

Friends of
Rochester
Cathedral
Report 1997/8

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Cover pictures: the new floodlighting, courtesy of the City of Rochester. Photographs by Dr Henry Teed - used with thanks.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The life of a Christian community is built around the Eucharist, the great act of thanksgiving which is at the centre of our worship. We have much to be thankful for in Rochester, not least the goodly heritage of the Cathedral and its magnificent architecture.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all the members of the Friends Council, under the Chairmanship of John Hicks, for the invaluable support which they give to the Dean and Chapter. Year upon year the Friends have enhanced the well-being of those who use the Cathedral. The new, and so necessary, amplification system is the latest example.

All those who see the Friends at work will know the tremendous contribution made by Michael Sinden, as Treasurer, Michael Bailey, as Secretary of the Saints Festival and Sue Malthouse who provides secretarial support to them all.

I am particularly encouraged by the enthusiasm with which the Friends have undertaken to sponsor the 5th Rochester Saints Festival which will bring together a wealth of sacred and secular music culminating in four performances of Noyes Fludde, Benjamin Britten's celebrated opera for child performers.

Those who have worked with him will miss Canon Richard Lea who has accepted the living of Iffley and who has edited this annual report, with notable flair, for the past seven years.

Edward Shotter
Dean

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CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

The past year has been a very busy one for the Friends. Our main financial contribution to the Cathedral has been the funding of the new sound system which came into operation in the Autumn. It is working well and no longer is it difficult to hear what is being said, even when one is sitting in the remoter parts of the Cathedral. It includes radio microphones for peripatetic speakers and a loop for those who are hard of hearing. The widespread approval which has been given to the new system fully justifies the considerable expense of £63,000 and must be very gratifying to those who so carefully supervised the specification and installation.

We have also agreed with the Chapter to pay for the renewal of the Cathedral's electrical mains wiring, to enable it to meet modern safety requirements. This work, at a cost of about £20,000 completes the project by the Friends to renew over a period of years all the wiring throughout the Cathedral.

For much of the past year the members of the Friends Council have been heavily involved in planning the arrangement for the 5th Rochester Saints Festival, which takes place in the period 4th - 18th October 1998. Full details of the events, together with the procedure for booking tickets, have already been distributed. If this ambitious Festival is to be a success, it needs to be strongly supported by the Friends. We hope many of you will become Patrons of the Festival and take advantage of the special privileges available.

The 1998 Friends Festival and Annual General Meeting takes place on Saturday, 20th June. I am delighted to report that the Bishop of Rochester, the Right Reverend Michael Nazir-Ali, who is our Visitor, has kindly agreed to give the Address at the AGM. This will be followed by a Festal Evensong and then Tea, at which I hope it will be possible for as many Friends as possible to meet the Bishop. Please complete the enclosed proforma and return it to the Friends Office without delay.

We are very grateful for a legacy of £15,865 from the late Mrs E.M. Read, a member of the Friends and a former resident of Rochester. Bequests of this kind to the Friends have provided us over the years with substantial capital to invest. It is income from the fund which is the main source of the various grants made by the Friends for the benefit of the Cathedral.

This year has seen the departure from Rochester of Canon Richard Lea and his wife Rosemary, who have been great supporters of the Friends in so many ways. As our Vice-President, Richard has represented the Dean and Chapter at our Council and Committee meetings and as Editor of our Annual Report, he has set a standard which compares favourably with that of any other Cathedral Friends. We thank them for all they have done for the Friends in the last eight years and we wish them every happiness in their new ministry at Iffley in Oxford.

Finally, I wish to thank the Officers and members of Council for all their help and support during my first year as your Chairman.

John Hicks

THE MUSIC APPEAL

In essence, a cathedral is a religious community. Central to its life is the *Opus Dei* the work of God: the daily worship offered by the Cathedral Foundation.

Since music has been part of Christian worship from the apostle's time, it is clear that music has been part of the life of Rochester Cathedral since its foundation by St Augustine in 604. St Matthew's account of the institution of the Holy Eucharist records that the last supper included music. "And when they had sung a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives." Similarly St Luke records in the Acts of the Apostles how Paul and Silas 'prayed and sang hymns' while they were in prison; and the Ephesians are urged to sing 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs.'

Bearing in mind that the traditional music of Western Christendom, plain chant, is attributed to St Gregory the Great who sent Augustine to England, it is clear that Gregorian chant, as it is also called, must have been sung here since 604. A glance at the English Hymnal, which we use in Quire, will show a wealth of office hymns dating from the 4th and 5th centuries, some of which refer to singing. Thus St Gregory, in his office hymn *Primo dierum omnium* alludes to established practice: "To keep the Apostles' time of prayer and hymn the quiet hours of morn. Similarly, the *Pange, lingua* written by Venantius Fortunatus, a bishop who was contemporary to the foundation of the Cathedral:

"Sing my tongue the glorious battle
Sing the ending of the fray
Now above the cross, the trophy
Sound the loud triumphal lay".

The Book of Common Prayer is not noted for hymns and provides but one, *Veni, Creator Spiritus* - Come Holy Ghost our Souls inspire - where it appears in the ordinal in the English version of Bishop John Cosin. Nonetheless it requires an anthem "in quires and places where they sing", and canticles, some of the earliest Christian sung texts, such as *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and *Nunc Dimittis* are central to Mattins and Evensong, while *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* has been sung at the Eucharist since the 6th century.

Perhaps the earliest evidence of music at Rochester is Bede's reference to monks singing well. He certainly knew what he was writing about: for he was not only an historian but also a hymn-writer.

Christian worship, however, centres around an even older source, the psalms, which Jesus knew and from which he quoted. These Jewish hymns, were sung by the very first Christians. They form the basis of Mattins and Evensong and are sung daily in this and every Cathedral. They are central to the worship of every monastic house, and central to the daily worship of God which is characteristic of every religious community.

So here at Rochester we inherit a musical tradition which is at least as old as the Faith. That which was brought here by St Augustine has survived the Norman conquest and the Reformation. The Quire was built specifically for the daily services of the Benedictine monks who succeeded a college of secular canons in the 11th Century and were in turn succeeded by a Dean and Chapter in 1541, when provision was made for a choir of six men and eight boys, choristers and lay clerks - the basis of today's Choir.

We are, without a shadow of doubt, guardians of a great tradition. Indeed the finest examples of the English choral tradition are the choirs of the English cathedrals. French cathedrals are largely mute. Even Notre Dame, in Paris, turned to England when it decided to start a cathedral choir.

There can be no doubt that Choral Evensong has sunk into the consciousness of the nation. The BBC reports that the "turn on factor", one of the ways it measures interest in its programmes, is notably high for broadcast Evensong on Wednesdays. Indeed when the BBC suggested, some years ago, abandoning live broadcasts of Evensong, there was a lively correspondence in *The Times* - led by Marghanita Laski of all people - and broadcast Evensong continued.

This cathedral can accommodate some 1,500 people. Of course no-one expects that number to attend habitually, let alone daily. Nonetheless the fact that the daily worship of God is offered to the highest musical and liturgical standards of which we are capable, also means that for great occasions there is an ongoing tradition which can be adapted to the special needs of different sectors of society - all of which feel they have a stake in the cathedral. In my experience there comes a time in the life of many secular institutions when they turn to the cathedral to have their endeavours blessed. And we are able to respond because the daily worship of God is of the essence of the place. Without that ongoing tradition, it would have been totally impossible to devise, arrange and rehearse in three days, a great service such as the one that commemorated the death of the Princess of Wales.

Cathedral music costs a lot of money and, if standards are to be maintained, then more money, much more money, must be raised. At the present time, the choristers, twenty of them, receive bursaries of 40% of their fees at the cathedral school, King's Rochester. Ideally, we should like to return to a situation where no boy is excluded on grounds of parental income. These bursaries have, over the years, shrunk to 40%. We aim to reverse the trend and increase them to 50%.

Indeed if the choir is to widen its catchment area and maintain its standards, it is essential not only to do this, but also to provide some 100% boarding scholarships - which will open the choir to boys who could not otherwise benefit from a musical experience and professional training, which is unique.

Trevor Beeson, until 1996 Dean of Winchester, writes in his Dean's Diary: "During the last thirty years, the English Cathedrals, uniquely in Europe, have been transformed from Barchester-like places of ease into lively centres of Christian mission." Philip Barnett's book, "Barchester" tells us how it was:

"In the early nineteenth century the music to be sung was usually chosen during the actual service. At Salisbury, for example, at the end of the psalms the head boy left his place to enquire of the Dean what anthem he wanted to be sung;" while at Rochester in 1869 the responses were given "in a feeble, discordant manner." And Dickens described "the shivering choristers on a winter morning, huddling in their gowns as they drowsily scamper through their work".

An anonymous minor canon said, in 1880, that the choral services in most cathedrals were "shocking" and "disgraceful", because there were too few boarding schools for choristers. However, matters were to improve.

Sir Frederick Bridge, organist at Westminster Abbey from 1882-1918, one of six probationers who joined the choir of Rochester at the age of six, pointed out that seven ex-choristers of Rochester had become cathedral organists and three had become Professors of Music.

Cathedral music has evolved over the past century or so. Small boys find themselves thrust onto an international stage, singing alongside lay clerks, who, in some cases, are professional singers and accompanied, as here, by organists with international reputations.

Cathedral music has also evolved by the introduction of girls. Although some feared this would destroy the choral tradition, at Rochester this has been jealously guarded. And the Girls' Choir is developing a life (and sound) of its own. There is no reason at all why girls should be denied a musical education open to boys for centuries. Although we cannot afford to replicate the choristerships, we can offer girls from a wide cross section of schools, the opportunity to participate in cathedral music. We aim to give them each an annual bursary of £500 to enable them to receive individual instrumental tuition.

Ten years ago we set out to raise £1m to secure the fabric for future generations. It is now our responsibility and privilege, to find the money, whatever is necessary, to ensure that the Musical Foundation, our pearl without price, is secured for the coming century.

There can be no questioning the high standard of music at Rochester. You can help by making a donation, no matter how small (or for that matter, no matter how large), or by introducing the Appeal Director, Lesley Turpin, to companies which might become corporate sponsors, or by succumbing to the persuasive tongue of Michael Bailey, the Appeal Chairman. Music enables us to lift up our hearts to Almighty God, to express what is otherwise inexpressible as we join with angels and archangels and with all the company of heaven to proclaim God' great and glorious name.

Edward Shotter
Dean

EVANGELISM IN SIGN AND SYMBOL

A Sermon delivered at the St Andrew's-tide Eucharist of the General Chapter on 1st December 1997, by Canon Richard Lea

I am grateful to the Dean for inviting me to preach this morning in his place in view of my forthcoming move to be Vicar of Iffley. But I shall resist the temptation to review nine years in the cathedral and 32 in the diocese, except to say that I have enjoyed them very much, and have been privileged to work under three bishops of distinction, not to mention two deans, three archdeacons, five rural deans, and two incumbents - and several curates.

I've especially enjoyed working at the cathedral. I have found it immensely stimulating to worship in such a building, and with such music; to hear such good preaching from such a variety of preachers; to play a significant part in some of the great diocesan occasions; and to work alongside colleagues from whom I had so much to learn.

I shall always value my time here for the access it has given me to people I should not otherwise have met, and I shall value it for the opportunities it has given me to see the world. I have travelled with the choir to several European countries, including Finland and Estonia, and to the United States of America. But above all, I shall remember my three months sabbatical in India.

For most of my time here I have been Precentor, and that is where I have felt most fully engaged in the ministry of the cathedral. But the past year, when I have been involved in the cathedral's ministry to visitors, has also yielded some extremely interesting insights.

The outstanding event of the past twelve months has, of course, been the death of the Princess of Wales, and the extraordinary demands this has placed on the cathedral, among many other places of worship. It was reassuring to us to discover that so many people were, after all, aware of our existence, and even of our purpose.

For the church has been confronted with a vast popular display of untutored spirituality, and this has set us wondering about looking for simpler ways in which to provide spiritual nourishment for those who are not yet ready for the full blast of our liturgy, such as sitting quietly in a church for a few moments, looking at a picture, lighting a candle, writing a name on a piece of paper, even clicking a few beads. To be quite honest, I find that quite appealing myself. We've long been telling ourselves that we're too wordy and intellectual, but we haven't done much about it. Partly because we haven't known what to do.

Perhaps now the mists are beginning to clear a little. One of the first problems is going to be how to keep our churches open for such visitors. For what's the point of having a building that speaks of God if its mouth is kept shut?

Speaking of God is what we are all here to do, and to do with many voices and in a rich variety of ways. Just as the sun radiates its energy without ceasing, or the sower broadcasts without discrimination, so the church endlessly radiates God. It is the nature of the church to radiate God, to broadcast him, in as much of his variety as we possess. We speak of God in words and in silence, in worship and in social concern, in art, music and architecture, in our interpretation of the world around us. We speak of him by every means we can. Much of our evangelistic effort at the cathedral is focused onto this building.

As we all know, a great deal of work has been done on the building in the last ten years, thanks to the Trust, the Friends, and the hard work and loyal support of a great many people. The object of this work has been to enable the building to speak more clearly of God, and to continue to do so in the future. And I hope that has been its effect. It may not say it very loudly to the person who comes in here to cause trouble, or steal a handbag. But to those who have faith, it can't fail to speak of the stillness of prayer, the continuity of the church, the richness of artistic creation in the service of God.

And, as we have learned through the death of Diana, to those whose faith is uncertain, it may speak of an unknown God. We also experience this on World Aids Day - this very day. Tonight we shall expect to see hundreds of young people in the cathedral, remembering their friends and relations who have died of Aids, and some of them waiting to die of it themselves.

It's the task of our Education and Visits department to bring out what the building is saying. Their outreach is grounded in the outreach of the building itself - its qualities, its story. This will sometimes mean helping the visitor with some Christian teaching, and it will sometimes mean keeping a respectful distance.

But it isn't just the visitor or the pilgrim to whom the building speaks. It speaks to us all. It reminds us all of the glory of God the creator; of the death of Christ the Redeemer; of the pervasive Spirit, who leads the Church forward in a changing world. It's a reminder of the faith of our forefathers, and of our duty to hand on faith to future generations.

Having known this building for over thirty years, I'm delighted that it is now looking so good, especially here in the quire, which was always so strikingly dingy. It seems to me that the work of the Rochester 2000 Trust has been a significant part of the Decade of Evangelism (even though that phrase hadn't been coined when the Trust was launched).

As you know, the Trust has now endorsed the Music Appeal, which, in my unbiased view, is no less worthy. For our musicians also speak of God, not only to the tiny handful who attend the daily offices, but to the many who attend our Christmas and other great services, such as the Advent Carol Service last night; and those who listen to our broadcasts and recordings.

The Decade of Evangelism and the death of Diana are teaching us what a complex thing evangelism is; teaching us to consider our silent as well as our vocal evangelism; *unconscious* as well as conscious. It's giving us new insights into the efficacy of our buildings and silent symbols. We are learning to take seriously the spirituality of the unchurched, and to seek new ways of nourishing them.

The cathedral has a highly significant role to play in this work.

VESTMENTS

The Cathedral possesses some fine sets of vestments including the important 15th century dalmatic. Some duplicate sets have been passed to our link diocese, Harare. With vestments, as with clothing generally, fashions change, and over the past three years four new sets have been added to the sacristy. A gold set was given anonymously in memory of Andrew Barker, and used for the first time at the televised Easter Day Eucharist, 1997. A purple set for use in Advent was made by Mrs Mary Smith who also made six green stoles to match the existing green chasuble we use on Sundays. A simple white set and, most recently, a lenten set have been made for us by Miss Dorothy Driver, who, like Mrs Smith, is a member of the Cathedral Sewing Guild, and a life member of the Friends. The lenten vestments are in a stone colour, and pick up the mediaeval pattern on the ribs of the quire vault. We are grateful for all these splendid additions to our worship and for the hard work which has gone into their making.

J.M.A.

QUINQUENNIAL REPORT

Every 5 years the Surveyor to the Fabric, Mr Martin Caroe, formally inspects the structure and services of the Cathedral, reports to the Chapter on the general structural condition of the building, comments in detail on defects and recommends the priority for repairs. He completed his latest report in 1997.

In his report he listed 32 works projects which have been completed since 1989 and commented *"it would not be unreasonable to surmise that the building is in better order - and is receiving better daily maintenance - than has been the case for several hundred years"*

Such an encouraging statement is not only a reflection of Martin's outstanding ability as a conservation architect. It is also a demonstration of the financial support that has been provided by the Friends, Rochester 2000 Trust, English Heritage, the Bridge Trust and many other donors.

That is not to say that no work is needed. His very comprehensive report contained 6 recommendations for immediate action (4 of which have been completed), 12 for action within 18 months (2 of which have been completed) and a further 6 for action in the next 5 years. He also listed a further 9 items as desirable. Most of his recommendations have little evident public impact but are important for the long term well-being of the Cathedral building. The Dean and Chapter's programme of work will therefore be in accordance with his recommendations and order of priority. The first evident example of this will be the repair of the 3 pinnacles above the lapidarium on the north east side of the Cathedral.

Finally, if any reader knows of a guaranteed way to stop pigeons roosting on the north side of the Cathedral which does not involve shotguns or strychnine the Surveyor to the Fabric would be delighted to hear it. This is one of the 2 immediate action items outstanding. The curious can be assured that the other will have been completed by the time this is printed without anyone having noticed.

C. Hebron

ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL CLERGY AND THEIR LIBRARY

Many people, when they visit a cathedral, are puzzled by the existence of a library within the precincts. If one were designing a brand new cathedral from scratch, one would include provision for a library, given the educational rôle which is now seen as such an important part of any cathedral's mission, but it would probably contain a very different collection of books from those which adorn the shelves of most cathedral libraries.

When the members of the Archbishops' Commission on Cathedrals were carrying out their enquiry in 1992 and 1993, the Cathedral Libraries and Archives Association (CLAA) was asked to submit a paper describing the role and function of a cathedral library. This caused much discussion and some dissent, and eventually the secretary produced a skilful summary of a number of different views. Several things became obvious from this exercise. Most evident, was the variety that exists among cathedral libraries. This ranges from large collections of older, rare books, which are often attached to a nearby university library, such as Durham, York and Exeter, to collections of modern theological books as at St Albans, and, indeed, the modern part of Rochester Cathedral Library.

The function of a modern theology collection is easy to define, but the retention of older books is harder to justify. I believe, along with my fellow librarians in the CLAA, that whatever the size and content of the older book collections in a cathedral, they provide a unique record of the intellectual development of their institution, and hence of the pre-Reformation Roman Catholic Church and of the post-Reformation Anglican church, and they are as important a record of the past life of our cathedrals as are the architecture, monumental sculpture and stained glass. At all stages of a cathedral's development, the books in the library have reflected the life, activities and concerns of those who have administered the cathedral, carried out its cycle of worship and cared for its fabric and contents.

The pre-Reformation history of most cathedrals has been reasonably well-documented, and this is also true of their libraries - many people have had an interest in reconstructing the collections of manuscripts books scattered at the Reformation and gathered up into college, university and national libraries. In the case of Rochester's medieval collection, Canon Mackean, and, recently Canon Welsby, have written up the medieval history in their general accounts of the Cathedral Library, and Katherine Waller and Mary Richards have studied the contents in depth¹.

The books in the medieval library of Rochester very much reflected the life and work of the Benedictine priory. There was a copy of the Rule of St Benedict, which laid down the pattern of monastic life in a Benedictine house. This was supplemented by a copy of Archbishop Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, a directory compiled for the monastic community of Christ Church Canterbury intended to set out the changes in offices and ceremonial throughout the year. Although little of the daily, domestic routine of the monks is detailed, the *Constitutions* give the fullest extant account of monastic life in the period immediately after the Norman Conquest². The most interesting section relevant to the library, describes the return and checking of library books, an annual event held on the first Monday of Lent in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict. Each monk was given one book to read each year, and on this Monday had to return that book and be given another by the librarian. Any monk who had not read his book was to confess his fault, prostrate himself and ask for pardon³. This must have been more fun than charging fines!

Books issued to the monks could be a work by one of the Fathers of the Church, such as St. Augustine or St. Jerome, of which the library held a large number; a history book such as Bede's Ecclesiastical History or a work by Josephus on Jewish history. If the monk could read Anglo-Saxon, there was King Alfred's translation of St Gregory's Pastoral Care available. There was a large variety of sermons and homilies to choose from and also books of the Bible, such as the Epistles of St Paul, with glosses to aid study. There were one hundred and sixteen volumes listed in the 1130 library catalogue in the *Textus Roffensis*,

many comprising more than one work. A further catalogue of 1202 showed an expansion of the library to include more histories, works of canon law and lives of the saints. These books, with the addition of liturgical books, reflected the daily needs of the monks in a Benedictine house.

The dissolution of the priory at Rochester in 1540 caused the scattering of the medieval library, as in other religious houses. In Rochester's case a large number (about one hundred and forty titles) have survived in other libraries⁴. Of these, the largest group are the manuscript books taken into the Royal Library, now in the British Library. What is interesting within the surviving books from the medieval library is the small group of printed books which were acquired before 1540, during the first ninety years of printing. That the monks were still acquiring books at a time when their numbers were in decline, and in a house not particularly famous for its scholarship, is worthy of note.

The four early printed books which have survived from the pre-Dissolution library are: St Augustine's *Sermo super Orationem Dominicam*, printed in Cologne about 1474, and now in the British Library; a collection of St Augustine's sermons, printed in Paris by Ulrich Gering and Berthold Rembolt about 1499, now in All Souls' College Library, Oxford; *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum*, attributed to Iamblichus, printed in Venice in 1497, and a commentary on the Psalms by Ludolphus de Saxonia, again printed in Paris, by Gering and Rembolt, in 1506. The Augustine books and the Ludolphus seem to fit well, in terms of subject matter, with the earlier manuscript books, but the acquisition of *De mysteriis* seems a little strange. Iamblichus who died in about 330 AD, was the chief Neoplatonist of the Syrian school. Neoplatonism was a strand of philosophy which ran through the teachings of many of the famous medieval philosophers, so it is not surprising that the Cathedral Library should have a book by Iamblichus, but this particular work was a defence of ritualistic magic and a guide to superstitions, and has been described as of no philosophical importance. An unusual acquisition for the last of the Rochester monks; or was there a closet necromancer in their midst?

Another insight into the life of the pre-Dissolution priory comes from a court case of 1528, when William Mafelde, Precentor, and, as Mackean says, probably the Librarian too, appeared before his Bishop, John Fisher, accused of possessing the Bible in English. The Bible in question was William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, which Tyndale and his amanuensis had begun printing in Cologne in the autumn of 1525. They fled to Worms, bearing with them the partly completed sheets from Cologne, after Tyndale was betrayed to the Roman Catholic authorities, whom he had been dodging for over a year. The printing was completed at Worms at the end of February 1526, and the first copies of Tyndale's translation arrived in England about a month later. The Bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, within a few months began

organising the collection and burning of all copies. Sir Thomas More, well-known for his Kentish connections, was a leading light in the campaign against the work of Tyndale and he wrote his *Dialogue concerning Tyndale* in 1528 to counter rumours about the suppression of the works of Tyndale and his New Testament. These rumours held that the reason the English New Testament had been burned was to hide the truth from the eyes of laymen. Tyndale's answer to More is included in a collection of Tyndale's work re-published in 1859, and held in the Cathedral Library.

Anyone who read the Scriptures in his own tongue was assumed to be a Lutheran and therefore a heretic, with the threat that implied, of stakes and burning faggots. What therefore was the Precentor of Rochester Cathedral doing with the heretical text of the New Testament, especially given that his bishop was such a staunch opponent of Protestant reform? Those who wish to sample the views of Bishop John Fisher can find in the Cathedral Library contemporary editions of several of his works - *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*, in two different editions published in Cologne in 1527, *De unica Magdalena* published in Paris in 1519, *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio* published in Cologne in 1523, and two copies of his collected works, one published in 1597 and another in 1876.

Mafelde appeared before Bishop Fisher on the 15 June 1528 charged with possessing the Bible in English. In an attempt to save his own skin, he implicated William Patenson in the case, saying that he had bought the New Testament from Patenson, who had taught grammar at the cathedral. Patenson, by then teaching at Tonbridge, was hauled before the bishop on the 18 June, and he in turn told how he had purchased the offending book in London from a "student" called Silvester, who had acquired the book in the University of Louvain. Mafelde had split up the unbound volume into Gospels and Epistles, and had sold one of these parts to Hugo, a lay chorister of Rochester. For Bishop Fisher, this evidence of the proliferation of heresy in his own cathedral must have been somewhat alarming. The story of the publication of the Bible in English is full of ironies, but the cruellest was that only months after Tyndale was burnt at the stake as a heretic, Henry VIII was licensing the first official English translation of the Bible, that of Tyndale's colleague John Rogers, which incorporated all of Tyndale's translation⁵.

While these events, centred on the possession of a book, present a cameo of the English Reformation, for the post-Dissolution period the Cathedral Library more straightforwardly reflects the interests and activities of the cathedral clergy. These are evident in two ways: one is in the books written by cathedral clergy which are now in the library, and the other is in the books *owned* by the clergy which they donated to it.

Not all the bishops of Rochester were as learned as John Fisher, but several whose works are present in the library were important national figures, or had unexpected areas of scholarly interest. Nicholas Ridley, who was burned for his faith in 1555, was bishop from 1547 to 1550, before his translation to see of London, and is represented by two nineteenth-century editions of his writings. John Buckeridge, bishop from 1611 to 1628, delivered a sermon at the funeral in 1626, of Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, renowned preacher and one of the principal influences in the formation of Anglican theology. This sermon can be found in a collection of Andrewes's sermons published in 1641, held in the Cathedral Library.

In 1684 Thomas Sprat was consecrated Bishop of Rochester, a preferment he held until his death of an apoplexy at Bromley Palace in 1713. As a young man, Sprat was known for his satirical verses, as well as a poem on the death of Oliver Cromwell published with others by Dryden and Waller in 1659. After the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660, his political views changed and he was ordained priest. He published later work in which he used his satirical abilities, notably defending the English against the calumnies of Samuel de Sorbière, in *Relation d'un Voyage en Angleterre*. Sprat's interest in science was reflected in his fellowship of the early Royal Society and his *History of the Royal Society of London* was published in 1667, only seven years after its foundation, being reprinted many times down to 1764. He was described by John Evelyn in his *Diary* in the autumn of 1679 as 'that great wit, Dr. Sprat' who preached with 'a readiness of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter, easily delivered'. Sprat survived a false accusation that he was plotting to restore James II to the throne in 1692, and after his release published a narrative of the plot against him, which is in the Cathedral Library, along with a collection of his sermons and several other works.

Other, later, bishops whose works are present in the library include the controversialist Francis Atterbury, consecrated bishop in 1713. By 1700 Atterbury had become well-known as a supporter of the rights of the lower clergy in convocation against the latitudinarian bishops. Later in his life he became more and more attached to the Jacobite cause and after being imprisoned in the Tower, and deprived of all his ecclesiastical preferments, he went into exile on the Continent 1723, never to return to England. Aside from his polemical works, Atterbury was regarded as the best preacher of his day but also was intimate with many of the great writers of Queen Anne's reign, including Swift, Pope, Addison and Sir Isaac Newton. Several of his controversial works are in the Cathedral Library as well as collections of his sermons.

Zachary Pearce was bishop from 1756 to 1774. His early works were editions of classical texts, such as Cicero's *De Oratore* (1716) and *De Officiis* (1745), both of which through several editions. His edition of Longinus's work first

published in 1724, reached a ninth edition in 1806. He was a protagonist in controversies provoked by the work of Thomas Woolston and Conyers Middleton, and a two volume commentary on the New Testament, which was published in 1777 is present in the library.

A final example of a Bishop of Rochester whose works are represented in the Library is Samuel Horsley (bishop 1793-1802). Like Sprat, Horsley was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1767, and was its Secretary from 1773 to 1784, displaying an early interest in astronomy and geometry. Between 1778 and 1790 Horsley was involved in the controversy provoked by Joseph Priestley's writings on the doctrines of the Trinity and of Christ's divinity. Horsley's contributions to this controversy were gathered together and published: amazingly this ran to a third edition in 1812, of which the Cathedral Library has a copy. In addition Horsley published over twenty separate works on science, theology and philology as well as sermons and episcopal charges. An impressively wide range of scholarly work, which is represented in the Cathedral Library by copies of his sermons, visitation charges, speeches in Parliament and some biblical criticism.

I have selected just a few of the bishops connected with Rochester to show how the books in the library can illustrate the intellectual activities and interests of past clergy. On the surface the former clergy of Rochester can seem uninteresting: these sketches of a few of the bishops show how much lurked beneath that surface. The list could extend into deans and canons, especially those prebendaries of the fifth stall who, from 1714 onwards, were also Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, or, from 1877 onwards, Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of the Holy Scripture. A selection of the Rochester clergy whose works are on the shelves of the library are: Godfrey Goodman (dean 1621-4); Henry King (dean 1639-42); Nathaniel Hardy (dean 1661-70); Samuel Pratt (dean 1706-23); Joseph Butler (canon 1736-40); John Denne (Archdeacon of Rochester 1728-67); John Eveleigh (canon 1781-1814); Anthony Grant (Archdeacon of St Albans 1846-82); Edward Hawkins (canon 1828-82) and Robert Scott (dean 1870-87), joint author of the famous Greek lexicon known simply as "Liddell & Scott".

A catalogue of the pre-1901 printed books in Rochester Cathedral Library, will be published this year on microfiche by Adam Matthew Publications, along with Canterbury Cathedral Library's catalogue of pre-1801 books. The provenance index in this catalogue provides a pointer to the tastes and interests of those who used, and had regard for, the Cathedral Library. It records the names of previous owners of the books, so that we can build up a picture of the collections of those whose books have ended up in the Cathedral Library. The provenances reveal that Rochester Cathedral's library is a much more homogenous collection than Canterbury's. It represents far more the tastes of the cathedral clergy than does Canterbury's, which includes substantial and

varied donations of books by local worthies, such as Stephen Hunt, a Canterbury physician. Rochester's clergy donated books, individually or in batches, to their Cathedral Library, with the result that the ideas and tastes of their contemporaries are reflected in its collections.

As archaeologists dig down through layers of occupation on a site, so the reader can see the stratigraphy of the history of the Church of England in cathedral libraries such as that at Rochester. Here are the thoughts and aspirations, and the controversies, of the men of the Cathedral of Rochester.

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Canterbury Cathedral Librarian

1. W.H. Mackean. *Rochester Cathedral Library: its fortunes and adventures through nine centuries*. Rochester: 1953. Paul Welsby 'The Cathedral Library' in Faith and fabric. *A history of Rochester Cathedral 604-1994*. Ed by N. Yates and P. Welsby. Woodbridge: 1996. Pp.217-23. K. Waller 'Rochester Cathedral Library: an English book collection based on Norman models' in *Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*. 1984 pp.235 ff. M.P. Richards 'Texts and their traditions in the medieval library of Rochester Cathedral.' *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, lxxviii/3. 1988.
2. *The monastic constitutions of Lanfranc*. Trans. from the Latin by David Knowles. London: 1951.
3. *Constitutions* p 12.
4. N.R. Ker *Medieval libraries of Great Britain*. 2nd edn. London: 1964. pp. 160-4.
5. For an account of William Mafelde's trial see J.F. Davis *Heresy and Reformation in the South-East of England, 1520-1559*. London: 1983. p.43. For the publication of Tyndale's New Testament see *Tyndale's New Testament*. With an introduction by David Daniell. New Haven and London: 1989.

EARLY SAINTS AND CELEBRATIONS AT ROCHESTER

"The 1988 Friends Report contained an interesting and well researched article, *The Shrine of St Paulinus at Rochester*. It was written by Mrs Anneliese Arnold, wife of the then dean. In the article Mrs Arnold discusses references to the St. Paulinus shrine in both medieval and post reformation documents. She also speculates on the all probable position of the shrine.

Cults of five saints associated with Rochester flourished during the Middle Ages. Although the evidence before A.D. 1540, the date of the formal dissolution of the Benedictine priory, is relatively slight, it demonstrates the importance these saintly men carried for Rochester. The outstanding figure is St. Paulinus, who, despite his connections with York, finished his career as bishop of Rochester and was buried there in 644. Two Rochester charters from the Anglo-Saxon period indicate an English cult of St. Paulinus by the end of the eighth century. These are the earliest records of commemorations for a local saint. Other surviving materials from histories, documents, hagiographies, and calendars help to fill out the picture of Rochester's medieval saints.

We begin, as always, with Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the earliest source for our knowledge of the first bishops of Rochester - Justus, Romanus, Paulinus, and Ithamar. Although Bede himself does not call them saints, these four came to be celebrated as such at Rochester through his writing.¹ According to Bede, Justus and Paulinus arrived in a group of Roman missionaries sent by Gregory the Great to support the work of St. Augustine. (i. 29) In 604 Augustine, by then archbishop of Britain, consecrated Justus the first bishop of Rochester. (ii. 3) About 617 Justus and Mellitus, bishop of London, retreated to Gaul for a year during a resurgence of paganism in Kent and the East Saxon kingdom. By 624, however, Mellitus, who had become archbishop after their return, died and Justus was appointed his successor. Justus in turn consecrated as the new bishop of Rochester. (ii. 8) The next year, Justus appointed Paulinus bishop of York. (ii. 9) As Bede is a primary source for later hagiographers, it is worth pausing at this point to consider what he reports about Justus and Romanus - and the answer is, very little. Although he mentions Justus several times, the only noteworthy accomplishment cited is his appointment of Paulinus. Romanus fares even less well. In an aside (ii. 20) while reviewing the career of Paulinus, Bede mentions that Romanus drowned in the Italian sea while on a mission from Justus to Pope Honorius.

The explanation for the disparity between the accounts of Justus and Romanus, on the one hand, and Bede's promotion of Paulinus, whose cult most definitely benefited from this early account of his life and works, may be as simple as the availability of sources. Whereas Bede had to rely on sparse materials from Canterbury provided by Nothelm for his account of the Gregorian missions, for Paulinus he could draw upon local history and written recollections of eyewitnesses to the bishop's accomplishments in Northumbria.² In addition to legends about Paulinus' powers of conversion, Bede could even provide a physical description of his subject: "tall, with a slight stoop, black hair, a thin face, [and] a slender aquiline nose." (ii. 16)

The most famous story from Paulinus' career as Bishop of York concerns the conversion of King Edwin of Northumbria who, for the following six years until his death became, as Bede says, a soldier for Christ. (ii. 13) Edwin died, however, in an uprising led by Cædwalla, who was no friend to the Christian religion, and the subsequent disarray led Paulinus to flee Northumbria for Kent. Paulinus brought with him the queen Æthelburgh and a number of the royal household. (ii. 20) The Northumbrian disaster, then, led to Paulinus' availability for the vacancy at Rochester, to which Archbishop Honorius and King Eadbald appointed him. Bede says that Paulinus conveyed much of King Edwin's treasure to Canterbury and that he left his pallium from the pope in Rome to Rochester. Although Paulinus served as Bishop of Rochester for more than nineteen years, Bede has nothing further to tell us about that period as once again, unfortunately, his sources failed him. He adds only that Paulinus died in

644 and was buried in the church of St. Andrew. This paucity of information concerning Rochester extends, as we might expect, to Paulinus' successor Ithamar, whom Bede describes as "a man of Kentish extraction but the equal of his predecessors in learning and holiness of life." (iii. 14) Bede otherwise mentions Ithamar only as being in attendance at the consecration of Deusdedit as sixth archbishop of Canterbury. (iii. 20)

These four bishops, plus the martyred young William of Perth (d. 1201), comprise the local saints venerated at Rochester during the Middle Ages. Among them, only Paulinus, who was well known in Northumbria, had celebrations beyond the Rochester diocese. The earliest surviving mention of Paulinus in Rochester materials appears in a document from the cartulary of the *Textus Roffensis*, an early twelfth-century copy of an original dated 788. In this seemingly authentic record of a grant from King Offa of Mercia to St. Andrew's and the bishopric, Rochester is described as "ubi beatus Paulinus pausat."³ Another charter, probably forged, from the same cartulary and dated 823 states in reference to St. Andrew's "et beati Paulini archiepiscopi cuius corpus in predicta ecclesia requiescit."⁴ Whoever composed the latter document must have used Paulinus as a means of authentication. A two-day fair held on the feast of St. Paulinus is mentioned in diplomas of King Henry I (1123 x 1135) and King Henry II (1174 x 1189).⁵

Turning to Rochester chronicles, the two survivors from our period rely on Bede for their information about the first century of the Rochester see. London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian A. xxii contains a set of Latin annals copied in the early thirteenth century but augmented later through 1341. London, British Library, MS. Cotton Nero D. ii, on the other hand, preserves a Latin history through 1377 copied in the fourteenth century, with events concerning Rochester written in red and/or highlighted with marginal statements and drawings. In the annals, the entry for A.D. 631 calls Justus saint (Sanctus Justus) on the occasion of his death. Likewise, Paulinus is called saint at his death in 644, while his successor Ithamar receives the notation "natione angliis." (fol. 18r.) Romanus appears only in the entry for 633 as the bishop whom Paulinus succeeds at Rochester. Ithamar's death in 655 is noted without the designation of saint. From the terse statements in the annals, which also include a reference to the martyrdom of St. William in 1201, one could infer that only three of the five individuals mentioned were the subjects of cults. That number would be reduced to two in the history, both marginal references to SS. Paulinus and William (fols. 53r-v and 124r, respectively), though each of these saints is given special attention in the manuscript. The story from Bede (ii. 9) about Paulinus accompanying King Æthelberht's daughter Æthelburh for her marriage with King Edwin of Northumbria is added in the bottom margin of fol. 53r. It is written in the main hand and could be an inadvertent omission from the copy text, though no such indication is visible in the version I have examined.

Regarding St. William, the marginal annotator adds a comment to his quotation from the Rochester annal for 1201, to the effect that when William was buried in Rochester cathedral, miracles occurred at the internment.⁶ This phrase implies a current awareness of the cult of St. William and adds the only new piece of information about Rochester saints that I can identify in the history.

Meanwhile, as these annals and history were being compiled and copied, various new accounts of the Rochester saints appeared partly in response to the post-Conquest interest in English saints. At Rochester this may have been motivated by Gundulf's building projects which resulted in the translation of the remains of SS. Paulinus and Ithamar.⁷ The earliest surviving literary evidence occurs in a fragmentary piece on Paulinus added to a collection of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. 342, fol. 202b).⁸ Copied just prior to the Conquest, the text summarizes Bede's account of Paulinus in rather poor Old English prose. Subsequent to the Conquest new hagiographic materials were written in Latin but, sad to say, no full account of Paulinus survives. C. 1085-90, Paulinus was translated to a silver shrine at the expense of Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, with Bishop Gundulf of Rochester presiding.⁹ The *vita* in John of Tynmouth's collection from the fourteenth century is a composite of information from Bede and from the *Vita Gundulfi* along with some miracles reported at the shrine of Paulinus.¹⁰ This is ironic since St. Paulinus is the only Rochester saint named in the eleventh-century tract on the Resting-Places of the Saints in England. A Latin translation of this tract even appears in a twelfth-century Rochester manuscript of Bede's history.¹¹ Furthermore, Paulinus' feast day (October 10) appears in a wide range of pre- and post-Conquest calendars.¹²

The 1202 catalogue of Rochester Cathedral library contains one item - *miracula sancti paulini et sancti ythamari* - that suggests a longer account of Paulinus did exist.¹³ It may have been the source of the miracles related in John of Tynmouth's version described above. Such is the case for a treatise on the miracles of Ithamar that survives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 161, a twelfth-century collection of materials concerning English saints.¹⁴ Amazingly, considering the extent of their reputations outside Rochester, Ithamar is the subject of three additional items in the Rochester library catalogue, a separate copy of the Miracles, and two copies of his Life.¹⁵ Only the Miracles of St. Ithamar survive, however, and these rely on Bede for information about the saint and then recount posthumous miracles associated with healing the eyes. The text informs us that recognition of his power twice resulted in Ithamar's bones being moved to a better shrine. This material serves as the basis for John of Tynmouth's excerpted account of St. Ithamar.

St. Justus also is recognised with a *vita* in Tynmouth's collection which is drawn from a life by Goscelin of Canterbury.¹⁶ Goscelin's text occurs in a series treating early Archbishops of Canterbury copied into two twelfth-century collections

from St. Augustine's, Canterbury: London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian B. XX, fols. 214r-217r, 1. 7 and MS. Harley 105, fols. 242r-244v, 1. 4. Whereas the facts about Justus are basically those provided by Bede, Goscelin also quotes from letters of Popes Gregory I and Boniface V regarding the sanctity of those who assisted St. Augustine with his mission.¹⁷ This work, plus his service as Archbishop of Canterbury, earned Justus his sainthood as related by his biographer. Paulinus, on the other hand, is given little recognition in this account, considerably less than SS. Mellitus and Leonard, whose connections with Canterbury obviously weighed in their favour.

Other than the brief mentions in the annals and history of Rochester, no further material on St. Romanus, the third bishop of Rochester, seems to have survived. Something of a cult must have existed, however, as evidenced by his appearance in some Augustinian calendars for Rochester diocese. Before moving to the calendars, the only ones known for Rochester, we should consider the cult of St. William of Perth, martyred outside Rochester's walls in 1201. William was a baker from Scotland who was murdered on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.¹⁸ The monks of Rochester enshrined him in the cathedral church, and his cult resulted in substantial offerings to the church. In addition to citations of his martyrdom in the annals and history relating to Rochester, only one account of St. William is known to survive in a brief *vita* added to Tinmouth's collection in the first printed edition.¹⁹ The author has little information to tell us about William, as evidenced by the fact that he spends time elucidating the names of Rochester and of Canterbury, William's destination when he was murdered. Although William's sanctity was evident from the time of death, the author cites only one miracle, that of a woman freed from insanity after finding the martyred body. Nothing is known of the circumstances surrounding the composition of this *vita*, though presumably it was written at Rochester.

Turning to medieval calendars of feast days, a group of at least eight Augustinian calendars associated with Rochester diocese survives, though none for the Cathedral and its Benedictine priory.²⁰ One of the calendars dates from the early thirteenth century, while the remainder are from the first half of the fifteenth century. Both Augustinian priories in the Rochester diocese, Lesnes and Tonbridge, are represented by a calendar. Beyond these, no specific provenance can be assigned to the remaining calendars. We know from records that hospitals at Sevenoaks and St. Nicholas, Strood, an almshouse at Sevenoaks, and a foundation of Knights Hospitallers at West Peckham probably followed the Augustinian rule. But the Augustinians were a relatively unstructured order, and evidence is sparse for chapels, parish churches, and cells attached to these foundations.²¹ The calendars, which occur mainly in Books of Hours, show the expected Sarum feasts and a predominance of Augustinian over Benedictine celebrations.²² Three Rochester saints appear:

Romanus at 30th March; Ithamar at 10th June; and Paulinus at 10th October. Although, as we have seen, Romanus was not generally known as a saint, the fact that he is designated *episcopus* in the calendars, on a date unknown for any other Romanus, leads to the identification with the second bishop of Rochester. Paulinus is accorded a red-letter day in six of the calendars, a further link to Rochester. It happens that the fifteenth-century calendars are roughly contemporary with the term of the first and only Augustinian Bishop of Rochester, John Lowe, who served from 1444-67, and therefore may have created a demand for such devotional materials.²³ Interestingly, there is no mention of St. William in these calendars.

From the time of Bede, then the saintly bishops of Rochester were recognised for their contributions to the progress of Christianizing England, especially Kent. Today we lack the kind of documentation that better-known English saints enjoy, but we can see that, within the Rochester diocese, celebrations of the early Rochester saints remained active through the Middle Ages. Like many foundations, post-Conquest Rochester designated memorials to its saints in the process of re-building, and further took advantage of a martyrdom to offer a shrine for pilgrims. It is a bit surprising that Bishop Gundulf, who helped to establish the Benedictine foundation, made numerous donations to the Cathedral priory, and undertook a major building program, never achieved the status of saint. He is the subject of a *vita* and of a poem/eulogy in the Rochester history (fol. 110r) but he seems never to have achieved sainthood even in the popular mind. Lesser known but legendary figures associated with St. Augustine's mission and Rochester's early history, together with a local martyr, comprise the sum of Rochester's local saints during the Middle Ages.

Mary P. Richards

NOTES

1. *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). References are to book and chapter numbers.
2. See, for example, the note to ii. 9 in J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 65.
3. *Charters of Rochester*, ed. A. Campbell (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
5. David A.E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 75 and 81.
6. "...et in ecclesia cathedrale Roffense sepelitur miraculis deruscando."
7. Our sources for this information are the *Vita Gundulfi* edited by Rodney Thomson in *The Life of Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester*, Toronto Medieval Latin Texts 7 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1977), pp. 41-42, and the prologue to the Miracles of St. Ithamar published by Denis Bethell in "The Miracles of St. Ithamar," *Analecta Bollandiana* 89 (1971): 421-37, at 429. According to the latter source, Ithamar's remains were translated again by Bishop John I (1125-37) after his eyes were healed by the saint, pp. 431-32.

8. See N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 366; Kenneth Sisam, "MSS. Bodley 340 and 342: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies*," as reprinted in his *Studies in Old English Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), pp. 152-52; and D.G. Scragg, "The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and Their Manuscript Context, p. 212, in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

9. Richard Sharpe, "The Setting of St. Augustine's Translation," pp. 10-11, in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066-1109*, ed. Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe (London: Hambledon Press, 1995).

10. Tynmouth's collection is published as *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Carl Horstman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901), two volumes, hereafter abbreviated as *N L A*. The *vita* of Paulinus appears on pp. 312-15.

11. See *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. lviii, for a brief description of the manuscript (London, British Library, MS. Harley 3680). The tract is printed by F. Liebermann in *Die Heiligen Englands* (Hannover: Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1889), with the reference to Paulinus on p. 16. The Rochester copy is fragmentary, however, and now breaks off prior to Paulinus.

12. These are printed in Francis Wormald's *English Kalendars Before A.D. 1100* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1934), vol. 72, and *English Benedictine Kalendars After A.D. 1100* (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1938 and 1933-34) as vols. 77 and 81.

13. See Mary P. Richards, *Texts and Their Traditions in the Medieval Library of Rochester Cathedral Priory* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1988). Transactions vol. 78, pt. 3, p. 37, item #148.

14. The treatise on Ithamar is published in Bethell. For a full description of the contents of the manuscript, see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), pp. 358-63. No other Rochester saints appear in the collection.

15. Richards, pp. 37-38, items #147 and #169.

16. *N L A*, p. 95.

17. *N L A*, pp. 96-97.

18. Anne Oakley, "Rochester Priory, 1185-1540," p. 38, in *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral 604-1994*, ed. Nigel Yates and Paul A. Welsby (Woodbridge: Boydell Press and Friends of Rochester Cathedral, 1996).

19. *N L A*, pp. 457-59.

20. Mary P. Richards, "Some Fifteenth-Century Calendars for Rochester Diocese," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 102 (1985): 71-85.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 75-76.

Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester 1274-1277

(With acknowledgement to "The Early Rolls of Merton College Oxford" and to the Dictionary of National Biography entries for Walter De Merton and Kings Henry III and Edward I. ⁽¹⁾)

Of Walter de Merton, Chancellor to Kings Henry III and Edward I and founder of Merton College Oxford, whose six foot skeleton lies in Rochester Cathedral's North Quire transept ⁽²⁾, the Rochester Chronicle says that "though Merton was

a man of great authority and power, he did no special good to the prior and Convent, though he gave them the manors of Chobambury and Middleton" ⁽³⁾.

Merton was consecrated Bishop of Rochester on 21st October 1274 by his friend, Archbishop Kilwardby, at Gillingham. This was unusual, as noted by the monks so that no precedent should be set.

Merton's predecessor, Laurent of St. Martin, had spent some time in Rome trying to improve the finances of the poorest English see by securing the appropriations of additional churches. He failed and probably spent too much of the existing resources on litigation. Merton's executors were still chasing Bishop Laurence's executors for dilapidations three years after Merton's death. They also found unpaid bills for the fish consumed at the consecration and enthronement feasts.

Merton probably chose Rochester diocese for its easy access to the Court and his house near St. Paul's. While an account of Merton's episcopate is not of great interest, Highfield's analysis of Merton College's archives and Chancery rolls illuminates the career pattern and opportunities of able royal servants of the C13th and, indirectly the fragmented ownership that had overtaken some manors of the Conqueror's settlement through legacies, sales of rights and debts.

Merton was a skilled negotiator on the King's and his own account. In acquiring the portfolio of fifteen manors and lands and fifteen and a half advowsons that were to support the foundation of Merton College, Walter demonstrated an eye for a bargain and mastery of the legal and financial procedures for unlocking properties, subject to debts and multiple ownership. He worked closely with his Jewish bankers, who would discharge mortgages against long term loans to Merton. ⁽⁴⁾.

Walter was born at Basingstoke between 1200 and 1205 and was known as "Walter of Basing" until about 1238 when he became "Walter de Merton", having been presented to the Merton Priory living of Cuddington in 1233.

Walter was named after his grandfather, Walter Cook, who was of the kin of Richard de Herried, the very distinguished royal servant of the times of Kings Richard I and John. Merton's mother, Christina Fitzace, was an important person in Basingstoke where she had inherited land. Merton added other small local properties and by 1238, these made up "the small, if respectable holding of a freeholder of a royal manor". ⁽⁵⁾.

Throughout his life Walter de Merton never forgot his kin. His first foundation, the hospital at Basingstoke, commemorated his mother. As an only son, with seven sisters, they and their children were the preoccupations of his life. Providing for the education of his nephews and the marriage settlements of his sisters motivated his property acquisitions that were to lead to the founding of Merton College.

The Merton Priory Register ⁽⁶⁾ lists a number of deeds witnessed by "Walter the clerk of Basingstoke". Thus by about 1230 at the latest, Walter was associated with the Priory, which Henry I had founded in 1117 as a house of Austin canons. Becket had been educated there and Hubert Walter was a member of the community. Two notable Bologna trained lawyers had been canons: Richard, later prior of Dunstable, and Thomas Tynemouth, whose name is found alongside Walter's witnessing a Priory deed. There seems to have been a tradition of legal studies and it has been conjectured that Merton was educated at the Priory. It is not certain whether Walter went to Oxford, though probable, as a letter from Adam Marsh commends Merton (whom the D.N.B. suggests was Adam's pupil), to Brother Adam Bechesoveres. Merton is said to have been going to Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, whose diocese then included Oxford, for admission to the subdiaconate. Marsh's letter associates Merton with two of the outstanding scholars of his day, its author and Grosseteste. Though Merton was not a scholar, he was a friend of scholars.

Merton Priory was probably then at the height of its powers as a centre of influence. It had had close contacts with the court circles of Richard I and John and between 1231 and 1263, King Henry III showered lavish gifts on the Priory. The King was such a frequent guest that the Priory fitted up special rooms for the Chancery and Wardrobe. It is not therefore surprising that the prior's clerk from a royal manor, with skills in conveyancing and the law should have joined the royal Chancery.

The first notice of Merton's presence in the Chancery is the enrolment in the close rolls in late May 1238 of the inquisition into his late mother's lands and his own at Basingstoke. The record noted that the conclusions were endorsed by a royal charter, which would not have been available to a clerk outside the Chancery. In August 1238, Merton secured a grant of land in Basingstoke and the first witness was the Bishop of Chichester, the King's Chancellor. Merton's first known employment in the royal service came on 11 July 1240 when he began an inquisition through the king's demesnes in the counties of Kent, Essex, Hertford and Middlesex.

In October 1240, approval of Merton's purchase of three manors in Surrey suggests continuing and growing royal favour.

From 1241/2 to 1247 Merton served as Chancellor to Bishop Farnham of Durham, a notable scholar of philosophy and medicine, who had made a name for himself in Paris and Bologna. Merton was one of a group of men from the South who joined the Bishop's service soon after his arrival in Durham. These included Mr William of Kilkenny, the Chancery Clerk, who became Keeper of the Great Seal in 1250 and later Chancellor in 1253 and Bishop of Ely (1254-6).

Merton's time at Durham coincided with the rebuilding of the Cathedral's East end and the reconstruction of Finchale Priory. At one time or another Merton held three valuable livings in the diocese. In 1247, Merton acquired the debt encumbered manor of Stillington in Co. Durham from Ralph Amundeville, who called Walter, who had discharged the debt, his "special friend", which suggests relief from a burden.

Merton returned to London in c. 1247 with a lasting affection for Durham. He revisited it in the last year of his life when Bishop Robert de Insula marked Merton's contribution as Bishop's chancellor, to the diocese, and particularly to the Cathedral, by ordering the Durham Treasury to pay Walter £40 annually.

Between 1247 and 1255, Walter's life is only documented through his private transactions and it is assumed he was a Chancery clerk in Kilkenny's household. With Henry Wingham's promotion to the Chancellorship on 5 January 1255, Merton's position becomes clear. In February he sealed one of Wingham's private bonds. In November came the first of a succession of perquisites of royal service: gifts of deer and firewood from the royal forests.

On 16 August 1257, Merton sealed diplomatic letters with Prince Edward's seal and from May 1258 Merton became Wingham's normal Deputy.

In 1258, King Henry III employed Merton in negotiating with Pope Alexander IV the purchase of the grant of the Kingdom of Sicily for Henry's nine year old second son, Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster (1245-96), whom the Papal Legate invested with the title in 1254. Baronial opposition to the project's open ended cost and improbable prospects forced its abandonment ⁽⁷⁾.

In 1259, after the death of Bishop Basset of London, Merton was presented to a canonry of St Paul's with a prebendal house off Paternoster Row. "The cathedral was a valuable club to which a chancery clerk might belong". ⁽⁸⁾ He was also given an annual grant to maintain a household.

By July, Wingham had been elected Bishop of London, but as he had good relations with both the King and the Baronial reformers, he remained Chancellor. Merton continued to act as his Deputy until September 1260, when his authorisation ceased and the Baronial Council appointed Nicholas Ely. He held the Chancellorship until the royalist recovery in 1261, when Ely surrendered the seal to the King, who handed it to Merton.

Merton retained this office until he was replaced by Ely in June 1263 when the Baronial party reasserted its authority. In 1264, the mob plundered some of Merton's properties because of his support for the King.

In January 1264, Henry III crossed to France to secure Louis IX's support against the Monfortian Baronial opposition. He took Merton to represent the royal cause before Louis. "His opponent was Thomas Cantelupe. It was an outstanding and very dissimilar pair who confronted each other - the highly

professional and experienced clerk and the aristocrat who, as bishop, was to become the sharpest thorn in the flesh of Archbishop Peckham and ultimately a saint." ⁽⁹⁾ Merton was successful and the decision of the Mise of Amiens was favourable to Henry III.

After the royal victory of 1265 at Evesham, Merton was not restored to the Chancery but was referred to as 'justiciar' in documents and employed on public business, as well as on his own. However, after Henry's death in November 1272, the Council appointed Merton to act as Chancellor until King Edward I returned from his Crusade to Acre. (Unlike King Henry III, Edward I had the support of the Barons and had been told that there was no need to hurry home).

From November 1272 until August 1274, Walter de Merton stood in place of the King—not only Chancellor, but virtually regent, in fact. Thus Thomas Cantelupe put it in letters in 1273. As Chancellor, an immense amount of formal business passed before him. A number of letters survive from King Edward I and Queen Eleanor, the two archbishops and others, but they tell little of him personally. An exception is one from the King of 9th August 1273, expressing his special thanks for his services. He promised him support in whatever Merton's sense of justice might dictate. It is perhaps even more significant that Edward felt able to spend a year in France restoring order in his French territories before returning to England.

Shortly after King Edward I arrived back in August 1274, Merton resigned the Chancellorship and was enthroned at Rochester.

Merton's great legacy was his foundation of Merton College and therefore in a sense of the collegiate system that was to mould the future of Oxford and Cambridge in particular. In 1261, Merton obtained a charter empowering him to assign his manors at Farley and Malden in Surrey to the Priory of Merton, for the support of scholars residing at the 'schools', an expression that probably meant scholars at Oxford. In 1263, Merton published a deed of assignation of these and other lands, making special provision for the education of his eight nephews under a warden and chaplains. The care of his nephews seems to have been the first object of the foundation. In 1264, a charter of incorporation established the 'House of Scholars of Merton' at Maldon in Surrey, with power to maintain twenty scholars at Oxford or any other place of general learning. ⁽¹⁰⁾

During the following years, Merton acquired the site of the present College, together with the advowson of St John's and other property in Oxford. In August 1274, Merton's final statutes transferred the college to Oxford as its permanent home. A number of Merton's royal and aristocratic friends, including 'Montfortians' added their own benefactions to the College.

Provision was made for such number of scholars as revenues would support and for their common life as a corporate body under the rule of a warden. Merton's intention appears to have been to provide for the training of secular clergy. He forbade the taking of vows and any who entered a regular order forfeited his scholarship. The College was to be a place of study, in the first place of philosophy and the liberal arts, and afterwards of theology.

The establishment of Merton College was the beginning of the true collegiate system. Though there were earlier benefactions, they did not provide for regular corporate bodies and the establishment of University and Balliol Colleges followed Merton's. In Cambridge, Merton College was avowedly the model of the collegiate system for the licence establishing Peterhouse, expressly stated it was to be for 'studious scholars who shall in everything live together as students in the University of Cambridge, according to the rule of the scholars of Oxford who are called of Merton'.⁽¹¹⁾

Merton's episcopate only lasted three years, much of it spent away from Rochester at Court or keeping in touch with his friends and his interests, particularly his Oxford foundation, his will and instructions to his executors. It is uncertain whether he ever lived at Rochester, though there is a record of a stay at the episcopal manor at Halling, some six miles up-stream from Rochesters in January 1277.

On 25th October 1277, Merton's horse stumbled and fell while fording the Medway, perhaps by the Pilgrims Way ford from Snodland to Burham Court⁽¹²⁾ Though his servants rescued him, he died from the effects of the accident two days later on October 27th. The Osney annalist speaks of Merton as a man of liberality and great worldly learning who had always been very ready in his assistance to the monastic orders and elsewhere preserves some complimentary verses on his character."⁽¹³⁾

Merton was buried in Rochester Cathedral in the North transept of the choir, near the tomb of St. William. The original tomb of Limoges enamel was brought to Rochester on a carriage from Limoges, at a cost of £40-5-6. The masonry stonework of the canopy and windows cost £22 and the ironwork brought from London cost 7 marks (46/8) and glazing the windows, 11/-.⁽¹⁴⁾ This tomb was damaged in Edward VI's reign.

In 1598, the Warden and Fellows of Merton College, replaced the earlier tomb when they removed Merton's chalice from it to Oxford. The College no longer has this chalice which they presume was lost to the Royalists when they occupied Oxford in the Civil War and seized silver to mint coin.

"It is the figure on the restored tomb that is so interesting. Although the figure is wearing a cope and mitre, they are over a rochet and chimere and not of a figure like John of Sheppey, in full canonicals as it would have been originally

This indicates that when the alabaster figure was made, the sculptor did not have any knowledge of pre-Reformation work or the College authorities did not want it or had forgotten how a medieval prelate would have been vested." (15)

Walter De Merton had the talents and qualities to have risen to the top in any age. At a time when the Church provided the civil service, membership of Merton Priory, with its royal links, and an appointment to the Chancery offered a recognisable route to power. In Merton's case, his success as Chancellor to Bishop Farnham at Durham marked him for further promotion. He seems to have had the gift of making friendships and sustaining them into old age. He remained loyal to King Henry III throughout the struggle with the baronial opposition, but retained their respect and some were to be benefactors of the new college.

In Merton's property dealings, he is recognisable to us, with his nose for a bargain, willingness to plan for the long term, his expertise in unlocking land burdened by debts and his sophisticated use of the banking system of his age. At the same time, the deals analysed by Highfield, convey an impression that Merton's purchases could bring relief to burdened owners.

The Council's unanimous appointment of Merton to act for King Edward I until his return to England, reflected the wide confidence that must have been felt in Merton's capacity and judgement. After King Edward returned, perhaps he discussed the constitutional reforms he was considering with Merton. They had shared the chaos of the baronial wars.

John Melhuish

NOTES

1. "The Early Rolls Of Merton College Oxford" Edited by J.R.L. Highfield, Fellow, Librarian, and Archivist of Merton College Clarendon Press 1964. Where this book conflicts with the much earlier entry in the Dictionary of National Biography, this paper relies on Highfield;
2. Highfield, p. 3 and "Faith and Fabric- A History of Rochester Cathedral" Edited by Nigel Yates and Paul Welsby 1996. P. 206 "In 1848, Merton's tomb was again opened... This time much of the vestments still adhered to the feet and legs, but in black clotted masses... skeleton of a man of six foot in height. The forehead was low and the eye sockets near one another.";
3. Edmund Haddenham, "Monk Historian of Rochester Priory", Highfield, p. 30;
4. Highfield pp. 12-14 describes the purchase of the Surrey manors of Malden, with Chessington and Farleigh, which involved liquidating the estates' debts to the bank of Aaron, son of Abraham of London (Merton's banker) and buying out the interests of ten people, who had "no more than a rentier's interest in the estates and lived far away from them". The whole process took seventeen years and involved some eight deeds;
5. Ibid, p.6;
6. The Priory's remains lie in the Borough of Merton beneath the area of the A24 (Merantun Way). Its stones were used in building Nonsuch Palace and elsewhere in South London. Its memory survives in local names incorporating 'Priory' or 'Abbey'. By the early C19th the only visible remains were the precinct walls enclosing the Priory's sixty-five acres. The National Trust maintain

fragments along the banks of the Pickle ditch between Merantum Way and Merton High Street. In 1914, a Norman doorway was found within a house being demolished. It has been re-erected in the churchyard of St. Mary's at Merton Park. There have been three archaeological explorations, the results of the last, (1986-91) await publication. The excavated Chapter House walls and other remains are preserved in a special building beneath Merantum Way - Morden Library's Local Studies Centre's "Notes on Local History, No. 23";

7. 'The Sicilian Venture'. In 1254, Pope Innocent IV was engaged in a struggle with Manfred King of Sicily, illegitimate son of the Emperor Frederick II, and offered King Henry III the 'grant' of the Sicilian Crown for Henry's second son, Edmund Crouchback Earl of Lancaster, to enlist England's wealth against the Hoenstauffens. Henry was to pay for the grant which offered no more than Papal permission to overthrow Manfred. (When Henry III's brother, Prince Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans (1209-72) was offered Sicily on these terms, he had said it was like being invited to buy the moon. "The History Today Companion to British History."). Henry III was undeterred and agreed to pay Innocent IV's successor, Alexander IV, 135,000 marks, to cover the cost of the Pope's war with the Emperor. Henry could not raise the money for the grant or the cost of an expedition and was forced by the baronial opposition to withdraw from the arrangement.

8. Highfield p. 19;

9. Ibid p. 23;

10. D.N.B. and Highfield;

11. D.N.B.;

12. From Patrick Thornhill's article in *Archeologica Cantana* Vol. LVIII, 1974 on 'The Medway Crossings of the Pilgrims Way', it seems that the most likely ford used by Merton was that two km. up-stream from Snodland to Burham Court.

13. D.N.B.;

14. Walter de Merton's Executor's accounts, audited May 1282 and held at Merton College, Oxford;

15. D.A.H. Cleggett.

THE SHIP'S BELL OF H.M.S. KENT

1998 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of the installation in the cathedral of the ship's bell of H.M.S. Kent, commonly known as the Kent Bell. The article below is reproduced from the Friends Report of 1948.

The Ship's Bell of H.M.S. "Kent"

The Association of Men of Kent and Kentish Men have received as a gift from the Admiralty the ship's bell of H.M.S. *Kent*. They have offered the bell to the safe keeping of the Dean and Chapter and it will be officially presented to the Cathedral by H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent at a service on 2nd June, Lord Cornwallis, Lord

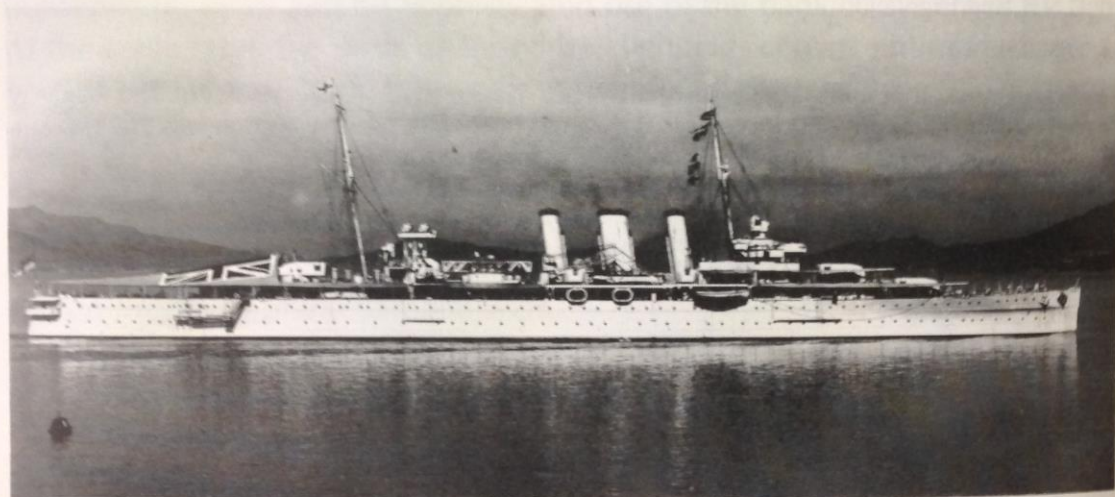


Lieutenant of the County, Vice-President of our Association, and President of the Association of Men of Kent and Kentish Men, will also be present at the ceremony.

This ship's bell is of considerable interest, having "served" in two successive *Kents*: the former *Kent* took part in the Battle of the Falkland Islands and served in all parts of the world. The later *Kent* was built in Chatham Dockyard, at a time when the Dean was the Chaplain of the Yard, and the present Head Verger of the Cathedral was among those who actually helped to build the ship.

The bell will be placed at the top of the South Choir steps, and will be an interesting memento of two famous cruisers, which in peace and war carried the name of our county over all the Seven Seas.

It is anticipated that several well-known naval officers who have in turn commanded the *Kent* will be present at the ceremony.



In 1948 the Dean was the Very Revd Thomas Crick, CB, CBE, MVO. The Head Verger referred to was probably Frederick Cyclic Biss. Another member of the team who built the *Kent* was the father of our present second Verger, Knowler Jennings.

The bell is of particular interest to one member of the cathedral congregation, Jim Tuff. As Marine Gunner E.W. Tuff, aged 19, he joined the crew of H.M.S. *Kent* in July 1938. He was on board when she was torpedoed on 17th September 1940, whilst bombarding Bardia airfield on the north coast of Africa, with the loss of 33 crew. Jim was personal orderly to Admiral Sir Percy Noble, and would occasionally find himself polishing the bell, when the Admiral didn't need him. Now he polishes it every week. On Saturday mornings at 11.00 am it is rung six times in memory of the 33 crew who died.

Richard Lea

PHELIPS LODGE - AN EXHUMATION

Tucked away in a little hollow behind 82 High Street, better known as the jewellers Denis Green, lies Phelips Lodge. Wholly hidden from the High Street and with only its upper parts visible from the car park outside the Refectory, the building had slumbered for years unknown and unloved except by its tenant of many years - the redoubtable Ken Ashby.

When I arrived in 1992 I inherited outline plans for work to be done on the house. Certainly work was necessary. To put it kindly it could only be described as a decaying gentleman's residence (with apologies to the late E H Brookes - estate agent) being somewhere between a Hobbit's house and Luke Skywalker's temporary swamp residence in Star Wars.

Inevitably drains were involved and shortly before Ken's death work was undertaken to stop the rainwater from the surrounding area draining into the house. This involved putting in a surface drainage system around the house linked to a larger drain leading to the soakaway under the car park. Straightforward stuff for Dave Baker and his team. Then the JCB hit an unmarked mains cable which broke with a spectacular flash and plunged half the High Street into darkness for 12 hours. The comments of the younger Dave Baker, whose wife was expecting a baby the following day were even more vivid than the flash.

Then we found part of the old Priory wall. Archeologists arrived sharpening their teaspoons and toothpicks and started burrowing away. They quickly realised that it was a medieval cess pit they were scratching around in. Such excavations are, I understand, normally left to enthusiastic volunteers but there being no volunteers available at that time the professionals had to grit their teeth and slowly sink below ground level. At least the ground was soft.

Next the "Heritage Police". We had committed the cardinal sin of finding an ancient wall without permission. Meekly bowing my head at the inquiry of our awful ways, mumbling schoolboy like apologies, and grovelling appropriately in the ancient pit, permission was given for a drain to be put through the ancient wall. Perhaps in a century to come some student may produce an elegant thesis on the regular proximity of 20th century plastic piping to 14th century stonework around Rochester Cathedral - he (or she) will have plenty to work on.

The drain went through, quickly started doing its stuff and Phelips lodge started to dry out - shrinking a little in the process.

There was then a pause of 3 years. Ken Ashby had died, much work was needed on the structure of the house. It needed restoration and updating, and the Dean and Chapter had no money for it. Little could be done other than to keep it wind and weather tight.

Then a fairy godfamily appeared in the shape of the Greens who offered to pay for the necessary work in return for a rent free period. This was a very generous offer being a venture into unknown territory since in a house of the age of Phelip's lodge the extent of the work required can only be determined after a wholly immodest poking around in the entrails and skeleton of the structure. And how fascinating the poke around became: unexplainable holes in the brickwork behind the panelling, earlier ceilings above those on both the ground and first floors, at least 3 fireplaces built one in front of the other in the living room, a window which had clearly come from a house demolished when Northgate was widened at the end of the last century - the list of oddities is endless.

There were also the inevitable horror stories. The chimney above the three fireplaces appeared to be supported by the remnants of an aged and decaying piece of ironwork and that was the first acrow (a sort of pit prop) to go in. The author and Dave Baker lifted some floor boards on the first floor and retreated at some speed when they saw what was (or rather was not) underneath. We are not small men but I do declare that we went through a three foot doorway side by side at considerable speed. Three hours and ten more acrows later we returned in a rather more dignified manner wearing hard hats and accompanied by a structural engineer. He set about designing some life size meccano to bolt that particular part of the building together again.

By then we knew that we were involved with a very interesting building: large parts dated from the 16th century and there had been many additions and changes in the 18th and 19th centuries. But it was becoming increasingly apparent that there was an older structure there as well - blackened roof timbers, a simple crown post and some very old wattle and daub in one of the opened up roof spaces were evidence of this. It was becoming all too difficult for the amateur to unravel but we needed to get on with the work. Fortunately Rupert Austin of the Canterbury Archeological Trust had a few days available between commitments and was able to have a look.

His researches are an example of what the expert eye can see at a glance when the amateur is left scratching his head in confusion. Inside Phelips lodge, and wholly invisible from the outside is part of a 15th century open hall house, and the part remaining is the open hall which was almost certainly the middle bay of a three bay timber framed house. The bay on the south side was demolished when the Dean and Chapter built a range of buildings across what is now the Refectory Car Park after Henry VIIIth pinched most of the Priory buildings at the Reformation. This range survived until the building of what we now call the Old Deanery early in the 18th Century. The north bay was probably demolished when the existing row of shops was built on the High Street in the 18th Century.

So in that one little building is a great deal of the history of the Cathedral. Much is still to be learned - I would certainly love to know something about the people who lived there. This would really bring the building to life.

Making such a building fit to live in into the next century was a real challenge but thanks to the expertise and ingenuity of David Jarrett, the surveyor and project manager, and the expert work of Dave Baker and his team it has been achieved. All the life-sized meccano is hidden, there is a gas hot water and central heating system, the house has been completely rewired, the bathroom moved and refitted, a fitted kitchen put in, and so on. And in doing this all the original features have been retained, all the repairs have been done with traditional materials and all the changes are in keeping with the character of the house. A fascinating and at times frustrating challenge but great fun.

Why the name Phelips lodge - certainly a much better one than its previous boring title of 82a High Street? It was so named by Ken Ashby after the last Prior and first Dean: Phelips or Philips. I have also seen it spelt Phylypps. They were not very fussy about spelling in the 16th Century. It is likely that the first Dean had lodgings somewhere in the range of buildings put up after the Reformation of which Phelips lodge is the last remaining part. Whether that was where he lived we do not know and probably never will.

Chris Hebron

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL¹

Introduction

The County of Kent is unique in having within it two dioceses, both of which originated in the years immediately after St. Augustine's arrival in England in AD 597. Because of this, the diocese of Rochester, which only occupies the western third of Kent, has always been in the shadow of Canterbury. In fact in the later Anglo-Saxon period, and for over a century and a half after the arrival in 1077 of Gundulf, its most famous bishop, it was totally controlled from Canterbury, with the Bishop of Rochester being little more than a suffragan to the archbishop. Gundulf did, however, 'look after' the diocese of Canterbury during the long interregnum between 1089 and 1093 and during Anselm's exile. Only in 1238 did the archbishop cease to hold the patronage of the bishopric.²

During that century and a half, however, Rochester Cathedral gained much from the archbishop's patronage and Canterbury's great wealth, and as a result much of the medieval shell of the present cathedral was built during that period of 'subservience'. It is also important to remember that Gundulf's arrival as bishop saw the conversion of the cathedral from a secular to a major monastic one (there were over 60 monks by 1108) and the heyday of Rochester's Benedictine priory was from the end of the eleventh century until the early fourteenth century. By the end of the twelfth century, for example, it already had a library with over 300 books, and a fine collection of claustral buildings; the latter, most unusually, situated to the south-east of the cathedral.³

Since the late eleventh century Rochester Cathedral has always been overshadowed, literally, by a great royal castle which has undergone several major sieges (in 1088, 1215, and 1264). These periods of chaos naturally had an adverse affect on the cathedral and priory, which occupied a very constrained site between the castle, high street and city walls in the souther part of the city.⁴ In 1215, for example, we know that king John desecrated the cathedral, and stole the silver retable from behind the High Altar.⁵

Today the most noticeable thing about Rochester Cathedral is the evidence it exhibits, particularly the external evidence, for massive restoration and rebuilding campaigns in the last century and a half. These restorations, which affected almost all of the fabric of the cathedral, will be looked at further below, as they of course greatly influence any understanding of the earlier medieval fabric of the building. Despite this, Rochester still contains some exceptionally important remains (the mid-twelfth-century west doorway, the remains of the uniquely early thirteenth-century choir stalls and the early fourteenth-century 'chapter room' doorway, to mention just three examples), and it is time for much more archaeological recording to take place in the cathedral.

As it happens, almost all previous and archaeological work on the fabric of the cathedral, below and above ground, took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, and this too will be considered in more detail below. The culmination of this work was Sir William St. John Hope's monumental 'architectural history of the cathedral church and monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester',⁶ and this is still unsurpassed as the standard work. It is, however, greatly in need of revision.⁷

Restoring Rochester Cathedral

Before the major restoration campaigns of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the cathedral was the subject of a number of repairs and minor restorations, the documentary evidence for which has been gathered by Hope. The shrines of Saints Paulinus, Ythamar and William must have been smashed in 1538, followed ten years later by the altars, images, etc. In 1591, however, after a major fire in the chancel, a restoration (costing £5 5s. 6d.) was carried out. The Treasurer's accounts tell us that this included the making of a new pulpit with iron, wainscot, etc. Seven years later, Merton College, Oxford paid for a new monument for their founder, Bishop Walter (1274-7). Archbishop Laud's Visitation of 1633 records that 'the cathedral suffered much for want of glass in the church windows', and the Dean and Chapter duly replied that

'there hath been of late years upon the fabric of the church, and making of the organs, expended by the church above one thousand pounds.'

Work on the west front is also recorded at about this time.

In September 1642 the cathedral was plundered and damaged, though not as badly as Canterbury and many other cathedrals. After this,

'the body of the church (the nave) was used as a carpenter's shop and yard, several saw pits being dug, and frames for houses made by the city joiners in it'.⁸

Soon after the Restoration of Charles II, major repairs took place, and Bishop John Warner (1637-66) left £2,000 towards this work in his will. We are also told that Dean Nathaniel Hardy (1660-70)

'took great pains to repair the whole of it, which was affected by means of the benefactions of the gentry of the county, and £7,000 added by the Dean and Chapter.'

Among particular areas of work mentioned are the south aisle wall restored and recased in 1664. This was no doubt required after the destruction in the 1650s of the neighbouring buildings of the bishop's palace. In 1670, 40 feet of the north aisle was 'rebuilt from the ground.' This was in the middle section, and evidence for this is still visible as it is here that the Romanesque pilasters and decorated string courses are missing. In 1680 repairs were also carried out to the tower and spire.

During the eighteenth century other repairs and refurbishings are also recorded in the Chapter Act Books, though the physical evidence for almost all of this was swept away in the 19th century. In 1707, for example, a new altar piece of 'Norway oak' was put up, while in 1742-3 the choir was repaired.

'as to new wainscot stalls, pews, etc., at a large expense and very handsomely new paved in Bremen and Portland stone under the direction of Mr Sloane, at which time the bishop's throne was rebuilt at the charge of bishop Joseph Willocks'.⁹

Charles Sloane (1690-1764) was a typical eighteenth-century man-of-many-parts. He lived at Gravesend and was a carpenter architect, surveyor and cartographer. In 1731-3 he had been the rebuilder of St. George's church, Gravesend (he also designed the town hall there) and was the surveyor of various new Turnpike roads in west Kent and the rebuilder of Dartford Bridge. He also drew estate maps and in 1744 started to build debtors' prison at Maidstone. Soon afterwards he became mayor of Gravesend.¹⁰ At Rochester Cathedral he repaired and refitted the choir in 1742-3, and in 1749 he also designed and 'started to erect a new steeple'. For this, we are told 'he made a wooden model, which was still preserved in St. William's Chapel in the late 18th century.' Sadly the model has subsequently disappeared. If it could be rediscovered, it might tell us much about the original 1343 spire which was destroyed in 1826. Whether Sloane built a brand-new timber and lead spire or just repaired the existing structure is unknown. The latter, however, is much

more likely. Two years later, in 1751, two great brick buttresses were built to support the south-east transept 'on pursuance of the advice of the late Mr. Sloane' (Sloane did not in fact die until 1764, however). The following year, Archbishop Herring, a former Dean of Rochester, gave £50 for furnishing the altar area. Twenty years later the south-east transept was still a great cause for concern with its considerable lean to the south. Its roof was then 'lightened' (by removing the gable end), and the Scottish architect Robert Mylne (1733-1811), who in 1760-9 designed and built the new Blackfriars Bridge in London, was consulted. He had also reported on the condition of the north-west tower at Canterbury Cathedral in 1768, where he was Surveyor to the Fabric (he held the same post at St Paul's Cathedral). He surveyed Rochester Cathedral in 1776-7 and:

'By his direction piles of brick have been reared in the undercroft and within the aisle, and other methods used to discharge the weight of the upper works. The scheme has hitherto fully answered the purpose',¹¹

Most of the brickwork put into the crypt at this time is still visible, though the outer wall was completely rebuilt half a century later by Cottingham. Some time after this (probably at the beginning of the nineteenth century), the top of the bell-tower (Gundulf's tower, as it was now called) was removed and used 'for building material.' At least the rest of the bell-tower did not come down as it did at Salisbury Cathedral in 1790. In 1763 the pinnacles on the outer turrets of the west front were taken down, and the remainder of the north turret was rebuilt 'from the ground'. Shortly afterwards a crenelled top was added to this turret and to the west end of the nave aisle roofs.¹² By the end of the eighteenth century the cathedral was in a sad state. It was described thus by the Kent historian, Edward Hasted:

'Notwithstanding which [ie. the earlier restorations], time has so corroded and weakened every part of this building, that its future existence for any length of time has been much feared, but this church has lately had every endeavour used, and great repairs have been made which it is hoped will secure it from the fatal ruin which has threatened it, the inside has been beautified, and being kept exceeding clean, it makes at this time a very pleasing appearance.'¹³

A decade or so later, however, there was to be more destruction, and the north and south transept gables were taken down and replaced by lower ones of 'debased classical character'.¹⁴

In 1825 the first of a series of large-scale and very costly restorations (and rebuildings) got underway. This work culminated eighty years later with the rebuilding of the spire, and since that time (now nearly a century ago) no other major changes have taken place. The first of these campaigns, which cost nearly £10,000 was carried out by Lewis Cottingham from 1825-1830, and it is only possible here to summarize the main works:¹⁵

- a) The demolition of the spire and tower upper stage and the recasing of the lower stage and building of a large new tower upper stage with pinnacles.
- b) The removal of the brick buttresses and recasing of the south-east transept with a new vertical face and gable above of Bath stone.
- c) The taking down and removal of the great west window and the decorated spandrels over it, and the battlemented parapet above. The whole renewed in Bath stone. Hope says that the remains of the old Norman diaper-pattern decoration was 'relegated to the crypt'.¹⁶
- d) Partial repair of two western corner turrets.
- e) The arches into the eastern aisle unblocked, and the doorway and screen at the west end of the south choir aisle removed eastwards to the southernmost of the two arches at the top of the steps.¹⁷
- f) Complete refurbishment of the choir 'to the designs of Mr Blore'. This was Edward Blore (1787-1879), another well-known architect.¹⁸ A new 'Gothic' organ case and west front to the pulpitum was also made after most of the eighteenth-century woodwork was removed. The surviving pulpit was probably of Blore's design, as suggested by Dr John Physick.
- g) Provision of major new roof trusses over the choir and eastern arm, with a slate covering (these roofs still survive).¹⁹
- h) Refurbishing of the presbytery, including the replacement of the high altar area.

During this work the painted effigy and tomb of Bishop John of Sheppey (died 1360) was rediscovered. It had been walled up in 1681 behind the great monument to Archdeacon Lee Warner. Unfortunately the effigy was subsequently heavily repainted, so little now survives to tell us anything about the medieval colours. An undated account of the tomb was published soon afterwards entitled *Some Account of an Ancient Tomb, etc, discovered at Rochester Cathedral* by L.N. Cottingham, *Arch.* There was also notes in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (95, parts i and ii (1825), 76 and 225-6) and in *Archaeologia* (25, 122-6). This perhaps counts as the first 'archaeological' work at Rochester Cathedral. A little bit later on, while removing the choir pulpit, Cottingham uncovered the magnificent fragment of a thirteenth-century 'wheel of fortune' wall-painting in the choir.

In 1853 Bishop Walter of Merton's tomb was once again totally rebuilt. All the seventeenth-century work was swept away parts of this now lie in fragments in the cathedral lapidarium, and R.C. Hussey was commissioned to produce a new effigy. The earlier effigy was moved into the neighbouring north-east transept bay.²⁰ It now seems to have disappeared.

In 1871, George Gilbert Scott (knighted the following year) started work on an even larger campaign of restoration (the cost was over £30,000), and between 1872 and his death in 1878, the following major works were undertaken:

- a) The underpinning of the south transept (1872) and the rebuilding of the gable wall above.
- b) Rebuilding of the east end, including high gable restoration, and inserting three new 13th-century windows' in the upper wall to replace 'an ugly late perpendicular window'.²¹ Also three lower lancets in east wall restored.
- c) Much refacing of the eastern arm generally (including north and north-east transepts) and replacing of decayed Reigate stone with Chilmark stone. Also new high-pitched gables and many pinnacles added to the tops of angle-turrets (the proposed new high-pitched roofs over the presbytery have never been built).
- d) Blocking of triforium passages and inserting of iron ties in the nave to counteract weaknesses in nave wall. Also underpinning of south nave aisle wall (1875-6).
- e) Cutting of tunnel from crypt (west end) to under the pulpitum screen for the windtrunks for the organ bellows, also rebuilding of organ (1875).
- f) Complete repaving and refurbishing of choir and presbytery with new high altar and reredos (1873-5). Rediscovery and repainting of fourteenth-century wall-paintings behind the eighteenth-century panelling behind the choir-stalls.²²
- g) Start of west front restoration, but Scott died before much work was done (1878).

In a letter, to the Dean and Chapter, about this last stage of his work, Scott says:

'The Norman remains are almost too valuable to be interfered with. It is an open question whether a restoration, in part conjectural, should be attempted or whether it may not be best to adhere to the present form of the front, and to limit our operations to more necessary repairs.'

A very wise statement which should have been adhered to. The young William St. John Hope, who came to teach at Rochester just three years after Scott's death, said in summary:²³

'A good deal of necessary repair work was done to the stonework, and on the whole the 'restoration' was conservative and involved the destruction of very little old work.'

The restoration was certainly mild by Scott's standards, but several important features (like the perpendicular east window) were totally destroyed without drawn records. There is, however, a fine Buckler drawing of 1805 showing the

east front before Scott's 'restoration' (Fig. 1) as well as several internal views. Scott's use of poor quality Chilmark stone, which he also introduced at Westminster Abbey, to replace Reigate stone, was very unwise. During the earlier part of the work, however, Scott used J.T. Irvine as his clerk-of-works (1872-6), and, as we shall see, the latter made many valuable notes and drawings.

Unfortunately the major campaign of restoration on the west front, which Scott had thought 'almost too valuable to be interfered with' was carried out by J.L. Pearson between 1888 and 1894. He had no qualms about destroying the fifteenth-century inner north turret in 1892, despite the protests of the Society of Antiquaries of London and others, and undertaking a totally conjectural reconstruction of the Norman work.²⁴ At least no huge new 'Romanesque' crossing or western towers and spires were suggested here by J.L. Pearson, as he had proposed at Peterborough and was to propose at Chichester Cathedral. Pearson also wanted to remove the pulpitum screen and replace it with an new open stone screen. He was, however, prevented from doing this after many protests.

The final, and almost inevitable, restoration campaign after Cottingham's destruction in 1826 of the squat fourteenth-century tower and large lead and timber spire, was its replacement. This was carried out in 1904 by C. Hodgson Fowler, and it now dominates the cathedral. Only very roughly does it reflect the medieval structure.

Thus, by the early years of this century almost the whole of the outside, and much of the eastern arm internal furnishings had been totally replaced at Rochester Cathedral with very few detailed records having been made.²⁵ It is now time, therefore, to turn to archaeology - below and above ground - to see what contribution this has made to the architectural history of the cathedral.

Archaeology at Rochester Cathedral

As we have seen, archaeology can be said to have made an accidental and tentative start at the cathedral in 1825 when the tomb of Bishop John of Sheppey was rediscovered. 'Archaeological recording' of sorts got underway 25 years later, when in June 1850 Sir John Scharf (later director of the National Portrait Gallery) made eight fine drawings (now at the Society of Antiquaries of London) of the great west doorway.²⁶ These supplement a few photographs and are invaluable for telling us what the doorway looked like before the start of J.L. Pearson's restoration in 1888.

The first actual archaeological investigation was that undertaken by Arthur Ashpitel (1807-1869) in the crypt in 1853. He made holes in the floor of the crypt 'by means of a boring rod' and discovered a massive wall foundation two bays east of the surviving early Norman two-bay groin vaulted crypt. He was

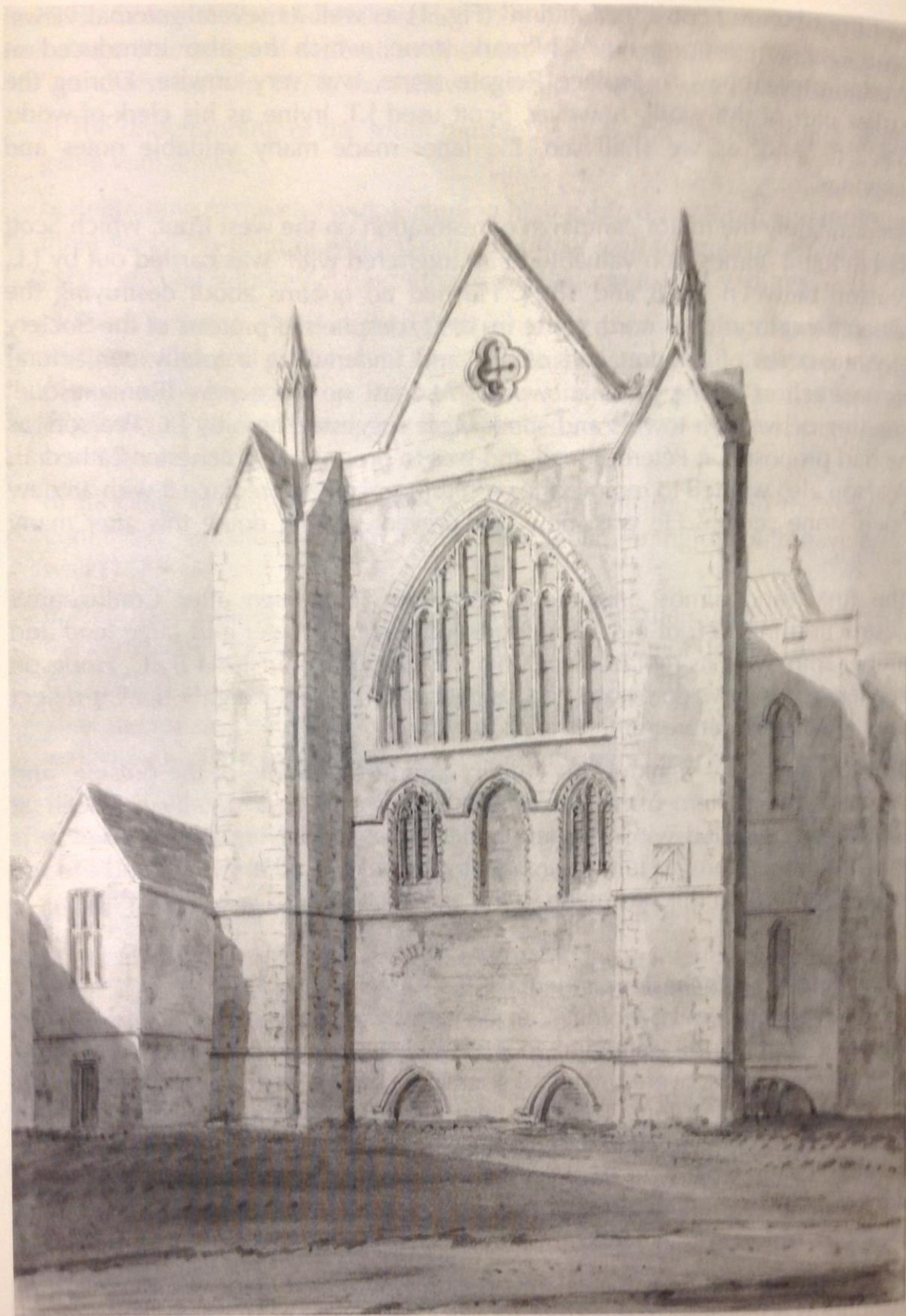


Fig. 1 East front of Rochester Cathedral in 1805 by J. Buckler
(from a watercolour owned by the Dean and Chapter of Rochester Cathedral)

therefore the first to suggest a square east end for the early Norman cathedral. St. John Hope, who was to investigate the same area some thirty years later felt that the 'borings were very unsatisfactory'. Asphitel tried to reconstruct the early Norman cathedral's plan and published his findings the following year.²⁷ He suggested that Gundulf's tower was the original north transept of this building, and that there had been a large arch in the south side of the lower level of the tower to connect with the church. No evidence, whatsoever, for this arch can be seen, however, and Asphitel's ideas can now be dismissed.

Next on the scene was the ubiquitous Revd. Professor Robert Willis, the greatest of the nineteenth-century cathedral archaeologists. During the summer meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland in Rochester in 1863, he gave a lecture tour on the architectural history of the cathedral. Unfortunately this was not published at the time, but Hope did publish a transcript of part of the lecture in his own architectural history.²⁸ As usual, Willis managed to work out the main structural history of the building and to find some documentary evidence which suggested the dates of completion (roofing and leading) of the new eastern arm. It was Willis who first suggested the actual order of the rebuilding of the cathedral in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries:

- (1.) the crypt, presbytery, and eastern transept
- (2.) the choir and its aisles
- (3.) the north-west transept
- (4.) the south-west transept, with the eastern part of the nave.

Sadly none of his own notes and drawings appear to have survived. This is a particular loss because Willis was working in the cathedral before Scott's great restoration. It is also worth recording that during the Institute's summer meeting an area of plaster was stripped, for the members to inspect.²⁹

In 1872 Gilbert Scott's large restoration commenced and we are fortunate that his clerk-of-works from 1872-6 was J.T. Irvine, who was fresh from Scott's restoration work at Wells and Bath and was a keen observer of archaeological details. Irvine's Rochester notes were given to the Dean and Chapter after his death in 1900,³⁰ but it was St. John Hope who first used them, and who corresponded with Irvine in later life. We should also be grateful to Irvine for saving some areas of the building which Scott wanted to rebuild totally. Hope tells us, for example, in relation to the south aisle/cloister wall that:

'The condition of this aisle wall became so threatening in recent years that Sir G. Gilbert Scott advised its rebuilding. But the entreaties of Mr J.T. Irvine, who recognised its great historical value, led to the substitution of a flying buttress, which has successfully met the difficulty.'³

Among the many discoveries that Irvine made during the restoration work, the following were the most important:

(a.) He observed a Norman clasping pilaster buttress foundation exposed during underpinning work on the south wall of the south transept (1872).

(b.) He drew the section (with layers marked on) of the tunnel (for the organ 'windtrunks') from the crypt to below the pulpitum (1874-5).

(c.) He observed the foundations of the north wall of the nave during underpinning and noticed what may have been foundations for a tower at the western end (1875).

(d.) He recorded pilaster buttresses and a constructional break on the south side of the nave during underpinning. He also observed an earlier transverse wall and apse (and opus signinum flooring), which were perhaps Roman (1875-6).

(e.) He recorded the nave arcades during repairs and observed probable early Norman tufa voussoirs (concealed under plaster) on the outer sides (1876).

All of these discoveries were used by Hope who came on the scene a few years later.

W.H. St. John Hope graduated from Cambridge in 1880 (aged 26), and immediately afterwards was appointed a master at Rochester Grammar School. From 1881 until his appointment as assistant secretary at the Society of Antiquaries of London four years later, he spent many hours investigating both the fabric and the documentary history of the cathedral and its surrounding buildings. In October/November 1881 he tell us he

'sunk a number of holes in various places in the earthen floor of the undercroft (crypt), and had a trench cut down the centre line. My labours were fully repaid by the finding of the foundations of sundry walls. When carefully measured and plotted, the following facts became evident:-

(1.) That the church terminated, as Mr Asphitel had surmised, in a square end, and not in an apse, built on a foundation eight feet wide.

(2.) The eastern limb had aisles equal in length to the presbytery.

(3.) Beyond the cross-wall was a small rectangular chapel about 6 feet long by 9 feet wide, which it is to be noticed, projects from the middle alley of the central division of the undercroft, and not its whole width.

To make sure I followed the foundations of this chapel all round to their junctions with that of the great wall, with which it is contemporary'.³²

His workmen also found a 'box of bones' in this 'chapel'. Hope marked the outlines of these foundations on a new plan of the crypt, and was soon suggesting a superstructure for it with clasping buttresses at the outer angles. Since this time, Hope's suggested plan for the eastern termination of Gundulf's

cathedral has been accepted almost without question. It might be worth adding that, in the view of the present writer, an eastern apse is still possible. Hope's central chapel could have been part of an eastern apse with its curved north and south sides cut away by the massive foundations for the large internal piers of the later crypt. Only a careful modern excavation in the central area of the crypt would provide the answer.

In March 1884 Hope read a paper to the Society of Antiquaries of London on 'Gundulf's Tower at Rochester, and the first Norman Cathedral Church there'.³³ In this he communicated the results of his work and then went on to suggest his reconstruction of the 'peculiar' plan of Gundulf's church. This reconstructed plan remained almost unchanged in Hope's mind for the rest of his life, and it was fully published in the 'architectural history'.³⁴ The second part of Hope's 1884 paper was on Gundulf's tower, and here Hope went a stage further than earlier writers and suggested that it was built before the Norman cathedral, and that it was built 'primarily for defensive purposes'. He does, however, point out 'that at a very early period it was used as a bell-tower'. Hope's only apparent reason for making Gundulf the builder of the tower is that it is 'evident enough to anyone who is familiar with his peculiar mode of building' (ie. the use of tufa quoins, etc.). He also says that the tower was erected before Gundulf's cathedral because it blocks two of the four long narrow windows in the ground floor of the tower. In fact, only in the thirteenth-century rebuilding were these windows blocked, and this 'peculiar mode of building' is often found in churches of the late eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century in north-west Kent.³⁵ Hope also failed to notice that there are a few reused Norman architectural fragments *in situ* in the south face of the tower. I would suggest, therefore, the 'Gundulf's tower' (the name does not seem to occur before the eighteenth century) was only a bell-tower that was perhaps built in about the second quarter of the twelfth century. As Hope himself pointed out, the mid-twelfth-century Prior Reginald is documented as having 'made two bells and placed them in the greater tower (*in majori turri*)'. Other bells were also made and placed there in the later twelfth century³⁶. The tower, which contains no defensive features, though there may have been a spiral staircase in the north-east corner, is only peculiar because it is so close to the cathedral. This is certainly because space within the Roman walls was very tight at Rochester.³⁷

The problems of Gundulf's tower and the early plan of the Norman cathedral are two areas of Hope's work that need major reassessment. It should not, however, be forgotten that Hope investigated the whole of the cathedral and its surrounding buildings; in 1884, for example, he dug in the Deanery kitchen yard, and exposed and planned parts of the dorter undercroft. His account of the Benedictine priory buildings is still unsurpassed. He also drew together all the documentary evidence, and all earlier archaeological finds. His two major papers are still immensely valuable and only in recent years have a few new investigations been undertaken.

Hope left Rochester in 1885, and a few years later, in the autumn of 1888, work got underway on the underpinning of the west front. Luckily the precentor of the cathedral at that time (a minor canon) was a man called the Revd. Greville M. Livett, who was probably the best 'church archaeologist' in Kent during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (he was vicar of Wateringbury for many years and died in 1951, aged 92), though he started his archaeological work with a major monograph on Southwell Minster in 1883.

Livett was able to record not only the remains of the early Norman west wall and doorway of the cathedral (probably Gundulf's work), which lay under the mid-twelfth-century west front, but also the remains of an apse of what was almost certainly one of the buildings, if not the main building itself, of the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cathedral. This was on a more east-west alignment than the present building, and its apse lay immediately underneath the north-west corner of the Norman nave. A small fragment of north-south wall on the south side, which was also found, may have been part of a porticus. Livett very promptly wrote a full report of his discoveries, and made a fine plan and sections, and they were published the following year.³⁸ In the summer of 1894, more 'excavation and probing' was done outside the west front of the cathedral, and the west wall of the nave of the Anglo-Saxon church was discovered. The internal dimensions of the nave were found to be 42 feet long by 28 feet wide.³⁹

In January 1898, further excavations were carried out by the Rochester antiquary, George Payne, and St. John Hope in the garden immediately outside the south-west transept. These exposed part of a long wall, which may have been part of the twelfth-century cellarer's range,⁴⁰ or just possibly an outer court building of the bishop's palace. The excavation was rapidly curtailed 'by a peremptory order of Dean Hole for the immediate stoppage of the work!'⁴¹

With this work and the publication of Hope's magnum opus on Rochester Cathedral, most archaeological work on the fabric of the cathedral (both below and above ground) effectively came to an end. In this century all archaeological work has been on a very small scale indeed, and sadly quite a lot of it was never properly published. For example, in 1937 the area outside the south aisle of the nave was apparently re-excavated by Farley Cobb, the Cathedral Surveyor, and no trace was found of Irvine's apse of 1872.⁴² In the same year the ugly yellow brick canon's house which covered the south-west corner of the cloister was demolished. It had been built in the early nineteenth century. The following year, 1938, saw the large-scale excavation of the area beneath and behind the house. The east side wall of the vaulted undercroft of the cellarer's range was uncovered, and at the south end the last compartment was stripped revealing fine twelfth-century triple stone shafts in each corner. Only a very brief report (and no drawings) was produced.⁴³ Earlier, in February 1936, the chapter house doorway was re-opened and the area inside it was excavated. The only report on this work is in *The Times* of April 1936 where we read:

'The earth has been removed from the West end of the Chapter House and at a depth of 3ft. were found fragments of the encaustic tiling of the floor; a few pieces were still in situ, but most of the tiles were broken into fragments. Pottery and other small matters were also found, and a tiny object, apparently a coin, which has still to be identified. The bases of two piers in line with a fifteenth-century respond in the South wall have also been uncovered and provide evidence of a vaulted vestibule, possibly carrying a bridge, which communicated with the dormitory immediately to the South and with the choir. Some puzzling features, such as the foundations of a wall near the West end of the Chapter house, have appeared, and will perhaps be explained.

It has always been believed that the Priors of the Monastery of St. Andrew had a right of burial within the Chapter House. At a depth of 2ft. 6in. to 3ft. below the paving a skeleton has been discovered, and there is reason to believe that another lies not far off. No vessels were found: the bones were not removed, and were covered up again within half an hour of their being disclosed. There was no sign of a coffin; probably the body was buried in a shroud.'

Ten years after Sir William St. John Hope's death (1919), Dr. F.H. Fairweather published a lengthy article about the plan of Gundulf's cathedral.⁴⁴ In this he criticised Hope's reconstruction of the early Norman plan and put forward his own. Unfortunately Fairweather's suggestions have almost no fabric evidence to support them, and his theory that the early part of the crypt is after Gundulf's time, and relates to a second phase of the Norman church cannot be correct. The situation is perhaps best summed up by Sir Alfred Clapham, who wrote a few years later:⁴⁵

'The plan of the early church is at present undetermined, the form suggested by Sir William Hope rests on little or no evidence and is neither reasonable nor probable. Dr. Fairweather has recently shown that a normal plan, similar to the one of Lanfranc's church at Canterbury, is quite a possible layout for the site, but without excavation it is impossible to prove it.'

In the last half century or so only a handful of minor excavations and investigations have been carried out. Mr Arthur Harrison and others have undertaken many small scale investigations in Rochester (including some within the cathedral precincts), which have thrown new light on the ancient topography of the city. Only once (in August 1968) has an investigation been carried out inside the cathedral. At this time leger and paving stones were removed from the north side of the crossing area during the installation of a nave altar platform. The cathedral surveyor, Mr Emil Godfrey invited Dr. C.A. Raleigh Radford to investigate, and he published a brief note (but alas no plan) in the Cathedral Friends' Annual report.⁴⁶ Under the north crossing arch Dr.

Radford apparently found parts of the walls of a building which predated the early Norman foundations in this part of the cathedral. However, no detailed investigations were undertaken.

In the last twenty years a few more small scale observations have been made. These include 'rescue' observations in the area outside the south choir aisle door,⁴⁷ the Sacrist's checker area⁴⁸ and, most recently, the chair store foundations on the north side of the nave in May 1990.⁴⁹ Professor M.J. Swanton has also published an important paper on the twelfth-century graffiti in the nave (largely on the piers) which, as he says, almost certainly 'represent the remaining evidence for an extensive programme of early medieval wall-paintings, although little of the original scheme can be reconstructed'.⁵⁰ In 1987 a reused fragment was removed from the inside of the south-west turret of the cathedral. This proved to be an important fragment of an early eleventh-century gravestone, one side of which has decoration in the 'Ringerike' style. There are also remains of the original colour, and part of a Latin inscription on the edge.⁵¹ At the bottom the spiral turret on the north-east corner of the north-east transept a very fine early door survives, decorated with ironwork. This has recently been studied by Dr. Jane Geddes, who suggests that it dates from the late eleventh or twelfth century. Much later the door was given a new face and turned round, so that the original door is only visible on the inside.⁵²

Tim Tatton-Brown

1. An earlier version of this essay was first published in T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby (eds.), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (1996), 103-114. The second part, covering archaeological work at the cathedral in the last decade or so, will be published next year.

2. J. Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense* (1769), 958, and M. Brett in N. Yates (ed.) *Faith and Fabric, a History of Rochester Cathedral 604-1994* (1996), 20-22.

3. For the plan of the priory, and its buildings, see W.H. St. John Hope, 'The architectural history of the cathedral church and monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester II: the monastery', *Arch. Cant.* 24 (1900), 1-85. See also T. Tatton-Brown, 'Three great Benedictine houses in Kent: their buildings and topography', *Arch. Cant.* 100 (1985), 185-8.

4. G.M. Livett, 'Medieval Rochester', *Arch. Cant.* 21 (1895), 17-72.

5. W.H. St. J. Hope, 'The architectural history of the cathedral church and monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester I: the cathedral', *Arch. Cant.* 23 (1898), 194-328.

6. See notes 3 and 5 above.

7. For a partial reassessment see now J.P. McAleer, 'The medieval fabric', in N. Yates (ed.), *Faith and Fabric, a History of Rochester Cathedral* (1996), 149-184.

8. E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent* Vol. IV (2nd ed. 1798), 105.

9. *Ibid.*, 102.

10 See F.C. Elliston Erwood, 'Miscellaneous notes on some Kent roads and allied matters', *Arch. Cant.* 70 (1956), 209-215. See also H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (3rd. ed. 1995), 874.

11. J. Thorpe, *Customale Roffense* (1788), 169. See also Colvin, *op. cit. supra*, 679-685.
12. Thorpe, *op. cit. supra*, 183.
13. Hasted, *op. cit.* (note 8), 106.
14. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 257 and 264.
15. See Mary Covert, 'The Cottingham years at Rochester', *Friends' Annual Report for 1991/2*, 6-14. For Cottingham generally, see J. Myles, *L.N. Cottingham 1787-1847, Architect of the Gothic Revival* (1996).
16. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 285.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Colvin, *op. cit.* (note 10), 129-135.
19. For drawings of these interesting roofs, see C.A., Hewett, *English Cathedral and Monastic Carpentry* (1985), 79 and 83.
20. J. Blair, 'The Limoges enamel tomb of Bishop Walter de Merton', *Friends' Annual Report for 1993-4*, 28-33.
21. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 280 and 285.
22. D.A.H. Cleggett, 'Some 19th century alterations to the presbytery and quire', *Friends' Annual Report for 1994-5*, 4-9.
23. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 285.
24. *Ibid.* 279
25. For a very useful summary of documented work, see D. Holbrook, 'Repair and restoration of the fabric since 1540', in N. Yates (ed.), *Faith and Fabric, a History of Rochester Cathedral, 604-1994* (1996), 185-216. A full transcript of all the documents, by Mrs Holbrook, can be consulted in the cathedral library.
26. D. Kahn, 'The west doorway of Rochester Cathedral' in N. Stratford *et al.* (eds.), *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki* (1987), 129-134.
27. A. Asphitel, 'Rochester Cathedral', *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assocn.* 9 (1854), 271-285.
28. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 233-242. For a contemporary illustration of Professor Willis' tour with the Archaeological Institute, see B. Purle, *Rochester in Old Photographs* (1989), 26.
29. J.H. Parker, 'The buildings of Bishop Gundulf', *Gentlemen's Magazine* 215 (1863), 255-268.
30. They are now in the Kent Archives Office - Drc/Emf 77 at Strood.
31. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 268.
32. W.H. St John Hope, 'Gundulf's tower at Rochester, and the first Norman cathedral there', *Archaeologia* 49 (1886), 323-334. See also, A. Arnold, 'The shrine of St Paulinus at Rochester', *Friends' Annual Report for 1988-9*, 16-21.
33. Hope, *op. cit. supra*
34. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), plate I, opposite p. 202.
35. See for example, G.M. Livett, 'Early Norman churches in and near the Medway valley', *Arch. Cant* 20 (1893), 137-154.
36. Thorpe, *op. cit.* (note 2), 118.
37. T. Tatton-Brown, 'Gundulf's tower', *Friends' Annual Report for 1990-1*, 7-12 and *Idem.* 'Observations made in the sacrist's checker area beside Gundulf's tower at Rochester Cathedral - July 1989', *Arch. Cant.* 107 (1990), 390-4.
38. G.M. Livett, 'Foundations of the Saxon cathedral church at Rochester', *Arch. Cant.* 21 (1889), 17-72.

39. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 212.
40. J.P. McAleer, 'Rochester Cathedral: the west range of the cloister, *Friends' Annual Report for 1992-3*, 13-25.
41. Hope, *op. cit.* (note 5), 212.
42. E.F. Cobb, 'Explorations on the south side of the nave', *Friends' Annual Report 3* (1938), 22-4.
43. W.A. Forsyth, 'Rochester Cathedral restoration of the Norman cloister' *Friends' Annual Report 4* (1939), 20-2.
44. F.H. Faireweather, 'Gundulf's cathedral and priory church of St. Andrew, Rochester: some critical remarks upon the hitherto accepted plan', *Archaeol. Journ.* 86 (1929), 187-212.
45. A Clapham, *Early Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest* (1934), 24.
46. C.A.R. Radford, 'Rochester Cathedral: a new fragment of pre-conquest wall', *Friends' Report for 1968*, 13-16.
47. D. Bacchus, 'Rochester Cathedral, south door porch excavations', *Arch. Cant.* 102 (1985), 254-61.
48. Tatton-Brown, *op. cit.* (note 37). See also J.P. McAleer, 'Rochester Cathedral: the north choir aisle and the space between it and 'Gundulf's' tower', *Arch. Cant.* 112 (1993), 127-165.
49. A. Ward, 'Rochester Cathedral' in *Canterbury's Archaeology 1989-90* (Fourteenth Annual Report), 34-5; and *Friends' Annual Report for 1990-1*, 13-15.
50. M.J. Swanton, 'A mural palimpsest from Rochester Cathedral', *Archaeol. Journ.* 136 (1979), 125-135.
51. M. Covert, 'An exciting find', *Friends' Annual Report for 1988-9*, 10-11.
52. J. Geddes, 'Some doors in Rochester Cathedral', *Friends' Annual Report for 1989-90*, 19-22.

A HISTORY OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL

edited by Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsey and Margaret Sparks

Oxford University Press, 1995 £25

(ISBN 0-19-820051-x)

No one interested in the story of our mother Cathedral will regret possessing this handsome book. It has been edited by three distinguished scholars to good effect so that whilst not lacking in detailed information, it is thoroughly readable. It has eschewed complex technical language which might put off the lay reader and, in parts, would make an excellent bed-time read, so long as you have something to prop it up on.

The first seven chapters are historical, and deal with the Cathedral's rich, complex and influential story, from its beginning until 1994. It has had its up's and down's and seen much English history in microcosm. These chapters of the book are beautifully written and whilst I enjoyed the lofty style and perspective of various professors, I was particularly delighted by the elegance and tact of the man who covered the most recent years. Many of the actors are still with us.

The remaining five chapters cover various aspects of the Cathedral's life from a thematic point of view - the archives, the liturgy, the monuments, the school.

The book is richly and interestingly illustrated. It is twice the size and half the cost of our own *Faith and Fabric* which came out in 1996 (though even Canterbury's is less lavish than Norwich's). Goodness knows how they've done it. And, thanks to be God and the publishers, the foot notes really *are* at the foot of their own page.

If you fancy possessing a copy, hurry, for I gather stocks are now limited.

J.M.A.

EXCURSIONS

Our excursions in 1997 numbered 4, and once again, all seemed to be very much enjoyed. Personally, I have enjoyed organizing these various-type excursions and the number now totals 42. As Friends keep on coming, I must assume that most of the packages are attractive. 1998 is already promising to be a "good" year.

The first excursion in 1977 was a walking tour of part of the City of London taking in Charterhouse, Smithfield Market and St. Bartholomew's Church before going to the Barbican for lunch. In the afternoon we had a trip on the Regents Canal.

St. Davids - what can one say about this delightful little city? Although there were only 28 of us in number on this excursion, it was probably one of the happiest of all our visits. The long weekend gave us some superb weather and even the boat-trip round the bird sanctuary island of Ramsey was in glorious weather. Clambering in and out of the boat was a challenge to some of the group, but one can only say that "where there's a will, there's a way"! I am always very careful to include in an itinerary "an optional visit"! The hotel was really lovely as were all the meals. The Cathedral is in a breathtakingly peaceful location.

In August we were visiting Jane Austen's home at Chawton. This was followed by an afternoon of leisure in Winchester where many of us visited her memorial in the Cathedral.

The visit to Hatfield House came on a day in September when the weather was superb.

May I take this opportunity to thank all the intrepid travellers for all their support which also makes a contribution to the funds of the Friends. I am always keen to see that the Friends who are unable to participate in these excursions are not seen to be subsidizing the participants in any way.

Here's to 1998.

Jean Callebaut

MEMBERSHIP

We are grateful to those Friends (the great majority) who have adjusted their subscriptions to bring them into line with the new rates agreed a few years ago. This is a useful source of extra income. May I use this space to send a gentle reminder to those who have not yet made the change.

We are sorry to record the deaths of 18 Friends during the year, many of whom had been long-standing and loyal supporters. At the same time, we welcome 20 new members. This is not as many as in the previous year. We hope that our involvement in the Saints' Festival in 1998 will help to raise our profile and introduce new people to our work.

Carolyn Foreman

Obituary

Mr N.N. Clout	Mr E. Moore
Mrs K. Colvill	Mrs M.U. Olivier
Mr R.H. Cooper	Mrs E.M. Read
Sir D. Greenaway	Mr D.S. Robins
Revd. W.J. Hirst	Miss D.A. Stoy
Miss R.M. Johnstone	Mrs N. Watson
Canon F.W. Jordan	Miss E.M. White
Mrs F.W. Jordan	Mr R. Whitehead
Canon R. Mason	Canon G. Young

New Members

Mr S. Brittain	Peace & Unity Lodge No. 4101
Mrs C. Brittain	Mr D.F. Sly
Mr A.F. Coombs	Mr A. Smith
Mrs A.F. Coombs	Mrs H. Smith
Mr A. Crowther-Walker	Mr J.A. Smith
Mrs D.M. Edwards	Mrs J.A. Smith
Mrs S.A. Fisher	Society of Antiquaries
Mr J.A. Fleming	Richard Watts Lodge
Mr P. Hughes	Mr P. Wilson
Mrs P. Jones	Mrs L. Wilson

TREASURER'S REPORT

During the year, at the request of the Dean and Chapter, the Association was asked to move offices within Garth House. This has proved satisfactory and the redecoration is reflected in the office expenses in the attached accounts.

At the same time, the Council decided to upgrade the office equipment and furniture as the existing items had outlived their useful lives.

It has been an accounting policy of the Association not to reflect the value of the stocks of publications in the accounts. Since the two publications were produced in the last two months of the accounting period, it can be seen that in the current period there is a deficit of £3,000 - however, hardly any sales of the new publications took place before the end of the year.

Council again, in accordance with previous policy, decided to invest the generous legacy from Mrs E.M. Read of £15,865 in a bequest fund.

The accounts attached as usual are in draft and will be presented audited at the Annual Meeting. Copies of the audited accounts can be requested.

M.P.G.S.

**THE ASSOCIATION OF THE FRIENDS OF ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL
BALANCE SHEET – 28TH FEBRUARY 1998**

	1998	1997
	£	£
General Funds		
Assets:		
Balance at Bank	67,606	96,160
Liabilities:		
Creditors	<u>6,342</u>	<u>1,299</u>
	<u>61,264</u>	<u>94,861</u>
Income and Expenditure Account		
Brought forward	94,861	64,485
Movement in year	(33,597)	30,376
	61,264	94,861

At 28th February 1998 there is a capital commitment of £19,530 in respect of electrical work.

Capital Funds		
Investments		
Cazenove Fund Management	670,267	670,267
Balance at Bank	<u>15,865</u>	<u>—</u>
	<u>686,132</u>	<u>670,267</u>
Bequest Funds		
Miss Wooten	189,597	189,597
Father Smith	246,591	246,591
Miss L. Stickland	234,079	234,079
Miss E.M. Read	<u>15,865</u>	<u>—</u>
	<u>686,132</u>	<u>670,267</u>

Times of Service

Weekdays	Weekdays	Weekdays
07:00 Holy Communion	07:30	07:30
08:00	08:00	08:00
08:30	08:30	08:30
09:00 Sung Eucharist	09:00	09:00
09:30	09:30	09:30
10:00	10:00	10:00
10:30	10:30	10:30

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE FRIENDS OF ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT -
YEAR TO 28TH FEBRUARY 1998

	1998		1997	
	£	£	£	£
Income				
Subscriptions received		7,791		8,356
Donations and legacies		732		3,517
Surplus on social events		1,181		912
Saints Festival - 1996		450		(1,815)
Book of Memory - net		65		25
Gross Dividends		35,110		33,121
Bank interest		<u>5,012</u>		<u>4,246</u>
		50,341		48,362
Expenditure				
Salary	4,533		4,469	
Office expenses	1,233		797	
Printing and stationery	467		924	
Postage	296		504	
Annual Report	2,956		3,187	
Net cost of furniture	902		-	
Deficit on publications	3,018		54	
Bank charges	<u>33</u>	<u>13,438</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>9,986</u>
Excess of income over expenditure		36,903		38,376
Grants payable				
Upkeep of Garth	6,000		6,000	
Audio system	64,300		-	
Research Grant	200		-	
Choir Association	<u>-</u>	<u>70,500</u>	<u>2,000</u>	<u>8,000</u>
Surplus (Deficit) for the year		<u>(33,597)</u>		<u>30,376</u>

CALENDAR OF SELECTED EVENTS - 1998

May

- 1 to 4 Sweeps Festival
 Sat 9 Haydn *The Seasons* sung by the Gravesham Choral Society
 Mon 18 Mothers Union Triennial Festival
 28 to 31 Dickens Festival

June

- Sat 6 French Hospital Service
 Sat 20 Friends Festival
 Fri 26 King's Prep School Speech Day
 Sat 27 King's Senior School Speech Day
 Petertide Ordination

July

- Sat 4 Math School Founders Day Services
 11 to 25 Medway Arts Festival
 Sat 18 Rochester Choral Society Concert
 Sun 19 Demelza House Thanksgiving Service

September

- Sat 12 King's School Commemoration Service
 Sun 13 Royal Engineers Memorial Service
 Commissioning of Evangelists
 Sun 20 Battle of Britain Commemoration
 Sat 26 Michaelmas Ordination

October

- Sat 3 Licensing of Readers
4 to 18 *Rochester Saints Festival*

November

- Sat 7 Royal Marines Remembrance Service
 Diocesan Choirs Festival
 Sun 8 Remembrance Sunday
 Sat 21 St Cecilia's Concert
 Sun 29 Advent Carol Service

December

- 5 to 6 Dickens Christmas Weekend
 Sat 12 Rochester Cathedral Society Christmas Concert
 Mon 21 Cathedral Carol Service
 Tue 22 Cathedral Carol Service

Times of Service:

Sundays

- 0800 Holy Communion
 0945 Mattins
 1030 Sung Eucharist
 1515 Evensong

Weekdays

- 0730 Mattins (0800 on Wednesday)
 0800 Holy Communion (0730 on Wednesday)
 1300 Holy Communion (Thursday only)
 1730 Evensong (1515 on Saturday)

