impossible to gain light to a window. The four remaining severies have windows.

Having now described the features which are common to the whole crypt, we will proceed to details, which vary in different parts of it.

The two eastern severies are exactly alike, their vault is ribbed in a peculiar form shewn in the plan, with diagonal ribs that meet before they arrive at the centre of the vault, and unite in a horizontal transverse ridge rib, which forms a cross with the longitudinal ridge rib.

The ribs are composed of old Norman voussoirs, but are set in the form of the four-centered arch, which belongs to the Perpendicular period. The shafts of their responds are built of the same voussoirs. Their section is given at A, plate ii. These Norman materials were probably derived from monastic buildings in course of reconstruction.

In fact the chapter-house, the refectory and dormitory, first built by Abbot Henry de Blois in the 12th century, were rebuilt in the 14th and 15th centuries by Abbots Monington and Chinok, and one of these may well have supplied the stones on the present occasion. But the manner in which the shaft of the responds, whose plan is that of a single voussoir, is made to branch upwards into three separate ribs of the same size and section, gives rise to a most picturesque, or rather grotesque, device, which is shewn in the woodcut.




**Perspective sketch of the pier**

The shaft E, formed of four Norman voussoirs, stands upon a plinth D. Upon the voussoirs is set a large stone block F, forming a rude capital and abacus. Upon this is a large springing block G, which is shaped so as to receive on the upper surface the lower voussoirs of three distinct ribs, its form ,being ingeniously managed so as to represent them as dying downwards upon, or interpenetrating the upright prism, which is a continuation of the abacus upwards.

Evidently the base, the capital, and the springing block, as well as the key-stones upon which the ribs mitre and intersect, belong to the period of construction of the crypt. The arch-heads, or escoinsons, of the window recesses, are also of pure Perpendicular form, but the moulding which ornaments them is a thick roll, or bowtell, evidently intended to match the Norman voussoirs.

The longitudinal section, fig. 6, and plan, fig. 3, shew that these two reveries of the crypt stand just to the east of the foundation wall A 5 of the old eastern gable CB of the Norman chapel, so as to admit of this portion of the crypt having been completely constructed without disturbing that chapel.

At whatever previous time the eastern gable of the chapel had been pierced for the construction of the connecting arch, it is plain that the foundation wall of that gable lying beneath its pavement would not have been eradicated. Thus the earth contained between the east face of this foundation wall and the lateral foundation walls of the Galilee could be excavated, and the crypt completed thus far. A retaining wall however had to be built (at 7) at the foot of the steps[6]. The springing blocks at the eastern corners of the crypt against this retaining wall are not provided with stumps of diagonal ribs eastward, and the key-stone of the vault itself is not provided with a stump for continuing the ridge rib eastward, which is sufficient to shew that the crypt was not meant to extend farther that way.

The next step in the formation of the crypt was to extend it under the Norman chapel, which was probably carried out after a considerable interval of time; for the construction of the western portion is slighter, and differs in many respects from the eastern.

When the middle foundation wall (A 5, figs. 3 and 6) had been removed and the pavement and earth below it cleared out from the Norman chapel to the requisite depth, the space (1-5) was divided into four severies, equal in number to the severies of the chapel above. But as the division of the crypt starts from a point 5, at the east end outside the thick wall (A 5), and the division of the chapel from a point above A, inside the thick wall, it follows that the responds and transverse arches that separate these crypt vaults do not stand opposite to either the vault shafts above or the buttresses outside[7]. This distribution is enough of itself to shew that this crypt forms no part of the original structure of the chapel.

The transverse ribs 4 and 3 are continuous arches made of Norman voussoirs (fig. B, plate ii.), of a different section from those of the eastern crypt. The diagonal ribs (D and E, plate ) are of the common Perpendicular section with plain chamfered edges, and they die upon a springing block interposed between the vertical shaft and the arch, and shaped soar to receive them.

In the compartment (4, 5, fig. 6) the complex springing block of the eastern vault at K has the bed and stump of the diagonal rib formed of the section A, plate already described, looking westward and prepared by the constructors of that vault, thus chewing that the extension of the crypt westward was intended from the beginning to have been on the same pattern. But the corresponding diagonal rib of the springing block at L of the later builders has its section in the simple chamfered form. It must be presumed therefore that they carried this diagonal rib across and allowed it to rest upon the stump which had been provided, without an attempt to reconcile the difference. I have already said that this crypt was formed not for ornament but for use.

In figs. 6 and 8 it will be seen that by adopting the continuous arches the capital of the respond employed in the eastern crypt was got rid of and the springing block simplified. In fig. 8 EF is

the shaft of the respond of Norman materials, resting on a plain Perpendicular plinth, FG the springing block, GH the transverse arch of Norman voussoirs. In plate ii. fig. BDCCE is a plan of this impost, employed at 4 and 3, shewing the transverse continuous arch of Norman voussoirs and the Perpendicular chamfered ribs which abut against and interpenetrate with the transverse arch, forming discontinuous imposts. These interpenetrations take place in the springing block. The transverse rib at 2, fig. 3, and the western rib 1 at the west end are, with the respond shafts, of decided Perpendicular.

On the left half of fig. 8 the arch IH is that which forms the wall rib of the western wall (at 1, fig. 6); K is the rough face of the wall against which the vault abutted. The springing block at I shews the bed of the diagonal rib branching with a discontinuous impost from the respond. His the west end of the longitudinal rib, which remains embedded in the wall.

When the crypt windows are viewed from the outside of the building it will be found that they are all characterized by the rude manner in which their outer openings are cut through the basement mold, in positions utterly irrespective of symmetry or of the integrity of that important member of the architectural decoration. Not one of them is placed in the centre of the severy, and the vertical sides of the opening expose the rubble core of the sloping masonry, as shewn in the section of the crypt at I (fig. 7).

This rough work, as at F and G, fig. 4, may be contrasted with the treatment of this basement at the side of the Norman doorways as at D and E. There also, the sloping basement is cut down vertically on each side of the doorway to allow of free access to the door. But as this was part of the original construction the masonry is set in accordance with it so as to cover the core.

The heedless manner in which the crypt windows burst through the sloping basement is best shewn in the ground plan of the chapel (fig. 4), and in the exterior elevation, fig. 5. But the relation of these windows to the crypt is given in the plan of the crypt (fig. 3).

The elevation of the chapel shews these windows, which have either two or three square headed lights separated by massive mullions[8]. The strongest instance of their interference with the existing edifice is in the eastern vault 6, 7, where the window arch head rising obliquely outwards and upwards from the crypt, under the doorway arch, brings the window frame to the level of the cap moulding of the basement as in all the others. This window head still exists entire as shewn. But as in this case it is brought out under the doorway, it must, when completed, have made it necessary to raise the threshold of the doorway at least two feet three inches above its original level[9], and to approach the doorway by steps carried on an arch to admit light to the window; or, which is more probable, its presence shews that when the crypt was constructed, the arrangement of the chapel and Galilee was altered so as to dispense with the doorway altogether[10].

The most obviously striking proof of the intrusion of the crypts into a building that was not intended for them is the fact, that their vaults are so constructed as to raise the pavement of the Norman chapel to the level of the stone bench which surrounds the wall, and thus completely to destroy the bench itself, which forms only a continuation of the pavement. In the sections, figs. 6, 7, 8, the linings of the side walls of the crypt, built to carry the vaults, still stand perfect, but the vaults have all fallen, and have been cleared away, with the exception of the eastern one. The apexes of the lining walls rise above the old pavement line, and the upper. surface of the vaults that rested upon them must have risen still higher. The faces of the old bench table are seen between these linings, and shew the old level[11]. The thresholds of the doorways A and B (fig. 4) are unmistakably raised above their original level to coincide with that of the stone bench.

In the Early English Galilee the vault was not so constructed as to affect the level of the pavement; but it has so happened that the pressure of the earth on the outside of these walls has forced them inwards, and thus distorted the two transverse ribs that remain in such a manner as to force the

key stone upwards, and make it appear as if the pavement must have risen nearly to the bench table, in the same manner as in the western crypt.

The entrance to the crypt is at the north-west corner by a Perpendicular doorway M (fig. 3) of the same age as the crypt. When first cleared out by Mr Reeves, the stone steps that led down to it were broken, dislocated, and useless. Mr Reeves removed them, and excavated the passage twelve or fifteen yards northwards, so as to make the present convenient flight of steps between walls. In doing so " eighteen coffins were found, all placed east and west. The length of one was eight feet three inches inside, and the whole length of it was filled up by the skeleton. All the coffins were made of oak two or three inches thick. Under the head and shoulders of each corpse was placed a bundle of wood shavings. Beneath, and on the right side of each skeleton, a rod of thorn or hazel, of the same length as the coffin. Three of the coffins lay under the masonry and steps which led into the crypt, and were therefore interred previously to the formation of the crypt, and therefore before the end of the eleventh century[12]," as Mr Warner writes, but for which I beg to substitute the fifteenth century.

## Notes to Chapter 6

1 See p. 18, above.

2. See the plan of the crypt in fig. 3, the longitudinal section fig. 6, and the transverse sections figs. 7 and 8, plate VI.

3. It was still in this inaccessible condition in 1813, when Wild made his drawings for Britton's Architectural Antiquities, Vol. IV. In the section of the chapel the upper part of the crypt is indicated. Nash, in the Vetusta Monumenta, 1815, ignores it altogether. No drawings or details of it have ever been published as far as I am aware, except by Mr Warner, who engraved sketches of the one complete vaulted compartment of the crypt, and of the arch of the well, from Buckler's drawings. He attributes the crypt to Abbot Herlewin (p. xxxviij.), and declares the western moiety to be the original, the eastern half somewhat later (p. lxxviij.). The only modern notice of this crypt that I have met with after Warner's, is in the proceedings of the Somerset-shire Archæological Society on occasion of the visit of that body to the ruins in 1859, when Mr J. H. Parker, of Oxford, declared that he was "inclined to identify St Joseph's chapel with the church of St Mary, dedicated in 1186, and added, that "the crypt is naturally the most ancient part, but it differs from the superstructure only so much as the subterranean part usually does from the upper part."

4. Warner's Glastonbury, 1826, p., LXXVI.

5. This belongs to the two eastern compartments, but the principle is exactly the same in the whole crypt, as shewn in the section of the western compartment (fig. 8).

6. When this portion of the crypt was completed the entrance to it was probably through one of the windows.

7. This triple discordance is clearly shewn in the plan of the crypt (fig. 3).

8. These mullions are inserted under the lintel of the windows in an unusual manner. Instead of the ordinary straight horizontal joint, which makes it necessary to carve the mitred junction of the mullion with the lintel upon the lintel stone itself, the head of the mullion is cut so as to fit the chamfered front of the lintel, and the two are united by a thin tenon in the mullion, as if they had been made by a carpenter instead of a mason. The structural bearing of the lintel upon the mullion is thus confined to the fiat bed which connects the vertical sides. These sides shew that

the lights were grated with three irons, the holes for the reception of which are shewn in the sections, figs. 7 and 8.

9. In fig. 6 the dotted lines in the doorway shew the height of the new threshold.
10. Mr Wild's engravings in 1813, shew this doorway neatly walled up so as to exhibit its inner and outer arch lines. Its jambs are half buried in the soil so as to hide the window. This walling up was probably done at the period we are considering.

11. Vide the longitudinal section, fig. 6, and the transverse section, of the Norman chapel, fig. 8: in the latter, the line AB is the level of the old pavement; CD the level of the new pavement, which was laid to coincide with the stone bench; K is the face of the western wall.

12. Warner's Glastonbury, p. LXXX,

# CHAPTER VII
# FINAL ARRANGEMENT OF ST JOSEPH'S CHAPEL.

WE have now traced the western appendage to the great church through its successive conditions of an isolated Norman chapel in the 12th century, united to the church by the Galilee porch in the 13th century, and provided with a crypt in the 15th century. It only remains to consider how the interior of the chapel was finally arranged after the crypt was completed.

The history of the Galilee at Durham cathedral appears to illustrate so well the boldness with which changes and alterations were made in this department of the church in the middle ages, that I will briefly explain it. For these two Galilees resemble each other in combining a porch with a western Lady chapel, and are the only two English examples of western Lady chapels[1].

The Norman nave of Durham has a great ornamental west doorway at A (see plan, fig. 1o, plate vit.), which originally opened upon a space of ground, bounded westward by a steep cliff, under which the river flows.

**A.D. 1154-1197.**

When Bishop Pudsey undertook the construction of a Lady chapel, the dislike of St Cuthbert to the fair sex having, according to the well-known legend, compelled this bishop to alter his original plan of placing it at the east end of the church, where the saint was buried, and build it at the west end; the result was the present elegant and unique Galilee of Durham. The distance of the old west front from the cliff being little more than fifty feet, he obtained space by extending this chapel so as to cover nearly the whole of the west front, dividing it into five aisles, of which the two outer ones are low.

It was entered by a door on the north side at B. Its central aisle was terminated eastward by the west door of the cathedral, and it contained two altars. The one at C, dedicated to "St Bede," at the extremity of the south aisle, the other at D, to "our Lady of Pity," at the extremity of the north aisle, as shewn in the plan. The lateral doors E, F, into the cathedral were pierced afterwards, as will presently appear.

By this arrangement, the Lady chapel or Galilee, as it is termed in the original documents, was also a porch to the west door of the cathedral, to which it led from its own lateral door B exactly in the manner of Glastonbury. But as it impeded the free access to the west door, the bishop opened a new lateral entrance to the cathedral on the north side, and built a porch there, marked NORTH PORCH on the plan.

This Galilee, or Lady chapel, at Durham, remained in its original state till the time of Bishop Langley (1406 to 1438). He founded a chantry of the Virgin for the good of his soul, after the manner of his time, where, to use the quaint phraseology of the "Rites of Durham," "our Ladies masse was sung daily by the maister of the Song Schole with certain decons and quiristers, the master playing upon a paire of faire organes."

Finally, the bishop, in his will, bequeathed his body to be buried in his church of Durham, in the chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary, called the Galilee, "in capella beatæ Mariæ Virginis vocata le Galilee." For the due performance of the above service, he thoroughly repaired and fitted up the Galilee, apparently at that time in a ruinous condition.

He closed the original central doorway of the nave with a thin wall, employing the recess thus formed as a place for his new altar of the Virgin (at A), which he endowed as above, and supplied

a new communication between the Galilee and nave, by opening doors (E, F) on each side into the side aisles of the latter.

To the west of this new Virgin altar, at a sufficient distance from it to admit of the performance of the services, he built for himself a tomb (L), on each side of which steps led up to the altar platform[2]. The original door B was also walled up, and another opened at G.

If we now return to Glastonbury, we find that John of Glaston, in his biography of Abbot Adam de Sodbury (1322 to 1335), informs us that "he assigned to the sacristary[3]twenty marcs yearly for the maintenance of four priests, well skilled in song, who, together with the two anciently appointed to the Galilee[4], and the other two maintained by the sacrist and eleemosynary, shall daily chant her service in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, clad in surplice and amice, and shall come in the aforesaid form, to the solemn masses of the choir." "He also provided eight surplices and eight decent amices for the chapel of the Blessed Mary, for the purpose of vesting the aforesaid chaplains[5]."

My purpose, in the digression to Durham, is to shew that, in the 15th century, the complete endowment of a daily Virgin mass was accompanied there by a refitting of the interior of the Lady chapel, and the unscrupulous closing of the great west door of the cathedral, to supply a conspicuous central position for the altar. We may therefore suppose that the earlier endowment of a daily Virgin mass at Glastonbury, by Abbot Sodbury, may have led to arrangements and contrivances for increasing the space of the chapel, which also involved the closing of the west door of the church. And this necessity was combined with the urgent want of room for the burial of persons attracted to the spot by the newly developed legend of Joseph of Arimathea. The latter difficulty inspired the monks with the project of forming the crypt. That done, the extension could only have been made by removing the reredos farther eastward into the Galilee.

As the intrusion of the crypt windows into the doors of the Galilee spews that they were closed up and abandoned, we may suppose that the reredos was fixed as near to the western door of the cathedral as would leave a space for a small vestry behind it. This western door would allow the ecclesiastics to pass from the church to the Lady chapel through the lateral doors of the reredos, and thus the united length of the Norman chapel and Galilee would form one long Lady chapel, as William of Worcester describes it in 1478, 34 yards in length and 8 yards wide.

After all, this arrangement appears to grow naturally out of the works consequent on the determination to make a crypt. I have shewn that the crypt was first made on the eastern side of the partition wall between the Norman chapel and the Galilee. While this work was going on, a temporary partition would have been set up in the great arch and the Galilee porch surrendered to the workmen without stopping the daily service in the. Norman chapel. That crypt finished, some years probably elapsed before the western crypt was begun. But then the partition wall must have been again set up and the altar of the Virgin transferred to the Galilee porch, thus initiating the final scheme of arrangement. The crypt beneath the Norman chapel was then built and the new pavement laid and the whole brought into one. That these works of alteration were not recorded is to be accounted for by the usual practice of monastic chroniclers, which is, to omit the mention of works which were carried on from the funds of the monastery and accumulated offerings, and merely to record specific works which were undertaken by the Abbot or Bishops whose biography they are writing.

The passage quoted above (p. 75) relating to Abbot Sodbury's endowment of the Lady chapel is especially valuable, because it shews that the term "Galilee" was applied anciently to the western appendage at Glastonbury, and seems to have included not only the .porch but the chapel, as priests were appointed to it. We thus obtain a third English example of a Galilee, hitherto, I believe, unnoticed, the other two being Ely and Durham[6]. Now at Durham and Glastonbury we have seen that the Galilee is an appendage to the west end of the great church, which combined a porch of entrance to it and a chapel with one or more altars. At Ely the term has been by modern

antiquaries limited to the western porch, but in the earliest published plan, given by Browne Willis, in his "Cathedrals," 1727, it is applied to the whole western transept, in a manner which indicates that he was merely employing the common phraseology of the period, traditionally handed down from the middle ages. The south arm of the transept is lettered the South Galilee, the north arm the Ruined part of the Galilee. As each arm of this transept had a chapel projecting eastward, this English Galilee like the two others combines a western porch with chapels at the west end of the cathedral, which were accessible without entering the nave itself. They were probably provided for persons who were excluded, temporarily or permanently, from the great church, for reasons connected with ecclesiastical discipline, or for local reasons, like the aversion of St Cuthbert to females.

A few words must be said about a well in the crypt, which has attracted more attention than it deserves. On the south side of the crypt, in the third revery, 4, 5 (fig. 3), is a late Perpendicular doorway N leading to a passage OP cut through the foundation wall and continued southwards to its termination at a length of seventeen feet, by a wall P. At the end of the passage, on the left hand and at the level of the pavement, is a small low arched recess Q sunk four feet into the side wall. The recess is about five feet wide and contains a well R supplied by an excellent spring. The mouth of the well is a circular opening in the pavement two feet two inches in diameter and is covered over head by the arch. The arch of the recess is round-headed and richly carved with zigzag work of the same character as that which decorates the windows of the chapel above and those of the great church.

Opposite this well, westward, is a newel stair or " vice" of only five steps, which lead by a short passage ST, which runs northward (side by side on the higher level with the passage OP from the crypt) to a flight of stone steps TV (see plan of chapel, fig. 4) partly in the thickness of the chapel wall, and finally to a small ogee-headed doorway W pierced through the interior arcading. In fact, the well and the newel stairs and the passages were on the floor of a small low building erected on the south side of the chapel. The traces of the abutment of its walls and roof upon the outer wall of the chapel are plain and unmistakable. The roof had a ridge but was very slightly inclined. The steps from T to W are formed in a peculiar manner to allow of a steep ascent. They are arranged in two sets side by side, each step twice as high as an ordinary one, and the treads of one set halfway between the treads of the other. A person ascending from the landing T begins with the left foot and the eleventh step lands him at W (as the numerals on the plan between X and W indicate). But the outbuilding had a floor at the level of the chapel pavement, resting on the vault which covers the passage from the crypt and the staircases, and the opening of the peculiar stairs is so narrow that it is easy to step from X to W over it. Thus the door W also gives an entrance from the cemetery to the chapel. The east wall was joined to the chapel wall by sinking a groove in the latter to receive it, which cuts through the wall in a way that chews the whole to have been formed at the time of the upper doorway, in the 15th century, and it was apparently only a covered way from the doorway to the steps and well beneath; to enable the priests to draw water as required.

But the well itself is as old as the chapel, and stands completely outside of the foundation wall. Its mouth, which coincides with the level of the crypt floor, is therefore below the original pavement of the chapel. Previous to the formation of the crypt it must have been reached by a flight of steps from the cemetery, and the water employed for washing or for any other ordinary purpose ; the arch was built against the foundation wall after the completion of the latter. Its junction with it, by a straight joint, is visible at the side of the passage (at Y), which, as already shewn, was cut through that foundation wall when the crypt was made in the fifteenth century. The junction of the fifteenth century wall with the foundation is seen at Z. The passage 0, cut through the foundation not only gave access to the well from the crypt, but also supplied access from the chapel above to the crypt.

Before the crypt was cleared by Mr Reeves in 1825, the entrance, and a very short portion only, of the passage was perceptible. With the usual popular love of the marvellous, and especially in

the matter of subterraneous passages, this was universally believed to lead to the Tor. When it was manifested that it only led to this well, the well was immediately pronounced to have been a holy well and to have been used by the monks in aid of their miracles, and also as an object of pilgrimage. Yet not a word of a " holy well" is to be found either in the mediaeval chronicles and itineraries, or in the local traditions that hung about the place after the dissolution, and have been told to the " curious" visitor ever since[7].

## Notes to Chapter 6

1. The positions of twenty-four of the principal English Lady chapels with respect to the church are as follows: Sixteen at the east end :—namely, Eleven at the east end as a separate chapel.—Gloucester, Exeter, Chichester, Hereford, Winchester, Sherborne, Chester, Wells, Norwich, Salisbury, Lichfield (Norman foundations). Five at the east end, in continuation of the choir at the same altitude.—Lincoln, Old St Paul, Worcester, Lichfield, York. Five at the side of the north transept.—Ely, Peterborough, Bristol, St Frideswide at Oxford, Canterbury. One at the south side of the nave.—Rochester. Two at the west end of the nave.—Glastonbury, Durham. The Saxon cathedral at Canterbury also had the Lady chapel at the west end.

2. The history of these curious changes was developed for the first time by the Rev. James Raine, in his Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, published anonymously in 1833. The questionable taste of modern restorations has swept away these curious arrangements, but their details are preserved in Carter's engravings, and more particularly in Billing's Durham Cathedral.

3. Sacristary is the office and endowment of the sacrist. Vide Du-cange. "Sacrista sacrorum custos. Sacristaria, sacrista munus Monachichum, cum reditu et prædiis annexis" (Ducange).

4. "Hic etiam assignavit officio sacristariæ singulis annis viginti marcas pro sustentacione quatuor sacerdotum, bene cantantium qui cum duobus de Galiloea antiquitus ordinatis et aliis duobus per sacristam et elemosinarium exhibendis, in Capellæ beatæ virginis, superpelliciis et almiciis induti, cotidie de melodico cantu deservient et venient in forma predicta ad missal chori solennes....Providebit jumper octo superpellicii et octo almicia honesta ad capellam bcatæ Mariæ pro capellanis predictis vestiendis," &c. J. Glaston, p. 268. Ducange quotes many passages which show that this word was appropriated to a porch of the church, or (as he observes, some of the passages may be interpreted) to the nave. "Similiter cum redeunt ad introitum Ecclesiæ: ad exitus vero Galileæ aunt parati duo famuli Elee-mosynarii." Bcrnardus, Mon. in Consuetud. Cluniacensib. "De mensu-rations officinarum. Galilæa longi-tudinis LXV pedes, et duæ turres ipsius galilææ in fronte constitutæ, et subter ipsas atrium est ubi laici stant, ut non impediant processionem, &c." Guidonis Disciplina Farfensis.

5. It also appears from the preface of the Cottonton MS. of John of Glaston's history, that in memory of the twelve primitive hermits, twelve brethren of the monastery were daily assembled in the old church, at the service of the Blessed Virgin and the saints there deposited.

6. The south porch at Lincoln is also called the Galilee, but upon no documentary evidence.

7. The discovery of this well led to great excitement in the town, the Romanists said the well was not an object of pilgrimage, but for local convenience; the room for a vestiary, or place for putting on or changing the priests' garments, and the well for washing them in; but Mr Warner "doubts the explanation" (p. LXXX.), which, nevertheless, appears to be the exact truth of the matter.

# CHAPTER VIII
# HISTORY OF THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

**MUCH** of the history of these monastic buildings is recorded by John Glaston and Leland, and is worth reciting, for comparison with the progress of similar establishments. We have seen that Abbot Henry de Blois built a complcte set of monastic offices between 1126 and 1171. In after-times his chapter house was rebuilt by Abbot Monington (1341 to 1374), and completed by Abbots Chinok and Frome.

His refectory or fratry, his dormitory and his cloister, were rebuilt by Abbot Chinok (1374 to 1420).

The great guest-hall or abbot's hall was begun by Abbot Froment (1303 to 1322), carried on by his successors, and finished by Monington.

Abbot Breynton (1335 to 1341) made the prior's hall and kitchen with other offices, and the steps which led up to the orchard, sumptuously and beautifully constructed; he also began the abbot's chapel, which was completed by his successor.

Finally, Abbot "Bere (1492 to 1524) buildid the new Lodging by the great Chambre caullid the Kinges Lodging in the galery. Bere buildid the new Lodginges for Secular Prestes and Clerkes of our Lady.

"He made an Almose House in the north part of the Abby for vij or x poor Wymen with a Chapel." Leland, III. 86.

The monastic buildings have, with the exception of the abbot's kitchen, entirely disappeared. A few foundation lines are laid down in Wild's plan of the church. Stukeley's drawings are so extremely incorrect that very little can be inferred from them. It is only necessary to compare his sketches of St Joseph's chapel with the existing ruins to understand how utterly incapable he was of drawing mediaeval architecture.

We may gather from them, however, that the north wall of St Joseph's chapel was then complete from one end to the other, yet he has omitted in his views of the ruins the pyramidal capping of the turrets altogether, although two of them still exist. His sectional restoration is so ridiculously unlike the reality that it is not worth dwelling upon.

A considerable fragment of the north wall of the choir with pier arches and also a detached pier seems to have remained in his time. But with this exception the ruins were as nearly as possible in the same state as they are now. The abbot's lodging, introduced complete into his 37th plate, is copied, as he tells us, from a drawing made by his friend Mr Strachey, before it was pulled down by the Presbyterian tenant.

All that can be said of the disposition of this monastery is that the cloister was on the south of the church, the cemetery of the laity on the north, and that it followed the ordinary Benedictine arrangement. The cloister, as usual, bad its chapter-house on the east side, separated from the transept gable by the passage termed the "slype," and these are easily traceable by the foundation walls. The latter gave access to the space eastward, where, probably, the ordinary cemetery of the monks was situated, and also to the infirmary, with its chapel, kitchens, &c., of which however no remains exist. The refectory occupied the south side, also shewn by the parallel foundation walls.

The principal portal of the abbey is placed by Hollar on the north boundary of the common cemetery, and therefore opposite to the north porch of the nave. It was at the end of a lane which

led from the principal street of the town, and from St John's church. This cemetery was bounded westward by a wall, which extended from the north-west corner of St Joseph's chapel, and cut off public access round the west end of it. But there was a gateway arch close to the chapel at n in the plan (fig. I), and a building, of which a small fragment o remains and shews that its lower story was vaulted.

On the south side of this chapel was the ancient cemetery of the monks, to which so much importance was attached. This was bounded on the east by the buildings that occupied the west side of the cloister, and on the west by a wall which passed from the above-mentioned small building within a few yards of the west end of the chapel, and reached very nearly to the abbot's kitchen. Its south boundary appears to have been the wall of the abbot's guest-hall and kitchen court.

Two stone crosses stood in front of this cemetery[1] at p and q (fig. 1) and two others near the spot marked 1, opposite the south side of the chapel. Each pair of stones marked the grave of some distinguished person, the latter, of Arthur, and stood, the one at the head, the other at the feet, and therefore in a line east and west. The first pair remained until a short time previous to Whitaker's visit to the site in 1777. They had been (in his words, p. 35) "reduced to the height of only nine or ten feet, yet even then exhibited some of their old engravings upon them, and in this state were they then dragged away, though some of the most celebrated monuments in Britain, to make a post to a field, or form a prop to a cottage. When seen for the last time by any historical eye, they stood in their original position, on the edge of the burying-ground, and a few feet from the north-western angle of the church.

There are still shewn the cavities in which the pyramids were set ; two large hollows, having a smaller hollow for the sepulchre between them'[2]."

In this cemetery was also set up at k, the pillar described at page 20, above, which marked the dimensions and position of the wicker-church, and stood 32 feet south of the chapel wall, on the same meridian line as a certain interior step which coincided with the east end of the primitive building.

This step was probably the one which in the first state of the Norman chapel was placed near the middle of the eastern severy and belonged to the altar platform . Its abutment against the wall is shewn in fig. 6[3], above L. The curia or entrance court of the monastery for the laity and guests was entered from the street or road which runs from the market-place eastward, by another abbey gateway, which stood south-west of the church. The almery was there, and a group of chambers, halls, and kitchens, devoted to the lodging and entertainment of the pilgrims of all ranks, and, as in all monasteries, placed remote from the cloister buildings and church.

Here too were the granaries, brewhouse, bakehouse, stables, &c. But of all these buildings the traces are so completely destroyed, that no plan can be traced of them. The abbot's kitchen alone has been preserved from destruction. The abbot's guest-hall is placed by Hollar parallel and nearly opposite to St Joseph's chapel, which is probably its correct place, because it is thus brought into the usual position in respect to the kitchen.

## Notes to Chapter 7

1. Vide p. 30, above.

2. It is strange that Whitaker (p. 33) quoting Malmsbury's words, failed to perceive that he, in one and the same page, describes two pair of crosses in different positions, one distinctly attributed to Arthur, the other as standing in front of the monks' cemetery, and it is still more strange, that Whitaker (p. 34) quoting William of Worcester's memorandum concerning the two

pyramids of King Arthur, which he saw opposite the south window, omits the latter phrase; apparently, because lie was unable to reconcile it with the position of the crosses he was describing, at the west end of the chapel, and which he had hastily assumed to mark Arthur's grave.

3. The point k on the plan, fig. 1, should have been placed farther westward, opposite the middle of the eastern severy.

# DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES

THE plates of this work are designed especially for the explanation of the construction and arrangements of the buildings and not for the display of their architectural beauties, for these have been amply and well represented and recorded, architecturally and picturesquely, by the best artists in each department from Hollar in 1655 to the present time; and are now also illustrated by photography and accessible to all[1].

The present lithographs are copied from the drawings which I laid down on a large scale from my own measurements and investigations, and employed for the illustration of the lecture which formed the basis of this volume. In them the different styles of architecture were denoted by tints of bright colours. These colours, for convenience, have given place in the lithographs to tints of shade ruling on a simple system; according to which Norman work is represented by crossed diagonal lines, Early English by crossed rectangular lines, first Perpendicular by parallel vertical lines, second Perpendicular by parallel diagonal lines.

It must also be remarked that in the exterior elevation and longitudinal section of St Joseph's chapel the architectural details of arcading, moldings and vaultings are omitted for reasons explained at p. 50.

**PLATE I. Fig. 1. Plan of the Abbey church of Glastonbury.**

This plan differs from those that have been hitherto published in the disposition of the east end of the great church, the evidence for which is fully stated in Chapter IV. I have also inserted a north porch (p. 36), and several particulars relating to the arrangements of the cemetery of the monks (p. 85). The parts of the church that remain are distinguished by a darker shade.

As not a fragment of the lateral portions of the west front is left, it is impossible to determine whether or no it had western towers or doorways on each side at the extremities of the aisles.

**PLATE II. Fig. 2. Elevation of the south east side aisle wall of the church**

This elevation illustrates, in conjunction with the plan, the evidence for the original arrangement of the east end and the form of the subsequent elongation in the fourteenth century (p. 31). In

this sketch I have denoted the *respond piers by a* series of numerals beneath the base line of the elevation, and in referring to the severies have distinguished them as severy 4, 5, or 6, 7, and so on.

The coloured tint distinguishes the portions of this wall which still remain. The lighter tint from 7 to 10 indicates the later wall, the courses of masonry shew a seam on the west side of the respond 7, which indicates the junction of new work with old. But the two fissures in the wall between the bench table and string mould, in 5, 6 and 6, 7, indicate a repair of the portion of wall between them.

Below the point marked 11 on the tops of 5, 6, there is a vertical groove in the face of the wall which begins on the string course and passing behind the wall rib rises to the top of the wall. The use of this is not apparent. It may have received a rope passing downwards from a sanctus bell in a turret above, or a bell to summon the monks.

**The figures beneath the elevation are details of moldings:**

**A.** the section of the Norman voussoirs of the eastern crypt of St Joseph's chapel (Chap. VI. p. 65, &o.).

**B**. the section of two responds and ribs of the western crypt. The dotted lines DCCE form a plan of the impost of the vault ribs (pp. 68, 69).

**F.** a vault rib of the great church and the Norman part of St Joseph's chapel.

**G.** the base of the responds, 7, 8, 9, 10, Fig. 2.

**H**. the base of the responds, 1 to 6, Fig. 2, and of the fragment of the nave, Fig. 1, N to Q.

**PLATE III. contains a plan of the crypt (Fig. 3) and a plan of the chapel (Fig. 4),**

–drawn on the same scale and placed, the one vertically above the other, so as to admit of a direct comparison of the two.

No plan of the crypt has hitherto been published, and the present one is the result of my own investigations and measurements. The plans of the chapel, given by Nash and Wild in the Vetusta Monumenta, and Britton's Architectural Antiquities, are excellent, as far as they go. I have, however, supplied the steps to the great church and other details.

In these plans, which are fully explained in Chapters V. and VI., the buttresses of the chapel are denoted by Roman numerals, which also serve to indicate the severies externally and internally as explained for Fig. 2 above.

The transverse ribs which divide the severies of the crypt are denoted by Arabic numerals.

**N.B.** The doorway M of the crypt is reached by a flight of steps descending between parallel walls. These are omitted in the plan, but described at pp. 61, 72.

**PLATE IV. Fig. 5, is an elevation of the north side of St Joseph's chapel in outline,**

—omitting the arcades of the Norman wall and other decorations. The Arabia numerals shew the portions of the dividing lines of the crypt severies, and coincide with the same numerals in Fig. 3. The only purpose of this elevation is to shew the manner in which the windows and

doorway of the crypt are cut through the basement mold of the building, and intrude into the doorway of the Galilee porch in severy 6, 7 (pp. 69, 70). It also shews the additional threshold stones of the Norman doorway, inserted when the pavement of the chapel was raised to the level of the old bench table by the new crypt (p. 71).

**PLATE V. Fig. 6, is a longitudinal section of St Joseph's chapel,**

—-for the purpose of explaining the crypt and the piers of the arch of communication between the Norman chapel and the Galilee porch. The former is the subject of Chapter VI., the piers and arch of communication of Chapter V. p. 51, and following. The Arabic numerals placed below the base line of the drawing are, as in Figs. 3 and 5, employed to denote the severies.

In examining the section it must be remembered that the vault ribs have all fallen with the exception of those of the eastern compartment, 6, 7. The diagonal ribs of this are not fully drawn in the sketch, because the shade ruling, which denotes the age of the crypt, rendered it difficult to introduce many architectural lines.

But the plan of this severy (Fig. 3) combined with the section (Fig. 7) will completely explain the vault. In the other compartments the responds retain only the springing block, with here and there a voussoir or two still adhering to the upper bed. Each arch-headed compartment between the responds (as at N) is simply the end wall of the vaulted severy. The spandrels between these arch-formed lines (as P) are of rough rubble, set back sufficiently from the face of N to allow the vaults to rest upon the arch line (p. 63). No moulded wall ribs are employed in the crypt, as the springing block, engraved at page 66, shews.

**PLATE VI. contains two transverse sections—Fig. 7**

—-of the eastern crypt and Fig. 8 of the western crypt—fully explained in Chapter VI. p. 62, and following pages.

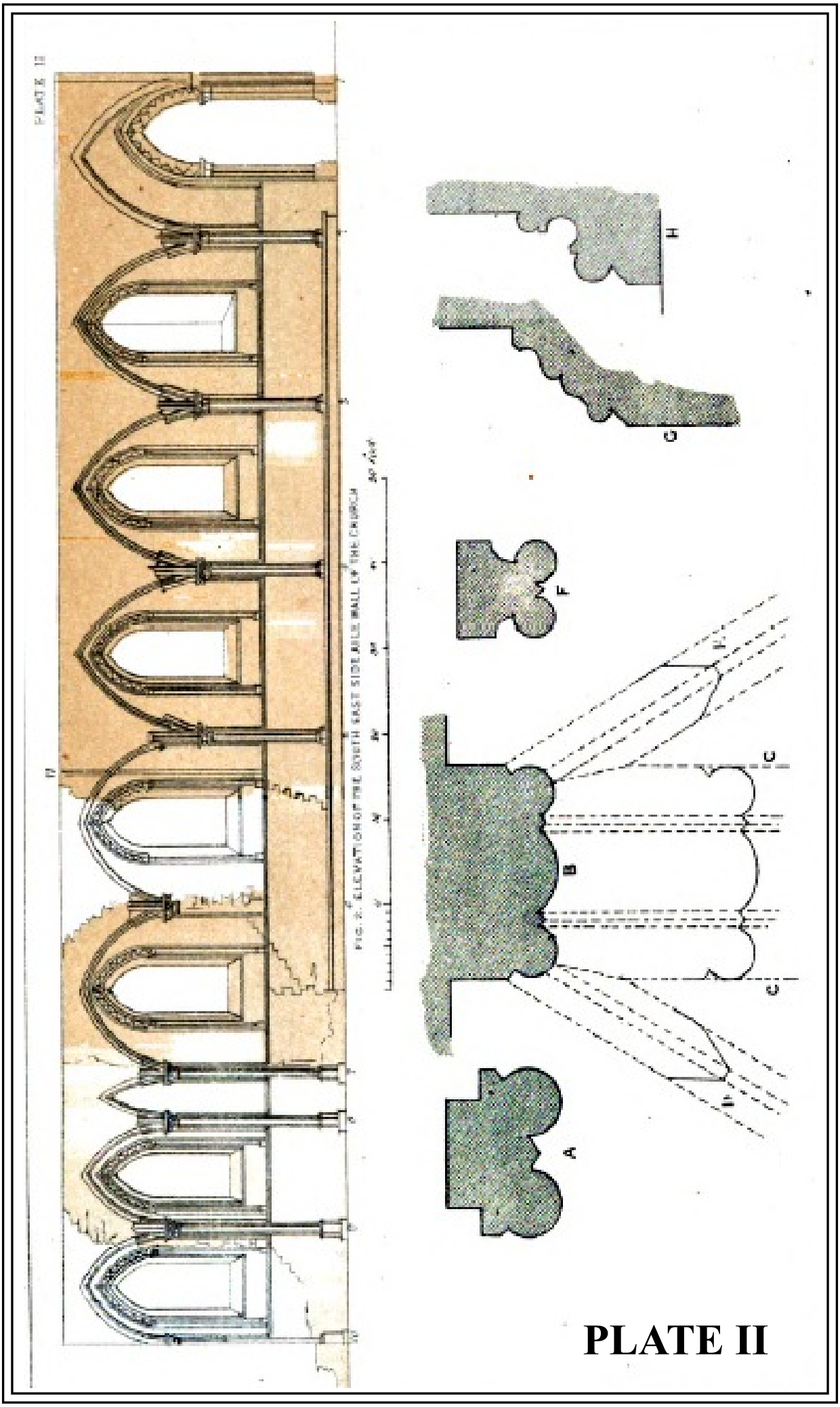
**PLATE VII. Fig. 9, is a plan of the north-east turret of the Norman chapel**

—-which illustrates pages 51 to 54 above. In this figure it must be remarked that the shade ruling is employed merely to distinguish the external ashlar from the internal ashlar, and not, as in the other figures, with any reference to styles. In fact, the ashlars so marked are parts of the same Norman wall.

Fig. 10, a plan of the west end of Durham Cathedral with its Galilee, belongs to the comparison of it with the Galilee of Glastonbury, given in Chapter VII.

# Notes to Description of Plates

1 The following list includes, I believe, all the standard works that contain engravings of Glastonbury, and (in italics) the names of the artists who made the drawings. Holler, 1655, in Dugdale's Monasticon; Stevens, Monasticon, 1720; Stukeley, Itinerarium Curiosum, 1724; Grose, Antiquities, 1753 ; Carter, Ancient Architecture, 1800 ; Storer, Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet, Vols. II. V. 1807, &c.; Wild, in Britton's Architectural Antiquities, Vol. Iv. 1813; Nash in the Vetusta Monumenta, Vol. Iv. 1815 ; Coney and Nash in the New Monasticon, Vol. I. 1817 ; Buckler, in Warner's History of the Abbey and Town, 1826. (Amongst the drawings of this artist, we find the newly cleared crypt, the well, the Glastonbury chair, and the clock-face from Wells.) Pugin, in his Specimens, gives the kitchen, and the George Inn, 1833




# PLATE II

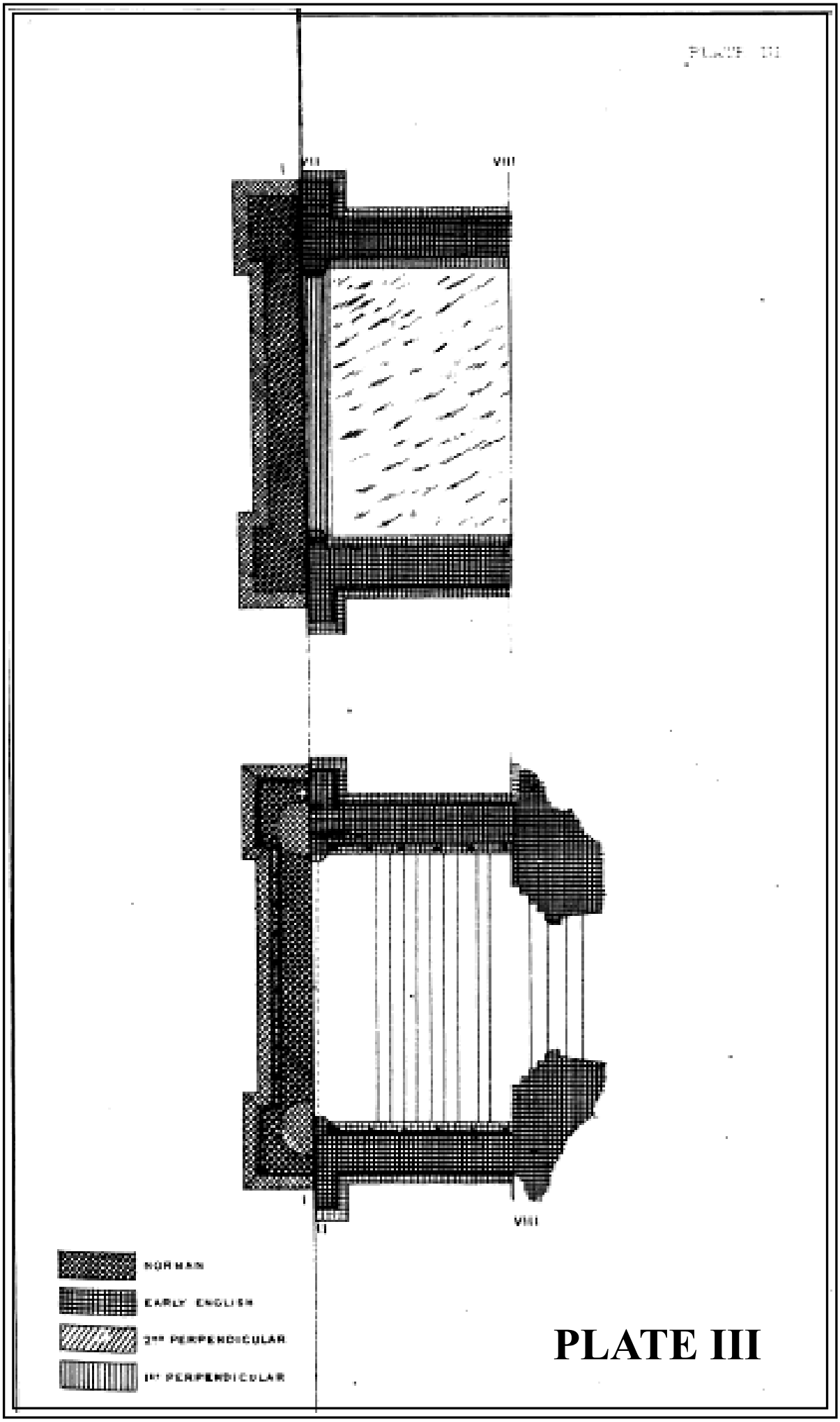


PLATE III
VII
VIII
I
II
NORMAN
EARLY ENGLISH
2nd PERPENDICULAR
1st PERPENDICULAR

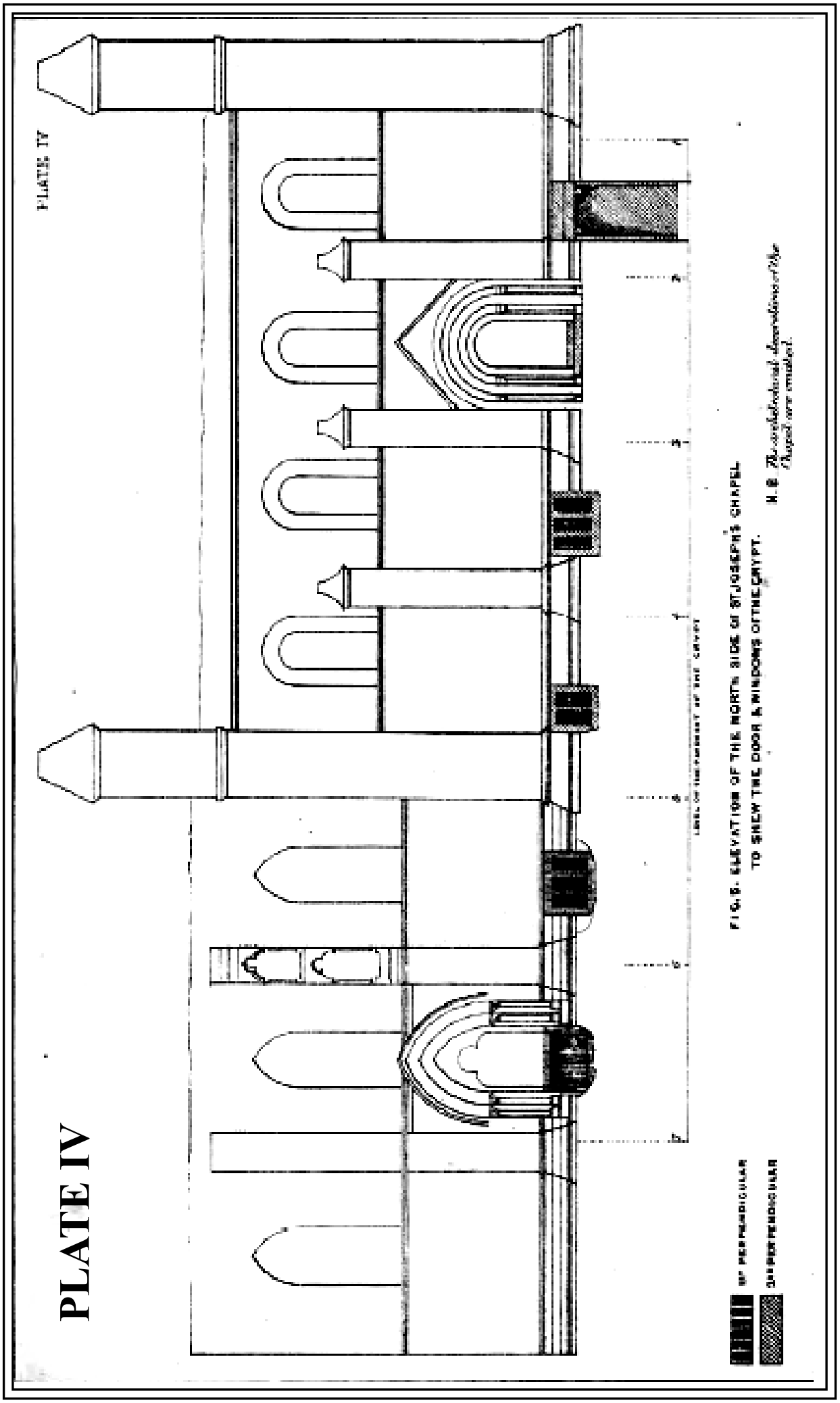


PLATE IV
FIG. 5. ELEVATION OF THE NORTH SIDE OF ST JOSEPH'S CHAPEL
TO SHEW THE DOOR & WINDOWS OF THE CRYPT.
H. E. The architectural decorations of the Chapel are omitted.
PLATE IV

# PLATE V

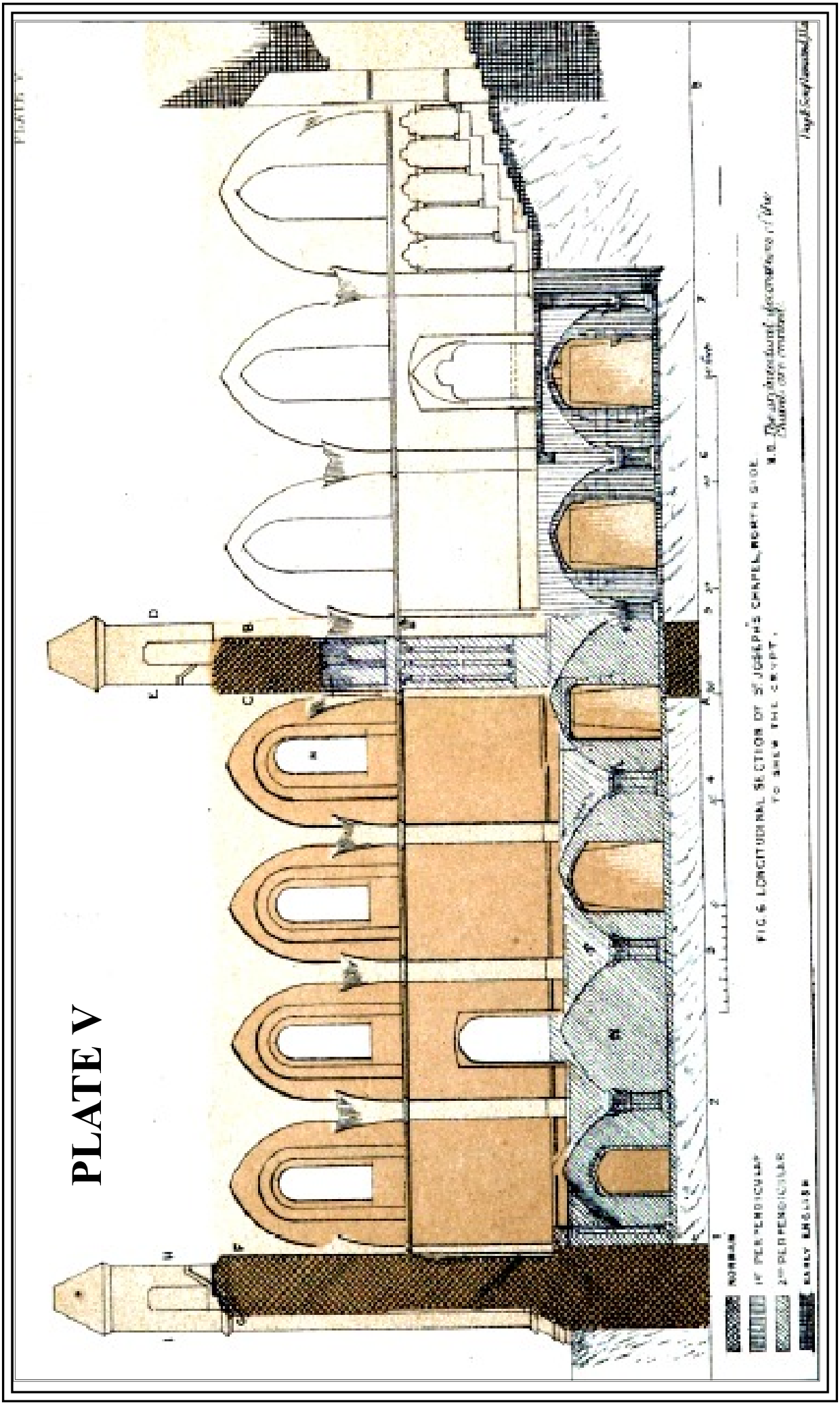


FIG 6 LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF ST JOSEPHS CHAPEL NORTH SIDE
TO SHEW THE CRYPT.
NORMAN
1ST PERPENDICULAR
2ND PERPENDICULAR
EARLY ENGLISH

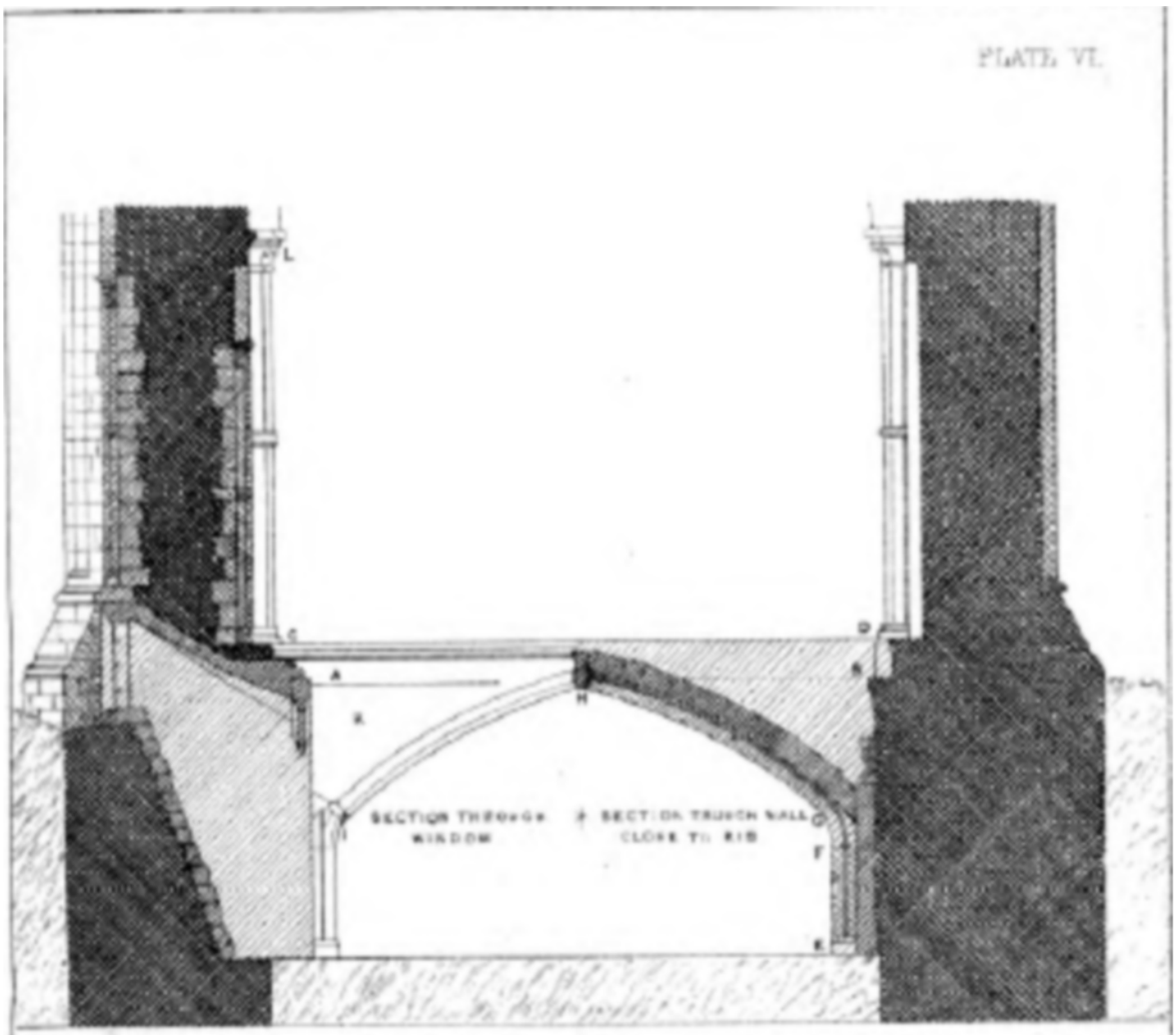



FIG. 6. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF THE WESTERN CRYPT

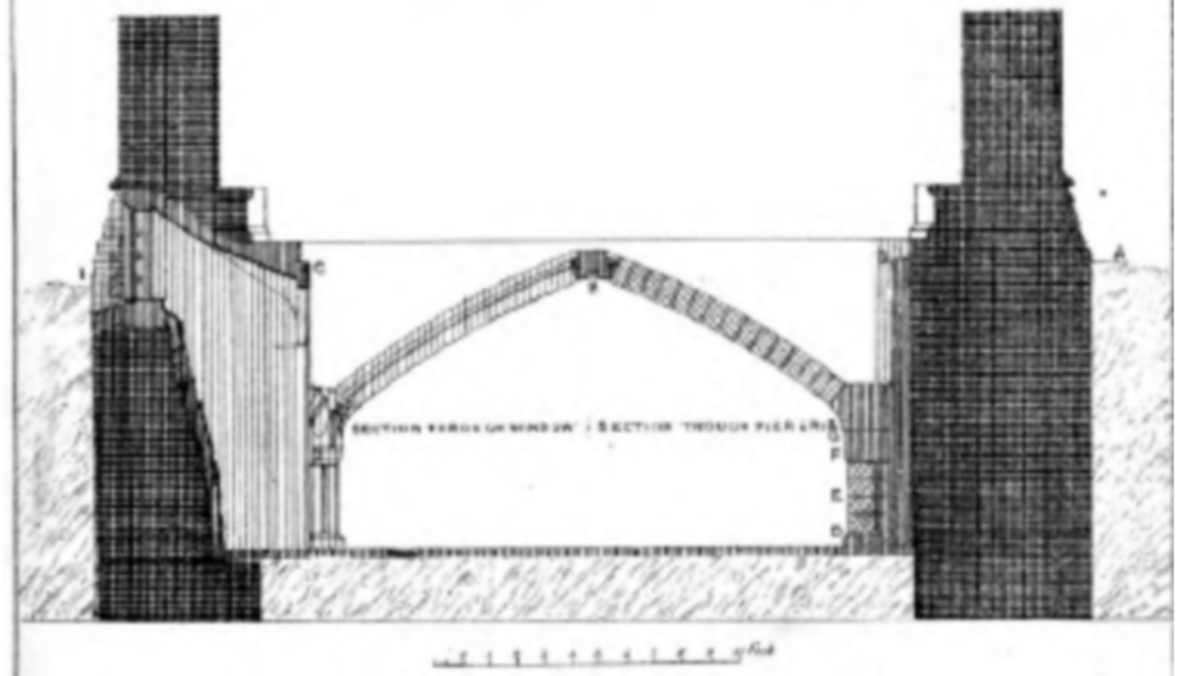


FIG. 7. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF THE EASTERN CRYPT

NORMAN
EARLY ENGLISH
PERPENDICULAR

**PLATE VI**

PLATE VII

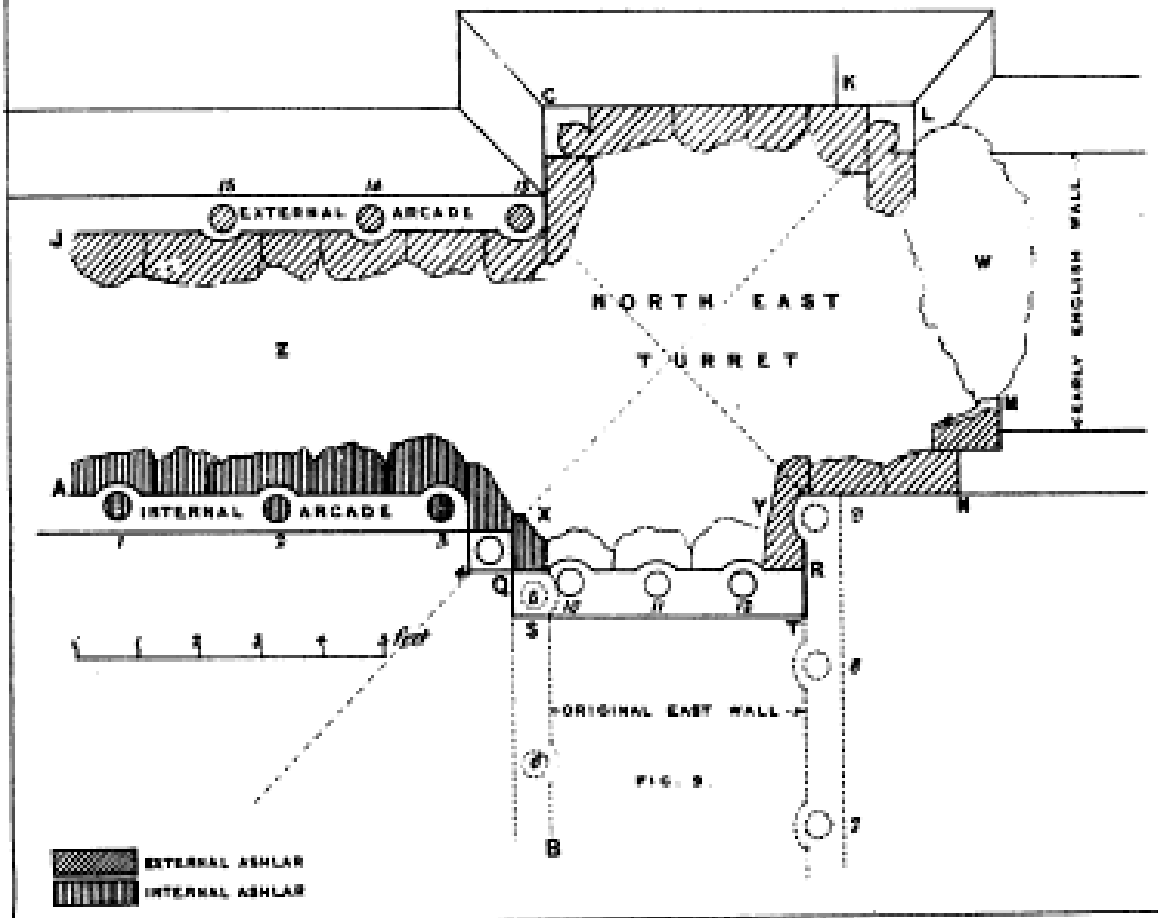



FIG. 9.

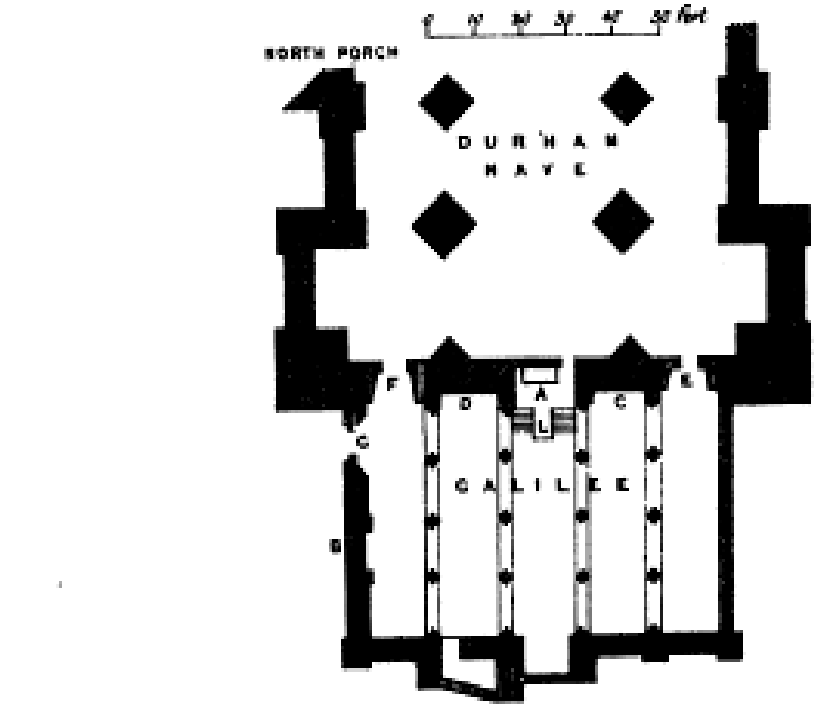



FIG. 10.

# THE NEW CHRISTIAN CRUSADE CHURCH

## CALLING THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN

**At last the bible makes sense!**

**At last we know its meaning.**

# Its the book of the RACE

**"For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isaiah 2:3).”**