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THE MASONS AND BUILDING WORKS OF DURHAM PRIORY, 1339-1539

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Durham

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ABSTRACT

The building activities of the Durham monks in the two centuries before the Dissolution are analysed using the evidence of the surviving remains, early depictions of works since destroyed, and the extensive contemporary archives. Besides the cathedral-priory itself, the buildings of the monastery's six northern cells (Coldingham, Holy Island, Farne Island, Finchale, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth), and those of the thirty appropriated churches north of Humber still surviving, are also considered. The analysis examines the date, cost, and stylistic context of the building works, providing a comprehensive assessment of the priory's architectural output. The existence of long-term variations in the selectivity and quantity of information about building in the priory's financial documents is demonstrated; an understanding of these is deemed indispensable in assessing the evidential value of the documents in interpreting changes in the material record.

The pattern of building activity is related to the economic background and other claims on the priory's resources. Particular attention is paid to the years *c.* 1350-75, the only period of across-the-board renewal, when the chronology of works and distribution of common stylistic features suggest a co-ordinated building policy, probably reflecting the supervision of a single master mason, John Lewyn. The priory's treatment of its appropriated churches, and its interaction with parishioners in maintaining and altering these, is also evaluated.

The role of episcopal and secular patrons in determining the frequent use of high-status masons from outside Durham as consultants is contrasted with the generally more limited calibre of masons employed on the monks' own initiative. It is argued that the priory's employment of masons can only be understood in the context of this pattern of patronage and of the underlying pattern of building activity. The career of the best-known, Lewyn, is singled out for detailed reassessment.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

LIST OF FIGURES
LIST OF PLATES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xvi

NOTE ON EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS xviii
NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS xviii

GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1

NOTES 7

CHAPTER I: ESTATES, ADMINISTRATION, AND BUILDING

I.A: INTRODUCTION 8
I.B: THE ESTATES
I.B.1 ORIGINS AND DISTINCTIVE FEATURES 8
I.B.2 LATER MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENTS
I.B.2.1 Decline in Income 11
I.B.2.2 Change to Leasehold Tenure 13
I.B.2.3 Growth of Urban Estates 14
I.B.2.4 Discussion 15
I.C: THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM
I.C.1 ORIGINS 15
I.C.2 REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME 16
I.C.3 ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANNUAL ACCOUNTS 19
I.D: THE PRIORY'S BUILDING RESPONSIBILITIES 20
I.E: DISCUSSION 24

NOTES 25

CHAPTER II: DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

II.A: SOURCES OTHER THAN ACCOUNT ROLLS
II.A.1 INTRODUCTION 29
II.A.2 THE DURHAM CHRONICLE CONTINUATION AND RELATED MATERIALS . 29
II.A.3 MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
II.A.3.1 The Works of Priors Fossor and Wessington 31
II.A.3.2 The Benefactions of the Bishops 32
II.A.3.3 The Rites of Durham 32
II.A.4 VISITATION MATERIALS 33
II.B: ACCOUNTS
II.B.1 BUILDING ACCOUNTS 34
II.B.2 OBEDIENTIARY AND CELL ACCOUNTS
II.B.2.1 Introduction 36
II.B.2.2 Survival 37
II.B.2.3 Compilation 37
II.B.2.4 Diplomatic of Building and Repair 39
II.B.2.5 Diplomatic of Contributions 45
II.B.2.6 Recording of Building Expenditure 46
II.B.2.7 General Trends in Building Expenditure 48

NOTES 50

CHAPTER III: CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY

III.A: CATHEDRAL
III.A.1 INTRODUCTION 53
III.A.2 EARLY TRACERY 53

III.A.3 MID FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REPAIRS 54
III.A.4 MID FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TRACERIES
III.A.4.1 Date and Method of Financing 55
III.A.4.2 Cost 64
III.A.5 FITTINGS
III.A.5.1 Hatfield Tomb and Throne 64
III.A.5.2 Neville Screen and Associated Works 65

III.B: MONASTIC BUILDINGS
III.B.1 INTRODUCTION 67
III.B.2 MID FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REPAIRS 68
III.B.3 CHAPTER HOUSE 69
III.B.4 KITCHEN 71

III.C: DISCUSSION 72

NOTES 75

CHAPTER IV: CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: *c.* 1400-*c.* 1450

IV.A: CATHEDRAL
IV.A.1 REFENESTRATION, I: SOUTH TRANSEPT AND NEVILLE CHANTRY 80
IV.A.2 REFENESTRATION, II: NINE ALTARS
IV.A.2.1 Introduction 84
IV.A.2.2 Lancets 84
IV.A.2.3 Rose Window 86
IV.A.2.4 Summary 88
IV.A.3 REFENESTRATION, III: ROMANESQUE GALLERY AND CLERESTORY 89
IV.A.4 REFENESTRATION, IV: DISCUSSION 92
IV.A.5 GALILEE CHAPEL AND REGISTRY 93
IV.A.6 CENTRAL TOWER AND NAVE ROOFS 96
IV.A.7 SACRIST'S EXCHEQUER 97
IV.A.8 FITTINGS
IV.A.8.1 Skirlaw Tomb 97
IV.A.8.2 Pulpitum 98
IV.A.8.3 Minor Fittings 98

IV.B: MONASTIC BUILDINGS
IV.B.1 CLAUSTRAL BUILDINGS
IV.B.1.1 Dormitory 99
IV.B.1.2 Cloister 101
IV.B.1.3 Library 103
IV.B.2 PRECINCTUAL BUILDINGS
IV.B.2.1 Infirmary 103
IV.B.2.2 Prior's Lodging 104
IV.B.2.3 Guest House 105

IV.C: DISCUSSION 105

NOTES 109

CHAPTER V: CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS, III: *c.* 1450-1539

V.A: CATHEDRAL
V.A.1 CENTRAL TOWER, I, AND REROOFING 115
V.A.2 CENTRAL TOWER, II
V.A.2.1 Expansion of Works 118
V.A.2.2 Completion 120
V.A.2.3 Structural Sequence 123
V.A.2.4 Cost 125
V.A.2.5 Architectural Context 126
V.A.3 NAVE TRACERIES 128

V.B: MONASTIC BUILDINGS
V.B.1 CLAUSTRAL BUILDINGS ... 129
V.B.2 PRECINCTUAL BUILDINGS
V.B.2.1 Gatehouse ... 130
V.B.2.2 Prior's Lodging ... 130
V.B.2.3 Guest House ... 131
V.B.2.4 Ancillary Buildings ... 131
V.C: DISCUSSION ... 131
NOTES ... 133

CHAPTER VI: CELLS

VI.A: INTRODUCTION ... 136
VI.B: COLDINGHAM
VI.B.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ... 137
VI.B.2 CHURCH ... 138
VI.B.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS ... 141
VI.C: HOLY ISLAND
VI.C.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ... 142
VI.C.2 CHURCH, I: EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY ... 142
VI.C.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY ... 143
VI.C.4 CHURCH, II: LATER FOURTEENTH CENTURY ... 145
VI.C.5 CHURCH, III: AFTER 1400 ... 147
VI.C.6 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: AFTER 1400 ... 148
VI.D: FARNE ISLAND
VI.D.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ... 149
VI.D.2 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY ... 150
VI.D.3 ST CUTHBERT'S CHAPEL ... 151
VI.D.4 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: AFTER 1400 ... 152
VI.E: FINCHALE
VI.E.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ... 153
VI.E.2 CHURCH, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY ... 155
VI.E.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY ... 156
VI.E.4 CHURCH, II: AFTER 1400 ... 159
VI.E.5 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: AFTER 1400 ... 160
VI.F: JARROW
VI.F.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ... 162
VI.F.2 CHURCH ... 163
VI.F.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS ... 165
VI.G: MONKWEARMOUTH
VI.G.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ... 168
VI.G.2 CHURCH ... 169
VI.G.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS ... 170
VI.H: DISCUSSION ... 172
NOTES ... 177

CHAPTER VII: APPROPRIATED CHURCHES

VII.A: INTRODUCTION ... 188
VII.B: COUNTY DURHAM
VII.B.1 INTRODUCTION ... 189
VII.B.2 PITTINGTON ... 190
VII.B.3 AYCLIFFE ... 191
VII.B.4 BILLINGHAM ... 192
VII.B.5 HEIGHINGTON ... 192
VII.B.6 ELVET ... 193
VII.B.7 MAGDALEN CHAPEL, DURHAM ... 196

VII.C: NORTHUMBERLAND
VII.C.1 INTRODUCTION ... 197
VII.C.2 NORHAM ... 198
VII.C.3 ELLINGHAM ... 199
VII.D: SCOTLAND ... 199
VII.E: YORKSHIRE
VII.E.1 INTRODUCTION ... 201
VII.E.2 NORTHALLERTON ... 202
VII.E.3 EASTRINGTON ... 205
VII.E.4 GIGGLESWICK ... 207
VII.E.5 FISHLAKE ... 209
VII.F: DISCUSSION
VII.F.1 THE QUANTITY OF ALTERATIONS ... 209
VII.F.2 THE FORM OF ALTERATIONS ... 214
VII.F.3 THE CHRONOLOGY OF ALTERATIONS ... 216
VII.F.4 THE PRIORY'S RECORD AS AN APPROPRIATOR ... 217
NOTES ... 221

CHAPTER VIII: ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

VIII.A: INTRODUCTION ... 229
VIII.B: *c.* 1340-*c.* 1400
VIII.B.1 DESIGNS PROBABLY RELATED TO WORKS AT DURHAM PRIORY AND ITS PROPERTIES
VIII.B.1.1 Holy Island (St Mary) ... 230
VIII.B.1.2 Brancepeth (western parts) ... 230
VIII.B.1.3 Houghton-le-Spring ... 231
VIII.B.1.4 Embleton ... 231
VIII.B.1.5 Sedgefield ... 235
VIII.B.1.6 Raby Castle ... 235
VIII.B.2 DESIGNS PROBABLY UNRELATED TO WORKS AT DURHAM PRIORY AND ITS PROPERTIES
VIII.B.2.1 Stranton ... 236
VIII.B.2.2 Easington ... 236
VIII.B.2.3 Low Friarside ... 236
VIII.B.2.4 Newcastle, St Nicholas (transepts) ... 237
VIII.B.2.5 Newcastle, St Mary's Hospital and Blackfriars ... 238
VIII.B.2.6 Brancepeth (chancel) ... 239
VIII.B.2.7 Newcastle, St Nicholas (chancel) ... 240
VIII.C: AFTER *c.* 1400 ... 241
VIII.D: DISCUSSION ... 242
NOTES ... 247

CHAPTER IX: MASTER MASONS AND PROBLEMS OF DESIGN

IX.A: INTRODUCTION ... 250
IX.B: THE EVIDENCE FOR INDIVIDUAL CAREERS
IX.B.1 ROGER
IX.B.1.1 References in Durham Sources ... 252
IX.B.1.2 References in other Sources ... 252
IX.B.1.3 Stylistic Analysis ... 252
IX.B.1.4 Status ... 252
IX.B.2 HUGH (DE SHIREWODE?)
IX.B.2.1 References in Durham Sources ... 253
IX.B.2.2 References in other Sources ... 253
IX.B.2.3 Stylistic Analysis ... 253
IX.B.2.4 Status ... 253

IX.B.3 JOHN HURPER
IX.B.3.1 References in Durham Sources 253
IX.B.3.2 References in other Sources 254
IX.B.3.3 Stylistic Analysis 254
IX.B.3.4 Status 254
IX.B.4 JOHN LEWYN
IX.B.4.1 References in Durham Sources 254
IX.B.4.2 References in other Sources 256
IX.B.4.3 Stylistic Analysis 257
IX.B.4.4 Status 263
IX.B.5 ROBERT OF PATRINGTON
IX.B.5.1 References in Durham Sources 265
IX.B.5.2 References in other Sources 266
IX.B.5.3 Stylistic Analysis 266
IX.B.5.4 Status 269
IX.B.6 PETER DRYNG
IX.B.6.1 References in Durham Sources 270
IX.B.6.2 References in other Sources 270
IX.B.6.3 Stylistic Analysis 271
IX.B.6.4 Status 272
IX.B.7 JOHN MIDDLETON
IX.B.7.1 References in Durham Sources 273
IX.B.7.2 References in other Sources 273
IX.B.7.3 Stylistic Analysis 273
IX.B.7.4 Status 274
IX.B.8 THOMAS HYNDELEY
IX.B.8.1 References in Durham Sources 274
IX.B.8.2 References in other Sources 275
IX.B.8.3 Stylistic Analysis 275
IX.B.8.4 Status 276
IX.B.9 THOMAS MAPILTON
IX.B.9.1 References in Durham Sources 277
IX.B.9.2 References in other Sources 277
IX.B.9.3 Stylistic Analysis 277
IX.B.9.4 Status 278
IX.B.10 JOHN BELL I
IX.B.10.1 References in Durham Sources 278
IX.B.10.2 References in other Sources 279
IX.B.10.3 Stylistic Analysis 280
IX.B.10.4 Status 280
IX.B.11 JOHN KNAYTH
IX.B.11.1 References in Durham Sources 281
IX.B.11.2 References in other Sources 282
IX.B.11.3 Stylistic Analysis 282
IX.B.11.4 Status 282
IX.B.12 THOMAS BARTON
IX.B.12.1 References in Durham Sources 283
IX.B.12.2 References in other Sources 283
IX.B.12.3 Stylistic Analysis 283
IX.B.12.4 Status 283
IX.B.13 JOHN BELL II
IX.B.13.1 References in Durham Sources 284
IX.B.13.2 References in other Sources 286
IX.B.13.3 Stylistic Analysis 286
IX.B.13.4 Status 286
IX.B.14 THOMAS CHALMER
IX.B.14.1 References in Durham Sources 286
IX.B.14.2 References in other Sources 286
IX.B.14.3 Stylistic Analysis 286
IX.B.14.4 Status 286

IX.B.15 CHRISTOPHER SCUNE
IX.B.15.1 References in Durham Sources ... 287
IX.B.15.2 References in other Sources ... 287
IX.B.15.3 Stylistic Analysis ... 287
IX.B.15.4 Status ... 287
IX.C: DISCUSSION ... 288
NOTES ... 293

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A: DOCUMENTARY SOURCES ... 302
B: THE PATTERN OF PRIORY BUILDING ... 303
C: MONASTIC PATRONAGE ... 305
D: PATRONAGE AND THE PARISH CHURCH ... 308
E: CONSULTANTS AND CLIENTS ... 309
F: PROSPECT ... 312
NOTES ... 313

APPENDIXES

1. MAJOR OBEDIENTIARIES AND HEADS OF CELLS: RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BUILDING MAINTENANCE ... 314
2. THE COMPILATION OF FIGURES 1-13 ... 317
3. THE DATE AND CONTEXT OF TWO TRACERIES AT THE ABBEYS OF JEDBURGH AND MELROSE, ROXBURGHSHIRE ... 325
   NOTES ... 327
4. DATES OF APPROPRIATION OF DURHAM PRIORY RECTORIES ... 328
5. APPRENTICE MASONS IN DURHAM SOURCES ... 331

BIBLIOGRAPHY ... 334

THE FIGURES

THE PLATES

LIST OF FIGURES

1: Durham obedientiaries and heads of cells: percentages of surviving accounts, 1339-1539

2: Durham obedientiaries and heads of cells: percentages of surviving accounts, 1339-1539, by half century

3: Durham obedientiaries and heads of cells: comparative amounts of detail in treatment of building expenditure

4: Durham obedientiaries and heads of cells: comparative building expenditure in pounds

5: Bursar: building expenditure in pounds

6: Sacrist: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

7: Hostiller: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

8: Almoner: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

9: Holy Island: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

10: Farne Island: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

11: Jarrow: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

12: Wearmouth: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

13: Finchale: building expenditure in pounds and amounts of detail in treatment

14: Map showing Durham Priory cells and appropriated churches (after Platt 1981, ill. 59)

15: Map showing principal buildings discussed in Chapters VIII-IX and Appendix 3

LIST OF PLATES

1: Durham Priory, ground-plan (Fowler 1903)
2: Durham Priory, ground-plan, detail of cloister (after Fowler 1903)
3: Durham Priory, ground-plan (Willis 1727, pl. facing 224)
4: Durham Cathedral, ground-plan (Fowler 1903)
5: Durham Cathedral, ground-plan showing numbering of windows (Haselock and O'Connor 1980, 212, fig. 1)
6: Durham Cathedral, north elevation, eastern part (Billings 1843, pl. VI)
7: Durham Cathedral, north elevation, western part (Billings 1843, pl. VII)
8: Durham Cathedral, south elevation, eastern part (Billings 1843, pl. IX)
9: Durham Cathedral, south elevation, western part (Billings 1843, pl. VIII)
10: Durham Cathedral, transepts, east elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XVI)
11: Durham Cathedral, transepts, west elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XIII)
12: Durham Cathedral, west elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XII)
13: Durham Cathedral, traceries in clerestories of Nine Altars and choir (Billings 1843, pl. LXII, detail)
14: Durham Cathedral, window in south nave gallery, rere-arch (T. Woods)
15: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, windows nVIII-nX (Billings 1843, pl. VI, detail)
16: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, windows sIX-sXI (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)
17: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sIX (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)
18: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sX (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)
19: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sXI (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)
20: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, window nVIII, rere-arch (T. Woods)
21: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, window nIX, rere-arch (T. Woods)
22: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, window nX, rere-arch (T. Woods)
23: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sIX, rere-arch (T. Woods)
24: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sX, rere-arch (T. Woods)
25: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sXI, rere-arch (T. Woods)
26: Durham Cathedral, west window (Billings 1843, pl. XII, detail)
27: Durham Cathedral, north transept, windows nXIV-nXV (Billings 1843, pl. VI, detail)
28: Durham Cathedral, north transept, window nXV, exterior mouldings
29: Durham Cathedral, north transept, window nXV, interior (T. Woods)
30: Durham Cathedral, north transept, window nXV, detail of rere-arch (T. Woods)
31: Durham Cathedral, Hatfield tomb and throne, north elevation (Carter 1801, pl. VIII)
32: Durham Cathedral, Hatfield throne, from south (T. Woods)
33: Durham Cathedral, Hatfield tomb, from south (T. woods)
34: Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, from west (T. Woods)
35: Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, half elevation from west (Billings 1843, pl. XXXII)
36: Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, half elevation from east (Billings 1843, pl. XXXIII)
37: Durham Cathedral, sedilia on south side of sanctuary (Billings 1843, pl. LXI)
38: Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, detail of canopies (T. Woods)
39: Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, detail of canopies (T. Woods)
40: Durham Cathedral, prior's lodging, blocked window in west wall of great chamber
41: Durham Cathedral, chapter house, exterior from south-east (J. Carter, DCD Lib., drawing (no. 15) dated 1795)
42: Durham Cathedral, chapter house, interior looking east (J. Carter, DCD Lib., drawing (no. 11) dated 1795)
43: Durham Cathedral, chapter house, interior looking east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15538, no. 155)
44: Durham Cathedral, chapter house, west window, interior (T. Woods)
45: Durham Cathedral, chapter house, west window, detail of rere-arch (T. Woods)
46: Durham cathedral, kitchen, interior from north-east (Parker 1853, fig. following 120)
47: Durham Cathedral, kitchen, plan (Parker 1853, fig. facing 120)
48: Durham Cathedral, angle of south transept and nave (Billings 1843, pl. XLV, detail)

49: Durham Cathedral, angle of south transept and nave (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42036, no. 96)
50: Durham Cathedral, window sXVI (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)
51: Durham Cathedral, window sXIX (Billings 1843, pl. VIII, detail)
52: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, exterior from east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15538, no. 132 (Greenwell 1896-1905, pl. VII following 36))
53: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, south wall (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)
54: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, east wall, interior (Carter 1801, pl. VII)
55: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, interior looking south-east (E. Blore in Surtees 1816-40, IV)
56: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, rose window, exterior (Billings 1843, pl. XXI, detail)
57: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, rose window, interior (Carter 1801, pl. VII, detail)
58: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, rose window, interior (Bede 1722, frontispiece, detail)
59: Wells Cathedral, tracery in nave windows (Britton 1836c, Wells, pl. VII)
60: Peterborough Cathedral, tracery in windows of north transept west wall (Britton 1836d, Peterborough, pl. XIV)
61: Winchester Cathedral, tracery in windows of south transept east clerestory (Britton 1836b, Winchester, pl. XXIII)
62: Worcester Cathedral, tracery in lancets of north choir transept west wall (Britton 1836c, Worcester, pl. IX)
63: Peterborough Cathedral, tracery in lancets of west front (Britton 1836d, Peterborough, pl. V)
64: Durham Cathedral, Galilee, west elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XII, detail)
65: Durham Cathedral, west doorway, fifteenth-century blocking, and south Galilee door (Billings 1843, pl. XXXVIII)
66: Durham Cathedral, door from north nave aisle to Galilee (T. Woods)
67: Durham Cathedral, Galilee, interior, central aisle looking east (Billings 1843, pl. XXXVI, detail)
68: Durham Cathedral, Galilee, interior looking north-east (J. Carter, DCD Lib., drawing (no. 7) dated 1795)
69: Durham Cathedral, Galilee, Langley tomb from west (T. Woods)
70: Durham Cathedral, painting of north side of cathedral as before *c.* 1650, detail of western part
71: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, doorway to Sacrist's exchequer (T. Woods)
72: Skirlaw tomb, wall bench (T. Woods)
73: Skirlaw tomb, wall bench, detail (T. Woods)
74: Durham Cathedral, dormitory roof above reredorter junction, looking west (T. Woods)
75: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west wall exterior, offset above reredorter junction
76: Durham Cathedral, dormitory roof, detail (T. Woods)
77: Durham Cathedral, dormitory roof looking north (T. Woods)
78: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation
79: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation (Billings 1846, frontispiece)
80: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation (Carter 1801, pl. III)
81: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation (Billings 1846, pl. XII, detail)
82: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, windows in east wall (T. Woods)
83: Durham Cathedral, dormitory undercroft, doorway in north end of east wall (T. Woods)
84: Durham Cathedral, dormitory undercroft, doorway in south end of east wall (T. Woods)
85: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, corbel in south end of west wall (T. Woods)
86: Durham Cathedral, west window of library, and dormitory, east elevation, north end (Billings 1846, pl. facing 34)
87: Durham Cathedral, cloister, east walk, north section
88: Durham Cathedral, cloister lavatory basin, detail (T. Woods)
89: Durham Cathedral, cloister, corner of north and east walks, ceiling (T. Woods)
90: Durham Cathedral, central tower, east elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XXI, detail)
91: Durham Cathedral, central tower, section north-south (Billings 1843, pl. XV, detail)
92: Canterbury Cathedral, central tower (Britton 1836a, Canterbury, pl. IV)

93: Durham Cathedral, central tower showing crown spire proposed by G. G. Scott (DCD Lib., drawing in extra-illustrated copy of Carter 1801)
94: London, Old St Paul's Cathedral, central tower (W. Hollar in Dugdale 1716, pl. following 134)
95: Howden Minster, Yorkshire, central tower
96: Howden Minster, Yorkshire, central tower, vault springers
97: York Minster, central tower (Britton 1836a, York, pl. XIV)
98: Durham Cathedral, nave tracery (Billings 1843, pl. VIII, detail)
99: Ripon Cathedral, Yorkshire, window at east end of south nave aisle
100: Durham Cathedral, window nXV, interior showing transom (T. Woods)
101: Durham Cathedral, prior's lodging, great chamber from south-west
102: Durham Cathedral, gatehouse, vault from west
103: Durham Cathedral, prior's lodging, south window of hall
104: Durham Cathedral, gatehouse and adjacent building from south-west
105: Oxford, Trinity College (formerly Durham College) from south (Loggan 1675, pl. XXVIII)
106: Coldingham priory, ground-plan (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 438, fig. 397)
107: Coldingham, choir from north-east
108: Coldingham, remains of south transept from north-east
109: Coldingham, remains of undercroft south of choir, from south-east
110: Holy Island priory, ground-plan (Thompson 1949)
111: Holy Island priory from south-west, 1728 (S. and N. Buck)
112: Holy Island, north elevation of choir, *c.* 1850-5 (A. Salvin, London, RIBA Library, drawing no. Y6/57/2, detail)
113: Holy Island, south elevation of choir, *c.* 1850-5 (A. Salvin, London, RIBA Library, drawing no. Y6/57/2, detail)
114: Holy Island, church from south, fair copy, dated 1778 (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 186)
115: Holy Island, part of church from south *c.* 1778, sketch, detail (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 196)
116: Holy Island, east window of north nave aisle
117: Holy Island, window in north wall of choir
118: Holy Island, window in south wall of choir
119: Holy Island, window in north wall of choir, interior
120: Holy Island, outer court from north-west
121: Holy Island, church and precinct wall from south-east
122: Holy Island, prior's lodging, chimney-block from south-east
123: Holy Island, fortifications, angle bartizan east of prior's lodging from south
124: Holy Island, west front, exterior (Billings 1846, pl. following 52, detail)
125: Holy Island, west front, interior (Billings 1846, pl. following 52, detail)
126: Holy Island, window in south wall of nave, sketch (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 196, detail)
127: Holy Island, east window, north jamb from south-east
128: Holy Island, east window, jamb moulding (after Owen 1903)
129: Farne Island, remains of cell from south-east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 97)
130: Farne Island, remains from east (Raine 1852, 360)
131: Farne Island, chapel, west wall, interior, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 94)
132: Farne Island, chapel, west wall, exterior, south part
133: Farne Island, chapel from south-east
134: Farne Island, chapel, south wall, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 95)
135: Farne Island, chapel, south wall, eastern window
136: Farne Island, chapel, doorway at west end of south wall
137: Durham Cathedral, door in south choir aisle (T. Woods)

138: Farne Island, chapel, east wall, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 96)
139: Farne Island, chapel, east window
140: Farne Island, tower house from south-east
141: Farne Island, tower house from south-west
142: Finchale priory, ground-plan (Peers 1973)
143: Finchale, north cloister arcade, from south
144: Finchale, tracery in west bay of north nave arcade (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 29)
145: Finchale, choir, north arcade, tracery (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 24)
146: Finchale, nave, north arcade, tracery (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 24)
147: Finchale, tracery in blocking of west end of south choir aisle
148: Finchale, prior's lodging, great chamber, east window, tracery (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30)
149: Finchale, prior's lodging, great chamber, east window, from west
150: Finchale, prior's chapel, south window (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30)
151: Finchale, prior's chapel, east window (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30)
152: Finchale, chamber north-west of cloisters from north
153: Finchale, chamber north-west of cloisters, junction with church, from east
154: Finchale, chamber north-west of cloisters, tracery in north wall (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 29)
155: Finchale, refectory, window above doorway from cloisters (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30)
156: Finchale, possible remains of structure outside west door of church, from north-west
157: Finchale, tracery fragment, perhaps from window in north transept north wall
158: Finchale, prior's hall, inserted chimney-breast, from south-west
159: Finchale, prior's hall, jamb of fireplace (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30)
160: Finchale, prior's hall, doorway of porch, west jamb
161: Finchale, prior's hall, inserted windows in south wall
162: Finchale, roof-line of north end of dormitory, from south
163: Jarrow, ground-plan (Cramp 1976a, 227, fig. 32)
164: Jarrow, chancel from north-east (E. Blore in Surtees 1816-40, II, facing 67)
165: Jarrow, north wall, central window
166: Jarrow, window in west end of north wall (Hodgson 1906-11b, pl. IX following 136)
167: Jarrow, chancel, window in west end of south wall
168: Jarrow, west gable of south range (E. Blore in Surtees 1816-40, II, pl. facing 67)
169: Beverley Minster, lowest tier of wall arcading of west front, from north
170: Jarrow, reconstruction of excavated tracery fragments from east range (K. McBarron)
171: Jarrow, view from south-west (S. and N. Buck, 1728)
172: Monkwearmouth, ground-plan (Cramp 1976b, 236, fig. 35)
173: Monkwearmouth, chancel from south-east
174: Monkwearmouth, chancel from north-east (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, fig. on 501)
175: Monkwearmouth, windows in south wall of chancel
176: Monkwearmouth chancel, east window
177: Monkwearmouth, chancel, remains of east window tracery (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. facing 78)
178: Monkwearmouth, chancel, reconstruction of east window tracery (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. facing 79)
179: Dalton-le-Dale church, chancel from south-east
180: Bishop Middleham church, chancel from south-east
181: Pittington, church from south before restoration (Barmby 1880-9, pl. following 32)
182: Pittington, ground-plan as existing (Clack 1978)
183: Pittington, ground-plan before restoration (Barmby 1880-9, fig. facing 32)
184: Aycliffe church, ground-plan (Ryder 1988, fig. 1 on 46)
185: Aycliffe, chancel from south-east
186: Billingham church, nave looking east into chancel, before rebuilding (Billings 1846, pl. facing 22)

187: Heighington church, ground-plan (Hodgson 1896-1905a, pl. following 24)
188: Heighington, chancel from south-east
189: Heighington, window reset in east wall of organ chamber
190: Heighington, door in south wall of chancel
191: Elvet church, Durham, ground-plan (Page 1907-28, III, fig. on 175)
192: Elvet, chancel from south
193: Elvet, chancel from east
194: Elvet, church from north, early nineteenth century (J. Bouet, DCD Lib. MS 95, no. 9)
195: Elvet, window at east end of north nave aisle wall
196: Elvet, nave from south
197: Elvet, church from south-east, fair copy, early nineteenth century (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42040, no. 17)
198: Elvet, church from south-east, sketch, early nineteenth century (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42040, no. 20)
199: Magdalen chapel, Durham, ground-plan (Thompson 1869-79, fig. facing 146)
200: Magdalen chapel, vignette from north-east (Billings 1846, pl. I)
201: Magdalen chapel, from north-east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15538, no. 210)
202: Magdalen chapel, from north-east
203: Bywell church (St Peter), ground-plan (Hodgson 1902, fig. on 106)
204: Bywell (St Peter), chancel from south-east
205: Bywell (St Peter), chancel from north-east
206: Holy Island church (St Mary), ground-plan (Wilson 1870, fig. facing 18)
207: Holy Island (St Mary), chancel from south-east
208: Edlingham church, ground-plan (Knowles 1896-1905, fig. 2 on 40)
209: Edlingham, chancel from north-east
210: Edlingham, chancel from south-east
211: Norham church, ground-plan (Wilson 1870, fig. following 26)
212: Norham, chancel from south-east (E. Blore in Raine 1852, pl. facing 259)
213: Norham, east window
214: Norham, window at east end of chancel south wall
215: Norham, tomb in chancel south wall (E. Blore in Raine 1852, pl. facing 259)
216: Norham, window at east end of chancel north wall
217: Norham, chancel from north-east
218: Ellingham church, ground-plan (Wilson 1870, fig. facing 80)
219: Ellingham, from south-east
220: Bossall church, chancel, west end of south wall
221: Northallerton church, central tower from south-east
222: Northallerton, ground-plan (Page 1914, fig. on 427)
223: Eastrington church, north arcade of chancel
224: Eastrington, south arcade of chancel
225: Eastrington, chancel from north
226: Eastrington, chancel from south-east
227: Eastrington, chancel from south-west
228: Eastrington, east wall from north-east
229: Eastrington, east window, detail
230: Giggleswick church, chancel from south-east
231: Giggleswick, chancel from north-east
232: Giggleswick, south chancel and nave arcades
233: Giggleswick, north wall of chancel and arch to north chancel chapel
234: Giggleswick, junction of south nave aisle and clerestory with west tower
235: Giggleswick, west window of tower
236: Giggleswick, vignette from south-east, *c.* 1837 (Raine 1837b, facing xxi)
237: Fishlake church, from north-west
238: Fishlake, south chancel chapel and door in south wall of chancel
239: Fishlake, chancel from north

240: Fishlake, east gable and tracery of east window
241: Eastrington, nave and chancel clerestories from south
242: Fishlake, nave and chancel clerestories from south
243: Catterick church, south elevation before restoration (A. Salvin in Raine 1834, pl. III)
244: Holy Island church (St Mary), from south-east, *c.* 1817 (T. S. Good in Hodgson 1892, pl. following 132)
245: Holy Island (St Mary), window formerly on south side of nave (T. S. Good in Hodgson 1892, pl. facing 133)
246: Brancepeth church, from north-east (Billings 1846, pl. facing 24)
247: Brancepeth, tower, west window
248: Brancepeth, north transept, east window (Hodgson 1890-5, pl. III)
249: Brancepeth, south transept, east window (Hodgson 1890-5, pl. II)
250: Brancepeth, south transept, south window (Hodgson 1890-5, pl. II)
251: Brancepeth, south transept, south window
252: Houghton-le-Spring church, east window (Billings 1846, pl. facing 46)
253: Houghton-le-Spring, from east
254: Embleton church, from south-east
255: Embleton, from south-east, sketch, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 66 (dorse))
256: Embleton, tracery details, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, nos. 65-6)
257: Houghton-le-Spring, east window (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. facing 73)
258: Sedgefield church, east window
259: Sedgefield, east window (Billings 1846, pl. following 62)
260: Raby Castle, window of great hall (Hodgson 1880-9b, pl. following 182)
261: Stranton church, chancel from south-east (Billings 1846, pl. following 64)
262: Stranton, south wall of chancel, east window
263: Easington church, chancel from south-east (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42016, no. 10)
264: Easington, tracery of south window of chancel (Billings 1846, pl. II)
265: Low Friarside chapel, east and south exterior and interior elevations (C. C. Hodges in Longstaffe 1869-79, pl. following 120)
266: Low Friarside, from south
267: Newcastle Cathedral (St Nicholas), plan of choir and transepts showing numbering of windows (after Honeyman 1932, fig. facing 190)
268: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 3)
269: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 4)
270: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 2) (Mackenzie 1827, vignette on 322)
271: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 2)
272: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 1)
273: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 5)
274: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 7)
275: Newcastle, St Mary's hospital, Westgate, east window (Knowles 1892, pl. XVIb, facing 198)
276: Newcastle, Blackfriars, window in south gable of dormitory (Brand 1789, I, pl. facing 122, detail)
277: Boston church, window in south nave aisle
278: Brancepeth church, chancel, from south-east
279: Brancepeth, east window of chancel (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. XXIII)
280: Brancepeth, window in south wall of chancel
281: Beverley Minster, south aisle of Lady chapel, east window
282: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window at east end of north choir aisle
283: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window in south choir aisle
284: Ely Cathedral, south choir aisle, window in second bay from west
285: Elvet church, east window in south wall of chancel, (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42040, no. 20, detail)
286: Durham, St Giles's church, west window of tower

287: Stranton church, east window
288: Chester-le-Street church, west window of tower
289: Norton church, chancel from south-east (Surtees 1816-40, III, pl. facing 199)
290: Staindrop church, chancel from south-east (Billings 1846, pl. facing 62)
291: Stranton, window in south aisle of nave
292: Beverley Minster, nave, north aisle, window
293: Beverley Minster, nave, south aisle, window
294: Welwick church, east window
295: Patrington church, chancel, north side
296: Grantham church, south chancel chapel, window in south wall
297: Hull, Holy Trinity church, window at east end of south choir aisle
298: Ely Cathedral, south wall of choir, gallery and clerestory windows
299: Eastrington church, east window
300: Lincoln Cathedral, south nave aisle, west window
301: Gloucester Cathedral, window in north nave aisle (Courtauld Institute of Art, London)
302: Durham Cathedral, west window of chapter house
303: Tewkesbury Abbey, north transept, window in west wall (F. W. Pritchard)
304: Durham Cathedral, windows nXIV-nXV (Billings 1843, pl. VI, detail)
305: Lichfield Cathedral, north choir clerestory (Britton 1836b, Lichfield, pl. IX)
306: Carlisle Castle, de Ireby's tower from south
307: Carlisle Castle, de Ireby's tower from north
308: Castle Bolton Castle, courtyard, entrance
309: Castle Bolton Castle, hall window, detail showing flue
310: Castle Bolton Castle, window, detail
311: Castle Bolton Castle, window, detail
312: Durham Castle, window in west gable of north range
313: Castle Bolton church, window in chancel south wall
314: Castle Bolton church, east window
315: York Minster, window in south aisle of Lady chapel
316: Raby Castle, window of great hall, detail of lower part (Hodgson 1880-9b, pl. following 182)
317: York Minster, clerestory of Lady chapel (Britton 1836a, York, pl. XXIV)
318: Raby Castle, window of great hall, detail of upper part (Hodgson 1880-9b, pl. following 182)
319: Durham Cathedral, tomb of John, Lord Neville, detail (T. Woods)
320: Durham Cathedral, Hatfield tomb, detail of arcading (T. Woods)
321: Beverley Minster, west front, detail of arcading
322: Durham Cathedral, door from south-east corner of cloister to slype
323: Canterbury Cathedral, south-west tower, from east (Britton 1836a, Canterbury, pl. III)
324: Durham Cathedral, window sX (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)
325: Melrose Abbey, south aisle of nave, window in fifth bay from east
326: Jedburgh Abbey, window in north transept facade

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A NOTE ON EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The following editorial conventions have been used. Square brackets [ ] delimit uncertain readings and editorial matter. Angle brackets < > delimit interlineations. Capitalization has been normalized, and minimal punctuation supplied. Where certain, expansion is silent. Ambiguous cases are left unexpanded or have their expansions delimited by round brackets ( ), as appropriate.

Printed editions of documents have been altered to conform as far as possible with the editorial conventions used in citing manuscript sources, notably in capitalization and in quoting amounts of money. In addition, *ae* has been changed to *e*, and *j* to *i* except in the initial letters of proper names and in amounts. When the original manuscript on which a printed text quoted in the notes is based has been consulted, the reference to the printed version is preceded by 'printed', followed by a general indication of its accuracy where appropriate; extracts from printed editions not checked against the original are distinguished by being cited without the word 'printed', using only editor, date, and page numbers.

A NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to standard or self-explanatory abbreviations, the following have been used throughout the text:

BL MS Add.	British Library Additional Manuscript
CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls (see Bibliography)
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls (see Bibliography)
DCD Lib.	Durham Dean and Chapter Library
fl.	floruit
Loc.	Locellus
m.	membrane
M. C.	Miscellaneous Charter
Reg.	Registrum

N. B. Unless otherwise stated, all manuscripts cited form part of the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and are in the care of the Archives and Special Collections section of of Durham University Library.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The central theme of this thesis, that is, the exploration of the nature of the relationship between material remains and documentary evidence, is one of major importance to all students of the material culture of historical periods. The building works of the monks of Durham in the later Middle Ages form a particularly appropriate case study for its elucidation, for not only do many of the buildings constructed or altered in this period still exist but, for the two centuries preceding the Dissolution of the cathedral-priory in 1539, the business documents generated by the financial and administrative system (of which building was one of the principal concerns) survive with a degree of completeness rarely matched elsewhere in the Middle Ages, and constitute one of the best-preserved archives of any medieval English religious corporation (Dobson 1973, 1-6). Prominent among its contents are the series of annual account-rolls which provide a remarkably complete insight into the income and expenditure of the late medieval convent. Though the earliest of these documents dates from 1278-9, the series do not begin to survive in quantity until the late 1330s, and it is this constraint which has limited the scope of the present research to the last two centuries of the monastery's existence.

Durham buildings and Durham documents, both separately and in combination, have, of course, already been the subject of research, though this has invariably been limited in scope and objectives. Previous architectural studies have tended to concentrate on particular structures, sites, or categories of building. The historical factors which combined to give the Durham estate its particular geographical spread and composition will be considered in detail in Chapter I.B; their implication in material terms is that the cathedral-priory itself should be seen as only the principal element in an unusually complex and widespread substructure of dependent priories or cells, appropriated churches, and other subsidiary estate property, stretching from Coldingham in the north to Oxford in the south. Not surprisingly, however, scholarly attention has focused on the cathedral and principal monastic buildings at Durham itself (e.g. Raine 1833; Greenwell 1932; Snape 1980), though surveys of elements of the monastic property elsewhere have done much to illuminate their history. These range from studies of particular cells, such as Holy Island (Thompson 1949) or Finchale (Peers 1927, 1973), to analyses of appropriated churches, such as Aycliffe (Ryder 1988), and categories of property, such as the bursar's manors (Fielding 1980). A study concerned with the interrelationship of documentary and material evidence is inevitably limited to those of the priory buildings which survive in sufficient quantity to make analysis feasible. This

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effectively confines the subject matter of the present work to stone structures rather than timber ones; and the further requirement of the presence of diagnostic features suitable for comparative analysis means that vernacular buildings will also generally be excluded from detailed analysis. Even within these limitations, some categories of stone structure, most notably manorial buildings, have survived too poorly to merit more than incidental consideration here (Fielding 1980); the present study will therefore focus on the cathedral and monastic buildings at Durham itself, the cells dependent on the priory, and the chancels of the churches appropriated to it and to those dependencies.[1] It will be contended here that, despite the uneven survival of the material evidence, the dividends of examining as a whole the surviving buildings produced for the Durham monks (see Fig. 14) are substantial, and that such a systematic approach is an essential precondition of determining whether the material changes to the priory's property in this period contain any evidence of patterning and, if so, how that might be explained.

Just as earlier studies of the material remains may be open to criticism on the grounds that they fail to see much of the wood by confining their scope to particular trees within it, so previous analyses of the documentary sources have tended to use parts of it as quarries from which evidence for the history of particular sites or buildings can be reconstructed (e.g. Fowler 1898, 1899, 1901). Something of the evidential value of the account-rolls (the most important category containing information relevant to building activity) had been realized even before the Dissolution, for they had demonstrably formed an important source of information for the compilers of the late medieval continuations of the Durham Chronicle (see Chap. II.A.2); but their potential only began to be widely appreciated with the revival of interest in the archive in the nineteenth century, and in this the work of the elder James Raine stands pre-eminent. Already Raine's *Brief Account of Durham Cathedral* (Raine 1833) had revealed his familiarity with several of the building accounts and other related documents, some of which he was to publish soon afterwards in the monumental appendix to his *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Raine 1839).[2] Besides his realization of the value of this class of document for the architectural historian, Raine's research on the histories of the Durham cells resulted in the publication of editions or extracts of several series of their accounts.[3] This preoccupation led in turn to the first tentative comments on the general characteristics of their diplomatic: judgements which still remain substantially valid today.[4]

Researchers who made use of the Durham archives to interpret the material remains of the priory in the generations after Raine naturally tended to concentrate on the cathedral and monastic buildings at Durham, and while they showed an increasingly wide familiarity with such sources, and high scholarly standards in their interpretation (Greenwell 1932; Fowler 1903), their approach consisted very much of the extraction of particularisms suitable to inform guide-books, rather than of the further exploration of the possibility (raised implicitly by Raine's work) that the documents might require to be studied first on their own terms. In this respect, the way in which the Durham archive has been utilized is not atypical of similar enterprises elsewhere. Though the use of source-materials of this kind has been a commonplace of the study of medieval buildings in England and beyond since the last century, the general approach has been highly particularistic, tending to confine itself to the extraction of references deemed relevant to the interpretation of material remains.[5] This applies as much to recent enterprises such as the *History of the King's Works* (Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963) as to Fowler's work on the Durham account-rolls (Fowler 1898, 1899, 1901). One practical difficulty which must often have ruled out enquiries of a more general kind is the sheer size of some of the archives. For example, the archives of the English royal government (with which the former was concerned) survive in such quantity as to make diplomatic analysis a daunting task; yet the very fact that others consist of more manageable numbers of documents means that the proportion of the original total surviving is unlikely to be sufficient to enable general diplomatic trends to be inferred with confidence. Indeed, it may be argued that a comprehensive analysis of the 3355 account-rolls of the obedientiaries and heads of cells in the Durham archives would fall into the former category.[6] Nevertheless, it will be contended below that the documentary evidence deserves to be analysed on its own terms before being correlated with the material remains, for (no less than the material record) it may contain evidence of patterning which defines a context without which the presence or absence of references to particular building works, and the variation in their form and content, cannot be properly understood (see Chap. II.B.2). In contrast to earlier work therefore, the present study will not begin by approaching the documents as sources from which to illuminate particular aspects of individual buildings, but will first attempt to define their characteristics as evidence for building activity *per se*. The sources may then also be used to provide an overall context for the interpretation of the surviving buildings by giving some indication of their importance compared to those which are no longer extant.[7] What is more, the documents, and the building activity they record, are not comprehensible without some understanding of the complex administrative and financial system which produced them. This will therefore be considered in Chapter I.C.

The chronological limitation imposed by the period for which documentation survives in quantity gives rise to a paradox with regard to the material evidence, for by that time the great periods of building and rebuilding at the cathedral itself as well as at most of its subsidiary properties were over, much (though by no means all) of the work of the later Middle Ages tending to consist of the modification and adaptation of existing structures rather than of substantial projects undertaken *de novo*. Further, in those buildings of the Durham estate which have remained in continuous use, the modifications of this period which consisted of alterations to older fabric rather than of new works complete in themselves have frequently been removed in comparatively recent times and are under-represented in the material record as it exists now. For example, the movement to restore the cathedral to its 'original' (that is, Romanesque and early Gothic) form resulted in the removal of many of the later Gothic traceries between the 1780s and the mid nineteenth century (Curry 1985). The removal of later medieval traceries from the (predominantly late twelfth- to late thirteenth-century) fabric of parish churches in the region in the mid to late nineteenth century was comparably thorough (see Chaps. VII-VIII, *passim*). And even in the case of those buildings which became disused after the Reformation, subsequent ruination has meant the loss of further examples of the work of this period. Such losses may be compensated for to some extent by making use of the testimony of a series of drawings made in the later eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. For the cathedral, by far the most important are the careful and accurate measured drawings (together with numerous other views) of Robert Billings, which were drawn after major restoration had already taken place, but fortunately just before most of the changes to the fenestration (Billings 1843). These are greatly superior to the earlier set by John Carter, which are demonstrably misleading on more than one occasion (Carter 1801; see below, Chap. IV, notes 56, 57, 68). The region is also particularly fortunate in having a large number of late eighteenth-century drawings by Samuel Grimm (Clay 1939) which, though not invariably reliable, are often surprisingly accurate where they can be checked against extant buildings (e.g. Pl. 134, cf. Pl. 135-6) and which are early enough to record features which were to vanish within a generation (e.g. Pl. 114). A series of generally accurate views of local buildings by Billings contains vital evidence, and supplements a slightly earlier set by Blore, many of which were engraved for Surtees's *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (Billings 1846; Surtees 1816-40). Though the graphic evidence is invaluable in enabling this phase of the material record to be reconstructed to a considerable extent, the fact that such a small proportion of the monuments is still in existence means that detailed comparative analysis, for example, by compiling a corpus of moulding profiles, a technique which has proved invaluable elsewhere

(e.g. Fawcett 1975; Morris 1990), would be of comparatively limited use here, and has not been attempted in the present work. On the other hand, the very fact that much of the later medieval ecclesiastical work in the region consisted of the insertion of window traceries means that a stylistic comparison of forms is often still feasible using early depictions, even when the originals have been destroyed.

Having surveyed the background structure of the estates and the workings of the administrative system and defined the limits of inference of the documentary sources in the first two chapters, the central section of the thesis (Chaps. III-VII) sets out to determine the principal changes which can be detected in the surviving buildings of the priory in the north in the later Middle Ages, with a view to establishing an overall profile of the building activity of the Durham monks. Inevitably the cathedral and monastic buildings at Durham receive most extended treatment (Chaps. III-V), but the cells (Chap. VI) and appropriated churches (Chap. VII) are also treated in detail. In seeking to achieve the greatest possible degree of comparability over those sections of the estate considered, the analysis concentrates on three main aspects. The first is the chronology of building works which, besides reconsidering the accepted view of the date and duration of particular projects (see especially Chap. V.A.1-2), aims to define the periods of exceptional activity and inactivity throughout the priory buildings. The cost of building works is the second, as this enables the amount of building in progress at various times to be quantified, and comparisons to be made both within one building or building-complex over time, and between one part of the estate and another. The third aspect considered is the stylistic character of the extant remains. Though this means that the detailed discussion of the latter will inevitably be selective, it serves to highlight both features occurring widely throughout the priory's properties and those apparently unique to individual buildings. The reasons for chronological, quantitative, and formal variation in the pattern of building activity will then be analysed, particular attention being paid to contextual factors revealed by the documentary sources.

Chapter VIII sets the building activity of the priory in its regional context. Stylistic criteria are again used as the only available basis on which to assess the extent to which the convent's architectural output conforms to or contrasts with other evidence of contemporaneous architectural activity in the North East, and helps to define the scope and influence of the priory as an architectural patron. A particularly interesting aspect of that patronage arises from the scale on which the convent had appropriated parish churches in the region; for it was in the context of these that the monks came into direct contact with the

architectural aspirations of their parishioners, and hence, under the critical eye of the outside world. This topic will therefore be given extended treatment in Chapter VII.F.

The final section of the argument (Chap. IX) considers the results of the previous analyses from a different perspective by focusing on the documentary and stylistic evidence for the activities of the individual masons whose skills as designers were utilized by the late medieval priory. Much previous research has been concerned with the general problem of defining the work of individuals from a synthesis of material and documentary sources, and in this field the work of John Harvey naturally stands pre-eminent; this, however, has tended to take the assembling of references to individuals as its starting point (Harvey 1984). In the light of the constraints identified in the general analysis of the sources, however (see Chap. II.B.2.4), the present writer has preferred to approach this topic only after the chronological and stylistic contexts of the material evidence have been independently established. As with other aspects of the research already outlined, it is anticipated that the systematic study of the evidence for the activity of individual designers will provide the most secure basis on which to assess the nature of the relationship between the priory and its principal masons, and will shed further light on the nature and scope of its architectural patronage. What is more, it will provide a context against which the careers of particular masons can be evaluated, whether working within or outside the priory; and since that of John Lewyn has received most attention in previous research (Simpson 1941; Simpson 1949; Harvey 1978; Harvey 1984; Hislop 1989), an extended reassessment of his career and output has been attempted here.

The examination of the complex body of material and documentary evidence associated with Durham priory in the later Middle Ages from the above range of perspectives will, it is anticipated, provide a unique insight into the workings of a great religious corporation in discharging its responsibilities towards the numerous properties in its care, the constraints which affected what it could build and when, the nature and extent of its patronage, the calibre and activities of the masons in its employ, and the impact which it made on its region. And the occasional glimpses afforded of some of the processes underlying changes in the material evidence, both among and outwith the priory's properties, gives the study a potential significance far beyond its particular regional context.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION - NOTES

1. Only Durham's three remotest (and least well preserved) cells at Lytham, Stamford, and Oxford, and the two churches appropriated to the latter which lay south of the Humber, have been excluded from consideration: see respectively Chap. VI.A; Chap. VII.E.1 and note 57.

2. Raine 1833, 87-8 (cloisters), 89-90 (cloister lavatory), 114-15 (kitchen), 91-2 (dormitory contracts). See further Chap. II, note 24.

3. Raine 1837b (Finchale); Raine 1841 (Coldingham); Raine 1852 (Holy Island and Farne Island); Raine 1854 (Jarrow and Monkwearmouth).

4. 'These yearly account rolls [from Holy Island] ... are less communicative, or rather less minute in their particulars, after the commencement of the fifteenth century' (Raine 1852, 131 (cf. 120)).

5. Compare Vroom's plea for the study of such sources to be '... de façon systématique plutôt qu'anecdotique' (Vroom 1989, 83).

6. The total excludes: all duplicates and counterparts; Durham College Oxford termly accounts; almoner's rent-rolls; bursar-cellarer and bursar-granator indentures; stock accounts; manorial accounts; accounts of the proctors of Norham, Scotland, St Oswald, and St Margaret; and marshalsey accounts.

7. In view of the central importance of the documentary sources to the present study, references discussed have generally been quoted *in extenso* in the footnotes.

CHAPTER I: ESTATES, ADMINISTRATION, AND BUILDING

I.A: INTRODUCTION

There are three essential preliminaries to an analysis of the late medieval building activity of Durham Priory: the form and disposition of its estates; the nature of the system which was evolved to administer them and the development of its records; and the extent of the priory's building responsibilities. For it is only by considering the distinctive features of the estates that the variety of the types of building available for study, and the factors underlying their distributions, begin to become apparent; while an appreciation of the workings of the administrative system is an essential preliminary to understanding the limits of inference of the documents which were generated by it. Finally, consideration of the monastery's building obligations will indicate the scope of the references which the accounts may be expected to provide.

I.B: THE ESTATES

I.B.1 ORIGINS AND DISTINCTIVE FEATURES

The location of the later medieval priory's estates is to some extent a reflection of the long and complex history of the Anglo-Saxon community of which the monks of Durham claimed to be heirs and, in particular, of the changes of location which that community had undergone over more than four centuries. Benedictine monks supplanted the existing Anglo-Saxon religious community at Durham in 1083, having been diverted from the recently refounded monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth nearby (Symeon 1882a, IV, 3 (122-4); Offler 1968, 42). By the time of its arrival on the Durham peninsula, at what was to prove its final resting-place, in or shortly after 995, the incorrupt body of St Cuthbert had long been regarded as the pre-eminent cult of the north. This relic, and the community which served it, had already spent more than a century at Chester-le-Street, a few miles to the north.[1] But the interest of the Community of St Cuthbert in estates in the Tyne-Tees area predated its settlement there by a further half century.[2] And the origins of the Community stretched back beyond even the lifetime of Cuthbert himself to the monastery founded on Lindisfarne (or

Holy Island, as it was called by the later medieval monks) by St Aidan in 635 (Bede 1896, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 3).

The presence of St Cuthbert and his community in the land bounded by the rivers Tyne and Tees from the end of the ninth century resulted in the continuing acquisition of churches and property in that area in the two centuries before the Conquest, though the primary documentary source for this period, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, demonstrates that the process was by no means always straightforward or uncontested (Symeon 1882b, 23-4 (209-10); Cambridge 1989, 383). After the Conquest, the main priory estates were still concentrated in the area between the two rivers ('infra aquas', as it was known to the monks).[3] But the earlier stratum of their history explains why the monks also retained important holdings in north Northumberland: estates which in part reflected the original endowments of Lindisfarne (Rollason 1987a, map 1 on 16; *idem* 1987b, 50). And the memory of the lands it once held north of Tweed may have been one of the factors which led to the re-establishment of interests in this area after the Conquest.[4]

Reverence for its patron saint and the reputation of the monastery itself doubtless help to account for the much more far-flung endowments which it acquired in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, notably in the east Midlands and in Yorkshire (Offler 1968, 12-14; Barlow 1950, 53-62); so, no doubt, does the lack of monasteries north of Humber which could rival Durham, particularly in the earlier part of that period.[5] In any case, the net effect was to intensify the pattern of a core of estates comparatively close to Durham, and a widespread penumbra of remoter possessions.

This combination of historical and geographical factors helps to account for one of the distinctive ways in which the monks came to utilize their properties, that is, as a means of supporting dependent priories or cells (Fig. 14; see Chap. VI). One incentive to found such institutions must have been the presence on the monastic estates of several places with sacred or historical associations of particular significance to the monks: pre-eminent were Holy Island, where Cuthbert had been buried and where his shrine had stood until the Viking invasions, and Farne Island, where he had lived as a hermit and had died;[6] but Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, site of one of the most famous monasteries in Anglo-Saxon England, were scarcely less redolent of the erstwhile glories of the Northumbrian church. The latter was further distinguished as the home of Bede, whose alleged relics had been removed to Durham in the early eleventh century, and whose *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* had been

a fundamental factor which both underlay the post-Conquest recolonization of the north, and shaped the Durham monks' attitude to their own past.[7] In all these cases, the cells attracted few new donations of property in their own right, and the need to support them thus diverted away from the mother-house resources which would otherwise have helped to sustain it (Dobson 1973, 311-13; 12; Piper 1987, 5-6). This was not invariably the case, however. Finchale, near Durham, was largely endowed from properties originally intended to support an Augustinian house near Durham, a project which the monks might not have been successful in suppressing had they proposed to divert its assets directly into their own coffers.[8] In the remaining instances, the cells at Coldingham, Berwickshire, Lytham, Lancashire, and Stamford, Lincolnshire, most likely came into being as the most practical way of utilizing estates whose remoteness would otherwise have made them awkward to administer.[9] In economic terms, then, the phenomenon of cells was a two-edged sword, both diverting resources from the mother-house, and attracting endowments it might not otherwise have acquired, or been able fully to exploit, for itself (Piper 1987, 5-6). On the other hand, the firm (though not unchallenged) subordination of the cells to the central authority of the priors of Durham, a phenomenon which contrasts with the often considerably looser bonds between mother- and daughter-houses elsewhere (see Chap. VI.A), means that their buildings belong firmly within the scope of the present study.

One other historical factor is crucial to an understanding of the nature of the priory's estates. Durham's dual function as a monastic house and the seat of a bishop led to the division of its ancient endowments between monks and bishop shortly after the Conquest (Barlow 1950, 5-12; Offler 1968, 14). One effect of this may have been to leave the priory less well endowed than its prestige (and, probably, expanding numbers) were thought to demand. It is possible that the prior and convent's policy of appropriating the revenues of many of the numerous parish churches under their control in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries should be seen as an attempt to compensate for the lack of adequate temporal endowments.[10] Even after income from spiritualities declined in the later Middle Ages, it has been estimated that one-third of the convent's income was derived from this source.[11]

These two distinctive features of the priory's estate, the presence of large numbers of dependent cells and of appropriated churches, had thus arisen for a variety of reasons, at much the same time, in the first century and a half of the monastery's existence, establishing a pattern which was to change comparatively little thereafter. Their implications for the architectural historian will be considered in future chapters.[12] What needs to be stressed here

is that the composition of the Durham estate, though not without parallels, was markedly unusual compared to those of the dozen or so other English Benedictine houses of similar size and wealth. For example, though it was not uncommon for important houses to have one or two cells, and they were a prominent feature at a few, notably St Mary's York, Gloucester, and Norwich, only St Albans rivalled Durham in the number of its cells (though not in the degree of control it exercised over them) (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, respectively 82, 66, 72, 75); in contrast, other first-rank houses, most notably Bury St Edmunds (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 61), had none. The degree of appropriation carried out by these communities, and the period at which it was effected, varied equally widely. Some, Bury St Edmunds for example, indulged in it hardly at all; others, like Peterborough, turned to it only in the later Middle Ages to compensate for falling revenues from other sources (Platt 1981, 73). Among northern Benedictine houses, Whitby derived more than half of its gross income from spiritualities in the later fourteenth century (Pantin 1931-7, III, 65), while the spiritual estate of St Mary's York had also become extensive by the late Middle Ages (Hartridge 1930, 196).[13] Among monasteries of the first rank elsewhere in England, at only three, St Albans, Norwich, and Ely, does appropriation comparable in extent to that at Durham seem to have been carried out.[14] The latter two also resemble Durham in having carried out most of their appropriations before 1300, and it may well be significant that they were also cathedral-priories, and so under comparable pressures to compensate for the division of properties between bishop and convent. Thus only St Albans is closely comparable to Durham among the greater Benedictine houses in possessing large numbers both of cells and appropriated churches, while, among the cathedral-priories, only Norwich had an estate in which both these elements were comparably prominent.

I.B.2 LATER MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENTS[15]

I.B.2.1 Decline in Income

By 1339, the extent of Durham Priory's estates and those of its dependent cells had long been more or less static. But the income derived from them had already begun to fall during the preceding half century, and was to suffer much more dramatic shrinkage in the following two. The history of the composition and management of the estate in the later Middle Ages can thus be seen largely as a series of attempts to come to terms with this situation. Declining income from property is, of course, a commonplace in the history of later medieval English monasteries (Platt 1984, chap. V); but circumstances combined to make the losses particularly severe in Durham's case.

There was, first, the deterioration in relations with Scotland, which gave rise to the woes generally attendant on invasion and, later, a sharp decline in the prosperity of the priory's extensive possessions adjoining the chronically destabilized border (Lomas 1973, 156-65; Dobson 1973, 269-71, 313). Worse still, it resulted in the outright loss of all the priory's possessions north of the Tweed, including the once rich cell of Coldingham, though the latter was only finally relinquished after a bitter, century-long struggle, in 1478 (Lomas 1973, 166-8; Dobson 1967; Dobson 1973, 316-27).

The decline in the priory's tithe income in this period was noticeably more rapid than in the profits from its secular estates, and since, as has just been noted, Durham relied unusually heavily on income from spiritualities, it was particularly vulnerable in this respect (see above, section B.1). The changes were sufficiently drastic to alter the entire balance between the revenues derived from the temporal and spiritual estates by the end of the Middle Ages. In 1292-3, 65% of the bursar's income was derived from spiritualities; by 1536-7, this proportion had shrunk to 28%.[16] Similar changes can be detected in the composition of the estates of other obedientiaries.[17] Again, the proximity to the Scottish border of some of the priory's richest rectories intensified the problem, the fall in income from these being particularly dramatic (Dobson 1973, 271; Lomas 1973, 161, 165-7). Nevertheless, as Lomas has pointed out, the decline in value of Durham's Yorkshire appropriations was also substantial,[18] indicating that more general factors, such as the decline in the amount of cereal crops liable to tithe (a circumstance singled out for blame by Prior Wessington during a visitation in 1442)[19] were also important. The problem affected the cells no less than the mother-house, Lindisfarne, Monkwearmouth, and Jarrow being notably dependent on tithe-income from their respective parishes (Piper 1987, 6). The extent of Durham's vulnerability in this area was particularly disastrous in that it precluded the very remedy most easily and frequently applied by other houses to compensate for dwindling receipts: further appropriation (Platt 1981, 72-6). Durham had little scope left in this area by the mid fourteenth century, most rectories worth the candle having been already appropriated before 1300, while the desirability of retaining sufficient of the wealthier benefices unappropriated to assuage the numerous demands of papal, royal, and noble claimants made it increasingly difficult to appropriate the few that remained.[20]

I.B.2.2 Change to Leasehold Tenure

One major change in estate management which might have been expected to have had implications for the amount of repairs undertaken by the priory was its adoption, along with other similar late medieval institutions, of the policy of indirect exploitation of major parts of its estates from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Most obviously, the leasing, between 1407 and 1416, of all but two of the prior's ten 'major manors' has been characterized as '... the most dramatic event in the history of the convent's estates policy during the later Middle Ages' (Dobson 1973, 94, n. 2). That this change carried any significant implications as regards the priory's obligation to repair the buildings is not clear, however, since the latter were not invariably let with the demesnes (Dobson 1973, 94, 95 n. 4). When both were leased together, the lessee was generally made responsible for repairs though, as Lomas has noted, the extent of the dilapidations recorded in the priory's general inventories of 1446 and 1464 suggests that this responsibility was not being taken as seriously as it should have been (Lomas 1973, 123-4). And there is plenty of evidence in the accounts that the priory paid for repairs to its leased manors, either directly or by means of allowances to the lessees.[21] Fielding's comparative analysis of the numbers of manors at which new building was undertaken shows a diminution after widespread leasing was introduced, but no falling-off in repairs (Fielding 1980, table VII following 72). This may conceivably reflect a decreasing interest in the buildings by the priors (apart from Pittington and Bearpark, the buildings of which were generally kept in hand) consequent upon the ending of the regular peregrinations of their manors which lost its rationale once the demesnes (the produce of which they were, in part, intended to consume) had been put to farm. On the other hand, the pressure to keep up repairs in order to attract tenants noted by Bonney in her analysis of the priory's management of its urban tenements (discussed in the following section) may also have applied to the manors, as the occasional mention of a manor kept in hand in 1446 for lack of tenants ('... propter defectum tenencium') suggests;[22] while, in at least one case, that of Westoe, accommodation for the lessees distinct from that set aside for the monks' own use had been provided by 1446, and was apparently to be repaired by the convent.[23] Managerial changes of his kind, then, generally seem to have had indirect or comparatively small-scale and short-term effects on the quantity of repairs undertaken by the priory.

I.B.2.3 Growth of Urban Estates

Some of the obedientiaries, in particular the bursar, hostiller, and almoner, attempted to compensate for the decline in their incomes from traditional sources by increasing their investment in urban properties in Durham. Bonney's analysis has shown that the pattern of acquisition varied between the three (Bonney 1990, 121, App. 2, tables 1-4, 262-6). The bursar's estate was expanded dramatically in the late fourteenth century and again, though on a smaller scale, in the late fifteenth century. In contrast, the hostiller's estate expanded more steadily throughout the period, though with a notable peak in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The almoner's estate grew dramatically in the early fourteenth century but, unlike the others, declined from the early fifteenth, with only a very limited expansion in the early sixteenth. These variations indicate the importance of local and particular factors affecting the development of the estates, though periods of growth in the later fourteenth and decline in the early fifteenth centuries seem to reflect a more general trend.

Besides the expenses of initial acquisition, the ownership of urban estates inevitably brought with it potentially heavy costs relating to building and repair. Moreover, these costs were frequently not recouped by the income derived from the properties. Bonney has demonstrated that the fluctuations in amounts spent on repairs tend to correlate inversely rather than directly with fluctuations in income, representing a desperate attempt to attract new tenants in times of stagnation or depression, rather than the reinvestment of substantial profits (Bonney 1990, 127-8, 141-2). Equally, the responsibility for repairs could least successfully be passed on to the priory's tenants during such periods; yet this was precisely when the obedientiaries could least afford to carry out the repairs themselves, facing even smaller returns, however, if they did not (Bonney 1990, 142). It follows that there must have been periods (for example, in the early fifteenth century) when urban estates needed to be subsidized (Bonney 1990, 143) and when repairs of that kind would figure particularly prominently in the accounts.[24]

Finally it should be observed that, though attempts to increase revenue by this sort of investment were concentrated on the urban estates in Durham, the policy of expenditure on reconstructing tenements to encourage leasing was applied much more widely (particularly in the case of the extensive estate of the bursar), extending to numerous properties in the towns and villages of county Durham and beyond. Repairs to such properties figure

particularly prominently in the bursar's accounts in the late fourteenth century, and again after the middle of the fifteenth. Nor is it likely that the priory was exceptional in its pursuit of policies of this kind. Pollard's recent analysis of the economic crisis of the late 1430s and early 1440s in the North East (a period when comparative evidence is more plentiful) reveals the adoption of similar policies by a number of other landlords (Pollard 1989, 101).

I.B.2.4 Discussion

The comparatively unchanging nature of the later medieval Durham estates must thus not be allowed to obscure the significant developments which are observable over the last two centuries of their existence. Some of the northern properties were lost altogether, or suffered catastrophic declines in income; by the later Middle Ages, therefore, there was considerably less to spend, though also rather fewer properties to spend it on. At the same time, expenditure on reconstruction of tenements, especially within the urban estates, began to figure more and more prominently as a charge on the convent, substantially increasing several obedientiaries' liability for undertaking repairs, and, perhaps, successfully competing for resources which might otherwise have been spent on building or repairing their other properties. And if the change to leasehold tenure did not significantly reduce the number of repairs which the priory was obliged to carry out, the fact that the monks' direct use of the buildings on their estates diminished may to some extent have lessened the incentive to build anew.

I.C: THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

I.C.1 ORIGINS

The way in which the Durham estates were administered before the thirteenth century is almost totally obscure. 'Fratres officiales' are mentioned in a spurious Durham charter written in the early 1160s (Offler 1968, 24); and the offices of sacrist, hostiller, chamberlain, almoner,and cellarer, were in existence by the late twelfth century (Dobson 1973, 256). There is no evidence as to when any of the obedientiaries had acquired separate endowments, though the principal offices of almoner, chamberlain, hostiller, infirmarer, and sacrist were probably endowed before 1200 (Foster 1979, 170).

The major development in the system occurred during the thirteenth century, beginning with the emergence of the terrar (first mentioned in the 1230s) whom Dobson characterizes as '... an important and influential land-agent on behalf of the prior' (Dobson 1973, 256), and culminating in the creation of the office of bursar, apparently between 1258 and 1263 (Foster 1979, 170). The bursar was responsible for the provision of the entire monastery, including the prior's household. He handled about two-thirds of its total revenue, leaving the older obedientiaries with independent endowments to fund their specific functions (Lomas 1973, 8; Dobson 1973, 253). The emergence of the bursar's office has been seen as a measured response to the general thirteenth-century trend towards centralization in the administration of monastic finances (Dobson 1973, 257-8). More specifically, Foster has pointed to the need at Durham to bring the administration of the monastery's estates under the direct control of the monks, thereby limiting the power of the prior and his (secular) household officials (Foster 1979, 133).

The administration of the cells was primarily the responsibility of their heads. At the larger establishments, notably Finchale and Coldingham, there were also obedientiaries. In the case of the sacrist of Coldingham, the office was separately endowed, and was therefore obliged to submit accounts to Durham in its own right (Dobson 1973, 301-2).

I.C.2 REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

The division of the convent's resources among several obedientiaries was a commonplace of monastic administration (Knowles 1948-59, I, 55-63). It functioned adequately, by and large, as a method of meeting recurrent expenditure. It is equally evident, however, that such a system soon also gave rise to circumstances in which some means for the internal redistribution of income were required. One obvious case must have been that of minor obedientiaries, like the feretrar (the official in charge of the convent's shrines and relics), whose recurrent expenditure was usually sufficiently modest to be more conveniently met by subsidies from the major endowed obediences than by burdening them with the administrative inconvenience of an independent estate.[25] A more serious difficulty was the system's failure to take account of the various *ad hoc* expenses incurred by the convent, such as litigation or building projects, which were not the responsibility of any particular office, or were too expensive to be financed solely from any one official's own resources. It seems paradoxical that, although several major building projects were undertaken at the priory in the later Middle Ages - sometimes for long continuous periods - they were invariably treated

as contingent requirements, rather than as items requiring a system of permanent financial provision, unlike the arrangement at other monasteries, such as St Swithun's, Winchester, where there was a permanent office of warden of the works (Snape 1926, 30).[26] To judge from a single isolated reference, the *ad hoc* general redistributive mechanisms employed in the thirteenth century might be surprisingly crude. This describes the building of a chamber at the manor of Muggleswick by Prior Hugh (of Darlington (1258-73, 1286-90)?) which he effected by ordering each of the obedientiaries to stay there in turn for a fortnight and to advance the work using their own workmen, at their own expense.[27] It is worth speculating whether this might not be seen as a relic of a redistributive system, involving resources rather than cash, whose origins lay in a period before the establishment of written financial records.

The most important of the general mechanisms devised to cope with *ad hoc* expenditure in the later Middle Ages at Durham Priory was the system of contributions imposed at the convent's annual general chapter, the cells being as liable to levies as the obediences of the mother-house itself. Building works were often financed by such means, and it is even conceivable that they provided a major stimulus to the system's development in the later thirteenth century, a period throughout which major building work, focused on the Nine Altars, was in progress (see Chap. III.A.1), as there is no evidence that significant financial support for these works was forthcoming from the bishops (Snape 1980, 24-6; see below, section D). In part the convent compensated for the situation by more traditional means, such as realizing additional income by appropriation, the revenues of the church of Bedlington being specifically assigned to the fabric by Prior Melsonby (Raine 1839, 41).[28] But circumstances likely to have given rise to a systematic use of contributions to help finance the works were also clearly present and (though there is no proof of it) they may have been brought into use to help finance the later stages of these campaigns.

However this may be, the key evidence for the stage which the development of the system of general contributions had reached by the beginning of the fourteenth century is the remarkable survival of a number of chapter ordinances from the priorate of William Tanfield (1308-13), who (not without opposition from his monks) temporarily withdrew specific assets from certain cells and obediences, and used the profits from them to pay off the monastery's rapidly increasing debts.[29] The reassignment of the revenues of certain estates for specific purposes is clearly in the tradition of older practice, such as the appropriation of Bedlington church noted above. It continued to be used from time to time in the later Middle Ages, notably in the early fifteenth century, when various coal-pits were withdrawn from the

bursar's estate and retained in the prior's hand primarily to fund building works, during which period they were accounted for separately.[30]

But Tanfield's measures also foreshadowed later developments, as the comparatively small and poorly endowed offices (that is, the feretrar, and cells of Wearmouth, Stamford, and Lytham) were required to contribute by means of cash pensions rather than by means of the reassignment of endowments. By the mid fourteenth century, levies of cash payments had become the standard means of raising contributions.[31] Initially an occasional device, its first regular use seems to have been to support the convent's monks studying at the universities, and it was perhaps the termination of these payments following the establishment of Durham College Oxford on a secure financial footing in 1411-12 which led to its frequent use to support building projects thereafter (Dobson 1973, 307-8). The evidence of the dates between which regular contributions were imposed on the feretrar (1415-16 to 1448-9), an obedience with only slender endowments, together with the increasing frequency of such payments in other accounts in the same period, suggests that the system was first extensively exploited by Prior Wessington, as they virtually coincide with those of his priorate (1416-1446). The intensification in frequency and increase in amounts in his time were not only due to the substantial amount of building work undertaken (see Chap. IV) but also to the worsening economic circumstances of the priory in the late 1430s and 1440s (see above, section B.2.3, and Chap. IV.C). At any rate, the system became formalized into a regular annual levy during his priorate (Piper 1987, 15), administered by the collector of pensions, to whom the contributions were paid and who then disbursed the income as decided by the prior and convent at the annual chapter.[32] By the time of Bishop Neville's visitation in 1442, the monastic officials were complaining that the burden of pensions (i. e. contributions) imposed on them had become so onerous that they could no longer afford to carry out the functions proper to their offices.[33] It will be argued below that, in the late Middle Ages, the history of this financial device becomes indissolubly linked to the raising of funds for the rebuilding of the central tower, and hence with the office of sacrist, the obedientiary entrusted with that project (see Chap. V.A.1, 2.1, 2.2). In principle, these payments might have been used to support building projects at any of the priory's properties, but in practice the process was evidently intended primarily to subsidize the needs of the mother-house, so that the cells were almost invariably net contributors rather than beneficiaries.[34] For the extent to which the changes in the functions of these payments are reflected in their diplomatic, see Chap. II.B.2.5).

Other redistributive devices are occasionally found, though none of them rivals the importance achieved by the contributions system. One particularly characteristic of the later fourteenth century was the diversion of net surpluses (*remanencia de claro*) from the balanced accounts of certain of the obedientiaries to the common use of the monastery, instead of allowing them to be retained and credited to the obedientiary's next account.[35] Nor should it be forgotten that the monks might contribute substantial sums towards building projects from their own personal oblations, amounting in effect to a form of voluntary redistribution of resources. This practice seems to have become more prominent in the mid to late fifteenth century, perhaps in response to the straitened circumstances of the period, taking the form either of a communal effort,[36] or of an individual donation which might, if appropriate, be commemorated as such.[37]

I.C.3 ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

The earliest account-roll to survive from Durham dates from 1278-9 (Bursar 1278-9). It is likely, however, that the practice of submitting annual written accounts had been adopted much earlier in the thirteenth century, in response to the reforms of the Benedictine order initiated by Pope Innocent III. A prime objective of papal policy in this period was the introduction of regular auditing, and the double audit (of obedientiaries for their offices, and of the superior for the house as a whole), became a universal requirement on its incorporation into the statutes of Gregory IX in 1235-7.[38] Certainly the rendering of a *status* by obedientiaries to their superior 'when they shall have been required to' is found in the legislation of the northern general chapter as early as 1221;[39] and though these were presumably, like later extant examples, inventories of movables pertinent to the obedience rather than accounts of income and expenditure,[40] the same statute urges the bursar, cellarer, and granator (the official in charge of the convent's grain supply) to render 'faithful accounts of all their receipts and expenses ... in the obligatory and accustomed manner ...', suggesting that some officials at least were expected to produce statements of incomings and outgoings by this time.[41]

The frequency with which these early accounts were produced is not certain, but the practice of rendering accounts annually by both obedientiaries and heads of cells (as well as the production of an annual *status* of the whole monastery by the prior) was enjoined at Durham in Prior Melsonby's statutes of 1235 (Raine 1839, App., xxxix-xl). This may mark the effective beginning of a system of annual accounting at Durham (Foster 1979, 162, n. 2).

Certainly the stipulation of the northern general chapter, in revising the provision assigned to the *quondam* Prior Bertram of Middleton in 1266, '... that he should render an account of it each year, as the obedientiaries do for their offices ...' indicates that the system of rendering annual accounts was well established practice by that date.[42]

There is some evidence to suggest that attempts were being made to overhaul the accounting system at Durham in the early fourteenth century. The requirement that the superior should account annually to his community had probably always been harder to enforce than the regular accounting of obedientiaries (Knowles 1948-59, I, 61), and the practice seems to have been in abeyance at Durham before 1320 (Foster 1979, 134). The principle was, however, reiterated in pope Benedict XII's Benedictine constitutions of 1336, which were incorporated into the English general chapter's code of 1343 (Knowles 1948-59, I, 61). A reference in the Durham Chronicle shows that Prior John Fossor (1341-74) revived the practice at Durham, explicitly citing the Benedictine constitutions as his model.[43] The same authority is cited in a letter of *c.* 1344 from Fossor to the prior of Coldingham requiring the insertion of a 'status monasticae dispensationis' at the foot of his annual accounts (Raine 1841, 31). A further letter to the prior of Coldingham of *c.* 1361 cites earlier Durham constitutions in requiring the prior to have another monk collaborate with him in the administration of his office and in drawing up his accounts (Raine 1841, 35-6). All this suggests that the mid fourteenth century saw major reforms of the system of accounting at Durham, conceivably the first since its inception.

I.D: THE PRIORY'S BUILDING RESPONSIBILITIES

It is clear from the foregoing analysis that, by the middle years of the thirteenth century, if not before, the complex administrative system discernible in the surviving Durham account-rolls was already well established, at least in essentials, and that a system of annual accounts for obedientiaries and heads of cells was also in operation. What, then, are the implications for the architectural historian?

It is evident from their surviving accounts that the obedientiaries endowed with estates were generally responsible for the construction and repair of all associated structures: principally manorial buildings, mills, and tenements in the case of their temporal estates;

chancels of appropriated churches, and tithe-barns in the case of their spiritualities (see Appendix 1).[44] Similarly, the heads of cells were responsible for building and repairing both the structures associated with the estates from which they derived their income as well as the buildings of the cells themselves. At Durham itself, responsibility for maintenance of the church and monastic buildings also seems to have been divided among the endowed obediences, according to which seemed most appropriate to the functions of the office concerned. Thus the sacrist was obviously responsible for the church, the hostiller for the guest accommodation, and the bursar for the kitchen and dormitory (see Appendix 1). Much more significant for present purposes, however, is the question of the extent to which the initiation of major new projects rested with the priory.

In general, the ultimate responsibility in monasteries for initiating major *ad hoc* expenditure, such as building works, lay with the abbot (Snape 1926, 46, 54). In this respect cathedral-priories, where the bishop was titular head of the convent, were in an anomalous position. It might have been assumed that the early division of estates between bishop and monks at Durham would have been reflected in a parallel division with regard to the buildings, with the bishops looking after the church and the monks the conventual buildings. In practice, however, the situation at Durham was more complex from the outset.

While there can be no doubt that the initiative for beginning work on the church in the late eleventh century rested with bishop St Calais, the monks assumed responsibility for continuing this work during the three-year vacancy which followed his death in 1096, and for bringing it to completion in the five-year vacancy after Flambard's death in 1128 (Snape 1980, 21). What is interesting here is the lack of evidence that the monks restricted themselves to work on their own buildings, even in the monastery's earliest days. There is no indication that the erection of the Galilee chapel was other than the sole responsibility of Bishop Hugh of Le Puiset[45], but the Nine Altars chapel seems to have been - at least at the outset - a more collaborative enterprise, with Bishop Richard Poore initiating the fund-raising. When work was actually begun in 1242, however, it was under the auspices of the prior, Thomas Melsonby;[46] both the number of indulgences relating to this work and the length of time it took to complete (Snape 1980, 23-5) alike suggest that the project was carried out without substantial episcopal subsidy, perhaps in part reflecting the fact that the monks were the principal beneficiaries from the increased number of altars it provided. Other major works on the church without such obvious direct benefits for the convent also seem to have been carried out at its expense, however. Thus the substantial work carried out on the central tower

in the later thirteenth century was attributed to a prior rather than to any bishop (Raine 1839, 36). On the other hand, episcopal help with the reconstruction of the prior's lodging had apparently been forthcoming around 1200 (Snape 1980, 23, n. 21), though presumably as an *ex gratia* gesture rather than an obligation of his office. This seems to foreshadow the substantial episcopal subsidies towards the reconstruction of the dormitory and cloister in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (see Chap. IV.B.1.1, 1.2).

At least from the thirteenth century, then, major building works on the church or monastic buildings appear to have been in the first instance the responsibility of the monks alone, and their active role as builders is attested from the earliest days of the priory. Episcopal support might generally be sought, though less often obtained, and then as a favour rather than a right. Admittedly, on other occasions the bishop's role was made to appear more important. Thus, when Prior William Ebchester and the convent wrote to Bishop Neville in 1456 informing him that the central tower would probably need to be completely rebuilt, they claimed that they would not presume to embark on such a substantial work without his advice, prior knowledge, and assent.[47] Given that the convent was asking Neville for money as well as telling him what was going on, however, the language of this letter was doubtlessly couched in exceptionally polite terms. It is therefore particularly interesting that, even on this occasion, the monks did not quite go so far as to ask their bishop's permission to carry out the work. The likelihood of successful cooperation in such projects doubtless depended very much on the rapport established between the convent and particular bishops. When relations were cordial, episcopal support might extend to subsidizing work on the monastic buildings; in a less favourable climate, it might not even extend as far as the church. The latter situation is hinted at as early as the episcopate of Bishop Flambard, when a twelfth-century chronicler's remark that the rate of progress on the building of the nave depended on the amounts received in offerings suggests that episcopal resources were not being made available at that time (Symeon 1882a, 139). The situation seems essentially similar to that in which Prior Bell found himself three and a half centuries later, when his attempts to secure episcopal aid in rebuilding the central tower seem to have elicited no sympathy from his diocesan (Snape 1974, 73; see Chap. V.A.1, 2.1). The only possible exception to this general account of relations between bishop and convent is the Galilee chapel, almost certainly built at the expense of one bishop and extensively restored at the expense of another. It may not, therefore, be entirely coincidental that this part of the building was regarded as in some sense outside the church proper (and hence less directly

the concern of the monks); that it was open to wider public access, including access to women; or that it came to be associated with, and frequented by, episcopal officials.[48]

All this contrasts very much with the situation which obtained at cathedrals elsewhere. The increasingly active role of cathedral chapters in building works at the expense of their bishops is, admittedly, the norm in north-west Europe from the thirteenth century onwards (Vroom 1981, 628-30; Vroom 1989, 82-3). Comparative evidence also serves to emphasize how much the tradition of voluntary episcopal involvement in supporting building works might vary from one cathedral to another (Vroom 1981, 629). This is certainly true of the English cathedrals, and it is particularly striking that the distinction does not appear to coincide with that between secular and monastic chapters. Thus at the other great cathedral of the north the majority of the building projects which saw York Minster transformed almost entirely into a Gothic building were initiated and, to a considerable extent, paid for, by the archbishops;[49] while, among the other cathedral-priories, the role of the diocesan seems to have been more prominent than at Durham: consider the presbytery of Ely, or the substantial benefactions of the later medieval archbishops of Canterbury to the rebuilding of their cathedral.[50] Though the Durham monks' active participation in building and altering their church had been evident from the convent's earliest days, it was perhaps in part as a consequence of the extensive series of privileges and immunities which they were successful in building up during the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries that the bishops came to display a lack of interest - perhaps fortunate for posterity - in initiating major works at their cathedral.[51] Moreover, until in the early fourteenth century Bishop Anthony Bek broke with the tradition of refraining from burial within the church out of reverence for the presence in it of Cuthbert's incorrupt body, the bishops of Durham did not even have the incentive of enhancing the surroundings of their eventual burial-places as a spur to initiate or support new building works. Even so, the accidental circumstances of translation to another see, or death and burial far from Durham, combined to ensure that only seven of the medieval bishops were buried in the cathedral, all in the century and a half after Bek, and only three of them apparently generating monuments of any architectural pretension.[52] With the conspicuous exception of the Neville family in the later fourteenth century (see Chaps. III.A.5.2, IV.A.1, IX.B.5.3), the resistance to the burial of seculars within their cathedral, presumably out of similar deference to St Cuthbert, almost certainly deprived the convent of the benefactions which usually went hand-in-hand with the granting of such a privilege elsewhere; again, Canterbury provides a notable contrast (Woodman 1981, 175-6).

I.E: DISCUSSION

It will have by now become apparent that a detailed analysis of the financial archives of Durham Priory is of prime importance for the recovery of information about its building activities. The way in which the estate was divided between several separately endowed obedientiaries, and the proliferation of cells, mean that several sets of accounts need to be consulted in order to arrive at anything approaching an overall picture. What is more, the fact that major new building at the priory itself were administered *ad hoc*, and were not the responsibility of any one official, adds a further complication, as evidence relating to such projects has thus often to be sought for in the workings of the redistributive mechanisms of the financial system, as well as in the recurrent expenditure of the series of annual accounts themselves (see further Chap. II.B.2). On the other hand, the greater degree of responsibility which the Durham monks seem to have enjoyed with regard to building works compared to the chapters of great churches elsewhere only serves to emphasize further the extent to which such projects were dependent on the monks' own resources, and hence increases the significance of the numerous archives which they have left behind.

CHAPTER I - NOTES

1. Symeon 1882a, II, 13 (68-71), III, 1 (78-80). For the history of the Cuthbert community in the later ninth and tenth centuries, see further Rollason 1987b, and Cambridge 1989.

2. Symeon 1882b, 9 (201); see further Craster 1954, 186-9; Cambridge 1984, 73.

3. On the estates from the late thirteenth century onwards, see Lomas 1973.

4. Is it possible, for example, that such a motive in part underlies the grant of Coldingham to Durham? It was the site of a nunnery mentioned by Bede, which had come into the possession of the Cuthbert Community later in the pre-Conquest period (Bede 1896, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, IV, 19, 25; Craster 1954, 179). Moreover, Durham's other ecclesiastical possessions north of Tweed were concentrated in the area of the Leader-Whiteadder lands, an ancient possession of the see of Lindisfarne (Craster 1954, 179; Rollason 1987a, map 1 on 16; cf. Fig. 14). For vestigial evidence of the ancient estate structure of this area, see Barrow 1973, 259.

5. The only Benedictine house of comparable size was St Mary's York (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 82).

6. The cult on Holy Island was being actively revived by the 1120s (Cambridge 1988, 16; Piper 1989, 444-5); there was a flourishing pilgrimage traffic to Farne when monastic life there was revived in the mid twelfth century (Tudor 1989, 461, 465).

7. For the Bedan inspiration underlying the refoundation of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth see Piper [no date], 1; *idem* 1987, 3; and below, Chap. VI.F.1, G.1. On the role of Bede's writing in shaping the attitudes of the first generations of Durham monks to their past, see Piper 1989, 445-6. It is possible that, in the case of Coldingham also, the motive was not solely practical: see above, note 4.

8. For the original grant of the site at Finchale itself, see Offler 1968, 69-72; and for the abortive Augustinian foundation at Baxterwood, Cornford 1907, 109; Scammell 1956, 110.

9. Dobson 1973, 316. For Coldingham, see also Barrow 1973, 168-9.

10. For the evidence of the dates at which the various appropriations became effective, see Appendix 4. The careful enumeration of the convent's churches from the 1160s, both in papal privileges and in its own forged charters, has been plausibly interpreted as reflecting the start of a more aggressive policy of appropriation (Offler 1968, 31-3).

11. Dobson 1973, 268-71; for quantification of the extent of the decline, see below, Chap. I.B.2.1.

12. For the cells, see Chap. VI, and for the appropriated churches, Chap. VII.

13. Comparing the difference between the gross general and the gross temporal income in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Savine 1909, 283). See, however, Savine's caveat on the figures for St Mary's (Savine 1909, 94-5).

14. For St Albans, see Williams 1917, 186. The spiritualities of Norwich accounted for nearly half of the priory's total revenues in the Nicholas IV taxation of 1291; the proportion never seems to have fallen below one-third (Saunders 1930, 27-32). Most of the appropriations had taken place before 1300 (Saunders 1930, 66). Ely had appropriated eighteen churches by 1276 (Hartridge 1930, 196).

15. The principal example of growth in the later Middle Ages, the refoundation of the priory's house of studies in Oxford as Durham College between 1381 and *c.* 1405 (Dobson 1973, 346-50), is considered only incidentally in the present work (see further Chap. VI, note 4). Its principal financial consequence was to free the convent from subsidizing their brethren at Oxford by the levying of contributions (see Chap. I.C.2).

16. The figures, quoted in Lomas 1973, 176, are: 1292-3, ecclesiastical income £1397 2s 8½d, secular income £766 9s 6¼d; 1536-7, ecclesiastical income, £415 7s 11¾d, secular income, £1047 4s.

17. The hostiller's income from temporal and spiritual sources was more or less evenly balanced in the fourteenth century; by the sixteenth the value of his spiritual income was worth rather less than

one-third (Lomas 1973, 206). The proportional value of the chamberlain's spiritual estate decreased by a similar amount over this period (Lomas 1973, 264), while the sacrist's spiritualities shrank in value from more than half in the 1340s to about one-fifth as early as the 1430s (Lomas 1973, 244).

18. Lomas 1973, 168-70, 173, and for the underlying causes of the decline, 152-5.

19. '... propter terras in parochiis aliarum ecclesiarum quondam cultas et post, tempore dicti Johannis Wessyngton prioris per dominos earundem terrarum ad pasturam positas, in magnum detrimentum Monasterii Dunelmensis ...' (Raine 1839, App., cclxxii; cf. 1.8. Pont. 2, art. 15).

20. The history of the rich rectories of Howden and Hemingbrough in Yorkshire eloquently makes this point. Attempts to appropriate both having proved unsuccessful, each in time became divided into prebends in an attempt to increase the priory's resources of patronage and to defuse the intense competition to enjoy the profits of the undivided rectories (Dobson 1973, 152-63).

21. For examples, see Bursar 1466-7, Reparaciones (Dalton), Bursar 1472-3, Reparaciones (Ketton); and for repairs made explicitly via the lessee, Bursar 1420-1, Reparaciones Domorum (Houghall).

22. General inventory at accession of Prior William Ebchester, 1446 (Raine 1839, App., ccxcvi (Bewley), ccxcix (Ferryhill)).

23. Ebchester inventory (Raine 1839, App., ccxcii).

24. Bonney has, however, stressed that, within the broad outlines of this trend, there are wide variations in the amounts spent from year to year (Bonney 1990, 138-9).

25. For the feretrar's estate, see Lomas 1973, 265-7.

26. One of the monks complained during a Benedictine visitation in *c.* 1357-8 that there ought to be a magister operum at Durham '... sicut habent alibi ...' (1.9. Pont. 1b (brother Symon de Alwent')).

27. '... cameram etiam apud Mukelingeswik fieri fecit, mittens ibi officiarios suos, quemlibet ordine suo, singillatim iniungens eorum cuilibet ibi per quindenam moram facere, et operariis de suis officiis expensas ministrare; et sic sumptibus illorum est domus illa facta' (Raine 1839, 47).

28. Compare the appropriation of Heighington church by Bishop Kirkham '... ad hospitalitatis sustentationem et pauperum refectionem ...' (Raine 1839, 42).

29. Foster 1979, 89-90, citing Loc. XXVII, 16g, and Bursar 1308-9, 1309-10. It is possible that similar payments had been exacted in the thirteenth century (*loc. cit.*, citing Barlow 1945, no. 47a, 117-18; Raine 1852, 101, App. no. DLXXXII).

30. Dobson 1973, 254. The recording in the bursar's accounts of nil receipts from individual pits 'quod ad expensas (or 'ad usum') domus' is found from 1406-7, a fuller explanation for Rainton being given from 1414-15: '... servatur ad commune proficuum domus ex communi concensu capituli'. The earliest surviving mines account dates from 1410-20.

31. For example, the payments levied to pay for the priory's contribution to the reredos in the 1370s (see Chap. III.A.5.2). But the mention in a memorandum at the foot of the almoner's inventory of 1338 (Fowler 1898, 201) of substantial subsidies paid to the prior during the outgoing officer's tenure of that obedience confirms that such payments were being levied in cash earlier in the fourteenth century (though not necessarily as part of a general levy).

32. Dobson 1973, 307-8; the earliest surviving account (M. C. 5649) is for the pensions imposed in the annual general chapter of 1441. As it contains no reference to a remainder from a previous account, it may represent the beginning of a new system. On the other hand, a reference to a 'collector of contributions' in the Jarrow account for 1435-6 (Jarrow 1435-6, Expense) may imply that the office predates the requirement to produce accounts. Moreover, it remains unclear how long this arrangement persisted. Conceivably it would have been rendered superfluous by the diversion of almost all such payments to the sacrist to finance the building of the tower from the 1470s onwards (see Chap. V.A.2.1, 2.2).

33. 'Item quod officiarii taliter onerantur pensionibus quod non possunt facere que ad officiis suis pertinent' (1.9. Pont. 3, art. 32). See further Chap. IV.C.

34. For a rare (perhaps unique) exception, see Piper 1987, 16.

35. For example, the hostiller's surplus balances in the third quarter of the fourteenth century were used to support a variety of projects, most notably the rebuilding of the kitchen-complex (see Chap. III.B.4), the practice having apparently become sufficiently frequent for a monk to complain about it during a visitation of *c.* 1375: '... bona officio hostillarie ab antiquo deputata per priorem et suos ministros a dicto officio abstrahuntur et in aliis usibus non necessariis expenduntur.' (2.8. Pont. 12, article 36). The use of surplus income from one obedience to offset the deficits of another, or to be diverted to 'other common and necessary uses' at the discretion of the head of house, is explicitly sanctioned in the Benedictine statutes of 1343 (Pantin 1931-7, II, 39 (III, 10)), though the practice was doubtless much older (Knowles 1948-59, I, 62-3).

36. For examples, see: Bursar 1476-7, Reparaciones (tower at Shoreswood); Holy Island 1431-2, Recepta (quoted Chap. VI, note 53).

37. In 1450-1 the Master of Farne built anew a tenement in Bamburgh '... de oblacionibus suis ex consensu domini prioris Dunelm.' The commemoration of individual monks in the glass of windows in the loft at Durham for which they had paid is recorded in the building-account of 1430 (M. C. 7150 (Raine 1839, App., ccccxliiii)).

38. Knowles 1948-59, III, 58-9. The theme was immediately taken up in England in Cardinal Otto's legatine statutes of 1238 (Matthew Paris 1872-83, III, 501). The papal statutes were eventually incorporated into the 1277-9 statutes of the southern English Benedictine province (Pantin 1931-7, I, 84-5).

39. '... omnes obedienciarii ... statum officii sui [cum] requisiti fuerint prelato suo fideliter ostendant.' (Pantin 1931-7, I, 238 (item 30)).

40. For printed examples of the earliest surviving Durham *status*, both dating from 1303, see Raine 1837b, App., i ff.; Raine 1854, 1 ff.

41. 'Bursarius vero, celerarius et granetarius de omnibus receptis et expensis suis modo debito et consueto fideles reddant raciones.' (Pantin 1931-7, I, 238 (item 30)).

42. 'De qua tamen portione, ut obedientiarii de suis officiis, annis singulis redderet rationem.' (Raine 1839, 48).

43. Raine 1839, 131. On the corruption of the text of this passage, perpetuated in the printed edition, see Chap. II, note 6.

44. As a rule, the obligations of the appropriators of a parish church towards the maintenance of its chancel did not extend to the chancels of any chapels dependent on it, even though their tithes formed part of the income of that church (Hartridge 1930, 139), but the Durham evidence indicates that exceptions were made, usually where the tithes of a chapelry were appropriated to someone other than the appropriator of the parish of which it formed a part, even when both the appropriators in question were obedientiaries of the same monastery. Thus, the sacrist repaired the chancel of Whitworth chapel, in the parish of Kirk Merrington, the rest of which was appropriated to the bursar (Sacrist 1356-7, Expense; 1411-12 and 1412-13, Edificaciones et Reparaciones; 1438-9, Reparaciones Domorum; 1472-3, Reparaciones). In addition, the Magdalen chapel, north of Gilesgate, Durham, was within a small administrative peculiar administered by the Durham almoner distinct from the surrounding borough and parish of St Giles, and it served this area as a parish church as well as being the hospital chapel (Page 1907-28, III, 183; Bonney 1990, 41, 140, fig. 3 on 243), and the almoner's accounts show that he was responsible for its repair (see Chap. VII.B.7). It may be that the almoner at one time also repaired the chapel at Witton Gilbert, in Elvet parish, but it is often unclear whether this or the chapel of the adjacent hospital is being referred to in the accounts. At any rate, the lessees of the tithes bore the responsibility after 1434-5 (Lomas 1973, 223). A fourth chapel, Croxdale, within Elvet parish, appears to be treated as if it were the responsibility of the prior and convent in the injunctions of the 1442 visitation (1.9. Pont. 9); yet its tithes were not appropriated to an obedientiary other than the hostiller, and its repair is never mentioned in the latter's accounts. In Northumberland, the chapel of Cornhill was (at least in the fourteenth century) repaired by the proctor of Norham, even though it was also in Norham parish.

45. Snape 1980, 23, quoting Symeon 1882a, 168, and Raine 1839, 11. Given Le Puiset's high-handed treatment of the monastery in the early part of his episcopate, extending to the deposition of the prior in 1162 (Offler 1968, 24), it should occasion no surprise to find him apparently taking the sole initiative for new building work.

46. '... incepit Thomas prior novam fabricam ecclesie ... iuvante Episcopo ...' (Raine 1839, 41).

47. '... nil tale nil tam grande et opus quamstupendum in ecclesia vestra cathedrali sine vestro consilio prematura noticia pariter et assensu arripere presumentes.' (Raine 1839, App., cccxxxiv).

48. Prominent among the figures refounding the fraternity of St Cuthbert in the Galilee in 1448-9 (Fowler 1901, lxiii) were officials of the bishop and priory: for Lounde, see Dobson 1973, 138; for Rhodes, ibid., 129-30. The location of the bishop's consistory court in the Galilee (ibid., 138) made it a particular haunt of notaries and other legal officials.

49. For examples, see Harvey 1977.

50. For Ely presbytery, see Draper 1979, 8, 26-7; for Canterbury in the later Middle Ages, see Woodman 1981, chaps. V-VI.

51. Perhaps most significantly, the bishop had no say in the appointing of obedientiaries, which remained the prior's sole prerogative (Dobson 1973, 67, citing Loc. XXI, 20 (ii)).

52. The dates of episcopal burials in the cathedral are: Bek, 1311; Beaumont, 1333; Bury, 1345; Hatfield, 1381; Skirlaw, 1406; Langley, 1437; Neville, 1457 (Jones 1963, 107-8). For the only three which appear to have involved architectural monuments, see Chaps. III.A.5.1, IV.A.5, 8.1.

CHAPTER II: THE DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

II.A: SOURCES OTHER THAN ACCOUNT ROLLS

II.A.1 INTRODUCTION

The potential significance for the architectural historian of the documentary records produced by the monks of Durham has already been outlined in the preceding chapter. The present one sets out to describe the range of surviving documentary materials which may have any bearing on the building activities of the priory, and to analyse the interpretative problems which they pose as potential sources of information in this respect. Pre-eminent are the numerous annual accounts produced by the obedientiaries and heads of cells. But there are other categories of materials, principally chronicles and annals, visitation materials, and *ad hoc* building-accounts, which contain important evidence relating to building, each of which poses its own peculiar problems of evaluation.

II.A.2 THE DURHAM CHRONICLE CONTINUATION AND RELATED MATERIALS

The history of the so-called 'Chambre' continuation of the Durham Chronicle from 1334 to 1571 (printed Raine 1839, 127-56), its authorship, and the relationship of its various manuscripts, are issues which have yet to be properly addressed.[1] Of the seven manuscripts which contain it, wholly or in part, or incorporate related materials, two will not be considered further here, as they have only short sections from the beginning, relating to Bishop Richard de Bury, which are not of interest for present purposes.[2] Three more contain parts of the fourteenth-century sections of the continuation, or other materials of this date. The first (London, College of Arms MS Arundel 25/29) has brief notices of the bishops of the see from Aidan to the enthronement of Fordham in 1382; the hand looks as if it may be contemporary with this latest entry, the text of which is clearly related to the continuation - perhaps it was one of its sources - as at least one passage is common to both.[3] This manuscript also includes materials on Bishop Hatfield, including commemorative verses, which are lacking in the continuation. The second manuscript (BL MS Add. 24059) is also of the late fourteenth century, the original text ending with the election of Fordham in 1381 (fol. 64r). By no means all of the pre-1381 materials in the continuation are present in it, however. As Offler has noted, the section on the death and benefactions of Hatfield and the election of Fordham relates to a different version from the one in the continuation (Raine

1839, 137-44);[4] and the Neville materials (Raine 1839, 134-6) are lacking, though fols. 12v-14r of the same manuscript contain fourteenth-century annals (extending to 1384) which include items relating to that material, notably concerning the construction of the reredos and shrine base. On the other hand, the text does include the materials relating to Prior Fossor (Raine 1839, 130-4).[5] There are also added rubrications in a fifteenth-century hand for entries as far as Prior Burnby (ob. 1464), though no text has been filled in. These correspond closely to the surviving text of the continuation, indicating that this section had been composed (or at least projected) by the later fifteenth century. The third manuscript of this group (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 748) is the sole text of the history written by John Wessington, probably between 1407 and his accession to the Durham priorate in 1416 (Dobson 1962, 494-5, n. 1 on 495). The Durham sections, which are interspersed with more general history, are clearly derived from the continuation. They include the notice of the death of Prior Cowton, a shorter version of the Fossor materials (unfortunately lacking any details of the cost of his building works), and much of the section on Hatfield (fols. 65v-66r). The Fossor section looks very much like an abridgement of the fuller version in BL MS Add. 24059. Since these borrowings from the continuation come very near the end of the text, there is no knowing whether the absence of any materials later than the death of Hatfield implies that the sections of the continuation dealing with events after 1381 were composed only after Wessington wrote; they may already have been in existence and omitted by choice.

The two remaining manuscripts (Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Fairfax 6 and Laud Misc. 700) are the only ones to contain a full text of the continuation to 1571. A systematic collation has not been undertaken, but comparison of obviously corrupt passages suggests both that the former was copied from the latter, and that it formed the basis of Raine's printed text.[6] Dr A. I. Doyle's analysis of the hands of these manuscripts has demonstrated that all of the sections containing the continuation have been added and corrected in post-medieval hands, presumably contemporary with its latest entry, associated with the Durham antiquary William Claxton and his circle. In the form in which it has come down to us, then, the Durham Chronicle continuation seems to be the result of the activities of Tudor antiquaries rather than of medieval monks: a product of the same concerns (and probably the same circle) from which the *Rites of Durham* emanated (see below, section A.3.3).

The state in which the continuation stood at the Dissolution, and the extent to which the pre-Dissolution sections were later reworked or compiled, are thus far from clear. All that can safely be said is that some of the pre-1381 sections were demonstrably in existence by

the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that a continuation as far as 1464 had been at least projected before the end of the Middle Ages. Moreover, the kinds of information in which the authors were interested, and the style in which they are presented, does not appear to have changed substantially between the fourteenth- and the sixteenth-century sections. More significantly for present purposes, the evidential value of the text is not necessarily diminished by the possibility that some of its later sections may have been composed some time after the events which they purport to cover, as little attempt has been made throughout to conceal the frequent use of archival source materials (certainly monastic, and conceivably also episcopal), which would presumably have been hardly less accessible after the Dissolution than before.

The manifest interest of the continuation's compilers in dates and costs of buildings meant that account-rolls were an obvious source for consultation. This is already abundantly clear in the Fossor materials (Raine 1839, 131-2),[7] and is also prominent in the chapter on Bishop Langley (Raine 1839, 146-7). In the latter case, the survival of a complete set of accounts relating to Langley's alterations to the Galilee means that the continuation's information can be checked, and it appears to be substantially accurate.[8] The prime significance of the continuation for present purposes is therefore the use of extracts from account-rolls some of which are now no longer extant.

II.A.3 MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

II.A.3.1 The Works of Priors Fossor and Wessington[9]

These two compilations appear to represent the only occasions on which the monks of Durham attempted to catalogue the building works which had taken place in their own time. The motive underlying the composition of the Fossor tract is uncertain, but the precise reason for the production of the Wessington one is known. The earliest version (Loc. XXVIIa) was compiled at Wessington's behest immediately after Bishop Robert Neville's visitation of the priory in 1442, as a defence of the handling of the monastery's financial affairs since his accession to the priorate in 1416. It was later updated on his resignation in 1446, presumably for eulogistic rather than apologetic motives (Dobson 1973, 237 and n. 2). Either or both of the motives which generated the Wessington tract may also conceivably have given rise to the Fossor document.[10]

The account of Wessington's works is much longer and fuller than that of Fossor's, containing copious evidence of amounts (which are lacking in the latter), and the 1446 revision at least is divided into sections covering the church, the principal monastic buildings, the extrinsec repairs of the bursar and other monastic officials, and donations of fittings and ornaments, besides some miscellaneous expenses not relating to building works. The (presumably accidental) omission from the 1446 version of one item which was included in that of 1442 shows that even a tract as detailed as this one cannot be assumed to be complete.[11] The dependence of both versions on a thorough examination of the repairs sections of the obedientiary and building-accounts of Wessington's priorate is, however, self-evident. It is difficult to see how any other source could underlie the Fossor tract, though much less information is selected than must have been available to the compiler, to judge from the accounts still extant. More disconcertingly, there are occasional reasons for doubting its accuracy as well as its inclusiveness (see Chaps. III.A.2, 4.1, VII.B.2, B.3, B.5). As in the case of the Chronicle continuation, the main value of these tracts is that they contain evidence extracted from account-rolls some of which have not themselves survived.

II.A.3.2 The Benefactions of the Bishops[12]

This document is primarily concerned to list in chronological order those items which accrued to the convent from deceased bishops by tradition, as well as other items bequeathed to it in their wills. It was compiled, according to its heading, by Prior John Wessington and was composed, on internal evidence, in the late 1430s.[13] It merits inclusion here because its brief is occasionally widened to include more general information about episcopal benefactions, and occasionally also about major benefactions from seculars. It is of particular importance in including details about the building works supported or effected by Bishops Hatfield, Skirlaw, and Langley, not recorded in any other source (see further Chaps. III-IV).

II.A.3.3 The Rites of Durham

The anonymous tract known as the *Rites of Durham* was compiled in the late sixteenth century. The earliest extant manuscript dates from *c.* 1600 (Fowler 1903, x) and, according to the heading of an early seventeenth-century copy, the whole tract was written in 1593 (Fowler 1903, ix, 1), but this may be no more than an inference based on the internal evidence that chapter XV was compiled in that year (Fowler 1903, 29). Otherwise, the latest *terminus post quem* provided by the evidence of the text itself is a reference to Mr Bonnie, a prebendary appointed in 1572 (Fowler 1903, 100, note on 282), which at least supports a

later sixteenth-century date. Its author (or authors) remains unidentified;[14] and though his knowledge of some aspects of the monastery's organization was not free from error (Snape 1980, 20), his intimate familiarity with the buildings and their pre-Dissolution uses, and especially with liturgical practices (e. g. Fowler 1903, 7-17), makes it most likely that he was a former monk.[15] The text contains much valuable information concerning the appearance and location of the furnishings and fittings of the priory on the eve of the Dissolution. While not infallible, its status as an eye-witness account makes its evidence of considerable importance.[16]

II.A.4 VISITATION MATERIALS

Documents relating to the visitation of Durham Priory by both episcopal and Benedictine visitors survive in some quantity, the former more frequently than the latter.[17] The numerous documents relating to citations and the disputes to which these gave rise are the most common survivals, but will not be considered further here, as it is only the materials generated by the visitation itself which are of any significance for present purposes. Their chronological spread is uneven, the best surviving documentation relating to those held in the second half of the fourteenth century. For only one of the fifteenth-century visitations, that of Bishop Neville in 1442, does documentation of this kind survive, fortunately in this case in full (Dobson 1973, 230-8, notes). From the mid fifteenth century onwards such materials peter out, perhaps in part because the practice of holding full visitations was by then beginning to fall into abeyance. In addition, detailed records for the two decades immediately preceding the opening of our period in 1339 are comparatively numerous, and reveal something of the background to the situation in which the priory found itself in the mid fourteenth century.[18]

The quantity of documents produced during the process of visitation, as exemplified in the best preserved examples, those of 1354-5 (Harbottle 1958) and 1442 (see above), was considerable. *Detecta*, the replies of each individual monk given in private to the *articuli*, that is, the questions put to him during his interview, were compiled into *comperta*, a general digest of complaints, to which the prior and his senior monks were given an opportunity to produce written replies. After due consideration as to the adequacy of these, the visitor issued formal injunctions to correct the abuses discovered.[19] Quite apart from the possibility that some issues might be swept under the carpet before proceedings began,[20] it will be apparent that *comperta*, and, *a fortiori*, *detecta*, are no more than allegations of what was perceived

to be amiss; and while the malice or grudges of an individual monk should have been eradicated during the compilation of *comperta*, the possibility of unjustified criticism based on commonly held misapprehension remained.[21] For this reason, as Dobson has emphasized, the replies to the *comperta* are often more revealing than the *comperta* themselves (Dobson 1973, 236). Finally, it should be noted that injunctions might specify matters which had not been raised in the *comperta*, but which the visitor himself considered important.

It will be clear that evidence of this kind is often difficult to interpret, as the evidence by which to test the validity of any allegations made is often lacking. For present purposes its value chiefly lies in the occasional references to building works, either as regards the neglect of essential repair, or the extravagance of building in progress.[22] Where possible, these will be discussed case by case in Chaps. III, IV, and VI, but again it seems that only scrutiny of the annual accounts of the monastic officers offers any possibility of providing independent evidence as to how far allegations were justified, and how assiduously injunctions were acted upon.

Besides visitations of the priory itself, the diocesan also had carried out periodic visitations of the parish churches in his see, a process which impinged on the prior and convent as appropriators. Only one set of *detecta*, for the priory's appropriated churches in the diocese of Durham in 1442, survives from the later Middle Ages,[23] but the very fact of the process, which gave parishioners an opportunity to bring forward allegations about the upkeep of their churches, and bishops an opportunity to issue injunctions specifying the date by which any defects substantiated by the visitation should be rectified, should be borne in mind as a potential disincentive to neglect the maintenance of this important category of buildings in the convent's care (see further Chap. VII.F.4).

II.B: ACCOUNTS

II.B.1 BUILDING-ACCOUNTS

Building-accounts relating to nine projects survive among the Durham archives, all of them dating to between the late fourteenth and mid fifteenth centuries.[24] This body of material may seem at first sight to be the most important category of documentary evidence for the architectural historian, but its value is determined to a considerable extent by the

circumstances which gave rise to the production of accounts of this kind. One of the documents needs to be distinguished from the others at the outset, as it is not an account proper, but consists entirely of *diete*, or weekly lists of wages of men working on the building of the kitchen between 1366 and 1368 (see below, section 2.3), and is therefore a subsidiary element of the bursar's accounts, one of which does indeed cross-refer to it (Bursar 1367-8, Reparaciones Domorum). It is clear from a consideration of the others that what constitutes their distinctiveness as a group is not their concern with building as such, but rather the means by which the works to which they relate were financed. Thus two series of accounts relate to the cloister and Galilee, projects which were dependent on episcopal funds. A third, concerned with the reconstruction of the dormitory, was partly funded by the bishop, and partly by contributions from the monastic officials. Of the smaller projects one, involving work on the infirmary, was financed largely from obedientiary contributions. Another, the construction of a new hall at Pittington manor, was funded solely by the subprior, hostiller, and terrar (the monastic official who assisted the bursar in the administration of his estates), though whether by contributions from their offices or from their own personal funds is not clear.[25] The remainder, the construction of the cloister lavatory, towel cupboard, and work on the loft, were funded from the personal subventions of the monks. What these various sources of funding have in common is that none of them was being administered as part of the regular series of annual obedientiary accounts, and it is this, and not their subject-matter as such, which led to the production of separate *ad hoc* accounts. It follows that, even allowing for accidental losses, the building-accounts can only ever have given a partial and unrepresentative picture of the building works of the priory, for many other projects, major ones included, were administered by the obedientiaries and accounted for via their annual accounts. The construction of the kitchen under the auspices of the bursar has already been mentioned; the reconstruction of the central tower, accounted for by the sacrist, is only the most substantial of many other examples.

Once it is recognized that it is the form of funding which is crucial to understanding why these documents came to be produced, certain aspects of their scope and treatment become more readily understandable: for example, the enormous disparity in the scale of the projects accounted for in this way, ranging from one of the most expensive works ever undertaken by the later medieval priory, the rebuilding the cloister at a cost of over £800 (see Chap. IV.B.1.2), to the construction of the towel cupboard for £1 7s 2d (Raine 1839, App., ccccxlv). It is possible too that some of the variations in the diplomatic of the accounts may be similarly explained. For instance, the comparatively full detail with which the Cloister and

Galilee accounts are presented may have been a requirement of the episcopal benefactors on whom the funding was entirely dependent. On the other hand, the less detailed form of the dormitory accounts may be due primarily to the way in which those works were organized, the masons in charge being responsible for disbursement of wages and for purchasing most of the building-materials.[26]

The value of the information contained in the building-accounts, particularly in those which are both detailed and concerned with large-scale projects, such as the Cloister and Galilee, is undeniably considerable, particularly as regards the costs of labour and materials. In other respects, however, its value is more limited. There are usually only occasional references to which parts of the buildings are being worked on, for instance, so that the sequence of building is far from clear. But the more general limitations of this class of document as whole will by now have become apparent. Such accounts are undoubtedly an important source of information about the particular projects to which they relate, but the factors which generated them mean that it can never have been possible to use them as a basis for generalization about the building activity of the priory as a whole; for that, there can be no substitute for the series of annual accounts of the monastic officers.

II.B.2 OBEDIENTIARY AND CELL ACCOUNTS

II.B.2.1 Introduction

The conclusions reached about the limitations of the categories of documentary sources considered so far only serves to underline the fundamental importance of the annual account-rolls as evidence for building activity. They were demonstrably the principal (if not the sole) source to which the compilers of the Durham Chronicle continuation turned for information about buildings, and this is even more self-evidently the case with the Fossor and Wessington tracts. What is more, they are the only means by which allegations made during the course of visitations may be corroborated, and the only way of checking how far and how soon the ensuing injunctions were carried out. And though some of the building-accounts contain valuable *ad hoc* information about particular projects, only the series of annual accounts have the potential to provide a contextual picture of the overall pattern of building activity in the later medieval priory.

II.B.2.2 Survival (Figs. 1-2)

The most obvious impediment to our knowledge of building activity at Durham Priory in the later Middle Ages is the destruction of significant numbers of obedientiary and cell accounts. For example, even taking the best preserved series of accounts, those of the bursar, documents covering more than fifty of the two hundred years under consideration are no longer extant, a survival rate of less than 75%. Given that Durham has what is probably the best preserved monastic archive to have survived from later medieval England (Dobson 1973, 1-6, especially 5), this is a particularly sobering statistic. Two aspects of the degree of preservation are especially significant. The first is that the numbers of accounts to have survived vary considerably from one official to another (Fig. 1). For example, almost twice as many accounts survive from the bursar compared to the sacrist. Secondly, the amount of destruction varies considerably within the 200-year period (Fig. 2). The last quarter of the period (from 1489 to 1539) is almost invariably the most poorly represented, and that by a considerable margin. The best overall survival rate is for the second quarter (1389-1439), though the third quarter is also comparatively well represented. The first quarter (1339 to 1389) is subject to the greatest variation between officials, some, in particular the bursar, hostiller, sacrist, chamberlain, and prior of Holy Island, having comparatively good survival rates while others, especially the almoner, the masters of Farne and Monkwearmouth, and the prior of Finchale, have notably fewer accounts from this period compared to the succeeding century; in the two former cases, the first quarter has the lowest survival rate of the four.

The extent of our knowledge of building activity on various parts of the estates is thus directly dependent not just upon the circumstance of which monastic official was charged with their administration, but also on how well his accounts happen to have survived. In general, however, we are considerably less well informed about the last half century of the priory's existence than the previous century and a half. And we are less able to obtain an overall picture for the first half century of the period than for either of the succeeding two.

II.B.2.3 Compilation

However detailed the contents of an account, it is evident that they represent only the final stage in a complex process of summarizing and abstracting the raw data accumulated by each official in the course of his duties. The last stage in the process was

represented by three fair copies, generally counterparted (for example, Hostiller 1473-4 (A-C)). Preceding the writing out of the fair copies there would have been at least one draft version which, when both drafts and final copy have chanced to survive, are sometimes found to differ in details of organization, expression, or even in the items included.[27] The drafts in turn must have been compiled from what Dobson has aptly termed '... an elaborate substructure of subsidiary accounts ...' (Dobson 1973, 260). That this was most extensively developed in the case of the bursar's accounts was in large part due to the size and geographically scattered nature of his estate, the remoter northern parts being administered via two officials, the proctors of Norham and (during the fourteenth century) of Scotland, who themselves produced detailed accounts which may be compared with the summarized entries which were entered in the bursar's accounts. Yet even the proctor's accounts themselves contained references to more detailed particulars (see Chap. VII, note 53). In general, however, all runs of obedientiary and cell accounts contain frequent references to earlier written stages in the process of compilation, in the form of phrases appended to summary descriptions of what were often unusually large or complex items of expenditure. These generally begin 'ut patet', and are completed by phrases such as 'per particulas', 'per cedulas', 'in papiro', or 'per billam'.

The practice of cross-referencing was probably intended to prevent accounts from becoming unnecessarily unwieldy, the schedules or dockets themselves being available if required for inspection by the auditors of the accounts.[28] They survive only rarely (perhaps because, as the phrase 'in papiro' indicates, they were often on paper) and rather more frequently from the fourteenth century than later, that is, from a period before which the structure of the accounts had become more rigidly formalized. They are often found physically attached to the appropriate account, presumably because their contents were accidentally omitted when drawing up the main account.[29] Their contents reveal something of the detailed information usually concealed by the single item summaries cross-referring to them. Yet even the schedules themselves must, in their turn, be distillations of the raw data of bills and tallies produced in the process of actually carrying out the operations to which they refer.[30] All this means that, even for those periods when the accounts are at their most expansive (Fig. 3), the largest and most complex items will often be accounted for by summary cross-referred entries, only comparatively minor ones being treated in detail in the account itself.[31] In other words, the practice of cross-referencing means that least information tends to be available for precisely those items about which one might wish to know most.

Two further variations of the basic formula 'ut patet per ...' indicate more specific types of subsidiary account. The first is 'ut patet per dietas'. *Diete* were the day by day running totals of expenditure on wages. By far the largest example in this category of documents to have survived is the so-called kitchen building-account, which (as is clear from the correspondence between the amounts expended) is summarized, using a variant of the formula, as the first entry in the building expenditure section of the bursar's account for 1367-8 (see above, section 2.1 and note 24). The second form of cross-reference indicates that, unlike the cases considered hitherto, there were occasions when the obedientiary did not administer building works directly or via a lessee, but that any or all aspects of the administration of a job might instead be undertaken by the workmen in charge themselves, with only a summary total then appearing in the official's account. These are indicated by phrases such as 'ex convencione ... facta in grosso' or 'ut patet per convencionem', and were already an established practice before the period under consideration begins.[32] They may vary enormously in scope, from quite minor and specific aspects of a job to entire major projects. The reconstruction of the monastic dormitory between 1398 and *c.* 1404, for example, was largely administered in this way (see notes 24, 26). In any case, it is only a summary cross-reference to the contract and the total amount agreed on which will appear in the accounts, and not an account of the work itself.

By the sixteenth century another form of subsidiary record had come into being, namely, the keeping of accounts in book form. The only surviving example covers the bursar's expenditure between 1530 and 1534, so there is no knowing how long before this the practice had been adopted.[33] As no account-rolls survive for those years, it is conceivable that the book was intended as a substitute for the rolls, but as one account-roll later than 1534 survives and as the treatment of the entries in the book is in many respects more detailed than in the surviving rolls from this period, it looks rather as though it functioned as an intermediate step in the compilation of the account-rolls, which may by then have come to be conceived of as formal summaries rather than as the primary record of financial transactions.

II.B.2.4 Diplomatic of Building and Repair

Even a simple building-repair is a complex transaction. It will involve materials, often of several different sorts, some of which may have to be specially purchased, and all of which will in any event need to be transported to the site of the repair. The work will

usually involve several persons, both in transportation and in carrying out the repair itself. The costs of materials, transport, and labour, are thus likely to involve a substantial amount of calculation in itself. How, then, is this potentially considerable body of information to be represented in an account?

From the point of view of the medieval accountant, the only essential element to be recorded is the cost of an operation. All other aspects of it are, by comparison, peripheral to his interests, however central they may be to ours. In practice, therefore, the recording of any of these other aspects may be subject to a considerable degree of variation. One or more of them may be mentioned to enable one transaction to be easily distinguished from another in the account; but the inclusion of any one aspect will, as often as not, tend to exclude the others. In consequence, the information which can be derived from the accounts is very far from standardized in content. Although the choice of element, or combination of elements, may be open to almost endless variation, it is not altogether random. There are observable similarities dependent on such factors as the kind of account involved; typical accounting practice at the date it was drawn up; or, sometimes, the identity of the particular accountant. It is the aim of this section to analyse the trends in the treatment of such information, and to evaluate the limits they impose on our knowledge of the building activity of the late medieval priory.

Several general approaches employed by officials in compiling an account of their expenditure can be identified. For example, items may be listed without regard to subject-matter. If any rationale underlies the ordering of this form of account, it may be chronologically determined, items tending to be entered in the order in which the transactions to which they relate occurred. A different method seems to have been to divide up expenditure into categories, and then to account separately for each one. Yet another option was to group expenditure of all types relating to a particular project together. What is more, as many of the accounts were evidently compiled less than consistently, traces of more than one organizational approach may be observable within the same account.

The first of these approaches raises potential difficulties if specific information about expenditure needs to be extracted from the rest, since items may not only be listed together, but the total expenditure compounded into a single amount, giving no indication of the proportion devoted to each of the component elements. And this is not only true of entries consisting of heterogeneous components, like that in the prior of Coldingham's account for

1368-9, which lumps together the costs of a new window in the church of Berwick with purchases of iron, salt, and fuel (see Chap. VII, note 54), but it also applies to items which are similar in type, such as the lists of wages of building craftsmen generally occurring at the beginning of repairs sections in bursar's accounts before the late fourteenth century, in which the payments to the individuals named are not included (see below). Fortunately, fifteenth-century accounts tend to be both less haphazard in their juxtaposition of elements in compound entries, and increasingly likely to indicate the cost of each component as well as the total.

Examples of the second and third ways of organizing information may be observed in the changing diplomatic of the repairs section of the bursar's accounts. Until the later fourteenth century the accounts consist of a long series of generally short entries, of which the first few are totals of builders' wages for the period of the account. Some extra details, such as the number of weeks worked, and the amount received by each per week, start to be included from 1388-9, but from the late 1390s this system begins to give way to one in which wages are recorded alongside the works with which they are connected, paving the way towards the long and detailed project-based entries which particularly characterize the accounts from 1432, the amount of detail increasing yet further after the reunification of the bursary in 1445, following a six-year experiment in dividing the estate between the bursar, cellarer, and granator.[34]

Apart from the effect on our knowledge of building activity of the ways in which the component materials of an account are put together, the amount of detail relating to the subject which it contains, however the accountant may choose to present it, is obviously in itself a major factor in determining how much we are likely to learn about it. The Durham accounts vary considerably in the amount of detail included, both between one official and another, and through time. The bursar's accounts, relating as they do to a uniquely large and complex estate, stand apart from the other series in this respect, as they are always comparatively detailed, though by no means immune to variation in this and other respects (see below). Fig. 3 attempts to plot, admittedly at a very crude level, the variation in the amount of detail in the accounts of the other major Durham obedientiaries and heads of cells, graded on a quinquepartite scale (see Appendix 2).[35] Several general trends emerge.

With few exceptions,[36] the major Durham obedientiaries besides the bursar presented accounts in which building repairs are treated in some degree of detail. Before the mid

fifteenth century the degree varies considerably, and with no clearly discernible pattern. After that date, however, all surviving accounts contain a considerable amount of detail. This change intensifies a contrast (already present to some extent) with the cell accounts, which generally remain less detailed and continue to exhibit variety of treatment after the mid fifteenth century just as they had before that date. One notable exception is the series of Finchale accounts, which behave like those of the Durham obedientiaries, becoming (with the exception of two brief periods, 1461-3 and 1469-76) very detailed from the mid fifteenth century onwards.

The factors underlying these variations in treatment can only be guessed at. One obvious basic consideration is the amount of money being accounted for. Thus the bursar's accounts are always detailed in this general sense, simply because his estates, and therefore the repairs involved, were so extensive, though this should not be allowed to obscure the fact that there are considerable variations in the amount and kind of detail which they exhibit. To some extent also, this must explain why the cells, most of which were comparatively impoverished, usually produced only summary accounts, and why Finchale, with its substantially greater resources, tends to follow the general pattern of the Durham obedientiaries rather than of the other cells. Consideration at a more detailed level of the period before the mid fifteenth century, when a greater variety of treatment was considered generally acceptable, also reveals that an increase of detail may reflect the fact that more had been spent, so that there was more to say. But this is by no means always the case, and it must be stressed that there are at least as many examples where the degree of detail in the accounts does not vary with rises or falls in expenditure, or even varies inversely with it. A notable example of the latter is bursar 1342-5, a short run of accounts which show less detail than the preceding and following ones, yet contain evidence of comparatively high levels of building expenditure (Fig. 5). Other series can also show periods when increases in expenditure seem to generate increases in the amount of detail in the accounts (notably Finchale 1364-7), but also years when they do not (for example, Farne Island 1496-7, Finchale 1435-6 (Figs. 10, 13)). What is more, the existence of runs of accounts, such as Sacrist 1376-86, or Jarrow 1452-7, in which the amount of detail increases while expenditure remains static or actually falls, is sufficient to demonstrate that other factors must be involved here (Figs. 6, 11).

Indeed, it is clear that increases in the amount of detail in the building expenditure sections of accounts cannot be explained exclusively in terms of the circumstances of

particular years, as there is abundant evidence of a general trend towards the uniform presentation of detailed accounts irrespective of the level of expenditure involved. It begins in the middle decades of the fifteenth century and is virtually confined to the accounts of the major Durham obedientiaries and those of Finchale (Fig. 3). This trend seems to begin in the bursar's accounts from 1432, with a further intensification following the reunification of that office in 1445 (see above and note 34). The sacrist had adopted a similar policy by 1438-9, followed by the almoner in 1445-6, the hostiller in 1446-7, and the prior of Finchale from 1449-50. Two of the other cells followed the trend, but only for short periods: Farne Island from 1447 to 1456, and Jarrow from 1452 to 1457. In the latter two cases, the temporary change in policy can be related to the career of a particular monk, John Bradbury. The run of detailed accounts from Farne Island begins in the year of his appointment as master in 1447, and those from Jarrow when he was translated there from Farne in 1452 (Piper 1987, 28). The practice was continued by his immediate successor at Farne, William Hesleden (Master 1452-6), but both cells soon reverted to their accustomed pattern of much more heavily abridged entries (Figs. 10, 11). Individual preferences of officials may underlie the detailed pattern of variation in other cases also, so that the widespread change to more detailed accounts may reflect a change in accounting fashion which was disseminated through the system as the result of movements in personnel.[37] This cannot explain the phenomenon completely, however, as there are also variations in detail, for example, at Finchale, where the only two short runs of less detailed accounts which post-date 1449 (1461-3 and 1469-76) do not coincide with changes in priors, and may indicate either the work of monastic deputies or, conceivably, of the clerks who drew up the accounts (Fig. 13).

The adoption of much more detailed accounts by all the higher spending officials within a comparatively short period in itself suggests that the change came about as the result of a deliberate shift in policy on the priory's part, rather than haphazardly as the result of the preferences of individual accountants.[38] In view of the financial difficulties in which the convent found itself in the 1430s and 1440s, difficulties which were perceived to have been considerably exacerbated by administrative incompetence (Dobson 1973, 285-7), it is not unlikely that the practice of more detailed accounting might have been encouraged as a means of keeping a tighter check on the quality of monastic administration, as well as the level of expenditure, at a time when resources were more than usually strained.

The implications of such substantial changes in the amounts of information presented for our knowledge of building activity at the late medieval priory are clearly considerable.

To take only one example, these changes dramatically affect the times and places for which it is possible to recover the names of the craftsmen who worked on the buildings. Named craftsmen are almost completely absent from the cell accounts (except for Finchale from 1449), even from most of the (comparatively few) detailed accounts. The phenomenon of cell accounts which are detailed yet do not include the names of any craftsmen (e.g. Jarrow 1493-4; Farne 1464-5) is paralleled among some of the Durham obedientiaries prior to the mid fifteenth century (notably Almoner 1351-5, 1371-5, 1412-13; Hostiller 1382-9, 1393-9, 1400-25, 1426-31; Sacrist before 1356, 1403-7, 1409-16, 1421-5). It seems to have been an especially popular general fashion in the mid fourteenth century, for names are comparatively infrequent in the bursar's accounts of this period, and are even avoided completely in two accounts of the 1340s (Bursar 1343-5). Nor does there appear to be a uniform progression towards the increasingly frequent recording of names, two periods, the mid fourteenth and the early fifteenth century, having a generally sparser record than either the late fourteenth or the mid fifteenth century. The bursar apart, it is only in the cases of those series of accounts which become consistently more detailed as a result of the mid fifteenth-century reforms in which names regularly occur in numbers, and even then there is still some variation, notably at Finchale from 1509 to 1514, when markedly fewer names are recorded than in other comparably detailed accounts in the series. The nature of the diplomatic of the account-rolls thus confines the possibility of even a partial prosopographical analysis of the priory's building workers to those working for the Durham officials and for Finchale after the mid fifteenth century.

Only rarely do the means by which the terseness of a heavily abbreviated account may be circumvented present themselves. The occasional appearance in the receipts sections of donations may hint that important works were afoot, but their nature is only rarely specified. Evidence of this kind is particularly important in the case of the Holy Island account for 1427-8 for example; there, the purpose specified in the receipts section provides the only specific evidence of a major alteration to the fabric (see below, Chap. VI, note 50). What must be stressed, however, is the rarity of such references; in all but a tiny minority of cases, the veil drawn by heavily abbreviated accounts over the nature of building works is all but impenetrable.

In conclusion, the amount of detail allowed to remain in the final versions of accounts acts as an important filter to the amount of information about building activity accessible to us. We are likely to know more about the buildings under the bursar's control

throughout the whole period than about anyone else's; more about buildings for which the other Durham officials and the priors of Finchale were responsible after the mid fifteenth century than before; and more about all of these than about any of the remaining cells at any time. Particular changes in the amount of detail provided can sometimes be attributed to factors such as the amount of money being spent, or the preferences or training of the individual accountant; but the general move towards more detailed accounting for expenditure in the second quarter of the fifteenth century is most likely explained as a deliberate attempt to tighten up accountability in the face of particularly adverse financial circumstances.

II.B.2.5 Diplomatic of Contributions

A resumé of what is known of the early history of this system of internal subsidies is outlined above (see Chap. I.C.2). Their diplomatic falls into three main phases, the first two of which have recently been analysed by Piper with respect to the cells accounts (Piper 1987, 15). During the first, which lasted until the late 1430s, contributions seem to have been conceived of as essentially *ad hoc* devices, and almost all instances therefore include a clause specifying the purpose of the levy. After 1438, however,[39] the payments are recorded only in general terms, the standard qualifying phrase being 'imposita per dominum priorem [et conventum] in relevamen domus', with the further qualification 'in annuali capitulo' being frequently added from the late 1440s.[40] The change to unspecified payments is almost certainly linked to the emergence of the collector of pensions in the 1430s (see Chap. I.C.2). This development marks the point at which contributions ceased to be conceived of as even notionally *ad hoc* devices, and instead had come to be seen as a regular obligation of the monastic officials, the particular uses to which they were put being therefore more appropriately recorded in the collector's accounts rather than, as in the first phase, by way of explanation of the imposition of the levy as such.

The reasons for considering that, from the late 1470s, almost all of these payments were diverted to the sacrist to fund the rebuilding of the central tower are set out in detail elsewhere (see Chap. V.A.2.1, 2.2). This change resulted in the increase, and then fossilization, of the amounts of the payments (cf. Piper 1987, 15), but had no immediate impact on their diplomatic other than the occasional specification that the sacrist was the recipient from the late 1480s onwards.[41] Beginning in the early sixteenth century, however, specified payments begin to reappear, though the phenomenon is more sporadic than it had been before 1438 and, inexplicably, is confined in the surviving accounts to the cells (see

Chap. V.A.2.2). The *campanile* is specified in all but one instance (Lytham 1525-6, Expense), which was said to have been 'ad opus ecclesie Dunelm'', a phrase which may mean the same thing or may refer to other works in the church.

Specified contributions payments are of considerable value to the architectural historian, for they provide important chronological information concerning various building works for the period before 1438. Furthermore, as will be argued below, their revival in the early sixteenth century provides important evidence for the chronology of the central tower project (see Chap. V.A.2.2).

II.B.2.6 Recording of Building Expenditure

The net result of these analyses is to show how uneven the accounting record of medieval building at Durham Priory is, both in terms of the amount of information which an account may contain and the ways in which that information may be organized. In view of these imbalances, the remainder of the chapter will concentrate rather on the one aspect of the accounts which is most nearly universally recoverable, namely, the amount of money spent on building in any given year. Of course, while the series of amounts themselves reveal something of the spending profile of each particular official, the more general interest of this information lies not so much in the actual totals as such, but rather in their potential as a body of comparative evidence which may reveal more general trends in the convent's spending policy in this respect.

As with most other aspects of the account-rolls, the total building expenditure of an account is not always the cut and dried quantity which it might at first appear. For the many accounts which consist of little more than a single entry covering all building expenditure, the consistency with which the components of that total have been selected has to be taken on trust. Where accounts are more detailed and those components can therefore be checked (up to a point at least), it appears that they may vary. Sometimes, for example, dyking and hedging may be included. Where the account has a separate section covering repairs,[42] items which seem relevant may be omitted from it (perhaps in error) and entered elsewhere on the account. Or there may be items, especially in such cases as the purchase of materials, for which it is impossible to tell (and may often have been impossible for the accountant himself to know) what proportion was used up on any particular item of building or repair recorded in his account for that year.

But even discounting the foregoing problems as generally involving only comparatively minor distortions, the calculation of building expenditure totals may be more seriously distorted or even, in some cases, completely precluded, by the practice of compounding building works with other expenditure in entries which give no indication of the proportion of the whole to be attributed to each component (see above, section B.2.4, and note 35). In the case of several of the Coldingham sacrist's accounts, this practice is so prevalent as to make any estimate of building expenditure impossible.

The assumption that those accounts from which a total spent on building works can be extracted generally constitute an accurate record is confirmed by the occasional presence of marginal notes by the auditors disallowing items of expenditure because they had already appeared on a previous account or ought properly to appear on the following one, and by the care with which the (extremely uncommon) inclusion of an item relating to a period longer than that covered by the account in which it figures is flagged.[43] The comparative infrequence of such memoranda in the accounts suggests that errors of this kind were rare. Again the funding of some projects by levying contributions across-the-board permits a series of cross-checks on dates which do seem to bear each other out (see for examples Chaps. III.A.5.2, IV.B.1.1, 1.3). There are also hints, however, particularly as regards the increasingly formalized accounts of the last century or so of the period, that they do not always correspond with reality as closely as one might wish.

The Wearmouth account for 1505-6 includes a schedule of repairs carried out but omitted from the accounts ('... non allocata in compotis') of the outgoing master, Henry Dalton (1501-6). Though the items listed are not solely concerned with building expenditure, those which are amount to some £34, the total omission amounting to £56. These omissions were presumably only discovered on his leaving office. All but one of Dalton's accounts as master survive, and the extent of the omissions can be gauged from the fact that the repairs accounted for in these amounted only to some £25. There is no means of telling how often concealments of this kind went by unnoticed. That major deception might not be immediately detected is evident from the time it took the convent's auditors to discover the irregularities of Thomas Lawson's administration of the bursary in the 1430s (Dobson 1973, 285-8). If the concealment of comparatively minor expenditure went undetected in other instances, the record of the accounts may sometimes under-represent the actual amount of building activity which took place.

II.B.2.7 General Trends in Building Expenditure (Fig. 4)

Bearing in mind the note of caution sounded by the evidence for occasional omissions from the accounts outlined in the previous section, analysis of trends in the amounts spent on building and repair nevertheless provides the best available basis for establishing general trends by means of comparison between the accounts of one official and another. Equally, it offers the only available means of compensating for the extreme brevity of some of the accounts by flagging periods of comparatively intense building activity and - of equal significance - those when little can have been going on.

The most obvious general trend is for expenditure to peak markedly between the mid 1360s and mid 1370s. For several officials (the bursar, almoner, prior of Holy Island, and master of Farne) this represents the highest level of expenditure recorded over the entire 200-year period. Similarly, most runs of accounts show a pronounced (though short-lived) trough in the 1350s. While it would clearly be wrong to assume that the peaks and troughs of building expenditure are necessarily direct reflections of the changing economic conditions of the monastery, rather than being in part due to other claims on expenditure, the former seems more likely to be the case when a trend is so generally observable throughout the whole range of the accounts. It is thus difficult to believe that the trough of the 1350s and the peaks of the 1360s and 1370s are not in part due respectively to the impact of the Black Death on the monastery's resources and manpower,[44] and to its rapid recovery from this reverse, as revealed by Lomas's analysis of the estates (Lomas 1973, 178-9, 285).

Other common trends are not so pronounced, but many series show lesser troughs in the decades around 1400 and again in the 1440s and 1450s; lesser peaks occur *c.* 1430 and, though less generally, *c.* 1490. Again, the late fourteenth-century decline in expenditure must be related to the general decline in income noted by Lomas at that time (Lomas 1973, 286), while the mid fifteenth century troughs should be seen in the context of the protracted period of economic difficulties into which the priory entered in the 1430s (Dobson 1973, 266-7, 269-70, 284-8). And while there is some evidence (though it is rather more equivocal) for increased levels of activity in the later fifteenth century, the 'gentle increases in income' noted by Lomas (Lomas 1973, 286) are not clearly reflected in the surviving evidence of building expenditure, though the poorer survival rate of the accounts may to some extent be falsifying the picture here (Fig. 2). This factor makes it all but impossible to evaluate comparative trends for the early sixteenth century, but it is perhaps worth noting that, of the

accounts which do remain, only the bursar's show any signs of unusually high activity. The others tend to suggest, if anything, a decline in activity compared to the later fifteenth century.

Equally striking are those respects in which series of accounts do not conform to the general trend. Thus the hostiller has peaks *c.* 1390, in the 1460s, and, perhaps, the late 1490s;[45] Finchale has a dramatic rise in expenditure between the late 1470s and early 1490s; and the bursar shows minor peaks *c.* 1460, 1480, and 1510. Just as the above series of accounts fail to conform because their expenditure levels are unusually high at some periods, those of Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, and (after the 1370s) Farne, deviate from the general trend because their expenditure is always fairly low, and the occasional years of high expenditure do not seem to conform to any discernible pattern, perhaps reflecting work carried out under grim necessity rather than under a coherent policy, which was probably a luxury which could rarely be afforded.

A degree of divergence in the expenditure profiles of the various officials is, perhaps, only to be expected, given that some estates are likely to have been more successfully managed than others at some times during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages. But underlying economic trends surely cannot provide an adequate explanation of all variations in expenditure. Most notably, the peak in the generation following the aftermath of the Black Death is both so general and so pronounced as to suggest rather that a deliberate policy of renewal was also involved here.

CHAPTER II - NOTES

1. For a brief discussion see Offler 1958, 16-18, notes 39-40. The extent of my debt to the late Professor H. S. Offler and Dr A. I. Doyle for making available to me their unpublished notes on the dates and hands of the manuscripts of the continuation will be apparent from what follows.

2. York, Cathedral Library MS XVI I 12 contains only the first chapter of the continuation as printed in Raine 1839, 127-30, added in a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century hand. BL MS Titus A II has the same chapter, but lacking the final paragraph (i. e. as far as '... in maximo honore'), added in a hand of the mid fifteenth century. The discussion of the contents of these and other manuscripts of the continuation in Denholm-Young 1932-4 is inaccurate.

3. Raine 1839, 144, lines 5/6-12 ('Jo/hannes ... MCCCLXXXII.').

4. Printed Raine 1839, App., cxlviii-cli.

5. There are two additional eulogizing couplets following '... optimus edificator' (Raine 1839, 134); and the passage on Fossor's death is more or less as in Raine 1839, 136, lines 8-13.

6. For example, Raine 1839, 131, line 13 '... consecrationis Benedicti [Christi] (*sic*) ...' evidently follows the obviously corrupt 'co(n)s(e)cra(ti)o(n)is Ben(edi)cti Xi' of Fairfax 6, fol. 282v, which is presumably dependent on an incorrect expansion of the abbreviation of the less corrupt 'co(n)s(titu)-c(i)o(n)is B(e)n(e)d(i)c(t)i Xi' of Laud Misc. 700, fol. 136r; what is surely the right reading is preserved in BL MS Add. 24059, fol. 61r: 'constituc(i)o(n)is B(e)n(e)d(i)c(t)i xij', confirmed by a similar reading in Wessington's history (Laud Misc. 748, fol. 65v). Similarly, the obviously nonsensical '... quincentesimas libras seu marcas ...' (Raine 1839 136, lines 3-4) again follows Fairfax 6, fol. 284r, whereas Laud Misc. 700, fol. 138v reads 'dc marc', which seems unexceptionable. Presumably the source of the corruption lies in the copyist of Fairfax 6 misreading 'C' as 'li' for *libri*.

7. See, for example, '... ut patet in compoto suo ...' (Raine 1839, 132).

8. The total given in the Chronicle continuation for the cost of Langley's repairs to the Galilee (£499 6s 8d) agrees closely enough with the total expenditure of the accounts (£495 0s 7½d) to suggest that the discrepancy may be due to nothing more than an arithmetical error. On the other hand, a third total, £471 5s 9d '... preter opus marmoreum' is recorded in the early fifteenth-century Wessington compilation M. C. 2622 ((printed Raine 1835, 88), on which see below, section A.3.2 and note 12). The cost of the 'opus marmoreum' would be difficult to isolate from the existing accounts; so would that of the Registry, given as £28 0s 10½d in ibid., and incorporated (according to its heading) into the surviving account for 1434-5 (M. C. 5720). This seems to imply the former existence of another set of accounts, compiled in a different way, which may also account for the discrepancy between the two totals noted above.

9. Fossor's works: Loc. II, 18 (printed Raine 1839 App., cxli-cxlii). Wessington's works: first version (to Christmas 1442), Loc. XXVII, 1a. Later versions (to June 1446): Loc. XXVII, 1b; M. C. 7111; M. C. 7131; M. C. 5727(c); M. C. 5727(b) (printed Raine 1839, App., cclxxi-cclxxvi; information from Dobson 1973, 237, n. 2).

10. The memoranda at the foot of the almoner's inventory for 1338 reviewing the achievements of the retiring obedientiary's tenure of his office (printed Fowler 1898, 201) indicate that, in the earlier fourteenth century at least, the genre was not necessarily confined to the priors.

11. This concerns window sXIX: see Chap. IV, note 11.

12. M. C. 2622 (printed Raine 1835, 1-5, 11-13, 21, 23, 25-7, 43-4, 88).

13. It is included in the contemporary list of Wessington's compositions in Loc. II, 61 (Raine 1839, App., cclxx), and must have been completed shortly after Bishop Langley's death in 1437 (Raine 1835, 88).

14. The attribution to George Bates in an eighteenth-century note on one on the manuscripts (Fowler 1903, xiv) has not been substantiated.

15. Knowles, however, felt that the author wrote as an outside observer rather than as a monk himself (Knowles 1948-59, III, 130, n. 2).

16. The text is cited in the near-definitive edition (but see Snape 1980, 20) of Fowler, which also prints numerous later additions and interpolations, together with his own explanatory notes, and several other minor tracts dating from both before and after the Dissolution.

17. Only two certain examples of Benedictine visitation materials survive: 1.9. Pont. 1b (*c.* 1357-8), and M. C. 5634 (*c.* 1384-93 (printed Pantin 1931-7, III, 82-4)); other possible candidates are 2.8. Pont. 12 (*c.* 1375), and Loc. XXVII, 35 (1390).

18. 2.9. Pont. 2, and Loc. XXVII, 30 and 31 (1320); Loc. XVII, 12 (1321-33); M. C. 2645 (1328); 2.9. Pont. 6 and 2.9. Pont. 10 (*c.* 1332). See also Foster 1979, 127-36.

19. The terminology used to describe the documents produced at each stage of the process of visitation varies in the actual texts themselves. Standardized terminology is adopted here, following Dobson 1973, 233-4.

20. Dobson 1973, 234, quoting Jacob 1961, 301.

21. For example, the allegation, made during Bishop Hatfield's visitation of 1355, that Prior Fossor had diverted to his own exchequer some of the income due to the cells of Holy Island, Jarrow, and Monkwearmouth (1.8. Pont. 1, arts. 4-6) evidently arose from a failure to appreciate that some of the revenues of the estates adjacent to those places had long pertained to Durham itself (Dobson 1973, 313; Piper 1987, 6, 8; *idem* [no date], 2, 6-7). Fossor's rejection of this claim was justifiably accepted by his bishop (Harbottle 1958, 95).

22. For an example of the former, see Hatfield's injunctions of 1355 (Harbottle 1958, 99-100); and of the latter from Neville's visitation of 1442, see below, Chap. IV.C.

23. 1.9. Pont. 8, with the corresponding injunctions, 1.9. Pont. 9.

24. Kitchen (1366-8), M. C. 7264 (extracted Raine 1839, 132-3); dormitory (1398-1404), Loc. II, 13; cloister (1409-19), Loc. II, 19; infirmary (1420), M. C. 7265 (printed Fowler 1898, 269-71); Galilee (1429-35), M. C. 5713-5721; loft (1430), cloister lavatory (1432-3), and cupboard in cloister (1433), M. C. 7150 (printed Raine 1839, App., ccccxlii-ccccxlv); Pittington hall (1450), M. C. 7266 (printed Raine 1839, App., cccxxiii-cccxxvi).

25. The latter is suggested by the fact that no references to it can be detected in the accounts of the hostiller (the only one of the three to produce accounts during this period which are still extant).

26. This follows the terms specified in the surviving contract with the master mason, John Middleton (Reg. II, fol. 215b (printed Raine 1839, App., clxxx-clxxxi)). See further Chap. IX.B.7.1.

27. For an example of variation in organization, compare Sacrist 1407-8, in the fair copy of which, A, the expenditure is organized under subheadings which are absent from the draft, B. For variations in phraseology between the fair copy and draft versions of Chamberlain 1357-8 and 1358-9, see Chap. III, note 25. For more substantial variation, compare the alternative version, C, of Almoner 1412-13, which is much more detailed than the other versions, A and B. For variation involving the items themselves rather than just the way in which they are expressed, compare Holy Island 1385-6, the preliminary version of which, C, besides being differently organized, contains three items which do not appear in the final versions, A and B.

28. See Almoner 1413-14(B), Reparaciones Domorum: '... ut patet in quadam papiro inde confectas et super hunc compotum examinatas' (a phrase not repeated in the fair copy, 1413-14(A)). See also Bursar 1476-7, Reparaciones (examination of *papirum* relating to construction of tower at Shoreswood).

29. For examples, see Bursar 1339-40, Structura Domorum, and Bursar 1503-4(A), Reparaciones.

30. This may be the implication of the phrase 'omnibus parcellis compotatis' which qualifies a cross-reference to a *papirus* in Bursar 1419-20, Reparaciones Domorum.

31. For example, the summary entry relating to the reconstruction of the guest hall in the hostiller's account for 1458-9 does not include the names of any masons, though these are included in many entries concerned with minor repairs elsewhere in the account. Presumably these and other details were

contained in the *papirus* referred to (Hostiller 1458-9, Reparaciones). Another instructive contrast is between the renovation of Ellingham chancel in the late fifteenth century, which happens to appear *in extenso* in the bursar's account, and comparable near-contemporary works at Eastrington, which are accounted for by summary cross-reference only (cf. Chap. VII, notes 47 and 84).

32. The practice is recorded in one of the earliest surviving accounts (Bursar 1336-7, Structura Domorum), but may well have gone back further.

33. The 'Durham Household Book' (printed Raine 1844), has not been consulted in the original.

34. For a discussion of this experiment and the circumstances which gave rise to it, see Dobson 1973, 285-91.

35. Minor obediences whose expenditure can never have reached significant levels, such as the feretrar, have been excluded, as has the chamberlain, on the grounds that too few of his accounts survive. Apart from the cells of Stamford, Lytham, and Oxford, which are excluded from consideration throughout the thesis, Coldingham has also been excluded, partly because hardly any accounts survive from after 1380, and partly because the number of compounded entries in those which do frequently makes the amounts of building expenditure impossible to recover. For general notes on how these tables were compiled, see Appendix 2.

36. Notably in the hostiller's accounts in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: see Fig. 7, accounts for 1394-7, 1400-2, 1406-14, 1417-23.

37. Individual preferences might also result in less detail being included in accounts. For example, the longest runs of accounts containing least detail about building from among the hostiller's accounts (see note 36) coincide with William Barry's tenure of that office (1406-23), the only exceptions (1414-17) being explicable in part by comparatively high levels of expenditure. The substantial degree of abbreviation in the accounts from Uhtred of Boldon's second priorate at Finchale (1375-97) in this respect, compared to the ones which preceded and followed them, are presumably also due to him personally. Conceivably these examples reflect a tendency to place more trust in office-holders of proven ability and distinction which resulted in greater toleration of more highly abbreviated accounts.

38. The change to more detailed treatment of building repairs at Finchale was effected before the end of the priorate of Henry Ferriby (1439-50), whose previous accounts had all been much more heavily abbreviated. Unless his last two accounts were delegated to another (due perhaps to his incapacity), this may imply that the new form had been imposed from above.

39. The date of the introduction of unspecified payments, noted by Piper in his discussion of the cells' contributions (Piper 1987, 15) applies equally to those of the Durham obedientiaries.

40. For the earliest occurrences of this latter phrase, see Almoner 1448-9, Expense Necessarie, Chamberlain 1448-9, Pensiones, Wearmouth 1448-9, Expense, Lytham 1452-3, Expense, Holy Island 1459-60, Expense. It presumably acknowledged the fact that the annual chapter might alter or excuse the amounts.

41. The earliest examples are Infirmarer 1488-9, Expense, Chamberlain 1498-9, Pensiones et Stipendia. For the later ones, see Chap. V.A.2.2 and note 18.

42. Separate repairs sections are rare in the accounts of minor obedientiaries and especially in the cells accounts; but see Feretrar from 1501-2; Holy Island, 1341-3; Farne 1450-1; Finchale, 1450-1; Jarrow, 1454-7.

43. See Bursar 1355, Reparacio Domorum (repair of Scaltok mill '... ante principium huius compoti'), and Bursar 1473-4, Reparaciones (a mason paid '... per unum annum integrum et xviij septimanas ante et infra tempus compoti ...'). The almoner's contribution for 1415-16 was entered in the following account with the explanation '... de anno preterito oblita in compoto precedenti' (Almoner 1416-17, Pensiones et Contribuc'). For another way of rectifying accidental omissions, see above, note 29.

44. Fifty-two monks perished in the first phase of the plague alone (Piper 1987, n. 55; see also Harbottle 1958, 90).

45. The first is certainly, and the latter possibly, the result of extensive investment in the repair and reconstruction of the hostiller's urban estate (cf. Chap. I.B.2.3).

CHAPTER III: CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY

III.A: THE CATHEDRAL

III.A.1 INTRODUCTION

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the cathedral church of Durham had acquired most of the characteristic features which still distinguish it today, the major modifications both of its plan and elevation having taken place comparatively early in its long history. The original design, which clearly envisaged western towers from the outset, was brought to completion as late as the first quarter of the thirteenth century with the building of the upper parts of the west towers of the Romanesque church, together with the slender timber and lead spires which surmounted them until the 1650s (Snape 1980, 23 and note 22). But already the church had undergone a major modification with the addition of the Galilee chapel outside the west front in the third quarter of the twelfth century (Snape 1980, 23; Halsey 1980), while the great eastern extension, the Nine Altars, had been completed before the thirteenth century was out (Snape 1980, 23-5) (Pl. 4). The central tower was also rebuilt or extended in the mid thirteenth century (Snape 1980, 26); its complete reconstruction towards the end of the priory's existence was to provide the only major alteration to the fabric after 1300 (see Chap. V.A.1, A.2). There were not many other churches of the first rank in England on which the last two-and-a-half centuries of the Middle Ages left so little trace.[1]

III.A.2 EARLY TRACERY

Although the later medieval period saw no sweeping changes to the fabric of the cathedral, it nevertheless then witnessed a more subtle transformation in its appearance; by the Reformation, virtually all of its windows contained tracery. The insertion of new windows, and of tracery into existing windows, together with the associated reglazing, constitutes one of the most important and least appreciated aspects of the architectural history of the cathedral in this period. The final stages of the process did not take place until the fifteenth century, but its beginnings can be traced to the late thirteenth century, the period in which tracery first made its appearance at Durham. Its most spectacular debut came with the insertion of the great north window of the Nine Altars in the later thirteenth century, but

some of the minor windows of the later stages of this work (the clerestory windows in the west wall above the north choir aisle and in the north wall of the east bay of the choir) also contain simple traceries (Pl. 13). The aisles of the Galilee chapel were refenestrated with simple traceries the form of which looks broadly comparable in date (Pl. 7, 9).[2] This is confirmed by their resemblance to the windows of the Revestry (as recorded in sketches made prior to its demolition),[3] a structure added south of the south choir aisle in the 1290s (Pl. 4; Snape 1980, 26). The most advanced of the early traceries typologically are those in the east bays of the choir aisles (Pl. 5, nVII and sVIII; Pl. 6, 8), which are of late Geometrical type, with unpierced chamfer cusps; they presumably represent the very last stage of the Nine Altars project, when the Romanesque choir aisles were harmonized with the new work, and date perhaps to the first years of the fourteenth century.

The only other traceries which probably belong in an early fourteenth-century context are the two three-light cusped intersecting traceries inserted into the Romanesque windows of the east aisle of the north transept (Pl. 5, nXII and nXIII; Pl. 10). Like those at the east ends of the choir aisles, these had cinquefoiled lights and chamfer cusps.[4] A reference to one of these traceries (nXIII) in Fossor's Works implies *prima facie* that they belong to his priorate (1341-74); as will be seen below (section A.4.1, Chap. VII.B.2, 3, 5), however, there are good reasons for doubting the accuracy of this account. The more reliable evidence in the Durham Chronicle continuation nowhere states that nXII-XIII formed part of his work, and this suggests, as do their stylistic affinities, that these traceries had been inserted before 1341, and that Fossor's contribution was confined to their reglazing (see further below, section A.4.1). They may date from as early as *c.* 1300, but the first forty years of the fourteenth century seem to have been a fallow time in the architectural history of the priory, and in such circumstances the forms of the preceding era may have survived much later. The occurrence of similar three-light cusped intersecting tracery in the Bauchun chapel at Norwich Cathedral (Repton 1965, pl. 4), which can be dated by documentary evidence to *c.* 1330 (Dodwell 1975, 112), shows that even at important centres of the Decorated style such forms might survive surprisingly late, at least in minor contexts.

III.A.3 MID FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REPAIRS

Although the north transept aisle traceries are not closely datable, they seem likely to predate a more general programme of repairs to the church which was under way by 1338. The buttress added to the west wall (*gabellum*) of the Galilee recorded in 1338-40 (Sacrist

1338-40, Expense) may have been prompted by immediate necessity, given its precipitous location and subsequent history.[5] Besides such piecemeal repairs, there also seems to have been a more systematic programme of work carried out in the 1340s. Masons were paid for the *aluracio* (construction of parapets?) of the south aisle (whether nave or choir is not specified) in 1342-3,[6] and unspecified works were carried out on the north aisle in 1345-6 (Sacrist 1345-6, Expense). The former at least may well refer to the filling in of the Romanesque transverse gables of the nave aisles, the outlines of which can still be discerned on the north side and were even clearer on the south before restoration (Pl. 7, 9). Further, the work may also have included the series of seven tiny single-light windows (the eastern four shown trefoil-cusped) which formerly flanked the western four south nave gallery windows (Pl. 9). These are undated; they cannot be earlier than the removal of the Romanesque gables as several of the windows project above them, but may have been inserted contemporaneously with the other alterations.[7] The work would thus have involved the provision of lean-to roofs and parapets like those still existing, and perhaps also some minor fenestration, and would therefore probably have amounted to a substantial project. Unfortunately, the sacrist's accounts of the period are somewhat abbreviated, especially as regards the sections on the church; nevertheless, the comparatively high expenditure totals recorded throughout the 1340s may be explained in part by this work (Fig. 6).[8]

III.A.4. MID FOURTEENTH-CENTURY TRACERIES

III.A.4.1 Date and Method of Financing

In contrast to the early windows of the cathedral, which are completely ignored by the contemporary chronicles of the priory, the continuation of the Durham Chronicle contains several references to the windows inserted during the priorate of John Fossor (1341-74). This not only furnishes a general chronological context, but its terms are often specific enough to enable the exact location of many of the windows mentioned to be identified.[9] The first reference is clearly to the west window (Pl. 26). The second is of great interest since it must refer to Decorated tracery in the north aisle of the nave, the existence of which would never otherwise have been detectable (see note 13, and Chap. V.A.3). The final references must be respectively to two of the three Decorated traceries of identical pattern which formerly filled the western three bays of the north choir aisle (Pl. 5, nos. nVIII-nX; Pl. 15); and to windows sIX and sX in the south choir aisle, as their traceries seem to have more in common with each other than either has with the much simpler one, sXI, in the westernmost bay (Pl. 16).[10]

It is the windows of the north transept which are discussed in the most detail in the Chronicle continuation, however.[11] The 'great window' is obviously that which fills the north facade of the north transept (Pl. 5, nXV; Pl. 27). The identification of the three minor windows is suggested by a later passage.[12] This account unambiguously identifies two minor windows (Pl. 5, nXIV and nXVI; Pl. 27, 11), which must be two of the three mentioned in the previous passage. Although this account describes only the glazing of the three windows on the east side of the transept, and makes no mention of the construction of nXI, the fact that its tracery is of the same pattern as nXVI implies that it is of similar date, and is the third of the minor windows previously mentioned. The tracery of nXII-nXIII, on the other hand, is quite distinct in style from the others in the transept and probably earlier in date (see above, section A.1), so that a reglazing of these as part of the mid fourteenth-century scheme seems quite plausible. It is thus possible to reconcile the documentary and stylistic evidence convincingly here, and the fact that this hypothesis fits both categories strongly suggests that it is to be preferred to the account in Fossor's Works, which confuses the stylistic distinctions between these traceries by attributing to him the great north window and one to the side of it (nXIV-nXV) as well as a small one over the altar (that is, nXIII, which, as has already been noted, is almost certainly earlier), while omitting to mention the remaining three traceries in the transept at all (Raine 1839, App., cxlii).

This evidence is of particular interest because it specifically identifies at least one window (Pl. 5, nXVI) of three lights with tracery consisting of a pair of convergent mouchettes with a soufflet in the head (Pl. 11), as belonging to Fossor's priorate. Five more windows of this pattern are recorded in the church, four in the south transept (Pl. 5, sXII-sXV), and one in the east bay of the south nave aisle (Pl. 5, sXVIII) (Pl. 8-11, 41). While this does not prove that they are of similar date, it does at least provide them with a *terminus ad quem*.[13]

The Chronicle evidence thus enables a substantial number of window traceries to be dated to Fossor's priorate, but the length of his rule, nearly thirty-four years from 1341 to 1374, provides only an approximate indication. Further, there are stylistic differences within the group (see below) which may in part be explicable in terms of their relative chronology, but which need also to be assessed in terms of the immediate historical context of the windows, and of its implications for the sources and methods of financing which may have been involved.

The account in the Chronicle continuation makes it quite clear that the windows in the north transept of the cathedral were inserted in connection with the establishment by Prior Fossor of his chantry at the altar of saints Nicholas and Giles in the northern bay of the north transept aisle.[14] Similarly, the foundation by Bishop Hatfield of his chantry and tomb in the south choir aisle was probably also associated with the insertion of windows, as the Wessington tract on the Benefactions of the Bishops attributes to him 'divers great windows of four lights';[15] the only windows of this kind in the church are in the choir aisles, the two most elaborate patterns being closest to his tomb (see further below). This suggests that a substantial proportion of the total cost of these windows must have been financed from revenues connected with the maintenance of the two chantries, or from the personal income of their founders, and would not therefore have been derived from any of the priory's regular sources of income; one would thus not necessarily expect to find references to them in the obedientiary accounts. There is, admittedly, a series of payments from the prior recorded in the sacrist's receipts in every account between 1351-2 and 1358-9, but their purpose is never specified, and given the comparative infrequence of references to the insertion of windows in the sacrist's accounts, they may equally well have been intended to subsidize other aspects of the repair of the church (cf. above, section A.3).

This hypothesis is confirmed by two further considerations arising from the Chronicle's description of the north transept windows: first, it is clear that the composition of the whole section on Prior Fossor relies heavily on the evidence of account-rolls which, from their lack of correspondence to any entries in the surviving documents of Fossor's time, must now be lost (see Chap. II.A.3.1). This would also explain why a series of contributions towards the cost of windows in the church appears in the expenditure of certain Durham obedientiaries which cannot be traced in the receipts sections of any extant contemporary roll. Similarly, if the information about the cost of these windows is used to calculate the probable cost of the others of the period, the total expenditure cannot have fallen short of £600 (see below). But only a small proportion of this can have been derived from the obedientiaries, since there are comparatively good runs of accounts for Fossor's priorate (Figs. 5-8), yet very few references to the insertion of windows appear in them, either by direct payment in the sacrist's accounts, or in the form of contributions by any of the obedientiaries. The former total £23 14s 6½d,[16] the latter £50 13s 4d,[17] which seems far too small for the disparity to be explained by supposing that substantial payments had been contained in the lost accounts. This implies that the detailed evidence relating to all these operations, and not just those specifically connected with the chantries, was presumably contained in a series of *ad hoc*

building-accounts no longer extant; it also suggests that the income which financed them (again including works not specifically connected with either chantry) was largely derived from sources outwith the priory's own customary revenues.

The extracts quoted or alluded to in the Chronicle continuation are the only direct evidence of what any of these accounts actually contained; but there is a series of references which enables one of the accountants, for part of this period at least, to be identified. John of Tickhill had served as the chamberlain of the monastery since at least 1348-9, and he continued in that post for ten years until in June 1359 he became sacrist, an obedience which he held for a further four years until July 1363. In 1358-9, the sacrist paid 6s 8d to master John of Tickhill 'for making his window'.[18] This amount does not appear in the receipts of Tickhill's accounts as chamberlain for those years, and must therefore have been accounted for elsewhere. Similarly, in 1358-9, the bursar's account has a reference to the purchase of old glass from John of Tickhill for repairing windows (Bursar 1358-9, Structura Domorum).[19] This payment appears neither in his last account as chamberlain (until June 1359) nor in his first as sacrist (1359-60), so it must also have been included in another account altogether. Finally, the Chronicle continuation states that two windows on the north side of the choir had been made via (*per*) John of Tickhill (see note 9). In this context, *per* seems to mean that Tickhill acted as the accountant for this work. All the accounts from his periods as chamberlain and sacrist are extant, and although some payments in the latter may possibly be interpreted as relating to the glazing of these windows (see below and note 21), the amounts involved cannot possibly account for the total cost. Taken altogether, these three pieces of evidence can only imply that, in addition to his other obediences, Tickhill acted as master of the works at a time when some of these windows were being inserted into the cathedral, and that the above references related to his accounts in that capacity, none of which now survives.

This interpretation may also account for certain references relating to the construction and glazing of windows which appear in the sacrist's accounts during Tickhill's tenure of that office (see notes 16, 21). These references make little sense on their own, but may represent sporadic expenditure on items the greater part of which appeared in the lost building-accounts, but which occasionally spilled over into the sacrist's accounts during a period when Tickhill held both offices jointly. The conjecture receives some support from the substantial amounts of money - £45 6s 8d out of a total of £50 13s 4d contributed from all sources - contributed to the work by the chamberlain while he held that obedience, suggesting that

these unusual features in both sets of his obedientiary accounts are connected with his activities as master of the works.

Tickhill's period in charge of the building works is most unlikely to have continued later than 1363, since in July of that year he left Durham to become prior of Finchale, a post which he held until August 1367, after which he served as master of Jarrow for a further two years until 1369. It is much more difficult to establish when he might have begun this task, but it was probably before 1356-7, when the spate of large contributions in the chamberlain's accounts begins, and may have been as early as the chamberlain's first recorded contribution in 1353-4. There is, however, no reason to link him with the first recorded contribution from any source, which occurs in a hostiller's account for 1348-9 (see note 28). While this evidence cannot yield precise dates, it does at least indicate that the bulk of the work seems to have been concentrated in the decade and a half spanning the middle years of Fossor's priorate, between *c.* 1348 and *c.* 1363. It thus provides a context against which the evidence for the sequence of the insertion of these windows can be considered in detail.

The likelihood that two of the south choir aisle windows, sIX and sX (Pl. 17, 18), were donated by Bishop Hatfield in connection with the establishment of his tomb and chantry nearby, has already been noted (see above). In that case, they are likely to have been financed separately from the others, which would explain the statement in the Chronicle continuation that two windows were inserted 'via (*per*) the feretrar'. This obedientiary presumably acted as administrator of the works for Hatfield, just as the alterations to the Galilee financed in connection with Bishop Langley's tomb and chantry nearly seventy years later employed the sacrist in a similar capacity (see Chap. IV.A.5).

Since the Chronicle continuation also says that two windows on the north side of the choir were inserted 'via (*per*) John of Tickhill', these must presumably have been financed by the convent. The three windows in the north choir aisle all used the same tracery-pattern, but the shape of the external window-arch of nX differs slightly from the eastern two (Pl. 15), suggesting that it may be later. On the other hand, the form of its rere-arch most resembles that of nVIII, though the latter is slightly simpler, consisting only of a single hollow chamfer, while nX's has an additional outer order similarly moulded (Pl. 22, 20). In contrast, the middle one of the three, nIX, has a more elaborately moulded rere-arch (Pl. 21). It is thus difficult to distinguish on stylistic grounds which two are more likely to be the ones referred to in the text. At any rate, all three are so similar in their tracery pattern that they

must have been inserted at about the same time. The southernmost window on the south side (sXI) is also left unaccounted for by any of the extant documentation. Its tracery, a Y-division with a soufflet above each pair of lights and another in the head (Pl. 19), is much simpler than any of the others in the choir aisles, while its rere-arch (Pl. 25), which is also much simpler than those of the two adjacent windows (sIX-X; Pl. 23-4), is identical to that of nX, its opposite number on the north side (Pl. 25, 22). It too must therefore be of similar date, its simpler form perhaps suggesting that it was inserted by the convent to complete the series once Hatfield's more elaborate traceries were in position to the east of it.

There can be no doubt that these six windows are closely interconnected stylistically: besides the detailed similarities already noted, all share the same Y-shaped framing-division; while the side-pieces of the northern three have pairs of divergent mouchettes beneath a soufflet which are exactly like those of sX, their simpler centre-pieces being the result of the use of much more depressed rere-arches (Pl. 15, 18). Likewise the rere-arch of nIX (Pl. 21) has a continuous filleted roll extending down the jambs, just like those of sIX and sX, though the arch itself lacks the elaborate additional mouldings and head-stops of the latter two (Pl. 23, 24). These stylistic relationships suggest that the windows were all inserted at about the same time.

A *terminus ad quem* for sIX and sX is supplied by the prior and convent's grant of its permission for Hatfield to be buried within the cathedral, which dates from March 1363.[20] It is conceivable that the document merely gave formal recognition to an already existing informal arrangement, in which case the windows could be earlier. There are strong grounds for supposing that Hatfield's tomb dates to the years immediately following 1363, however (see below, section A.5.1), which suggests that the licence was obtained at the inception of the project. Thus, if the associated windows do predate it, it cannot be by much, and they seem more likely to reflect an interest in that part of the church resulting from the decision to embark on the erection of the monument. A date in the early 1360s is also likely for those on the north side, since at least two of them were inserted in the time of Tickhill, and must therefore predate his departure from Durham in July 1363. Any more precise date is necessarily extremely hypothetical, but it is possible that two references to the insertion and glazing of windows in the sacrist's accounts of Tickhill's period are relevant here.[21] Though the amount involved in the 1360-1 reference is comparatively small, it is conceivable that it represents part of the cost of one of the north choir aisle windows the remaining costs of which, together with the whole of the other two, presumably appeared in lost building-

accounts. Similarly, the 1361-2 reference may represent part of the cost of glazing these three windows, the rest of which would again have appeared in building-accounts. These two conjectures are incapable of proof, but they could explain why the Chronicle continuation mentions only two of these windows, assuming that the information was derived from building-accounts alone, without correlating them with the contemporary sacrist's accounts; and why three windows are mentioned in 1361-2. In any case, the connection with Tickhill, combined with the close stylistic links with the south choir aisle windows, is sufficient to make a date shortly before 1363 probable. Thus all six windows can be dated firmly to the early 1360s, the three on the north side being probably slightly earlier than those on the south.

What position do the choir aisle windows hold in the relative chronology of the windows of this period as a whole? The one which displays the closest stylistic similarities with regard to its tracery pattern is undoubtedly the great west window (Pl. 26).[22] Here, every other light employs a segmental arched head of the type used throughout the choir aisle windows; the centre-piece uses an extended version of the leaf-stem motif, in which four pairs of mouchettes diverge from a central vertical stem. Several features of the design of the choir aisle windows are based on this motif, but it is used most explicitly in the centre-piece of window sIX (Pl. 17). Finally, and more tentatively, the unusual feature of two pairs of superimposed convergent mouchettes which occurs in the side-pieces of sIX may perhaps be seen as reflecting the same principle of superimposition of similar motifs as that used in the construction of the leaf-stem motif.

These stylistic links may be confirmed by a piece of documentary evidence which mentions the fabric of a window 'in the end' (*finis*) of the church. If this refers to the west window, the implication appears to be that it is not far removed from the choir aisle windows in time.[23] The use of the term *finis* in an absolute sense is unlikely to refer to the north or south transept facades; the transepts are usually each described as *pars*, suggesting that the church was thought of as having only two (east and west) ends. Since there is no evidence that the thirteenth-century east facade was altered during this period,[24] the west end is presumably the one referred to here. The chamberlain's accounts for the next two years also contain contributions totalling £23 6s 8d towards the fabric of windows in the church.[25] While the reference is not specified in either case it is possible that both payments were also made towards the west window, since work on such a large project may well have been extended over more than one year. Such evidence as there is thus suggests that the great west

window was most probably inserted in the late 1350s, a date which would accord well with its stylistic similarities to the traceries of the choir aisles already noted.

The only other documentary reference which carries any hint of the location of the window involved is the mention of the making of a window 'towards the south part of the church' which occurs in the sacrist's account for 1355-6.[26] Given that the south choir aisle traceries most probably date from the beginning of the next decade (see above), this presumably refers to one of the four Decorated traceries inserted into the windows of the south transept (Pl. 5, sXII-XV; Pl. 8, 10, 41), or to that in the east bay of the south nave aisle (Pl. 5, sXVIII; Pl. 9). These are all of the type, already encountered in the north transept (Pl. 5, nXI and nXVI; Pl. 10, 11), with a soufflet and a pair of convergent mouchettes over three lights. The amount mentioned is only about half of the likely cost (£14) of the mason work in a window of this type (see note 12), so can only represent part of the cost; but since the previous year's account is missing, it may perhaps be explained as the final instalment of the cost of a window begun in 1354-5. At any rate, it provides a general *terminus ad quem* for the insertion of these windows. Their detailed design, with segmental-headed side-lights flanking a higher pointed central light at the apex of which the two quatrefoil-cusped convergent mouchettes meet, is closely paralleled by the lower part of the tracery of the side-pieces of the great west window, and the probable dating of the latter to the later 1350s seems to corroborate this close stylistic similarity, though it gives no indication of how much earlier the use of this pattern may have begun at Durham.

Though the Durham Chronicle continuation makes a connection between the insertion of the north transept windows and the foundation of prior Fossor's chantry at its northern-most altar (see above) this is of little direct assistance in establishing their position in the overall relative chronology, since its date is unknown. A *terminus ante quem* is, however, provided by a confirmation of the endowments of the chantry, dated 6 January 1360, which makes over lands and tenements of an annual value of £1 to maintain, *inter alia*, two windows beside (*coram*) the altar to which the chantry was attached.[27] At least one of the windows specified as must be nXIV. The close stylistic association between this and the great north window (Pl. 5, nXV; (Pl. 27, 29), means that these two at least must have been constructed by 1360. However, the reference to 'all the others' suggests that work on all the windows in the transept had been completed by the time this document was issued.

The tracery of the two most important windows of this group, nXIV and nXV, is stylistically quite distinct from those employing the leaf-stem and its associated motifs. Here, the entire design consists of assemblages of mouchette stars: three-petalled versions over the outer lights of each group of three lights, five-petalled in each centre-piece, and five-petalled again in the large centre-piece of the great six-light window, this time with the addition of an extra mouchette in the spandrel between the enclosing arches of the two side-pieces. Further, the heads of the lights are all ogeed, and not segmental, as in the leaf-stem type. Finally, alone of all the Durham windows, the internal rere-arch of nXV is surrounded by a band of fleuron, and the external mouldings include a broad casement (Pl. 30, 28).

There is no evidence to suggest how much earlier than 1360 these two north transept windows may be. But this *terminus ante quem* at least demonstrates that they are earlier than the stylistically distinct traceries in the choir aisles. It has also been shown above that traceries related to the latter were being inserted on the south side of the church and at the west end from the middle 1350s at least. It would thus appear either that the north transept windows are earlier than any of the leaf-stem and convergent mouchette traceries, or that they were inserted at the same time as some of the earlier instances of the latter, but quite independently of them. There are indeed references to the insertion of windows in the church as early as the late 1340s and early 1350s, but neither contains any unambiguous evidence as to their whereabouts.[28] These may refer either to the distinctive north transept traceries or to an earlier phase of the convergent mouchette type which, it must be borne in mind, also occur in that transept. The only conceivable indication in the terminology that the former may be meant is the phrase 'fenestram suis' which, in spite of its mangled grammar, may be hinting at the prior's personal involvement in the scheme which it helped finance. This evidence is not sufficient to demonstrate either that the north transept facade traceries antedate all of the convergent mouchette and leaf-stem ones, or even that any of the north transept traceries are certainly referred to in either of these references; the earlier phases of the insertion of traceried windows, that is, before the mid 1350s, are therefore much less clear than the sequence of events in the later 1350s and early 1360s. All that may be inferred is that the north transept fenestration was almost certainly complete by 1360. If the arrangement of the various types of tracery in that transept is anything to go by, the convergent mouchette designs (nXI and nXVI) look as if they might be unambitious routine work filling in the gaps left by other projects, as was suggested above for window sXI in relation to the choir aisle traceries; in which case they at least would be later than the north transept facade traceries.

III.A.4.2 Cost

The references in the Durham Chronicle continuation also contain important information about the cost of certain of the windows. The amounts given for the great north window (nXV) indicate that the glass cost one-third of the total (see note 12).[29] It is not stated whether the figure given for window nXVI represents the total cost or not, but since window nXIV, which has more elaborate tracery but is about the same size cost £20 in total, this is probably the case. It is confirmed by the glazing costs of £13 6s 8d for the three windows which can only be nXI-nXIII. Window nXI is slightly larger than the other two, which must therefore each have cost slightly less than a third of this figure (£4 8s 10d) - say about £4. Since nXII and nXIII are almost exactly the same size as nXVI, its glazing ought to have cost a similar amount; further, by analogy with nXV, it ought to amount to one third of the total cost. This yields a figure of around £12, which is a reasonably close approximation to the figure of £14 given in the continuation. This window is likely to have been slightly less expensive than the others which share its pattern, as it is the only one in which the tracery is inserted within the window-arch of the pre-existing Romanesque head; in all the other examples a pointed arched head has been intruded into the original masonry, necessitating the insertion of internal rere-arches and, in the case of sXVIII, the reconstruction of the cell of the adjacent vault.[30] Window nXIV has a head intruded in a similar fashion, so that the cost of the other windows is likely to have come somewhere between its cost (£20) and that of nXVI (£14). The evidence of the likely cost of these windows is thus sufficient to obtain a rough idea of the likely total cost of the mid fourteenth-century refenestration. Excluding reglazing of pre-existing traceries, the total cost of mason-work and glazing seems likely to have approached £600.[31]

III.A.5 FITTINGS

III.A.5.1 Hatfield Tomb and Throne (Pl. 31-3)

The absolute termini of the Hatfield throne are well known. The formal licence of the convent allowing the bishop's burial within the cathedral dates from March 1363 (see note 20), and while this need not rule out the possibility that work had begun earlier, the stylistic dependence of the throne on the Lady chapel of York Minster, begun only in 1361 (Harvey 1977, 163), almost certainly implies that it is later than 1363 (see below). On the other hand, Wessington's compilation on the Benefactions of the Bishops records that Hatfield had constructed it '... several years before his death',[32] which implies that it does

not date from the years of his episcopate immediately preceding his death in 1381. The documentary evidence thus points to the decade or so after 1363 as the most likely period.

Any more precise calibration must be derived from the evidence of the structure's stylistic context. Wilson has conclusively demonstrated its dependence on the design of the east end of York Minster (Wilson 1980a, 98-100, pls. XIVA-F, XVA-C), the closest parallels tending to be with work of the earlier phases of the Lady chapel, rather than with the upper parts built in the later 1360s and early 1370s. This relationship suggests that a date in the years immediately following 1363 is the most likely context, a hypothesis further supported by the monument's independence of the style of the Neville screen, begun in 1372 (Wilson 1980a, 100; see further Chap. IX.B.5.3).

III.A.5.2 Neville Screen and Associated Works (Pl. 34-9)

The Neville screen can be precisely dated on documentary grounds. Martin Snape has shown that the documentary evidence enables three phrases of its chronology to be distinguished: the dates of its design; of its arrival in Durham; and of its erection (Snape 1980, 27-8). The first must have been fixed in or about 1372, since the accounting year 1372-3 was the first of four in which the obedientiaries and heads of cells began to make contributions towards its cost (Snape 1980, n. 51). This period, until 1376, presumably represents the duration of its construction in London. Secondly, there is a series of payments to masons travelling between Durham and London, and towards the costs of storage of the stonework at Newcastle and its carting to Durham, which occupy the years 1376 to 1379 (Snape 1980, 28). Finally, the Durham Chronicle continuation asserts that the assembly of the screen in Durham involved seven masons for almost a year (Raine 1839, 136). Together with the decoration of the screen, this work presumably occupied the end of 1379 and most of 1380, since the consecration of the high altar on 8 November 1380 must mark the completion of the project (Snape 1980, n. 53).

The two sets of quadruple sedilia which flank the sanctuary must have formed part of the same project, since their canopies are virtually identical to the design of the principal spires of the screen (Pl. 37), and the carving is of comparable quality. In spite of the fact that they are never specifically mentioned either in the Chronicle continuation or in the account-rolls, they should probably taken into account when considering the evidence for the cost of the screen, since the various references to the reredos were presumably meant to include them.

The printed edition of the Durham Chronicle continuation describes the screen as costing 500 pounds or marks ('... quincentesimas libras seu marcas ...') given by Lord Neville, and 200 marks given by the 'prior et officiarii' (Raine 1839, 136).[33] The apparent uncertainty over the former amount is puzzling. It has recently been suggested that the amount in the lost accounts of the work had become partially illegible when the compiler of the continuation consulted it.[34] As the project was presumably accounted for by Lord Neville's receiver,[35] it is conceivable that accounts revealing the total cost were never available in the priory archives, which might then explain the uncertainty; yet it seems more likely that the confusion has arisen as the result of a scribal error, and that, however the information was obtained, the Chronicle continuation originally read 600 marks (see Chap. II, note 6). Moreover, the facts that this amount, like that for the priory's share, is a round figure given in marks, and that it is exactly three times the latter amount, hinting at a simple proportional division of responsibility between Neville and the priory, add to its plausibility as a reading.[36] In that case, it seems worth suggesting that the *raison d'être* of the division of the cost between Lord Neville and the priory in the ratio 3:1 was that the latter were paying for the sedilia, while Neville paid for the reredos proper. The screen itself would then have cost £400 and the sedilia £133 6s 8d. Of course, it is still possible that the decision to provide sedilia accounts for the priory's financial involvement in the project, whether or not its contribution precisely represented their cost.[37]

The third element in this project, and the first part to be completed, involved the provision of a new base for St Cuthbert's shrine at Lord Neville's sole expense. The cost, according to the Chronicle continuation, was in excess of £200. This was also made in London, so that Durham's first taste of metropolitan style must date from around the time of its dedication, on 24 June 1372.[38] It is impossible to be certain that this was in exactly the same style as the Neville screen, but Wilson has shown that many details of the latter are only explicable by assuming intimate familiarity on the part of its designer with several royal works of the earlier fourteenth century (Wilson 1980a, 96-7); given this context, the Chronicle continuation's description of its component materials as combining marble and alabaster makes it almost certain that its style was similar (see note 38), for Wilson points out that the only earlier instance of this combination of materials is Archbishop Stratford's tomb at Canterbury, which is also metropolitan work of a generation earlier, probably by the king's master mason William Ramsey (Wilson 1980a, 97-8). The connection between the planning of the Neville screen spires and those of the Stratford tomb-canopy reinforces the significance of this parallel (Wilson 1980a, 97). The project for the renewal of the shrine-

base is said by the Durham Chronicle continuation to have been conceived by John, Lord Neville after his father's death (see note 38). It is thus dated between August 1367 (Raine 1839, 134) and June 1372. The removal of St Bede's shrine (which had hitherto stood near the shrine of St Cuthbert) into the Galilee in 1370 (Fowler 1903, 45-6) confirms that a major rearrangement of the feretory area was under way at that time, and therefore that the whole scheme must have been conceived in the late 1360s.

III.B: THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

III.B.1 INTRODUCTION

The building works which took place in the cloister and precinct in the fourteenth century remain to be considered. No detailed analysis of the structural sequence of these buildings, where they survive at all, will be attempted, the present intention being confined to setting the works on the cathedral church in context by establishing the periods of major activity involving the priory buildings, and the extent of the financial demands which these imposed.

Documentary references to building works at the priory in the first third of the fourteenth century are extremely scanty. Undoubtedly, this picture is to a large extent due to the poor survival rate of the accounts for this period, since continuous sequences of these documents do not begin at Durham before the 1330s (see General Introduction). On the other hand, the almost total lack of building in the priory's patronage which may be attributed to this period on stylistic grounds suggests that the lack of documents has not entirely falsified the historical situation, though some work clearly was taking place.

One innovation which may have taken place during these years is the construction of the *solarium caritatis* or loft at the west end of the refectory (Pl. 2). This was described as 'le Neuloft' in 1343,[39] and is probably the 'novum solarium' referred to 1333-4 (Bursar 1333-4, Expense Terrarii). It is impossible to interpret the significance of 'new' in contexts such as these, but they may imply that it was a work of the early fourteenth century.[40] Another work certainly of the general period, and perhaps connected with the latter, was a major reconstruction of the cloister lavatory at a cost of £10 9s 4d in 1336-7 (Bursar 1336-7, Structura Domorum). In addition, important alterations to the abbey gate-house are recorded

in the bursar's accounts between 1336 and 1342.[41] These mostly refer to the construction of new buttresses, but the references to repairs to the roof in 1339-40 and to the glazing of a window in 1342-3 confirm the evidence of Fossor's Works, which mentions '... a gable of the chapel over the gate ...',[42] that the work extended to the renovation, at least in part, of the chapel on the first floor. Finally, half of the infirmary without the abbey gate had been 'erected from the ground' at a cost of £13 10s according to a memorandum made by the official responsible in the inventory drawn up on his leaving office in 1338.[43]

III.B.2 MID FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REPAIRS

Several comparatively minor alterations to priory buildings took place during the early years of Fossor's priorate: new chambers were constructed in the guest hall 'supra le botivaunt' in 1344-5 at a cost of *c.* £25 (Hostiller 1344-5, Reparaciones Domorum) and in the infirmary in 1347-8.[44] Finally, two minor windows were inserted into the dormitory between 1347 and 1349.[45] The rather low rate of activity during these years must, at least in part, be a consequence of the diversion of funds into the paying-off of the priory's extensive debts. This policy seems to have been pursued with vigour by Prior Fossor, who helped with substantial contributions from his personal income (Raine 1839, 131-2). According to the Chronicle continuation, this was proceeding at a rate of over £100 per annum while Robert de Benton was bursar (1341-1344 x 1347), and was still in progress in 1349 (Raine 1839, 132).

In contrast to the other years of Fossor's long priorate, the seven years between 1349-50 and 1355-6 are notable for the absence of building works other than minor running-repairs. This is probably due to the impact of the Black Death, which had a serious short-term effect on the priory's manpower and finances (see Chap. II.B.2.7). For example, the average expenditure in the 'Structura Domorum' sections of the bursar's accounts for these years is only £52 per annum, about half the average amount for the preceding and succeeding periods (Fig. 5). Yet to some extent the gap may be more apparent than real since, as has been shown above, the start of the insertion of windows into the cathedral dates from precisely these years.

It is possible that other recorded but undated works of Fossor were in progress at this time. Chief among these are the alterations to the prior's lodging recorded in Fossor's Works: '... his own two chambers, that is, the upper and lower, and all windows with glass. Item his

chapel.'[46] But given the demonstrable inadequacies of this document (see above, sections A.2, 4.1; Chap. VII.B.2, 3, 5) it is difficult to estimate how extensive the reconstruction may have been, and only one small window, now blocked, looks as though it may belong to this period stylistically (Pl. 40). The Durham Chronicle also credits Fossor with a window in the south wall of his hall, at the substantial cost of £40 (Raine 1839, 132). This is said to have been done when Robert of Stockton was bursar, which seems to indicate a date in the 1340s.[47] The reconstruction of the wall of the prior's garden in 1357-8 may also be connected with these works (Bursar 1357-8, Reparaciones Domorum). With the exception of this last reference, none of the other works are referred to in any of the existing account-rolls which suggests that, like Prior Wessington's later reconstruction of the lodging, it was financed by some means independent of the normal revenues of the priory. The reconstruction of the malthouse and its kiln between 1356-7 and 1360-1 (see Chap. IX, notes 18-19) may mark the resumption of building activity on a more substantial scale. This was followed by the rebuilding of the great granary and the granator's exchequer between 1362 and 1365-6 (see Chap. IX, note 20). These were both major projects, the wages bill alone for the former amounting to £52 4s 4d, while the latter was contracted for at a cost of £56 (see Chap. IX, notes 19, 22). Occasional alterations to the precinctual buildings in Fossor's later years are also recorded. Two comparatively minor windows were inserted into the Guest Hall between 1365 and 1367 at a total cost of *c.* £30;[48] and a payment of 1367-8 towards the cost of a new chamber in the Infirmary shows work also in progress there, though its extent and cost remain uncertain.[49] It is probably to be identified with the reconstruction of the chamber called 'Lehom' [Lytham] recorded in Fossor's Works (Raine 1839, App., cxli). The list of Fossor's works also mentions work on a hay-barn for the guest house, a stable and forge, and the reroofing of the bakehouse and brewhouse.[50] Finally, the chapel of the lay infirmary outside the gates of the priory was reconstructed at a cost of £25 13s in 1371-2 (Almoner 1371-2, Reparaciones Domorum).

Besides these smaller projects, two more substantial works were also undertaken at this time, the refenestration of the chapter house and the reconstruction of the kitchen and its ancillary buildings. These require more detailed consideration.

III.B.3 CHAPTER HOUSE

The refenestration of the chapter house clearly began in Fossor's priorate, to judge by the style of the traceries depicted in its eastern windows. Willis's plan shows six three-

light windows at its eastern end, five in the apse, and a sixth in the adjacent straight section of the north wall (Pl. 3); to judge from a late eighteenth-century drawing by Carter showing the southern five windows (Pl. 41), this was matched by a seventh in the opposite section of the south wall. Other drawings of the same period by Carter and Grimm showing the interior of the apse (Pl. 42, 43) make it almost certain that all these windows contained the convergent mouchette tracery already familiar from the minor windows in the cathedral;[51] it seems probable therefore that they were all inserted together at about the same time as the comparable cathedral windows, that is, *c.* 1350-60 (see above, section A.4.1). No mention of these windows can be detected in any of the surviving obedientiary accounts, so they may also have been accounted for in lost *ad hoc* building-accounts; at any rate, their date cannot be independently determined.

The second phase of the refenestration of the chapter house involved the insertion of a large five-light window in its west wall (Pl. 44-5, 302). This has a simple tracery of early Perpendicular type, consisting of long straight-sided reticulation units, ogeed and trefoil-cusped at each end. There is no documentary evidence available to date the window, so it cannot certainly be ascribed to Fossor's priorate. As it is clearly not a 'prestige' design it seems unlikely to be the work of an outside consultant; further, if it could be presumed to post-date the currency of flowing tracery forms in Durham work, which were demonstrably in use at the cathedral itself until the early 1360s or later (above, section A.4.1) and for at least another decade at the cells (see Chap. VI.H), it should not predate the early 1370s. Moreover, the closest parallel to its pattern in the north is the three-light east window of the chancel of Eastrington (one of the priory's appropriated churches in Yorkshire), probably to be identified with a window documented as having been inserted in 1365-6 (Pl. 299; see Chap. VII.E.3); if this can be accepted as evidence for a *terminus ad quem*, it is difficult to envisage the chapter house window as being earlier, for this seems to make the stylistic sequence at Durham in the early 1360s impossibly tight; on the other hand, it is not inconceivable that tracery in a more up-to-date style might have been undertaken at Durham while more conservative forms were still in use at its dependencies. It thus appears that the Eastrington window may have preceded the Durham one, which would therefore date from the second half of the 1360s at the earliest.[52] (The stylistic context of the tracery pattern is discussed in Chap. VIII.D, and its possible authorship (which has a bearing on its date) in Chap. IX.B.6.3.)

The total cost of the chapter house refenestration may be estimated at approximately £150, exclusive of the three buttresses added to the apse which appear on the pre-demolition plan and drawings (Pl. 3, 41). Though not directly datable, these may well have formed part of the same project of renovation.[53]

III.B.4 KITCHEN (Pl. 46, 47)

The only major expenditure on the priory buildings seems to have been concerned with the complete reconstruction of the kitchen-complex, on which work had begun by 1366, as the surviving building-account demonstrates (M. C. 7264).[54] It is clear that funds (perhaps amounting to over one-third of the total cost) were being amassed in contemplation of this work from the early 1360s, however, by the device of assigning the surplus balances of the hostiller to the building fund.[55] This project continues to appear in the accounts until 1373-4 (Bursar 1373-4, Reparaciones Domorum), and involved not only the rebuilding of the great kitchen itself, but also of its associated structures, including a new exchequer and larder (Bursar 1371-3, Reparaciones Domorum), and presumably also of the means of communication between it and both the *solarium caritatis* and the prior's hall.[56] Its recorded cost exceeds £500, and the total is likely to have been nearer £600, which represents an average annual expenditure of £63-£75 over the eight years.[57] It is tempting to speculate that the start of work on the kitchen in the mid 1360s, immediately after the great programme of refenestration in the cathedral seems to have ended, reflects a desire to spread both the financial burden of major building activity, and perhaps also the work-load of the masons.

The form of the kitchen vault, in which a pair of semicircular ribs from a springer situated in each angle of the octagonal structure intersect so as to form a smaller central octagon from which opens a louvre (Pl. 46), has been much discussed. In particular, its striking resemblance to much older islamic ones, especially to examples in Moorish Spain, has excited comment (Harvey 1984, 184). This has led to the contention that its form is directly derived from the latter (Bony 1979, 48; Pevsner *et al.* 1983, 31, 204). Given that masons might travel widely in the Middle Ages, a direct causal connection certainly cannot be ruled out. But there is a possible English precedent which may have supplied the immediate inspiration for the form. The kitchen of St Augustine's Canterbury, built between 1287 and 1291, is known only from excavation (Clapham 1955, plan at end). Though hexagonal rather than octagonal in plan, its angle-buttresses are sufficiently large to suggest

that it was vaulted, and it may therefore also have been provided with a central hexagonal louvre comparable to the Durham arrangement.

III.C: DISCUSSION

Given the evidence that the fabric of the church was undergoing major renovation in the 1340s, it is disconcerting to discover that the visitation records present a more negative picture. Bishop Hatfield's injunctions of 1355 include a stipulation that outstanding repairs to the church and bell tower be carried out within two years;[58] while the monk John of Tickhill alleged during a Benedictine visitation of *c.* 1357-8 that the church and bell-tower leaked, and that the latter was ruinous,[59] which suggests that the defects noted by Hatfield had not been attended to within the specified period. These criticisms may simply reflect the circumstance that the cathedral had only just emerged from a long period of comparative neglect in the first part of the fourteenth century, and that, though the campaigns of the 1340s had remedied some defects, other urgent repairs still had to be attended to. Further, difficulties and delays were only to be expected in the years immediately following the Black Death. Yet the insertion of new windows proceeded apace throughout these years (see above, section A.4.1), work which must surely have been less urgent than remedying the defects complained of here. One is left with the impression that Prior Fossor, whose personal interest in the insertion of the traceries is undoubted (see above, section A.4.1), had an order of priorities which did not entirely accord with those of his bishop nor with some of his more responsible monks. On the other hand, a series of payments from the prior recorded in the sacrist's receipts throughout the 1350s (see above, section A.4.1) may have been intended primarily to fund urgent repairs, particularly if, as has been suggested above, the brunt of the administration of the insertion of traceried windows was borne by officials other than the sacrist; perhaps, then, Fossor was not wholly guilty of putting appearances above prudence.

Taken as a whole, the most striking feature of Fossor's priorate is the sheer quantity of work in progress, concentrating initially on the fabric of the church until the early 1360s;[60] but the sustained renewal of the monastic buildings can be traced to the later 1350s, culminating in the renewal of the kitchen-complex in the late 1360s and early 1370s. Besides these documented works, major but undocumented renovations were carried out on the chapter house, the date of which remains uncertain. The crowning achievement of this

generation of activity was the reconstruction of St Cuthbert's shrine base and the Neville screen, the latter completed only in 1380, several years after Fossor's death, and carried out largely with the support of the Nevilles.

The estimates of cost set out above enable the likely relative costs of these three main elements of the renovations to be compared directly. The refenestration of the church must have cost *c.* £600, and that of the chapter house another £150 or so. Of the monastic buildings, the kitchen-complex probably cost at least £600, and the malt-kiln and granary at least another £100. Finally, the Neville screen, sedilia, and shrine base probably cost over £700 in total. It thus seems that the renovation of the liturgical buildings of the monastery, of certain of its domestic buildings, and of its principal liturgical fittings, each cost an approximately equal amount. And though the convent met only a comparatively small proportion of the cost of the latter, so far as one can tell it seems to have found a major part of the refenestration costs (though Fossor's personal contributions may have amounted to at least a quarter of the total), and the whole costs of the reconstruction of the monastic buildings. The total spent on renovations at Durham in the thirty years or so after 1350 must thus have been in excess of £2150, the prior and convent finding more than two-thirds of this from their own revenues, an average expenditure of £50 per annum. The cost of the works of the first years of Fossor's priorate have been excluded from these considerations as they are impossible to quantify, but it must be remembered that their exclusion makes the above estimate a conservative one in attempting to assess Fossor's overall contribution as a builder.

Impressive though the building achievement of the mid fourteenth-century convent undoubtedly was, it must be seen in the context of the very considerable amounts spent at comparable institutions during similar bursts of activity in the fourteenth century. For example, the recorded expenditure of Archbishop Thoresby on the new eastern arm of York Minster between 1361 and his death in 1373 amounts to £2636 6s 8d (Raine 1859, xiv-xv, note); while even this pales into insignificance beside the £4400 or so spent at Ely on the presbytery and octagon and their fittings alone in the third and fourth decades of the fourteenth century (Wilson 1980b, quoting the second continuation of the *Historia Eliensis* (Wharton 1691, 644, 647)).

In contrast to all the activity associated with Fossor's priorate, both in the church and monastic buildings, remarkably little seems to have happened in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, only two entries in the obedientiary accounts being worthy of note.[61] In

1379-80, there is a cryptic reference to the expenditure of £4 17s 10d on the 'ordinacio' [planning?] of the new hall for the prior's chamber';[62] while a notable repair to the refectory totalling £15 7s 4d took place in 1384-5 (Bursar 1384-5, Reparaciones Domorum). Unlike the situation in the early fourteenth century, the survival rate of the obedientiary accounts for this period is in general high, so that in this instance the absence of building-references does seem to reflect the reality of the situation. The evidence of the visitation materials confirms this. The *comperta* of a Benedictine visitation dated to *c.* 1384-93 record serious defects in the roofs of the dormitory and infirmary, so that the timber was rotting away;[63] and a fragment of 1390, probably associated with a visitation (or, conceivably, with petitions made at the annual chapter) records a plea from the convent to repair these buildings as a matter of the utmost urgency as they had become unsafe, suggesting that nothing had been done in the interval.[64] It seems fairly clear that under Fossor's successor as prior, Robert Walworth (1374-91), the buildings had been comparatively neglected, perhaps in part reflecting the notable decline in the convent's income in this period (see Chap. II.B.2.7), but also (if the other complaints in the visitation of *c.* 1384-93 have any substance) as a symptom of a more general weakness in the regime. Seen from this perspective, the frequency and seriousness of the complaints about the state of the dormitory in the visitation materials suggest that its rebuilding in the years after 1398 was primarily a matter of necessity rather than an expression of conventual prestige. (see further Chap. IV.B.1.1).

The evidence relating to the claustral and precinctual buildings thus strikingly confirms the pattern of building activity at Durham suggested by the stylistic and documentary evidence relating to the cathedral itself. Both indicate long periods of quiescence in the first third and last quarter of the fourteenth century, contrasting with a period of intense activity in the intervening period. This reaches a climax in the third quarter of the century, spanning the middle and later years of Fossor's priorate. It is small wonder that the Durham Chronicle regarded this era as a great period in the convent's history, and that the prior under whom it took place was later remembered as 'optimus edificator'.[65]

CHAPTER III - NOTES

1. Peterborough is perhaps the most obvious analogy.

2. All four in the south wall and the two in the west wall are of three lights. To judge from the size of the openings in the north wall, where the rhythm is interrupted by the north door (Pl. 7), there must have been a two-light window at either end of the north wall, and one three-light window, as restored in the nineteenth century.

3. See the sketch elevations of the revestry in one of Carter's sketchbooks (BL MS Add. 29933, nos. 29, 70); for his drawing of the windows at the west end of its south wall, see Pl. 41.

4. Most of the tracery of one or other of these windows (probably nXIII) survives among the cathedral's collection of architectural fragments (Cambridge 1982, nos. 165-72).

5. Its west wall received the extensive surviving buttressing between 1428 and 1435 (see Chap. IV.A.5). The structure still requires careful monitoring.

6. 'In operacione cementariorum et eorum servientium circa aluracionem australis ale ecclesie, Ciij s. v d.' (Sacrist 1342-3, [unmarginated]).

7. The function of these windows has never been explained, but their small size surely rules out any intention of gaining extra light in the church, or even in the gallery itself (Pl. 9, 14). Could they have lit carrels providing additional places for monks or novices to study?

8. Substantial amounts were also being spent on other parts of the sacrist's estate during these years, however, notably on his manor of Sacristonheugh (£8 19s 7½d in 1347-8, and £26 8s 8d in 1348-9).

9. '... in tempore suo fiebant de novo multa edificia, et antiqua reparata, tam infra abbathiam quam extra, et precipue ... magna fenestra vij luminarium in capite occidentali navis ecclesie, et iij alie in parte boriali dicte navis, et ij ex parte boriali chori per Johannem de Tickille, et ij ex parte australi chori per feretrarium' (Raine 1839, 132). Salzman translated 'per feretrarium' as 'by [the offerings at] the shrine' (Salzman 1952, 392). But even if this were feasible linguistically, the analogy with the following reference to John of Tickhill suggests that the official who carried out the work, and not the source of its funding, is being referred to here.

10. There are minor differences between the restored cusping of windows sIX-sXI (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. XIV-XVI) and Billings's drawing of them (Pl. 17-18). Thus, each of the four mouchettes in the side-pieces and the divergent pair in the centre-piece of window sIX now has only two cusps, whereas all of them have four each in Billings. Further, the apex of each side-piece now has two cusps, whereas Billings shows them with four cusps each (as is still the case with the apex of the whole window). Similarly, each pair of divergent mouchettes in the side-pieces of sX, and all four elements in the centre-piece, now have only two cusps apiece, whereas Billings shows each of them with four. Finally, the spandrels flanking the soufflets in the side-pieces of sXI are pierced, whereas Billings shows them as solid. It is far more plausible to suppose that the cusping was simplified during the restoration than that Billings consistently drew cusps which did not exist in the originals.

11. 'Hic construxit in aquilonari parte ecclesie crucis, ad altare sanctorum confessorum Nicholai et Egidii, fenestram magnam vitream, cum aliis tribus fenestris minoribus ...' (Raine 1839, 131).

12. '... fecit unam fenestram vj luminarium, longam et sumptuosam, in boriali parte crucis dicte ecclesie, iuxta dictum altare, pro qua solvit centum libras et pro vitreatione quinquaginta duas libras. Item, pro fenestra iuxta altare, in parte boriali, cementariis et vitreariis, xx li. Item, pro vitreatione trium fenestrarum, ex parte orientali, supra altaria Trinitatis Gregorii et Benedicti, xiij li. vj s. viij d. ... . Item, pro una parva fenestra facta in cruce boreali, ex opposito altaris S. Gregorii, ex parte occidentali, xiiij li.' (Raine 1839, 131-2, reading the last amount as 'xiiij' with the manuscripts, as against 'xiij' in the printed edition).

13. The three windows in the north aisle of the nave (subsequently replaced by Perpendicular traceries (Pl. 6, 7) which were in turn removed in the nineteenth century (see Chap. V.A.3)) were probably also of this pattern. Like nXVI, they must have been inserted within the Romanesque windows. Conceivably they are to be associated with the first intended burial-place in the cathedral of Ralph, Lord Neville and his wife. According to Prior Wessington's history, this was to have been '... in aquilonarli [*sic*] parte ecclesie ...' (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 748, fol. 63r), though a place before the nave altar was subsequently chosen instead. The equivalent passage in the Durham Chronicle continuation, however, reads '... in australi parte ...' here (Raine 1839, 134), though this may be an *ex post facto* rationalization, based on the undoubted location of the Neville tombs in the south aisle by the end of the fourteenth century.

14. Raine 1839, 131-2, confirmed by M. C. 6334 (quoted note 27).

15. M. C. 2622 (printed Raine 1835, 38).

16. Sacrist 1355-6 (£5 17s 2½d); Sacrist 1360-1 (£6 16s 8d); Sacrist 1361-2 (£11 0s 8d).

17. Hostiller 1348-9 (£5); Chamberlain 1353-4 (£2); Chamberlain 1356-7 (£20); Chamberlain 1357-8 (£10); Chamberlain 1358-9 (£13 6s 8d); Sacrist 1358-9 (6s 8d).

18. 'Item domino Johanni de Tickhill ad facturam fenestre sue, vj s. viij d.' (Sacrist 1358-9, Opera Ecclesie).

19. 'In vitro veteri empto de domino Johanne de Tickhill pro diversis fenestris vitreis reparandis, xxij s.' (Bursar 1358-9, Structura Domorum).

20. Reg. II, fol. 173v (printed Raine 1839, App., cxxxvii-viii).

21. 'Et in calce empto cum stipendio cementarii pro nova fenestra et fractione muris cum salario famulorum, vj li. xvj s. viij d.' (Sacrist 1360-1, Operac' Ecclesie).
'Et in vitro empto pro tribus novis fenestris et aliis fenestris reparandis, xj li. viij d.' (Sacrist 1361-2, Opera ecclesie).

22. First noted in Hodgson 1896-1905b, 77.

23. 'Item, ex gratia prioris ad fabricam fenestre in fine ecclesie, xx li.' (Chamberlain 1356-7, Expense).

24. The architectural history of the rose window is discussed in Chap. IV.A.2.3. It was probably reglazed *c.* 1359-61 (see Chap. IV, note 22).

25. 'Et fabrice fenestre ex gracia dominorum prioris et conventus, x li.' (Chamberlain 1357-8(A), Expense). 'Et fabrice ecclesie fenestre ex gracia dominorum prioris et conventus [amount illegible]' (Chamberlain 1357-8(B), Expense).
'Et fabrice ecclesie ex dono dominorum prioris et conventus, xiij li. vj s. viij d.' (Chamberlain 1358-9(A), Expense). 'Et fabrice fenestre ex gratia dominorum prioris et conventus, xiij li. vj s. [...] d.' (Chamberlain 1358-9(B), Expense).

26. 'Item in factura cuiusdam fenestre in australi parte ecclesie, Cxvij s. ij d. ob.' (Sacrist 1355-6, Expense).

27. '... pro quinque sereis ardentibus singulis annis inveniendis coram altare beati Nicholai et sancti Egidii in eadem ecclesia ac duabus fenestris per ipsum priorem ibidem constructis, cum necesse fuerit reparandis, ac aliis omnibus supportandis ...' (M. C. 6334).

28. 'Et domino priori ad fabricam nove fenestre in ecclesia, C s.' (Hostiller 1348-9, Reparaciones Domorum).
'Item in solucione facta domino priori ad fenestram suis et loco operum, xl s.' (Chamberlain 1353-4, Expense).

29. The relative costs of stonework and glazing for the insertion of a new window in the chancel of the priory's appropriated church of Billingham at this period are roughly comparable (see Chap. VII.B.4 and note 15).

30. Its head protruded through the floor of the south nave gallery above the aisle, which is now the only material evidence of its former existence.

31. The total costs have been estimated on the following basis. (i), Six three-light convergent mouchette traceries with rere-arches (sXII-XV, sXVIII, nXI): cost per window assumed to be £17, i.e. average of documented costs of nXVI (£14) and nXIV (£20); total, £102. (ii), Four three-light convergent mouchette traceries within existing Romanesque windows (nXVI-XIX): cost per window assumed to be as documented cost of nXVI (£14); total, £56. (iii), Six four-light windows (nVIII-X, sIX-XI): average cost per window guessed at £25; total, £152. (iv), One three-light window (nXIV), cost documented at £20. (v), One six-light window (nXV), cost documented at £152. (vi), One seven-light window (w1), cost guessed at £120. Probable total cost, £600.

32. '... per plures annos ante mortem suam' (M. C. 2622, printed Raine 1835, 38).

33. The amount of the convent's contribution is confirmed by a letter of Prior Walworth urging his officials to pay the contributions they owed (Lord Neville having otherwise threatened to withdraw from the project), which is preserved in a late fourteenth-century formulary (DCD Lib. MS C. IV. 25, 53, printed Raine 1854, 237).

34. Wilson 1980a, 90, quoting a conjecture by M. G. Snape.

35. This is implied by a reference to a payment to Neville's receiver in the bursar's accounts: 'Item in solucione facta Willelmo de Blacden receptori domini de Neville in persolucionem pro le rerdos in hoc compoto, xxxiij li. vj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1373-4, Reparaciones Domorum).

36. This conclusion was also reached by Raine (Raine 1833, 40), though his reasoning is not given.

37. It must be presumed that the Durham figure is inclusive of the costs of decoration. To judge from the accounts relating to the reredos erected between 1316 and *c.* 1322 at Exeter Cathedral, this element would have been comparatively expensive. There it amounted to *c.* 15% of the total expenditure recorded in the extant accounts (of which at least one is missing), half of it being devoted to the purchase of gold and silver foils alone (figures from Erskine 1981, 87-91, 110-12, 121-5, 132-5, 143-5).

38. 'Item, post mortem patris sui Radulphi, dominus Johannes de Nevill, dicto Sancto devotissimus, et fidelis eius filius, ... fecit <circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste [24 June] anno Domini MCCCLXXII> novum opus marmoreum et alabastrinum sub feretro sancti Cuthberti; pro quo solvit plusquam 200 libras argenti. Et fecit Londonie in cistulis includi, et per mare usque ad Novum Castrum transferri, et prior usque Dunelmum.' (Raine 1839, 135-6).

39. Snape 1980, 36 and n. 70 (quoting Reg. I, ii, fol. 94v).

40. It was alleged to be ruinous in visitation *detecta* of *c.* 1357-8 (1.9. Pont. 1b).

41. Bursar 1336-7, 1337-8, 1338-9, 1339-40, 1340-1, 1341-2, 1342-3, Structura Domorum.

42. '... unum gavel capelle super portam ...' (Raine 1839, App., cxli).

43. '... idem elemosinarius apposuit in reparacione medietatis infirmarie extra portam que fuit erecta a solo, £13 li. x s.' (Almoner, Status 1338 (printed Fowler 1898, 201)).

44. Bursar 1347-8, Structura Domorum; Hostiller 1347-8, Stipendia, Pensiones, Robe et Contribuciones.

45. Bursar 1347-8, Structura Domorum; Hostiller 1348-9, Reparaciones Domorum.

46. '... duas proprias cameras, scilicet altam et bassam, et omnes fenestras cum vitro. Item capellam suam'. (Raine 1839, App., cxli).

47. Raine 1839, 132. Robert of Stockton appears to be an error for either Robert of Benton, who accounts as bursar from 1341 until at least 1344, or Thomas of Stockton, who had succeeded as bursar by 1347, and accounts until 1349.

48. Hostiller 1365-6, 1466-7, Reparaciones Domorum.

49. Jarrow 1367-8, [disposal of surplus balance].

50. 'Item magnum orrium pro feno ostellarie. Item magnam stabulam et unam forgeam ... Item unum magnum ruf super bracinam. Item unum ruf super pistrinam ... Item unam magnam granariam' (Raine 1839, App., cxli).

51. There are minor discrepancies between the depictions. For example, the tracery in the far right-hand window in Grimm's drawing (Pl. 43) appears to be different from the others, but is not supported by Carter's sketch of it from the outside (Pl. 41). It seems that these variations are more likely due to inaccuracies in the drawings than to actual variations in the traceries.

52. If (which is by no means certain) the window was accounted for by the sacrist, who accounted for its running repairs, it may have dated to one of the years in this period for which his accounts do not survive (1365-7, and 1368-76).

53. To judge from the late eighteenth-century drawings (Pl. 41-3) the eastern windows apparently involved reconstructing the heads of their Romanesque predecessors, so their cost may be estimated at *c.* £17 apiece, like the comparable ones in the cathedral (see note 31). The west window is somewhat larger, but also somewhat plainer, than the four-light windows of the choir aisles, so it may be guessed that its cost was about the same, that is, *c.* £25. This gives a total close to £150.

54. Snape has demonstrated conclusively that the account covers the period from 11 November 1366 to May 1368, and that both the headings in the account itself are wrong as to the years covered (Snape 1980, note 45).

55. 'Et de 1 li. ad structuram coquine' (Hostiller 1362-3, [disposal of surplus balance]).
'... 1 li. liberatis domino priori ad reparacione coquine' (Hostiller 1363-4, [disposal of surplus balance]).
'De quibus solut' suppriori Willelmo de Goldesburgh et Petro de Dunelm collectoribus [2 words illegible] imposite, 1 li.' (Hostiller 1364-5, [disposal of surplus balance]).
A fourth payment in 1361-2, simply said to have been given to the bursar, was very likely for the same purpose as it was also of £50. Subsequent large payments to the cellarer in 1366-7 and 1367-8, and to the bursar in 1375-6, seem to have been to subsidize the running expenses of the kitchen rather than for its fabric.

56. The corridor to the (still surviving) hatch serving the refectory must have run north from the northernmost of the three doorways in the east wall of the kitchen, the area now being divided into offices. The stairs connecting the kitchen to the loft must have risen in what is now the passage leading from the north-east wall of the kitchen to the offices north of it, emerging through the arched doorway in the east end of the south wall of what is now the Battiscombe Search Room; blocked arches marking the position of a second corridor running westwards under these stairs and connecting the first corridor to an open yard (since partly built over) north of the kitchen, and thence to the storage area at the south end of the dormitory undercroft, survive in the east walls of this passage and of what is at present a ladies' lavatory. I am most grateful to Mr M. G. Snape for his advice on these points.

57. The total recorded cost of the kitchen-complex in the account-rolls is £510 12s (Bursar 1367-8, 1368-9, 1370-1, 1373-4, Reparaciones Domorum). If the costs presumably recorded in the lost account for 1369-70 can be assumed to have been similar to those in the preceding and following accounts, which are both over £90, the grand total would have been in excess of £600. Further, these figures seem to have been mostly wage-costs, so the gross cost including materials must have been higher still.

58. '... Mandamus ... quod defectus iam imminentes in coopertura et refectione ecclesie nostre cathedralis et campanilis eiusdem infra bienium [*sic*] a die confectionis presencium continue numerandum refici facias et congrue reparari.' (2.8. Pont. 4 (Harbottle 1958, 99-100)).

59. '... pluit in ecclesie [*sic*] et in campanili, et campanilis est ruinosa ...' (1.9. Pont. 1b).

60. The substantial gift of £120 to the sacrist by Lady Alice Neville on the occasion of her husband's funeral in the cathedral in 1367 (Raine 1839, 135) seems to have had no discernible architectural consequences.

61. There are no references in the account-rolls to the timber screenwork erected by Prior Walworth (1374-91) at St Benedict's altar in the north transept (Pl. 4), before which he was buried (Fowler 1903, 113, 23), presumably implying that this was paid for from his own resources. Something of its iconographical elaboration can be gauged from the list of inscriptions beneath its figures recorded in a tract by Prior Wessington (printed Fowler 1903, 124-36).

62. '... circa ordinacionem nove aule pro camera prioris ... (Bursar 1379-80, Expense Necessarie).

63. '... dormitorium et infirmaria male cooperiuntur, unde pluit in illis locis continue quando pluit, in magnam putrefaccionem et exinanicionem meremii.' (M. C. 5634, art. 13 (printed Pantin 1931-7, III, 84)).

64. 'Item petitum est a conventu humiliter ut dormitorium nostrum et infirmaria que manifestam minantur ruinam et confratrum obitum omni festinacione possibili reparentur ...' (Loc. XXVII, 35). Another fragment, (Loc. XXVII, 34) which is undated but appears to be contemporary with the one just quoted, is apparently a list of chapter ordinances, one of which enjoins the bursar to repair the dormitory and infirmary before the imminent onset of winter ('ante hyemem iam instantem').

65. Raine 1839, 134. Compare the way in which Fossor's younger contemporary, Thomas Chillenden, was later remembered at Canterbury: '... the greatest Builder of a Prior that ever was in *Christes Chirche*.' (Leland 1768-70, VI, 6; cf. Woodman 1981, 152).

CHAPTER IV: CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: *c.* 1400-*c.* 1450

IV.A: CATHEDRAL

IV.A.1 REFENESTRATION, I: SOUTH TRANSEPT AND NEVILLE CHANTRY

The first recorded alterations to the cathedral's fenestration since the time of Prior Fossor over a quarter of a century earlier occur in the sacrist's accounts between 1402 and 1404.[1] The comparatively small amount involved, and the high cost of the glass compared to the mason-work (£4 13s 4d for the latter as against £4 for the former) indicate that these must have been minor windows into which simple tracery had been inserted. Their location remains uncertain, but the elimination of all other minor windows known from documentary or stylistic evidence to have had tracery inserted at other dates leaves two which cannot otherwise be accounted for:[2] sXVII, in the west wall of the south transept, and the slightly smaller window, sXVIIt, above it at gallery level (see Pl. 5). Both of these had lost their tracery by the time Billings drew them (Pl. 11, 48).[3] However, they appear in an undated drawing by Edward Blore (Pl. 49). This shows three cinquefoil-cusped pointed lights in the lower window, and two trefoil-cusped pointed lights in the smaller window above. These simple forms would accord well with the comparatively small amounts involved, and increase the likelihood that they are the windows referred to in the documents.[4]

The two most elaborate examples of Perpendicular tracery in the cathedral are the six-light *Te Deum* window in the south wall of the south transept, sXVI, and the five-light window formerly in the second bay from the east of the south nave aisle, sXIX (Pl. 5; Pl. 50, 51). It is immediately clear that the design of their traceries is similar in many respects: first, each incorporates lights of different heights, the outer two lights of sXIX and the middle two of sXVI being higher and having more steeply-pointed arches than the others. This is a comparatively unusual feature in Perpendicular tracery, and strongly suggests that the two designs are closely associated. Secondly, both windows use strong vertical design-elements, the supermullions above the principal mullions tending to be carried to the window-arch, while those over the apexes of the heads of the lights invariably terminate in split-Y's. Finally, both windows have batement-lights with cinqefoil-cusping throughout, rather than the more usual trefoil-cusping.[5]

Only the date of window sXIX can be determined at all closely. On 22 February 1417, Bishop Langley issued a licence to exhume the bodies of Ralph, Lord Neville and his wife and to transfer them to their present position, beneath a tomb between the piers of the south nave arcade opposite this window (Raine 1839, App., ccvi). Both the window and the tomb-chest are therefore likely to date from about this time, since each must have come into existence as the result of the establishment of the Neville family chantry-chapel in the second and third bays of the aisle. This chantry was certainly functioning by 1422,[6] which provides a corroborative *terminus ad quem*. Further, if one supposes that the insertion of the window were arranged to coincide with the reconstruction of the adjacent cloister walk, it must have dated close to (and perhaps even just before) 1417, as the 'fourth part' of the cloister (most probably the east walk), was being built between 1416 and 1419 (see below, section B.1.2).

The date of the *Te Deum* window is much more difficult to establish. It is conceivable that it may be referred to in an entry in Wessington's Works.[7] Greenwell assumed that this could not refer to sXVI because the amount is too small. This is indisputable, and the evidence could only be reconciled if one were to assume either that the reference in Wessington's Works is to only a part of the expenditure, or that the amount is the result of a scribal error. Greenwell's alternative suggestion, that it refers to one of the two windows in the west wall of the south transept (Pl. 5, sXVII and sXVIIt; Greenwell 1932, 88) deserves serious consideration, and may receive some support from the use of *iuxta* rather than *supra*, the latter being the obvious choice for a window in the position of sXVI if it may be assumed that the clock were then where it now is (see below). Nor would Greenwell's suggestion be incompatible with the theory advanced above, that windows sXVII and sXVIIt may have been inserted as early as 1402-4, as the reference in Wessington's Works may refer to the provision of more elaborate glazing and not to mason-work.

All the interpretations considered so far presuppose that the clock in Wessington's time stood against the south transept south wall. The evidence depends on the descriptions of it in the *Rites*, which are, however, not consistent. One passage suggests that it was at the south end of a gallery on the east side of the rood-screen (Fowler 1903, 34), others that it was in or close to its present position below the *Te Deum* window at the foot of the south transept south wall (Fowler 1903, 31, 78). The only other evidence comes from a reference in the sacrist's account for 1411-12, which mentions a 'round window above the clock'.[8] The reference to a window over the clock in 1411-12 supports the theory that it was then in the

south transept rather than on the rood-screen, which could hardly have been described as having any window above it. In the absence of any evidence to suggest that there was ever a clock beneath the rose window in the Nine Altars, the round window must have been elsewhere in the church. By 1411-12, the insertion of Decorated windows into the facades of the north transept and the west front must have removed any traces there may have been of round windows in those locations, and this, coupled with the positions of all the surviving Romanesque windows, none of which is round, alike imply that the only other possible location is in the south transept south wall. This reference therefore supports that part of the evidence of the *Rites* which states that the clock was in front of the south transept south wall by *c.* 1600, and suggests that it may also have stood in this position earlier. The only theory which reconciles all these various pieces of evidence is that the south transept south wall contained a round window (presumably an original Romanesque one) until at least 1411-12. This therefore provides a *terminus post quem* for the present window.

The implications of the construction of a library over the slype and immediately beneath window sXVI, which is known on quite independent evidence to have been in progress between 1414 and 1419 (see below, section B.1.3), must also be considered at this point. The internal wall-passage at the foot of sXVI has been cut down through the floor of the Romanesque wall-passage which formerly ran at the base of whatever fenestration preceded it. This must have been done in order to secure a window of the maximum dimensions available while clearing the roof of the library below it on the outside wall; equally, Billings's engraving of the profile of the library roof shows that it is slightly lower where it passes directly beneath the sill of sXVI than west of it (Pl. 50). And since the existence of the Romanesque window below sXVI (Pl. 8) indicates that a first-floor building over the slype was not originally envisaged, it seems likely that the library did not replace any pre-existing structure in this position, and that this window remained open until the library was built. It seems most unlikely that the south transept facade window would not have followed the precedent of the equivalent window in the north transept (nXV) and have replaced all of the Romanesque fenestration, had that space been available when it was designed (Pl. 6, cf. Pl. 8, 29).[9] Thus it appears that the window's dimensions were fixed with reference to the library, so it is either later, contemporary, or just anterior (i.e. after the size and location of the library had already been determined, but before its construction began).

It has already been shown that, if the entry in Wessington's Works discussed above does refer to window sXVI, the amount is either a scribal error, or must relate to only a

small part payment, implying that the window was either largely complete at his accession or was only just begun at the time of his resignation; while, if this (otherwise comprehensive) tract does not refer to it, the chronological implications are similar, implying that it either pre- or post-dates Wessington's priorate. The latter is most unlikely given its close stylistic association with sXIX, which probably dates to around the time of Wessington's accession (see above). We have already seen that sXVI must be later than 1411-12; so its most likely context is between then and Wessington's accession in 1416, the period during which work on the library was begun. In that case, it may have just predated sXIX which, as has been shown, most likely dates to *c.* 1417. This theory receives support from the likely date of what survives of the original glazing in the tracery lights. Despite heavy restoration, its closest stylistic analogue is evidently the western choir clerestory at York Minster, now dated to *c.* 1415-20.[10]

If the above conjectures about the likely date of the *Te Deum* window are correct, they prompt the speculation that it may have been associated with Wessington's predecessor as prior, John Hemingburgh (1391-1416), who may be supposed to have had an interest in this part of the church as he was buried before the northernmost altar of the south transept, a location which he is likely to have selected himself. The situation may thus parallel the refenestration of the north transept in association with the establishment of Prior Fossor's chantry there in the mid fourteenth century (see Chap. III.A.4.1).

The figure of £30 given as the cost of window sXIX in Wessington's Works seems perfectly reasonable for a window of this size,[11] since its pronouncedly depressed head (its shape doubtless determined by that of the adjacent Romanesque aisle vault) precludes any elaborate tracery. There is no direct evidence as to the cost of sXVI, but the fact that it is more than twice the size of the other, and has a more steeply arched head, permitting more elaborate tracery, suggests that it would have cost at least £60. The total cost of the two must therefore have been in the order of £100, the cost of sXIX presumably being borne by the Nevilles. All the sacrist's accounts for period 1412 to 1416 are extant, and as none contains any indication of work in progress on a major window, sXVI was presumably funded by some *ad hoc* arrangement rather than by the convent directly. If the speculation that it was associated with Prior Hemingburgh is right, it may have been paid for by him personally, just as Fossor had presumably funded the equivalent window on the north side.

IV.A.2 REFENESTRATION, II: NINE ALTARS

IV.A.2.1 Introduction

In contrast to its great counterpart at Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, the Nine Altars at Durham did not undergo any radical refenestration in the late Middle Ages. The original lancets were, however, subsequently equipped with tracery, much of which survived into the late eighteenth century and appears on early depictions (Pl. 52, 54). These make it clear that only two designs were used, for the upper and lower lancets respectively. The latter at least was clearly of Perpendicular type, which suggests that it was probably inserted together, rather than piecemeal. Only that in the south wall was retained in subsequent restorations and is still visible (though renewed) today.[12] The history of the rose window in this period also deserves investigation, for though the shape of the adjacent cell of the thirteenth-century vault leaves no doubt that a great circular window has always been a feature of the centre of the east facade (Curry 1980, 137), its subsequent fate is much less well established.

IV.A.2.2 Lancets

There is little direct evidence for the date of the insertion of traceries into the lancets of the Nine Altars, but the entries in Wessington's Works leave no doubt that the bulk of it at least dates from his priorate.[13] There is an apparent discrepancy between the eleven lower windows mentioned and the thirteen extant in the building. This may be resolved by supposing either that two of the windows were accidentally omitted from the total; or that all thirteen were intended to be included, and that two have been excluded, either by scribal error (reading 'xj' for xiij'), or by counting each of the two pairs of lancets in the south front (Pl. 5, sVI-sVII; Pl. 53) as one. The cost of each lancet cannot therefore be determined with certainty. If eleven single lancets are really meant, the average cost of each would then be £10 18s 2d; if, on the other hand, the text was meant to read 'xiij', or if sVI-sVII are being counted as pairs, the average cost per lancet would be £9 4s. 7d. Which of these is more likely to be the correct figure?

Fortunately, there are other pieces of evidence which help to resolve this problem. There is a reference to the insertion of tracery and glass in what is almost certainly one of these windows in the sacrist's account for 1416-17.[14] Besides, the early fifteenth-century tract on the Benefactions of the Bishops mentions the donation of glass for two of these lancets.

Bishop Skirlaw's executors paid for that in the central lancet (I) and Bishop Langley for that in the adjacent one to the south (sII) at a cost of £5 6s 8d and £5 respectively.[15] In contrast, the tracery inserted in 1416-17 cost only £4 4s 1d to glaze. The variation in the glazing-costs of these three windows may be due in part to their inclusion in the former two of the cost of ferramenta in the totals, this being separately itemized in the sacrist's account. Alternatively, it may reflect the slight variations observable in the size of the Nine Altars lancets themselves. Or the episcopal benefactors may simply have commissioned more expensive glass. Now, the total cost of the window inserted in 1416-17, £9 0s 2d, is remarkably close to the average cost of £9 4s 7d given by the figure in Wessington's Works on the assumption that it refers to thirteen rather than eleven lancets. Moreover, even if the higher cost of the glass indicated by the episcopal benefactions is taken into account, the total would still be closer to the above rather than to the average cost assuming that eleven lancets are referred to.[16]

The problem of assessing the cost of each of the ten upper windows is even more complex. Though the possibility of scribal error seems less likely in the case of this figure, the difficulty as to whether the lancets of the south front are counted as two or four still remains, with the added complication that it is not possible to determine how many of them, if any, are included in the six windows mentioned in Wessington's Works (see note 13). This figure may refer only to the six in the east front; but if sVI-VII, each consisting of a pair of lancets, were included as two of the six, then the total number of lancets referred to may be as high as eight. As a result, the cost per window may have ranged from £1 11s 6d to £1 3s 7½d.

The upper windows are on average about two-thirds the area of the lower ones, yet this evidence suggests that their cost would have been somewhere between one-sixth and one-seventh of the latter. This may be accounted for partly by assuming that the reglazing involved the reuse of old materials here, rather than the purchase of any new glass;[17] and partly because the tracery form was much simpler than in the lower lancets, though its precise original form remains in doubt. The authenticity of the tracery in the lower lancets of the south front has never been questioned. This is not the case with the upper lancets however, Blore showing the 'Y'-division and the transom, but not the cinquefoil-cusping of the tracery as restored (Pl. 55).[18] The cusping could have been an original feature which later weathered away or was shorn off, but it would be odd if none had survived in the upper stages, while it had remained intact in those beneath. Moreover, all the other clerestory

windows in the church eventually acquired uncusped tracery (see below); and the discrepancy between the cost of the upper and lower windows in Wessington's Works, even allowing for the reuse of the glass, is substantial. Both of these considerations suggest that the uncusped version is the original.

Since the entry in Wessington's Works almost certainly implies that all the lower lancets acquired their tracery during his priorate, and since the reference in the sacrist's account of 1416-17 must refer to one of them, work must have been begun immediately after his accession in November 1416. The date of completion is less easy to determine precisely, but payments in another sacrist's account suggest that work was still in progress in 1424-5.[19] The dedication of the altar there mentioned implies that the reference must be to window nIII (Pl. 5); while the fact that a York glazier rather than the priory's own glazier was involved strongly suggests that new work rather than a repair was in progress here.

Given that the actual number of upper lancets falls short of the number mentioned in Wessington's Works by between two and four (see above), it remains uncertain whether tracery was inserted into all of the windows of the upper tier at the same time as that of the lower lancets. One possible explanation for the discrepancy is that work on these had started before Wessington's accession. Work on this part of the church was certainly under way before 1416, as several minor repairs to the *fiole* or turrets of the Nine Altars are recorded in the sacrist's accounts between 1408-9 and 1412-13.[20] This may also provide the context for the more substantial repair, costing £13 11s, to a *fiola* '... on the north side of the church ...' recorded in Wessington's Works, though the reference may equally well be to one of the north transept turrets.[21] Besides, the reglazing of the rose window between 1409 and *c.* 1412 suggests that the work of reglazing had probably also begun before Wessington's priorate (see below), and that it may have proceeded (in what would, indeed, have been the logical order) from the upper to the lower tier of windows.

IV.A.2.3 Rose Window

The latest recorded reglazing of the rose window was undertaken by Richard Pickering, rector of Hemingbrough, at a cost of £14; he was presented to this rectory on 8 September 1409 and died before 30 September 1412 (Snape 1980, 25, n. 39). The work presumably does not date from before 1409, but may have continued later than 1412. It has been suggested recently that the tracery of the rose window, as well as its glass, was renewed

at this time (Curry 1980, 137). This receives *prima facie* support from John Carter's elevation of the interior of the northern third of the east wall of the Nine Altars (Pl. 54), which shows a small piece of its tracery as having pierced outer spandrels and cusping of a form which looks distinctly later than the mid thirteenth century (Pl. 57). Neither of these features occurs in the tracery in its present post-restoration form (Pl. 56). If accurate, this engraving would therefore constitute important evidence for what would have been one of the most costly and elaborate examples of tracery-design in the late medieval cathedral. But can it be corroborated?

There is no surviving documentary evidence of any kind which implies that the renewal of the tracery of the rose window was carried out when it was reglazed, while the total recorded cost of the latter, £14, leaves no doubt that it refers to the glazing alone. Two references to the purchase of glass '... for a round window ...' between 1359 and 1361 have been interpreted, probably correctly, as referring to this window.[22] If so, they raise the further possibility that its tracery could have been renewed at the same time as that reglazing (though again there is no documentary evidence in support of the hypothesis); and the existence of at least one other round window in the church at this time, probably in the south transept south wall (see above, section A.1), means that the identification cannot be regarded as certain. There are thus no documentary grounds for supposing that the tracery of the rose window was ever renewed in the later Middle Ages. This does not entirely discredit the evidence of Carter's drawing, since it is still possible that the work was carried out without any documentation chancing to survive; but it does cast suspicions on its accuracy.

Carter's complaint that this tracery had been restored inaccurately means that his drawing of it must be given particularly careful consideration (Curry 1980, 137). On the other hand, there is no reason to suppose that he had an opportunity to draw it in situ before its restoration, so it may well be hypothetical in some degree. Further, it conflicts with an engraving of 1722 (Pl. 58), which seems to be accurate in its depiction of other tracery details. Curry (*loc. cit.*) suggests that Carter's drawing is based on this. The 1722 engraving clearly attempts to show the outer spandrels with some sort of piercing, but their treatments of this detail are not at all alike. Yet both agree in showing the spandrels pierced, whereas the restored version incorporates solid spandrels. Perhaps this aspect, then, was the object of Carter's criticism.[23]

The absence of any documentation supporting a late medieval date for the rose window tracery, the discrepancies between Carter's version and other representations of its pre-restoration form, and the demonstrable inaccuracy of Carter's drawings in other respects (see notes 56, 57, 59) raise the possibility that the original thirteenth-century tracery survived until the late eighteenth-century restoration. This conjecture is supported by the stylistic evidence. Its basic pattern, as recorded in the 1722 engraving, consisted of a sexfoil-cusped oculus surrounded by twelve panels bifurcating directly into an outer circle of twenty-four, each one trefoil-cusped, and with pierced spandrels between the outer panels (Pl. 58). This arrangement is closely paralleled in the south transept rose at York Minster of *c.* 1240-50 (Harrison and Barker 1987, 145-6, figs. 7-8), the pierced spandrels of its inner wheel providing a possible explanation of the attempted depiction in the 1722 engraving of such a feature in the outer spandrels at Durham. Admittedly, the engraving makes the Durham rose look more fully traceried than its York counterpart, but is not to be dismissed on that account, given that it may date from as much as a generation later.[24]

The form of the rose window tracery in Carter's drawing is thus almost certainly inaccurate. It has therefore probably acted as something of a red herring, obscuring what both the silence of the documents and the other depictions of this tracery, interpreted in the light of the comparative stylistic evidence, alike suggest, namely, that the original thirteenth-century tracery remained unaltered until the 1790s. The contribution of the later Middle Ages was thus confined to reglazing, probably in 1359-61 and again certainly in 1409-12, though why this window should have been reglazed twice within such a short period remains unclear.

IV.A.2.4 Summary

The renovation of the Nine Altars thus began with the repair of some of its turrets between *c.* 1408 and *c.* 1413. Work had progressed to the reglazing of the rose window by 1409-*c.* 1412. Uncusped Y-tracery was put into the upper lancets, beginning shortly before 1416, and largely reusing old glass. The lower lancets, with more elaborate (and cusped) tracery and new stained glass, were begun in 1416-17 and were still receiving attention in 1425-6. The work was probably completed shortly afterwards. The total cost was at least £150, and though recorded contributions to the glazing total £24 6s 8d, the bulk of the cost was presumably met by the convent.[25]

IV.A.3 REFENESTRATION, III: ROMANESQUE GALLERY AND CLERESTORY

The final phase in the refenestration of the church in Wessington's priorate was concerned with the insertion of extremely simple uncusped tracery into most of the small Romanesque windows of the upper stories of the church. A third of these (the four windows of the south choir clerestory and all the clerestory windows in the transepts except the three on the west side of the north transept) had lost their tracery before they were drawn by Billings (Pl. 8, 10, 11). Thus it is not absolutely certain that all of these windows had once been provided with tracery, though the fact that most of the gaps occur on the south side of the choir and in the south transept, which had been restored just before Billings's drawings were made (Curry 1985, 17), suggests that it is a reasonable assumption.

Two designs were used, generally varying according to the size of the window involved: the larger windows (the four in the north choir clerestory and all fourteen in the nave clerestory) contained three-light intersecting tracery (Pl. 6, 7, 9). Among the smaller windows are those of the south choir clerestory, which are only about two-thirds the size of those on the north side, apparently due to the removal of the innermost stonework in an attempt to increase the size of the glazed area (an alteration which presumably dates to the refenestration under consideration), whereas the original Romanesque windows were retained unaltered on the south side. The other smaller windows comprise all the transept clerestories (Pl. 10, 11), which are slightly smaller than the south choir clerestory. The only three of these eighteen to retain their tracery in Billings's time had simple two-light Y-tracery, and in view of the similar size of the others they must be presumed to have had tracery of the same type. This pattern is also found in several windows at gallery level, which were presumably renovated as part of the same campaign. Thus eleven windows of the nave gallery,[26] which are about the same size as the group of smaller clerestory windows, had tracery of this form (Pl. 6, 7, 9). The final example is in the window in the west wall of the north transept at gallery level (Pl. 5, nXVIt; Pl. 11). This forms an exception to the general rule, since it is comparable in size to the larger type of clerestory window, yet is filled with the Y-tracery which typifies the smaller ones. The entire scheme thus apparently involved almost fifty windows, eighteen with the three-light intersecting design and thirty with two-light Y-tracery.

There is some documentary evidence relating to the cost of these windows.[27] Its interpretation depends upon which of the two types of tracery is the object of the references,

however. There are no traceried windows at gallery level in the choir, so the first document must refer to the choir clerestory. Unfortunately, this almost certainly employed both tracery designs, since we have already seen that the four windows on the south side are too small for anything other than the Y-tracery type, while the four larger ones on the north contained the intersecting type. However, it seems reasonable to assume that tracery would have been inserted into the windows of each side on separate occasions, so the mention of four windows makes it likely that all of one side or the other was being repaired; therefore all the windows are likely to have been of the same design. This at least enables the cost per window to be fixed, though it is impossible to know how much to deduct from the glazing-costs to allow for the repair of 'other windows in the church'. The mason-work would therefore have cost 13s 8d each, and the glass something under 8s 7½d each, giving a total of somewhat less than £1 2s 3½d per window. But to which of the two designs does it apply?

The only other comparable window in the cathedral for which any documentary evidence exists is that in the south transept west wall at gallery level (Pl. 5, sXVIIt; Pl. 11). This, together with the larger window below it, cost £8 13s 4d (above, section A.1); it was argued above that the upper window cost rather less than half of the total amount, perhaps substantially less if (as seems likely) its glazing were plainer than that of its larger companion. The area of window sXVIIt is virtually identical to that of the larger type of clerestory windows, so their glazing costs would have been similar. But their three-light tracery must have used about twice as much stone as its Y-tracery, and would therefore have been rather more expensive overall. The cost of the tracery of the upper lancets of the Nine Altars, which has been estimated at between *c.* £1 4s and *c.* £1 12s (see above, section A.2.2) is also broadly comparable. Though their area is much larger, the amount of tracery is virtually the same as in the three-light clerestory windows. Both comparisons suggest that the total cost of the latter cannot easily have been under £2 each. This is about twice the total calculated from the sacrist's accounts, and since the smaller type of window is half the area of the larger, and uses less than half the amount of tracery, these are almost certainly the ones referred to in the 1438-9 account, which therefore relate to the south choir clerestory. Moreover, the nave window mentioned in the 1440-1 account costs slightly less than these, so it cannot refer to the nave clerestory windows, which are all of the three-light type, and is presumably therefore connected with one of the smaller windows in the nave gallery.

Unfortunately, these figures cannot be reconciled with the evidence of Wessington's Works, according to which the '... factura fenestrarum supra chorum ...' cost £27: more than twice the total of *c.* £12 based on the amounts estimated above. Yet evidence based on the account-rolls themselves seems more likely to be accurate here though it is difficult to explain the cause of the discrepancy; it may be a simple error of transcription or of computation. If the figure of £27 has any significance at all, it may have been intended to refer to the cost of the transept as well as the choir clerestories, which together would total approximately this amount. Using these estimates of *c.* £2 for each large window and *c.* £1 2s for each of the smaller, the total cost of the entire scheme must have reached some £70.

The two account-roll references show that work was in progress between 1438-9 and 1440-1, but work on the choir had been under way for at least two years before the former date; in 1437-8, the feretrar contributed 60s '... to the fabric of windows above the choir' (Feretrar, 1437-8, Pensiones et Stipendia).[28] Further, a contribution of 20s from the almoner in the previous year '... assigned to the repair of windows in the choir ...' (Almoner, 1436-7, Expense Necessarie) almost certainly refers to the same work.[29] If the reference in the 1438-9 account is to the south choir clerestory, as suggested above, these two payments presumably refer to the windows of the north clerestory, which in that case would have been reconstructed in the two preceding years. The payee is not named in either case, but the sacrist was presumably directly responsible for this as well as for the work of 1438-9, though his accounts for these years are lost, so it cannot be regarded as certain. If the conjecture is correct however, two further contributions of 40s, both made in 1436-7, by the hostiller '... to the sacrist of Durham for the repair of the church ...' and the feretrar '... for the fabric of the church ...' were probably also connected with the scheme.[30] It may not therefore be coincidental that these four contributions total £8: exactly the same as the cost of the north choir clerestory windows, as estimated above.

The choir clerestories are thus firmly dated to between 1436-7 and 1438-9. But neither their position in the order of construction of the other windows of the scheme, nor its outer termini, are anything like so clear. There is a complete run of sacrist's accounts from 1438-9 to 1445-6, but they contain no further information other than the solitary reference to a nave gallery window in 1440-1 already discussed (see above and note 27). Even if the sacrist accounted directly for the other windows, so many of his accounts of this time have perished (nothing survives between 1425 and 1438 nor between 1446 and 1458 (Fig. 6)) that this fact is of little help in determining their date. If the work continued after

Wessington's resignation in 1446, it would explain why only the choir windows are mentioned in Wessington's Works. On the other hand, the major repairs to the nave roofs, which were probably carried out in the 1430s (see below, section A.6) might have provided an opportunity for work on the nave clerestory windows to have preceded concurrently; their cost may have even been subsumed into the totals given for the roof repairs in Wessington's Works, which would explain why they are not mentioned separately. The complete lack of references to this work in the sacrist's accounts between 1441 and 1446, and the certainty that work was under way for at least two years before 1438-9, perhaps favour the latter conjecture. Alternatively, the rest of the work may have been contained in *ad hoc* building-accounts now lost. If so, the silence of the sacrist's accounts in the 1440s becomes irrelevant and the termini of the scheme as a whole rendered completely incalculable.

IV.A.4 REFENESTRATION, IV: DISCUSSION

The insertion of tracery into small Romanesque and early Gothic windows in the upper stories of greater churches seems to be predominantly a phenomenon of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and reflects a new and essentially functional preference for the use of stone rather than heavy ferramenta as the principal means of bracing areas of glass against wind damage. To judge from the presence of a solitary (and undocumented) Decorated tracery in one of the nave gallery windows (Pl. 5, sXIXt; Pl. 51), the process may have begun sporadically at Durham as early as the mid fourteenth century. But (with the exceptions of sXVII and sXVIIt) the great bulk of this work was carried out during Wessington's priorate. Restrictions of scale did not invariably mean abandonment of the more sophisticated aspects of tracery-design, as the minor windows of Wells and Peterborough Cathedrals still bear witness (Pl. 59, 60), but (even allowing for the exceptionally small size of some of the windows involved) the Durham tracery is still remarkably unpretentious. Analogies can be found, however, such as the tracery of uncertain date in the Romanesque east transept clerestory windows at Winchester Cathedral, which were simply divided into two by a central mullion (Pl. 61). Nor is the phenomenon confined to England; the Romanesque windows in the apse of Cerisy-la-Forêt in Normandy have Y-tracery exactly like the smaller Durham clerestory windows (Musset 1975, pls. 53, 57). No doubt such forms were once much more common before the depredations of nineteenth-century restorers.

The tracery of the lower lancets of the Nine Altars - the only windows of any of these schemes which were designed for positions which were easily visible - is conceived on

an altogether more sophisticated level than the others. It is an elegant design and seems particularly suited to the subdivision of the excessively long, narrow shapes which it fills (Pl. 53, 54). Seen from this point of the view, it bears comparison with other attempts to solve similar problems in the choir transepts at Worcester and in the west front of Peterborough (Pl. 62, 63).

Though the precise dates and relative order of the construction of windows sXVI and sXIX must remain uncertain, both were almost certainly carried out in the second decade of the fifteenth century, and are therefore contemporary with the start of the work on the tracery of the lower lancets of the Nine Altars (see above, section A.2.2). This may be reflected in certain stylistic resemblances. In particular, the use of comparatively long batement-lights with cinquefoil-cusping is strikingly similar; while the use of Y-tracery as both the principal and subsidiary framing-divisions of the Nine Altars lancets may be paralleled by the uncommon adoption of a Y-division as the principal form of sub-division of sXVI, and in the use of split-Y terminations to the batement-lights both here and in sXIX.

Comparison of the work of the first half of the fifteenth century with the earlier phases of the refenestration of the cathedral immediately reveals its more limited scope: thus the likely total cost, some £318,[31] is barely half of the expenditure on the windows of the church during Fossor's priorate (see Chap. III.A.4.2). The main reason for this is the lack of large-scale essays in tracery-design in the Perpendicular work. Only the *Te Deum* window, which completes the series of facade windows begun under Prior Fossor, and its smaller companion in the Neville chantry, provided opportunities for the production of tracery of any degree of elaboration. All the other work, amounting to over two-thirds of the total expenditure on windows, involved the insertion of tracery into pre-existing openings. A greater contrast with the refenestration of the Decorated period, only three windows of which were inserted without entailing the reconstruction of the head of the earlier opening at least, it would be difficult to find.

IV.A.5 GALILEE CHAPEL AND REGISTRY

The middle years of Wessington's priorate are marked by a hiatus in the refenestration programme, during which attention became focused principally on structural repairs. The extensive renovation of the Galilee was undertaken by Bishop Langley, who had founded his chantry there as early as 1414 (Dobson 1973, 72), entirely at his own expense; but

another fifteen years were to elapse before he began the building works associated with it. Five large buttresses were added to the west front, one on the line of each of its four arcades and a smaller one at the south-west corner; two arches span the northern three buttresses externally, and support two small chambers which project westwards beyond the line of the original west wall (Pl. 12, 64). The first, beneath the central window (Pl. 5, G/wI) is completely open to the Galilee and is of unknown function. The second, beneath window G/nVI, is walled off from the chapel and gives access to the shaft of a well which is itself in a small chamber between the feet of the northern two buttresses (Fowler 1896-1905, pls. 2-3). The three central windows of the west wall (Pl. 64), and the crenellated parapets of all the walls were also added at this time, and the roofs of the three central aisles were renewed.

In the interior, two doorways into the Galilee from the north and south aisles of the nave were inserted, while the old central west door was blocked, partly with the Romanesque wall-arcading which had presumably been removed to make the two new doorways (Pl. 65, 66). Finally, a carved wooden ceiling and a reredos for the new chantry altar were inserted in front of the blocked doorway (Pl. 67), and the marble tomb (Pl. 69) and screens of the bishop's chantry-chapel itself were then erected in the eastern two bays of the central nave of the Galilee. The west door was unblocked in the mid nineteenth century, and the carved wooden fittings of the chantry had disappeared by the end of the eighteenth century.[32] Otherwise, the Galilee remains much as Langley left it.

A complete series of building-accounts for this work survives, spanning a period of six and a half years between March 1429 and October 1435, which therefore act as secure outer termini for the work.[33] However, the internal evidence of the accounts themselves demonstrates conclusively that all of the important construction work had been completed by November 1432. Thus virtually all the stone required had been purchased by that date, only 41 fothers out of a total of 1,451 being bought between 1432-3 and 1435. Correspondingly large gangs of masons and carpenters were employed between 1429 and 1431 and 1429 and 1432 respectively. The re-roofing had clearly taken place by 1432, since the 1431-2 account contains the only references in any of the accounts to the purchase of nails '... pro tectura ...' and of 22 fothers of lead for the roof. Iron fittings for the doors were also bought in this year, suggesting that the building was being fitted out.[34] Finally, the only reference to glaziers in the accounts occurs in 1432-3.[35] This can only refer to the glazing of the three central windows in the west wall. This general picture is confirmed by the rate of expenditure on the work: 80% of the total cost was expended by 1432, and of the remaining 20%, 6%

was devoted to the cost of the registry (see below), and not to the Galilee itself. Thus the last two and a half seasons' work on the chapel were probably principally concerned with the erection of the fittings of the chantry chapel itself, as the references to purchasing paving-stones and carriage of marble, marble working, and to the payment of woodcarvers in the 1433-5 account also suggest.[36]

In addition to the work on the Galilee itself, the accounts also cover the expenses of the erection of the registry, which is presumably the same as the 'bishop's registry outside the north door of the church' mentioned in the contemporary account of Langley's benefactions (quoted note 41). This is almost certainly to be identified with a small room formed by erecting a wall between the west porch and the angle of the north-west tower (Pl. 3).[37] It seems to have been demolished at some time during the eighteenth century, but it appears on a painting of the north side of the cathedral purporting to show its form before the removal of the spires in the 1650s, but perhaps painted only after their removal (Pl. 70).[38] This is extremely crude in its detail, but there is no reason to doubt that its north wall contained two small windows flanking a central doorway as depicted. References to the purchase of lead for its roof in 1433-5,[39] and to its door in 1435,[40] suggest that it was not begun until after the main structural alterations to the Galilee were complete.

The total expenditure recorded in all eight building-accounts is £495 0s 7½d. This tallies closely with the total of £499 6s 8d given in the continuation of the Durham Chronicle (Raine 1839, 146), which presumably depends on the accounts (see Chap. II.A.2). It also corresponds to the total amount given in the section of Prior Wessington's compilation on the Benefactions of the Bishops (Raine 1835, 88). However, this account has the added advantage of itemizing the costs of the registry separately.[41] The total cost of the repairs to the Galilee proper is listed as £471 5s 9½d (*ibid.*). These two amounts equal the total given in the Chronicle continuation, yet the cost of the Galilee repairs is stated to be '... except for the marble work, which cost [left blank].'[42] There are references to the purchase of marble in the accounts (see above), but this raises the possibility that some of these costs were accounted for separately. Thus the actual total cost may have been slightly in excess of the documented totals.

Though only a few years later than the tracery of the *Te Deum* and Neville chantry windows and of the Nine Altars lancets, the three windows each of three lights in the west wall of the Galilee are stylistically quite distinct (Pl. 64). The use of a plain transom may be

derived from its earlier occurrence in the upper windows of the Nine Altars (see above, section A.2.2; Pl. 54) but its other tracery details, notably the use of trefoil-cusped batement-lights and of exclusively strong-vertical supermullions, to the complete exclusion of any split-Y terminations, find no precedents in previous windows of the church, though they do resemble much more closely the windows of the library (if the restored versions (Pl. 48, 86) can be trusted; see below, section B.3); this must have been designed only fifteen years or so earlier. Moreover, the future significance of this tracery pattern was to be greater than its aesthetically pedestrian appearance might suggest, for its basic forms were to remain current at Durham for most of the last century of the Middle Ages (see Chap. V.B.2.1).

IV.A.6 CENTRAL TOWER AND NAVE ROOFS

No sooner had work on the Galilee commenced than fire damage to the central tower, which had been struck by lightning during a thunderstorm in the summer of 1429 (Raine 1839, App., ccxvii-ccxviii), necessitated a major and unforseen series of repairs at a time when the convent's labour-force was already heavily committed to building works elsewhere. The total cost of repairs to the tower itself amounted to £233 6s 8d according to Wessington's Works (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiii). A series of contributions towards the cost of this work was levied on the obedientiaries and heads of cells between 1430 and 1436, which gives outer termini of between 1429 and 1436. However, the priory's two principal masons can be demonstrated to have been continuously engaged on other projects until 1432-3 and 1434-5 respectively (see Chap. IX.B.10.1, 11.1), so that the bulk of any mason-work involved probably took place between 1433 and 1436.

The sacrist himself was presumably responsible for the execution of the work, since five of the contributions name him as assignee,[43] but whether he accounted in *ad hoc* building-accounts or, as was to happen during the later fifteenth-century reconstruction (see Chap. V.A.1), in a special section of the sacrist's accounts, it is impossible to discover, since none of his accounts for these years is extant. However, it is clear that most of the cost must have been met from a source other than contributions, since these total only £33, and even allowing that the evidence for them may not be complete, they can only have paid for a small proportion of the whole amount. Further, the discrepancy seems too substantial to have been made up solely from the resources of the sacrist's own obedience.

Prior Wessington's letter to Bishop Langley concerning the fire of 1429 describes the molten metal and flaming debris from the upper parts of the tower as falling on the church '... in the least harmful place ...',[44] so the damage to other parts of the fabric clearly might have been much worse. Nevertheless, this may supply the context for the two repairs to the nave roofs mentioned in Wessington's Works.[45] The reference to the repair of the nave vault in the first item is disconcerting, since there is no structural evidence of any later medieval repairs to the Romanesque high vaults of the nave. Perhaps then, this is merely an imprecise reference to the timber-work of the nave roofs, or a reference to replastering rather than more drastic alteration to the fabric. Again, the loss of the sacrist's accounts between 1425 and 1438 has obscured the accounting-details of this work, which never seems to have been the object of the contributions. Nevertheless, the combined cost of just over £200 clearly implies that these operations represented a major and expensive overhaul, and in spite of a modest donation of £20 from Langley, who must understandably have been preoccupied with the Galilee (Raine 1835, 88), the bulk of this expenditure must have been borne by the convent itself.

IV.A.7 SACRIST'S EXCHEQUER

The principal alteration to the church for which Wessington's Works constitutes our only evidence, doubtless owing to the loss of so many of the sacrist's accounts, is the construction of the sacrist's exchequer in the angle between the north transept and north choir aisle at a cost of £60.[46] The building was apparently demolished in the 1630s (Fowler 1903, 278), the slight traces of its former presence on the outer walls being remarked by Fowler (*ibid.*). Only the doorway giving access to it from the north choir aisle now survives (Pl. 71).[47]

IV.A.8 FITTINGS

IV.A.8.1 Skirlaw Tomb

The precise date of the erection of Bishop Skirlaw's chantry on the north side of the choir opposite that of his predecessor, Thomas Hatfield (see Chap. III.A.5.1), is difficult to establish, even though a complete series of accounts, connected with the chantry and the property from which its income was derived, is extant, covering the years from 1398 to 1405.[48] But these contain only incidental reference to the costs of constructing the tomb and associated structures, so they must have been largely financed and accounted for separately,

perhaps by liveries of cash direct from episcopal exchequer to master mason. However, it may be inferred from the chantry-accounts that the work was complete by 1403, since the 1403-5 account contains no building-references of any kind. Further, a reference to the dedication of the chantry altar in the account for 1398-1402 suggests that only the tomb-chest itself, which was being made in 1402-3 (Snape 1980, 29) dates from after 1402. The whole structure must thus have been complete more than a year before the convent granted Skirlaw formal licence to be buried in the cathedral in January 1405 (Raine 1839, App., cxciii).

Only a wall bench against the north choir aisle wall, opposite the site of the chantry itself, now survives *in situ*. Its sections fit together awkwardly (Pl. 72), suggesting that they may not have been carved for their present position, though this may reflect a modification made in the course of construction rather than at a later date. It has alternate broad and narrow panels, the former with cusped circles enclosing shields bearing the bishop's arms. The principal cusps have curious circular disk-like terminals (Pl. 73) which are unlike any other work at the cathedral (see Chap. VIII.B.1.6).[49]

IV.A.8.2 Pulpitum

As with the sacrist's exchequer, discussed above, the loss of so many sacrist's accounts from the earlier fifteenth century probably explains why the only evidence relating to a major fitting dating to Wessington's priorate comes from the list of his works.[50] The reference to the entrance to the choir implies that this was the pulpitum rather than the rood screen, which the use of the term 'Rerdoose' might at first seem to make more likely. As described in the *Rites* (Fowler 1903, 20-2), the late medieval pulpitum was adorned with images of kings flanking the doorway, reminiscent of the still existing pulpitum at York Minster (Pl. 97); yet the cost hardly seems enough to have produced an entire structure of this form, so the amount must either be erroneous, or represent the completion of a structure begun before Wessington's accession, or possibly the re-embellishment of a pre-existing structure, though its description as a 'novum opus' argues against this.[51]

IV.A.8.3 Minor Fittings

One minor work carried out by Wessington during his time as sacrist was the making of six new bells and the rehanging of six old ones recorded in the sacrist's account for 1413-14, the former being paid for by a series of small donations, many of them from individual monks, listed on the dorse of the account. As the works include cleaning and

sawing boards for the great bell tower, it seems that one set was hung here, the other presumably being in the north-west tower, as recorded in the *Rites*.[52]

Wessington's Works lists three more fittings not recorded in other sources: the making of 'desks in the choir before the low stalls' (£20); the making and repair of five altars (£71 2s 4d); and the making of 'diverse pairs of organs' (£26 13s 4d) (Raine 1839, App., cclxxii-cclxxiii). None of these now survives, so no comment upon them is possible, except to note that their total cost, £117 15s 8d, amounted to a substantial investment on the convent's part.

IV.B: MONASTIC BUILDINGS

IV.B.1 CLAUSTRAL BUILDINGS

IV.B.1.1 Dormitory

The most intensive period in the late medieval rebuilding of the monastic accommodation at Durham occupied the first third of the fifteenth century. Given the repeated and increasingly urgent appeals for its immediate repair in the late fourteenth century, it is hardly surprising that work began with the reconstruction of the dormitory (see Chap. III.C). The same point is made forcibly in a draft indenture recording a gift of £100 by Bishop Skirlaw '... because of the most grave danger which threatened the brethren as the dormitory threatened daily to collapse, but the monks were so burdened with debts and poverty that they could not afford to rebuild it from their own resources'.[53] One of the conditions of the donation was that the work should be completed within seven years of receipt, and though the indenture is unfortunately undated, the surviving documentation suggests that this time-span was adhered to, as work began late in 1398,[54] and the last extant account closed in October 1404 (Loc. II, 13 (14)). Work was presumably completed then or shortly afterwards, as the contributions levied on the obedientiaries and heads of cells had ceased by 1404-5.

The sequence and approximate rate of construction can be determined by comparing the specifications contained in the original contract of September 1398 with that of February 1402 for the completion of the work (see note 54). It is clear from the 1402 contract that work was proceeding from south to north,[55] and this is confirmed by the mention of the south

gable in 1398 and its absence in 1402. The latter also requires five windows in the ground floor of the west wall to be like the middle window of the Common House. This window was almost certainly in the sixth bay of the undercroft counting from the north,[56] implying that the windows in the five bays to the north of it remained to be done. Work had thus progressed a little over half way on the ground floor (Pl. 2). On the first floor,[57] 'three or more' upper windows were required in the west wall in 1402.[58] These may be equated either with the existing four between the junction with the reredorter and the church (Pl. 78, 79), or with the northern three; the former seems more likely, as the offset at the base of the upper windows in the southern part of the west wall becomes slightly lower from this point northwards, suggesting a break in construction (Pl. 75, 78).[59] There are now six upper windows in the east wall, four of which still needed to be built in 1402; subtracting the northern four brings one to a point opposite the middle of the junction with the reredorter, so the east wall may have been at the same stage as the west, or slightly less advanced. Moreover, the southern two upper windows on this side have the wider spacing characteristic of the southern section of the west wall. The form of the roof may confirm that the junction between the two phases of the work comes in the area of the reredorter junction, as its trusses have additional braces until a point just south of that junction;[60] these are then absent from the northern section, suggesting that just under half of the building had been completed and roofed by 1402 (Pl. 74, 76, 77), while the reconstruction of the side walls had reached the half-way point on the east side, and was slightly more advanced on the west. As specified in both contracts, the vaulted undercroft of the previous dormitory was retained in the reconstruction, so the work involved only the first floor walls and the timber roof, which still survive. Though renewed, the forms of the windows in the east and west walls, the lower square-headed and of two lights with transom and the upper also of two lights but with arched heads and simple tracery, are probably accurate restorations of the originals (Pl. 82); the most elaborate tracery must have been contained in the 'great window' envisaged for the south gable wall in the contract; this has vanished without trace as the result of post-medieval alterations (Curry 1985, 22). As it would have been the first large-scale example of mature Perpendicular tracery at Durham, its loss is particularly unfortunate.[61] Tracery apart, the other details of the work, such as the doorways in the lower storey, are exceptionally plain (Pl. 83, 84).

The cost of the dormitory cannot be estimated entirely accurately, as it is conceivable that there was expenditure after the period of the last extant account, which closed in October 1404. Assuming that the surviving accounts, which total £365 4s 5½d, represent most if not

all of the total expenditure, Bishop Skirlaw's substantial donation, whether of 330 marks (£220) (Raine 1839, 145) or 350 (£233 6s 8d) (Raine 1835, 45), probably represented at least half and may have approached two-thirds of that amount. The decoration of several of the corbels supporting the roof-trusses at the south end of the building with the bishop's arms (Pl. 85) thus seems entirely fitting.

IV.B.1.2 Cloister

As the construction of the dormitory must have involved major disruption of the adjacent west cloister walk (Pl. 2), it was a natural progression to turn to reconstructing the cloister after the dormitory was completed *c.* 1404. Work had certainly begun in earnest by 1409, the date of the first extant account, and was presumably complete in or shortly after 1419, the date of the last surviving one.[62] Within this period, a memorandum at the foot of the 1409-10 account (Loc. II, 19 (1)) reveals that work was at a standstill from September 1410 to September 1411, so the project must have spread over at least ten building-seasons. The internal building-sequence is unclear, but if the west range may be assumed to have been built first, the east range was probably the last. Irregularities in its setting-out suggest that it may have been built in two stages,[63] and the absence of references to expensive glazing in the extant accounts suggests that the series of stained glass windows depicting miracles of St Cuthbert, for which Wessington had cartoons drawn up (Raine 1839, App., cclxxix), and which are described in the *Rites* (Fowler 1903, 76-7), had not yet been inserted. (Was it this for which Langley was induced to support the works by some £238 17s 0½d (Raine 1839, 146)?) If this conjecture is right, it should probably be identified with the 'fourth part' of the works first mentioned in an indenture of September 1416 (Raine 1839, App., cciv-ccv), though it may not be right to assume that this must refer to the whole of one side, rather than parts of two. The fitting-out of the north and west walks with the timber carrels of (respectively) the monks and novices, is noted in Wessington's Works, so was carried out after 1416, suggesting that the north walk had then only recently been completed.[64] If, further, it can be assumed that the Neville chantry window (sXIX) was inserted while work was in progress on the north walk, the date of *c.* 1417 suggested for it on other evidence (see above, section A.1) would not be incompatible with such a sequence. The date-range of *c.* 1414-18 for contributions to the library (see below, section 1.3) suggests that its building was also coordinated with the erection of the east walk. The account for the new basin and taps of the cloister lavatory (Pl. 88) shows that the latter was not completed until 1430 (Raine 1839, App., ccccxliii-ccccxlv). It thus seems likely that the sequence of construction



began with the west walk, followed presumably by the south, then the north walk, and concluded with the east walk.[65]

In form the cloister falls short of the grandest architectural expressions of the type in England, as the scheme uses timber ceilings (Pl. 89) rather than the elaborate stone vaulting of the cloisters at Norwich Cathedral, or the almost exactly contemporary work of *c.* 1395-1414 at Christ Church Canterbury (Woodman 1981, 164-7). The great innovation which it probably introduced compared to its predecessor was probably the use of glazed openings, presumably with three-light tracery in each bay, as at present. All remains of this were tragically destroyed in a late eighteenth-century restoration, when the present crude, unglazed, intersecting traceries were substituted (Pl. 87), so the main aesthetic impact of the design has been lost.

According to the Durham Chronicle continuation, expenditure on the cloister totalled at least £838, of which £600 was given or bequeathed by Bishop Skirlaw, and the remainder by Bishop Langley (Raine 1839, 145-6). The gaps in the sequence of accounts makes it impossible to corroborate this amount, but consideration of those remaining suggests that it may be too low. The surviving accounts total £610 2s 11d. The high amount of the remainder (£131 16s 4d) recorded in the earliest surviving account (for 1409; Loc. II, 19 (1)) may imply that little major work had been done before that, enabling funds to accumulate. But the two accounts covering the period between September 1416 and May 1418, the remainders of which are recorded in the one for 1418-19 (Loc. II, 19 (9)), do not survive; nor does any mention of Langley's substantial donation. The suspicion remains that the number of surviving accounts may have been the same now as when the author of the Durham Chronicle continuation made his calculation, and that he arrived at it by adding their total to the amount of Langley's benefaction, without being certain as to whether it appeared in the lost accounts or in additional ones dating from 1419 or later. If the latter possibility were right, the total expenditure may have been as much as £100-£150 more then that given in the continuation. What is more, the embellishment of the ceiling not only with many examples of Skirlaw's arms but also those of several noble families (Raine 1833, 88-9) may imply that they as well as the bishops had contributed to the cost, though there is no hint of this in the surviving accounts.[66]

Whatever its exact cost, there can be no doubt that the reconstruction of the cloister was by far the most expensive single project of its generation undertaken by the priory, and

that it was paid for largely, and perhaps entirely, from outside sources, primarily from the episcopal exchequer. It may be doubted whether the monks could have achieved so much so fast left to their own devices; and, no less importantly, whether sufficient resources would otherwise have been found to fund the other building projects of the first third of the fifteenth century.

IV.B.1.3 Library

The first project which seems to have been funded entirely by the priory itself was a comparatively minor one, the construction of a library over the slype between chapter house and south transept (Pl. 2). Contributions were imposed on the monastic officials between 1414 and 1418, and the cost was estimated in Wessington's Works as £90 16s at least (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiii). The five-light traceries in its east and west walls have been completely renewed, but it is possible that enough evidence survived in the post-medieval blockings (Pl. 48, 49) to guarantee the original pattern.

Logistically, the construction of the library would have been most appropriate after the south transept south window had been inserted and before the north part of the east cloister walk was completed. Dobson may well be right in suggesting that Wessington, as chancellor from 1407, and sacrist and obedientiary in charge of the cloister building project from 1409, was uniquely well placed to advocate the adoption of this project and implement it, so it may well have been in large measure due to him personally (Dobson 1973, 90).

IV.B.2 PRECINCTUAL BUILDINGS

IV.B.2.1 Infirmary

Immediately following the completion of the library and cloisters around 1419, attention turned to the domestic buildings of the monastery. First priority was given to the infirmary, for which contributions occur between 1419 and 1430, and which, according to Wessington's Works, cost in excess of £400 (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiv). Though the survival of only a single building-account means that the scope and sequence of the rebuilding cannot be reconstructed, the work involved its 'entry' and at least one of its principal chambers, called 'Lytham', to which the eponymous cell was required to contribute in 1426-7.[67] The infirmary was sited south-west of the dormitory and kitchen (Pl. 2), and the recent discovery of a late medieval roof in the existing buildings in this area may mean that

more of the fabric, perhaps of this period, survives than had been supposed. The river wall of this range also consists largely of medieval masonry, much of which, including its substantial added buttressing, may date from this period of reconstruction. If so, it suggests that a large portion of the expenditure on the infirmary may have been necessitated by the need to ensure the structural stability of the buildings, a consideration which precisely parallels the nature of the alterations to the Galilee, which was put in hand as work on the infirmary drew to a conclusion.[68]

IV.B.2.2 Prior's Lodging

Before the infirmary works had been completed, work had already begun on a major reconstruction of the prior's lodging. This was necessitated in large part because, as Dobson has pointed out, the ending of peregrinations of manors following the change to leasehold tenure during the first decade of the fifteenth century (see Chap. I.B.2.2) meant that the fifteenth-century priors of Durham resided in their Durham lodgings much more frequently than their predecessors had done (Dobson 1973, 99-100). These buildings were, indeed, claimed to be 'valde ruinosa' on Wessington's accession as prior in 1416.[69] The work seems to have concentrated on the provision of additional chambers, probably on the north side of the complex (Dobson 1973, 101), and on reconstructing the two great chambers one above the other in the west part of the main range, together with an interconnecting turret stair (Pl. 101). It was financed in part by contributions and in part by diverting the revenues from the convent's coal-mines into the prior's hand (Dobson 1973, 100-1). According to Wessington's Works the total expenditure amounted to £419 10s 3½d (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiv). The work seems to have been carried out between *c.* 1424 and the mid 1430s, to judge from the date range of contributions and the surviving mines accounts.[70] It is at any rate clear that, if the total in Wessington's Works is accurate, the surviving mines accounts must cover only about half of the work, as their expenditure totals just over £200. The accounts for the years between 1420 and 1427 are missing, however, and given that most of the contributions date from before the works detailed in the surviving accounts, there was probably an earlier phase of activity in the early and middle 1420s.[71] As with the infirmary, few architectural details likely to belong to these works are now extant, but the ceiling of the upper great chamber (perhaps mentioned in the 1431-2 account) survives largely concealed above its post-medieval successors.[72]

IV.B.2.3 Guest House

Wessington's priorate also seems to have seen major works on the guest accommodation, the Works mentioning the 'king's chamber', and work on the upper windows of the hall (see Chap. IX, note 95), the cost of which amounted to £118 17s 9d (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiv). The date of construction of the king's chamber remains frustratingly elusive despite the survival of a complete run of hostiller's accounts for this period. As it is mentioned in the 1442 version of Wessington's Works, it was presumably finished before that date.[73] On the other hand, work on parts of the guest accommodation not apparently specified in Wessington's Works is recorded in the accounts, including the construction of a chamber called 'Chinon' between 1427 and 1430.[74] It seems unlikely that this chamber could be the king's chamber under an alternative description; more probably, the latter must have been funded by some *ad hoc* arrangement rather than via the hostiller's accounts.[75]

IV.C: DISCUSSION

The building works of the early fifteenth century contrast with those of the mid fourteenth in several important respects. Most strikingly, work on the church formed a much less important part of the building-campaigns, and would doubtless have been less important still had not fate made necessary the renovation of the central tower and nave. These unforseen and essentially utilitarian repairs cost almost as much as the entire renovation of the Galilee (£433 as against *c.* £471), though the latter were of course funded by the episcopal exchequer and not by the convent. Yet even here a considerable portion of the expenditure must have gone on utilitarian repairs, most obviously the great western buttresses, and perhaps also the reroofing. Indeed, it may be that part of Langley's motive in taking responsibility for this work was to relieve the convent of expensive repairs which it could ill afford. And though the renovations transformed the building's appearance as well as stabilizing it structurally, its aesthetic impact was manifestly limited. Even the work of refenestration, which cost only about half of the equivalent works of the mid fourteenth century, was largely concerned with the insertion of tracery into existing minor openings. What is more, the comparatively small amount spent on the pulpitum (see above, section A.8.2) suggests that it may have been a recasting of an older structure rather than a completely new design. To a considerable extent this preoccupation with utilitarian repair must have reflected the fact that major renovations had already taken place in the fourteenth-

century works. Nevertheless, the climate of 'make do and mend' set the predominant tone for the rest of the Middle Ages, and serves to emphasize the fact that the convent lacked the resources to undertake unaided any major structural modification to their cathedral other than those imposed by necessity, thus helping to ensure that most of the fabric of the Romanesque church would be preserved for posterity with only comparatively minor alterations.

The emphasis in the building works of the first third of the fifteenth century was decidedly on the monastic buildings (especially on the claustral complex), the total expenditure being in excess of £2000, in the order of three times as much as it had been in the mid fourteenth century. It is unlikely that the monks would have been able to achieve anything like such a major renovation unaided (Dobson 1973, 296), episcopal subsidies for the rebuilding of the dormitory and cloister amounting to about half of the total expenditure, thereby enabling the convent to concentrate its own major efforts on the reconstruction of the infirmary and prior's lodging. The extensive reliance on episcopal support for work on the church and monastic buildings alike should not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that (routine maintenance aside) the total amount spent on new projects by the monks from their own resources in the four decades after 1398 must have been in the order of £2000, an average of £50 per annum, an amount comparable to that spent at the priory itself during the previous period of intensive building activity in the mid to late fourteenth century (see Chap. III.C).

It is difficult to assess the architectural contribution of the early fifteenth century compared to that of the mid to late fourteenth, as most of its principal architectural statements, such as the great south window of the dormitory, and the cloister traceries, are no longer extant. Nevertheless, it seems likely that the destruction of so many of the finer features of the fifteenth-century work has not wholly falsified the impression that its impact was more piecemeal and utilitarian. This is not just because no prestige projects comparable to the shrine base and Neville screen were carried out in the church. Impressive though the cloisters once were, and the interior of the dormitory still is (Pl. 77), nothing can have approached the quality of the great kitchen, the principal monastic building reconstructed in the fourteenth century, in the architectural quality of its conception (Pl. 46).

Professor Dobson has pointed to the slackening of the pace of building operations at Durham after Wessington's resignation in 1446 (Dobson 1973, 295). Indeed, the amount of building had already declined notably during his last ten years in office, compared to the

considerable activity of the previous two decades. Thus, even allowing for the existence of a number of projects mentioned in Wessington's Works but not otherwise datable,[76] only the insertion of tracery into the choir clerestories and some work on the guest accommodation are known to have been in progress after the mid 1430s. The lack of new projects in the 1446 version of the Works compared to that of 1442 reinforces this impression; while the evidence of Bishop Neville's visitation of the priory in 1442 indicates that by then the monks were even having difficulty in keeping up with routine repairs.

The materials surviving from Bishop Neville's visitation (the only detailed visitation evidence from later than 1400 still extant) confirm the dramatic change in the economic climate compared to the previous two decades. In particular, The *comperta* of July 1442 contain several complaints about the state of buildings. It was alleged that the division of the bursary (see Chap. II.2.4) had resulted in a lack of repairs; and that the bakehouse, brewhouse, mills, and other structures threatened to fall into serious ruin.[77] More intriguingly, it was requested that work should cease on buildings in process of being newly constructed until ruinous old ones had been repaired.[78] The replies made by Wessington and a committee of senior monks admitted the general truth of the allegations, claiming that the lack of repair was due to the more urgent priorities of purchasing grain, of which there was a great shortage, and of paying off the accumulated debts of the bursary; this done, it would be easier to carry out the repairs, for which purpose a great quantity of timber had been bought this year for the various officials and their tenants. The point about suspending new works for the duration was accepted without demur.[79] Neville's injunctions of November 1442 included forbidding the imposition of 'pensions' (that is, contributions) so onerous that officials were unable to repair their buildings, ordering a view of estates to report on necessary repair, and the suspension of work on new buildings in the meantime.[80]

Frustratingly, the nature and location of the new buildings mentioned in the visitation documents is nowhere revealed, but it should be remembered that it may refer to rebuilding tenements in an attempt to attract lessees (see Chap. I.B.2.3), rather than to a project in progress at the monastery itself. More significantly, the monks' own explanation of the poor state of repair of their buildings in 1442 as the consequence of recent economic difficulties is amply borne out by other contemporary evidence. The incompetence of Thomas Lawson, the bursar appointed in 1432, the extent of which must have been becoming increasingly apparent by the late 1430s and resulted in his removal from office in 1438, meant that the monastery was discovered to be much more deeply in debt than it had been led to believe

(Dobson 1973, 286). The already heavy burden of paying off these debts must have been increased substantially by the impact of the economic crisis which began in 1438 and continued into the 1440s (Dobson 1973, 284-5; Pollard 1989). Moreover, the necessity of *ad hoc* expenditure in other areas, notably the £100 or so spent by the convent between 1443 and 1446 in litigation against the mutinous prior of its cell at Lytham (Dobson 1973, 340, n. 4), must have eroded any surplus which might have been left for financing building. The construction of a hall at the priory's manor of Pittington in 1450 at a cost of nearly £100 (see above, Chap. II, note 24) is the only evidence of a project of any size being undertaken at this time, but as it was singled out as being in particular need of repair in the inventory drawn up at the accession of Prior William Ebchester in 1446 (Raine 1839, App., ccxcv), the work was presumably carried out primarily through necessity rather than choice.

If the sharp decline in the amount of building work at Durham in the 1430s must thus be seen, in part at least, as reflecting an equally acute worsening in the priory's economic circumstances, the years of peak activity in the preceding two decades should also be seen against their economic background. Pollard has recently argued convincingly that the economic history of the North East in the early fifteenth century is more complex than a simple story of continuous decline, and that the second and third decades of the century in particular saw, if not a recovery, then at least a levelling-off of revenues which were only to decline significantly as a result of the economic crisis of the late 1430s (Pollard 1989, 92-3, 103). This coincides roughly with the peak in the convent's self-financed building activity which, it must be remembered, reached significant levels only as the first great phase of building, predominantly funded from the episcopal exchequer, drew to a close. It seems then that Wessington's 'great rebuilding' was related to underlying economic trends no less closely than Fossor's, which rode very much on the back of the priory's recovery from the Black Death and its aftermath (see Chap. III.C).

CHAPTER IV - NOTES

1. 'Item Thome Hyndley pro factura duarum fenestrarum in ecclesia pre manibus in partem solucionis vij marcarum, xiij s. iiij d.' (Sacrist 1401-2, Reparaciones Domorum).
'Item Thome Hyndeley pro factura duarum fenestrarum in ecclesia preter unam marcam solutam in compoto precedenti, iiij li.' (Sacrist 1402-3, Stipendia).
'Item in duobus vitriariis pro factura duarum fenestrarum de novo, iiij li.' (Sacrist 1403-4, Expense).

2. See Chap. III.A.4.1; for the rest of the fifteenth-century refenestration, see below, sections A.2, A.4, and Chap. V.A.3.

3. Presumably they were taken out during the restoration by Bonomi in 1830-5 (Curry 1985, 18).

4. If the above assumption is right, it is possible to estimate roughly the cost of each window. The area of sXVIIt is about three-fifths that of sXVII. Assuming that its glass was of the same quality as that in the lower window, it would therefore have cost three-eighths of the total, or £1 10s. In fact however, like all the other upper windows of the church, its glass would almost certainly have been much plainer than the one below, a conjecture reinforced by its omission from early descriptions of the stained glass of the cathedral. Its cost must therefore have been much less than this: perhaps nearer £1. Similarly, the lower window with its three lights must have used at least twice as much stone as the upper, while its slightly more elaborate cusping suggests that it must have accounted for rather more than two-thirds of the total cost of the mason-work. It may therefore have cost, say, between £3 and £3 10s or more, and the upper one, say, £1 5s. The total cost of the upper window may thus have been a little over £2, while the lower probably cost rather more than £6.

5. Billings 1843, pl. VIII (Pl. 51) shows window sXIX with trefoil cusps in its upper tracery lights, yet pl. XLV shows them with cinquefoil cusps (Pl. 48). Given the small scale of the former drawing, the latter is more likely to be right.

6. Dobson 1973, 72, quoting M. C. 6080 (list of monks serving the Neville and Hatfield chantries between 1422 and 1426).

7. 'Item factura fenestre iuxta horologium se extendit ad lxxj s. xj d.' (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiii). Haselock and O'Connor 1980, 114, n. 99, suggest that the passage may be taken in this way.

8. 'Item pro vitriacione fenestre rotunde super orilogium, xij s.' (Sacrist 1411-12, Expense in Ecclesia).

9. Contrast, for example, the late fifteenth-century north transept facade window of Canterbury Cathedral, where the glazing extends downwards to the roof of the passage between the transept and the chapter house (Woodman 1981, figs. 6, 147).

10. I am grateful to David O'Connor for pointing out to me that the redating of the York Minster choir clerestory glass to *c.* 1415-20 makes it possible that the Durham glazing, which resembles it, may also date from the second decade of the fifteenth century rather than (as suggested in Haselock and O'Connor 1980, 114), the fourth.

11. 'Item factura fenestre ex parte australi navis ecclesie ex opposito tumbe domini de Nevyll, xxx li.' (Loc. XXVII, 1a, Ecclesia). This item was omitted from the later (1446) version of Wessington's Works (M. C. 5727(b)), so does not appear in the edition in Raine 1839. See further Chap. II, note 9.

12. The east facade, restored under Wyatt from 1795, had its tracery removed, but the tracery was retained in the south front when it was restored under Bonomi in 1827 (Curry 1985, 14-15, 17, n. 62).

13. 'Item, reparacio xj fenestrarum inferiorum super Novem Altaria et in gabulo australi ibidem, in opere lapideo, ferrario et vitreario, se extendit ad CXX libras. Item, reparacio vj fenestrarum superiorum ad Novem Altaria, in opere lapideo, ferrario, et vitreario, se extendit ad ix li. ix s.' (Raine 1839, App., cclxxii, where the latter amount is erroneously given as 'xj li.').

14. 'Item, pro opere lapideo nove fenestre ad novem altaria, iiij li. iiij s. j d. Item, pro xij petris ferri pro eadem fenestra cum operacione eiusdem, xij s. Item, pro opere vitreario eiusdem fenestri, iiij li. iiij s. j d.' (Sacrist 1416-17, Expense pro Ecclesia).

15. '[Executors of Bishop Skirlaw] ... solverunt pro vitriacione fenestre supra altare Sancti Cuthberti ad Novem Altaria viij marcas.' (Raine 1835, 43).
'Item dictus dominus [Thomas Langley] fecit opus vitreum super altare Sancti Oswaldi et Laurentii C s.' (Raine 1835, 88).

16. £4 4s 1d + £5 6s 8d = £9 10s 9d. Even if the supposition that the latter total includes the cost of ferramenta were wrong, the addition of a further 12s for ferramenta, £10 2s 9d, still falls appreciably short of the £10 18s 2d obtained by assuming that only eleven lancets are covered by the total in Wessington's Works.

17. For the possible reuse of the old glass, see Haselock and O'Connor 1980, 110.

18. Nicholson's elevation (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, pl. following 224) is too small to show any cusping, though Grimm's clearly attempts this with respect to the lower lancets (Pl. 52).

19. 'Item in factura fenestre nove, xiij s. iiij d. [1 item omitted] Et cuidam vitriario Ebor' pro fenestra supra altare Sancti Petri, vj s. viij d.' (Sacrist 1424-5, Expense pro Ecclesia).

20. Sacrist 1408-9, Expense; 1409-10, Expense pro Ecclesia; 1411-12, Expense in Ecclesia; 1412-13, Expense pro Ecclesia.

21. 'Item factura unius fiole ex parte boriali ecclesie se extendit ad xiij li. xj s.' (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiii).

22. 'Et in tribus panell' vitrei emptis pro fenestra rotunda cum 1 li. vitrei diversis coloris remanentibus in officio, xl s. vj d.' (Sacrist 1359-60, Opera Ecclesie (printed erroneously in Fowler 1899, 384 as 'fenestra secunda')).
'Et in xxxiiij panell' vetri pro fenestra rotunda, xix li.' (Sacrist 1360-1, Operac' Ecclesie). The total number of panels mentioned in these two references comes to 37, which may indicate that the Nine Altars rose was being reglazed, as the inner wheel has 12 subdivisions and the outer 24, which, together with the central oculus, makes 37. If so, the total cost must have been in excess of £20, which was substantially more than its fifteenth-century replacement.

23. The 1722 engraving is confirmed in its general outlines by Grimm's drawing (Pl. 52), except that there the spandrels are shown as solid. The other major discrepancy between these and the existing tracery is the substitution of an oculus with twelve foils compared to the sexfoiled one shown particularly clearly in the 1722 engraving (Pl. 58). On the other hand, Nicholson's elevation (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, pl. following 224), which shows a twelve-foiled oculus and solid spandrels, closely resembles the tracery as restored (and may even itself have influenced the restoration). Given the other evidence and the small size of the Nicholson engraving, however, it is difficult to argue in favour of its greater accuracy in these respects.

24. The most obvious immediate source would have been the rose of the Nine Altars at Fountains Abbey, which was clearly the source of the whole concept of an eastern transept (Harrison and Barker 1987, 148, 151, note 30).

25. Donations for the fabric of the church recorded in the sacrist's receipts, though rarely substantial, seem particularly numerous during the period 1409-25, suggesting that gifts were actively encouraged by Wessington and his immediate successors as sacrist during the period when much of the refenestration of the church was taking place.

26. Window sXIXt had a two-light reticulated tracery of early to mid fourteenth-century type (Pl. 51). Window sXVIIIt had a Gothic window head, but had lost any tracery it may have had when Billings (Pl. 9, 48) and Blore (Pl. 49) drew it.

27. 'In primis, Johanni Bell et Willelmo Chaumer pro iiij fenestris factis in choro, liiij s. viij d. Et Ricardo Glasier vitrianti dictas fenestras et pro emendacione aliarum fenestrarum in ecclesia, xxxiiij s. vj d.' (Sacrist 1438-9, Reparaciones Domorum).

'Et Johanni Bell et Willelmo Chaumer pro factura unius fenestre in navi ecclesie, xij s. Et Willelmo Elmeden et Ricardo Glasiere pro vitriacione dicte fenestre et reparacione aliarum fenestrarum, xj s. viij d.' (Sacrist 1440-1, Reparaciones Domorum).

28. '... ad fabricam fenestrarum supra chorum' (Feretrar 1437-8, Pensiones et Stipendia).

29. '... assignata ad emendacionem fenestrarum in choro ...' (Almoner 1436-7, Expense Necessarie).

30. '... sacriste Dunelmi pro reparacione ecclesie ...' (Hostiller 1436-7, Contribuciones et Liberaciones); '... ad fabricam ecclesie ...' (Feretrar 1436-7, Expense Necessarie).

31. The total costs have been estimated on the following basis (rounding up to the nearest whole pound). (i), Windows sXVII and sXVIIt, cost documented at £9 (see above, section A.1 and note 1). (ii), Window sXIX, cost documented at £30 (see note 11). (iii), Window sXVI, cost estimated at £60 (see above, section A.1). (iv), Thirteen lower lancets of Nine Altars, average cost per lancet assumed to be £9 4s 7d (see above, section A.2.2), total £120. (v), Ten upper lancets of Nine Altars, average cost per lancet assumed to be £1 11s 6d (see above, section A.2.2), total £16. (vi), Reglazing of rose window (see above, section A.2.3), £14. (vii), Eighteen three-light clerestory windows, average cost assumed to be £2 (see above, section A.3), £36. (viii), Thirty two-light clerestory/gallery windows, average cost assumed to be £1 2s (see above, section A.3), £33. Probable total cost, £318.

32. The screens had gone by the time the earliest depictions of the interior were made in the late eighteenth century by Grimm (BL MS Add. 15538, no. 211) and Carter (Pl. 68). The two halves of the entrance arch survive in the cathedral fragments collection (Cambridge 1982, nos. 163-4). For other sections of crenellated screen parapet, which may have been part of this monument, see Cambridge 1982, nos. 143-9. The theory that the freestone shafts of the arcade columns formed part of Langley's alterations (Greenwell 1932, 90-1) has been convincingly refuted by Halsey (1980, 66), whose conclusions have recently received further confirmation from Park's analysis of the surviving polychrome (Park 1990, 26).

33. M. C. 5713-5721.

34. M. C. 5717, Plumbar' et Ferrar' et Empcio Ferri.

35. M. C. 5719, Vitriar'.

36. M. C. 5720, Empcio Lapidum et Cariagio eorundem; Expense Latomorum; Empcione Calcis et Cariacione Sabuli et Empcione Candelarum.

37. The scar where its east wall cut into the north wall of the nave can be seen immediately west of the porch. The foundations of its north-east corner were revealed in excavations by Paul Sewter and Peter Carne in June 1991.

38. The elevation in Carter 1801, pl. IV, made after the building's demolition, is probably dependent on the evidence of a painting then in Durham Castle, which Carter considered to have been of 'about Queen Anne's time' (BL MS Add. 29933, no. 78). This may be either of the two extant paintings, one now in the dormitory (Pl. 70), the other in the University Library, Palace Green. The building also appears (labelled 'The Registers Office') on the plan in Willis 1727 (Pl. 3).

39. M. C. 5720, Plumbar' et Ferr' et Empcio Ferri.

40. M. C. 5721, Empcio Ferri cum Operacione.

41. 'Item idem Dominus solvit pro factura registri episcopi extra boriale ostium ecclesie xxviij li. x d. ob.' (Raine 1835, 88).

42. '... preter opus marmoreum, quod extendit ad [left blank]' (Raine 1835, 88).

43. Hostiller 1431-2, 1434-5, 1436-7, Contribuciones et Liberaciones; Holy Island 1431-2, Expense; Jarrow 1434-5, [unmarginated].

44. '... in loco ad minus nocumentum.' (Raine 1839, App., ccxvii).

45. 'Item reparacio volte navis ecclesie se extendit ad iiij^{xx} xj li. vj d.'

'Item tectura australis partis navis ecclesie, cum solucione facta plumbario pro opere suo, Cx li.' (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiii).

46. 'Item structura scaccarii sacriste se extendit ad lx li.' (Raine 1839, App., cclxxii).

47. The doorway with a four-centred head visible in the east wall of the north transept (Pl. 10) (Billings 1843, pls. IV, XV-XVI) is presumably not connected with this structure, but must rather be the door inserted in 1796 when the consistory court was removed from the Galilee to the north transept (Billings 1843, 21).

48. M. C. 5726, 2651, 7169 (no. 2651 is printed in Fowler 1901, lix-lxi).

49. The narrower panels contain small blank arches exactly like those on a small fragment which may therefore have formed part of the main structure (Cambridge 1982, no. 222).

50. 'Item, novum opus vocatum Le Rerdoose, ad ostium chori, se extendit ad lxix li. iiij s.' (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiii).

51. The discrepancies in the number and identifications of the statues were analysed by Fowler (Fowler 1903, 212), to which it may be added that, if the texts are emended to refer to Richard II instead of Richard III, the latest king in the sequence would be Henry V. If it can be assumed that (like its analogue at York), the sequence was brought right up to date, this would reinforce the conjecture that the screen was completed early in Wessington's priorate.

52. 'Et pro mundacione magni campanilis, iiij s. j d. Et pro sarracione tabularum pro dicto campanili, ix s.' (Sacrist 1413-14, Expense); Fowler 1903, 38-9.

53. '... intuens eisdem filiis suis periculum gravissimum iminere eo quod dormitorium ipsorum super ipsos minetur cotidie se casuri quod ipsi debitis et pauperitate non modico onerati redificare sumptibus propriis non valebant ...' (Loc. II, 13 (1)).

54. The initial contract is dated 21 September 1398, (Raine 1839, App., clxxx-clxxxii; Salzman 1952, 473-5), and the second one 2 February 1402 (Raine 1839, App., clxxxvii-cxc; Salzman 1952, 476-7). For the master masons involved, see Chap. IX.B.6, B.7.

55. 'incipiendo a muris iam de novo constructis usque ad ecclesiam Dunelmensem antedictam' (Raine 1839, App., clxxxvii-clxxxviii).

56. The common house probably occupied the fourth to the seventh bay of the undercroft, counting from the north (Fowler 1903, 88). Of the two central bays, the fifth is the only one to project clear of the junction with the reredorter, and hence to have been capable of receiving a window like those to the north of it (Pl. 2). (At this point the specification also mentions a 'parvam fenestram in le Wollehouse' (Raine 1839, App., clxxxviii), the location of which is uncertain, so the position of the window remains unclear; it may have been in addition to the five previously specified.) Carter shows these windows with tracery like that in the upper windows on the first floor, with the addition of transoms (Pl. 80). In view of the other demonstrable inaccuracies of his drawing, however, the simple uncusped Y-tracery shown in Billings (Pl. 79, 81) seems more likely to be accurate, even though the existing tracery is like (and has presumably been influenced by) Carter's depiction.

57. According to Carter's elevation, the cubicle windows in the west wall south of the reredorter junction were different in design to the existing straight-headed ones, having pointed heads with a straight-sided reticulation unit in the apex (Pl. 80). If it could be trusted, this would be important evidence for a change in the details of the design between the southern and northern sections of the work. Unfortunately, it is not supported by Billings's drawing, which is more reliable in other respects (such as the disposition of the various windows) and which shows square-headed embrasures similar in size to the existing ones, but lacking their tracery Pl. 79, 81). Alan Piper has ingeniously suggested that Carter's drawing resulted from his having misinterpreted the pointed relieving arches which surmount the existing straight-headed windows in the southern part of the west wall in their restored form (and which may well reflect the original arrangement, since they correspond to the segmental vaults of the internal embrasures) as the blocked heads of pointed windows.

58. '... faciet in muro occidentali predicto tres fenestras, vel plures, si necesse fuerit' (Raine 1839, App., clxxxviii).

59. Carter's elevation shows eight upper windows instead of the existing seven; this is not, however, supported by Billings (Pl. 80, 79). It is, nevertheless, possible that there was originally an eighth window in the area of what is now blank wall above the reredorter junction, as that section shows several signs of later modification (Pl. 75); what is more, it would accord with the original intention as specified in 1398 ('... erit una historia octo fenestrarum ...' (Raine 1839, App., clxxxi)).

60. Though these look very much like nineteenth-century additions, they are apparently original features. I am grateful to Mr I. Curry for his advice on this point.

61. *Pace* Hislop, there are no grounds for supposing that the present tracery bears any resemblance to its medieval predecessor (Hislop 1989, 65).

62. Loc. II, 19 (1); Loc. II, 19 (9).

63. The walk is not set out straight, but has a definite bow near the middle; and two of the buttresses, the first and sixth counting from the north, project further than the others (Pl. 87), perhaps suggesting that the northern section was completed only after work had been concluded on the library, that is, by 1418 (see below, section B.1.3).

64. An allowance of 16d for the novices' carrels (paid in the previous accounting year (1416-17) but omitted in error from that account) is made in the almoner's account for 1417-18 (Almoner 1417-18, Allocaciones), and again in 1423-4 (Almoner 1423-4, Dona et Exennia), as well as in Feretrar 1423-4, Expense Necessarie. This suggests that the contributions for carrels in the accounts of other obedientiaries within these termini which do not specify that those for the novices are meant were nevertheless also intended for that purpose (see Terrar 1419-20, Expense and 1420-1, Expense; Hostiller 1420-1, Pensiones et Stipendia Famulorum and 1423-4, Dona et Exennia).

65. The Warden of Durham College Oxford contributed to the '... fabricam lavacrorum in claustro ...' as late as 1432-3, (Oxford 1432-3, [disposal of surplus balance]). (This presumably refers to works at Durham rather than at Oxford itself.)

66. I am grateful to Mrs. L. Rollason for this suggestion.

67. M. C. 7265 (Infirmary 1420, printed Fowler 1898, 269-71); Almoner 1420-1, Dona et Exennia; Lytham 1426-7, Expense.

68. The west elevation, purporting to show much of the medieval fenestration intact, which appears in one of Carter's plates (Pl. 80) must be treated with extreme caution, because Billings's drawing conflicts with it (Pl. 79) and because of Carter's demonstrable tendency to portray what he considered to have been the medieval form of the buildings he was drawing (cf. above, section B.1.1 and note 38).

69. Dobson 1973, 99, n. 6, quoting Loc. XXI, 20 (vii).

70. Contributions specifying the prior's chamber occur between 1424 and 1428; and entries probably related to this project occur in the mines accounts from 1427 to 1437 (though it appears that the account for 1435-6, and possibly also that for 1436-7, are principally concerned with work at Bearpark rather than at Durham itself, suggesting that 1435 marks the effective end of the project).

71. It is impossible to be certain of the precise total of the expenditure on this project in the mines accounts, as the context of the entries is not always clear, but the likely total for the years 1427-37 is £216 12s 11d, the bulk of it spent between 1428 and 1432. *Pace* Dobson (1973, 100) it may well be that the expenditure of £90 on running repairs recorded in the bursar's accounts between 1416 and 1446 should be seen as additional to the total given in Wessington's Works rather than as part of it, since it was presumably included in the totals for the extrinsec repairs of the bursars listed elsewhere in that tract (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiv-cclxxv).

72. The spiral stair connecting the upper and lower great chambers (Pl. 101) may well belong to Wessington's reconstruction; so may the doorway from the west end of the lower great chamber to the undercroft of the hall.

73. The king's chamber cost the considerable sum of £100 (Loc. XXVII, 1(a)); it was described as the 'camera principalis' of the guest accommodation in the inventory of 1454, which was also still describing it as 'new' (Hostiller 1453-4, dorse). In the 1446 version of Wessington's Works, the total

had increased by £18 17s 9d, presumably accounted for by the upper hall windows, which are not mentioned in 1442. These should therefore be dated to 1442 x 1446, but for the fact that work on the upper windows of the hall, totalling some £14, is mentioned in the hostiller's accounts for 1438-40 (Hostiller 1438-40, Reparaciones Domorum). Was this simply omitted in error in the 1442 version?

74. Hostiller 1427-30, Reparaciones Domorum. Curiously, Chinon is not mentioned in the 1454 inventory (Hostiller 1453-4, Dorse). Perhaps it is to be identified with the 'Newchambr' in that document. There was also a substantial repair to the hall at this time (Hostiller 1425-6, Reparaciones Domorum).

75. Is it possible that this project was undertaken (or an existing chamber renamed) in anticipation of the visit of Henry VI to Durham on pilgrimage to St Cuthbert's shrine, although that event did not actually take place until 1448 (Dobson 1973, 174)?

76. Most notably the sacrist's exchequer (see above, section A.7 and note 46).

77. 1.9. Pont. 3, arts. 26, 27.

78. 'Item petitur quod edificia de novo construenda remaneant in suspenso quousque antiqua edificia ruinosa diruta et necessaria debile reparentur.' (1.9. Pont. 3, art. 25).

79. See the replies to articles 15 and 25 in 1.8. Pont. 2.

80. M. C. no 2658, respectively arts. 18, 10.

CHAPTER V: CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS, III: *c.* 1450-1539

V.A: CATHEDRAL

V.A.1 CENTRAL TOWER, I, AND REROOFING

In contrast to the diversity which characterizes previous periods of major building activity at Durham, the closing years of the Middle Ages are dominated by a single project - the complete reconstruction of the central tower. The determination both of its absolute dates and of the relative sequence of construction present major difficulties: the work never seems to have given rise to any *ad hoc* building-accounts, but appears instead in a special section of the sacrist's annual accounts. However, only eleven such accounts survive for the period between 1446 and 1539 (Fig. 6), so their value as dating evidence is severely restricted. The chronology of the project must therefore be founded for the most part on alternative though less unambiguous sources.

There can be no doubt that, in spite of a major series of repairs in the 1430s (see Chap. IV.A.6), the old central tower had been in urgent need of alteration for several years before it was finally decided to rebuild it. In 1456 the prior and chapter issued an appeal to Bishop Neville for advice and assistance on this matter. It contains detailed information about the state of the tower, though it must be borne in mind that it is presented in the context of an appeal for funds. By this time it appears that the tower was on the verge of collapse, a situation which had been confirmed by the masons and carpenters whose advice the convent had sought, and who had reported that, amongst other problems, three of the four walls were leaning outwards. The monks therefore feared that the choir and feretory might be damaged if the tower were to fall on them, and, they alleged, went in fear of death when singing their offices in the choir during severe storms. Some experts had recommended that the spire be taken down, others that it be completely rebuilt; the priory's resources were, however, insufficient to fund the latter.[1] The convent's disquiet at the weight of the burden which this would involve at a time of financial stringency presages the particularly close connection between finances and chronology which was to characterize this project throughout its entire subsequent history.

The hypothesis that the decision to rebuild the tower completely was precipitated by a major fire in the cathedral on 25 March 1459 has recently been advanced by Snape (Snape

1974, 72). The evidence is contained in an indulgence, issued on 6 June 1459, to assist the priory with the cost of the repairs necessitated by the fire. As one would expect with a document of this kind, its phraseology is no less hyperbolic than that of the 1456 appeal had been, but since a *campanile* is mentioned explicitly, and since lightning was the cause of the fire, there can be no doubt that a tower was among the damaged parts of the fabric.[2] Since bells were hung in the north-west tower as well as the central tower in the Middle Ages (Fowler 1903, 38-9), this may be the one meant here. Further, the reference in a letter of Prior Burnby written between 1459 and 1464 to the '... lesying of our bell metall by the see ...' (Raine 1841, 191) implies that there had been an attempt to make good some of the damage to the bells shortly after the fire. In view of the condition of its fabric before the fire, these can hardly have been intended for the central tower, but are much more likely to have been for the north-west tower, the early thirteenth-century stonework of which still survives. Thus it may have been the spire and bell-frame of this tower which had been damaged in 1459. On the other hand, *campanile* used absolutely in other Durham documents does seem to refer to the central tower, so Snape's hypothesis is probably right.

It is clear from the sacrist's accounts that repairs to the central tower were in progress between May 1458 and May 1459.[3] As the fire took place only nine weeks before the end of this account, it is uncertain whether the work mentioned was undertaken as a direct consequence of it, or represents a restoration under way before it occurred. As the substantial amount of the plumber's wages indicates that he was employed for more considerably longer than nine weeks, so the latter is the more likely alternative.[4]

It is generally assumed that the occurrence of Prior Bell's rebus at the lowest level of the existing tower, on the string-course at the foot of the internal zone of blind arcading beneath the lantern windows, implies that the reconstruction of the tower is unlikely to have begun much before his accession in November 1464.[5] This seems to be borne out by the sacrist's account for 1465-6, which is the first surviving account to contain a separate *Reparacio Campanilis* section. It reveals a small labour-force only two of whom, including the master, are masons, and none of whom is employed for more than two or three weeks. This gives the impression that work had only just begun, and that it constitutes not merely the first surviving account to record work on the tower, but may well have been the very first account of the series.

A gap of six or seven years between the fire and the probable date of the start of work on the new tower is not difficult to explain. The 1459 indulgence, even allowing for its undoubted hyperbole (Snape 1974, 72), makes it clear that the *campanile* was by no means the only part of the church to suffer in the fire. Repairs to the roofs would presumably have taken precedence over any new building, and the fact that the existing roofs of the entire eastern arm and of both transepts are of a type which is likely to date on typological grounds to the mid fifteenth century strongly suggests that all had needed to be renewed after the 1459 fire.[6] If so, an operation on this scale must have diverted resources from the tower for an appreciable interval. Further, the demolition of the remains of the old tower (presumably a slow and difficult operation in the case of a structure with no direct access to the ground externally) would obviously have needed to be completed before work could start. Moreover, as Snape noted, political instability deteriorated into open conflict in the north in the early 1460s, which must have created an atmosphere of uncertainty and can hardly have improved the already depressed economic condition of the priory; while the exaction of a substantial forced loan of £266 13s 4d by one of the principal protagonists must have greatly exacerbated its difficulties (Snape 1974, 73).

The next three surviving sacrist's accounts date from between 1472 and 1475. Remarkably, their *Reparacio Campanilis* sections contain no references to construction work at all, but are confined almost entirely to payments to quarriers. Prior Bell's complaint, in a letter of 1474 or 1475 concerning '... the reddification of our steple begun but not fynysshid in defaute of goods as god knawith ...',[7] clearly indicates that the work was suffering from financial difficulties at that time. This claim is borne out by another letter of 1474 in which the prior noted that litigation (in progress since 1462) concerning the convent's attempt to retain possession of their cell of Coldingham had cost £1000, and the monks were now unable to afford to continue the suit.[8] These difficulties may explain why in 1473 the prior took the remarkable step of taking the sacrist's office into his own hand, thereby assuming direct responsibility for work on the tower (Snape 1974, 73). Moreover, circumstances imposed other extraordinary claims on the convent's resources in the second half of the 1470s, for the situation in the borders appears to have compelled it to construct a defensive tower at its administrative centre of Shoreswood, south of Norham, largely funded by a substantial subsidy from the prior and, to a lesser degree, from the personal income of six other monks.[9] Again, the effect must have been to divert resources which might otherwise have gone to swell the tower building fund. In this situation, work must have proceeded very slowly for the first few years, and so may explain the remarkably small

scale of the works revealed in the four surviving early accounts, the average annual expenditure of which scarcely exceeded £7. Moreover, all the costs were being funded by the sacrist alone, though more than half were met by donations, legacies, and by the sale of stone from his quarry, rather than from his recurrent income (Sacrist 1472-5, Redditus Assise).

V.A.2 CENTRAL TOWER, II

V.A.2.1 Expansion of Works

The other series of surviving accounts, covering the years 1483-8, reveals a strikingly different situation from that which had obtained in the early 1470s. Not only is the annual expenditure substantially greater, averaging just over £56 per annum, but the sources from which it is derived differ, by far the greater part (just over £50 on average) being accounted for by a series of subsidies '... de domino priore et de pensionibus ...' (Sacrist 1483-8, Recepta). There can be no doubt that the *pensiones* are to be identified with contributions levied on obedientiaries and heads of cells, and recorded in their accounts. This is demonstrated by an allowance in the sacrist's account of 1485-6 for the failure of three of the officials concerned to pay what they owed.[10] In every case these amounts are the same as those of the contributions regularly levied on the three officials in the late Middle Ages.[11] The reference is of particular significance in that the diplomatic of the accounts of all three officials at this period gives no hint that their contributions were destined for the sacrist; indeed, in the case of Wearmouth, their purpose is never specified throughout the late Middle Ages (see Chap. II.B.2.5).

The funding the tower project largely by contributions from the monastic officials was a development which, on the evidence of the surviving sacrist's accounts, can be dated to between 1475 and 1483. The dates are confirmed by the stated purpose of a newly imposed contribution, and by increases in the amount of existing ones, both of which took place between these dates. The new contribution, paid by the terrar, is first recorded in his account for 1504-5 (the first to survive since before the start of work on the tower), but had evidently been imposed much earlier.[12] Though few terrar's accounts survive for the years before 1477, it is remarkable that, with one possible exception,[13] they contain no evidence of contributions at a time when they were being levied regularly on most of the other officials (see Chap. I.C.2). It seems therefore that the terrar had never been required to make regular annual contributions before 1477. The date at which it was introduced and the fact

that it was paid to the sacrist both strongly suggest that the imposition of this contribution was the direct result of the expansion of the scale of building-operations on the tower.

The recording of the date at which contributions were first imposed is, unfortunately, unique to the terrar's accounts, but the fact that, after a period of fluctuating amounts in the later 1460s and early 1470s, the existing annual contributions of several of the other obedientiaries were not only increased in the late 1470s and early 1480s but were maintained thereafter at that increased level for the remainder of the priory's existence seems unlikely to be coincidental. Thus Lytham was required to pay £5 in every surviving account after 1476, Finchale £6 13s 4d from 1477 and the almoner £5 from 1479. In two further cases, Jarrow (£6 13s 14d from 1480 x 1484) and Holy Island (£5 from 1484 x 1487), the rates did not become finally fixed until the 1480s. Admittedly, not all the changes in the rates of contributions at this period fit into this chronological pattern, the hostiller's contribution of £10 having already been fixed in 1472, and the chamberlain's by 1475. Nor is there any explicit evidence to connect any of the increases in assessment during these years with the tower, though that is most probably explained as a reflection of trends in the diplomatic of the recording of such payments in the accounts of the monastic officials, since it is clear that payments whose purpose is unspecified were in fact being regularly used for this purpose (see above and notes 10-11). The establishment of definitive rates for several of the contributions between the later 1470s and early 1480s and the imposition *de novo* of a contribution on the terrar in 1477 are thus both likely to be directly connected with the expansion of the works on the tower, and both point to a date in the late 1470s for its beginning.

The sequence of events in the two decades following the lightning strike of 1459 thus seems to be as follows: the first priority is likely to have been making good the damage to the roofs of the church (which was apparently extensive enough to have required the renewal of the roofs of the entire eastern arm and of both transepts) and the demolition of the old tower. The presence in the first surviving sacrist's account after the fire of a separate section headed *Reparacio Campanilis* may indicate that work had, in some sense at least, begun on its successor by 1465-6, perhaps on the lowest sections abutted by the new roofs, as the work on that part of the tower would have had to be coordinated with them. The quarrying recorded between 1472 and 1475 may be interpreted as part of a process of stockpiling materials in anticipation of the start of more intensive building work. The roofs were presumably complete by this time, enabling efforts to be focused on the tower, while the

imposition of one new contribution, increases in the amounts of existing ones, and their subsequent stabilization at these higher levels, all suggest that large-scale works of the kind revealed by the run of accounts starting in 1483 had begun in the late 1470s. And it was only by this time that the convent seems to have been free of other urgent claims on its surplus resources. It was therefore only at this point that the tower must have begun to emerge much above roof level.

V.A.2.2 Completion

Recent accounts of the tower have generally asserted that it was completed shortly after 1488, the date of the last surviving sacrist's account (Snape 1974, 73; Pevsner *et al.* 1983, 172; cf. Fowler 1903, 213). But this dating fails to account for an important corpus of documentary references which, though their significance had apparently been recognized as early as the mid nineteenth century by no less an authority than the elder James Raine,[14] have generally been neglected since, and which reveal a very different picture.

Unlike their late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century *ad hoc* predecessors, the purpose of the contributions from obedientiaries and heads of cells levied regularly from the latter part of Wessington's priorate onwards is not often specified (see Chap. II.B.2.5). However, beginning in 1506-7, the contribution of Holy Island was stated to have been imposed '... in relevamen campanilis ...'. This phrase recurs in every subsequent surviving account from this cell, with the exception of 1529-30 and 1536-7. Similarly, Stamford's pension was paid '... pro campanili ...' in 1508-9 and Jarrow's '... sacriste Dunelmi pro pensione campanilis ...' in 1531-2. These references appear to suggest that work on the central tower was in progress at least between 1506-7 and 1531-2.

The omission of any reference to the *campanile* in the Holy Island account for 1529-30 is a significant one since the contribution is described instead as being paid to the sacrist. Given that both the preceding and following contributions were made towards the tower, there is a strong presumption that this payment fulfilled the same purpose under an alternative description. Comparison with the Jarrow contribution of 1531-2, which states explicitly that the payment is to be made '... sacriste Dunelmensis pro pensione campanilis ...', makes it virtually certain that the two descriptions are being used interchangeably to describe the same purpose; nor is the variation in terminology at all surprising, given that it was the sacrist who accounted for work on the tower. Its significance in diplomatic terms is

that it implies that a second series of contributions which appear in the accounts of several officials in this period, and which specify the sacrist but not the *campanile*, may also have been intended to support the latter. The officials principally involved are the chamberlain from 1495 x 1498 onwards (except 1532-3) and the almoner from 1516-17 (except 1533-4 and 1535-6), but it also includes Finchale (1525-6 and 1528-9), Stamford (1522-3 only), the hostiller (1523-4 and 1528-9), the infirmarer (1488-9 only), and the terrar from 1504-5, though the reference to the imposition of the contribution in 1477 may well mean that the sacrist had been the recipient from that date (see above, section A.2.1). It is impossible to be certain that every contribution in the second group went towards the tower, since the sacrist may have been responsible for other building works in this period (see below, section A.3). Indeed, the unique description of the purpose of the contribution from Lytham in 1525-6 '... ad opus ecclesie Dunelmi ...', is sufficiently unspecific to leave open the possibility that a project other than the tower was being subsidized; on the other hand, it is possible that the tower is also meant, and that the phraseology is no more than another variant in the diplomatic. If so, this second group of specified contributions raises the number of officials involved to nine (ten if Lytham is included), and widens the chronological bracket covered by both types of explicit reference to between 1488-9 (1477 if the above interpretation of the reference in the terrar's account for 1504-5 is accepted) and 1532-3, only three of the references occurring before 1500.[15]

The impression given by the diplomatic of the contributions alone would thus suggest that the work on the tower was predominantly a phenomenon of the sixteenth century, whereas it is clear from the surviving sacrist's accounts of the 1480s that large-scale work was also in progress at least twenty years earlier. The implication is clearly that many of the numerous unspecified contributions levied in the later fifteenth century were probably also being used to fund works on the tower.

Since the evidence of the *Durham Household Book* (Raine 1844) suggests that the latest generations of accounts from the priory became increasingly formalized and remote from the actual transactions which they were originally intended to record (see Chap. II.B.2.3), it may be argued that it would be unwise to rely exclusively on the diplomatic of the contributions from sixteenth-century accounts as evidence of the duration of a major building project. But several indications suggest that this scepticism cannot be justified. The fact that most of the specifications only begin in the sixteenth century itself implies that they cannot be interpreted as fossilizations of earlier outmoded references perpetuated by scribal

inertia. Further, there is some evidence that they were being treated as amounts which it was at least anticipated would be paid. In particular, the Master of Farne Island's contribution was excused in 1511-12, but a similar entry excusing it was cancelled in 1512-13, presumably implying that it was actually levied in that year. The entry recording payment in 1514-15 has been cancelled and annotated in the margin: 'pardoned with the agreement of the auditor(s)'.[16] The contribution never appears in the surviving accounts after this year. The implication seems to be that the chronic poverty of the cell made it increasingly difficult for it to meet this obligation, so that it eventually ceased to be levied. This evidence does not mean that Farne had always paid its contribution regularly or in full before 1514-15, but it does suggest that payment was expected. Another indication that these payments were more than fossilized relics in the sixteenth-century accounts is the description of the chamberlain's pension in 1523-4 as being '... from the new imposition ...'.[17] Since the amount had not increased compared to earlier payments, the reference is presumably to the incoming prior (Hugh Whitehead) reimposing what had been levied under his predecessor, again presumably in the expectation that, in principle at least, these levies would be paid.

The sacrist's account for 1535-6 (the only one to survive after 1487-8) does not include a *Reparacio Campanilis* section, so all work on the tower must have ended by that date. This may be reflected in the terminology of the contributions, since the three accounts dating from 1535-6 or later which survive from among those of the nine officials known to have been supporting the work previously, all include contributions the purposes of which are no longer specified. If, as this suggests, the conclusion of building activities and the reintroduction of unspecified annual contributions coincided, the tower may have been finished by 1532-3, the last year in which contributions to the sacrist or the *campanile* are specified.

It is undoubtedly important to stress the limitations in the value of the contributions from the monastic officials as evidence. It is uncertain, for example, how many of the contributions made to the sacrist were actually destined for the tower project, though some at least clearly were (see above). Nor does it provide secure evidence that building was continuous throughout the period in which specified contributions occur. The chronological spread of the surviving ones would be difficult to reconcile with the assumption of a protracted break in the works in the first third of the sixteenth century, but it is impossible to tell whether the lack of specified contributions in the later fifteenth century represents a change in diplomatic practice or a possible pause in the works. In particular, there is little

direct evidence of activity between the sacrist's account of 1487-8 and the first specification of a pension as being for the *campanile* in 1506-7, so a substantial building break during this period can by no means be ruled out.[18] Further, it is no less difficult to assess the extent of the divergence between the amount of money actually received from the officials and the amount anticipated in their levies. Nevertheless, the distribution of the specified contributions, coupled with the evidence that their occurrence was more than the result of fossilized accounting practices, does seem to imply that work on the tower was only finally completed some forty years later than has commonly been supposed.[19]

In spite of many difficulties in interpretation then, the absolute termini of the construction of the central tower seem reasonably clear: work started in 1465 or 1466 on a small scale, and probably continued at that level for about the next decade. During this period, the work was financed by the sacrist alone, but from shortly after 1475 most of the cost was met by the imposition of a heavy burden of annual contributions on most of the monastic officials, and this enabled building to proceed on a much larger scale. Work does not seem to have ceased finally until the early 1530s, and was not necessarily in progress continuously, the last decade of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth being the period when it is most difficult to establish that work was in progress.

V.A.2.3 Structural Sequence

Comparative evidence also supplies some indications of the likely sequence of construction of the tower. It is hardly surprising that the wooden vault of the single-storey lantern-tower at York was the last part to be constructed (Harvey 1977, 170-5), but it is perhaps less obvious in the case of two-stage towers. Yet the fan-vault over the lantern at Canterbury was certainly only inserted when all else was complete, since it must date from the first decade of the sixteenth century (Woodman 1981, 209), whereas the rest of the tower was finished by the end of the fifteenth (Woodman 1981, 208).[20] This is borne out by the tower of Howden Minster, Yorkshire, where the projected vault over the lantern, whether of wood or stone, was apparently never constructed, and the tower has presumably therefore always been floored over immediately above the crossing-arches.[21] Thus the sequence at Durham would almost certainly have been: lantern; belfry; vault.

It is difficult to assign absolute dates to any of these phases of the relative sequence, but a reference in one of the sacrist's accounts to painting twenty statues may provide a

solitary fixed point.[22] Since there are no statues within the tower, nor on the exterior of the belfry, the document must refer to the ones which adorn the lantern-stage of the exterior. The disposition of the niches on the tower shows that provision was made for forty statues arranged in three zones:[23] eight in the lowest zone, beneath the string at the base of the windows (one in each of the buttresses); twenty in the lower part of the lantern, beneath the string-course just above the level of the transom of the windows (one in each of the two buttresses on each face; and one between and to either side of each pair of windows); and twelve in the upper part of the lantern (one in each buttress, and one between each pair of windows) (Pl. 90). Since the four sides of the tower were presumably raised at approximately the same rate, it is reasonable to assume that the statues being painted in 1487-8 were those of the middle of the three zones. This may mean that the lower or lantern stage was by then substantially complete;[24] but it need imply no more than that its lower section (as far as the string-course approximately mid way up the lantern windows) had been finished, and that the statues were being painted in situ before striking the scaffolding and commencing the upper section. Given the nature of the documentary evidence, which would be consistent with a pause in construction in the 1490s, it is possible that the belfry stage as well as the vault date from the sixteenth century.[25]

The existence of squinches in the corners of the belfry-stage (Pl. 91) has been taken to imply the intention to complete the tower with a spire (Billings 1843, 38; Snape 1974, 73, n. 20). But this immediately gives rise to a difficulty: the usual method by which the transition from tower to spire is effected is to make each squinch the same length as the sections of wall-face between then, thus forming a regular octagon. Yet at Durham, the squinches are only one-third the length of the intervening sections of wall-face. It is possible that the original intention was to make the squinches larger or to construct them in two orders, as in the central tower of Lincoln (Britton 1826, V, pl. 55 (following 260)), which once supported a timber and lead spire, and that they were never completed. However, one other feature of the tower makes this explanation unlikely. Each section of the parapet crowning the belfry-stage is pierced by pairs of cusped panels, but towards the corners these are blank. Further, the embrasures nearest the corners on each side are false, the true level of the parapet being continued at the level of the flanking merlons (Pl. 90). Since the extent of the solid parts of the parapet coincides almost exactly with the size of the squinches as built, it seems almost certain that they were planned together (Pl. 91). But the parapet is unlikely to have been added before the size of the squinches had been finally determined; so

it is likely that both were built as originally intended, and therefore that a spire was never envisaged.

What, then, was the purpose of these features? They may have been intended to support large corner pinnacles or turrets of the kind which form such a prominent feature of the designs of Canterbury (Pl. 92) and Gloucester (Harvey 1978, fig. 201). This suggestion is strengthened by the presence of similar small squinches more locally at Fountains abbey, North Yorkshire, where the intention to support elaborate pinnacles is clear (Gilyard-Beer 1986, 36). Alternatively, though less probably, such squinches may have been intended to support a crown spire, as at St Nicholas, Newcastle upon Tyne, which would have provided an obvious local model (Pevsner and Richmond 1957, 224-5).[26] Either may have been begun and subsequently abandoned and then demolished; or perhaps no more was ever executed than is now visible. In either case, any plans to continue the work which may have been formulated in the early 1530s, whatever their form, were either thwarted by the priory's unwillingness to prolong the work still further, or foundered in the turmoil of the Dissolution.

V.A.2.4 Cost

As well as dating the tower, the documents provide evidence which, though not sufficient to enable a precise evaluation of its total cost, at least give some indication of its likely order of magnitude. There is no direct evidence that, whenever work on the tower was in progress after the 1480s, expenditure was as high as that recorded in the accounts for 1483-7, which must be seen as the highest level likely to be attained for a project heavily dependent on obedientiary contributions; on the other hand, if the above arguments are right, a substantial proportion of contributions in this period were probably earmarked to support the work, so other years may well have approached this level. Assuming that expenditure before the late 1470s did not exceed the negligible levels recorded in the four surviving early accounts, that expenditure in the years after the expansion of works in the 1470s not infrequently approached the amounts expended in the 1480s accounts (producing an average expenditure of, say, £40), and that the number of years involved was not significantly fewer than forty, the total cost may be calculated as probably not less than £1500.

Such comparative evidence as there is confirms that projects of this kind were extremely expensive. In particular, documentary evidence relating to the central tower of Canterbury, a structure providing a close analogy to that of Durham both as to date and

dimensions (exclusive of pinnacles), reveals that fifty feet of the walls of the upper stage alone cost £8 per foot, giving a total cost of just under £400 (Woodman 1981, 204-5, fig. 150). This figure is likely to have been higher at Durham as it is built of sandstone throughout, whereas the upper parts of Canterbury are of brick faced with stone externally (Woodman 1981, *loc. cit.*); but even calculated at the Canterbury rate, the 130 feet or so of Durham would have cost just over £1000, exclusive of vaulting, roofing, and parapets.[27] Whatever the precise cost of the Durham tower may have been, the comparative data suggests that the estimate of £1500 based on extrapolating the account-roll evidence may not be very far wide of the mark. At any rate, there can be no doubt that the central tower was not only the most protracted building project ever undertaken by the later medieval convent, but was also almost certainly the most expensive.

V.A.2.5 Architectural Context

The two-stage crossing-tower, with a belfry surmounting a lantern open to the crossing below, has a long history. It is already discernible in embryonic form in English Romanesque architecture, as the surviving examples at Norwich, Tewkesbury, and St Albans demonstrate. However, the origins of the particular group to which Durham belongs, in which the lantern stage is prolonged to a great height, are unclear. The earliest known example was apparently the crossing-tower of Old St Paul's, London, completed in 1221 ((—) 1866, 66). This is presumably to be identified with the tower depicted in Hollar's engravings (Pl. 94), from which it is clear that the lower stage was much taller than the upper, but which unfortunately leave it uncertain as to whether it was visible from the crossing or closed off by a vault.

Whatever the origins and early development of the type, the immediate precursors of Durham are probably two Yorkshire towers. The central tower of Howden has a high lantern-stage and a set-back belfry-stage above (Pl. 95). Both in its general proportions and in certain features of its detailing (notably its use of steep angle-buttresses with few offsets), the general conception is close to Durham. Moreover, its dating implies that the lower stage at least must have been complete before Durham was begun. It was started during the episcopate of Walter Skirlaw (1388-1406), who left £40 to the project in his will of 1403 (Raine 1836, 310). The lantern was probably complete by the mid fifteenth century, since a shield bearing the arms of Bishop Langley, who died in 1437, adorns the interior at the springing of the hoodmoulds of its window-arches (Bilson 1912-13, 164). Bilson regarded

the belfry-stage as '... a later addition, probably of the end of the fifteenth century' (*loc. cit.*), so it cannot be regarded as certainly part of the original scheme. Given the historical connections between Durham and Howden, this tower must have been familiar to some of the Durham monks, and may well have influenced the choice of design for the new tower at the cathedral.

If Howden could have provided the basic model for Durham, its detailing was certainly derived from the lantern at York Minster (Pl. 97). The use of set-back buttresses, of ogee hoodmoulds to the windows, the elimination of the buttresses in the centre of each face, and the flanking of each window by panels containing tiers of superimposed image-niches, are all features more or less closely paralleled at Durham. The York tower may have been designed shortly after the collapse of its predecessor in 1407 but was probably not begun until the early 1430s (Harvey 1977, 167). It was complete by 1473, but the evidence of masons' marks apparently implies that the stonework was substantially complete, except for the window tracery, by *c.* 1450 (Harvey 1977, 173-5) so it too must have been all but complete before the one at Durham was begun. Harvey has speculated that the tower of York was originally intended to have an upper stage as at Durham, and that the Durham design was adapted from a projected scheme still extant in the form of drawings at the Minster (Harvey 1977, 175; *idem* 1984, 14-15). If so, this would explain the closeness of the stylistic resemblance between the lantern stages.

One further factor which may have contributed to the choice of design of the tower should not be neglected. It may well be that, in choosing a two-stage form, the prior and convent had the previous tower at Durham in mind. Both the fifteenth-century towers at York and Durham replaced thirteenth-century ones, and it is therefore conceivable that either or both of these incorporated a high lantern-stage, like that of Old St Paul's.[28] In view of the apparent absence of a series of designs spanning the long interval which separates the latter from its Perpendicular descendants, this may help to explain the late medieval revival of the type in the north.

Though the Perpendicular age is justly hailed as the great period of tower building in England, crossing towers in churches of the first rank are surprisingly rare (Harvey 1978, 179). Only one other comparable enterprise was undertaken in the country towards the close of the Middle Ages, and it is therefore particularly remarkable that it too adopted the same basic plan-type. The central tower of Canterbury Cathedral (Pl. 92) is totally unlike the

northern group in its details and must have been conceived quite independently (Woodman 1981, 199-211). In spite of the pronounced contrast in appearance, however, the towers of Canterbury and Durham both reveal an essentially similar conception of how this feature of an English church of the first rank should look. They stand at opposite extremities of the country, eloquent witnesses both to the longevity of the design-concepts they embody and to the conservatism of the communities whose churches they adorn.

V.A.3 NAVE TRACERIES

Until their removal in the mid nineteenth century (Curry 1985, 22), thirteen out of fifteen Romanesque windows in the nave were filled with two-light Perpendicular traceries of a standard pattern (Pl. 6, 7, 9).[29] The exceptions were windows sXVIII-XIX, whose tracery had been inserted respectively in the mid fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries (see Chaps. III.A.4.1, IV.A.1), which suggests that the Perpendicular design had been supplied for all not already provided with it, and hence that it is later than the second decade of the fifteenth century, while its absence from Wessington's Works implies that it is later than 1446. Moreover, the documentary evidence is critical in establishing what the material evidence could not, namely, that this pattern apparently replaced mid fourteenth-century traceries in other nave windows (see Chap. III.A.4.1). The motive for dispensing with such comparatively recent work can only be guessed at. The desire to give a uniform appearance to the north facade is one possibility, but it is also conceivable that the fourteenth-century work was already in need of repair. This is documented in the case of the north transept facade window, nXV, which was said to have been 'worn away by age' when repaired by Prior Castell (1494-1519); moreover, the repair is specifically stated to have involved the stonework as well as some reglazing.[30] If this is the reason why the nave windows were replaced, it suggests that they were then of appreciable antiquity, confirming the likelihood of a late medieval context.

No documentation for these windows has been identified, so they can only be dated by establishing the most plausible context for their insertion, and the date of stylistically comparable traceries elsewhere. As to the former, there was evidently a renewed interest in the nave in the late Middle Ages, priors Burnby (1456-64), Auckland (1484-94) and Castell (1494-1519) all choosing it as their place of burial (Fowler 1903, 32-4). Liturgical activity in the nave centred on the use of its principal altar as the setting for Jesus masses and anthems, and the facts that the latter two priors were buried before it, Castell also attaching

his chantry endowment to it (Raine 1839, 153-4, 220; Fowler 1903, 34), may be seen as both reflecting and reinforcing this trend. Any of these three priors would thus have had a personal interest in the nave, and it is worth bearing in mind here that the problem of dating may well be largely the result of the poor survival of the sacrist's accounts for this period, only one (for 1458-9) surviving from Burnby's priorate, three (1484-7) for Auckland's, and none whatever for Castell's (Fig. 6). The short duration of Burnby's priorate, together with the depressed economic condition of the monastery and the overriding priority of making good the damage of the 1459 fire (see above, section A.1) make him the least likely candidate. Castell's substantial chantry endowment there, together with his documented concern for repair and renewal of windows already noted with respect to the north transept facade tracery (see above), perhaps makes him the likeliest candidate; or he may have completed a project begun by his predecessor, in which case their absence from the sacrist's accounts of the 1480s may make a date after 1488 likely, unless of course their insertion had been financed and organized independently of the sacrist's office. The period 1488-1519 thus seems the most likely context for the insertion of these traceries.

Though simpler forms of Perpendicular tracery may have a very long currency and are therefore exceptionally difficult to date precisely, a consideration of the chronological implications of the form of the nave traceries (Pl. 98) at least demonstrates that it is not inconsistent with an attribution to Castell's priorate. In particular, it can be paralleled at a major project in the north firmly dated to the early sixteenth century, the nave of Ripon, on which work had begun by 1503-4 (see Chap. IX, note 110). Most of the windows in this building are of three or more lights, but the two-light window at the east end of the south nave aisle is closely similar in pattern to the Durham windows (Pl. 99). This line of enquiry, in combination with the contextual evidence advanced above, suggests an early sixteenth-century date as the most likely for the insertion of these traceries (see further Chap. IX.B.15.3).

V.B: THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

V.B.1 CLAUSTRAL BUILDINGS

There are a few indications that renovations in Castell's priorate extended to the claustral buildings as well as the church. Thus it seems that the cenotaph of St Cuthbert,

which stood in the cloister garth opposite the door of the slype in the east range, owed its final form to a renovation by Castell in 1514.[31] According to the *Rites*, this consisted of a tomb surmounted by an image of St Cuthbert enclosed by timber screenwork and roofed over (Fowler 1903, 68-9, 74-5). Similarly, the author of the *Rites* was probably correct to infer that the presence of an inscription naming Castell and the date 1518 on the wainscotting of the refectory indicated that this had also been his responsibility.[32]

V.B.2 PRECINCTUAL BUILDINGS

V.B.2.1 Gatehouse

The rebuilding of one of the major structures of the precinct, its east gate surmounted by the chapel of St Helen, together with chambers for a porter and a priest (Pl. 104), was also effected during Castell's priorate (Raine 1839, 153). The architectural detail is principally confined to the elaborate lierne vault, the design being otherwise plain (Pl. 102). It is notable that the tracery of the three-light chapel windows (Billings 1843, pl. II) (Pl. 104) perpetuates forms which had been current in Durham since the early fifteenth century (Pl. 86, 64), and shows no sign of having been influenced by the forms used in the nave aisle windows (Pl. 98). This may suggest that the gatehouse was rebuilt in the early part of Castell's priorate.

V.B.2.2 Prior's Lodging

To judge from their style, some parts of the prior's lodging also underwent major renovations in the later fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, but their precise dates remain uncertain as no surviving documents certainly relate to the work. The roof of the hall must date from this period, as must the elaborately decorated ceiling of the prior's study. The former has been dated to the late 1470s or early 1480s by association with a documented reglazing (Pevsner *et al.* 1983, 206), but this must be regarded as extremely tentative as there is no documentary evidence that masonry work was also involved, though the existing undiagnostic tracery, square-headed and with four cinquefoil-cusped lights (Pl. 103), would not be incompatible with such a date.[33] If so, it seems that the tracery inserted in this position during Fossor's priorate (see Chap. III.B.2) itself needed renewal, a situation which parallels the repairs required by other windows of this date in the church by the late Middle Ages (see above, section A.3).

V.B.2.3 Guest house

Repairs to the guest accommodation appear to form an exception to the general lack of documented building activity observable in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Major work on the hall roof and on reconstructing the hostiller's exchequer were carried out in 1458-9, the former at a cost of nearly £35 (Hostiller 1458-9, Reparaciones); further work on the hall, including making and glazing new windows, is recorded in 1461-2 (Hostiller 1461-2, Reparaciones Domorum; see Chap. IX, note 99). Finally, a major reconstruction of the knights' chamber was undertaken in 1464-5, at a cost of just over £44. This room was described as the 'secunda camera' in the inventory of 1454 (Hostiller 1453-4, dorse), that is, second only in importance to the king's chamber itself.

V.B.2.4 Ancillary Buildings

Among the ancillary buildings of the precinct, the hostiller's 'barn (*orreum*) within the monastery', a building which presumably served the guest house, was reconstructed in 1446-7 at a cost of £15 9s 9d (Hostiller 1446-7, Reparaciones Infra at Extra). In 1453-4 the Infirmarer contributed £1 '... to the fabric of the new granary within the monastery' (Infirmarer 1453-4, Expense).[34] This building does not seem to be otherwise documented or contributed to by other officials, though the lack of surviving bursar's accounts between 1450 and 1453 may explain this. Both the above references, dating as they do to a conspicuously fallow period in the convent's building activity, are a salutary reminder that essential building works of this kind had to be carried out no matter how inauspicious the circumstances.

A date in the 1530s for the roof of the hall immediately adjacent to the south side of the gatehouse (Pl. 104) has recently been provided by dendrochronological analysis of one of its timbers.[35] This result is extremely important, because it shows that work was still being undertaken in the last days of the monastery, a period which is comparatively poorly documented. Unfortunately, the function of the building remains uncertain.

V.C: DISCUSSION

In contrast to the two great rebuildings of *c.* 1350-75 and *c.* 1400-35 there is little evidence of any across-the-board reconstructions in late medieval Durham. The only possible exception is the work attributed to the priorate of Thomas Castell (1494-1519), which

involved alterations to the church and claustral buildings as well as the construction of at least one new building in the precinct; but if the works of his time matched those of his predecessors in range, they were clearly not nearly so important in scale. No less interesting are the periods of comparative inactivity, which are difficult to define for the less well-documented sixteenth century, but are comparatively clear in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The only exception to this general trend seems to have been the expenditure lavished on the guest accommodation, an anomaly which can in part be explained by the comparative wealth of the hostiller's estate; but the main reason for this apparently curious sense of priorities must lie in the extent of the obligation of the late medieval convent to entertain the great and the good (Dobson 1973, chaps. 5-6). The offering of hospitality to great magnates in a style befitting their status would obviously have required a suitably magnificent architectural setting, and the convent's complaints about the heavy burden of entertaining its guests leave no doubt about the demands placed on their accommodation (Dobson 1973, 106-7, 178).

The most distinctive feature of the period, however, was undoubtedly its dominance by a single building project, the reconstruction of the central tower. Though it has not proved possible to determine the precise periods after the late 1480s when work was in progress, it seems clear that its later stages extended well into the sixteenth century. What is much more difficult to quantify (though it cannot have failed to have some effect) is the extent to which the preoccupation with the tower starved other projects of resources, or even prevented their being undertaken altogether. The long duration of the work at any rate conforms to the classic pattern already noted in previous chapters, the nature of the convent's finances entailing that it could only afford to spend a little over a long period. The contrast to the rapid completion of the central tower of Canterbury, largely financed by archiepiscopal subsidies (Woodman 1981, 209-10), is instructive here. The convent's determination to pursue a work which could hardly have been justified on utilitarian grounds says much about the function of architecture as an expression of the community's prestige. And if the speculation that restoring the *status quo ante* was a major determinant of the design is correct, it may also have something to say about the convent's determination to keep faith with its past. The present study has certainly confirmed Snape's comment that the decision to have embarked on the project at all, given the convent's difficulties in the third quarter of the fifteenth century '... may be accounted a courageous one.' (Snape 1974, 73).

CHAPTER V - NOTES

1. Reg. Parv. III, fol. 77v, printed Raine 1839, App., cccxxxiv-cccxxxv, where the date given is a slip for 1456 (Snape 1974, 72, n. 9).

2. '... ecclesia cathedralis Dunelmensis ... in eius navi, campanili, insulis eciam et aliis edificiis campanisque ac bonis nonnullis magnis et sumptuosis per inextinguibilem fulguris flammam ... conbustis et conversis funditus in favillas ...' (Snape 1974, 71).

3. 'Et in ij plaustratis plumbi cum cariacione, Cxj s. viij d. et Johanni plummer super magnum campanile, iij li. vij s. [rest of amount illegible]. Et Ricardo Scherwent cappent [*sic*] cum uno homine super magnum campanile, xij s.' (Sacrist 1458-9, Expense pro Ecclesia).

4. He is likely to have been paid at something close to the skilled craftsman's wage (about 3s 4d per week at this period), so worked for about twenty-two weeks.

5. Snape 1974, 73; the inference was first made by Billings (Billings 1843, 37, n. 2).

6. I am grateful to I. Curry, R. Hooke, and R. Thorne, for much helpful discussion of the likely date of these roofs. A dendrochronological date of 1459 for the felling of the timbers of the north transept roof makes it virtually certain that it at least was reconstructed following the 1459 fire (R. Thorne, pers. comm.).

7. Reg. Parv. III, fol. 160r, quoted in Snape 1974, 73.

8. Dobson 1967, 22-3 and n. 1 on 23 (quoting Reg. Parv. III, fol. 156v). The effective abandonment of the Coldingham litigation at this time (Dobson, *loc. cit.*) must have released more funds for building from the mid 1470s.

9. £46 6s 5d was spent on Shoreswood by the bursar in 1476-7, including work on the foundations. Income promised from contributions then totalled £84 13s 4d, 100 marks of which had been contributed by the prior personally (Bursar 1476-7, Reparaciones). The account for 1477-8, which presumably contained entries relating to the bulk of the remaining expenditure, is now lost. The account for 1478-9 contains no references to the project, and that for 1479-80 only minor ones, so the bulk of the work must have taken place between 1476 and 1478. Dobson may be correct in surmising that the immediate context for the construction of this tower lay in Prior Bell's prominent role in border diplomacy in the 1470s (Dobson 1965, 208).

10. 'Et petit allocacionem de xj li. vj s. viij d. oneratam in ultimo compoto et non solutam, videlicet, de priore de Lethum C s., de magistro de Wermouth xx s., de camerario xl s., et de lxvj s. viij d. mutuata de domino priore.' (Sacrist 1485-6, Dona Exennia et Allocaciones).

11. Once fixed at their final late medieval levels, contributions from all monastic officials would have yielded a total anticipated annual income of just under £50. The fact that this accords closely with the average annual amount of just over £50 raised from the prior and from pensions between 1483 and 1487 further confirms that the *pensiones* are to be identified with contributions. It also implies that, at this time at least, most were being paid and formed the bulk of the financial support for the project; if so, they had been fixed by 1483. This further suggests that the prior's contribution was a moderate and not necessarily constant one.

12. 'Et in pensione solut' sacriste imposit' per dominum priorem et capitulum anno domini M^{mo} CCCC lxx^{mo} vij^{mo}, C s.' (Terrar 1504-5, [unmarginated]). (The previous surviving account dates from 1463-4.)

13. The account dating probably to 1429-30 includes a payment of £2 to the fabric of the infirmary, which looks like an *ad hoc* contribution.

14. See his remark, based on his familiarity with the long series of contributions specifying work on the tower in the later Holy Island accounts (cf. General Introduction, note 4), that the central tower of Durham was hardly completed before the Reformation (Raine 1852, 124, note).

15. For the terrar's 1477 imposition, see note 12. The other two are Infirmarer 1498-9 (a unique example in this series of accounts) and the chamberlain from 1498-9 (the previous surviving account-roll being 1494-5).

16. 'Et in pensione annuali imposita per dominum priorem, xx s.' ['et ... xx s.' cancelled; 'perdonatur cum consensu auditor'' added in right margin] (Farne Island 1514-15, Expense).

17. 'Et in subsidio soluto [1 word illegible] in relevamen monasterii ex nova imposicione, xl s.' (Chamberlain 1523-4, Pensiones et Stipendia).

18. The only specified contributions from officials between 1488 and 1505 (all specifying the sacrist, and so not necessarily implying work on the central tower) are: infirmarer 1488-9 (the only one from this official so specified); chamberlain, in every surviving account from 1498-9, specification starting 1495 x 1498); and terrar, in every surviving account from 1504-5, but conceivably going back to the imposition of 1477 (see note 12).

19. This redating lends new point to the description of the tower as 'new' later in the sixteenth century. Thus the *Rites*, written in or shortly before 1593 (see Chap. II.A.3.3) still describes the central tower as '... the lanthorne called the new worke ...' (Fowler 1903, 22).

20. As Woodman points out, there are sound structural reasons for undertaking the vault last. It needs to be protected from the weather, and is best undertaken only after allowing an opportunity for initial settlement to occur (Woodman 1981, 208).

21. The vault springers survive at the top of the lantern stage (Pl. 96).

22. 'Et solvit Alex'o Scott pro pictura viginti ymaginum de petro, cum coloribus emptis pro eisdem, vij s.' (Sacrist 1487-8, Reparacio Campanilis).

23. Billings's figure of 32 statues (Billings 1843, 14) excludes the eight in the lowest stage, which are below the level of the string-course at the foot of the lantern windows (Pl. 10-11), and which may therefore be considered not to form part of the tower proper from a visual point of view.

24. Applying the comparative cost of building the Canterbury tower (see below, section A.2.4) to what we know of this phase of the Durham one, by 1487-8 there must have been 8-10 building seasons at the increased rate of *c.* £50 per annum, giving an expenditure of *c.* £400-500, which should represent *c.* 50-62.5 feet of building at £8 per foot. Assuming that this phase of work started from the string-course at the base of the lantern windows (Pl. 90), the comparative evidence implies that work should have reached either to the apexes of the lantern windows, or to the top of the lower stage of the tower. On the other hand, as is noted below (section A.2.4), the figure is probably an underestimate for Durham, all the more so as the walls of the lantern stage are notably thicker than those of the belfry.

25. Is it possible that the gallery in the ringing chamber represents the remains of a temporary roofing of the lantern stage? If so, this would lend support to the theory that there was a break in the works at this point, though it need not imply (*pace* Fowler 1903, 213; Snape 1974, 73, n. 20) that the addition of the belfry stage was a change of design rather than part of what was anticipated from the beginning.

26. The crown spire idea was first suggested by Sir Gilbert Scott, a perspective drawing of whose proposal survives in E. R. Robson's extra-illustrated copy of Carter 1801 in the Chapter Library at Durham (Pl. 93).

27. Woodruff and Danks reported the total cost of the upper parts of the tower as being in excess of £4000 (Woodruff and Danks 1912, 209); this figure seems difficult to reconcile with the figures given in Woodman, however (Woodman 1981, 204-6, 210).

28. For the thirteenth-century rebuilding of the Durham tower, which presumably survived in essentials until the fire of 1459, see Chap. IV.A.6. Later references to it make it clear that it had a spire, the 'stilum campanilis' being mentioned in the letter to Bishop Neville (Raine 1839, App., cccxxxiv (discussed above, section A.1)), but it is not certain that it was two-stage. For the theory that the thirteenth-century central tower of York was two-stage, see Gee 1977, 136.

29. The nine in the north and west walls had pointed heads inserted within the arches of the original Romanesque windows (Pl. 6, 7, 12); the four on the south side evidently involved the elimination of the exterior faces of the Romanesque windows, and were consequently slightly taller and narrower (Pl. 9, 98).

30. 'Hic [Castell] etiam reparavit a novo fenestram borialem vetustate contritam, in medio angulo crucis ecclesie Dunelmensis; et opus lapideum et vitreum ... et subtus sui ipsius imago ...' (Raine 1839, 153; cf. Fowler 1903, 31). Greenwell interpreted the reference to masonry work as meaning that Castell had lengthened the window and added the internal walkway connecting the transept gallery with the passage at the same level in its west wall (Greenwell 1932, 87), but the homogeneity of the mouldings suggest that its dimensions have always been as at present. The curious failure to express this walkway as a transom in the exterior elevation (Pl. 100, cf. Pl. 27) also seems more likely in a very early Perpendicular context (see Chap. III.A.4.1).

31. The date is recorded in marginal notes by two Durham monks against copies of the twelfth-century description of the tomb in Reginald of Durham's *Libellus de Admirandis Beati Cuthberti Virtutibus*: William Todd (who adds the attribution to Castell) in his miscellany (BL MS Harley 4843, fol. 100r); and Thomas Swallwell (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 6, fol. 74v.). I am grateful to Dr A. I. Doyle for the latter reference. For a fuller discussion of the cenotaph in the cloisters, see Cambridge 1983, 91-4.

32. It is possible that Castell's wainscotting from the refectory is to be identified with the late medieval panelling now in the vestibule to the Prior's Hall in the Durham Deanery. I am grateful to Mr I. Curry for this suggestion.

33. Bursar 1476-7, Reparaciones; Bursar 1482-3, Reparaciones.

34. '... ad fabricam novi granarii infra monasterium, xx s.' (Infirmarar 1453-4, Expense).

35. I am grateful to Messrs. R. Thorne and R. Hooke for informing me of the results of their dendrochronological investigation of this roof, and for much helpful discussion of Durham roofs generally.

CHAPTER VI: THE CELLS

VI.A: INTRODUCTION

The existence of a large number of dependent cells was a dominant characteristic of monastic life at Durham throughout the greater part of the priory's history, a reflection both of the community's fostering of its pre-Conquest origins and of its post-Conquest wealth and prestige (see Chap. I.B.1).[1] The precise dates at which permanent communities of monks were established at each cell is often obscure, but it is clear that nine cells were in existence by the mid thirteenth century, reduced to eight when the ephemeral foundation at Warkworth seems to fade from the records, but soon increased again to nine with the refoundation of the priory's lodging at Oxford as a college in 1381.[2] Only with the final abandonment of Coldingham to the Scots in 1462 did the number fall permanently again to eight (Dobson 1967, 8). The remaining seven cells (Holy Island and Farne Island in north Northumberland; Jarrow, Wearmouth, and Finchale in county Durham; Lytham in Lancashire; Stamford in Lincolnshire; and Durham College Oxford) continued, albeit sometimes precariously, until the Dissolution.

Though at least one cell was populous and wealthy enough to have set itself up in opposition to the mother-house in the thirteenth century, the authority of Durham over its dependencies remained virtually unchallenged in the straitened circumstances of the later Middle Ages.[3] The links which bound the cells to Durham were strong indeed. The prior of Durham had absolute power to assign monks to a cell, and to move them from one to another, or back to Durham, as he thought fit. Moreover, no head of a cell could receive the professions of novices, so Durham always remained the first loyalty of its monks (Dobson 1973, 302-5). The appointment and removal of the heads themselves, and even (where these existed) of obedientiaries within a cell, was entirely in the prior of Durham's hands. The obligation of the cells to submit their accounts to Durham for annual audit has already been considered (see Chap. I.C.3). This remarkable degree of centralized authority was markedly in excess of that exercised by most other superiors of English Benedictine houses (Dobson 1973, 304, n. 3).

This situation raises important questions for the architectural historian. Did the thoroughgoing centralization which characterized so many aspects of the administration of the cells extend to the decision-making processes involved in the repair and alteration of their buildings, or did the cells have a degree of independent action? Did Durham even take the

initiative on occasion, and direct programmes of repair and rebuilding? Did it supply workmen employed at the mother-house? And how far did the existence of this widespread network act as a means of disseminating stylistic features current at Durham?

Two categories of evidence are available which may provide answers to some of these problems: the financial documents produced by the cells; and the evidence of the remaining buildings themselves. An essential preliminary, which will occupy much of this chapter, is to attempt to fit these two together, to see what can be known about what was built, and when, at each cell in the last two centuries before the Dissolution. The treatment of this evidence will, however, necessarily be selective in at least two respects. First the three remotest cells, Lytham, Stamford, and Oxford, will not be further considered, both the documentary and the material evidence associated with them being utterly inadequate to answering such questions.[4] The discussion will therefore be confined to the six cells north of Tees (Fig. 14). Secondly, the more extensive (but stylistically anonymous) remains of the larger complexes, particularly the monastic buildings at Holy Island and Finchale, will not be exhaustively analysed, as many of the results would not be of more than local and particular significance.

VI.B: COLDINGHAM (Pl. 106)

VI.B.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It is likely that the community of St Cuthbert had established some claim to the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Coldingham by the middle of the ninth century (Dobson 1967, 2, n. 1; Craster 1954, 179). Whether or not this ancient link prompted the grant of the church and estate to the Benedictine successors of that community by Edgar, King of Scots in *c.* 1098 (Cowan and Easson 1976, 55), it is from that date that the history of Coldingham in the high Middle Ages begins. The colonizing of a fully conventual cell does not seem to have taken place before the mid twelfth century.[5] By the thirteenth century it was considered able to support a prior and thirty monks, making it by far the most populous of the Durham cells (Raine 1839, App., xliii (reprinted Raine 1841, 243)). With the outbreak of the Anglo-Scottish wars in 1296, however, all this was to change.

Apart from a solitary sacrist's account of 1310-11, no account-rolls survive from Coldingham before the 1340s, so that neither the sequence of events nor the immediate causes of the first phase of the priory's decline can be followed in detail. The number of resident monks had dropped to seven by 1304, however (Raine 1841, 7), and never seems to have exceeded three or four during the rest of the fourteenth century (Dobson 1967, 2, n. 4). Corresponding to the decline in numbers was a severe drop in the convent's income. In the late 1320s the monks complained that their revenues were 'not half what they had been'.[6] Further, the priory's proximity to the border warfare during the campaigns of Edward II meant that some of the monks had been compelled to abandon the monastery entirely (Raine 1841, 29-30). The campaigns of Edward III resulted in similar disruptions, as witnessed by Prior Fossor's complaint, in a letter to the Chancellor of England in 1347, that Coldingham was occupied (Raine 1841, 32). The third quarter of the fourteenth century proved to be a brief period of comparative stability (Dobson 1967, 3). But the incongruity of a community of monks who owed allegiance to a superior in England continuing to reside within a progressively more chauvinistic Scottish kingdom must have become ever more apparent, and the ominous implications of the disruptions of Durham's effective control of the priory and its estates earlier in the fourteenth century became clear when the King of Scots expelled the Durham monks in 1378 and intruded a prior and monks from Dunfermline (Dobson 1967, 3-4, n. 4). The litigation to which this affair gave rise was to last for the next hundred years; and though the final expulsion of Durham monks did not take place until 1462, the events of 1378 effectively marked the end of Durham's undisputed (and for long periods, *de facto*) control (Dobson 1967, 3).

Even allowing for the relatively calm political situation in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, and the consequent stabilization of the cell's finances, albeit at a much lower level than in former days (Dobson 1967, 3, n. 3), it is still something of a surprise to discover that in these comparatively straitened circumstances the priory was able to embark on other than the most essential works of repair and maintenance. Yet the surviving accounts testify that this was a period of remarkably extensive building activity, scarcely a trace of which is evidenced by the surviving ruins.

VI.B.2 CHURCH (Pl. 107)

The long, low, late twelfth-century choir of Coldingham Priory forms the principal relic of the medieval monastery (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 439-43; RCAHMCS 1915,

35-9). It replaced an earlier apsidal eastern arm, the plan of which was excavated the nineteenth century (Pl. 106; cf. RCAHMCS 1915, fig. 30), which is presumably to be identified with the church built by the first Durham monks, itself the successor of the church granted to Durham in the late eleventh century. The surviving parts of the three-bay south transept are thirteenth-century work (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 444; RCAHMCS 1915, 39); nothing now survives of the north transept or nave, though the early thirteenth-century east arcade of the former was recorded in the mid nineteenth century.[7]

Responsibility for the fabric of the church was entrusted to the sacrist of Coldingham, who submitted accounts to Durham on his own behalf. These reveal a considerable amount of work on the church, which appears to fall into three phases. The earliest group of accounts to survive, from 1345 to 1355, reveals an extensive series of roof repairs. Even allowing for the gaps in the record within this period, the probable recorded amounts involved, which exceed £70, are so substantial as to suggest that large sections of the roofs required almost total renewal.[8] No sacrist's accounts survive between 1355 and 1362, with one exception, 1358-9, in which no repairs of any kind occur. It is therefore impossible to determine when the roof repairs were completed and the next phase of the reconstruction begun, though the large quantities of boards and nails bought in 1363-4 suggest that they may have continued at least until that time.[9] If so, they must have overlapped with the second stage discernible in the works, which was certainly in progress by 1362-3,[10] and extended until 1367, to be followed by a third and final phase from 1369 to 1373. This second stage is marked by references to mason-work, the construction of a window being mentioned in the 1362-3 account.[11]

Besides the mention of timber and nails, the next account, for 1363-4, records the acquisition of glass, presumably for glazing the window constructed in 1362-3.[12] There are no other indications of building activity, however. This may be explained by a payment to two masons 'for viewing the church', implying that both were being employed in a consultative capacity; presumably, then, work had ceased temporarily, pending the results of their deliberations. The subject of debate can reasonably be inferred from the nature of the building works when they resumed in the years after 1364.[13] Clearly these works were concerned with the upper parts of the end walls of the transepts, the 'gable in the north cross' being mentioned in the 1364-5 account (see note 13) and the north and south gables in that for 1365-6.[14] Unfortunately, the precise nature of the work is not specified but it is likely that, in the case of the north transept at least, it involved the insertion of a window; this may

also have been the case with the south transept gable, but not enough of its structure survives to indicate the extent to which adjacent monastic buildings may have limited or even precluded the possibility of altering its upper parts in this way (Pl. 108). The identity of the window for which iron was bought in the 1364-5 account (see note 13) is not made clear, though the form of the whole entry strongly suggests that all the itemized expenses were made in connection with the same project. Further, the cost of glazing a new window, recorded in the 1366-7 account, clearly indicates that it was a large one, the most likely position for which would have been in one of the gable-ends of the church.[15]

The next two accounts (1367-9) record only minor repairs,[16] suggesting a pause in the works and defining a third phase which was under way by 1369-70.[17] It is not clear which new window is being glazed in this year; perhaps the work on the south transept gable recorded in 1365-6 included the insertion of a window (see above, and note 14). The same account also mentions the purchase of images a plausible context for which is the refurbishment of some of the minor altars of the church.[18] Since work appears to have been concentrated in the transepts, and since these had eastern aisles and the choir had none (Pl. 106), most of the church's subsidiary altars must have been situated in them.[19] Another entry recording the painting of an image of the Virgin occurs in the next account, for 1370-1.[20] The amount spent on decoration is remarkably large, perhaps because much gilding was involved.[21] Conceivably then, this was a principal cult-statue of the church, which, like Durham itself, seems to have been dedicated to the Virgin and St Cuthbert.[22] If so, the high altar must also have undergone some refurbishment at this time; at any rate, a new cloth for it was purchased in 1372-3.[23] If the reference to glazing in that account refers to the three windows already mentioned in previous accounts, it would be important evidence that the works had involved at least three new windows, the heavily abbreviated entries for 'work on the church' in the 1370-1 account, totalling £13 2s 1d, suggesting that there could have been others. Finally, it is possible that the reference to the repair of windows in the 1373-4 account marked the final phase in the reglazing programme, rather than mere routine repairs.[24]

Thus the works at Coldingham involved a substantial amount of reroofing, no doubt essential repairs following a period of damage and neglect, and were then followed by a series of more ambitious structural alterations concentrated on the transepts. This involved the insertion of at least three new windows, one of them almost certainly in the north transept facade; the final phase involved the completion of the reglazing and the refurbishment of

some of the altar fittings of the church, probably including the high altar and the nave altar. The number of compounded entries in the accounts recording the first phase makes the total cost of these operations difficult to estimate, but roofing repairs between 1344 and 1365 total at least £77 9s 4¾d; while masonry alterations and glazing costs total at least £60 14s 8¼d, and the actual total was probably at least £10 more.

VI.B.3 Monastic Buildings

The only surviving part of the monastic buildings is an undercroft probably of thirteenth-century date lying south of the choir of the church (Pl. 106, 109). Recent excavations (Noble 1976, fig. on 216-17; Noble 1980, fig. on 210-11) have revealed that there was a pentice north of this building which returned northwards towards the south-east corner of the church, perhaps confirming earlier conjectures that the cloisters lay south of the choir and that the undercroft was part of a refectory (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 445-6). On the other hand, the area south of the site of the nave, in which a claustral layout might more readily be expected, has not been explored archaeologically, so the function of the structures south of the choir is still open to question, analogy with well-defined plans such as that of Finchale (Pl. 142) suggesting that the prior's lodging would more likely lie in this position.

Documentary references to the monastic buildings in the later Middle Ages are wholly lacking, but, given the dramatic decline in the number of monks from its thirteenth-century peak (see above, section B.1), it may be assumed that the accommodation would have been reduced in size in the later Middle Ages, and more domestic in its arrangement; perhaps it became focused on the prior's lodging, as at Finchale and Holy Island. What is more, the lack of references is probably a consequence of the systematic combination of highly abbreviated and compounded entries relating to building expenditure in the surviving Coldingham prior's accounts (Raine 1841, App., *passim*), which make it impossible to quantify the extent to which comparable renovation and adaptation had also taken place here in the mid to late fourteenth century.

VI.C: HOLY ISLAND (Pl. 110)

VI.C.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The exact date of the refoundation of the monastery on Holy Island is uncertain; the earliest documentary reference does not occur until 1172 (Piper 1989, 444, n. 41), but it is likely that monks were present to staff the newly built church which, on stylistic grounds, must have been complete by about the middle of the twelfth century.[25] None of the surviving domestic accommodation can be earlier stylistically than the late twelfth century, however, and nothing of the layout or appearance of any antecedent buildings is known. The existing late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century buildings followed a claustral layout, as at the other larger Durham cells at Finchale and Coldingham.[26]

Even more than most of the other Durham cells, Holy Island was heavily dependent on tithe-income, which suffered a particularly severe decline in the early fourteenth century.[27] This must have resulted in a reduction in numbers, though the earlier staffing level is not known. By the early fifteenth century, the number of monks had declined still further, from five or six to two or three.[28]

VI.C.2 CHURCH, I: EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The short, originally apsidal chancel of the church was extended eastwards and given a straight east wall later in the twelfth century (Pl. 110). Most of the church's fabric survived until the later eighteenth century, as a series of drawings testifies (Pl. 111, 114, 115), but by the early nineteenth the ruination had reached its present extent, later collapses having been carefully reconstructed since (Cambridge 1988, 22). This graphic record, together with what still survives, enables the later medieval modifications to the fabric of the church to be reconstructed in more detail than is possible for the domestic buildings.

The earliest surviving financial document, the inventory of 1308, describes the fabric of the church as 'newly repaired'.[29] The expression is vague enough in itself, but in view of the evidence for alteration to the fabric which, on stylistic grounds, could well date from around this time, it probably provides a *terminus ante quem*. The small three-light window inserted into the east bay of the north nave aisle has tracery exactly like the windows inserted, perhaps *c.* 1300, into the north and south walls of the Galilee at Durham (Pl. 7, 9)

(see Chap. III.A.2), though, unlike them, its jambs and mullions are simply moulded (Pl. 116). The windows inserted into the east end of the chancel are impossible to date as their tracery has completely disappeared. The mouldings of the one in the east wall are evidently later (see below, section C.5), but those in the north and south walls, whose plainly moulded jambs are harder to date stylistically (Pl. 112, 113, 117-19), may perhaps date from this phase, though a date later in the fourteenth century cannot be ruled out (see below, section C.4).

VI.C.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The ruins of the monastery are extensive, including considerable remains of the outer court (Pl. 120) as well as the claustral buildings, though the almost total absence of architectural details leaves the absolute date of many of these as uncertain as their precise function. The earliest surviving account-roll dates from 1339-40. It contains only one highly abbreviated and uninformative entry concerning repairs, but the total spent (£30 3s 6½d) is much higher than those of the following accounts (Fig. 9), suggesting that a major building campaign had either just begun or was already in progress. The next account, for 1340-1, mentions no work within the priory, but is entirely concerned with works at the manor of Fenham.[30] The following five accounts, from 1341-6, all record fairly high expenditure on repairs (Fig. 9),[31] but (apart from the first of them, the one for 1341-2) they are heavily abbreviated, never mentioning the buildings being worked on. The 1341-2 account has a separate section for repairs to Fenham, so the repairs listed under the heading 'Custus Cimentariorum' must refer to works at the priory itself, presumably continuing whatever was begun in 1339-40.[32] Fortunately there exists another account which, though only partially legible, contains different, and fuller, draft versions of two of these accounts, for 1342-3 and 1344-5, each containing a separate section for repairs which names the workmen as well as the buildings worked on.[33] That for 1342-3 comprises only two apparently minor items, so it is not clear whether this represents work which might have formed part of the summary total in the final version, or is supplementary to it. The 1344-5 version, however, contains four items, the first of which at least is concerned with more substantial works, which would almost certainly have been totalled in the final version. The reference to plastering the prior's chapel in the latter suggests that the plastering of the 'great chamber beside the mill' formed part of the same operation, and may therefore also have been part of (or at least adjacent to) the prior's lodging, which presumably by this date (as certainly later) projected eastwards from the south end of the east range (Pl. 110). Unfortunately, the location of the mill remains

unknown, but the reference to carpentry work on the dormitory in 1342-3, which must have been over the east range, may support the suggestion that work was concentrated in this area. It is not clear whether the 'new chamber', for which nails were bought in 1344-5, was the same as the 'great chamber', for which the final payment to a carpenter was recorded in the same account. In any case, if the great chamber was being completed (presumably roofed) and plastered in 1344-5, it is a reasonable guess that the costs of any associated masonry work would have been a major component of such expenditure recorded in the surviving final versions of this and previous years. It is possible that the inserted chimney-block which now forms such a prominent feature of this part of the ruins was another element in the alterations of this period (Pl. 122).

These references thus seem to demonstrate a concentration on the east range and prior's lodging, and involved the reconstruction of at least one chamber, though if later inventories can be trusted as a guide to the terminology in use in these accounts, the great chamber itself seems to have been different from the prior's chamber.[34]

None of the five complete accounts which survive between 1346 and 1363 contains direct evidence of mason work,[35] with one exception, the construction of a new oven in 1362-3;[36] nor does any of them contain high building expenditure totals. This probably refers to one of the ovens in the services wing at the south-west corner of the claustral complex, discussed below. Whatever may have been achieved in these years, a new phase of work seems to have begun in 1363. It is marked both by a series of exceptionally high building expenditure totals,[37] and by occasional expansion of the single line formula recording repairs which at least gives a partial indication of the principal foci of building activity.[38]

The principal project of this phase was the reconstruction of the 'new hall of St Cuthbert', mentioned in the 1363-4 account. The two likeliest candidates for this building are the refectory in the south claustral range, or the guest hall in the south-east part of the outer court (Pl. 110, 120). An oven and brewhouse were also built at this time, which can almost certainly be associated with the extensive reconstruction of the services wing at the south-west corner of the claustral buildings, on which work probably began in 1362-3 (see above, and note 36), and which shows extensive evidence of later medieval modification. The kitchen, also mentioned in the 1364-5 account, contains modifications which may also date from this time (Pl. 110).[39] The concentration of work on these service buildings may imply that St Cuthbert's new hall was the result of reconstructing the old refectory in the south range and was not in the outer court. The dormitory was also repaired at this time,

though there is no telling how extensively, as the 1365-6 account which mentions it is a compounded entry (see above, and note 38). It was presumably complete by 1367, however, when an inventory records wood ready for its beds.[40]

Despite the uncertainties of identification, it thus appears that the period between the early 1340s and the late 1360s saw the reorganization of the accommodation at Holy Island along more domestic lines, with a series of chambers for the prior and monks along the east side, the refectory being retained as the hall, and the services wing to its west being extensively reconstructed.

The great unresolved problem in the fourteenth-century works is the date of the fortification of the priory buildings (Pl. 121). They had clearly been built before 1385, in which year the priory petitioned the crown to have them taken down.[41] As there are no extensive periods in the accounts of high expenditure totals which are not explicable by reference to other works, and as one might have expected to glean from them some incidental hints of work in progress on the fortifications, however meagre, if they had been built during the period of the existing accounts, it may be that they had been built before the accounts start to survive. That would make sense of the reconstruction of the prior's lodging and other accommodation in the east range in the 1340s, which seems likely to have been done only after the fortifications protecting them were complete; and it makes sense in terms of the general political situation, the turmoil of the Scottish campaigns of Edward II and Edward III creating a climate of chronic insecurity between the 1320s and 1340s (Prestwich 1980, 53-61, 72-3). On the other hand, the only surviving architectural detail on the defences, the projecting angle bartizan on the walls east of the prior's lodging (Pl. 123), would more comfortably fit a date in the second half of the fourteenth century than the first (Hislop 1989, 98).

VI.C.4 CHURCH, II: LATER FOURTEENTH CENTURY

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the church was reconstructed in this period, as it is mentioned only sporadically: in 1363, with no indication of what was afoot, and in 1363-4, when the central tower roof is specified (see note 38). Besides this, the only other mentions occur in the disposal of the surplus balances in 1366-7 and 1367. The terminology of the former is oblique, but the reference in the latter, to the altar of the Holy Cross, presumably reflects the common intention of both.[42] The altar in question would

almost certainly have been the nave altar, which presumably stood at the east end, before a rood screen flanked by doors.[43]

It is clear, however, that works on the church were more extensive than these references indicate. For one thing, the upper chambers added above the vaults, which also entailed rebuilding the west gable and lowering the pitch of the roofs, as well as raising the side walls (Pl. 112, 113, 124, 125), presumably date from the fourteenth century, the period in which, it has been argued above, the other defences must have been constructed. This work may, of course, have been done in the 1330s, if that was when the outer defences were added (see above, section C.3); on the other hand, if the central tower roofing repair of 1363-4 could possibly be associated with constructing the low pitched roof and embattled parapet which appears on the early drawings (Pl. 111, 114, 115), this work may have gone on into the period of the accounts being discussed.[44] Moreover, there is less ambiguous evidence that traceried windows were also inserted at this time. The south nave aisle is now robbed almost to ground level, but the Bucks' engraving, confirmed by Grimm's more accurate drawings (Pl. 111, cf. Pl. 126), show that two-light windows had been inserted into the two surviving east bays.[45] Their tracery, with convergent mouchettes surmounted by a soufflet in the head, places them firmly in this period on stylistic grounds, their closest local parallels probably being in the nearby parish church of Holy Island (Pl. 245; see Chap. VIII.B.1.1). In addition, the possibility that the north and south windows of the choir may also date from this period must be borne in mind (see above, section C.2).

The building expenditure totals never again reach the levels of 1363-7 but, after a period of comparatively moderate expenditure between 1367 and 1370, the four accounts between 1370 and 1374 again show unusually heavy expenditure on repairs.[46] Unfortunately, the diplomatic for this run of documents is at its least informative, not even indicating the proportion that was spent on the cell's own buildings, as opposed to its manor and estates elsewhere (Fig. 9). But if work at the priory is implied, this could well have involved the church, as the work on the monastic buildings must have been well advanced, perhaps even complete, by 1367, though admittedly the extent to which the buildings of the outer court may also have been reconstructed in this period remains unknown.

There is one further hint that work was in progress on the church as late as the early 1370s, when an image of St Cuthbert was painted.[47] The remarkably large amount expended shows that this must have been one of the principal images of the church, and this makes it

likely that it was three-dimensional: presumably either the statue of the dedicatee flanking the high altar, or that which probably surmounted his cenotaph.[48] In either case, since the decoration of large images certainly marks the completion of the rebuilding of the chapel at Farne and the completion of the restoration at Coldingham (see above, section B.2, and below, section D.3), it is likely that this is also the case here, especially since it occurs in the account immediately following the last one in which a high building expenditure total is recorded.

The modifications to the church in this period thus certainly included repairs to the roof of the central tower, the reconstruction of the nave altar, the insertion of at least two and probably three windows in the south aisle of the nave, and the sumptuous redecoration of an image of St Cuthbert. Work was under way by 1363, and was very probably complete by 1374-5. The works may also have involved, at this time or somewhat earlier, the construction and roofing of the fortified chamber over the nave vaults, and perhaps also those over the other arms of the church. These works were themselves only one element in an extensive reconstruction of the principal domestic offices of the priory, between *c.* 1340 and 1367.

VI.C.5 CHURCH, III: AFTER 1400

The almost total dearth of any additional detail to the short, single line totals of repairs in the accounts between 1375 and 1537 means that any attempt to define the later periods of intensive building activity must rely entirely on the evidence of unusually high totals of building expenditure, with all the hazards that involves as to where and on what the money is being spent. With four exceptions,[49] accounts showing expenditure of over £10 fall into two distinct groups: 1427-37, and 1445-60 (Fig. 9).

Fortunately, there are enough incidental references to identify the principal projects involved in the first period. The receipts of the 1427-8 account include gifts to the church fabric.[50] This is confirmed by the tract on the Benefactions of the Bishops which records that Bishop Langley (1406-37) gave cash for the roofing of the choir of Holy Island.[51] Since a complete run of accounts for the priory survives for all the years of Langley's episcopate, as well as for the decade following his death, and since only this year records the receipt of bequests to any part of the church, his donation must have been made in 1427-8, implying that the high totals of this and the following year are concerned with the reroofing of the choir.[52] The choir was still being worked on in 1431-2, when several monks gave small

personal donations towards the fabric of one of its windows.[53] This reference need not imply any more than the reglazing of an existing window, but since the mouldings of the jambs of the east window, which are different from the other two in the chancel, are apparently of Perpendicular form (Pl. 127, 128), it may well be that it was inserted at this time.[54]

VI.C.6 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: AFTER 1400

The receipt of gifts made towards building in Fenham in the 1433-4 account shows that the priory's manor on the adjacent mainland was also undergoing major works at this time.[55] The final account of this group includes a reference to work on the dormitory, again involving support from Bishop Langley and the excusing of the regular contribution to the mother-house to further the work.[56] Since the previous two accounts mention the purchase of timber, the work on the dormitory presumably included (and indeed, may have been confined to) roofing repairs.

The second run of accounts to show high building expenditure is characterized by more moderate levels than in the phase just discussed, and spreads over a rather longer period, the total amount involved in each being very similar.[57] Unfortunately, there are no documentary hints of any kind which reveal what was in hand or where. Finally, the mention of the stipend of a mason in the account for 1514-15 may hint at a further phase of building work;[58] it is the only account to survive between 1509 and 1522, and may have formed part of a more extensive programme.

The accounts thus provide evidence of at least two and perhaps three phases of major renovations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the first of which certainly involved extensive works at the priory itself, as well as on its property outside. The surviving structures are so lacking in architectural detail as to be undatable, but the growing impoverishment of the cell in the late Middle Ages perhaps suggests that there were no further substantial periods of building during the years when documents are lacking.

VI.D: FARNE ISLAND

VI.D.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A hermitage on the Inner Farne had been established by the monks of Lindisfarne from the very earliest days of the Anglo-Saxon monastery's existence (Bede 1896, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, III, 16). St Cuthbert's death in the hermitage on Inner Farne in March 687 meant that pilgrims continued to venerate this place as a holy spot for many centuries afterwards. Indeed, a visit to the remote and rocky island was immensely popular, especially with pilgrims from the north and Scotland, into the twelfth century (Tudor 1989, 461, 465). The recolonization of the hermitage site on the Inner Farne was carried out by Durham in the second half of the twelfth century, led by the monk Bartholemew (Piper 1989, 445). The site was presumably made into a small cell, never accommodating more than two monks, by the early thirteenth century,[59] but its detailed history remains obscure until the period beginning in 1357-8, when its account-rolls start to survive (Fig. 10).

Financially the cell derived only a small proportion of its income from its own properties, being instead heavily dependent on a pension from the proctor of Norham, the official who administered Durham Priory's estates in north Northumberland. This accounted for at least two-thirds of Farne's income in the mid fourteenth century, but as a high proportion of the proctor's income was itself derived from tithes, it was no less vulnerable than the other cells to the sharp drop in tithe-income in this period, nowhere harder felt than in the areas adjacent to the Border (see Chap. I.B.2.1). A glimpse of the cell's condition at this time is afforded by the reply made by Prior William Cowton (1321-41) to an article produced at an episcopal visitation during which there had been a complaint that he had sent too young a monk to be master of Farne. The prior responded that he was unable to find anyone else senior enough, '... or anyone who wished or dared to dwell on the island on account of the wars'.[60] This suggests that the situation in the early fourteenth century was one of severe disruption, and that the reconstruction of the later fourteenth century, described in detail below, should be seen in part as an attempt to rectify the effects of a period of prolonged adversity.

By the early 1340s Farne's income from tithes became so depleted that it had to be supplemented from elsewhere,[61] and it was this new element in its resources which must have helped to provide the underlying financial stability which made the great rebuilding of the later fourteenth century feasible. Nevertheless, the general impression given by the fifteenth-

century accounts is that the occupants of the cell lived perilously close to the poverty line, and the added complication of the vulnerability of the site in time of war meant that it sometimes had to be abandoned altogether, notably between 1461 and 1464 (Dobson 1967, 9, n. 4; *idem* 1973, 315).[62] Though the diplomatic of the accounts from the late fourteenth century is, as is to be expected with the cell accounts, almost uniformly uninformative (see Figs. 3, 10), the impression given by the amounts spent on building in the surviving accounts is that it was rarely possible to do more than the most basic repairs to the existing buildings.

There is no evidence from which to reconstruct the physical appearance of the site in the mid fourteenth century, as everything which now survives seems to be of a later period.[63] The site today consists of a narrow courtyard. The west side is entirely taken up by a stone tower house. On the north is the principal chapel, dedicated to St Cuthbert, and opposite this on the south side is a smaller structure, probably the oratory of St Mary mentioned in the account for 1450-1 and the inventory for 1451-2,[64] the principal entrance gateway lying between the east ends of the two chapels (Pl. 129, 130). In addition, there are foundations of a structure between the main chapel and the tower house, being contiguous with the former to the west. There is a walled cemetery enclosure north of this chapel and, between the main complex and the harbour to the east, the foundations of a simple rectangular structure which may well be medieval. The two chapels and the tower house are still roofed and in use. St Cuthbert's chapel, restored in 1844-8 (Pevsner and Richmond 1957, 151), is the only structure to display any architectural detail. If the tower house ever had any externally, it has been lost in subsequent restoration. The other buildings are of simple rubble construction.

VI.D.2 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The earliest surviving accounts reveal a comprehensive programme of reconstruction, which had begun by 1360-1 and lasted until the early 1370s.[65] The 1361 account records the construction of a building called 'St Cuthbert's hall'.[66] Unfortunately, it is not clear what 'ibidem' refers to in this document. It may mean the cell's tenement at Bamburgh, but the immediately preceding reference is to a croft which, as the 1361-2 account makes clear, was on Farne, so this hall was presumably on the island too.[67] Moreover, a similar descriptive term occurs in relation to a building at Holy Island which was certainly part of the cell (see above, section C.3). As at the latter, the structure was probably either a guest hall (perhaps to be identified with a ruined building near the harbour), or part of the domestic buildings. Cash gifts from Durham monks and 'divers other friends' are recorded in the Farne account

for 1361-2; their specific purpose is not recorded, but the undertaking of major building works is a not unlikely context, especially as 'Robert of Westeby, mason' is listed as one of the cell's creditors in the same account (Farne Island 1361-2, Nomina Creditorum Anno quo infra). Several more benefactions are recorded in the following years.[68]

The construction of a new chamber (again almost certainly, though not explicitly, within the cell itself) took place in 1364-6.[69] This was followed by the construction of a new kitchen in 1367-8, and a new mill, together with the structure in which it was housed, in 1369-70.[70] Finally, a new kiln was constructed in 1370-1; and an oven (re)constructed in 1373-4.[71]

Considering the small size of the cell, these references amount to a thorough renovation of most, if not all, of its domestic accommodation between *c.* 1360 and the early 1370s. The 1371 inventory attached to the foot of the 1370-1 account clearly considered that work on the domestic buildings and other properties was effectively complete by that date.[72] The recorded cost amounted to almost £40 (see notes 69-71), nearly half of which was funded from donations (see note 66).

VI.D.3 ST CUTHBERT'S CHAPEL

A gift recorded in the hostiller's account for 1360-1 shows that repairs to the ecclesiastical as well as the domestic structures were undertaken at that time, though the heavily abbreviated accounts of the cell itself give no indication of it.[73] The location of the belfry (or, more likely, bell-cote) is uncertain; probably it was the structure whose foundations adjoin St Cuthbert's chapel to the west, or was attached to the chapel's west wall. The principal element in the entire building-campaign, however, was the rebuilding of the main chapel of St Cuthbert between 1369 and 1372.[74] As already noted, the 1371 inventory describes the chapel as 'more than half finished' (see above, note 72); and the payment for painting images in the 1370-1 account implies that the building must indeed have been substantially complete by 1371; it was certainly complete by 1372 (see note 76). The reconstruction cost just under £50, an amount far beyond the unaided resources of the cell (see note 74). It is clear from the accounts that its financing was entirely dependent on donations, the recording of the benefactors in the *Liber Vitae* being noted in the 1370-1 account.[75]

The lower part of the chapel's west wall is probably a survival from its predecessor; otherwise, the existing structure implies that everything else was rebuilt in this campaign. In form, it is a simple rectangle with a three-light east window, three two-light windows in the south wall, the eastern one now blocked, and an ogee-headed doorway at its west end (Pl. 139, 133, 136). The north and west walls are completely windowless, though the latter contained several small openings, presumably originally communicating with the structure to the west (Pl. 131, 132). Two of the windows in the south wall, and the east window, were completely renewed in the nineteenth-century restoration. To judge from the weathered remains of the original blocked window (Pl. 135), and by Grimm's late eighteenth-century drawing (Pl. 134), those in the south wall accurately represent the originals. In contrast, Grimm's drawing of the east window (Pl. 129, 138) shows the springers of its tracery sufficiently clearly to demonstrate that it was originally completely unlike the present crude Perpendicular design (Pl. 139), but contained Decorated tracery with a pair of convergent mouchettes beneath a soufflet in the head. The drawing does not establish whether it was also of three lights, but this seems likely given its proportions.

The completion of St Cuthbert's chapel was the culmination of a remarkable campaign of reconstruction and repair involving most of the important buildings of the cell; and it had all been managed, with remarkable efficiency, in little more than twelve years. Well might Richard of Sedgebrook, the master of the cell who had presided over most of the work, allow an unmistakable note of pride to creep into the inventory in which he made the final record of the achievement.[76]

VI.D.4 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: AFTER 1400

The major problem in the architectural history of the cell in the later Middle Ages is the date of the tower house (Pl. 140, 141). Raine attributed it to the priorate of Thomas Castell (1494-1519) (Raine 1852, 361-2). The only evidence for this, however, seems to be a statement in Leland.[77] Unfortunately, the absence of diagnostic architectural details and the uniformly high level of abbreviation in the accounts at this date preclude direct evaluation of the claim. The evidence of the building expenditure totals shows that it cannot be rejected out of hand, however. Between the early 1370s and the last surviving account (for 1536-7), by far the largest expenditure is in 1496-7, which lies within Castell's priorate.[78] On the other hand, small amounts are recorded for the preceding and following years, and even this amount seems not nearly enough to account for a structure as large as the present building,

though further high totals may have been recorded in the years of Castell's priorate for which accounts are lost.[79]

VI.E: FINCHALE (Pl. 142)

VI.E.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Though the site of St Godric's hermitage at Finchale had been colonized by Durham monks before the end of the twelfth century, permanent buildings do not seem to have been begun before the 1230s (Peers 1973, 6-7). These comprised a church with an extreme length of 200 feet, a cloister *c.* 75 feet square (*c.* 55 feet within the walks), and a lodging for the prior. The church had an aisleless presbytery, a choir of three bays and a nave of four, both with aisles, and aisleless transepts, the northern one having a projecting chapel to the east. The crossing was surmounted by a low, vaulted tower, which supported a stone spire.[80] Only the east and south ranges of the claustral buildings survived in use until the end of the Middle Ages, the east housing, as usual, the chapter house with dormitory above, and the south the refectory.[81] East of the east range and south of the choir of the church lay the prior's lodging, consisting of a long east-west range housing hall and chamber, with a chapel at its south-east corner and another chamber beyond the chapel to the south.[82]

These buildings were designed to house a permanent community of perhaps as many as fifteen monks.[83] In the late Middle Ages, however, the number of permanently resident monks seems to have been no more than five. Dobson has pointed out that the small variation in the amounts recorded in the accounts for the oblations of the prior and his fellows implies that the prior and eight monks (four permanently resident, four on vacation from Durham) stipulated in an ordinance of 1408 (Raine 1837b, 30-1) was maintained with a high degree of consistency thereafter (Dobson 1973, 310, n. 2). The earliest accounts to survive indicate that the situation in the second half of the fourteenth century was remarkably similar. The date at which numbers started to decline dramatically is less easy to determine. The critical fall in the numbers of the Durham community as a whole seems to have taken place between *c.* 1310 and 1340 (Dobson 1973, 54; see note 82); on the other hand, it seems that the level of staffing at Finchale may have remained at those of the thirteenth century until the Black Death (see note 83).

Declining numbers was not the only factor which determined the development of Finchale's architectural history in the later Middle Ages. Its buildings were also to undergo a modification in function, the priory becoming a centre to which small groups of monks were sent from Durham for short periods of recreation (Dobson 1973, 310). While there is some evidence that the monastery had begun to exercise this function before the decline in numbers of its permanent community (see note 83) it seems likely that it would have increased in importance as a result of surplus accommodation becoming available for this reason.

Both the reduction in numbers and the functional modification had their effect on the architectural history of the buildings in the later Middle Ages, and these factors must have been the main reasons underlying an extensive series of alterations which completely transformed its appearance in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. It is also likely that some of the buildings were in a poor state of repair, since a Finchale monk alleged during a Benedictine visitation of 1357-8 that the choir roof leaked and the house was in debt, while (though the state of the manuscript makes his precise point uncertain) the prior apparently maintained that some part of the church had been unroofed for forty years.[84] If this is indeed the correct interpretation of the document, the background it implies of long-standing disrepair and neglect also helps to explain the extensive renovation of the church in the succeeding generation.

Compared to the great reconstruction of the later fourteenth century, which will be considered in detail in the next two sections, documentary and stylistic evidence alike shows a far lower level of building activity later in the Middle Ages. Admittedly, the situation is complicated by the extremely uninformative character of the diplomatic of the accounts during this period, particularly between 1415 and 1449. It is exceptionally difficult to compensate for this in the case of Finchale by using the evidence of high building expenditure totals as an indication of likely periods of intensive activity on the church or monastic buildings. Apart from factors which also apply to other series of accounts, such as changes over time in the number of buildings which needed to be repaired,[85] and the occasionally heavy expenditure on service and agricultural buildings,[86] the cell was also responsible for the repair of the chancels of its two appropriated churches.[87] The poor survival of the accounts between the early 1490s and the Dissolution must also be borne in mind when considering building at the cell in that period (Figs. 1-2, 13).

VI.E.2 CHURCH, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The principal feature of the renovation of the church was the demolition of both choir aisles,[88] the north nave aisle, and the north transept chapel. All the arcades were blocked with coursed rubble, windows inserted in each, and buttresses erected against what now became the outside faces of the piers, with the exception of the south nave aisle, which became the north cloister walk, so there the arcades were entirely blocked and new windows inserted into the wall of the former aisle. The latter were of three lights beneath a shallow segmental head, with simple reticulation (Pl. 143). Larger reticulated patterns were used in all the new windows of the church, two-light in the transepts and in the north-west bay of the nave, three-light in all the others (Pl. 144-6). The one in the blocking of the arch from the south transept into the former choir aisle is square headed (Pl. 147); all others are steeply pointed. Besides the windows in the arcade blockings, a four-light window was inserted into the south wall of the presbytery. Its tracery has gone, but to judge from the similarity in the form of its jamb to those in the blockings of the adjacent choir arcades, it also formed part of the work of this time.[89]

The date of these alterations to the church can be fixed fairly precisely from the account-rolls, a complete run of which survives from 1354-5 to 1368-9. The work, which was evidently on a large scale, had started by 1364-5, and several features of the references suggest that the alterations were complete by 1367.[90] Firstly, the *reconsiliacio* of the church recorded in 1366-7 presumably refers to a reconsecration of the building following completion of the works (Peers 1927, 203 and note 10). Secondly, the total amounts spent in these three years are substantially greater than in the preceding or following periods, and indeed form a peak only once exceeded in the rest of the Middle Ages;[91] so if building work had begun before 1364 or continued after 1367, it can only have been on a comparatively small scale.

The reference to glazing windows in the 1364-5 account suggests that some of the new traceries were in position by then, though it could conceivably refer to one of the pre-existing ones. The glazing of windows 'in the south part of the church' recorded in the 1366-7 account almost certainly refers to the south side of the choir, as the nave has no windows on the south side, and the only window inserted into the south transept in this phase was as a result of the demolition of the south choir aisle. This suggests that the south choir aisle glazing was a late phase of the work, and the reference in the same account to the

roofing of the choir confirms that it was still being worked on at that time. As there are minor stylistic differences between the three-light traceries of the choir and the nave,[92] and, conversely, the two-light window in the north-west bay of the nave (Pl. 144) is similar to the three in the north transept but unlike the square-headed one in the east wall of the south transept (Pl. 147), the combination of stylistic distinctions with the documentary evidence suggests that work proceeded from west to east and clockwise, in the sequence: nave north side; north transept; choir and south transept. As work on the cloister probably began in 1367 (see section E.3), it may well be that the blocking of the south nave arcade, which the reuse of the former aisle as the north cloister walk presupposes, formed the last stage of the campaign, and may therefore be partly or wholly covered by the next account, for 1367-8, in which work was certainly being carried out on the cloister as the lavatory (*lotorii*) is mentioned (see note 95).

VI.E.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, I: FOURTEENTH CENTURY

These documents also show that the renovation of the church was only one element, albeit the most important, in a series of building works in progress at this period. Though it is nowhere mentioned in the early accounts, which are highly abbreviated, one of the first of these must have been the reconstruction of the dormitory, the sole direct evidence for which occurs in the Durham bursar's account for 1358-9.[93] The Finchale account for 1358-9 does not show an abnormally high level of building expenditure, but the next year's does (Fig. 13), and this may well be the result, at least in part, of expenditure on the dormitory.[94]

Work on the cloister is first mentioned in 1367-8.[95] This need not represent the start of work, though for reasons already outlined it is plausible to suppose that it began with the north walk, during the final phase of work on the church in 1367 (see last section). The scanty remains of the embrasures of the east and west walks are similar in section to those of the north walk (Pl. 143), suggesting that they also fall within this campaign, though there is no telling how long they took to complete. Apart from the addition of two buttresses, the south walk retained its original thirteenth-century form unaltered (Pl. 142).

The prior's lodging also seems to have been renovated in the 1360s. The account for 1366-7 mentions the reglazing of windows in the hall, which presumably refers to the prior's accommodation, but it is unclear whether this refers to major work as the entry is compounded with glazing work on the church (see note 90), and the ruins do not now

contain any features likely to have been inserted at this time. The evidence for the renovation of the prior's chambers is no less ambiguous. The 1368-9 account records the purchase of new glass for the window of a chamber, though it is not even certain that any of the prior's rooms is meant.[96] The prior's great chamber does contain one window of fourteenth-century form inserted into its east wall. This looks broadly similar to the two-light reticulated windows inserted into the church at this time, and so may be identified with the above reference; yet there are also slight differences, such as the roll-moulded rere-arch and, if nineteenth-century drawings (presumably made when it was less weathered than now) can be trusted, in the tracery details (Pl. 148, 149), so the identification can only be regarded as tentative, and a somewhat later date cannot be ruled out.

The rooms added to the north of the great chamber (Pl. 142) again cannot be identified in the building-accounts, but probably belong in a late fourteenth-century context as they were presumably among the chambers mentioned in the first provision for Robert Walworth when he resigned as prior of Durham in 1391.[97] Given the possibility that the window inserted in the great chamber is slightly later than those inserted into the church in the 1360s (see above, section E.2), it may be that these rooms are of similar date, and together suggest a later phase of reconstruction in the prior's apartments, dating to the 1370s or 1380s, a period when the diplomatic of the accounts would effectively screen out explicit references to it, and the building expenditure totals would not rule it out (Fig. 13). The fireplace in the prior's great chamber has recently been dated to the late fourteenth century (Hislop 1989, 65, Finchale pl. 4), so presumably formed part of these works. The mention of chapels in Walworth's provision may imply that the north and south windows of the prior's chapel, square-headed and of two lights with ogeed heads (Pl. 150), date from this time; its east window, square-headed with three simple cinquefoil-cusped lights (Pl. 151), looks later stylistically (compare, for example, the lower windows of the Durham dormitory (Pl. 82)), though unfortunately no documentation specifically relating to it survives.

The final element of the monastic buildings which seems to belong to this phase stylistically is the most difficult to account for, either in terms of when it was built or how it was used. This is the two-storeyed structure with vaulted basement immediately south of the west front of the church (Pl. 142). Structurally, it has clearly been inserted into the thirteenth-century west range, the lower parts of its east, north, and west walls being of this date, and the diagonal buttress at its north-west corner being clearly inserted into older masonry (Pl. 152). Its insertion implies that, if the west range had ever been completed and

used, the greater part of it was then being dispensed with, a development precisely parallel to the transformation of the church discussed above. Though the structural relationship is unclear, the upper parts of the new building appear to abut the west respond of the nave and its blocking wall, implying that it is later than the alterations to the church of the 1360s. The first-floor doorway in its east wall also seems to make more sense giving access to the cloister walk than directly into the nave of the church, though it may itself be a later alteration to the fourteenth-century work (Pl. 153). The only diagnostic architectural detail is the window in the north wall at first-floor level, which is square-headed and of two lights, its tracery consisting of a central circular quatrefoil flanked by two trefoiled semicircles (Pl. 154). This seems sufficient to place the structure firmly in a Decorated rather than a Perpendicular context, though it looks rather earlier in the fourteenth century than sometime after the late 1360s, as the structural evidence may suggest. If the building was indeed later than the church alterations, it presumably followed immediately after them. Its function can only be guessed at. No identifiable references to it occur in the accounts nor, more disconcertingly, in the inventories. It may have been accommodation for guests, though one would have expected lay guests to have been put in a building in the outer court rather than in one so near the church and cloisters; this would not rule out its being for the monks on temporary leave from Durham, however. Alternatively, it may have been an attempt to compensate for the lack of a proper infirmary or place for meat-eating, both of which had been complained about earlier in the fourteenth century.[98]

The refectory range of the cloister seems to have survived the period of extensive reconstruction unmodified, apart from the insertion of one minor single-light Decorated window above the doorway, which has a pair of convergent mouchettes in the head (Pl. 155). The significance of this highly diagnostic form will be discussed further below (see section G), its presence being the more remarkable in that it occurs nowhere else at Finchale.

Though the diplomatic of the accounts makes the dates and sequence of the mid to late fourteenth-century reconstruction of the monastic buildings at Finchale much more difficult to establish than was the case with the church (see above, section E.2), it is clear from the surviving remains themselves that the work was scarcely less extensive, involving as it did a major reconstruction of the dormitory, the demolition of the west range and the construction of the chamber-block at its north end, the adaptation of the south nave aisle as the north cloister walk and the reconstruction of the east walk, besides major renovations to the prior's lodging and the addition of a chamber block at its north-east corner. The

comparatively high levels of expenditure in the accounts from the late 1380s to the mid 1390s may in part reflect the execution of some of this work, while the poor survival of the accounts from the early 1380s may mean that further evidence has been lost (Fig. 13). While it is therefore impossible to estimate even approximately the total cost of these works, their quantity suggests that they may have been at least as expensive as the renovation of the church had been.

VI.E.4 CHURCH, II: AFTER 1400

In the church, the nave roof seems to have been extensively repaired or reconstructed in the late 1420s and 1430s.[99] There is no further structural or documentary evidence of major work until the later fifteenth century, when the appearance in the accounts of a mason receiving an annual stipend for most of the period between 1463 and 1479 suggests the beginning of an increased level of building activity at the priory.[100] In the church, the first evidence of masonry alterations dates from 1464-5, when a small structure seems to have been added on to its west end.[101] This was presumably some form of porch, perhaps a low lean-to connecting the west door with the adjacent chamber-block, since a roof-line and footings in this position can still be seen, though the latter may conceivably be earlier work reused (Pl. 156). Three windows on the south side of the choir were also reglazed this year, and what appears to have been a new retable provided for the Holy Cross altar (presumably at the east end of the nave).[102]

This activity seems to represent the prelude to a more extensive series of repairs on the church. Works on the 'south part' were carried out in 1468-9. Given that the next year's account mentions a window which can only be the late thirteenth-century five-light one in the south transept east wall, it is likely that both years refer to work in this area.[103] After a year's interval, work was under way on the 'north part' of the church. Again, subsequent work in 1475-7, which was certainly concerned with the north transept, suggest that the sequence of work paralleled that on the south transept.[104] The 1476-7 account makes it clear that the window first mentioned in the previous year was in the north transept facade.

What this sequence of references seems to suggest is that the transepts underwent a large-scale renovation occupying most of the decade from 1468-9, starting on the south side and moving on to the north, probably beginning in each case with roofing repairs and proceeding to the principal window. Unfortunately, the north transept north wall has been

ruined to within a few feet of ground level, nothing which can be associated with these alterations surviving. The loss of a major facade window of this date is particularly unfortunate, because it is the only known example of this period in any of Durham Priory's properties, though it is just possible that one of the *ex situ* tracery fragments from Finchale formed part of this window (Pl. 157). If so, it would have been of an odd number of lights, probably three, and to judge from its asymmetrical shape would have closely resembled the pattern of the west windows of the Galilee chapel in the cathedral of forty years earlier (Pl. 64; see Chap. IV.A.5).[105] The renovation of the church's fenestration concluded a decade later with work on the glazing of the east lancets in 1488.[106]

The 1490-1 account saw work on an unidentified structure, the 'domus beati Godrici' which, though not apparently part of the church, may have been related to the cult of its saint.[107] Where was this structure, and what was it for? Its lead roof at least makes it clear that it was out of doors. Can it have been on the site of the chapel which opened from the east side of the north transept until its demolition in the 1360s, and which presumably lay on the site of Godric's timber chapel of St Mary and his adjacent dwelling-place (Pl. 142)? As the chapel of St John Baptist, in which he had been buried, lay under the choir of the priory church (Peers 1927, 204-6, pl. XLIII), this seems a reasonable explanation for the otherwise rather anomalous north transept chapel. If it were indeed marking a holy spot its form sounds analogous to the timber roof sheltering Cuthbert's cenotaph in the cloister at Durham, a monument which was also not neglected in the late Middle Ages, being reconstructed under Prior Castell in 1514 (see Chap. V.B.1 and note 34). If this interpretation of the reference is right, it provides an interesting sidelight on the maintenance of Godric's cult in the generations preceding the Reformation.

If the work on the 'domus beati Godrici' is included, the cost of the renovation of the church in the last third of the fifteenth century amounted to *c.* £67 (see notes 101-7). Substantial though this sum is, it is comparatively insignificant compared to the work of the late fourteenth century, amounting to less than half of its likely cost, and being executed piecemeal over a much longer period (see above, section E.2 and note 91).

VI.E.5 MONASTIC BUILDINGS, II: AFTER 1400

The later fifteenth century also saw a parallel series of renovations affecting the monastic buildings, though much of it comprised reroofing rather than masonry work. There

were minor masonry alterations to windows in the cloister in 1452-3 and again in 1454-5.[108] Only the prior's hall seems to have undergone more substantial alterations, including the insertion of a chimney and four windows in 1459-60.[109] Much of the inserted masonry of the chimney-breast still survives towards the east end of the north wall of the hall (Pl. 158), though its only detail, the moulding of the fireplace jamb, fortunately recorded in the 1860s (Pl. 159), has now disappeared. It precisely parallels the surviving moulding of the porch doorway, added a few years later in 1464-5 (Pl. 160; see below, and note 111). The lower parts of the windows also survive, three in the south wall and one in the north. They were all of one light with a transom; none of the heads survives, so any tracery they may have contained has been lost (Pl. 161).

Work on the chambers of the prior's lodging continued the following year.[110] The mention of the Douglas tower in conjunction with roofing the north side of the prior's chamber implies that this was the name by then given to the chamber-block adjacent to its north-east corner. Work was also carried out on the 'player chamber' in the 1460s.[111] This description is perhaps to be explained as the chamber set aside for the use of the monks temporarily on leave from Durham, as specified in the ordinance of 1408 (Raine 1837b, 31). The location of the player chamber is uncertain. Perhaps it was the (otherwise unexplained) chamber constructed at an unknown date over the refectory (see below); the reference to gutters possibly implying that it was on the top floor, though this word can also mean 'drain'. The lower parts of the doorway of the hall porch mentioned as having been erected in 1464-5 still survive, its jambs having simple stopped hollow chamfers (Pl. 160). Work continued in 1466-7, and included mention of the guest chamber.[112] The location of the latter is uncertain, but it may be the chamber-block at the north-west corner of the cloister (see above, section E.3). In 1467-8, the Douglas tower appeared to be the focus of attention.[113] The location of the pentice or lean-to mentioned in association with it is again not certain. Thus, between the early 1450s and the late 1460s, a modest campaign of renovations, centred on the prior's lodging, but including other parts of the domestic accommodation, seems to have put these buildings into good order and made some minor improvements. The total cost was in the order of £25 (see notes 108-13).

The last documented phase of work on the monastic buildings was by far the most expensive element of the later fifteenth-century renovations at the priory. It involved the reroofing of the entire dormitory at a cost of £58 in 1490-1.[114] This expensive project

evidently involved little masonry work, so the only indication of it still to be seen on the buildings today is the raggle on south wall of the south transept (Pl. 162).

There are several alterations to the monastic buildings, notably the insertion of a chamber and associated substructures at the west end of the refectory, and of a first-floor chamber over its whole length, which must date to the later Middle Ages, though they cannot be identified in any documentary reference nor more closely dated on stylistic grounds. Their dates may be obscured either by the nature of the diplomatic of some of the extant accounts, the lack of information in those of the earlier fifteenth century being especially notable here, or by the comparative scarcity of accounts after the 1490s (Figs. 2, 13). That there was some activity in the sixteenth century is suggested by a window in the east wall of the first-floor chamber in the prior's study block. This is of two uncusped round-headed lights, which look like a simpler version of those in Bishop Tunstall's gallery in Durham Castle of after 1529, and may even indicate early post-medieval reoccupation of the site.

The late fifteenth-century alterations to the monastic buildings thus parallel the work on the church in this period, generally involving minor repairs executed piecemeal over several decades. Only the renovation of the dormitory involved substantial expenditure. Even allowing for the poor survival of the accounts after the 1490s it seems likely that, taken as a whole, the amount of building activity in the late Middle Ages was nowhere near as extensive as the campaigns of the late fourteenth century had been.

VI.F: JARROW (Pl. 163)

VI.F.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Benedictine refoundation of Jarrow in the 1070s proved to be a short-lived phenomenon. After only a decade, in 1083, the community was removed to staff the newly founded cathedral-priory of Durham. That brief interlude nevertheless proved crucial in archaeological terms, for the history of the site throughout the rest of the Middle Ages was in effect a series of adaptations of the monastic buildings left incomplete in 1083. The most poorly documented period is the immediately succeeding one, ending only in 1235, with the first certain mention of Jarrow as a cell (Piper 1987, 5 and n. 16). Piper has plausibly suggested that the parish was served by a single monk during this time, and that the cell

emerged as the result of increasing episcopal pressure to remove monks from serving a parochial cure in this way (Piper 1987, 5-6). Later, the parish altar in the nave was served by a stipendiary priest, and the chancel reserved for the monks' choir.

The first inventory survives from 1313-14, and account-rolls emerge in the 1340s. These indicate that the number of monks resident by then was usually the minimum of two, as it was invariably in the fifteenth century; from 1513, however, the number was increased to three (Piper 1987, 9). The modest endowment of the cell suggests that greater numbers of monks had never been envisaged, putting Jarrow in a different category from the conventual cells, and making its buildings comparable to the domestic arrangements at some of the priory's manors rather then to the claustral plan which obtained at the latter, at least until the fourteenth century.[115]

VI.F.2 CHURCH

The chancel of Jarrow church (Pl. 164) is long, narrow, and rectangular, with fabric substantially of Anglo-Saxon date. It was originally conceived as a chapel separate from the principal Anglo-Saxon church to its west, and was probably only joined to it when the tower was constructed between the two in the eleventh century (Cramp 1976a, 225-7). The Anglo-Saxon fenestration survives in the eastern part of the south wall in the form of three small windows, and there is another early window, perhaps of twelfth-century date, in the centre of the north wall. The remaining fenestration has all been inserted later. It comprises four three-light windows (the east window, two in the eastern part of the north wall, and one at the west end of the south) and a small single-light low-side window at the west end of the north wall.

To judge by the style of their tracery, the earliest of the inserted windows must be the two easternmost, one in the east wall, the other at the east end of the north wall. The former has cusped intersecting tracery (Pl. 164). The latter was probably identical originally, but has since been shorn of its cusps.[116] Though this could suggest a date of *c.* 1300, the form may have continued in the north at least until the 1330s (see Chap. III.A.2).[117] The three-light window at the west end of the north wall (Pl. 165) is square-headed externally with a segmental rere-arch inside. Its tracery, consisting of three trefoil-cusped circles above trefoil-cusped lights, is difficult to parallel in medieval tracery in the region. It may represent a form of early fourteenth-century reticulation analogous to that in the north wall of the

building beside the north-west corner of the nave at Finchale (Pl. 154; see above, section E.3). On the other hand, a post-medieval date cannot be ruled out.[118] If medieval, it looks as though it may well predate the period from which accounts start to survive. Of the remaining two windows, the cusped lancet (Pl. 166) is not closely datable on stylistic grounds but is likely to be fourteenth century;[119] while the three-light window at the west end of the south wall has a pair of convergent mouchettes beneath an apical soufflet (Pl. 167) similar to those inserted into the cathedral in the mid fourteenth century (Pl. 9, 11; see Chap. III.A.4.1).[120]

The only documentation relating to windows in the chancel at Jarrow records the insertion of a window in 1350-1, and its glazing in the following year.[121] The form of the three-light convergent mouchette tracery (Pl. 167) would suit the date of these references very well; nevertheless, it seems impossible to identify the comparatively small amounts of money involved with a window of this size.[122] The fact that the two accounts previous to the one for 1350-1 are missing opens up the theoretical possibility that it is only the final payment of a larger alteration; though if, as appears to be the case, the reference is complete in itself, it can only be associated with the trefoil-cusped lancet at the west end of the north wall (Pl. 166). This identification receives some support from the window's similarity to one at Heighington church, co. Durham (Pl. 189), which is probably to be associated with a document of 1365-6 and which was probably also roughly comparable in cost (see Chap. VII.B.5 and note 18).

What, then, of the three-light window in the south wall (Pl. 167)? Since its style suggests that it probably dates from Fossor's priorate, and since the presence of the entries discussed above suggest that the insertion of this window might also have been recorded in the accounts, the lack of references to it in the extant ones suggests that the work was done in one of the periods for which they do not survive (1341-4, 1348-50, 1352-5, 1366-7). Further, even if it were not specifically mentioned, comparison with the cost of inserting windows of this type at the cathedral (see note 122) suggests that the only surviving account which records a high enough expenditure on buildings to have conceivably included the cost of this window is that for 1347-8 (£17 4s 3½ d) (Fig. 11). The comparative evidence from the cathedral suggests that the vogue for this type of tracery fell in the 1350s (see Chap. III.A.4.1), though the type seems to have persisted as late as *c.* 1370 at other cells: see the east window of St Cuthbert's chapel on Farne Island (above, section D.3).

Two aspects of the alterations to the fenestration of Jarrow chancel invite comment. The first is that the duration of the work is comparatively short, spanning two generations between the late thirteenth and the late fourteenth centuries, by which time its appearance must have been essentially as now. The absence of later medieval alterations is presumably a consequence of the increasing impoverishment of the cell in the late Middle Ages. The second is that, unpretentious though these works undoubtedly are, the insertion of at least three (and perhaps four) sizeable traceried windows is more than one would have expected of the chancels of most parish churches in the area, and must reflect Jarrow's special status as housing the choir of the monks there. Significantly, its closest local parallels are with the refenestration of chancels of parish churches raised to collegiate status in the late thirteenth century: compare Lanchester, for example (Pevsner *et al.* 1983, 350).

VI.F.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS

Though the later medieval cell was too small to warrant a claustral plan, the monks who vacated Jarrow in 1083 had begun to erect buildings according to just such a layout. They probably left the east range more or less complete; the walls of the other two ranges bordering the cloister had been erected, but work had only just begun on the east end of the south range, and the west range was never begun. A south range was eventually constructed, probably in the thirteenth century, reusing the south wall of the eleventh-century cloister as its own south wall (Cramp 1976a, 228; Pl. 163).

As remains demonstrably belonging to the later Middle Ages are few, the interpretation of the functions of these buildings in that period depends primarily on the framework supplied by the documents, though the information which they provide is woefully thin. The inventories mention a hall and at least one chamber. The only clues as to where these were is the latrine located in the angle between the east end of the south range and the south end of the old east range (Pl. 163). By analogy with the later medieval arrangements at other cells, such as Holy Island, and the prior's lodging at Finchale (Pl. 110, 142), this must imply the presence of private chambers at this end of the complex. This analogy suggests that the hall should have been at the west end of the south range, with domestic offices beyond. It is possible that this was so in the thirteenth century, as traces of what may have been an early kitchen were found beyond the south-west corner of the south range (Cramp 1976a, 228). In the later Middle Ages, however, these offices were in the southern half of the old east range (and perhaps also projecting eastwards from it), suggesting

a major reorganization, perhaps before financial documents begin to survive. Presumably the hall then occupied the eastern part of the south range, probably with a chamber beyond it to the west, certainly with another above the kitchen at the south end of the east range.

There are precious few references in the accounts which enable one to flesh out this scheme with much detail. Piper is surely right to interpret the reference to 'the making of a cloister' in the 1402-3 account as referring to a covered way and not to a grand architectural feature; the most likely candidate is the line of the east walk of the eleventh-century cloister, the retention of which would make sense as a link between the domestic accommodation and the church.[123] Other references to domestic buildings occur in the only run of detailed accounts to survive for the whole of the later Middle Ages, from 1452 to 1457. The 1454-5 account refers to the building of a 'structure over the gate', and that for 1456-7 to 'a new chamber beside the church'.[124] It is not clear whether these are concerned with the same structure or not, but the gate cannot be assumed to have been within the domestic buildings, as it might well have been the entry to the outer court. If it were associated with them, however, then it is probably to be associated with the chamber referred to in 1456-7, as in that case the 'gate' is likely to have been the entry through one of the passages in the east range, presumably connecting the domestic buildings and the outer court, which probably lay to the east.[125] If so, it was probably towards the north end of the east range, being thus 'beside the church'. In any case, it is likely that this chamber is the same as the 'nova camera' of the 1480 inventory, and conceivably also the 'camera domini prioris' of the one for 1491 (Jarrow, Status 1480, Status 1491 (Raine 1854, 122, 128; Piper 1987, 14)).

There are also occasional references to service, agricultural and storage buildings (Piper 1987, 14). When major renewals were needed expenditure could be heavy, as in the repair of a barn in 1416-17, at a cost of £20 13s 10d. The levying of *ex gratia* contributions towards this from individual monks - a very unusual procedure in the case of a project at a cell (see Chap. I.C.2) - gives some indication of the strain on its resources (Piper 1987, 16). The construction of a byre in 1472-3 also involved exceptionally high expenditure of £15 9s 6d.[126] Occasionally capital expenditure on properties from which the cell derived rent income could be of a similar order, £17 16s 6d being spent on a tenement in Shields in 1409-10.[127]

The chance configurations of the diplomatic of the accounts enable us to explain the unusual peaks in expenditure in the cases mentioned above, but there are other peaks the significance of which is concealed by the diplomatic.[128] And besides individual accounts with

high totals, there are also longer periods which indicate above average expenditure, notably 1432-41 and 1460-75 (Fig. 11). The totals are further complicated by the circumstance that the buildings for which the monks were responsible changed on occasion over the period. For example, Piper notes the abandonment of a windmill in 1424-5, which probably involved sizeable repair bills previously (Piper 1987, 13). More worryingly from the point of view of trying to glean information about the domestic buildings alone, the chance run of detailed accounts in the 1450s discussed above, which reveals the construction of at least one new chamber and (perhaps) another structure, are not years which stand out as a time of notably high expenditure on repairs (Fig. 11). The building expenditure totals are thus an insecure basis from which to infer periods of building activity on the domestic buildings. What the accounts do very forcefully is to remind us how much we do not know; the evidence, when seen in conjunction with the 1452-7 accounts, is certainly not incompatible with a higher level of building activity than the impression of the cell's overall economic position based on the accounts and the surviving remains (both of which suggest that most of the time the monks often barely managed to make ends meet) would lead one to expect.

This cautionary note is reinforced by other evidence. For example, the drawing of the complex from the south-west in 1820 by Blore shows a two-light transomed Perpendicular window in the west wall of the south range, the tracery of which has disappeared since (Pl. 168). If the round-headed, recurved cusps of the lights below the transom are anything to go by, this may be late fourteenth-century in date.[129] But there is no hint of its insertion in the accounts, the survival rate, however, being poor in that period, and the diplomatic uninformative (Fig. 11). A second small, square-headed, window of two lights with simple early to mid fourteenth-century tracery, fragments of which were found in excavation in the northern part of the east range, likewise cannot be tied to any of the extant documents, though, of course, it may well predate them (Pl. 170).

Besides the existence of undocumented remains, the life of the community revealed indirectly by the accounts suggests that the domestic accommodation may have been more complex and extensive than the surviving remains or inventories indicate, the buildings selected for mention in the latter varying for reasons which are not understood (cf. Piper 1987, 14). For example, there was the stipendiary chaplain who served the parish. Piper suggests that he was probably given free board and lodging (Piper 1987, 12). But where? In a separate tenement nearby? In the western part of the structure at the south-west corner of the nave (but see note 125)? Or in a chamber in the cell itself? Similarly, the occasional

references to paying guests being lodged at the cell imply the existence of guest chambers (Piper 1987, 16 and n. 49); and the choice of this cell to accommodate the *quondam* prior Robert Walworth from 1394 suggests that the accommodation was not significantly inferior to that of the prior's lodging at Finchale, with which he had initially been provided in 1391, and which by then almost certainly included a block of private rooms as well as hall and great chamber (see above, section E.3). Besides, Walworth was expected to be accompanied by two monks as well as his retinue of servants, which seems to imply the existence of at least two chambers. Finally, the increase in the number of monks from two to three in 1513 suggests that extra accommodation may have been added (or, more likely, was already available) at that time. All in all, there are enough hints to suggest that the domestic buildings of late medieval Jarrow may have been more extensive and, conceivably, more elaborate architecturally, than the evidence either of repairs recorded in the accounts or of the material remains would lead one to suppose.

VI.G: MONKWEARMOUTH (Pl. 172)

VI.G.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The late eleventh-century monastic reoccupation of Monkwearmouth before it was cut short by the move to Durham in 1083 was even briefer than the corresponding phase at Jarrow.[130] The history of the site seems to have been generally similar to Jarrow's, involving a period when the parish was served by a monk, followed by regularization into a small cell by the early thirteenth century.[131] The number of monks who occupied the cell was generally the same as at Jarrow: usually two, but increasing to three during the temporary closure of Jarrow (1425-32), and again after 1513 (Piper [no date], 8; *idem* 1987, 9).

The evidence of the accounts suggests that, by the last two centuries of the Middle Ages, Wearmouth was even poorer than Jarrow, though this must be qualified in the light of Piper's observation that a marked disparity in expenditure on essentials probably did not arise before the late fourteenth century, and was becoming less pronounced again by the late fifteenth, the level of return from several different items of income demonstrating that the early fifteenth century was the period of greatest poverty (Piper 1987, 16). On the other hand, the validity of the general point does seem to be underlined by the noticeably lower amounts spent on buildings over the period (cf. Figs. 11 and 12). As with Jarrow, interpretation of the

expenditure totals is complicated because they do not cover exactly the same items throughout the period: for example, a water-mill disappears after 1387 which had certainly been a drain on expenditure earlier, as timber for the repair of its dam is mentioned several times in the pre-1387 accounts (e.g. 1343-4, 1345-6). And there are also diplomatic problems in the form of occasional examples of compounded entries (e.g. 1431-2, 1433-4).

VI.G.2 CHURCH

The chancel of Monkwearmouth church was substantially rebuilt between 1872 and 1875 (Pl. 173; Lowe [no date], 8-10). It is clear, however, that the medieval plan, consisting of a narrow rectangle flanked for most of its length by a chapel on the north side (Pl. 174), was retained (Lowe [no date], fig. following 9). This was probably essentially early thirteenth century in date, though the possibility that, like its sister-church at Jarrow, it retained quantities of Anglo-Saxon masonry, cannot be ruled out (see above, section F.2). The evidence for the former appearance of the elevations indicates that it contained a set of four Decorated windows, two square-headed ones of two lights in the south wall (Pl. 175) and one at the east end of the north where it projected clear of the chancel chapel (Pl. 174),[132] and a five-light east window of which the present nineteenth-century tracery is a reconstruction (Pl. 176, 178) based on an eighteenth-century engraving (Pl. 174) together with fragments recovered during the restoration (Hodgson 1896-1905b, 78-9). Though Hodgson's reconstruction seems far from certain, especially in its treatment of the sub-arcuated pairs of side-lights, the evidence of the stumps of tracery still attached to the window-arch at the time of the restoration are at least sufficient to indicate a highly unusual form (Pl. 177).

The only surviving documentary reference to work on the choir at this time mentions the making of three windows in 1347-8.[133] The fact that three are mentioned makes it virtually certain that the two-light square-headed reticulated traceries are being referred to here, even though the comparative evidence suggests that £2 per window is less than might have been expected (see Chaps. III.A.4.2, VII.B.5, and above, section F.2). Since the next account is missing, however, this statement need only refer to construction costs, rather than including glazing costs; and it need not even represent the total cost of the former. The absence of any further documentary evidence relating to these windows is most probably explained by the considerable gaps in the sequence of accounts for this period, notably the loss of the accounts for the years before 1343, and for 1348-9, 1350-60 and 1362-7 (Fig. 12). If the east window was inserted at the same time as the others, the most probable dates seem

to be either 1348-9 or the early 1350s. A possible alternative context is the mastership of John Fossor (1338-41) who, given his subsequent remarkable record as a builder when prior of Durham (see Chap. III.C), may have also initiated works here. What is more significant than the precise dates of these traceries, however, is the fact that they must belong in a mid fourteenth-century context and that they are more numerous than in the chancels of most other parish churches in the region. As at its sister-church at Jarrow, this must reflect the special status of the chancel here as a monastic choir, the lack of any late medieval alterations reflecting the acute poverty of the cell in that period.

VI.G.3 MONASTIC BUILDINGS

As at Jarrow, the history of the monastic buildings was probably also largely a question of successive adaptations of what was abandoned in 1083. To judge by the Romanesque-looking arch at the extreme right of a late eighteenth-century drawing of the complex from the south-west, the late eleventh-century work must have involved at least part of the east range (Cramp 1969, pl. II). Unfortunately, even less is known about these modifications than at Jarrow, partly because nothing survives above ground today, and less seems to have persisted far into the post-medieval period;[134] and partly because the site has been less extensively investigated archaeologically. All that can be said about later medieval building activity is that there appears to be a concentration in the area between the east and south ranges, including the provision of a pair of what appear to be latrine pits in a very similar position to the ones at Jarrow, suggesting that the later medieval domestic buildings may have been laid out in a generally similar way (Pl. 172, cf. Pl. 163). The buildings listed in the inventories (with all the limitations these entail) are certainly closely comparable (e.g. Wearmouth, Status 1362; cf. Piper [no date], 8).

To judge from a memorandum on the dorse of the earliest surviving inventory, dated 1321, the buildings had received a much needed overhaul at this time. Detailed information from the accounts to flesh out the basic picture is rare, though not quite so sparse as for Jarrow.[135] Occasionally, repairs which may well have included skilled masonry work are mentioned, such as the 'making of a window in the chamber' for 21s 6d in 1391-2.[136] The mention in 1415-16 of repairing and roofing the 'cloister to the church' suggests a covered passage comparable to the one noted at Jarrow in the account for 1402-3 (see note 123), and very likely in the same position, along the line of the east walk of the eleventh-century cloister.[137] Only one chamber is definitely recorded until the mention of 'chambers' in

1505-6, in connection with repairs omitted from previous accounts.[138] Like Jarrow, however, there was probably more than one much earlier than this, despite the failure to note them in the inventories. Circumstances such as the occasional accommodation of a third monk, and the repair of the great chamber (here being distinguished from a lesser?) in 1423-4, suggest the possible existence of others.[139]

The only other reference to the domestic buildings is an intriguing incidental mention of the 'new hall' in 1467-8, though it is impossible to know whether new implies 'in addition to one already existing' or (more likely) 'reconstructed some time before 1467-8'.[140] Other accounts occasionally specify substantial expenditure on the farm buildings of the cell and (probably) on tenements from which it derived rent.[141]

One notable difference in the repair bills of Jarrow and Wearmouth is the frequent mention in the latter of the aqueduct or piped water supply, including a major repair associated with the brew-house in 1505-6, costing £13 13s 4d.[142] Another apparent contrast (which, however, may be an illusion produced by the diplomatic of the documents), is that Wearmouth (or at least its outer court) was surrounded by walls. The court is said to be 'almost surrounded by a wall' in the 1321 inventory, and this is mentioned on several further occasions.[143] The 'great gate' made in 1391-2 was presumably the main entrance through this wall.[144]

The poorer survival of the account-rolls adds to the problems, already outlined in connection with Jarrow, of using the totals of expenditure on repairs to pinpoint potential periods of more extensive work on the domestic buildings not made explicit by the diplomatic of the accounts. Two periods emerge as possibly significant: 1388-93 and 1421-30 (Fig. 12). As the former is the period during which two of the alterations discussed above, the making of a chamber window and of a new great gate, were carried out (see notes 136, 144), it may indicate that a general overhaul of the buildings was then in progress. And if the latter period indicates work on the domestic accommodation, a possible context may be the presence of a third monk (together with slightly increased endowments) after the closure of Jarrow in 1425 (see above, section G.1). If so, it may imply that his arrival was being anticipated in whatever was begun in 1421. In general, however, amounts spent on building at Wearmouth are distinctly smaller, while the range of buildings to be maintained (most notably the aqueduct) seems somewhat greater than at Jarrow; the implication appears to be

that, in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages at any rate, its domestic buildings were less extensive, or less well appointed, or both.

VI.H: DISCUSSION

The theme of adaptation of pre-existing buildings is one which has arisen in connection with most of the cells. It is clear that, as at Durham itself, most of the buildings which were in existence by 1300 survived to the Reformation, albeit in modified (and, on occasion, reduced) form, complete rebuilding remaining very much the exception. This phenomenon applies just as much to the larger cells as it does to the smaller, such as Wearmouth and Jarrow. And given the decline in income and numbers of monks which proved such a dramatic feature of the first half of the fourteenth century, a trend which might occasionally be somewhat ameliorated but was never to be reversed, building activity of this limited scope is only to be expected. Indeed it might be argued that, in the circumstances of the later Middle Ages, it is astonishing that the monks of Durham were able to carry out as much building work at their cells as they did. Nevertheless, the very extensive rebuilding of Farne, the smallest and poorest of Durham's cells, in the 1360s and early 1370s, seems all the more remarkable when seen in the context of the more limited works carried out elsewhere, and requires particular explanation. It may be that its refoundation by monks particularly interested in reviving the eremitical life there meant that its buildings had never been as substantial as at the other cells, and that by the later fourteenth century, when its occupants were less likely to be fired with eremitical zeal but instead expected their accommodation to be more like what they were familiar with at the latter, extensive rebuilding had become an urgent priority if monks were still to be persuaded to staff it at all. On the other hand, the extent to which the rebuilding was funded by outside donations (see notes 68, 75) suggests that Farne may have retained a greater hold over the popular imagination as a holy spot (and, perhaps, as a place of pilgrimage) than did any of the other cells.[145]

The amount of renovation varies considerably within the period of study, at most of the cells the renovations of the mid to late fourteenth century being the most extensive they were to receive during the whole of the rest of the Middle Ages. Only Finchale seems to have been wealthy enough to undertake substantial renovations later on (see above, sections

E.4., E.5). Wearmouth and Jarrow do not seem to have been caught up in this wave of activity. In particular, they show no evidence of intensification in the 1360s and early 1370s, though the poor survival of the Wearmouth accounts in this period makes the position there uncertain, and there is some evidence at Jarrow of slightly higher expenditure in the 1360s, but certainly not at levels which were unsurpassed later (see Fig. 11). On the other hand, what evidence there is suggests that the bulk of their renovations were completed earlier, in the late 1340s and early 1350s (see above, sections F.2, G.2).

The frequently abbreviated diplomatic of the cells accounts and the higher degree of compounding in their entries makes the estimation of the cost of the mid to late fourteenth-century renovations more difficult and less precise than proved possible for the equivalent period at the mother-house (see Chap. III.C). In particular, it is not possible to quantify the amount which may have been spent on renovating the monastic buildings at Coldingham, and which the evidence of the buildings themselves demonstrates was certainly spent on those of Finchale. Nevertheless, the above analysis has shown that expenditure was considerable at all three northern cells and at Finchale. Major reconstruction had already been undertaken at Holy Island in the early 1340s at a cost approaching £75 and at Coldingham extensive repairs, costing *c.* £70, were undertaken to the roofs of the church in the decade following 1345 (see notes 31, 8). The highest levels of expenditure, however, were achieved in the 1360s and early 1370s, with the reconstructions of the buildings at Farne Island at a cost of *c.* £90 (see above, sections D.2, D.3) and Holy Island at a cost of over £230 (see notes 37, 46); and major work on the churches of Coldingham costing at least £60 (the true cost, concealed by the large number of compounded payments, being certainly higher (see above, section B.2)) and Finchale, amounting to *c.* £150 (see notes 90-1). Thus at least £500 was expended on the cells in this fifteen-year period alone, while the total cost of the mid to late fourteenth-century works certainly exceeded £800. In extent and cost these renovations thus bear comparison with any one of the three great projects undertaken at Durham itself in this period (see Chap. III.C); while the failure of the cells to show any evidence of a concerted programme of general renewal later in the Middle Ages sharply distinguishes the great renovation of priory property in the mid to late fourteenth century from that of the early fifteenth century which was largely limited in scope to the buildings of the mother-house (see Chap. IV.C).

It seems difficult to believe that the extensive works undertaken at several cells within a comparatively few years are purely the result of chance. Perhaps building-fever

spread from one head of cell to another, and the works should be seen largely as the result of fashion. Alternatively, the idea may have originated at the mother-house, and may imply consultation with Durham, though not necessarily detailed direction from it. A reasonable guess is that the condition of the cells was thoroughly reviewed in the general chapters of the period.

What seems to make Durham's direct involvement more likely (in the later fourteenth century at least) is that some of the alterations at several different cells apparently betray common stylistic features. This can only be demonstrated for the more architecturally elaborate features of the renovations, principally the window traceries, so the alterations to the churches are generally more relevant than those to the domestic offices here. The claim of common traits can only be advanced tentatively, as most of the details concerned do not actually survive, and have to be inferred from early drawings (or, in the case of Coldingham, more indirectly still (see Appendix 3)). Nevertheless, it seems that window traceries with convergent mouchette forms were inserted into several of the cells during the renovations of the 1360s and 1370s. Early drawings make this highly likely in the cases of the two-light windows of the south nave aisle at Holy Island (Pl. 126), and of the (probably three-light) east window of St Cuthbert's chapel on Farne (Pl. 138). Finally, although all of the larger traceries at Finchale are not of this type,[146] its appearance there in an extremely unusual single-light form over the refectory door (Pl. 155) shows that its use was not confined to the northern cells. Of these, only the probable example at Farne (1369-71) is securely dated, though work on the church at Holy Island probably antedates 1374-5; and if the windows there were linked to the renovation of the nave altar, to which they were adjacent, they might be datable to *c.* 1366-7 (see above, section C.4).

This tracery type not only links work at the cells to each other, but also to Durham itself, where windows with convergent mouchettes were inserted into the choir aisles of the cathedral in the early 1360s, and it is also present in several other less securely dated windows there which probably date to the previous decade (see Chap. III.A.4.1, B.3). Moreover, in another case, work at a cell finds its closest parallel in work at the mother-house. This is the unusual ogee-headed doorway in the chapel at Farne (Pl. 136), which is comparable to one of this shape inserted into the south choir-aisle of the cathedral (Pl. 137). Unfortunately, the latter is not dated by documentary evidence, but there can be little doubt that it belongs to this period stylistically. Coldingham may formerly have supplied another

example, if the argument presented in Appendix 3 regarding the form of the window tracery probably inserted into the north wall of its north transept in the mid 1360s is accepted.

Taken as a whole, there does seem to be enough architectural evidence to suggest that this series of works included stylistic features common to each other and to work at Durham itself. What is more, the evidence of the accounts indicates that these works at the cells were executed within a few years of one another between the mid 1360s and early 1370s, and that they are thus all slightly later than the comparable features at the cathedral, which date to the 1350s or early 1360s (see Chap. III.A.4.1). Possible explanations for these stylistic links and for the relative chronology of the two groups of traceries as the results of the activities of a single master-mason will be offered in a later chapter (see Chap. IX.B.4.3); meanwhile, the resemblances may be held to support the suggestion that some sort of central direction (or at least, discussion and coordination) underlay the operations, since a spread of building-fever and rivalry between heads of cells operating independently of each other and Durham would have been more likely to have involved (perhaps even encouraged) the commissioning of a number of different masons. (This is not to say that the more utilitarian aspects of the works might not have been devised and executed by more locally recruited masons, however.)

It must also be stressed that the material evidence from the cells does not always provide a picture of stylistic harmony. In particular, the chancels of Wearmouth and Jarrow have traceries which are likely to have been inserted approximately contemporaneously around the middle of the fourteenth century (see above; Pl. 176, 167) yet which differ markedly from one another stylistically. Further, while the Jarrow tracery can be paralleled at Durham, nothing like the Monkwearmouth traceries survives. The evidence is not sufficient to determine whether this implies the employment by the master of Wearmouth of masons who had no connection with Durham, however, as information about the styles current at the priory before *c.* 1350 is seriously defective (see Chap. III.A.2, A.3).

The cells never seem to have undergone a concerted scheme of renovation after this later fourteenth-century one, the only possible exception being in the late 1420s and early 1430s, when both Holy Island and Finchale were appealing for donations to help with renovating the roofs of their churches (see above, sections C.5, E.4). As only two cells are involved, these dates may be coincidental, but hint that a more general review of the state of the cells had taken place in the 1420s. This evidence apart, the cells seem to go their own

way in the later Middle Ages, the only common factors being periods when nothing much was happening at any of them, such as the first decade of the fifteenth century, the 1440s, and (though the poorer survival of account-rolls makes it less certain) after 1500 (Fig. 4). These periods of inactivity seem more likely to reflect periods of general financial strain than any deliberate policy of discouraging building work.

CHAPTER VI - NOTES

1. The fundamental study is Dobson 1973, chap. 9, on which the historical summaries introducing each of the cells covered in this chapter is based.

2. For Warkworth, see Hodgson 1899, 121-3, and cf. Bursar 1292-3, Expense; for Durham College Oxford, see Dobson 1973, 343-59.

3. On Coldingham's bid for independence, see Scammell 1958, 227; on a similar move by Lytham in the 1440s, see Dobson 1973, 327-41.

4. The Lytham accounts contain few detailed references to building-repairs, and none of its buildings survives. The Stamford accounts are similarly uninformative; though there are remains of the nave of the church, and excavation has revealed traces of the monastic buildings (Wilson and Hurst 1968, 167-8), the specific contribution of the last two centuries of the Middle Ages seems to have been minimal. The accounts of Durham College (now Trinity Oxford) are rather more informative, and although few traces of the medieval buildings now survive (see Pevsner and Sherwood 1974, 204-5), our knowledge of them is considerably enhanced by Loggan's view of the college, published in 1675 (Pl. 105). In so far as this can be trusted to give an accurate indication of the medieval architectural detailing then surviving (notably the window tracery of the chapel) it bears no discernible relation to any work at Durham Priory of which we have knowledge.

5. Barrow suggests that the establishment of fully conventual life cannot date from much before 1140 (Barrow 1973, 168); see also Dobson 1967, 2, n. 2.

6. Raine 1841, 22. The demonstrably catastrophic drop in revenues from Durham Priory's possessions *south* of Tweed suggests that this is no exaggeration (see Chap. I.B.2.1).

7. I am grateful to Jane Cunningham for this information.

8. Totals probably spent on roofing: 1344-5, £9 14s; [1345-50 missing]; 1350-1, £20 12s; [1351-2 missing]; 1352-3, £10 18s 6d; 1353-4, £18 8s 4d; 1354-5, £12 13s 9d [1355-8 missing; 1358-9, no relevant entries; 1359-62 missing; 1362-3, no relevant entries].

9. Purchases of nails and 'estland boards' amounting to nearly £9 were recorded in that year (see note 12).

10. '[3 items compounded] ... in v petris de ferro pro barris fenestrarum in ecclesia ... [1 item compounded], v li. v s. xj d. Item computat in reparacione fenestrarum cum factura unius nove fenestre et in expensis sacriste per ij vices a Coldingham usque Dunelm', vij li. iiij s. xj d. [1 compound item omitted] Item in ij equis emptis ad usum sacriste et diversis conductibus quesitis pro operariis operantibus circa ecclesiam et in aliis necessariis emptis, vij li. v s. vj d. [1 compound item omitted]; [1 item compounded] ... in uno carre pro lapidibus cariandis et in solucione facta diversis operariis, iiij li. xiij s. ix d. [4 compound items omitted] Et in reparacione ecclesie scilicet in coopertoriis et muris reparatis cum omnimodis stipendiis et expensis factis circa predictam ecclesiam, xx li. iij s. v d. ob.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1362-3, [unmarginated]).

11. The window is not specified as being in the church, but the likelihood is that the sacrist had no other responsibility. Iron was purchased for windows in the church in the same account (see note 10).

12. 'Item in M de bragg emptis pro ecclesia, precium C ij s. iiij d., in DC de spykyng et scoytnail' precium C vij d. et in ferro et clavibus equinis, xxxiiij s. [part of amount may be destroyed] Item Johanni Lewyne cementario laboranti a Dunelm' in Coldingham et retro. Et alio cementario a Jeddeworth in Coldingham et retro pro dicta ecclesia videnda, viij s. [rest of amount illegible] [11 items (some compound) omitted] Item in CCCC dimidio de estlandbord cum cariagia per batellum a Berwic' in Coldingham precium de C xxxj s. vij d. ob., in CC de albo vitro emptis [2 items compounded], x li. xj s. vij d. ob. [1 item omitted] Item in iij quarteriis brasii emptis in villa Berwic' contra operant' circa ecclesiam non expendit' [1 item compounded], xxxiij s. ix d.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1363-4, [unmarginated]).

13. 'Item in uno quarterio frumenti et in j boll' precium del boll' iij s. iiij d. in pano et servisia emptis in Berwic' et in Coldingham pro operantibus circa ecclesiam, xxiiij s. j d. ob. [6 items (some compound) omitted] Item in CCCC iiij xx bragg', precium de C xxxij d., in CCCC de clavis plumbatis precium de C v d. [1 item compounded] in ij petris ferri precium petre xv d. ob. [2 items compounded], xx s. viij d. ob. [2 items (1 compound) omitted] Item in C de estland boryd precium de C xxvij s. ij d. cum cariagia usque in Aymowyt cum batello et in mercede carpentarii operantis C, lxviij s. [2 items (1 compound) omitted] Item in uno fothyr de plumbo cum operacione et cariagia illius ab Insula Sacra in Aymowyt cum batello, vij li. iij s. [4 items (3 compound) omitted; 4 items compounded] ... et in una longa corda empta pro operacione ecclesie, v s. j d. [3 items (2 compound) omitted] Item in reparacione unius gabelli in cruce boriali ecclesie de Coldingham cum argenti soluto magistro cementario, videlicet in Cx s. in partem merced' sue in uno lyme kylne precium lviij s. v d. cum xviij petris xix libris de ferro emptis pro fenestra precium petre xv d. ob. xxiiij s. x d. et in omnibus variis expensis ut patet per particulas, xj li. xiij s. vij d. ob.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1364-5, [margination illegible]).

14. 'Item in CC de estland boryd precium de C xxj s. cum CC clavorum precium de C viij d. in j pari de paniers cum j sacc' <emptis>, xlvj s. iiij d. [2 items (1 compound) omitted] Item in reparacione gabelli boriali in ecclesia de Coldingham cum gabello australi et argento soluto magistro cementario videlicet x li. x s. in expensis unius lyme kylne cum cariagia calcis a Berwic in Coldingham in uno waw iiij libris de ferro emptis precium petre xvij d. et in omnibus variis expensis ut patet per particulas, xix li. vj s. vj d. qua.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1365-6, [unmarginated]).

15. 'Item in CC estlandborde precium C xvij s. vj d. in M CC clavorum precium C ij s. ix d., lxviij s. [1 compound item omitted] Et in reparacione unius nove fenestre cum vitro in operacione Johannis plummer per unam ebdomadam cum iiij petris ferri emptis, xj li. vij s. v d.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1366-7, Expense).

16. The sacrist's account for 1367-8 records the 'obstruccione fenestrarum', perhaps to be interpreted as the stopping up of windows newly built but not yet glazed (Coldingham Sacrist 1367-8, [unmarginated]).

17. 'In lxj petris plumbi et uno plaustro et una magna scala cum aliis tribus parvis scalis emptis in factura unius fenestre nove cum vitro cum reparacione aliarum duarum fenestrarum, Cxiiij s. iij d. ob.' (Coldingham Sacrist, 1369-70, Expense).

18. 'In empcione unius ymaginis pro resurectione et alterius ymaginis sancti Blasii cum aliis operacionibus pictatoris, xviij s. x d.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1369-70, Expense).

19. The Coldingham sacrist's accounts provide evidence of at least three altars in the church in this period: 'In adquisicione coopertur' pro iij altaribus cum salario carpentarii ea cooperientis, iij s.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1344, Expense). Repair of the altar of the Holy Cross (which may (but need not have been) one of the above, and which was presumably situated in the usual position for an altar bearing this dedication, at the east end of the nave) was in progress in 1366-7, when the balance of the sacrist's account of that year, totalling 3s 4d, was devoted to it (Coldingham Sacrist 1366-7, [disposal of surplus balance]).

20. 'Item in reparacione facta super ecclesiam in una magna scala cum uno waw et dimidio ferri emptis pro clavis faciendis, xiij li. ij s. j d. [1 compound item omitted] Item in pictura unius imaginis beate Marie in ecclesia de Coldingham, xl s.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1370-1, Expense).

21. Compare the costs of painting and gilding the early fourteenth-century reredos of Exeter Cathedral as a proportion of the whole (see Chap. III, note 37).

22. Cowan and Easson 1976, 55-6, quoting Raine 1852, App., 5 (no. XX), 24 (no. CIII).

23. 'Item in uno dimidio wau et vij libris ferri, in M clavorum qui vocantur afaudthaknayl cum CCC scotsemnayl, xxxvij s. v d. ob. [1 item omitted] Item in reparacione trium novarum fenestrarum cum vitro, in emendacione ceterarum, in uno panno pro summo altari [1 item compounded], viij li. xvij s. ix d. ob. Item in CCCC et dimidio estlandbordys cum xxvj sperrys emptis, Cxiij s. vij d.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1372-3, Expense).

24. 'Item in uno baudekyne de cerico et in reparacione fenestrarum cum vitro, iiij li. xv s. vj d. [3 items (2 compound) omitted] Item in expensis factis circa mediam partem unius lyme kylne, xxxj s. iij d. [1 item omitted] Item in CCC et dimidio estlandbordis cum x sparrys de querco emptis, Cxix s. viij d.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1373-4, Expense).

25. The architecture of the church shows no traces of final phase Romanesque details, let alone of early Gothic forms, so a date much after 1150 seems unlikely in the north given the early introduction and rapid spread of Gothic forms into the region.

26. The fine-cut, but still squarish masonry of the west range is structurally later than that of the church, but must be earlier than that of the east range, which has mature early Gothic detailing.

27. In 1327 the garbal tithes of Holy Island parish, 'que solebant valere ante guerram Cvij li.' were valued at £21 (Holy Island, Status 1327). The decline following the Scots Wars is also graphically reflected in the *comperta* of a visitation in 1328 (M. C. 2645, art. 4).

28. Dobson 1973, 313. There were said to be only four monks in 1328 (M. C. 2645, art. 4).

29. 'Excepta fabrica tocius ecclesie de novo reparate [no amount]' (Holy Island, Status, 1308).

30. Total expenditure, £30 3s 6½d. There are also two entries relating to Fenham in the 1341-2 account.

31. The total for these years, (including one compounded payment in 1345-6), is *c.* £75.

32. 'Item computat in mercede Thome cimentarii sociorum suorum et eisdem deservientium et in empcione meremii et in ferro et clavibus et eorum in factura, x li. ix s. viij d. Item computat in xxvj celdr' carbonum emptis pro calce ardend', lv s. iiij d. Item computat in calce ardend' pro opere ciment' per annum, v s. Item se exonerat in precio xj pannorum [1 word unintelligible (mariorum?)] lib' diversis servientibus et operariis pro eorum curialitate, xxiij s. viij d. Item lib' Ricardo cimentario et iiij sociis suis a festo sancti Petri in Cathedra [22 February] post decessum Thome cimentarii per x septimanas usque ad festum sancti Martini [11 November], xxxiiij s. <x d.>' (Holy Island 1341-2(A), Custus Cimentariorum [in 1341-2(B), heading is Reparaciones Domorum]).

33. 'Idem lib' cuidam carpentario cooperanti dormitorium per j [1 word illegible], vii [rest of amount illegible]. Item lib' Johanni [2 words illegible] socio suo per idem tempus, v [rest of amount illegible]' (Holy Island 1342-3 [draft version], Custus Domorum).
'Item lib' magistro Johanni carpentario in plena solucione sua pro construccione magne camere, xxvj s. viij d. Item lib' Johanni Gruwer cooperienti grangiam et longum stabulum, xvj s. Item lib' Roberto [1 word unintelligible (planc'?)] daubanti capellam domini prioris, vii [rest of amount illegible]. Item lib' eidem Roberti dauban [rest of word illegible] magne camere iuxta molendinum [1 word struck through] xiiij die Maii anno xlv^{to}, x s.' (Holy Island 1344-5 [draft version], Custus Domorum).

34. The 'camera prioris' and the 'camera magna' are distinguished in the 1533 inventory (Holy Island 1532-3, dorse: Status 1533).

35. The account for 1350-1 is, admittedly, defective.

36. 'In labore cuiusdam cementarii operanti super furnum de novo construendum per vij septimanas et iij dies capienti per septimanam xvj d. ob., x s. j d. ob.' (Holy Island 1362-3, Expense Necessarie).

37. The total for the four accounting years between 1363 and 1367 is *c.* £142 (Fig. 9).

38. The 1366-7 and 1367 accounts contain no such details. The others are:
'Item in cooperturis monasterii et campanilis et reparacione aliarum domorum ibidem, xxxij li. vij s. j d. Et in custagiis factis circa novam aulam Sancti Cuthberti, furnum et bracinam, x li. xiiij s. vj d. ob.' (Holy Island 1363-4, Exoneracio).
'Et in expensis circa aulam et coquinam et bracinam et alias domos ibidem, xxxiiij li. iij s. vj d.' (Holy Island 1364-5, Expense).
'Et in custagiis factis circa aulam novam et in reparacione dormitorii et domorum, xxxiij li. x s. x d.' (Holy Island 1365-6, [unmarginated]). The recording of donations to the fabric of the monastery (£3 in 1363-4 and £8 in 1364-5 (Holy Island 1363-4 and 1364-5, Varia Recepta)) also suggests a major building campaign. In addition, substantial borrowing is recorded in 1366-7 and 1367-8.

39. Hamilton Thompson dates the reconstruction and alteration of the services block to before 1347, but there seems to be no documentary or archaeological evidence to warrant this.

40. Materials listed as in store include 80 'estlandburd parate pro lectis in dormitorio' (Holy Island 1367, Status).

41. The commission of enquiry survives as 2.4. Reg. 1 (printed Raine 1852, 121-2 (App. no. DCXCV)).

42. '... iij s. 0½ d. que assignantur ad opus crucis' (Holy Island 1366-7, [disposal of surplus balance]); '... iiij s. j d. que dantur reparacioni altaris Sancte Crucis' (Holy Island 1367, [disposal of surplus balance]).

43. Thompson 1949, 11. There are socket holes in the wall above the piers one bay west of the crossing which may indicate the location of the rood beam (see also Cambridge 1988, fig. on 17).

44. See note 38. The twin arrow loops of the west gable are guaranteed by, *inter alia*, Billings (Pl. 124-5); for the crenellated parapets of the nave and central tower, see the Bucks' engraving of *c.* 1728, confirmed by Grimm's more detailed drawing probably of *c.* 1778 (Pl. 111, 115), on which the reconstruction in Cambridge 1988 (fig. on 21) is based. The side walls of the chamber over the choir survive more or less intact (Pl. 112, 113).

45. There was probably originally a third such window in the east bay of the south aisle which had gone before any surviving illustrations were made (see Cambridge 1988, fig. on 21).

46. The total for these years is *c.* £90 (Fig. 9).

47. 'Et in pictura ymaginis sancti Cuthberti, liij s. iiij d.' (Holy Island 1374-5, [unmarginated]).

48. There is little direct evidence as to the nature of the later medieval cenotaph. A casual reference in the Farne Island accounts at least shows that it was inside the church: 'Item xij libri cere unde vj libri super tumbam sancti Cuthberti in Insula Sacra ...' (Farne Island 1519-20, dorse: Status 1520, Capella); though as the *raison d'être* of the monastic church was to honour the site of Cuthbert's grave, this is hardly surprising. The Holy Island inventory for 1532-3 records 'Item j imago de Sancto C[uthberti] ad tumulum eiusdem' (Holy Island 1532-3, dorse: Status 1533, Ecclesia) which, however, gives no clue as to whether the image was standing on the cenotaph or lying on top of it. By analogy with the ones in the cloister at Durham (as reconstructed under Prior Castell and described in the *Rites of Durham* (see Chap. V.B.1)), and at Chester-le-Street (as recorded by Leland), the later medieval form at least was probably that of a table tomb surmounted by an effigy of Cuthbert vested as a bishop. The location of the cenotaph within the church is uncertain. For a fully documented discussion, see Cambridge 1983, 91-3.

49. 1385-6 (£10 17s 4d), probably due to a new mill which cost £5, and repair of walls, costing £3 (cf. 1385-6 (A) and (C), and 1384-5); 1440-1 (£18 17s 8d), a rare detailed account, including £5 to a mason, though without specifying the nature of the work; 1468-9 (£12 13s 5d), perhaps reflecting an attempt to remedy neglect and damage during the early 1460s, when the priory was particularly badly affected by Scots raids, and when a series of abnormally low expenditure totals on repairs is recorded; 1514-15 (£10 13s 4d), again mentioning the stipend of a mason without indicating what he was doing.

50. 'Et de xl s. receptis ex dono diversorum ad fabricam ecclesie.' (Holy Island 1427-8, Recepta).

51. 'Dedit eciam venerabilis pater [Langley], diversis vicibus, notabiles summas ad construccionem [3 items omitted] chori Insule Sacre.' (Raine 1835, 88). Langley's private visit to Holy Island on his way to Berwick in 1425 (Storey 1961, 183, 238) may have aroused his interest in the cell.

52. £29 15s 0½d (1427-8); £20 (1428-9). If Hamilton Thompson's assertion (Thompson 1949, 8) that the upper chamber over the choir was only constructed at this time, rather than in the fourteenth century (above, section C.4), then it must have been done as part of this operation.

53. 'Et de xxiij s. iiij d. data ad fabricam unius fenestre in choro videlicet de domino Johanni [Durham] [several words illegible] domino Johanni Gatysheved vj s. viij d. et de Thoma Sparthe iij s. iiij d.' (Holy Island 1431-2, Recepta).

54. As suggested by Raine (1852, 140-1). I am grateful to Dr Richard Morris for confirming that the form of the jamb mouldings of the east window would not be incompatible with the date proposed.

55. 'Et de vj li. x s. de diversis dat' ad edificacionem in Fenham.' (Holy Island 1433-4, Recepta).

56. 'Et de xl s. dat' per dominum episcopum ad fabricam dormitorii' (Holy Island 1436-7, Redditus Assise). 'Item in edificacione dormitorii et reparacionibus infra et extra, xxiiij li. xiij s. Item in contribucione nichil quia datur ad fabricam dormitorii per priorem.' (Holy Island 1436-7, Expense).

57. Approximately £147 (though the 1458-9 account is missing) as against *c.* £135 for the earlier group.

58. 'Et in stipendiis servientium <et unius latami> per tempus compoti, viij li. xiij s. iiij d.' (Holy Island 1514-15, Expense).

59. Dobson dates the beginning of the process to shortly after Bartholemew's death, probably in 1193 (Dobson 1973, 314). A proctor of Farne is mentioned in the 1235 statute on the cells (Raine 1839, App., xl).

60. '... seu alium monachum qui voluit seu audebat propter guerrarum [1 word illegible] in eadem insula morare.' (Loc. XXVII, 12, art. 11 (for the date, see Foster 1979, 136)).

61. Between 1343 and 1346 Edward III endowed the cell with an annual fee farm charged to the Mayor and Burgesses of Newcastle (Dobson 1973, 315).

62. A cryptic reference in the account for 1380-1 (another period of acute instability in the region) to '... camera in castello pro guerra' (Farne Island 1380-1, [unmarginated]) may refer to rent for a refuge on the mainland at Bamburgh rather than to any defensive structure on the island itself, for which there is no clear evidence until the existing tower was built much later in the Middle Ages (see further below, section D.4). For comparable evidence that the proctor of Norham had a chamber in the castle there, see Proctor of Norham 1338-9, Custus Domorum.

63. The existence of two oratories, and their locations, may well fossilize earlier phases of the layout of the site, however. Compare the evidence from Finchale (see below, section E.4).

64. '... ij tabule de alabastro, una in capella Sancti Cuthberti, et altera in capella Sancte Marie' (Farne Island 1451-2, dorse: Status 1452, In Capellis). The purchase of 'teweles' for the altar of the blessed Mary in Farne is recorded in the previous year's account (Farne Island 1450-1, Expense).

65. It may have begun earlier, though there is no hint of this in any of the accounts surviving from between 1357 and 1360, except for a comparatively high building expenditure total of £6 10s 3d in 1358-9.

66. 'Item in nova structura aule Sancti Cuthberti ibidem cum reparacione aliarum domorum infra insulam et extra, vij li. xiij s. vj d.' (Farne Island 1360-1, Expense).

67. 'Item in cultura crofti in Farne ...' (Farne Island 1361-2, Expense).

68. 'Et de lx s. receptis de donis dominorum prioris et supprioris Dunelm' et aliorum confratrum ibidem. Et de xlv s. receptis de donis aliorum diversorum amicorum per tempus compoti.' (Farne Island 1361-2, Recepta).
'Et de xij li. vij s. x d. receptis ex donis diversorum ut sunt participes oracionum in Farne factarum.' (Farne Island 1362-3, Recepta).
'Et de vj s. viij d. ex dono Tohme [*sic*] Herdwick hostilar.' (Farne Island 1363-4, [unmarginated]).

69. 'Et in meremio empto ad unam cameram novam, xxij s. Et in factura eiusdem, v s. ij d. Et in ij M et CCC sclathis emptis, xvj s. viij d.' (Farne Island 1364-5, Expense).
'Et in reparacione unius camare [*sic*] nove, xxv s. viij d.' (Farne Island 1365-6, Exoneracio).

70. 'Et in domo coquine de novo constructa et aliarum domorum reparacione, iiij li. xiij s. x d.' (Farne Island 1367-8, Exoneracio).
'Et in uno molendino et domo pro eo de novo construct', xij li. xj s. ij d. ob.' (Farne Island 1369-70, Expense).

71. 'Et in construccione unius toralis de novo et in [1 word (cilico?) unintelligible] novo empto et in reparacione domorum infra insulam et extra, vij li. v s.' (Farne Island 1370-1, Expense).

'Et in reparacione domorum et murorum et unius furni ibidem, iiij li. vj s. iiij d.'(Farne Island 1373-4, Expense).

72. 'Domorum autem infra insulam et extra quedam de novo construuntur et reliquie omnes bene reparantur preter capellam sancti Cuthberti que est ultra medium consummata.' (Farne Island 1371, Status autem Predicte Domus de Farne Die et Anno ut supra hic est).

73. 'Item magistro de Faren ad construend' campanile de Faren ex precepto prioris, x s.' (Hostiller 1360-1, Dona et Oblaciones). The *campanile* was the object of further expenditure during the reconstruction of St Cuthbert's chapel a decade later: 'Et in reparacione domorum campanilis armariolorum et granariorum, ix li. xvj s. vij d.' (Farne Island 1371-2, [unmarginated]).

74. 'Et in capella sancti Cuthberti reparanda, x li. xiiij s. iiij d.' (Farne Island 1369-70, Expense).
'Et in expensis factis circa capellam sancti Cuthberti hoc anno, xxij li. v s. vj d. [7 items omitted] Et in pictura ymaginum sanctorum Johannis et Cuthberti, x s. vj d.' (Farne Island 1370-1, Expense).
'Et in expensis factis <hoc anno> circa capellam sancti Cuthberti iam perfectam, xvj li. iiij s. v d.' (Farne Island 1371-2, [unmarginated]).

75. 'Et de xj li. vj d. receptis de donis diversorum per tempus compoti. Et de lxxv s. collatis ad fabricam capelle sancti Cuthberti ibidem' (Farne Island 1369-70, [unmarginated]).
'Et de xxix li. xiij s. ij d. receptis ex datis diversorum quorum nomina licet hic subticeantur in libro tamen vite pro perpetuo conscribantur. Amen.' (Farne Island 1370-1, Deodata).
'Et de xx li. xiiij s. iiij d. collatis per diversos ad fabricam capelle sancti Cuthberti' (Farne Island 1371-2, Deodata).
'Et de iiij li. receptis de procuratori ecclesie de Norham in augmentacioni pensionis per litteram domini prioris Dunelm' specialem. Et de xlviij s. iiij d. receptis ex datis diversorum' (Farne Island 1372-3, Deodata).

76. 'Domus autem eius infra et extra bene reparantur et capella sancti Cuthberti bene perficietur, laudes Deo.' (Farne Island 1371-2, [dorse, 1372 inventory, unmarginated]). Sedgebrook was master from 1358 to 1363 or 1364 and again from 1368 to 1378 x 1380.

77. 'Prior *Castel* of *Dyrham* the last save one buildid the Toure in *Farne* Isleland for Defence out of the Grounde. Ther was a Chapel and a poore House afore.' (Leland 1768-70, V, 115).

78. Building expenditure is frequently less than £1, and rarely exceeds £2; it exceeds £5 in only nine accounts (1375-6; 1376-7; 1377-8; 1448-9; 1450-1; 1464-5; 1484-5; 1496-7; 1501-2 (Fig. 10)). Of these, 1496-7 has by far the highest total (£21 5s 1d). Moreover, the cell's annual contribution to the mother-house was excused between 1495 and 1497, which may indicate the pressure of major expenditure of some kind, though not necessarily on buildings. For a comparable excusing of such contributions during a period of high building expenditure at a cell, see Holy Island 1436-7, Expense (quoted note 56).

79. The years of Castell's priorate for which Farne Island accounts do not survive are 1500-1, and 1515-18 (see Fig. 10).

80. Visible on the engraving by Daniel King (King 1672, no. 55).

81. There are no grounds for supposing that the west range was not also completed in the thirteenth century (Peers 1927, 214-15).

82. If the mention of a chamber 'de novo constructa' in an inventory for 1311 (Raine 1837b, App., v), can be taken to suggest that the period of construction continued as late as the early fourteenth century, it would provide a *terminus post quem* for the period of contraction.

83. The church of Bishop Middleham was appropriated to the convent in 1278 with the intention that it should support an extra five monks, increasing the number to fifteen (Raine 1837b, 148). There is some evidence to suggest that this number was being maintained as late as the mid fourteenth century: In a visitation of *c.* 1370 it was alleged that 'ante pestilenciam' there used to be thirteen monks and two 'ludentes de Dunelm', whereas there were now perhaps six monks and few ludentes (2.8. Pont. 12, art. 49).

84. According to brother Robert of Marmyon, a monk of Finchale, 'pluit in choro', and the house was 'onerata alieno'; besides, he lamented the decline in the number of monks. The prior of Finchale, William of Goldsburgh, said that '[1 word illegible] ecclesie de Fynchalgh est discooperta [2 words illegible] per xl annos', and that the defects of the church and abbey could be repaired for 20 marks (1.9. Pont. 1b (*detecta* of a Benedictine visitation, *c.* 1357-8)).

85. The most obvious example is the abandonment of the fulling mill at Finchale, from which receipts are last recorded in 1398-9 (Raine 1837b, App., cxxii).

86. For examples, see the major repairs to the Finchale mill-dam in 1458-9 and 1480-1 (Raine 1837b, App., cclxxi, ccclii).

87. Expenditure on the appropriations is considered separately in the next chapter (see Chap. VII.B.1, E.4).

88. The choir aisle responds may have been reused as the (obviously reset) responds of the western undercroft vault of the great chamber in the prior's lodging. I am grateful to Richard Stone for this suggestion.

89. I am grateful to Richard Stone for pointing out to me that there is just enough evidence of the seating of the mullions on the sill to demonstrate that there must have been four lights, and not three, as shown on Peers's plan (Pl. 142).

90. 'Et in meremio empto de domino Marmeduco de Lumley pro ecclesia de Fynchall, Cvj s. viij d. Et in C bordis de Estland emptis, cum cariagio, xxvij s. iiij d. Et in stipendiis diversorum carpentariorum conductorum ad operandum dictum meremium, vj li. xviij d. Et in stipendiis diversorum cementariorum operantibus [*sic*] petras circa dictam ecclesiam, x li. x s. viij d. Et in diversis hominibus conductis ad serviendum dictos cementarios per vices, iiij li. xij d. ob. Et in solucione facta Johanni de Bynchestr pro vitro pro fenestris ecclesie, C s. Et in solucione facta fabro pro v^M et dimidio de stanbrods, barres de ferro pro fenestris, x haxes de ferro emptis pro cementariis, et pikkes pro eisdem factis et acuendis, lxix s. ix d. [1 item omitted] Et in sarratoribus conductis ad sarrandum arbores per vices, xl s. vij d. Et in solucione facta Johanni de Lonsdall et sociis suis sclatariis cooperientibus domos, lxxvj s. vj d. Et in ij^M de sclatstan emptis apud quarrell de Esshe, xiij s. iiij d.' (Finchale 1364-5, Expense (printed with minor errors Raine 1837b, App., lxvi-lxvii)).
'Et in meremio empto de domino Marmeduco de Lumley pro edificacione ecclesie de Fyngh [*sic*], xxvj s. viij d. Et in C bordis de Estland emptis apud Novum Castrum, cum cariagio, xxij s. ix d. Et in stipendiis diversorum carpentariorum conductorum ad operandum apud Fynghall per tempus compoti, cum panno empto pro robis eorundem, xvij li. ij d. Et in stipendiis diversorum cementariorum operantium ibidem per idem tempus, xx li. vj s. ij d. Et in diversis hominibus conductis ad serviendum dictos cementarios, et ad frangendum petras apud quarreram, lxxj s. viij d. Et in solucione facta Johanni de Bynchestr pro vitro pro fenestris ecclesie, Cvj s. viij d. Et in solucione facta fabro pro stanbrod, haxes de ferro pro cementariis, et pikkes pro eisdem, faciendis et acuendis, lxix s. iiij d. ob. Et in sarratoribus conductis ad sarrandum arbores per vices, xl s. iij d. Et in solucione facta Johanni de Lonsdall sclatario cooperienti domos, et in calce empto per tempus compoti, xlviij s. iij d.' (Finchale 1365-6, Expense (printed with minor errors Raine 1837b, App., lxix-lxx)).
'Et in ix^{xx} hestlandborde emptis apud Novum Castrum, cum cariagio, xxxiij s. Et in stipendiis cementariorum, carpentariorum, cum diversis hominibus conductis ad serviendum eis, xxv li. vj s. Et Johanni blumber, pro cooperacione chori ecclesie, et Johanni ledbetar cum altero Johanni blumber, pro labore suo, de anno preterito, vj li. xij s. x d. Et pro ferro empto, et v^M et v^C de leydnaill', stanbrod, schotnayll, spiking, cum haxis pro cementariis, et barris pro fenestris ecclesie, lx s. Et in sarracione meremii, cum bordis, et uno conducto ad faciendum lattis, xxj s. Et in calce empta per tempus compoti, xxxviij s. iiij d. [6 items omitted] Et in solucione facta suffraganeo pro reconsiliacione ecclesie nostre, et communi procuratori pro ecclesia de Midilham, xv s. x d. ob. [9 items (some compound) omitted] Et Johanni Binchestir pro fenestris ex australi parte ecclesie et in aula, ix li. iij s. iiij d.' (Finchale 1366-7, Expense (printed with minor errors Raine 1837b, App., lxxii-iii)).

91. The total for these years, the bulk of which was almost certainly spent on the church (see note 90), was *c.* £152 (Fig. 13).

92. The reticulation units in the nave windows are rounder than those in the choir, with somewhat less pronounced cusps, and an extra pair of (unpierced) segmental units flanks the upper sides of the apical unit. Also, the choir windows are rather longer, and the form of their rere-arches differs slightly (Pl. 145, 146).

93. 'Cementariis facientibus novum dormitorium apud Fynchalgh, xij d.' (Bursar, 1358-9, Dona et Exennia Prioris).

94. £14 4s 7d. (Finchale 1359-60, Exoneracio (Raine 1837b, App., l)).

95. 'Et de xiij s. iiij d. receptis de domino Jhone [*sic*] de Shaftowe ad facturam fenestrarum in claustro. Et de xj s. viij d. receptis de cementario pro mense [*sic*] sua dum fuerat super operacionem predictarum fenestrarum. [1 item omitted] Et de iiij li. xiij s. iiij d. receptis de communi Dunelm' et dominis Johanne de Shaftow [several words erased] Johanne de Byllysfeld ex dono et [1 letter illegible] ex pensionibus (Finchale 1367-8, Varia Recepta (printed with major errors Raine 1837b, App., lxxx)).
'Et in stipendiis cementariorum, carpentariorum, cum diversis hominibus conductis ad serviendum eis, et ad alia opera, vij li. xiij s. x d. Et pro ferro empto, cum stanbrod, spikyngh, schotnall, et aliis clavis et seris, cum clavibus et ligaturis twistis, iiij li. iiij d. ob. Et in calce empta per tempus compoti, v s. [23 items (some compound) omitted] Et in plumbo et capitibus conductus, et aliis emptis pro lotoriis factis in claustro, xxxvij s.' (Finchale 1367-8, Expense (printed Raine 1837b, App., lxxx-lxxxi)).

96. 'Et in novo vitro pro fenestra camere, xiij s. iiij d.' (Finchale 1368-9, Expense (printed Raine 1837b, App., lxxxiii)).

97. '... cameras et capellas infra cellam de Fynkhall noviter constructas ...' (Raine 1839, App., clxiv). Conceivably the payment of a debt of 9s 4d '... Johanni Gybson et sociis suis latomis ...' in 1387-8 (Finchale 1387-8, Soluciones Debitorum) may point to a building project then in hand or recently completed.

98. 'Item apud Fenchal non est infirmaria competens pro infirmis nec pro recreacione et carnium comescione ibidem est locus congrue ordinatus.' (M. C. 2645 (*comperta*, 1328), art. 11). Among the *detecta* of a later fourteenth-century visitation is a complaint apparently about the lack of facilities at Finchale, though its precise point is unclear (2.8. Pont. 12 (*detecta* of a Benedictine visitation, *c.* 1370)).

99. 'In solucione facta circa reparacionem navis ecclesie de Fynkall, videlicet carpentariis, sarratoribus, cum cariacione meremii, ut patet per papirum, vj li.' (Finchale 1427-8, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cxcvii)). This may provide the context for a substantial gift of Bishop Langley towards the nave roof, recorded in the Benefactions of the Bishops: '... nec non tecture navis ecclesie de Fyncall in plumbo precii xvij li. vj s. viij d... .' (M. C. 2622 (Raine 1835, 88)). The small gift of 6s 8d from the feretrar '... pro fabrica ecclesie de Fyncall ...' (Feretrar 1435-6, Expense Necessarie), may suggest that the nave renovations extended into the mid 1430s.

100. Finchale 1463-6, 1467-72, 1474-9, Expense. Masons were also employed between 1486 and 1496, though on an *ad hoc* basis rather than being paid a regular retainer, as they had been in the aforementioned accounts.

101. 'Et solvit Roberto Batmanson et Thome Watson latamis pro factura unius parve domus ad occidentalem finem ecclesie, xl s. Et Ricardo Shirewynt et Willielmo Johnson pro opere carpentario eiusdem domus, xviij s. Et Willielmo Kerwor pro le syloryng eiusdem domus, xvj d. Et Thome Shawdon pro vitriacione predicte domus, xviij s.' (Finchale 1464-5, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccxcvi)).

102. 'Et solvit pro j tabula nova empta pro altari Sancte Crucis, xlij s. viij d. Et solvit pro vitriacione trium fenestrarum in australi parte chori ibidem, Cxiij s. iiij d.' (Finchale 1464-5, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccxcvi)).

103. 'Et in reparacione facta super australem partem ecclesie de Fynkhall, x li.' (Finchale 1468-9, Expense (Raine App., 1837b, cccxi)).
'Et Thome Schaldon pro vitriacione unius fenestre supra altare sancte Marie in australi parte ecclesie de Fynkall, lxx s.' (Finchale 1469-70, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cccxiii)).

104. 'Et in reparacione facta super borealem partem ecclesie de Fynkall, vij li. x s.' (Finchale 1471-2, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cccxxii)).
'Et in operacione latamorum unius fenistre in ecclesia de Fynkhall, xj li. Et in vitro empto pro dicta fenistra, lxvj s. viij d.' (Finchale 1475-6, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cccxxxv)).
'Et solvit pro vitro, ac Thome Shawdon pro vitriacione unius fenestre in gabulo boreali ecclesie de Fynkall, Cxiij s. iiij d.' (Finchale 1476-7, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cccxxxviii)).

105. The stone (Pl. 157) is the only surviving Perpendicular tracery fragment from the site, and belonged to a window of some size and of at least three lights. Not only is the north transept facade the only identifiable documented context for a tracery of this style and size, but it seems to be the only place in the surviving buildings where such a window could have been located. For the survival of 'strong vertical' patterns of this general type into the late fifteenth century at Durham, see Chaps. V.B.2.1, VIII.C. I am grateful to Richard Stone for his comments on this fragment.

106. 'Et solvit Roberto Pety de Eboraco glasiario pro nova vitriacione cum le sowder et plumbo ac farramentis pro iij fenestris in fine orientali cancelle ecclesie de Fynkhall, lxv s. ij d. Et solvit Willielmo Blyth pro le rabytyng et factura staykfaldhollis, et replecione eorundem, ij s. ij d.' (Finchale 1488-9, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccclxxxiii)).

107. 'Et solvit Leonardo Hall operanti cum famulis suis infra tempus pro nova construccione domus Beati Godrici ac aliis operibus carpentariis factis apud Fynkhall et Dunelm., iiij li. vj s. j d. Et solvit pro plumbo, et nova tectura plumbea super predictam domum Beati Godrici, vj li. x s.' (Finchale 1490-1, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cccxc-cccxci)).

108. 'Et Johanni Thomson latamo pro factura j fenestre in claustro, x s. vj d.' (Finchale 1452-3, Expense).
'Et solut' Johanni Thomson mason pro factura unius fenestre in claustro de Fynkall, vij s.' (Finchale 1454-5, Expense Soluciones et Allocaciones).

109. 'Et solvit Roberto Batmanson et Thome Watson latamis pro factura camini et quatuor fenistrarum in aula, vj li. xvj s. viij d. Et solvit Thome Shalden pro vitriacione earundem fenistrarum, xxvij s.' [The next two references concern the purchase and dying of hangings to decorate the hall.] (Finchale 1459-60, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cclxxv)). Peers's plan indicates that he considered the western window in the north wall to have been an earlier fourteenth-century insertion.

110. 'Et solvit pro MMM tegulis emptis per tempus compoti, xviij s. Et solvit Thome Porter pro cariagio vj fothre earumdem ad diversa precia, v s. iij d. Et solvit Johanni Androweson et sociis suis pro nova tectura lateris borealis camere prioris et Douglestour, una cum aliis reparacionibus factis apud Fynkall et Dunelm. per tempus compoti, xxv s. vij d. [8 items omitted] Et solvit Thome Shawden pro vitriacione fenistrarum, videlicet, quinque luminum in camera prioris, xxiij s. iiij d.' (Finchale 1460-1, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cclxxix)).

111. 'Et solvit pro MMM tegulis emptis hoc anno, xviij s. Et in M asseribus emptis hoc anno, viij s. vj d. Et solvit Johanni Andrewson et sociis suis operantibus pro nova tectura unius camere vocate le Playerchambre ... [compounded] ..., xxiiij s. Et solvit pro factura le gutters predicte camere una cum xl petris plumbi pro eisdem, precium petre iiij d., xvj s. [next 4 items quoted in note 101; following 3 items omitted; next 2 items quoted in note 102] Et solvit Thome Hexham nunc priori pro erectione novi ostii et introitus ad aulam una cum erectione unius nove fenestre in aula, xl s.' (Finchale 1464-5, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccxcv-ccxcvi)).

112. 'Et solvit pro MM tegulis emptis de Johanne Sclatter, xij s. Et solvit Johanni Androwson pro MMMM tegulis, xxiiij s. Et solvit Thome Porter et Johanni Smyth pro cariagio xij plaustratarum earundem, x s. vj d. Et solvit Johanni Sclatter et sociis suis pro nova tectura unius orrei apud Fynkall, xxij s. Et eisdem pro punctuacione lateris borialis aule, et lateris australis camere prioris, et lateris orientalis camere hospicii, v s. viij d. [2 items omitted] Et solvit pro MM asserum, xviij s. Et solvit Willielmo Broune et Roberto Cornforth carpentariis operantibus apud Fynkall per xiiij dies in diversis necessariis, v s. [5 items omitted] Et solvit Willielmo Glasyer pro vitriacione fenistrarum, videlicet una fenistra in australi gabulo dormitorii, et alia fenistra in gabulo ecclesie de Mydlam, xvj s.' (Finchale 1466-7, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccci-cccii)).

113. 'Et solvit Leonardo Hall carpentario pro factura unius pentese ad cameram vocatam Dwglestour, ac pro le ywnnyng in dicta camera et in aliis diversis locis ibidem, xij s. Et Willielmo Glasyer de Novo Castro pro vitriacione fenestrarum, videlicet, in dicta camera, et in camera prioris, xxxij s.' (Finchale 1467-8, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cccv-cccvi)).

114. 'Et in xv fodres calcis emptis de Roberto Billey et aliis, cum cariagio usque Fynkhall, ad ij s., xxx s. Et solvit Leonardo Hall cum famulis suis, et Thome Ryhop cum uno famulo, operantibus infra tempus compoti, super deposicione veteris meremii dormitorii, et ereccione novi meremii, ac pro plumbo empto ad idem dormitorium, ac Cristoforo plummer pro nova tectura plumbia eiusdem, cum xxvj s. viij d. solutis Willielmo Blyth latamo, operanti super nova tabulacione gabulorum et emendacione murorum, ac dealbacione partis inferioris predicti dormitorii, lviij li.' (Finchale 1490-1, Expense (printed with minor errors Raine 1837b, App., cccxc)).

115. Jarrow (along with Monkwearmouth and Lytham) was referred to as a *manerium* in the *detecta* of a Benedictine visitation of *c.* 1370 (2.8. Pont. 12, art. 26).

116. The cusps of the heads of the lights of the east window, now gone, survived late enough to appear in the drawing by Blore (Pl. 164).

117. The earliest surviving account-roll dates only from 1340-1, almost certainly too late to expect to find documentary references to traceries of this type.

118. It appears on Grimm's drawing of *c.* 1780 (BL MS Add. 15540, no. 1), and was accepted as fourteenth-century by Hodgson (Hodgson 1906-11b, 141).

119. Hodgson dates it to the fourteenth century (Hodgson 1906-11b, 137).

120. For the location, compare the almost certainly contemporary window inserted at Pittington (see Chap. VII.B.2).

121. 'Item cuidam cementario pro una fenestra in cancello facta cum aliis necessariis emptis, xxiij s. x [d.]' (Jarrow 1350-1, Expense Facte (Raine 1854, 35)).
'In j fenestra in cancello vetreata cum stipendio vitreatoris, xv s. vij d.' (Jarrow 1351-2, [heading destroyed] (Raine 1854, 36)).

122. A window (nXVI) of identical size and tracery-pattern (Pl. 11) inserted into the cathedral at this time is said to have cost £14 (see Chap. III.A.4.2 and note 12).

123. 'Item in factura claustri cum tectura domorum, iiij li. ij s. viij d.' (Jarrow 1402-3, Expense (Raine 1854, 77)); Piper 1987, 15.

124. 'In primis in edificacione unius domus super portam et in punctuacione domorum cum solucione facta Johanni Morton operanti ibidem per xij dies capienti per diem iiij d., iiij s.' [11 more items relating to building or repair follow, of which only one demonstrably does not relate to the structure mentioned in the extract quoted above] (Jarrow 1453-4, Reparaciones (Raine 1854, 114)).
'Et sol' Johanni Wattson et Thome Warde lathomis pro factura unius fenestre et camini in nova camera iuxta ecclesiam cum cariacione lapidum pro eisdem, xxvj s. viij d.' [10 more items relating to building or repair also occur in this account, of which three demonstrably do not relate to the structure in the extract quoted above. It also records the purchase of hangings 'pro camera noviter facta iuxta ecclesiam'] (Jarrow 1456-7, Reparaciones (Raine 1854, 115-16)).

125. The other possible location for the chamber is the structure attached to the north-west end of the nave, though it is not clear whether this would have been described as a chamber; more probably it served some liturgical function, to judge by the elaborate window tracery shown in its south wall in the Bucks' engraving (Pl. 171).

126. 'Et in factione bovarie cum tegulis asseribus et brodd' et calce emptis hoc anno, xv li. ix s. vj d.' (Jarrow 1472-3, Expense).

127. 'In edificacione reparacione et factura unius tenementi in villa de Sheles infra tempus huius compoti ut patet per parcellas, xvij li. xvj s. vj d.' (Jarrow 1409-10, Expense); Piper 1987, 13.

128. Most notably: 1347-8; 1361-2; 1365-6; 1420-1; 1432-3; 1460-1; 1464-5; 1473-4; 1474-5; 1488-9; 1489-90 (see Fig. 11).

129. Compare, for example, the arcading of the lowest tier of the west front of Beverley Minster (Pl. 169), for the date of which, see Chap. IX.B.5.3.

130. It began between 1076 and 1078 (Piper [no date],1).

131. The proctor of Wearmouth is first mentioned in 1235 (Raine 1839, App., xl; Piper 1987, 5). Between 1369-70 and 1378-9 the accounts themselves refer to the buildings of the cell as a *mansio*, a term which stresses the non-conventual character of the buildings. It was also referred to as a *manerium* at this time (see note 115).

132. That in the north wall has now disappeared but is confirmed by Hutchinson (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, 501). The tracery of the two in the south wall represents an accurate replacement of what was found in 1872 (Hodgson 1896-1905b, 78-9; cf. Lowe [no date], fig. following 6).

133. 'Item in factura trium fenestrarum in choro ecclesie, vj li.' (Wearmouth 1347-8, Expense (Raine 1854, 150)).

134. Small scale excavations in the east range suggested that the seventeenth-century reconstructions in that area had been 'intensive and obliterating' (Cramp 1976b, 237).

135. Approximately twice as many of the Monkwearmouth accounts contain entries relating to building expenditure treated in some degree of detail (that is, graded higher than 2: see Appendix 2) compared to those from Jarrow (see Fig. 3).

136. 'Item in factura unius fenestre in camera, xxj s. vj d.' (Wearmouth 1391-2, Expense (Raine 1854, 180)).

137. 'Et in reparacione et tectura claustri usque ecclesiam, x [rest of amount missing]' (Wearmouth 1415-16, Expense (Raine 1854, 192)).

138. 'Et in expensis factis pro reparacione aule et camerarum cum empcione meremii apud Wessington wod pro eisdem, xx li. et ultra.' (Wearmouth 1505-6, dorse: Reparaciones facte et non allocate in compoto per confratrem dominum Henricum Dalton nuper magistrum ibidem infra domum et extra celle de Wermoth anno Domini ut supra (Raine 1854, 227)).

139. A third monk seems to have been present between 1427 and 1432, during the temporary closure of Jarrow (Piper 1987, 9 and n. 37); a great chamber is apparently mentioned in the account for 1423-4: 'Et carpentariis pro factione magni cameri [*sic*] [amount illegible]' (Wearmouth 1423-4, in Reparacione).

140. 'Et Willielmo Alanson pro reparacione murorum tectura straminia domorum et operanti in nova aula circa unum divisum ibidem factum, v s. v d.' (Wearmouth 1467-8, Expense (Raine 1854, 211)).

141. See particularly Wearmouth: 1361-2, Expense (Raine 1854, 156) and 1414-15, Expense (Raine 1854, 192) (major repairs to the great barn); 1452-3, Expense (Raine 1854, 207) (reconstruction of dovecote); 1457-8, Expense (Raine 1854, 209-10).

142. 'Et sol' pro nova factura aqueductus convehacione eiusdem infra les breuled et nova factura capitis eiusdem fontis, xiij li. xiij s. iiij d.' (Wearmouth 1505-6, Dorse: Reparaciones Facte et non Allocate ... [see note 138] (Raine 1854, 227)).

143. '... curia fere muro circumcingitur sufficienti' (Wearmouth, Status 1321 (Raine 1854, 141)).

144. 'Item in factura unius porte magne, lxv s. iiij d.' (Wearmouth 1390-1, Expense (Raine 1854, 180)).

145. I am grateful to Dr Frank Rogers for this suggestion.

146. They are of simple reticulated forms, a highly undiagnostic type (Pl. 143-50; see above, section E.2). Nevertheless, the occurrence of windows of this pattern in St Cuthbert's chapel on Farne (Pl. 135), again probably in conjunction with convergent mouchette forms (see above, section D.3), seems unlikely to be coincidental.

CHAPTER VII: THE APPROPRIATED CHURCHES

VII.A INTRODUCTION

The considerable number of churches appropriated to Durham Priory and its cells formed the core of its extensive spiritual estate. The geographical distribution of these properties, the dates at which they were appropriated, and the catastrophic falls in the income they produced from the early fourteenth century onwards, have already been discussed (see Chap. I.B.1, 2.1 and Appendix 4). Against this background of diminishing revenues, the attempt to analyse the priory's management of this portion of its estate from an architectural point of view may seem unlikely to yield substantial returns. The surviving remains of the chancels of these churches appear to support a negative prognosis, for extensive post-medieval restorations and rebuildings have taken a heavy toll. Of the priory's thirty appropriations in northern England and southern Scotland, only five now retain substantial traces of later medieval alteration, of which only two are north of Tees.[1] The main aim of the present chapter is therefore to assess the extent to which the documentary evidence relating to these churches can be used to counteract the post-medieval destruction of the material evidence and to build up a more balanced picture of the way in which the monastery managed this portion of its estate, and what its architectural implications were.

In the nature of the case it is difficult to assess the extent to which the diplomatic of the various accounts conceals evidence of alterations to chancels, though the continuing occasional occurrence of references to them throughout most of the relevant accounts suggests that serious distortions are unlikely. The two most obvious areas of concern are churches appropriated to cells, which often produced highly abbreviated accounts (see Chap. II.B.2.4), and the possibility that repairs might sometimes be delegated to the lessees of the tithes, as at Witton Gilbert in 1434-5 (see Chap. I, note 44). It seems unlikely that either case would result in the concealment of major works in the accounts, however, the history of chancels such as Eastrington and Giggleswick suggesting that such entries would appear, albeit only in summary form (see below, sections E.3, 4).

There are two respects in which the results of this analysis will be of particular interest. Firstly, it provides an opportunity to evaluate a claim often made about appropriated churches, but not subjected to systematic scrutiny, namely, that major works on their chancels would generally be carried out by masons from the monastery to which they were attached, and should therefore reflect any distinctive stylistic features current there (Atkinson 1947, 13;

Harvey 1984, p. 1). The priory's chancels are more numerous and more widely distributed than any other category of its property with architectural pretensions, and so constitute the best available body of evidence against which a diffusionistic theory of this kind can be tested, complementing the analysis of the cells undertaken in Chap. VI. Secondly, the priory's record in dealing with this category of its property had potentially substantial repercussions, as it was here that the monastery engaged most directly with the interests of the wider community: interests which, moreover, extended beyond parish and diocesan, for criticism of appropriation was a major theme of the dissenting voices in the later medieval church.[2] The evidence under consideration thus provides an opportunity to assess the extent to which such criticism may have been justified in the case of the monks of Durham.

VII.B: COUNTY DURHAM

VII.B.1 INTRODUCTION

Fate has not dealt kindly with the priory's nine churches between Tyne and Tees. Five of their chancels have been completely destroyed since the Reformation, and in three cases, Billingham, Kirk Merrington, and Hesleden, there is no visual record of their appearance. The chancels of Pittington and Elvet have also been completely renewed, but there are pre-restoration views of each from which at least a partial history of their fabrics can be deduced. Moreover, the chancel of a sixth church, Heighington, has been so extensively restored as to obliterate most of its medieval features; while, of the remaining three, the rebuilding of the upper parts of the east wall of Aycliffe has removed features which could otherwise have been correlated with the account-roll evidence. Only Dalton (Pl. 179) and Bishop Middleham (Pl. 180) remain comparatively unscathed, and from the point of view of the historian attempting to correlate documentary references with existing fabric, their survival could hardly have been less helpful, since the entries relating to them (with one possible exception in the former case),[3] involve no more than minor running repairs, thus only serving to confirm what the evidence of their fabric implies, namely, that no major alterations have taken place since they were built in the thirteenth century. In two other instances, Kirk Merrington and Hesleden, the documents similarly record nothing more than minor running repairs, but here the inference that nothing of consequence was done in the later Middle Ages must remain less secure, since the fabric does not survive to confirm it.[4] In any event, the evidence relating to the latter four chancels in the later Middle Ages is

insufficient to merit further discussion. As the chancels of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth were used and maintained by the monks serving the cells there, they have been discussed above (respectively Chap. VI.F.2, G.2). Of the parochial chapels maintained by various officials (see Chap. I, note 44), only in the case of the Magdalen chapel, Durham, do both documentation and some evidence of its appearance survive, and it alone will be treated in any detail below.

VII.B.2 PITTINGTON

The exceptionally complex history of the reconstruction of the east end of Pittington church in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has never been adequately elucidated in print.[5] For present purposes the most significant change came with the restoration of 1846, which entailed the complete demolition of the ancient chancel (Barmby 1880-9, 18, 20), the form of which can only be known through a pre-restoration plan and drawings (Pl. 182, cf. Pl. 183, 181).[6] The addition of a chapel on the north side of the chancel, itself demolished at some time prior to the latter's destruction, had involved the insertion of a two-bay arcade in its north wall (Barmby 1880-9, 19), probably in the early thirteenth century.[7] The former presence of one (perhaps two) blocked round-headed lancets in the south wall (Pl. 181) points to a mid to late twelfth-century date for the main fabric; the probable former existence of three separate windows in the east wall (Barmby 1880-9, 21, n. 21), and the long narrow proportions of the structure (Pl. 183) would also be consistent with such a date, as C. C. Hodges noted (Barmby 1880-9, 23).

The tract recording the works of Prior Fossor (see Chap. II.A.3.2) appears to ascribe the whole of the chancel to his efforts.[8] The loose phraseology of this document can, however, be demonstrated in other cases (see Chap. III.A.2, 4.1, and below, sections B.3, 5), and what can be inferred of the history of the chancel makes it clear that, as Barmby saw, major renovations rather than a complete reconstruction must be meant here (Barmby 1880-9, 21, n. 22). What features, if any, may have belonged to such an operation?

To judge from the surviving illustration (Pl. 181), there appear to have been diagonal buttresses at the eastern corners of the chancel, and if this interpretation is correct, such a form would be consistent with a date in Fossor's priorate (1341-74). More significantly, a large pointed-arched window, mentioned in a late eighteenth-century description of the church as being 'ornamented with tracery' (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, 585), is shown at the west end of the south wall. Barmby considered this to have been an early nineteenth-century

insertion (Barmby 1880-9, 19, n. 18), and while this is clearly true of its Georgian glazing-bars, the opening itself, and possibly also the Y-shaped framing-division, may well have been medieval survivals. If so, the window could not date from before the later thirteenth century. Moreover, it may have been the only major later medieval alteration to the fenestration of the chancel, as it seems that its east wall survived intact (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, 585; Barmby 1880-9, 19, n. 17), as did much of the south wall, the small square-headed opening shown towards the east end of the engraving not being diagnostically medieval, and alterations being less likely on the north side of the chancel, the western part of which was in any case taken up by the north chapel. The likelihood of major alterations during Fossor's priorate (see above) supplies a plausible context for the insertion of this window. Further, if its framing-division can be accepted as medieval, it implies a window of an even number of lights, most likely four to judge from its proportions; and four-light traceries are attested among the windows certainly attributable to Fossor's time, most notably those inserted into the choir aisles of the cathedral in the early 1360s (see Pl. 15, 16; Chap. III.A.4.1).

The surviving bursar's accounts from Fossor's priorate contain only references to minor repairs to Pittington chancel, so do nothing to confirm the above interpretation of the reference in Fossor's Works. Nevertheless, such alterations would normally have been accounted for by the bursar, so (unless they were paid for in an unusual way which by-passed his accounts) their absence more likely implies that they appeared on one of those no longer extant. As most of the gaps occur between 1361 and 1371, this evidence at least does not rule out the possibility of a link with the choir aisle traceries of the early 1360s suggested above.[9]

VII.B.3 AYCLIFFE

Beneath its unsympathetic nineteenth-century restoration, the late twelfth-century fabric of the chancel of Aycliffe survives substantially intact, though the south wall was entirely rebuilt in 1882 (Pl. 184, 185).[10] No material evidence of later medieval work now survives;[11] nevertheless, there is documentary evidence indicating that some alteration did take place in this period, the 'gable of the choir' being mentioned in Fossor's Works.[12] Late twelfth-century masonry still survives in the lower part of the east wall, so the alteration must have been confined to its upper parts. Hodgson suspected that this reference implied no more than the rebuilding of the gable proper (presumably in connection with reroofing), doubting whether, if the work had also entailed the insertion of a window, this would have needed to

be replaced by the eighteenth century with what was later described as a 'square modern sash' (Mackenzie and Ross 1834, II, 157).[13] On the other hand, unlike the case of Pittington discussed in the preceding section, the reference in the bursar's accounts on which the item in Fossor's Works is almost certainly based does survive in this instance, and includes a reference to glazing-work, which makes it likely (though not certain) that the insertion of a traceried window was involved.[14]

There is no evidence in the fabric or the documents to indicate that any other masonry alterations were carried out in the later Middle Ages.

VII.B.4 BILLINGHAM

The chancel of Billingham church has been rebuilt twice in recent times, in 1847 and 1939 (Pevsner *et al.* 1983, 96), so that no identifiable remains of the medieval fabric now survive. No plans from before this date are known to exist, and the only view appears as a glimpse in the background of a plate of the interior by Billings (Pl. 186); the accompanying text describes the chancel as early English and the roof as Perpendicular (Billings 1846, 22), the latter being borne out by the illustration. Unfortunately only the faintest hint of the embrasure of the east window appears in the engraving, so there is no evidence with which to correlate the series of references to the insertion of a window in this position in the mid fourteenth century.[15]

As at Aycliffe, there are no other indications in the surviving documentation of any other major alteration to the masonry of the chancel in the later Middle Ages. Nor does any documentary reference provide a context for the late medieval roof noted above.

VII.B.5 HEIGHINGTON

The chancel of Heighington church consists of a western rectangular chancel and a narrower square-ended eastern sanctuary (Pl. 187). The former is part of the main fabric of the church (Clack 1986, 73), and dates, from the form of the nave and chancel arches, to the earlier twelfth century; the latter is probably to be interpreted as a later twelfth-century extension. With the exception of a plain round-headed window in the north wall of the chancel, and two others, one in the north wall of the sanctuary (now blocked), and a more fragmentary (and perhaps later) one in its south wall, the fenestration is entirely nineteenth

century (Hodgson 1896-1905a, 16, note 19), presumably dating from the restoration of 1875 (Pl. 188).[16]

Heighington chancel is another of those included in Fossor's Works.[17] As Hodgson noted, the evidence of the fabric itself demonstrates that considerably less than a total rebuilding is meant (Hodgson 1896-1905a, 15, n. 18). It is likely, however, that the major alterations recorded in the bursar's account for 1365-6, of which Hodgson was evidently unaware, underlie this reference, in whole or in part.[18] The separate itemization of the glazing implies that *fenestra* is being used here in the sense of 'window opening'; which in turn suggests that *ostium* is probably intended to be taken in the parallel sense of 'doorway' rather than 'door'.

As a result of the extensive refenestration of the eastern parts of the church, the position of the window referred to in the 1365-6 account must remain doubtful. The costs indicate that it was a small one, however, and a possible candidate is the cusped lancet now built into the east wall of the organ-chamber added to the north of the west end of the chancel at the time of the 1875 restoration (Clack 1986, 73). This looks like old work (Pl. 189), and was presumably removed from the section of the medieval north wall demolished to join the vestry to the church. Though the costs are slightly higher, the identification is strengthened by its close resemblance to the window inserted into a similar position at Jarrow (Pl. 166), probably some years earlier (see Chap. VI.F.2). The rest of the expenditure must therefore be accounted for by the *ostium*, and the small, plain, single-chamfered doorway which survives in the south wall of the chancel (Pl. 190) may well be the feature referred to.

VII.B.6 ELVET

The church of the wealthy parish of Elvet holds an unique position among the appropriated churches in the county. By far the largest and grandest of them (Pl. 191), it is also mentioned more frequently in accounts than any of the others. Besides, its proximity to the priory (it now forms part of Durham city) ensured that it played a particularly intimate role in the affairs of the monastery, serving from time to time as the place at which young monks were presented for ordination (Dobson 1973, 64-5) and as the usual setting for the spiritual courts presided over by the official to whom the exercise of the prior's archidiaconal jurisdiction in the Durham diocese was entrusted (Dobson 1973, 139). This may help to

explain why, alone of the Durham churches, it benefited from a series of *ex gratia* payments, which means that there is some evidence relating to the history of this complex structure west as well as east of the chancel arch.

The chancel of St Oswald's was entirely rebuilt during the restoration which began in 1834 (Page 1907-28, III, 175), but the evidence of drawings and engravings (Pl. 194, 197, 198) suggests that, though some late medieval alterations were omitted (see below), the reconstruction was generally accurate with respect to the Decorated work of which the original was principally composed. *Prima facie*, it seems reasonable to identify this work with the substantial expenditure recorded in the hostiller's account for 1347-8.[19] But there are two possible difficulties. Firstly, there is a reference of 1355-6 to the reconstruction of four houses in Elvet which had been burnt '... at the time of the burning of St Oswald's church'.[20] This raises the possibility that whatever had been built in 1347-8 was burnt down again almost immediately. It seems unlikely, however, given the absence of other references to large building works in the accounts at a period when the diplomatic permitted a considerable amount of detail to be included and when the series survives all but complete (Fig. 7).[21] Moreover, it is not certain that the fire affected the chancel of the church; and even if it did, the reference of 1355-6 only yields a *terminus ante quem* for the fire, which may have taken place before 1347 and may, indeed, have occasioned the rebuilding of 1347-8. Secondly, the document refers to an enlargement of the church, while the drawings show an apparently homogeneous structure. But the east end may well represent an extension of the pre-existing fabric (perhaps following a fire) the north and south walls of which could have incorporated earlier walls with new windows inserted into them. There are no conclusive objections, then, to the identification of the work of 1347-8 with the Decorated work which the present chancel reproduces. This comprised an east wall with large diagonal buttresses, each with an image-niche, framing what was almost certainly a four-light reticulated east window, as at present (Pl. 198, 193), and a row of three windows in the south wall, each of two lights with a soufflet in the head (Pl. 198, 192). The construction of vestries at the time of the restoration may have meant that the fenestration of the north wall could not be reproduced as it had been before. There was probably at least one two-light window, as now, at its east end, and another at its west end.[22]

Other evidence suggests that an extensive remodelling of the rest of the church also took place at the same time as the work on the chancel. The south aisle wall of the nave was entirely rebuilt in the 1834 restoration (Page 1907-28, III, 175), but much of the north aisle

wall survives, and its eastern section contains three two-light Decorated windows with segmental heads and reticulation units, the westernmost completely renewed, the eastern two partly original (Pl. 195). The aisles were thus probably also renewed at this time, only the late twelfth-century chancel arch and four-bay arcades being retained from the earlier fabric. Moreover, it is clear that the *campanile* was also being rebuilt in the 1360s.[23] The present west tower dates from the fifteenth century, together with the western two bays of the nave. The term *campanile* may mean a bell-cote rather than a tower, so the form of the fourteenth-century work remains uncertain, as indeed does its location.[24] Considered as a whole, however, the evidence for an extensive reconstruction of the church in the twenty or so years after 1347 seems to confirm the hypothesis that the impetus came as a result of damage by fire. Moreover, it is tempting to see the rebuilding progressing from east to west, starting with the chancel in the late 1340s and ending with the *campanile* in the late 1360s.

In addition to the Decorated work, there is some evidence relating to fifteenth-century alterations and additions. A gift of 1426-7 supplies a *terminus ad quem* for the construction of the present tower.[25] The construction of the two western bays of the nave and the nave clerestory (Pl. 191) apparently formed an earlier phase of the same operation (but see note 24). A now lost inscription on the nave roof implied that it dated to around the second decade of the fifteenth century.[26] The tower, as seems likely *a priori*, would therefore have been the last part to be completed. Both the parapet of the clerestory and the tracery of its windows have been considerably simplified during restoration (Pl. 196, cf. Pl. 198). Moreover, the west window, renewed at this time, has tracery which looks more like nineteenth-century invention than a renewal of the medieval original (Page 1907-28, III, 175).

A new window was apparently inserted into the chancel during the early fifteenth century, as one described as new was being repaired in 1431-2.[27] If the reference implies tracery and not simply reglazing, the absence of detailed information about the elevation of the north wall of the chancel (cf. note 22) means that it cannot be located with certainty but the obvious candidate would be the three-light easternmost window of the south wall. This was not reinstated after the restoration, but it appears on an undated pencil sketch by Blore (Pl. 198, 285),[28] and is clearly Perpendicular in form. A major renovation of the chancel also took place in 1460-1.[29] The principal clue as to what this work involved is contained in the prominent role in it of William Kervor. This is almost certainly the man found engaged in 'syloryng' in an almost contemporary Finchale account (see Chap. VI, note 101). 'Syloryng'

is clearly an anglicized derivative of *celuratio*, having the sense of 'ceiling' or 'panelling' ((—) 1981, *s.v. celurare, celuratio*; cf. Raine 1837b, App., ccccl ('ornamenting')), and this (together, perhaps, with the evidence of the name itself) suggest that his function may have been primarily decorative. The manufacture of 'corbelles' by the priory mason John Knayth (see Chap. IX.B.11) and the reference to the 'demolition' of some part of the fabric both support the conjecture that the work of 1461-2 was principally concerned with the insertion or renewal of a carved wooden ceiling or roof.

VII.B.7 MAGDALEN CHAPEL, DURHAM

The surviving remains of this chapel contain hardly any diagnostic architectural features (Pl. 202). The small, simple, rectangular structure (Pl. 199) has a much more complex history than appearances might suggest, however, and this for two reasons. Firstly, there is clear documentary evidence that the building was relocated in the fifteenth century; and secondly, it seems that some features of the pre-existing fabric were reused in it.

A fourteenth-century reconstruction is recorded in the almoner's accounts for 1369-70 and 1370-1.[30] The account for 1371-2 is missing, but the payment for painting an image of the Magdalen recorded in 1370-1 suggests that the two extant accounts cover all the work between them. And (assuming that the fifteenth-century rebuild was approximately similar in size to its predecessor) the expenditure involved, £26 4s 9d, suggests that the fourteenth-century work must have involved substantial if not total reconstruction. A vignette of the chapel by Billings, published in 1846 (Pl. 200) shows the east wall with its tracery, of three lights with reticulation, largely intact. This pattern would make good sense as part of the 1369-71 works, being precisely paralleled almost exactly contemporaneously at Finchale, for example (Pl. 145, 146), but an earlier view by Grimm (Pl. 201) shows only stumps of tracery surviving,[31] implying that Billings's drawing is largely his own reconstruction. If he was correct,[32] the window is evidently an impossible form for the mid fifteenth century, so had presumably been reset in the reconstruction of that date.[33]

The almoner's account for 1432-3 records the underpinning(?) of the foundations of the chapel, part of which had apparently collapsed.[34] This may indicate the underlying problem which eventually led to the decision to rebuild the chapel on a new site, for which episcopal license was obtained in 1449 (Thompson 1869-79, 140). This reconstruction, which is recorded in considerable detail in the almoner's accounts between 1448 and 1450, cost a

little over £20, rather less than its fourteenth-century predecessor had done. This may be in part accounted for by the reuse of some of the features of the previous building, but also hints that the reconstruction was somewhat less pretentious than its predecessor had been.[35]

VII.C: NORTHUMBERLAND

VII.C.1 INTRODUCTION

The survival rate of the priory's seven appropriated churches in Northumberland is scarcely better than that for co. Durham. The church of Bedlington has been completely rebuilt, so that even its medieval plan remains uncertain,[36] while that of Ellingham is so extensively restored that no architectural features have survived. Unlike the situation with the co. Durham churches, there are scarcely any pre-restoration illustrations to act as even a partial corrective to this situation. The chancel of Branxton has also been completely rebuilt (Vickers 1922, 100-1). Originally appropriated to the priory's ephemeral cell at Warkworth (see Chap VI.A), it later accrued to the Durham bursar, but its appropriation was in effect a dead letter by the later Middle Ages, as all of its revenues had to be diverted to sustain the increasingly impoverished vicarage (Vickers 1922, 97-8), and no repairs to it are recorded in the bursar's accounts. It will not therefore be considered further here. The medieval fabric of the other four survives. In the cases of Bywell (Hodgson 1902, 107; Pl. 203-5) and Holy Island (Wilson 1870, 18-20; Pl. 206, 207), no later alterations seem to have been made to the extant early thirteenth-century work, though in the latter case there is evidence of later work in the nave which may be attributed to Durham influence (see Chap. VIII.B.1.1). The diplomatic of the Holy Island cell accounts is so heavily abbreviated that there is only a single reference (unfortunately compounded) to repair of any kind on the parish church,[37] so that its fabric in effect constitutes our only evidence, but at Bywell and Edlingham (where, however, extensive restoration has taken place (Knowles 1896-1905); Pl. 208-10) the evidence of the buildings themselves is confirmed by the occurrence of running repairs only in the account-rolls. This is also the case with the documentary evidence for Bedlington, so it seems likely that no significant alterations took place here either.[38] Thus it is only at Norham and Ellingham that either the documentary or the architectural evidence or both imply that major alterations took place in the later Middle Ages, and which therefore merit detailed discussion.

VII.C.2 NORHAM

Even in its present state, it is clear that the late twelfth-century church of Norham was one of the grandest of its date in the north (Pl. 211, 212). Most of the chancel of this period survives unaltered, except for the east bay, which has an east window of five lights and a two-light window in its north and south walls (Pl. 213, 214, 216).[39] Raine considered that the date of the east window could be inferred from the substantial payments to the abbey glazier for work at the churches of Norham and Ellingham in 1338-9.[40] There are difficulties with this identification, however, for there is no way of telling what proportion of the total was spent on Norham; while, even if this could be established, there are nine twelfth-century windows any of which could have been reglazed at this time besides the traceries at the east end. Moreover, assuming that later repairs to the east window (Raine 1852, 260, note) have not altered its essential form, its tracery (Pl. 213) is of late geometrical character, and may therefore be as early as *c.* 1300 on stylistic grounds. On the other hand, a date in the 1330s is not quite impossibly late, and may receive some support from the use of ogee forms in the soufflets in the heads of the two side windows, assuming that these are contemporary with the east window (Pl. 214, 216).[41] And as the series of proctor's accounts for the early fourteenth century is seriously defective, the documentary evidence relating to these windows may well not have survived.[42] The cryptic payment to a master Roger the mason at Norham in 1329-30 (see Chap. IX, note 1) may conceivably have been related to work on these windows, though its purpose is unspecified (so need not even have involved work on the church) and the amount is too small to be diagnostic. A possible alternative context pointing to a date earlier in the fourteenth century is provided by the Decorated tomb inserted into the north wall of the chancel (Pl. 215). If Raine was right to associate this with Sir William Riddell (Raine 1852, note on 261, 270), and this seems very likely given the reference to the proctor's expenses at Norham concerning his burial in the 1327-8 account,[43] the (comparatively unusual) honorific treatment accorded to this layman may indicate that he had been an important benefactor of the church, perhaps even that he had been responsible for the east windows of the chancel. Even if this speculation were right, the reference of 1327-8 provides only a *terminus ante quem* for their insertion, however, and not a precise date.

Two further alterations took place at Norham late in the Middle Ages. The first concerns the construction of '... a certain gable beside the choir' in 1449-50.[44] This is presumably to be associated with an alteration to the vestry which (like its nineteenth-century successor) formerly abutted the north wall of the chancel (Pl. 217). To judge from the sills

of the windows in the chancel north wall, which are higher than those on the south, this formed part of the original twelfth-century design. Finally, a series of payments between 1500 and 1504 shows that a renovation of the chancel, apparently involving primarily its re-roofing, was then undertaken. Unfortunately there are no identifiable traces of work of this period in the fabric as it survives today.[45]

VII.C.3 ELLINGHAM

The medieval church of Ellingham has been almost completely obliterated by successive rebuildings in the eighteenth and mid nineteenth centuries (Pl. 219), though some medieval masonry, described by Wilson as 'Early English', allegedly survives in the chancel walls, which would at least be sufficient to indicate that the present chancel followed the dimensions of its medieval predecessor (Wilson 1870, 79-80; Pl. 218).[46]

The chancel was extensively reconstructed in 1487-8, as a detailed series of entries relating to the work testifies.[47] As with the major early sixteenth-century work at Norham discussed above, some of the materials were exported from the Tyne, and workmen attested elsewhere as being in the priory's employment were used for the most part, including the priory glazier and plumber, and probably also the mason in charge.[48] The substantial amounts of masonry involved indicate that this was a major undertaking, which also involved a doorway, three windows, the altar and step, and a wooden tabernacle to house an image of the patron saint, St Maurice. There was also an image of the Holy Cross, but the account leaves it uncertain as to whether this was an image in glass or a sculpture; if the latter, it may have surmounted the chancel screen. The total expenditure amounted to at least £37 15s 2d. The church thus enjoyed the distinction of being the only one of the priory's appropriations north of the Tees known to have undergone major building works at the end of the Middle Ages - a rare privilege indeed, considering the dearth of building activity of any kind in the parish churches of Northumberland in the century and a half before the Reformation.

VII.D: SCOTLAND

The priory's appropriations north of Tweed (Fig. 14), like most of those further south, were carried out early, before the later thirteenth century (Barlow 1950, 130, n. 1). The rich parish of Coldingham was devoted to the sustenance of the cell, but, unlike the situation

at Holy Island, there was no separate parish church, the parishioners presumably using the nave altar of the priory church. The lion's share of the other rectories (Holy Trinity Berwick, Fishwick, Lamberton, Old Cambus, Swinton, and a moiety of Edrom, all in Berwickshire, and Stichill in Roxburghshire) was also assigned to Coldingham. The remaining moiety of Edrom, together with Ednam and Earlston in Roxburghshire, were appropriated to the Durham bursar. Coldingham apart, only two of these rectories, Berwick and Edrom, were of much value even before the onset of the Scots wars (Raine 1841, App., cxiii-cxiv).

The documentary evidence relating to these churches is too insubstantial to permit of detailed treatment. That relating to the Coldingham appropriations is limited not only by the destruction of some of the prior's accounts and by the often uninformative diplomatic of those which do survive, but also chronologically by the periods at which Durham monks were not in effective control of their cell and its possessions (see Chap. VI.B.1). Moreover, the bursar's Scottish appropriations were administered by the proctor of Scotland, who was usually a Coldingham monk, and to judge from the lack of surviving accounts of this official later than 1376-7 and, more tellingly, from the lack of references to those parts of the estate in the bursar's accounts after that time, they seem to have slipped permanently from Durham's control after the ejection of the monks from Coldingham in 1378.

The material evidence is, if anything, even more limited in scope than the documentary sources, some churches having been entirely rebuilt since the Middle Ages, such as Berwick (Pevsner and Richmond 1957, 89), Swinton (RCAHMCS 1915, 156-8), and Stichill (RCAMS 1956, II, 434), while others, like Old Cambus (also known as Aldcambus) (RCAHMCS 1915, 25), have been so altered as to preserve hardly any medieval fabric. Following the Scottish tendency to abandon medieval structures as places of worship while retaining the graveyard, others, such as Lamberton (RCAHMCS 1915, 152) and Edrom (RCAHMCS 1915, 80-1, fig. 78), survive as fragmentary and deserted ruins, while still others, notably Fishwick (RCAHMCS 1915, 99), Earlston (RCAHMCS 1915, 76), and Ednam (RCAMS 1956, I, 134), have completely disappeared above ground.

Despite the severe limitations of the evidence, it is worth noting that, until the cataclysm of the later 1370s, the documents indicate that a conscientious effort was made to keep at least some of the appropriated churches in repair. Thus, besides minor repairs at Earlston,[49] and Old Cambus,[50] the Durham bursar spent comparatively substantial amounts on Ednam, probably in the 1330s,[51] and again in the 1360s.[52] Expenditure of several rather

smaller amounts is recorded for Edrom at much the same period.[53] The bursar was jointly responsible with the prior of Coldingham for this chancel, yet there is only one mention of a repair in the surviving Coldingham accounts. This *prima facie* contrast is much more likely to reflect the more terse diplomatic of the latter than a more parsimonious repairs policy, however; on similar grounds, the absence of references to Coldingham's other rectories need not be taken to imply that they were being unduly neglected. Indeed, in the case of Coldingham's wealthiest church, Berwick, it seems that expenditure may have gone beyond the requirements of essential repairs, for the making of a new window is recorded in 1368-9.[54] Unfortunately the entry is compounded, but it may imply the insertion of a new tracery, particularly as work of precisely this nature was in progress at Coldingham itself during these years (see Chap. VI.B.2). The spate of building activity at Coldingham may also have provided the impetus for the reconstruction of St Abb's chapel in Coldingham parish, to which the Coldingham sacrist contributed £1 in 1371-2 and £2 13s 2d in 1372-3.[55] It is not clear whether this refers to St Abb's Kirk or St Ebba's chapel on St Abb's Head, but as both consist now only of foundations the scope and architectural significance of the reconstruction can no longer be established.[56]

VII.E: YORKSHIRE

VII.E.1 INTRODUCTION

By the Dissolution, there were six churches in Yorkshire appropriated to Durham Priory or its cells. Three of these, Eastrington and Northallerton, which were assigned to the bursar, and Giggleswick, assigned to Finchale, had been appropriated before the end of the thirteenth century (see Appendix 4). The medieval chancels of Eastrington and Giggleswick still survive, but that of Northallerton has been entirely rebuilt in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the documentary evidence relating to it is sufficiently important to warrant detailed discussion along with the other two. Of the remaining three, Bossall and Fishlake were assigned (together with two other rectories, Frampton in Lincolnshire and Ruddington in Nottinghamshire),[57] to Durham College Oxford at the time of its refoundation in the 1380s (Dobson 1973, 348-9), while Brantingham in Yorkshire was appropriated to supplement the college's income in 1458 (Dobson 1973, 351). The pattern of appropriation in Yorkshire thus differs from the areas north of Tees, in that here fully half of the appropriations were only

effected late in the Middle Ages, and were, moreover, the responsibility of a Durham dependency situated at a considerably greater distance from the sources of its income than was the case with any of the priory's other appropriating officials.

The accounts of Durham College survive with only minor lacunae from 1389 until 1496, when there is a major gap of more than forty years until the Dissolution. With this (admittedly substantial) limitation, the record of repairs and alterations to the college's appropriations survives comparatively well. Of the three in Yorkshire, Brantingham will not be discussed further, as it was substantially rebuilt in the nineteenth century (Pevsner 1972, 195-6), and references to it in the accounts during the period of rather less than forty years for which evidence is available relate only to minor running repairs. The surviving documentary evidence relating to Bossall and Fishlake is more extensive, yet it is notable that, though running repairs seem to have been carried out regularly at both churches, there is no evidence of substantial expenditure of the kind which might indicate major alterations.[58] At Bossall, where the existing aisleless chancel cannot date from after *c.* 1300 on stylistic grounds (Pevsner 1966, 83) and there is evidence of only very minor later alterations (Pl. 220), the material evidence seems to accord with that of the documents.[59] This is not so at the much wealthier rectory of Fishlake, however, so, alone of the Oxford appropriations, its chancel will be reserved for more detailed analysis.

VII.E.2 NORTHALLERTON

The present chancel of Northallerton dates entirely from 1883-5 (Pl. 222), itself replacing a rebuild of the medieval one in 1779 (Hutchinson 1785-94, III, 431; Page 1914, 427). According to the *Victoria County History*, the present structure is some 15 feet shorter than its medieval predecessor (Page 1914, 427). If so, it would originally have measured some 62 by 22 feet, a scale befitting the rest of the church the fabric of which had, by the later Middle Ages, emerged as the grandest of all those appropriated to the priory.

The medieval chancel seems to have occupied the site of its later replacement only in the early thirteenth century, when the church assumed a cruciform plan with central tower.[60] What survived in essentials until the late eighteenth century, however, is said to have been an early fourteenth-century reconstruction, perhaps following damage incurred during fighting with the Scots in the area in 1322, for royal protection for a proctor to collect alms for its repair was obtained in 1323.[61] It must be stressed, however, that there is no clear

evidence that the damage specifically affected the chancel, and that the evidence on which the *Victoria County History* bases its assertion that the chancel was '... entirely rebuilt and considerably lengthened ...' (Page 1914, 426) at this time are not made explicit; in so far as it depends on the assumption that tracery fragments then surviving on the site belonged to an east window of this period (ibid.), however, it should be treated with caution, given the documentary evidence for a renewal of the east window later in the fourteenth century discussed below.[62] Unfortunately, the lacuna in the bursar's accounts between 1319 and 1329 makes it impossible to corroborate the hypothesis of a major early fourteenth-century reconstruction. Since nothing other than running repairs appear in the accounts between 1329 and 1346, however, only one of which, for 1331-2, is missing, any building would almost certainly have taken place before that date.[63] That major works of some kind were undertaken in the 1320s seems likely in the light of the chance survival of an acquittance of 1327 between the prior and convent and Robert de Blaykestret of York, glazier, concerning his payment for the erection of windows in the chancel of Northallerton (M. C. 3801). Though this document does not actually specify that the glazing was undertaken in connection with a major renovation involving the insertion of new glazing rather than the repair of an existing scheme, this is probable on two counts. First, the very existence of this document would be unlikely in any other circumstances, since routine work on the windows at Northallerton appears to have been done by glaziers in the employ of the priory sent down from Durham,[64] and it is surely significant that the only other occasion on which a non-priory glazier - also from York - is known to have worked on this chancel was for the glazing of a major new window (see note 65). Second, the fact that the terms of the contract referred to by this acquittance mentions the payment of a robe, a feature which can be paralleled in other contracts with master-craftsmen, supports the hypothesis that Robert was a master-glazier, and it is most unlikely that the priory would have undertaken the expense of securing the services of a man of such high degree unless there was a major project in hand (see Chap. IX.A). What the document does not reveal, of course, is whether the chancel had been provided with any new traceries which were then being glazed, or whether the reglazing was confined to pre-existing, perhaps much older, openings.

Whatever the precise scope of the works of the 1320s, the chancel received another major alteration, the principal feature of which comprised the insertion of a new east window, half a century later, in 1376-8.[65] It is not impossible that, for reasons not now recoverable, an east window of the 1320s had required replacement only half a century later; given the context for work of this kind provided by other appropriated churches in co. Durham in the

mid fourteenth century, however, where there can be no question that an older fabric was being upgraded (see above, sections B.3, 4), the nature of this work suggests that more of the thirteenth-century fabric may have survived, and that the supposed early fourteenth-century rebuilding may have been less extensive, than the account in Page 1914 suggests.

A major (though, alas, unspecified) repair costing £12 3s is recorded in 1399-1400.[66] This may have been the first in a series of major Perpendicular alterations which were to transform the appearance of the whole church in the first half of the fifteenth century. Chief among these was the rebuilding of the central tower (Pl. 221), together with the crossing-piers and the arches from the nave aisles into the transepts.[67] Large windows were also inserted into both transept facades and the west wall of the nave, and the aisles were reconstructed (Page 1914, 427-9). Of these features, only the south transept south window furnishes any dating evidence, since it contains the arms of Robert Neville, Bishop of Durham (1438-57) (Pevsner 1966, 270). The account-roll evidence throws some light on the situation, however: between 1406-7 and 1425-6 the profits of the prior's jurisdictional franchise in Allertonshire were assigned, as a form of *ex gratia* payment, to the fabric of the church over a period of nineteen years (Bursar 1406-7 to 1418-19, Varia Recepta; 1419-20 to 1425-6, Perquisita Jurisdictionis et Synodalia).[68] The precise purpose of these payments is not usually stated, being simply described as for the fabric, but the 1406-7 payment is specified as having been assigned by the prior to the bell-tower.[69] There is no means of knowing how long the tower took to complete, nor whether any of the other alterations were taking place simultaneously, and it is uncertain what number, if any, of the unspecified payments were also assigned to the tower, though this reference does at least provide it with a *terminus ad quem.*

The profits of jurisdiction for two further years, 1419-20 and 1420-1, are also specifically assigned, this time to the fabric of the chancel.[70] A further *ex gratia* payment, from Durham College Oxford, was made for this purpose in 1430-1.[71] These cannot be taken to imply that the chancel was undergoing renovation throughout the intervening years, however, as the choir is only mentioned once in the bursar's accounts of this period, and then only to record a routine repair to the roof (Bursar 1425-6, Reparaciones Domorum). A possible context for the earlier references may be indicated by payments in the terrar's accounts between 1417 and 1419 for paving the choir.[72] Unfortunately, the bursar's account for 1430-1 is missing, so if the Oxford 1430-1 *ex gratia* payment had any context in a programme of more extensive repairs carried out that year, this cannot now be established.

It may well have been associated with the ceiling or panelling work mentioned in the next year's account, however.[73] The final record of a major modification to the chancel occurs in 1480-1, when a buttress was constructed on the north side of the choir at a total cost of £6 15s 9d.[74]

VII.E.3 EASTRINGTON

The ground-plan of the chancel of Eastrington church consists of a three-bay aisled rectangle. The medieval sequence of construction is highly complex, but the stratigraphy is further complicated by the collapse of the north arcade in 1632 and its replacement in timber, only the east respond and the eastern of the medieval piers surviving (Pl. 223).[75] The chancel also has a clerestory, the windows of which on the north side, above the seventeenth-century arcades, resemble those still *in situ* on the south, but are less regularly set out, so have presumably been rebuilt using the old materials (Pl. 225-7). The windowless brick east wall of the south aisle must also be post-medieval (Pl. 226).

It is not easy to date what survives of the medieval chancel arcades, but it seems clear on stylistic grounds that they are not later than the early fourteenth century, though parts, particularly the quatrefoil-shaped easternmost freestanding pier of the south arcade (Pl. 224), may be of thirteenth-century date (Pevsner 1972, 221).[76] The north and south walls of the chancel aisles each contain two square-headed windows. Those in the north wall (Pl. 225) are of three lights with reticulated tracery, which is probably contemporary with the early fourteenth-century work in the arcades. There is another of the same size and pattern in the east wall of this aisle. In the south aisle, the western of the two in the south wall has four ogee-headed lights and may be of similar date (Pl. 227). The eastern one, with three round-headed trefoil-cusped lights, is of early Perpendicular character (Pl. 226). The east window itself, of three lights with a pointed head and straight-reticulated tracery, is also early Perpendicular in form (Pl. 228). The clerestory windows, of which there are three on each side, are all square-headed and of three cinquefoil-cusped lights, that is, a mature Perpendicular form (Pl. 225-7).

It is evident stratigraphically that there are at least two phases of Perpendicular alterations, the insertion of the three-light east window preceding the addition of the clerestory, since the outer angles of the topmost parts of the east gable have been raised using the same large rectangular ashlars with which the clerestory walls are constructed. This

masonry contrasts markedly with the small ashlars of the upper section of the east wall, which must be contemporary with the east window, and which show clear evidence of the steeper pitch of the roof of that phase. The lower parts of the east window have in turn been inserted into fabric of late twelfth-century character (Pl. 228). This represents the earliest surviving phase, and shows that the chancel of that date, though presumably as yet aisleless, already extended as far east as at present.[77]

This exceptionally complex structure thus appears to have consisted of an aisleless twelfth-century chancel to which three-bay arcades and aisles had been added by the early fourteenth century, though the process may have begun in the thirteenth. The square-headed reticulated traceries in the aisle walls probably represent the early fourteenth-century fenestration of the aisles. Stylistically later alterations consisted of the insertion of the east window, and the one at the east end of the south wall, followed by the addition of a clerestory, and so presumably also involving the reroofing of the chancel.[78]

In the case of the Decorated work, no evidence of a major reconstruction can be detected in the surviving early fourteenth-century accounts but, as at Northallerton, this may be due to the lacuna in the bursar's accounts between 1319 and 1329. It is just conceivable that a payment in the next surviving account represents the conclusion of alterations mentioned in the lost accounts, but it may equally well indicate only a routine repair.[79]

The insertion of the east window (Pl. 229) is probably the one referred to in the account for 1365-6.[80] There are two possible objections to this identification. First, the date may be considered too early for a window in the Perpendicular style. But the arrival of Perpendicular in Yorkshire is firmly dated by the commencement of the Lady chapel of York Minster in 1361 (Pevsner 1972, 24); while the form of the tracery, with its straight-sided elongated reticulation units, is characteristic of the earliest phases of Perpendicular (see further Chaps. VIII.D, IX.B.6.3). Second, another major repair, including the glazing of a window, is documented in 1384-5.[81] But there is nothing in this reference which need imply the insertion and glazing of a new window;[82] and it seems most unlikely that the east window would have needed replacing in less than twenty years. It seems therefore that the identification must stand.[83]

The last major renovation of the fabric, involving the addition of the clerestory (Pl. 226) and also the re-roofing of the central part of the choir (see note 78), can probably

be connected with two references from the years 1480-2. Though the nature of the work is not specified, it is difficult to see what other alterations could explain the considerable amounts of money involved.[84]

The provision of a traceried eastern window has obvious parallels in the updating of the fabric of many of the priory's churches in this period, and can be paralleled in county Durham as well as at other appropriations in Yorkshire. The addition of a clerestory seems to have a more specific regional context, however, being paralleled at another of the priory's Yorkshire appropriations, Fishlake (see below, section E.5). It is rare in any context north of Tees, however, and virtually unparalleled over chancels.

VII.E.4 GIGGLESWICK

The fabric of the church of St Alkelda, Giggleswick, is entirely Perpendicular in character. There is no arch or other structural division between chancel and nave, the only architectural expression of the distinction being that the chancel is lower, lacking a clerestory (Pl. 230, 232). The nave consists of five bays with aisles and clerestory. The chancel has a two-bay arcade on its south side, the aisle into which this opens running the whole length of the main vessel (Pl. 232). The north side, however, has only a single arch at its west end (Pl. 233), and though the aisle runs on eastwards behind the solid eastern part of the north chancel wall, it terminates slightly west of the east end of the chancel and south aisle (Pl. 231).

The western tower must be earlier than any other part of the fabric, since the nave clerestory abuts it (Pl. 234), and the raggle of an earlier roof-line, dating from a time when the nave lacked a clerestory, is visible internally. This could imply that only the clerestory is later than the tower, but that is unlikely, since the form of its windows, straight-headed with two trefoil-cusped lights, is exactly like all the others in the nave and choir, and contrasts with the west window of the tower, which is the only one in the entire building with full tracery, and is clearly an integral part of the fabric (Pl. 235). Moreover, the west walls of both nave aisles also abut the tower (Pl. 234). Since the chancel is demonstrably late fifteenth century (see below), and since nave and chancel form a stylistic as well as a structural unity, the only possible inference is that the tower is a survival from an earlier fabric.

A new *campanile* was under construction in 1449-50, when an *ex gratia* payment was made to the work.[85] This project may still have been in progress in 1453-4, when another *ex gratia* payment was made, either for a bell or the structure in which it was housed.[86] These references may well be associated with the existing tower, since it will be argued below that the chancel, and therefore by association the nave, was reconstructed later in the fifteenth century, and a mid fifteenth-century date would not be at all impossible stylistically.

In 1464-5, the east gable of the chancel was reconstructed and a new east window glazed.[87] It may be that this dates the present east window. Its form, straight-headed and of six lights with shallow segmental heads and trefoil cusps, is of the same general type as all the other windows in the nave and chancel which, as will be argued below, date from less than twenty years later (Pl. 231, 230). The precise form of the heads of its lights and its cusping differs slightly from that in the other windows, however, perhaps indicating that it is slightly separated in time. The lower part of the east end of the chancel is certainly earlier than the rest, since both the south chancel aisle, which dates from later in the fifteenth century (see below), abuts it (Pl. 230), and the diagonal buttress at its north-east corner, which is clearly added, has a weathering at its base the profile of which is the same as the buttresses at the south-east corners of the east wall and the south chancel aisle (Pl. 231); it also returns along the north wall of the chancel, and is in turn abutted by the east wall of the north chancel aisle. The masonry of the east wall of the chancel may thus date from 1464-5 on the grounds that it is stratigraphically earlier than the late fifteenth-century parts of the fabric which abut it; or the east window may itself have been inserted into a wall which was older still. On the other hand, the 1464-5 reference does not specifically mention the fabric of the window, and the total expenditure involved, £3 5s for the reconstruction and £4 for the glazing, seems low for a window of this size, even given its simple form. The next account, for 1465-6, is missing, however, so any record of further expenditure which it may have contained will have been lost. All in all, then, the 1464-5 reference cannot be used with any confidence to date the existing east window, though it cannot be ruled out.[88]

Whatever the ambiguities surrounding the date of the east window, there can be no doubt that the bulk of the present chancel is what was rebuilt between 1477 and 1487.[89] The east window may also have been part of the work of this time, and the 1464-5 alteration would then have to be seen as a repair which proved insufficient to prevent a more extensive reconstruction shortly afterwards. The nave must also have been reconstructed as part of this same campaign, since the detailing of its windows and arcades is not only exactly like that

of the chancel, but the absence of a chancel arch dividing the two means that they form a structural unity also (Pl. 232).

VII.E.5 FISHLAKE (Pl. 237)

The chancel of St Cuthbert's, Fishlake, preserves a late twelfth-century doorway and associated masonry in its south wall (Pl. 238). In the thirteenth century it acquired a three-bay arcade on the north side (Pl. 239). Extensive alterations in the Decorated style took place, presumably around the mid fourteenth century, involving the demolition of the eastern two bays of the north chapel, leaving a single-bay chapel at the west end; another was constructed on the south side to balance it (Pl. 238, 239). The church was also extensively refenestrated in this period, including the insertion of an elaborate seven-light east window (Pl. 240). This must have been the state which the fabric had reached by the time it was appropriated in the 1380s.

The principal later medieval modification to the chancel was the addition of a Perpendicular clerestory of three-light windows, three on the south side (Pl. 242) and two on the north (Pl. 239),[90] involving the heightening of the east gable and the lowering of its roof-pitch (Pl. 240). The chancel must therefore have been reroofed (presumably with the existing plain late medieval roof) as part of this work. None of the extant accounts contains any entries which could be correlated with the work, however, so it either took place later than 1496, after which there is a lacuna in the Oxford accounts for more than forty years, or in one of the few years earlier in the fifteenth century for which accounts have not survived. The former is by far the likelier, as an inscription formerly on the tomb-chest of Richard Marshall, vicar 1496-1505, and recorded by Dodsworth, asserted that the chancel and vestry were built in his time.[91]

VII.F: DISCUSSION

VII.F.1 THE QUANTITY OF ALTERATION

The most striking result of this study of the documentary evidence relating to the priory's appropriations is that the quantity of architecturally significant modifications which were carried out in the two centuries before the Dissolution is considerably greater than the surviving material and graphic evidence would lead one to suppose, or than could ever be

revealed by any other means, many of the works being above-ground alterations, and therefore irrecoverable archaeologically. This must immediately be qualified by the observation that only a small number of chancels underwent substantial reconstruction in the two centuries before the Dissolution. Eastrington, Elvet, Fishlake, and Giggleswick certainly; Norham if its east end dates from within this period; and probably also Ellingham, to judge from the record of the works. What is more, there seem to have been at least as many at which the fabric received no modification whatever. At Bywell St Peter, Dalton-le-Dale, Edlingham, Holy Island, and perhaps also Bossall, this can be inferred from the surviving fabric, but the documentary record suggests that it may also have been the case at Bedlington, Hesleden, and Kirk Merrington; it was also very likely so with the poor rectories north of Tweed, and would have been so even had the priory managed to retain possession of them beyond the late fourteenth century. Most of the others received only comparatively modest alterations, such as the insertion of a traceried window, but otherwise retained the fabric essentially as it had been before the early fourteenth century.

The generally severe decline in the monastery's income from its appropriations in the later Middle Ages, which must have tended to produce a climate in which the monks felt less and less inclined to spend any money on their chancels, has already been noted (see Chap. I.B.2.1). But while this must go some way towards accounting for the fact that comparatively minor alterations were most common among the priory's chancels, and major modifications remained rare, it does not explain why some were altered while others were not, nor why some received far more alteration than others. Moreover, one explanation which may seem obvious *prima facie* can be shown to be of only limited value. It might have been supposed that the amount expended on the fabric of a chancel would be directly related to the income its rectory yielded, but the position was clearly much more complex. Thus the value of the bursar's rectory of Eastrington declined more dramatically than most (Dobson 1973, 271), yet both documentary and material evidence show that expenditure on its chancel was unusually lavish, not least in the late fifteenth century, at precisely the time when its value had declined to its lowest point. Conversely, Heighington declined less in value than many other rectories, and was worth substantially more than Eastrington for the last century before the Dissolution (Dobson 1973, 271), yet received only very minor modifications. In fact it seems that, in so far as the decline in revenue from a particular rectory had any impact on the chancel associated with it, the correlation was not direct, but was rather a function of the overall capacity of the various monastic officials to compensate for dwindling revenues, and this capacity varied considerably. In particular, the smaller obedientiaries and heads of cells,

who were struggling to fulfil the obligations of their offices on meagre and often diminishing incomes (see Chap. I.B.2.1 and note 33), must have found it more difficult to find the surpluses necessary to contemplate works over and above essential repairs. This may help to explain the fact that many of the surviving chancels with no later medieval alterations (as well as several no longer extant for which no major alterations are documented) were appropriated to officials regularly in this position. For example, there is little evidence that the sacrist, whose prime (and frequently demanding) responsibility was inevitably the maintenance of the cathedral church itself, ever spent much on his appropriations of Edlingham, Bedlington, or his portion of Bywell St Peter, the tithe-income of which had in any case declined particularly severely (Lomas 1973, 244). The other portion of the latter was appropriated to the communar (the monastic official who looked after the monks' common room), who was little better off. Again, there is no evidence of alterations to Dalton-le-Dale, appropriated to another modestly endowed official, the chamberlain. The same presumably applied to the parish church of Holy Island, which must have been a comparatively low priority for the hard-pressed adjacent cell. On the other hand, apart from a few periods of exceptional stringency (see Chaps. I.B, III.C), the bursar's overall income was sufficiently extensive and its sources sufficiently diverse to enable him to afford substantial (though occasional) expenditure on several of his chancels whether or not the revenue from that particular rectory was sufficient to meet the costs. The same is true of Elvet, appropriated to the comparatively wealthy Hostiller, and Giggleswick, appropriated to Finchale, the wealthiest of Durham's cells in this period. Durham College Oxford was also sufficiently well endowed to fund occasional expenditure of this order (Dobson 1973, 309). It is particularly noteworthy that the three Yorkshire churches at which extensive works were carried out in the fifteenth century were all appropriated to officials who come into the latter category.

The discussion so far has gone some way to accounting for the variation in the amount of modification which the various priory chancels underwent in the later Middle Ages. But the differing capacities of the various monastic officials to cope with the decline in their revenues obviously cannot completely account for the evidence, for there is also considerable variation in the treatment of the various churches appropriated to a single official, the bursar. To take the example noted above, it still remains to be seen why so much more was spent on Eastrington than on Heighington. The evidence of the bursar's appropriations seems to suggest that the location of a church may have been a significant determinant of the amount of alteration it received, since renovations of any kind were

evidently rare north of Tyne, modest renovations fairly numerous in co. Durham, and extensive works only common south of Tees.

Two possible explanations for this state of affairs may be tentatively suggested. First, there are indications that building north of Tyne may have been logistically more difficult than in the areas further south throughout this period, as it is clear from the accounts that workmen as well as building-materials were sent up from Durham as far as the Tweed to carry out repairs and alterations (see notes 45, 47-8). This seems to have happened only rarely south of Tees, however, works there often being organized by the vicars or the farmers of the tithes, which in itself suggests that it was much easier to obtain such goods and services locally in Yorkshire than was the case for the priory's northern properties. The extent to which the styles of the late medieval alterations to the Yorkshire chancels differ from one another, though carried out almost contemporaneously, confirms the impression of local recruitment given by the documents (see further below).

The lack of available craftsmen will not account so readily for the contrast between the treatment of the co. Durham and Yorkshire chancels, however. The key here seems to lie rather in the nature of the architectural changes to the Yorkshire churches as a whole in this period. It is particularly striking that, in each of the three surviving Yorkshire chancels with extensive late medieval alterations, work in the same style is present both east and west of the chancel arch. Thus the clerestories added to Eastrington and Fishlake use the same form of window in the chancel as in the nave (Pl. 241, 242), which strongly suggests that there was close co-operation between the appropriator and the parish over the work;[92] while, in the case of Giggleswick, this is virtually certain, for there the late medieval rebuilding omitted a chancel arch, and the nave and chancel arcades form a stylistic and structural unity (Pl. 232). The stylistic evidence for (comparatively) local recruitment of masons, and for the employment of the same masons by both rectors and parishioners, together with the apparent willingness of the latter to spend large amounts on their parts of the churches, combines to suggest that the initiative for these reconstructions is likely to have come from the laity (perhaps in association with the vicar), rather than from the appropriator.

This situation becomes more easily understandable given the frequency with which rectorial tithes were farmed in the later Middle Ages since, as Savine has rightly stressed, this might result in the farmer acquiring the status of an absentee landlord with little direct contact with its churches (Savine 1909, 113). Whether or not this practice had any

architectural impact on the chancel of an appropriated church depended on the way in which the tithes were farmed, however. In county Durham, where tithes tended to be leased township by township, often to consortia of tenants (Lomas 1973, 144), no single lay individual of substance came to have a particular interest in a church, and this may help to explain the comparative lack of motivation to alter the churches in this area. In contrast, in the remoter parishes the tithes were often all leased to a single individual, whether the vicar or a local layman, as, for example, successive members of the Portington family at Eastrington (Lomas 1973, 171); this would have given the lessee an obvious personal interest in the church, and put him into an influential position with regard to persuading the priory to carry out alterations east of the chancel arch. It would seem therefore that, where occasion arose, the priory was prepared to cooperate with the lessees of their appropriations, spending more on the chancels of those churches at which ambitious schemes of renovation were initiated in the western parts. While leasing to a single individual was obviously a convenient method of administering a distant rectory, it may be that the monks deliberately sought to prevent the building up of powerful controlling lay interests in those rectories which lay closer to home. But it is also worth enquiring whether the variation in leasing arrangements may in part also be seen as reflecting differences in the social and economic structure of the regions in which the rectories were situated. For example, it may be that the monks had more difficulty in finding laymen able or willing to take on the farm of a whole rectory in co. Durham. What is more, the facts that the western (no less than the eastern) parts of churches north of Tees also show a lack of later medieval alterations, and that this is typical of the region as whole and is by no means confined to the priory's appropriations (see Chap. VIII.A, C), suggest that there may also have been underlying economic differences. In other words, it may be that the income from the priory's rectories north and south of Tees declined in value for rather different reasons. North of Tees, the general lack of later medieval alterations to churches suggests that the shrinking returns from rectories in these areas reflect a general economic depression there, which was probably even more pronounced north of Tyne; whereas the generally greater amount of later medieval church building evident south of Tees shows that many parts of that region were not lacking in resources. In that case, the decrease in tithe-income there may have been due rather to changes in agricultural practice: a decline in cereal production is the most obvious possibility (see Chap I.B.2.1 and note 19). Differences in population levels and composition may also have played a part. In any case, it seems that laymen of means with ambitions to leave their mark on their local parish church were more in evidence in parts of late medieval Yorkshire than further north, and that it was

this, rather than the fact of appropriation as such, which best accounts for the divergence in the architectural development of church fabrics in the two regions.

The location of churches in receipt of *ex gratia* payments from the monastic officials also suggests that local initiative was crucial in determining the appropriator's propensity to spend money. These payments, the function of which is not always specified, were almost invariably given to the parishioners of churches appropriated to the priory, or to chapels dependent on them. Most were small amounts in aid of building projects (or, sometimes, furniture and fittings) being undertaken by the parishioners on the western parts of the building, which were their responsibility. Of the thirty-two such payments noted in the surviving accounts, no fewer than eighteen are found in the accounts of Durham College.[93] It is difficult to believe that this can be entirely accounted for by the greater wealth of that institution, or the greater generosity of those in charge of it; the fact that its appropriations were all situated in Yorkshire and the north Midlands, where the general level of late medieval architectural activity was much higher than north of Tees, must also have been a factor. Further, the one apparent exception to this generalization is Elvet, for which six such payments are recorded;[94] since the western parts of this church show more extensive evidence of late medieval rebuilding than any other of the priory's appropriations north of Tees, it serves only to reinforce the correlation between the granting of *ex gratia* payments and pre-existing evidence of parochial initiative.

Finally, it must not be assumed that all modifications to the chancels of the priory's appropriations were the result of deliberate choice. A proportion of architecturally significant works are likely to have been due to unforseen necessity. For example, the rebuilding of the chancel of Elvet was probably occasioned by a fire, and similar unrecorded catastrophes may have prompted works in other cases also.

VII.F.2 THE FORM OF ALTERATIONS

It has already been noted in the previous section that, where the documentary evidence is detailed enough to be diagnostic, repairs to chancels north of Tees are likely to have been carried out by direct priory labour. It should therefore follow that the design of major alterations, notably window traceries, is likely to reflect the style of works carried out contemporaneously at Durham itself. Unfortunately the survival of the material evidence is too poor to test this hypothesis, as the only major work certainly from the period the form

of which is known, at Elvet, employed reticulated tracery patterns of a singularly undiagnostic form (Pl. 193, 198), is devoid of other diagnostic architectural features, and is so close to the mother-house as to make the use of priory masons very likely in any case; while even if the tentative association between the two trefoil-headed single-light windows at Jarrow and Heighington, and the (far from unambiguous) documentary references already suggested can be accepted (see above, section B.5, and Chap. VI.F.2 (Pl. 166, 189)), their form is again too undiagnostic to be considered significant.[95] The documentary evidence is of some limited help here, as in one case (Northallerton) it is certain and in another (Billingham) probable, that high-status masons otherwise documented as having worked at Durham itself carried out the insertion of window traceries at these two churches (see above and Chap. IX.B.3.1, 6.1). The evidence thus seems sufficient to suggest that less well-documented alterations at other chancels may also have been carried out by masons from the mother-house; and while the above two references do not of themselves prove that the traceries had actually been designed by the masons recorded as having executed them, this does seem reasonably likely (see Chap. IX.B.3.4, 6.4).

The reference to work at Northallerton shows that, at least in the late fourteenth century, priory labour was also used south of Tees, and there is a single piece of material evidence which may indicate that the practice extended to another Yorkshire appropriation in the same period. The east window of Eastrington (Pl. 299) uses a comparatively unusual form of tracery also found in the west window of the Durham chapter house (see Chap. III.B.3; Pl. 302). Here it does seem likely that there is a direct connection between the two, though it cannot necessarily be inferred that the Durham window is earlier, or that the design originated there (see Chap. VIII.D, and note 20). This (admittedly slight) evidence that, in the earlier part of the period under consideration, the use of priory masons did extend to at least some chancels south of Tees, contrasts with the situation at the three surviving Yorkshire chancels with substantial alterations dating from the end of the Middle Ages. Here, works are carried out in styles which are not only unlike anything extant at Durham, but which also differ from one chancel to another, even when the modifications can be shown to have been nearly contemporary, at Eastrington and Giggleswick in the 1480s for example. This strongly suggests that the masons for each were recruited independently; while in the case of Giggleswick, its close stylistic similarities to churches elsewhere in Craven, such as Skipton or Gargrave, further implies that the mason was local. While this may in part reflect the fact that it was easier to hire local craftsmen in those parts of Yorkshire than, say, in north Northumberland (see above, section F.1), the apparent change of practice in Yorkshire

between the late fourteenth and late fifteenth centuries may have rather more to do with the more dominant role which, it has been argued above, was taken by the Yorkshire parishioners in organizing the later fifteenth-century repairs.[96]

VII.F.3 THE CHRONOLOGY OF ALTERATIONS

The factors determining the dates at which alterations were carried out to the priory's appropriated churches are difficult to isolate. One periodical consideration must have been the possibility of episcopal visitation. Full documentation survives for only one of these, Bishop Neville's of 1442, and then only for the appropriated churches between Tyne and Tees. This consists of a series of *detecta*, including the complaints of the parishioners (1.9. Pont. 8) and a set of injunctions, together with an attached schedule setting out a timetable for effecting repairs deemed necessary and what appear to be the amounts which the prior and convent would be fined if they failed to comply (1.9. Pont. 9). That episcopal coercion could be considered a real threat is clear from the proctor of Scotland's endearingly candid admission in 1331-2 that he had carried out repairs to the priory's Scottish appropriations '... before the visitation of the bishop of St Andrews'.[97] It is impossible to know how often such considerations directly affected the priory's policy, but in any case, given the terms of reference of episcopal concern, it is perhaps more likely that it would have prompted essential repairs rather than major alterations.

It is also possible that some priors took a more active personal interest in the condition of the convent's churches than others. In particular, a series of repairs carried out between *c.* 1419 and 1424 are stated to have been effected 'per Dominum Johannem Fishburn'.[98] Fishburn was Prior Wessington's chancellor from 1416 until at least 1422 (Dobson 1973, 364), and the fact that these works were carried out (quite exceptionally) via an official who, as a member of the prior's household, must have enjoyed the particular confidence and trust of his superior (Dobson 1973, 124), suggests that the prior's personal concern was the motivating force here. Again it is impossible to know how often priors may have made the chancels of the appropriated churches an urgent priority, but when they did it may be that their interest would have extended to non-essential alterations as well as essential repairs.

Whatever the precise reasons, the evidence for a series of substantial alterations to the priory's chancels within a comparatively short period in the mid fourteenth century does

suggest that is was the result of a deliberate policy of some kind. The works seem to divide into two phases, from the later 1330s to the early 1350s, when Aycliffe, Elvet, and Billingham, all underwent major modification, and again in the 1360s and 1370s, when Heighington, Eastrington, Berwick, Northallerton, and perhaps also Pittington, had major repairs carried out on them. The apparent hiatus in the 1350s may well reflect the substantial short-term drop in the convent's revenues following the Black Death, while their resumption in the 1360s must equally be related to the recovery in the monastery's finances in this period. (see Chap. II.B.2.7, Fig. 4). This period stands out as the only one in the last two centuries of the Middle Ages when major works seem to have been carried out across-the-board in this way, and closely parallels in scope and chronology the renovation of the convent's cells (see Chap. VI.H).

The effect of underlying economic conditions was doubtless more often negative than positive, but, even taking this factor into account, the almost total lack of material or documentary evidence for major alterations to any of the convent's churches between the end of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth centuries is striking,[99] not least because there was one period within that span, the 1420s and 1430s, which saw extensive building at the priory itself (see Chap. IV.C). It was not until the later fifteenth century, with a series of major works at Elvet (1460-1), Giggleswick (1464-5 and 1477-87), Eastrington (1480-2), Ellingham (1487-8), Fishlake (probably 1496 x 1505), and Norham (1500-4), that the appropriated churches seem to have received attention on anything like the scale of the mid to late fourteenth century. And despite an apparent concentration of activity in the 1480s, it is not clear that there was any coordinated policy behind these late works.

VII.F.4 THE PRIORY'S RECORD AS AN APPROPRIATOR

The buildings for which Durham Priory became responsible in virtue of its spiritual estate were more 'public' than any of the other categories of its property under consideration here, and were therefore the area in which its stewardship was most open to criticism from the outside world; and not just from parishioners and diocesans, for the whole system of monastic appropriation had come in for some harsh criticism from would-be reformers of the later medieval church (see, for examples, Platt 1981, 72-7). The appropriators' negligence of their obligations to maintain chancels is sometimes singled out for special comment, by Wiclif for example[100], though it does not seem to have been regarded as the worst consequence of the practice of appropriation.

Something of the complexity of the ways in which Durham Priory's numerous appropriations were managed has emerged in the foregoing discussion, and this alone should forewarn against uncritical acceptance of over-generalized criticism. It is particularly difficult to assess the evidence of the 1442 visitation *detecta* from this perspective, as the cost of the repairs is not recoverable, though the fact that the disrepair of chancels was complained of (along with the convent's other properties) by some of the monks as well as the parishioners during the 1442 visitation does suggest that there were real grounds for concern;[101] but in any case this period was a notoriously difficult one for the priory financially, during which all of its properties had become run down (see Chaps. II.B.2.7, IV.C), so the state of repair of its churches may have been atypically poor at that time. There is certainly no clear evidence that the priory's chancels were ever seriously neglected, the sorts of criticism outlined above being most likely true with respect to those churches appropriated to the lesser, poorer officials. It has been shown above that the chancels of such churches bear few traces of later medieval modification, and it may well be that money for routine repairs was correspondingly hard to come by. In contrast, those appropriated to richer officials often show signs of at least some non-essential alterations, while in several cases the priory went beyond the established limit of its obligation as a rector and can be found making *ex gratia* payments to assist works being carried out by the parishioners in the western parts (see above, section F.1, and notes 93-4), and on dependent chapels within the parish.[102] Further, if the evidence relating to the priory's Yorkshire appropriations has been correctly interpreted, it reveals a situation in which the appropriator, albeit unlikely to initiate extensive reconstruction on his own behalf, was at least prepared to cooperate when the parishioners took the initiative.

That parochial initiative was a major factor behind the comprehensive reconstruction of churches, at least in the later Middle Ages, is clear from other documented examples. At Catterick, Yorkshire, in 1412, a mason contracted with two members of a prominent local family to rebuild the whole church on a new site (Raine 1834, 7-12; Salzman 1952, 487-90). The uniformity of style displayed by the building, most notably in its tracery details (Pl. 243) bears out the documentary evidence. Intriguingly, the contract never mentions the abbey of St Mary's York, to which the church had been appropriated since the early thirteenth century (McCall 1910, 30); yet the convent had presumably been consulted at some stage, since the ruling abbot, Thomas Spofford, was commemorated in the glass of the east window.[103] The situation here appears to provide a precise architectural parallel, confirmed explicitly by documentary evidence, for the circumstances in which alterations were carried out to Durham Priory's Yorkshire appropriations (see above, section F.1). It remains unclear as to whether

St Mary's York had paid its share of the rebuilding costs, and if so, whether willingly or only with reluctance. Another case reveals that on occasion parishioners might attempt to proceed with the rebuilding of a chancel without the appropriator's permission. The evidence is contained in a registered copy of a late fourteenth-century notarial instrument relating to the church of St Nicholas, Newcastle. This describes how the parishioners had begun to build a new choir without the permission of the appropriators (jointly the bishop and convent of Carlisle), whose proctor, doubtless anxious to protect their legal rights, ordered the work to cease forthwith and forbade the demolition of the old choir (Raine 1864a, lxxxviii-xc). It is evident from the existing building that the new choir was in fact eventually built (see Chap. VIII.B.2.7; Pl. 282, 283) but, as with Catterick, it remains unknown whether the appropriators met their share of the costs. In contrast, the Durham documentation does not reveal whether the monks were ever subjected to the same degree of pressure from their Yorkshire parishioners as those at Newcastle brought to bear on Carlisle; but it does at least demonstrate that they did foot the bill for alterations to their chancels.

It has been stressed above that the different regional contexts of the priory's appropriations must be taken into account when assessing the monks' stewardship of their rectories. From this perspective, the very fact that the architectural development of the priory's various chancels has no overall coherence as a group, but is generally typical of the regions in which they were situated, argues strongly that the monks' record was at least no worse than that of their fellow rectors. The priory funded extensive alterations to its Yorkshire rectories situated in regions where such alterations were common in the late Middle Ages. The much more modest alterations to its co. Durham chancels stand comparison with those of even the wealthier rectories, such as Easington (see Chap. VIII.B.2.2). The number of chancels without any later medieval alterations north of Tyne shows that those appropriated to Durham were not any more neglected, while the extensive late fifteenth-century alterations to Ellingham may even have been more than might have been expected elsewhere in the area at this time. What never seems to have happened in the case of any priory appropriation (to judge from the evidence of the buildings themselves), was the apparent aborting of an elaborate scheme of renovation to alter a church when it got as far east as the chancel arch, due to the negligence, intransigence, or parsimony of the appropriator. Perhaps the monks' consciousness of the reputation of their house was sufficient to prevent them from leaving themselves open to allegations of seriously neglecting their ecclesiastical property. Further, acquiescing in the schemes of their parishioners, even at the

price of considerable expenditure, may have been perceived as a lesser evil than risking the usurpation of their legal rights in confrontations like that at Newcastle.

Finally, it is worth mooting the possibility that the obligation to fund alterations was turned to good account by using it as an opportunity to commemorate the monastic corporation (or, conceivably, individual members of it). The few records of actions of this sort on the part of an appropriator which survive *in situ* in the chancels themselves are almost certainly examples of what was once common practice, in the later Middle Ages at least. This could take the form of an inscription on stone, as at Llanbadarn Fawr church in Wales, appropriated to Vale Royal Abbey (Cheshire), the east end of which is a Perpendicular extension. The eastern splay of the south chancel window is inscribed with the name 'W. Stratford', which is almost certainly to be identified with the Abbot of Vale Royal from 1481 to 1509, at whose instigation the alteration was presumably made (Thomas 1978, 127-9). The two *orate* inscriptions in the south wall of the chancel at Wetheral in Cumberland commemorating two priors of the cell of St Mary's York there (to which the chancel was appropriated) are probably to be interpreted in the same way (Pevsner 1967b, 201). Inscriptions on glass also occur, as has been noted already in the case of the abbot of St Mary's York in the east window at Catterick (see note 103). Another example survives in a window of the chancel of Ecclesfield church in Yorkshire, which refers to the appropriators, the prior and monks of the Carthusian monastery of St Anne near Coventry, 'who caused this chancel and window to be made'.[104] This may well have been the more common method of commemoration, the loss of so much evidence of this sort then being explained by the subsequent widespread destruction of medieval glass in parish churches. The appropriators were thus far from being anonymous benefactors, and in the case of such notoriously status-conscious houses as Durham, this may well have played its part in determining the priory's policy towards its churches.

CHAPTER VII - NOTES

1. They are: Eastrington, Fishlake, and Giggleswick in Yorkshire; Elvet, in co. Durham (in fact almost entirely a nineteenth-century rebuild, though retaining the general form of the medieval work), and Norham in Northumberland (if indeed it is late enough to fall within the scope of the present work). See further below, sections E.3, E.4, E.5, B.6, C.2).

2. See for example Platt 1981, 72-8; for allegations that appropriation resulted in neglect of chancels, see note 100.

3. 'Item in edificacione chori de Middleham, viij li. ij s. ij d.' (Finchale 1397-8, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cxx)). The possibility that this reference could relate to the pointed-arched window visible in an early nineteenth-century vignette (Raine 1837b, pl. facing xxi) must be discounted in the light of Surtees's statement that this opening had replaced the original three lancets (since restored) not long before his own time (Surtees 1816-40, III, 5). See also Chap. VI, note 112.

4. Hesleden chancel underwent a repair involving mason-work in 1468-9: '... nova operacione et posicione tabilstonys acheleys et capestonys, tam in latere australi quam in latere boriali dicti cancelli, et factura unius jambe in fenistra australi ibidem ...' (Bursar 1468-9, Reparaciones). The total cost, however, including carriage of stone and sand, and purchase of lime, amounted only to £2 8s 7d.

5. Clack 1978 has not superseded Barmby's account (Barmby 1880-9) which, however, was written before further major alterations at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

6. It is not clear whether the plan in Barmby 1880-9 (reproduced as Pl. 183) was actually drawn up before the 1846 restoration or is a later attempt to reconstruct the *status quo ante*. In either case it does not tally in all respects with the accompanying view, notably in the omission of the buttresses at the east corners and the presence of a doorway in the south wall.

7. Fragments, either of these arcades or of the arch from the east end of the north nave aisle, were dated by C. C. Hodges to *c.* 1210 (Barmby 1880-9, 21-3).

8. 'Item totum chorum ecclesie de Petynton et unum porg', et cooperuit aulam.' (Raine 1839, App., cxli). While it may be right to take the reference to a 'porg'' as referring to the church (Barmby 1880-9, 24), a part of the priory manor-house may be intended, as the reference to an 'aula' here and the next few references in the tract clearly are.

9. Accounts have not survived for the years 1345-6, 1346-7, May-November 1357, 1361-2, 1364-5, 1369-70, and May-December 1371 (Fig. 5). It may be significant that the other possible examples of four-light windows inserted into priory buildings during Fossor's priorate, at Coldingham and Finchale, probably also date from the 1360s (see Chap. VI.B.2 and note 89).

10. The fundamental structural analysis is now Ryder 1988 (for the chancel and its restorations, see 48-50). See also Hodgson 1880-9a, 56-7 (and for the restoration, 67-8), and Hodgson 1906-11a, 4-5.

11. Accepting Ryder's suggestion that the three windows in the south chancel wall with depressed round-headed lights, one of which was reset in the 1882 restoration, were almost certainly post-medieval (Ryder 1988, 49, 50).

12. 'Item unam gavel cori de Acle.' (Raine 1839, App., cxlii).

13. Hodgson 1880-9a, 56-7. (I am grateful to P. Ryder for the quotation from Mackenzie and Ross.) This window (presumably the one visible in Grimm's drawing (BL MS Add. 155538, no. 68), though the omission of the west tower makes it uncertain) must have obliterated most or all traces of any later medieval refenestration; it was itself replaced by the existing triplet of lancets before 1880-2.

14. 'In structura gabelli cancelli ecclesie de Acley in omnibus custagiis cum opere vitreo, ix li. xiiij s. xj d.' (Bursar 1339-40, Structura Domorum). Although this reference predates Fossor's accession to the priorate in 1341, it seems more likely that his apologist was slap-dash or over-optimistic in his compilation than that the east gable received yet further major alteration, undocumented in the accounts, within a generation of that recorded in 1339-40.

15. 'Magistro Johanni cementario pro quadam fenestra in gabello cancelli ecclesie de Billyngham de novo facienda, ix li. vj s. viij d.' ['x' and 'vj' are clearly later alterations. It is possible that the 'i' of 'ix' is showing through from a partially erased earlier figure, and that 'x li.' is the intended amount.] 'Et in petris emptis apud Hertilpol pro eadem fenestra et trahentibus eas de quarrera, viij s. ix d.' (Bursar 1351-2, Structura Domorum).
'Et in fenestra gabeli cancelli ecclesie de Billingham vitrianda, vj li. vj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1352-3, Structura Domorum). Compare Fossor's Works: '... et unum gavellum ecclesie [Billingham] et unam fenestram' (Raine 1839, App., cxliii).

16. The suggestion that the west jamb of the nineteenth-century window in the south wall of the sanctuary may be the remains of an earlier window (Clack 1986, 73) may well be right.

17. 'Item totum chorum ecclesie de Heynton.' (Raine 1839, App., cxlii).

18. 'In una fenestra et j hostio fac' in choro de Heighington cum omnibus aliis custagiis preter vitrum, lx s. vj d.' Johanni de Bynchestr' pro verura eiusdem, xxxiij s. iiij d. [40 items omitted] In viij quarteriis calcis emptis de Gilberto Randolf pro ecclesia de Heighington, ii s. vj d.' (Bursar 1365-6, Reparacio Domorum).

19. 'Et in ampliacione ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi, xx li. v s. x d. ob.' (Hostiller 1347-8, Reparaciones Domorum et Ecclesie).

20. '... tempore combustionis ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi' (Hostiller 1355-6, Reparaciones Domorum).

21. There are only two years (1352-3 and 1359-60) missing from the hostiller's accounts between 1344 and 1371 (see Fig. 7).

22. A late eighteenth-century account mentions three windows on the north side and four on the south, adding, however, '... some of which are modern' (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, 315). A (not wholly accurate) sketch by J. Bouet, dated 1824, shows a two-light window at the west end of the north wall, west of the vestry (Pl. 194).

23. 'Item ad constructionem campanile [*sic*] dicte ecclesie [Sancti Oswaldi], xx s.' (Hostiller 1363-4, Dona).
'Item ad reparacione campanilis Sancti Oswaldi per eandem indenturam, xv s.' (Bursar 1365-6, Dona et Exennia Prioris).

24. The western two bays of the nave and the tower have been assumed to be a fifteenth-century extension, though possible traces of earlier work were noted in the *Victoria County History* account, which it was supposed were reset (Page 1907-28, III, 175). Observation by Steven Coll during the exposure of the nave walls during plaster stripping in 1984 revealed a more complex situation which, though its interpretation remains uncertain in several respects, showed that the fifteenth-century tower arch is an insertion into an earlier wall itself displaying a complex stratigraphic sequence. This leaves open the possibility that the western bays of the nave are a rebuilding of an older structure rather than a westward extension *de novo*. I am most grateful to Mr Coll for making the results of his investigations available to me.

25. 'In donis datis ad opus campanilis ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi, iij s. iiij d.' (Hostiller 1426-7, Dona et Exennia).

26. 'Orate p' a W. Catten vicr'' (Surtees 1816-40, IV, 74). William de Catton was vicar from 1410-11 to 1414 (Donaldson 1955, II, 108).

27. 'Item in reparacione unius fenestre nove in choro ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi, l s. x d.' (Hostiller 1431-2, Reparaciones Domorum).

28. It does not appear in the pen and wash fair copy (Pl. 197), nor in the engraved version in Surtees (Surtees 1816-40, IV, pl. following clxxvi), which presumably used the latter as its original. It is conceivable that these versions represent views before and after the 1834 restoration, but it is much more likely that the latter represents a tidying up of the pencil original. The other feature removed by this restoration, a narrow square-headed two-light window with a low transom at the extreme west end of the south wall, appears in all three versions. It cannot be correlated with any extant documentary reference, and may have been post-medieval (cf. note 22).

29. 'Et eidem Johanni Lyle pro tectura et factura murorum [1 item omitted] in choro ecclesie Sancti Oswaldi per ij dies [1 item omitted] capienti per diem iiij d. [total omitted] Et sol' Thome Warde pro operacione facta per iij dies et dimidio in ecclesia Sancti Oswaldi capienti per diem iiij d., x d. ob. [4 lines omitted]
Et Johanni Knath pro operacione de le corbelles in choro Sancti Oswaldi per xij dies ad iiij d., iiij s. Et sol' Johanni Thomson et fratri suo per sex dies utrique eorum capienti per diem vj d., vj s. Et sol' Willelmo Kervor pro operacione facta in cancello Sancti Oswaldi ex convencione facta secum in grosso, lxxvj s. viij d. Et eidem <Willelmo> pro prostracione et deposicione dicti cancelli ex convencione secum in grosso, xx s. Et sol' Johanni Lyle et Thome Warde ibidem operantibus cum Johanne Knayth et Johanne Thomson per iij dies et dimidio, ij s. j d. ob. Et sol' Johanni Bell et Patricio Saundirson pro sarracione meremii bordarum ac xvj de le waynscott, ix s. [Et] sol' Willelmo Brown carpentario pro operacione per unum diem in choro Sancti Oswaldi, v d.' (Hostiller 1460-1, Reparaciones Domorum).

30. 'Et in structura ecclesie del Maudeleyns cum meremio empto et cariacione mill' sclatstan ij mill' stanbrod et mill'o stanlat ut patet per parcellas, ix li. xj s. x. d.' (Almoner 1369-70, Reparacio Domorum).
'Et in calce empto ad ecclesiam del Magdeleynes, cum cariagio eiusdem, xxj s. x d. Et in sarracione meremii ad dictam ecclesiam cum cariacione, xxv s. iiij d. Et in factura murorum dicte ecclesie, xxix s. j d. Et pro carpentar' dicte ecclesie, xxix s. viij d. Et in v mill' sclatstan emptis cum cariagio ad dictam ecclesiam, xxxvij s. vj d. Et in mill' stanlat emptis cum cariagio ad dictam ecclesiam, xij s. j d. Et in v mill' stanbrod emptis, CCC spikinges emptis ad eandem, xix s. viij d. Et in lxvij waynscot emptis ad eandem, xj s. ix d. Et in pinctura ymaginis sancte Marie Ma<g>delene, xxv s. Et in coopertura dicte ecclesie, liij s. viij d. Et in factura camere capellani dicte ecclesie, xxiv s. ix d. Et in bemfyllyng dicte ecclesie cum dealbacione eiusdem, xij s. Et in vitriacione una [*sic*] fenestre in dicta ecclesia, x s. xj d.' (Almoner 1370-1, Reparacio Domorum (printed, with minor errors and omissions, Fowler 1898, 209-10)).

31. It is wrongly captioned 'Ruin of St Margaret's Durham'. Surtees's description, which mentions only 'remains of tracery' (Surtees 1816-40, IV, 67), seems to confirm that Billings's view involved some reconstruction.

32. The width of the east window is only four feet (Thompson 1869-79, fig. on 147), which seems too narrow for a three-light tracery.

33. The reuse of old window tracery is not specified in the accounts of 1448-50, even though they are extremely detailed, but such a procedure may still have been included within the payment to two masons '... pro factura murorum, fenestrarum, et ostiorum ecclesie ... cum ij butteresses ibidem ...' in the 1449-50 account (Almoner 1449-50, Laborarii).

34. '... stabilimente fundi ecclesie beate Marie Magdalene in parte nunc prostrate ...' (Almoner 1432-3, Reparaciones Domorum).

35. Entries recording carriage of timber, sand, and tiles to the site in the 1448-9 account suggest that materials for the work were then being stockpiled. Apparently demolition of the old structure had also begun: 'Et Johanni Thomson operanti apud Maudeleyns per iij septimanas circa le riddyng murorum ibidem capienti qualibet septimana per convencionem xx d., v s.' (Almoner 1448-9, Laborarii). The accounts for 1449-50, and May to November 1450 are printed (with some parts of items omitted) in Fowler 1898, 238-40. In view of the lack of specifically architectural information in the account, it has not been given *in extenso* here. A translation (omitting, however, the sub-headings, and with some minor errors) is printed in Thompson 1869-79, 141-4.

36. According to Raine, the chancel was rebuilt in 1736 (Raine 1852, 366). An outline plan of the existing building is published in Bailey, Cambridge and Briggs 1988, 130.

37. 'Et in reparacione domorum infra et extra et in coro ecclesie beate Marie, xl li. xvij s. viij d.' (Holy Island 1366-7, Exoneracio).

38. The substantial *ex gratia* payment of £2 3s 4d '... ad fabricam ecclesie de Bedlelyngton ...' (Bursar 1421-2, Dona et Exennia) raises the possibility that important work on the western parts of

the church was then in progress, given that this was usually the reason for such gifts elsewhere (see below, section F.1).

39. The principal discussions of this church are to be found in Raine 1852, 259-60, pls. facing 259; Wilson 1870, 29-33, pls. facing 27.

40. 'Item se exonerat in solucione facta Waltero vitriario pro fenestris vitreis faciendis apud Norham et Ellingham, ij li.' (Proctor of Norham 1338-9, Soluciones).
'Item computat in xlviij petris ferri pro barres fenestrarum ecclesie de Norham emptis, xxiiij s. Item computat in fabricacione eiusdem ferri, x s.' (Proctor of Norham 1338-9, Expense Necessarie); cf. Raine 1852, 275.

41. For examples of the combination of Geometrical and Decorated tracery designs in apparently contemporary contexts, see Chap. VIII.B.2.3, 2.4.

42. The first surviving proctor of Norham's account dates from 1300-1. Thereafter there are gaps in the fourteenth-century series for the following years: 1301-14; 1321-7; 1349-60; 1367-1400.

43. 'In expensis domini Michaelis [of Chilton, proctor] versus Norham per iij septimanas circa sepulturam domini W. Ryddell, xvij s. xj d.' (Proctor of Norham 1327-8, Expense).

44. 'Et petit allocacionem ut pro tot denariis solutis parochianis de Norham per procuratorem ibidem ad constructionem cuiusdam gabuli iuxta chorum ecclesie, ex gracia domini prioris, liij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1449-50, Condonaciones et Allocaciones).

45. 'Et sol' in expensis dicti Ricardi [Wren] et Thome Reysley plumbar' Abbathie equitant' apud Norham pro reparacione chori, xj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1500-1, Expense Necessarie). The *Reparaciones* section of this same account includes a payment to Ryslay for working 28 stone of lead for the choir of Norham at 1½ d. per stone. The account for 1501-2 contains no references to Norham and that for 1502-3 is missing. The 1503-4 account contains numerous references, totalling £19 12s, relating to the working and carriage of building materials, principally timber (which was shipped up from the Tyne) and lead, but also stone, sand, lime, and daub. It includes a payment to two masons, though the nature of their work is unfortunately not specified:
'Et sol' Willelmo Watson et Johanni Broune latamis operantibus apud Norham cum iij servientibus per xxij dies, per diem xxiij d., xl s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1503-4, Reparaciones).

46. The fabric of the present chancel, unlike the remainder of the church, is built of regularly coursed squarish stones, which may be medieval ashlars retooled; but there is no evidence that any medieval work survives *in situ*.

47. 'Et sol' eidem [Christofero Moore plumbario] cum j famulo operant' infra Abbathiam et extra, apud Alv'ton et Elyngeham, super emendacione diversorum defectuum in diversis locis per xvj dies capientes per diem x d., xiij s. iiij d. [1 item omitted] Et sol' eidem pro factura et operacione iij fudr' plumbi et dimidio apud Elyngham ad v s., xvij s. vj d. Et sol' Willelmo Tosson pro cariagio j fudr' et dimidio plumbi et bordarum a Sheles usque Elyngeham, lxvj s. viij d. [2 items omitted] Et sol' eidem [Thomas Shawden] pro factura lij pedum vitri ac pro expensis ij vicibus apud Elyngeham et pro j ymagine sancte crucis xij s. vj d. Et sol' Johanni Cant carpentario operanti [2 items omitted] super unius cancelli apud Elyngeham [2 items omitted, total compounded]
[46 lines omitted]
Et sol' Georgio Archar et Thome Fenkhall pro adquisicione lapidum extra quarrer' apud Elyngeham pro construccione unius cancelli ibidem, xxix s. Et sol' Willelmo mayson et sociis suis operantibus ibidem, xxx s. Et sol' Johanni Wynchelse et Ricardo Tadcastill cum uno famulo operantibus ibidem, xvj s. Et sol' Willelmo Mayson pro dolacione ij mill' CCxx achelers ad iiij d., iiij li. viij s., xl conys ad iij d., x s., vij rod' de wallyng et settyng ad xiij s. iiij d., C s., xiij segecalles ad iiij d., iiij s. iiij d., xxxvj skonchones ad iij d., ix s., xvij jawmys ad viij d., v s. iiij d., iiij spultes cum j lavatorystone <ad vj d.>, ij s. vj d., <x li. xix s. vj d.>. Et pro le cape hostii cancelli, ij s. vj d. Et sol' eidem pro factura trium fenistrarum ibidem, lxx s. Et eidem pro le rakyngdowne ac le riddyng fundi dicti cancelli, xxiij s. iiij d. Et sol' eidem pro combursione [*sic*] unius lymekilne, xxiij s. iiij d. Et eidem pro le sloknyng eiusdem et portacione dict' calcis, vj s. viij d. Et sol' eidem pro le batalyng lxij uln' circa summitatem cancelli ad vj d., xxxj s. Et sol' pro adquisicione xl fudr' calcis cum cariagio eiusdem ac fraccione eiusdem, xxxiij s. iiij d. Et sol' Thome Fenkhall pro cariagio meremii ad dictum cancellum,

viij s. Et sol' eidem pro cariagio Mill' CCCC lapidum ad ij s. vj d., xxxiiij s. Et sol' pro ferro et factura les stanchones, ix s. ix d. Et sol' pro portacione aque ut patet per billam captam ibidem, xx s. Et sol' Roberto Preston pro cariagio sabuli a mare usque dictum cancellum, liij s. iiij d. Et sol' pro j fatt et j watersay, ij s. ij d. Et sol' pro j barell' et ij flakes, xij d. Et sol' pro ij barrowes ij tribulis et j vanga cum ferro, xij d. Et sol' pro j syffe et j boule, iiij d. Et sol' pro factura altaris et gradus ante altare, vij s. Et in regardis datis latamis et aliis ibidem diversis vicibus, vj s. Et sol' pro cariagio ferramentorum Johannis Cant et Cristofori Moore plummer a Dunelm' usque Elyngeham, iiij s. viij d. Et sol' Johanni Rosse pro cariagio ij webbes plumbi et iij mill' nalles a Dunelm' usque Elyngeham, v s. Et sol' pro ij estlandburd' et factura unius tabernaculi pro sancto Mawro, iij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1487-8, Reparaciones).

48. He is probably to be identified with the William Mayson found working for the sacrist in 1487-8 (Sacrist 1487-8, Reparacio Campanilis).

49. For example, Proctor of Scotland 1331-2 (Raine 1841, App., xii).

50. Proctor of Scotland 1365-8, Exoneracio (Raine 1841, App., liv). It is not clear why this church, which was not assigned to the bursar, appears in this account.

51. The particular expenses of 1329, totalling £12 1s 6d, survive as Proctor of Scotland 1329(A), with an alternative version, 1329(B) (respectively, Raine 1841, App., x-xi, xii-xiv).

52. 'Domino Johanni vicario ecclesie de Edneham pro reparacione chori eiusdem in partem solucionis, lx s.' (Bursar 1362-3, Structura Domorum).
'Domino Johanni de Eland pro reparacione chori de Ednham ex convencione prioris, vj li. xiij s. ij d.' (Bursar 1365-6, Reparaciones Domorum).

53. 'Item lxxvj s. viij d. super ecclesiam de Ederham. Omnes iste expense super ecclesias patent per particulas.' (Proctor of Scotland 1331-2, Expense (Raine 1841, App., ix)). The particular expenses of 1331-2 survive as Proctor of Scotland 1331-2(B) (Raine 1841, App., xii).

54. 'Item in ferro sale et focali cum factura unius nove fenestre in coro Berwici, xviij li. xxj d.' (Coldingham Prior 1368-9, Expense (Raine 1841, App., lviii)). The vestry had been repaired in 1365-6 (Coldingham Prior 1365-6, Expense (Raine 1841, App., xlix)).

55. 'Item fabrice capelle sancte Ebbe, xx s.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1371-2, [unmarginated] (Raine 1841, App., lxvii)).
'Item in fabricacione capelle sancte Ebbe, preter donacionem et oblacionem venientes ad dictam capellam, lxxiij s. ij d.' (Coldingham Sacrist 1372-3, Expense (Raine 1841, App., lxx)).

56. RCAHMCS 1915, 43 (respectively nos. 75 and 76). For sketch-plans of their foundations, see MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 437.

57. These are not further discussed, as Frampton now appears not to contain any architectural features which date from after the appropriation (Pevsner and Harris 1964, 530-1), and Ruddington was rebuilt in the nineteenth century (Pevsner 1951, 152).

58. In contrast, major works are documented at one if not both of the chancels of the Midlands appropriations: £19 4s 5d was spent at Ruddington between 1426 and 1428 (Oxford 1426-7 and 1427-8, Rodington); and £28 10s 1d at Frampton in 1439-40 (Oxford 1439-40, Frampton), though it is not specified that this was spent on the chancel, and the existing fabric contains nothing with which it might be associated (cf. note 57).

59. The only possible later medieval features seem to be the windows at the west end of the chancel south wall (Pl. 220). Like much of the nave fenestration, these have been tampered with at a later period, and that on the south side at least may be wholly post-medieval.

60. For the probable location and development of the chancel before the early thirteenth century, see Page 1914, 426.

61. For the 1321-2 campaign, see CPR 1321-4, 99-100; and for the collection of alms, CPR 1321-4, 344 (quoted in Page 1914, 426). It is not clear whether the proctor was to represent the prior and convent, or the parish, or both.

62. The fragments are not where they were when described by the *Victoria County History*, and their whereabouts remains unknown.

63. The occurrence of expenses for the dedication of the church in 1355-6 (Bursar 1355-6, Expense Necessarie) are of little help here, since the ceremony may have taken place some time after the works which necessitated it.

64. For example, Thomas Shaweden (Bursar 1468-9, Reparaciones). See also note 47.

65. 'In solucione facta Petro Dring ex precepto domini prioris pro reparacione unius fenestre apud Alverton, xx s.' (Bursar 1376-7, Expense Necessarie).
'In expensis eiusdem [bursarii] apud Ebor' pro Er' [*sic*] ibidem emendo et apud Alverton pro decimis ibidem vendendis et conductione unius vitriarii pro fenestra gabelle de Alverton ad festa apostolorum Petri et Pauli [29 June], xxj s. xj d. ob.' (Bursar 1377-8, Expense Necessarie).
'In solucione facta Petro Dryng cementario pro operacione j fenestre in gabella ecclesie de Alverton, xvj li. xiij s. iiij d. In expensis factis circa eandem fenestram per manus vicarii dicte ecclesie ut patet per parcell' per dictum vicarium bursario liberat', Cix s. In solucione facta fratribus de Alverton pro deterioracione instrumentorum cementar' circa predictam fenestram, iij s. In solucione facta Joanni filio Alexandri vitriario Ebor' pre manibus pro vitriacione eiusdem fenestre, xx s.' (Bursar 1377-8, Reparacio Domorum).

66. 'Item in reparacione chori in ecclesia de Allerton per Johannem Hildeyard, xij li. <iij s.>' (Bursar 1399-1400, Reparaciones Domorum).

67. The reconstruction was not total, but involved rather the partial re-casing of thirteenth-century work (Page 1914, 426-7).

68. Assuming that this allocation also obtained for the two years (1413-14 and 1417-18) for which accounts do not survive within this period. Comparison with the years after 1426, when the allocation was discontinued, suggest that the amounts involved would generally have been small.

69. '... assignatur per dominum priorem ad constructionem campanilis ibidem.' (Bursar 1406-7, Varia Recepta).

70. '... assignatur per dominum [priorem] ad fabricam chori ecclesie ibidem hoc anno.' (Bursar 1419-20, 1420-1, Perquisita Jurisdictionis et Synodalia).

71. 'Item in datis per eundem [dominum priorem] ad facturam chori, xx s.' (Oxford 1430-1, Expense Extrinsece). The college had a direct interest in this church in virtue of the annual pension of £20 it received from the revenues. Compare also a further unspecified payment made the following year: 'Item in dat' ad fabricam ecclesie, vj s. viij d.' (Oxford 1431-2, Ecclesia de Alverton).

72. The terrar spent £1 on paving the choir in each of the accounts for the years 1417-18 and 1418-19 (Terrar 1417-18, 1418-19, Expense).

73. 'Et in tot denariis solutis ex mandato domini prioris tam pro tabulis emptis pro le sylyng chori ecclesie de Allerton quam pro operacione earundem tabularum, x li. viij d.' (Bursar 1431-2, Reparaciones Domorum).

74. A series of detailed entries relating to this work is contained in Bursar 1480-1, Reparaciones.

75. The date is recorded on a contemporary tablet above the freestanding timber upright of the north arcade.

76. Pevsner considered that the western pier of the south arcade was probably seventeenth century, though it is not clear on what grounds (Pevsner 1972, 221).

77. There are traces of blocked twelfth-century windows at the east end of the north and south walls of the main vessel of the chancel.

78. Though extremely plain, the present chancel roof is clearly late medieval in form.

79. 'In reparacione cancelli de Estrington, iiij li.' (Bursar 1329-30, Structura Domorum).

80. 'Cuidam cementario pro gabello ecclesie de Estrington cum omnibus custagiis pertinentibus cementario de novo factis, vij li. vj s. viij d. In opere ferr' pro opere fenestre eiusdem gabelli, vj s.

In canabi empto pro dicta fenestra quousque vitrum perficiatur, iij s. x d. In vitro empto pro dicta fenestra, xxxiij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1365-6, Reparaciones Domorum).
A reference to two priory quarriers working at Eastrington in the same section of the 1365-6 account is probably connected with the major work done on the tithe-granary, also recorded in this year, rather than with the church.

81. 'Item Johanni de Ask pro reparacione chori de Estryngton, vj li. xiij s. iiij d. Item pro vitriacione unius fenestre per manum eiusdem, xxiiij s.' (Bursar 1384-5, Reparaciones Domorum).

82. If a new window were involved, the one at the east end of the south aisle would be the obvious candidate.

83. For the possible connection between this window and the introduction of Perpendicular forms at Durham itself, see Chaps. III.B.3, VIII.D.

84. 'Et sol' pro expensis bursarii et famulorum secum equitancium usque Hull et Estryngton pro empcione vini et constructione chori de Estryngton, xxxvj s. x d.' (Bursar 1480-1, Expense Necessarie).
'Et sol' in expensis factis circa constructionem cancelli ecclesie de Estryngton ut patet per billam Thome Jenotson firmarii ibidem, lij li. xvj s. x d.' (Bursar 1481-2, Reparaciones).

85. 'Et in denariis datis ad structuram novi campanilis de Gigleswik hoc anno, xx s.' (Finchale 1449-50 [unmarginated] (Raine 1837b, App., cclx)).

86. '... xx s. datis parochianis de Giggilswyk ad facturam novum campan', lxvj s. ij d.' (Finchale 1453-4, Expense).

87. 'Et in solucione facta pro nova factura unius gabuli orientalis ecclesie parochialis de Gigelswyke lxv s., una cum vitracione magne fenestre in eadem iiij li., vj li. v s.' (Finchale 1464-5, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccxcvii)).

88. The vignette of the church published by Raine (Pl. 236), which shows an east window of only two lights, suggests that the present one may be an inaccurate restoration. However, the three windows of the south chancel aisle are also shown with numbers of lights which bear no relation to the present ones, and though much of the stonework has been renewed, there is no reason to suppose that the building has been restored as freely as this discrepancy would suggest. Given that at least one indubitably medieval feature, the stair turret at the south-east corner of the tower, does not appear in the view, it seems much more likely that any discrepancies between the building and the vignette are due rather to inaccuracies in the latter.

89. 'Et de xx li. solutis Ricardo Tempest in partem solucionis novi cancelli ecclesie de Gigleswyke.' (Finchale 1477-8, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cccxli)).
'... et nova tectura cancelli de Gigleswik, xxx s... .' (Finchale 1481-2, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccclv)).
'Et in nova construccione cancelle ecclesie de Gygleswyke, cum empcione plumbi, meremii, et factura fenistrarum eiusdem cancelle, cum aliis expensis factis per Robertum Wardall, priorem de Fenkehall, xxxv li.' (Finchale 1484-5, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccclxix)).
'Et solvit Ricardo Tempest pro factura les stalles et ostiorum, ac emendacione fenestre vitree apud Gygleswyk, lx s.' (Finchale 1486-7, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ccclxxvi)).

90. Part of the opening for a third clerestory window at the west end of the north wall survives, but has subsequently been blocked.

91. 'In whose tyme this chancell and vestry bildite was', quoted in Hunter 1828, I, 193.

92. The same is true of the late medieval roofs at both churches which, though plain, are identical in both nave and chancel.

93. For the two relating to Northallerton, see note 71. The other churches in receipt of *ex gratia* payments are: Bossall (Oxford 1422-3, 1427-8, 1430-1); Fishlake (Oxford 1416-17, 1417-18, 1432-3); Frampton (Oxford 1462-3, 1467-8); and Brantingham (Oxford 1467-8, 1471-2).

94. *Ex gratia* payments to Elvet are recorded in the hostiller's accounts for 1363-4 (see note 23), 1406-7, 1426-7 (see note 25), 1454-5, and 1463-4. There is also a single example in a bursar's account, in 1365-6 (see note 23).

95. The traceries at the east end of Norham are almost certainly earlier than the period under consideration, and in any case find no close parallels among surviving traceries at the priory, though it must be stressed that work attributable to the early fourteenth century there is all but non-existent (see Chap. III.A.2).

96. There are indications that the severance from access to labour directly employed by the appropriator was never total, for (setting aside the exceptional local conditions which led to the priory workmen repairing the chancels in north Northumberland), there are occasional references to priory workmen (though never, apparently, masons) being employed at the remoter rectories south of Tees, as for example, the convent's plumber, Christopher Moore, at Giggleswick in 1481-2 (Raine 1837b, App., ccclv). This may have more to do with the need to find work for plumbers and glaziers, who (unlike the masons) were paid regular retainers, than with the persistence of a tradition of direct labour.

97. 'Item computat xxvij s. x d. in expensis factis super ecclesiam de Edenham ante visitacionem episcopi Sancti Andree.' (Proctor of Scotland 1331-2, Expense (Raine 1841, App., ix)).

98. Bursar 1419-20, Reparaciones Domorum (Aycliffe, Billingham, and Pittington); Bursar 1420-1, Reparaciones Domorum (Aycliffe); Bursar 1422-3, Expense Necessarie (Ellingham) and Reparaciones Domorum (Merrington).

99. The only possible exceptions to the lack of alterations recorded in this period are at Northallerton in 1430-2 (see note 71), Elvet in 1431-2 (see note 27), and Norham in 1449-50 (see note 44). Yet even here, though the contexts make it clear that these were works of some architectural import, in no case does the recorded expenditure exceed £3.

100. '... quod [iste] basilice appropriate tantum deficiunt in tectis et ceteris ornamentis' (Wiclif 1883, 134).

101. 1.9. Pont. 3, art. 15.

102. Parochial chapels in receipt of *ex gratia* payments include: St Margaret's Durham (Elvet parish), Almoner 1413-14; (Northallerton parish), Bursar 1400-1; Edwalton (Ruddington parish), Oxford 1424-5, Oxford 1430-1, and 'Flauforth' (Ruddington parish), Oxford 1484-5.

103. Two inscriptions are recorded: 'Orate pro anima Domini Thome Spofford, Abbatis Monasterii beate Marie Eboracensis, istius ecclesie rectoris'; and 'Eternum manna mihi Spofford impetret Anna' (McCall 1910, 30, quoting Dodsworth's *Church Notes*, 235).

104. 'qui istam cancellam et fenestram fieri fecerunt' (Pevsner 1967a, 190).

CHAPTER VIII: THE ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

VIII.A: INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the evidence for two groups of buildings in north-east England constructed or altered in the later Middle Ages: those which show features closely similar stylistically to those of Durham Priory's own buildings, though they themselves were outwith its patronage; and those which show evidence of contemporary work which is stylistically independent of anything known to have been present at a priory building. The requirement to compare or contrast features characteristic of the priory will necessarily limit the scope of the discussion. In particular, in the absence of a full mouldings survey (see General Introduction) the most frequently surviving distinctive features of use for comparative purposes are window traceries, which inevitably biases the discussion in favour of ecclesiastical buildings. Nevertheless, this should enable some assessment to be made of the more general pattern of architectural activity in the region, and the place of the priory works within it. The detailed analysis will confine itself to the period *c.* 1340-*c.* 1400, that is, the time of the *floruit* of the Decorated style, and of the introduction of Perpendicular forms into the area. The period between *c.* 1400 and the Reformation has been excluded from detailed consideration for two reasons. First, the surviving building works at the priory itself during this period betray fewer distinctive stylistic features capable of being identified in other buildings in the North East; and second, the nature of the priory's own architectural output is paralleled by the small quantity and low quality of work of this period in the region as a whole.

As with the preceding chapters concerned with the priory's own properties, the nature of the evidence means that the feature most suitable for across-the-board comparison is window tracery. In part this is because the rarity of substantial schemes of new church building or reconstruction means that it was the commonest form of alteration; but it is also the architectural feature most likely to have been preserved in early depictions which serve either to inspire confidence in restorations, or, in some instances, constitute the only evidence of the former existence of work of this kind.

VIII.B: *c.* 1340 - *c.* 1400

VIII.B.1 DESIGNS PROBABLY RELATED TO WORKS AT DURHAM PRIORY AND ITS PROPERTIES

VIII.B.1.1 Holy Island (St Mary)

Nothing in the present fabric of the church retains any hint of Decorated tracery patterns, but it is clear from nineteenth-century drawings that the east end of the south nave aisle had two two-light windows, each with a pair of convergent mouchettes and an apical soufflet (Pl. 244, 245).[1] The stylistic association of the form with work at Durham Cathedral was suggested long ago (Hodgson 1892), though the closest parallel in the Durham area is in fact the west window of Brancepeth (Pl. 247; see below). The immediate source must have been the adjacent priory church at Holy Island itself, where traceries of exactly similar form are independently recorded as having been inserted into the south aisle, probably in the late 1360s (Pl. 126) (see Chap. VI.C.4).

VIII.B.1.2 Brancepeth (western parts)

There are two three-light windows in each of the low transeptal chapels flanking the east end of the nave, all the surviving ones being clearly of mid fourteenth-century type. The original form of the north transept north window is unknown;[2] its east window has a pair of convergent mouchettes beneath a soufflet in the head (Pl. 248).[3] Though apparently contemporary with the others, the south transept east window has a curiously archaic pattern, Geometrical rather than curvilinear, of two encircled trefoils beneath a soufflet (Pl. 249).[4] But by far the most interesting of the four is the south transept south window, the tracery of which, though weathered, is original. It has two superimposed pairs of trefoil-cusped mouchettes (Pl. 250, 251). The motif only occurs elsewhere in the area in one of the south choir aisle windows of the cathedral (sIX; Pl. 17). Given its rarity, it seems highly probable that there is a direct link between the two designs.

The only other Decorated window in the church is in the west wall of the tower. It is of two lights, with a pair of trefoiled convergent mouchettes beneath a small uncusped loop (Pl. 247). This tracery has been entirely renewed, though apparently accurately.[5] In view of the likelihood that the south transept south window shows links with a tracery at the

cathedral, the occurrence of similar pairs of convergent mouchettes at Holy Island, in windows inserted into both the priory (Pl. 126) and the parish church, those at the latter even providing parallels for the uncusped apical loop (Pl. 245) (see Chap. VI.C.4, and above, section B.1.1), further strengthens the connection with the priory works.

VIII.B.1.3 Houghton-le-Spring

The five-light east window has been completely renewed (Pl. 253, 257), but its accuracy is confirmed by early drawings and engravings.[6] There are no five-light traceries of this period at Durham, so direct comparison is impossible; nevertheless, the elements of its composition are virtually identical to Decorated examples at the cathedral (Hodgson 1896-1905b, 50). For example, the side-pieces over the outer pairs of lights have a pair of divergent mouchettes beneath a soufflet exactly like those of window sX in the south choir aisle, and closely similar to the three (nVIII-nX) in the north choir aisle (Pl. 18, 15). Above the central light is a leaf-stem motif, which is very similar to the centre-piece of the west window of the cathedral, allowing for the difference in scale (Pl. 26), which plausibly accounts for the one fewer pair of divergent mouchettes and slightly simplified cusping.

VIII.B.1.4 Embleton

The medieval chancel of Embleton church was demolished in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries, and rebuilt both at that time and again in the 1860s (Wilson 1870, 134-5, pls. following 134; Pl. 254). Fortunately, it was drawn by Grimm, probably *c.* 1778 (Clay 1939, 78-9), so that good evidence of its medieval appearance still survives (Pl. 255).[7] There are seven Grimm drawings in all. The most remarkable of these are the details of two Decorated window traceries, which look approximately contemporary stylistically (Pl. 256). Unfortunately, the location of the three-light window in the church is uncertain, but the five-light tracery was certainly the east window of the chancel (Pl. 255). Its side-pieces have a pair of divergent mouchettes beneath a soufflet, and the centre-piece a leaf-stem motif with two pairs of mouchettes. Apart from minor differences in the cusping and the addition of a transom, it is virtually identical to that of the east window of the church of Houghton-le-Spring (Pl. 257) (see above, section B.1.3).

The rectory of Embleton was appropriated to Merton College Oxford, papal licence being obtained in 1331 and a licence from the bishop of Durham the following year; effective control of the revenues was achieved in November 1341 (Bateson 1895, 59, 63).

The costs of the insertion of the east window shown in Grimm's drawing should therefore have rested with the College as part of its general responsibility to build and repair the chancel. Fortunately, there survives an extensive series of annual accounts drawn up by the proctors of Merton concerning the revenues of the college's property in the north of England, and this, together with a parallel series of half-yearly schedules of debts owed in respect of each of these properties, enables the probable architectural history of the east window to be reconstructed in some detail, and therefore warrants an extended discussion.

A series of four accounts in the 1390s records major building works on the chancel.[8] The mention of the east window in the 1396-7 account suggests that it formed an important part of the operations. Further, there are unbroken runs of accounts preceding and following those in which building is mentioned, so the accounting years 1391-2 and 1396-7 must mark the extent of the duration of the work. Since only one account (for 1393-4) is missing within these termini, the documentation of the work is very nearly complete. Some at least of the stages of the alterations can be deduced. The 1394-5 account (no. 6102) contains no references to work on the chancel, so there must have been a pause in activities then. This pause may have included the previous year (the account for which is missing), but the word 'cancelli' in an otherwise illegible reference at the foot of the schedule of debts for Autumn 1393 hints that work was in fact in progress for part at least of this year. The work thus seems to have been divided into two distinct phases, 1391 x 1393 or 1394, and 1395 x 1397. Unlike any references in the first phase, both of those in the second confine themselves exclusively to work on windows. Conversely, the only mention of a mason occurs in a roll of the first phase (1391-2 account; cf. Autumn 1391 schedule of debts). Given that glazing must have been the final stage in the works, and that the most likely point for a pause would have been between the completion of the mason-work and the start of the glazing, it seems reasonable to suppose that the first phase was concerned with structural alterations, the second exclusively with glazing; and that an important part of these structural alterations concerned the stonework of the window itself.

Only the 1396-7 account specifies the east window, but the absence of the word 'orientalis' in the reference in the preceding account need not imply that a different window is being referred to there, though this remains possible, especially as the three-light tracery drawn by Grimm may also have been in the chancel. In either case, the reference may well be to one continuous operation which took place in a single year, since the 1396 building season is divided between the two accounts. Similarly, the first phase may well not have

begun until the 1392 building-season, and need not have continued beyond the following one. These references thus suggest that the east window of the chancel of Embleton church was erected (or, more probably, inserted into an earlier fabric) between 1391 and 1394, most likely in 1392 or 1393, and glazed somewhat later, between 1395 and 1397, most likely in 1396.

There can be little doubt that the window which forms the subject of these documentary references must be identified with the one drawn by Grimm (Pl. 256). If the tracery were held to have been inserted into the chancel earlier than the period of the documented alterations, it then seems impossible to explain what the object of the latter was; while a later date can be completely discounted on stylistic grounds. Yet the identity of documents and drawing is not altogether without its difficulties, since a date in the early 1390s is unexpectedly late (though not, perhaps, impossibly so) for a window the tracery of which consists of uncompromisingly flowing Decorated forms, only the transom making any possible concession to the Perpendicular style.[9] Though flowing tracery certainly remained current further south at least until the 1380s, for example in Lincolnshire (Pevsner and Harris 1964, 38-9) and south Yorkshire (Coldstream 1973, 208), it had been superseded by Perpendicular forms by the late 1360s at St Nicholas Newcastle, and probably by the 1370s at Brancepeth and at Durham Cathedral itself (see below, respectively sections B.2.7, 2.6, and Chap. III.B.3). How is this apparent chronological disparity to be accounted for? There is some documentation which (though its ambiguities make it difficult to interpret) may suggest that the tracery had been designed some time before it was actually erected, for a further series of documentary references records mason-work carried out in connection with the choir in the early 1380s.[10]

The 1385 payment is substantial, implying that work of some importance was in progress. The little that is known of the career of Henry of Holme from other sources appears to confirm this interpretation, as he was in charge of major works for the Duchy of Lancaster at Dunstanburgh Castle, two miles south-east of Embleton, from 1381 until at least 1383, when he began a project of some size,[11] so he would almost certainly still have been engaged at the castle when he undertook the work at Embleton, which was in progress by August 1384 (see note 10). Apparently, then, the proctors of Merton (or, given the active role of the laity argued for above (see Chap. VII.F.1, F.4), some of their parishioners) had taken advantage of the availability of masons nearby to pursue a project of their own. What is of much more significance for the interpretation of these references is that they had engaged the

services / of the principal mason in charge of the Dunstanburgh Castle works. This implies that the work at Embleton required considerable skills in its execution, and the provision of window tracery seems the most likely candidate.

If the window tracery which was inserted into the east end of the chancel of Embleton church in the early 1390s had indeed been produced a decade earlier, the reasons for the delay can only be guessed at. Economic problems may have been one factor, the variation in the amounts of gross debts owed to the college by the lessees of its tithes indicating that there was less money forthcoming in the second half of the 1380s than either earlier or later.[12] Another may have been the attempts by both the vicar and the lessee of the rectorial tithes, Sir John Neville, to dispute the college's possession of these sources of revenue in the 1380s. Difficulties in the college's relationship with its mason may also have played a part, to judge from an ambiguous reference to legal proceedings against Holme which seem to have been in progress in 1387, though nothing is known of their substance.[13]

There is thus some circumstantial evidence which may be adduced in support of the theory that the tracery of the east window was indeed somewhat out of date by the time of its insertion. Given that there are references, otherwise difficult to explain, to some unspecified work done by a mason known to have been of considerable competence in connection with the chancel a decade earlier, and that a hiatus in building activities during much of the intervening period may have been result of economic constraints, though contractual difficulties with the mason may also have played their part, it seems reasonable to interpret the references of the early 1380s as representing the start of works which were eventually completed only in the 1390s, and that this first phase included the production of the tracery.

The graphic evidence relating to Embleton is of major importance in establishing that tracery of a type closely related stylistically to those present at Durham Cathedral was found not just at other churches in its immediate vicinity, but also at a considerable distance away; while, if the preceding interpretation of the documentary sources is right, this evidence supplies the only firm date for any member of the group, and this seems to be later than might have been supposed on stylistic grounds alone. Further, the identification of the mason probably responsible for the work hints at a possible context for the transmission of the design to this remote location, a topic which will be further considered below (see Chap. IX.B.4.3).

VIII.B.1.5 Sedgefield

The Decorated tracery of the five-light east window of Sedgefield church has recently been completely renewed, following accurately its ancient appearance (Pl. 258, 259). It is less elaborate in form than that at Houghton-le-Spring. Each pair of side-lights is surmounted by a soufflet, without any intervening mouchettes, and the centre-piece has only a single pair of divergent mouchettes beneath the apical soufflet. Though the very simplicity of these forms makes their connections less clear-cut, it is possible that the design should be seen as a reduced version of leaf-stem traceries of the type exemplified by Houghton-le-Spring and Embleton, and so may be associated with them stylistically.

VIII.B.1.6 Raby Castle

The early Perpendicular windows in the side walls of the great hall at Raby (Pl. 260) are of an extremely unusual form. Of paired lights not contained in a super-arch, the heads are subdivided by two large cusps, the upper parts of which are vertical, and whose points have attached disks. The upper part is cinquefoil-cusped where it meets the head of the light, and the curved lower parts of each of the major cusps is itself sub-cusped. There is a transom, each light forming a flattened arch, the angles bridged by shallowly curved spandrels, with a single small cusp towards its springing points.[14]

Two details of this design suggest links with late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century works at Durham Cathedral. The first is the basic subdivision of the head of the light, the major cusps of which look like a two-dimensional version of the square-headed nodding ogees of the image-niches on the tomb-chest of John, Lord Neville, who died in 1386 (Pl. 319). This may not be a specific enough parallel to infer a direct link between the two, though it seems not unlikely given that both were produced under the patronage of the Nevilles. The second feature is the disked cusps, which also occur on the major cusps of the roundels of the wall-bench inserted into the north choir aisle in association with the tomb of Bishop Skirlaw (Pl. 73), which appears to have been completed by 1403 (see Chap. IV.A.8.1). The implications of the relationships between these minor details remain unclear, but it should be borne in mind that major building works were probably in progress at both Raby and Brancepeth castles at this time, and the occasional occurrence of *ex gratia* payments to Lord Neville's masons at both places shows that they were being cultivated by the priory in the 1380s.[15]

VIII.B.2 DESIGNS PROBABLY UNRELATED TO WORKS AT DURHAM PRIORY AD ITS PROPERTIES

VIII.B.2.1 Stranton

The chancel of this church seems to be essentially late twelfth century in date, with three traceried windows inserted later; only the two in the south wall, which are Decorated in form, will be considered here (Pl. 261). The western of these, of two lights beneath a soufflet, is too simple to be significant stylistically. The eastern one is of three lights, with a pair of convergent trefoiled mouchettes beneath an apical soufflet (Pl. 262). The spandrels between the mouchettes and the soufflet are filled with an additional pair of small trefoiled mouchettes.

The basic pattern of this tracery is very common in Decorated architecture, examples of it (many of them associated with priory work), having frequently been noted (see Chaps. III.A.4, VI.F.2). However, Stranton is the sole example in the region with the additional pair of subsidiary mouchettes.

VIII.B.2.2 Easington

In 1852-3, the chancel of Easington was thoroughly restored to its original thirteenth-century form, completely obscuring the fact that it had undergone extensive refenestration in the Decorated style (Pevsner 1983, 257). No drawings of the north side are known, but views from the south-east by both Blore (Pl. 263) and Billings (Billings 1846, pl. facing 37) show that there were formerly at least four windows of this period, three of two lights in the south wall, and a three-light east window. A vignette by Billings gives a detailed view of one of the two-light windows (Pl. 264). This had a Y-division, with side-pieces of two trefoil-cusped convergent mouchettes beneath a soufflet over a cinquefoil-cusped ogee-headed light, and a mouchette-wheel of three trefoil-cusped mouchettes in the head. Both views of the east window are oblique, but taken together they indicate a three-light window with convergent mouchettes beneath another triple mouchette-wheel in the head. The cusping seems to have been simpler than that of the two-light windows.

VIII.B.2.3 Low Friarside

This chapel appears to be entirely of fourteenth-century date. The tracery of the head of the easternmost window of the south wall survives intact (Pl. 266); while the stumps of the east

window enabled C. C. Hodges to reconstruct its pattern (Pl. 265). The latter was of simple three-light cusped intersecting form. The former, however, has a Decorated design of two round-headed cinquefoil-cusped lights, and in the head a wheel of three trefoil-headed mouchettes. Both are apparently original features, and while the east window looks earlier typologically, and may conceivably have been reused from an earlier building, there is sufficient comparative evidence for the juxtaposition of geometrical and curvilinear patterns in the region to suggest that the two may in fact be contemporary. The two-light window is more diagnostic stylistically, resembling those once at Easington, which may imply a connection between the two designs.

VIII.B.2.4 Newcastle, St Nicholas (transepts) (Pl. 267)

By far the most extensive and varied series of Decorated window traceries of this period which are stylistically independent of Durham is to be found in Newcastle, primarily in its great parish church of St Nicholas. There a large-scale programme of rebuilding was begun in the early fourteenth century, starting with the nave, whose aisles probably had geometrical cusped intersecting windows originally (Pevsner and Richmond 1957, 225). The next phase, which will be considered in this section, involved the transepts, which contain a remarkable display of curvilinear patterns. Finally, the eastern arm was reconstructed in an early Perpendicular style, documentary evidence that it was under way by 1368 providing the only absolute date in the whole sequence (see below, section B.2.7).

Typologically, the earliest of the transept windows are probably nos. 3 and 4 (Pl. 268, 269).[16] These (together with nos. 5 and 6) are thought to have been reset in their present positions when the north transept east aisle was extended in the fifteenth century (Honeyman 1932, 119-20). Both are of three lights. No. 4 has cusped intersecting tracery exactly like that of the nave windows; no. 3 has side-lights which are much higher than the central light, and a mouchette-wheel with three trefoil-cusped mouchettes. These two traceries seem to be another example of the juxtaposition of curvilinear and flowing patterns noted above, and may indeed be the source of the Low Friarside designs (Pl. 265). Another mouchette-wheel fills the east wall of the charnel chapel beneath the north transept. This has no fewer than five trefoil-cusped mouchettes (Honeyman 1932, fig. 9 on 110).

The principal element of flowing tracery at St Nicholas's is the facade window of the north transept (no. 2) (Pl. 271). Though superficially similar to tracery of the Durham

group, such as Houghton-le-Spring east (Pl. 257), it is in fact quite different, and the contrasts are instructive ones. The framing-division is exactly like Houghton-le-Spring, but the side-pieces are more complex, having a pair of convergent mouchettes beneath a pair of divergent ones and an apical soufflet. Again, the centre-piece produces an effect similar to the Houghton leaf-stem, but is designed rather as a fan of mouchettes diverging from an impaled trefoil at the base and, unlike the leaf-stem proper, it has no vertical stem.

The two two-light windows which can be associated stylistically with no. 2 are also both highly distinctive designs. No. 1 (Pl. 272) is a variation on the theme of pairs of converging and diverging mouchettes found in the side-pieces of no. 2, while nos. 5 and 6 (Pl. 273) have pairs of small convergent mouchettes beneath an ogee vesica filled with sub-tracery comprising two pairs of divergent mouchettes and a soufflet. The use of sub-tracery here provides a link with one of the south transept windows, no. 7 (Pl. 274), which is of three lights with sub-tracery in each reticulation-unit, comprising a large pair of mouchettes with small soufflets top and bottom; the spandrels are filled with a pair of congruent mouchettes.

VIII.B.2.5 Newcastle, St Mary's Hospital and Blackfriars

Drawings of two other Decorated windows from sites in Newcastle, both now destroyed, deserve comment. Firstly, a drawing of the five-light east window of St Mary's hospital in Westgate (Pl. 275) looks very much like a simplified version of the north transept facade window of St Nicholas's (no. 2; Pl. 271). The side-pieces are similar, but lack the pair of divergent mouchettes; while the centre-piece starts in exactly the same way with an impaled trefoil, but again has one fewer pair of divergent mouchettes. Secondly, the south window of the dormitory of the Dominican friary seems to have been a highly unusual design (Pl. 276). It was of four lights and, though the surviving drawings do not make it clear which its main framing-divisions were, it seems to be most reasonably interpreted as a form of sub-reticulated tracery, with very large-scale reticulation units. A single unit forms the centre-piece, and parts of four others fill the spandrels. It contains a pair of divergent mouchettes beneath an oddly cusped soufflet. Despite the evident difference in scale, the probable use of sub-reticulation implies that this window may have been associated with one of the south transept windows at St Nicholas's (no. 7; Pl. 274).

VIII.B.2.6 Brancepeth (chancel)

This church can boast the only complete rebuilding of a chancel in county Durham in the later Middle Ages, and one of the few north of Tees. Early Perpendicular in style, it forms a striking contrast to the Decorated work in the adjacent transepts (see above, section B.1.2). It is four bays long, with a five-light east window (Pl. 279) and (in its original form), a three-light window in each bay, except for the second from the east on the north side, which is obscured by the sacristy (Pl. 246); the western two windows on the south side were subsequently displaced southwards by the addition of a chancel chapel (Pl. 278). As the form of the five-light window (Pl. 279) is generated (as commonly in Perpendicular designs) by superimposing two of the three-light designs so as to eliminate one of the outer lights of each, the space in the head being filled with a quatrefoiled soufflet, only the three-light forms will be fully described. Each light is cinquefoil-cusped, the side-lights being ogee-headed, with a pair of trefoiled convergent mouchettes beneath a soufflet. The centre-piece has a supertransom, dividing two pairs of superimposed batement lights, the upper arched and trefoiled, with a split Y in the apex, the lower having right-angled cinquefoil cusping. The spandrels above the supertransom are filled with trefoiled figures reminiscent of divergent mouchettes.

There can be no mistaking the ultimate origins of this design. As Hodgson noted, it is linked with the clerestory tracery of York Minster, and is intermediate in form between that of the Lady chapel (1361-74; Pl. 317) and the choir (*c.* 1380-*c.* 1400) (Hodgson 1896-1905b, 87-8). Its closest analogy, however, is with late fourteenth-century traceries at Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, the three-light windows at Brancepeth being almost identical to those in the west ends of the nave aisles and in the Lady chapel aisles (Pl. 280, 281). A fragment of what was presumed to have been the original glazing was still extant in the nineteenth century and may be dated on heraldic evidence to 1371 x 1386.[17] The confidence with which mature Perpendicular forms are handled in this structure contrasts markedly with the much more tentative rapprochement with the style which seems to have been taking place among Durham Priory masons during the same period. Moreover, its York origins make an instructive comparison with the Decorated work of the preceding phase at Brancepeth, which looked to much more local Durham sources for its inspiration (see above, section B.1.2). Given the relationship between the works at Dunstanburgh and Embleton already noted, it is possible that the works on the chancel at Brancepeth were similarly linked to works at the nearby castle. If so, the immediate cause of the change may simply be the result of a change

of the mason in charge of work at the castle, at which major building was almost certainly in progress in this period (see note 15), but about which little is known. Whether this is so or not, the abrupt stylistic change may indicate either that the mason who designed the transepts was no longer available or, given that this church was in the patronage of the Nevilles and stood immediately adjacent to one of the their principal seats, that its patrons deliberately looked farther afield for their masons.

VIII.B.2.7 Newcastle, St Nicholas (chancel)

Brancepeth is by no means the only church in the North East to show evidence of contact with Perpendicular forms independently of their appearance at Durham, as they were clearly present in the chancel of St Nicholas's, Newcastle, in the 1360s. This, the final phase of the great reconstruction of that church, consists of a central vessel of four bays with aisles (Pl. 267). These have four-light windows in their north and south walls with a five-light variant in their east walls. The four-light designs have a pair of trefoil-cusped inner lights which spring higher than the acutely pointed, cinquefoil-cusped outer ones. There is a straight-sided soufflet, flanked by inclined ones, in the head, and trefoiled spandrels above the outer lights (Pl. 283). The five-light version is as above, but with a second soufflet in the head, and cinquefoil-cusped lights throughout (Pl. 282).

It is clear from an entry in the register of Bishop Appleton of Carlisle that work on the aisles was under way by 1368, as in that year steps were taken to have it stopped by a proctor of the appropriators (jointly the bishop and convent of Carlisle), who had not authorized the new project (see above, Chap. VII.F.4). The old chancel is mentioned in this account as if it had not yet been demolished, so the new work must have been on the aisle walls, which were presumably being constructed clear of it.[18]

The possible sources of the tracery pattern are discussed below (section D). What is important in the present context, however, is that Perpendicular forms were established in Newcastle at a time when some at least of the Durham Priory works were still employing curvilinear traceries (compare Finchale or Farne: see Chap. VI.E.2, D.3). Moreover, they were forms of a kind which, whatever their ultimate sources, were quite unlike those which were eventually adopted at the priory itself.

VIII.C: AFTER *c.* 1400

The relationship between the cathedral works and other architecture in the region in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is less easy to determine than in the preceding period. The situation is complicated by a number of difficulties, some concerning the priory works and others the situation in the region. Our knowledge of the range of tracery types present at the priory is limited by the loss of some major examples, most notably the south window of the dormitory, and those of the cloister walks (see Chap. IV.B.1.1, 1.2). Further, the concentration of work on the central tower from the later fifteenth century (see Chap. V.A.2.1, 2.2) means that, in the nature of the case, the range of tracery types which that project furnishes for comparative purposes is severely limited (Pl. 90). With the exception of the city of Newcastle, even less activity is attributable to this period in the region than had been the case in the fourteenth century. Though the comparative plainness of many of the region's secular buildings has meant that they have been under-represented in the discussion so far, it is clear that the great age of castle building in the North East was over by the early fifteenth century (Pevsner *et al.* 1983, 28-9; Pevsner and Richmond 1957, 43-5). What is more, even when details such as traceried windows do survive (and they are mostly confined to churches), much of what there is cannot be dated by reference to documentary evidence, nor is it at all closely datable stylistically. This is in part due to the run of the mill quality of much of the work of this period, but it is also in part a problem inherent in the demonstrably long duration of many of the forms characteristic of mature Perpendicular design. This can be demonstrated by reference to the priory works, where essentially the same 'strong vertical' tracery type (Harvey 1978, 70) was in use, probably from as early as *c.* 1414 in the library (Pl. 86; see Chap. IV.B.1.3), certainly by 1429-35 in the Galilee (Pl. 64; see Chap. IV.A.5), until at least the last decade of the fifteenth century in the chapel over the gatehouse (Pl. 104; see Chap. V.B.2.1).

Where high quality Perpendicular traceries do survive at the cathedral, most notably in the facade window of the south transept (sXVI) and window sXIX of the nave (Pl. 50, 51; see Chap. IV.A.1), they seem to have had little or no impact on the region, the only possible instance, the nave clerestory of St Oswald's Elvet (Pl. 198), being explicable by its proximity to the priory (see Chap. VII.B.6). The traceries inserted into the nave aisles of the cathedral, perhaps *c.* 1500 (Pl. 98; see Chap. V.A.3), likewise seem to have made no impact on local tracery design; and if the subreticulated tracery formerly at the east end of the south wall of

St Oswald's (Pl. 285) is evidence of a type no longer represented at the priory itself, it again seems to have had only a minimal impact locally, being loosely paralleled in the west window of St Giles's church, Durham (Pl. 286), and was probably derived from Yorkshire examples, such as the windows of the lantern stage of the late fourteenth-century tower at Howden (Pl. 95), or those in the side walls of the chancel of Bolton Percy of *c.* 1411-23 (Harvey 1978, 157, pl. 117). Despite its superficial similarity to the west window of the Durham chapter house, Yorkshire sources also provide the likeliest context for the straight-sided reticulation units with concave bases of the east window of Stranton church (Pl. 287), a form not otherwise found in the North East but common in York and its hinterland, where it was ultimately derived from the aisle windows of the Minster Lady chapel (Pl. 315): see, for example, the York Guildhall (Harvey 1978, pl. 110).[19]

The only pattern employed at the priory which can be paralleled in the surrounding area is the three-light 'strong vertical' type, which occurs several times in the region, in the west window of Chester-le-Street (Pl. 288), the east window of Norton (Pl. 289), in the south aisle (Pl. 291) and north chancel chapel at Stranton, and the south wall of the chancel at Staindrop (Pl. 290). Unfortunately however, this is a common Perpendicular form in minor contexts which, combined with its demonstrably long currency at the priory and the absence of dating evidence for any of the examples in the county, make it unsafe to infer any direct connection between them. If any such connections did exist, the longevity of the pattern at Durham itself implies that it was a stock repertoire form, which in turn suggests that it would have been more easily available to other patrons than the more elaborate and distinctive traceries which did not establish a comparable local context. Where more elaborate patterns do occur in the region, notably in the east, west, and south facades of St Nicholas, Newcastle, their forms are quite independent of anything known from the priory, which suggests that the town's stylistic independence, which has already been observed in the fourteenth century, continued into the late Middle Ages.

VIII.D: DISCUSSION

Section B.1 of this chapter established the existence of a group of flowing tracery designs in the region which show stylistic affinities with one another and with traceries present both at Durham Cathedral itself (see Chap. III.A.4.1) and at some of its dependencies

(see Chap. VI.H and Appendix 3). Though several members of the group are undated, what is known of their chronology at least does not rule out the hypothesis that designs of this form in the area originated at the priory; further, such an interpretation is strongly supported by their distribution, which seems primarily to have been determined by the location of Durham and its northern dependencies (Figs. 14-15). They may therefore be presumed to have been the work of a mason or masons who had worked for the monks at Durham. The one location not easily explained in this way (at least *prima facie*) is Embleton, which will be considered further below (see Chap. IX.B.4.3).

The comparative evidence has also shown that a number of flowing tracery designs formally distinct from those of the Durham group also existed in the region (see above, section B.2). The chronological evidence is not adequate to determine their date-range, but the transept traceries at St Nicholas's must be earlier than the late 1360s (see above, section B.2.4), so these at least were probably contemporary with some of the Durham group traceries. Further, several of them have features in common, suggesting that they may be related to each other in the same way as are the Durham ones. Thus the juxtaposition of geometrical and flowing forms in windows 3 and 4 at St Nicholas's is echoed at Low Friarside; the use of mouchette-wheels as the centre-piece of a design also occurs at both the latter and also formerly at Easington; while the mouchette fan of the north transept facade window (no. 2) at St Nicholas's was paralleled at the nearby Westgate hospital. It seems possible therefore to speculate that these traceries were produced by a mason or masons, presumably based in Newcastle, who in part overlapped in time with the mason or masons who were responsible for the Durham group. This contrasts strongly with the position in the later fourteenth century, when the earliest examples of Perpendicular tracery in the region seem unrelated to each other and have no discernible local context.

It does not follow from having established the existence of two groups of flowing traceries in the region that their sources are similarly distinguishable from each other. On the contrary, the elements which are employed mutually exclusively so as to define the two groups in the North East may be found in combination elsewhere, suggesting that they may have been derived from similar (perhaps even identical) contexts. In the absence of full regional *corpora* of architectural forms in this style, the extent to which their sources may be precisely localizable cannot as yet be determined. Nevertheless, the fact that the distinctive motifs of both groups can be paralleled in south-east Yorkshire and the east Midlands, the nearest regions in which flowing tracery motifs were popular, suggests that this was most

probably the general area from which they were derived. Thus mouchette-wheels can be found in the Holderness area of Yorkshire, for example, in the nave aisle windows at Beverley Minster (Pl. 292, 293). Reticulation with sub-tracery can be found in the environs of Beverley at Welwick (Pl. 294), while the particular forms of the Newcastle example (Pl. 274) are reminiscent of the tracery within the ogee vesicas of the north nave aisle tracery at Beverley (Pl. 292), which also uses congruent mouchettes in the spandrels like those in the perimeter reticulation units at Newcastle. The elongated leaf-stem motifs with pairs of mouchettes branching from a central vertical element, which are a prominent feature of the Durham group, are also paralleled in the south nave aisle traceries at Beverley, where they form an alternative filling to the ogee vesicas (Pl. 293); they also occur nearby at Patrington (Pl. 295). The closest parallel to the five-light traceries incorporating the latter motif at Houghton-le-Spring and Embleton lies further south, however, in the parish church at Grantham, Lincolnshire (Pl. 296), while the compositional technique of superimposing convergent mouchettes (though not, admittedly, in a tracery which otherwise resembles the Durham examples) can be paralleled nearby at Folkingham (Etherton 1965, fig. C7, no. 63). Since flowing tracery in Yorkshire was itself ultimately dependent on east Midlands sources (Coldstream 1980, 104-7, 110), the occurrence of motifs in that area also comparable to those in the North East is only to be expected. Other characteristic motifs of the Durham group, such as the use of Y-divisions in four-light traceries (in preference to the much commoner ogee vesica used, for example, in the Beverley Minster aisles), is reminiscent of the strong preference shown for them in the major and influential centre of the Decorated style at Ely (Pl. 298), though again parallels can also be found in Holderness, in the choir aisles of Holy Trinity, Hull (Pl. 297); in the light of recent emphasis on the strong Ely influence on work in this part of Yorkshire (Coldstream 1980, 102-4, 107), it may be assumed to have been the area via which any links between Ely designs and those in the North East were mediated. Other features of the Newcastle traceries are also best paralleled further south, the Blackfriars window resembling examples in the parish church at Boston, Lincolnshire, for example (Pl. 276, 277).

The fact that several of the distinctive features of the Newcastle group are located in or near other major east-coast ports can hardly be coincidental, given the likelihood of close trading contacts between these places, and may supply the context within which a mason trained in these areas came to work further north. The motifs of the Durham group are less easily localizable, and while they may have been derived from the same areas as the

Newcastle designs (Beverley for example furnishing instances of almost all the characteristic motifs of both groups), an origin in other centres in the east Midlands cannot be ruled out.

These same parts of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire also provide the likeliest immediate sources from which some of the examples of early Perpendicular traceries in the region are derived. The similarity between the elongated reticulation units of the Durham chapter house west window (Pl. 302) and those in the east window of the priory's appropriated church of Eastrington (Pl. 299), and the possibility that the latter is the earlier of the two, have already been noted (see Chaps. III.B.3, VII.E.3). The Eastrington pattern looks very much like a simplified version of the traceries inserted in the west ends of the aisles at Lincoln Cathedral, shorn of their sub-tracery (Pl. 300). The precise date of the Lincoln windows is uncertain, though they are clearly late fourteenth century and hint at the possibility of an immediate local context for the pattern, though its origins lie further afield.[20] The closest parallel to the tracery of Brancepeth chancel is also to be found in this area, in the late fourteenth-century work at the east and west ends of Beverley Minster (Pl. 280, 281), though the location may not be so significant in this instance as the fact that both almost certainly have a common source in the Lady chapel of York Minster (see Chap. IX.B.5.3). The latter also provides the likeliest source for the hall windows at Raby (Pl. 316, 317) (see above, section B.1.6, and Chap. IX.B.5.2).

What is, perhaps, more significant than the precise area of origin of the Decorated and early Perpendicular tracery patterns of the region, is the fact that their undoubted links with work in southern Yorkshire and the east Midlands establishes the dominant trend in the stylistic associations of the region against which the exceptions are thrown into strong relief. The first is the north transept facade traceries of the cathedral (Pl. 304; Chap. III.A.4.1), which emerge as not only without local parallel, but also as equally foreign to the regions otherwise most closely linked to the North East. As Wilson has convincingly demonstrated, the clear affinities of these traceries are with works associated with the Ramsey family (Wilson 1980a, 100). He links the use of three- and five-petalled mouchette stars to those formerly in the choir clerestory windows of Lichfield Cathedral (Pl. 305), which seem to have been the work of William Ramsey, consultant master there from 1337 (Harvey 1978, 51). Its ultimate origin lies in major East Anglian works associated with the Ramsey family, notably Norwich Cathedral cloisters from the early 1320s (Harvey 1978, 48), and the Ethelbert Gate (Repton 1965, pls. 11-12). probably completed by 1317 (Fernie and Whittingham 1972, 34). Moreover, straight-sided reticulation units with concave lower sides,

one of which forms the framing-division of the north transept facade window at Durham (Pl. 304), were also found juxtaposed with mouchette-star patterns in another building almost certainly by William Ramsey, the chapter house at Old St Paul's, the window traceries of which seem to have consisted of reticulation units of this type, while the gables above them each had an encircled five-petalled figure in the centre of the gables over the windows and three-petalled figures in each of its three spandrels (Harvey 1978, 76, pl. 10). The lack of local parallels to these Durham traceries, together with the comparative remoteness of their analogues, strongly suggests that they are the work of an (alas, anonymous) outside consultant closely associated with William Ramsey.

The only other later fourteenth-century tracery type which seems to have an exotic character, lacking a local or regional context in the same way as the Durham north transept windows, is that of the choir of St Nicholas's, Newcastle, which occurs in both a four- and a five-light version (Pl. 282, 283). These must have been designed before 1368 (see above, section B.2.7) and are extremely difficult to parallel in early Perpendicular contexts. With its raised pair of central lights, the four-light tracery most resembles a rectilinear version of a flowing pattern in the choir aisles at Ely (Pl. 284), itself probably derived from the traceries in the lower chapel at St Stephen's Westminster (Mackenzie 1844, pl. IV (reproduced in Alexander and Binski 1987, fig. on 337)). This again hints that the designer was an outside consultant, a suggestion all the more interesting in that the documentation of this building also makes it clear that it was commissioned by the parishioners rather than the appropriators (see Chap. VII.F.4).

CHAPTER VIII - NOTES

1. The number of traceries is confirmed by Wilson (Wilson 1870, 19, fig. facing 18).

2. The window now contains modern Decorated tracery; there was none in it when drawn by Billings (Pl. 246).

3. The precise original form of this tracery is uncertain. In its present (restored) condition, it has an extra pair of cusps in the mouchettes not shown on Billings's drawing (Pl. 246). On the other hand, Hodgson's drawing (Pl. 248), which agrees with Billings's in this respect, shows only trefoil-cusping in the heads of the lights and not the cinquefoil-cusping shown in Billings and existing at present.

4. The construction of a fifteenth-century chantry chapel south of the chancel has preserved its tracery intact.

5. The authenticity of the tracery pattern is confirmed by a drawing by Grimm (BL MS Add. 15538, no. 98).

6. It was drawn by Grimm (BL MS Add. 15539, no. 173), Blore (BL MS Add. 42016, no. 9 (engraved in Surtees 1816-40, I, pl. 4 facing 13)), and engraved in Billings 1846 (Pl. 252)).

7. The drawings are actually labelled 'Embleton Durham', but it is clear from the overall view of the church that Embleton in Northumberland is meant, as the west tower, which is still extant, is unmistakably recognizable in it (Pl. 254, cf. Pl. 255).

8. 'Item pro un[o] [1 word illegible] venienti collegio pro choro faciendo, iij s. iiij d. ['collegio ... iiij d.' is written over a deletion, which reads: 'in autumpno xxxvj s. viij d. et sic patet per cedul'']. Item pro reparacione chori, Cxiij s. iiij d. solutum lathomo [4 words illegible in margin opposite 'lathomo'] per Willelmum Bayly. Item uni latomo facienti chorum, xx s. per manus Welpy'gto'.' (Merton College Oxford, Proctors' Account in the North, 15-16 Richard II [1391-2], Resoluc' apud Emeld' (no. 6091, 3rd item)).
'Item pro reparacione chori horrei et aule ibidem, xviij li. x s. vj d. Et hoc solutum per Ba'nebay sicut patet per cedulas. Item dat' per Elynt ad novum opus in ecclesia, v s. iij d.' (Merton College Oxford, Proctors' Account in the North, 16-17 Richard II [1392-3], Resoluta apud Emeldon (no. 6098)).
'[1 word illegible] cancelli [... *c.* 6 words illegible ...].' (Merton College Oxford, Embleton, Schedule of Debts, Autumn 1393, dorse: Recepta tempore quo infra (no. 6103)).
'Et liberatum apud Emeldon Thome Galon' pro reparacione fenestre chori [*c.* 2 letters erased], liij s. iiij d... .' (Merton College Oxford, Proctors' Account in the North, 19-20 Richard II [1395-6], Resoluta apud Emeldon' (no. 6107)).
'Et liberatum apud Emeldon' in primis pro reparacione fenestre orientalis chori de Emeldon in autumpno per Moth'by, vj li. vij s. iiij d.' (Merton College Oxford, Proctors' Account in the North, 20-1 Richard II [1396-7], Resoluta apud Emeldon' (no. 6111)).

9. Transoms also occur (though rarely) in Decorated contexts, at Patrington for example (Maddison 1989, pls. XXVIB, XXVIIC).

10. 'Et solutum Henrico Holm pro factura lathomie chori ex[pens]is hoc anno, vj s. viij d. in partem solutionem' [In margin, opposite 'pro factura': 'Item carpentario, lxvj s. viij d.']. (Merton College Oxford, Proctors' Account in the North, 7-8 Richard II (1383-4), Resoluta apud Emeldon (no. 6069)).
'Item Petrus Kyng debet pro decimis de Emeldon de anno lxxxiij, xij li. ut conventum erat inter Hylman et ipsum, de quibus solvit predictus Petrus quinque marcas Henrico Holme latamo et residuum computat ut perditum et destructum per Scottos.' (Merton College Oxford, Embleton, Schedule of Debts, Easter 1385, [recent debts] (no. 6074)).

11. In December 1381, Holme undertook to build '... un novel overeyne de masonrie ...' at Dunstanburgh castle for John of Gaunt (Lodge and Somerville 1937a, no. 624, translated Simpson 1949, 23, no. 6). Payment of arrears, presumably in connection with this work, was ordered by Gaunt in September 1382 (Lodge and Somerville 1937b, no. 723, translated Simpson 1949, 24-5, no. 7). In July 1383 he undertook a further contract to construct a new gatehouse (Lodge and Somerville 1937b,

no. 923, translated Simpson 1949, 25, no. 9). Holme had evidently also taken on additional work at the castle, since payment for six houses and a gatehouse constructed '... outre son covenant ...' was ordered at the same time (Lodge and Somerville 1937b, no. 903, translated Simpson 1949, 24, no. 8).

12. The average amount recorded at the foot of the four accounts for 1386-7 x 1389-90 is *c.* £123 6s. This compares with £83 8s. for the following four. Two years show particularly marked increases: £31 in 1386-7 and £55 in 1389-90. The former is perhaps to be associated with the aftermath of the Scots invasion in the summer of 1385 (Ramsey 1913, II, 222-4). The latter seems to have been caused by the failure of the Earl of Northumberland, the then lessee of the tithes of Embleton and Ponteland, to make the agreed payment. The debt was paid the following year, however. In contrast with these troubled years, the 1390s were a period of financial stability, which must have provided an economic climate in which making alterations to the chancel might again have been contemplated.

13. 'Item de Edmundo Herun pro decimis de Emeldon de anno Domini etc. lxxxv, ix li. Et allocantur sibi xx s. quod iuravit [1 word illegible] expendidit et plus in placito contra Henricum Holme.' (Merton College Oxford, Embleton, Schedule of Debts, Autumn 1387, dorse: Recepta tempore quo infra (no. 6081)).

14. It is difficult ~~both~~ to interpret the precise form of the three-light tracery in the end wall of the hall as drawn by Grimm (BL MS Add. 15540, nos. 39-40). It appears to have had a shallow arched head with straight vertical mullions surmounted by pairs of batement lights. The pattern seems unrelated stylistically to the windows in the side walls, and may have been a later addition, resembling local work of the early fifteenth century such as the east window of the south aisle at Catterick, North Yorkshire (Raine 1834, pl. II).

15. 'Item cementar' domini de Nevill apud Braunspath in presencia domini de Nevill' ex precepto domini prioris, xiij s. iiij d. [1 item omitted] Item cementar' et aliis operariis apud Raby ex dono, vj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1380-1, Dona et Exennia Domini Prioris).
'Item cementar' domini de Nevill' apud Braunspath, vj s. viij d. [The next item concerns a similar payment to a mason of the lord of Hilton.]' (Bursar 1384-5, Dona et Exennia Domini Prioris).

16. The architect in charge of the renewal of this tracery in 1824 claimed to have reproduced the pre-existing form accurately; the vignette published in 1827 (Pl. 270) may well represent the tracery as renewed, so cannot be used as an independent witness of the form of the original (Mackenzie 1827, 248).

17. Hislop has pointed out that the period during which John of Gaunt's arms might have been found quartered with those of Castille, dated by Hodgson to 1371 x 1381 (Hodgson 1896-1905b, 86) in fact extended to 1386 (Hislop 1989, 65).

18. The new work is described in the notarial deposition as '... choro ecclesie Sancti Nichole predicte contiguum, ut apparuit noviter in parte constructum' and as '... in cimiterio eiusdem ...'. The chaplain in charge of the work is prohibited '... ne ulterius in dicto novo opere construendo, vel in antiquo choro demolliendo procederet quoque modo ...' (Raine 1864a, App., lxxxviii-xc, quoting Reg. Appleby at Carlisle, 21).

19. Probable York influence is apparent elsewhere in the region in the octagonal upper stage and spire of the west tower at Chester-le-Street, which closely resembles that of St Mary Castlegate in York.

20. The ultimate sources of this tracery pattern may well have been Gloucester Abbey where such elongated reticulation units with ogeed bases occur in the east cloister of *c.* 1351-60 (Wilson 1987, 417), though angular versions were present there from the earliest phases of the work in the south transept of the 1330s (Harvey 1978, 79), and something very like them occurs in the tracery panels of the screen behind the choir stalls, the north side of which dates from before 1351 (Tracy 1987, 44). The closest formal parallel to Eastrington is the pattern of the north nave aisle windows (Pl. 301) which, however, are not closely dated and may be later. A five-light window similar in its general composition to the west window of the Durham chapter house occurs in the west wall of the north transept at Tewkesbury Abbey nearby. Though it uses mostly flowing forms of reticulation, the characteristic elongated unit ogeed top and bottom occurs in the apex (Pl. 303). These parallels suggest that the arrival in Yorkshire of Gloucester-derived Perpendicular forms almost contemporaneously with

the London-derived forms of York Minster Lady chapel, which in contrast favoured the characteristic 'fish-scale' reticulation units with concave lower sides (Pl. 315).

CHAPTER IX: MASTER MASONS AND PROBLEMS OF DESIGN

IX.A: INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into three sections. The introduction sets out possible criteria for identifying masons of high status in the Durham documents. The second considers in chronological order the documentary evidence relating to each of the individuals so defined, both in the Durham archive and beyond, and, where feasible, analyses the evidence for attributing projects to them on stylistic grounds, concluding with an assessment of the status of each. It is intended here not only to consider the documentary evidence relating to individual master masons *per se*, but also to review in the light of that evidence the foregoing account of building, both at Durham itself and its outlying properties, and at related buildings in the region, in order to assess the contribution which evidence of the activities of individual masters may be able to make to the chronological and stylistic relationships already established. Finally, some of the general implications of the Durham evidence are set in context.

Perhaps the most surprising feature of the numerous references to masons in the Durham archive is just how unusual the term 'magister', or equivalents such as 'latamus principalis', actually are; only six masons in the priory's records are so designated, and the fact that several of them are mentioned on other occasions without the term being used indicates that its absence cannot be taken to imply lack of that status: the career of John Lewyn is a case in point (see below, section B.4). Again, it might be supposed that the identity of many of the most important masons who had worked at the priory could be recovered from their indentures of employment; in fact, however, documents of this kind survive only comparatively infrequently, so are of limited help. This should not be taken to mean that high status masons were rarely present at Durham; as the evidence set out below indicates, there were individuals whose activities display characteristics of high status masons, but that status needs to be determined by recourse to less direct criteria.

The criteria used have been established by isolating other features of the documents which appear to characterize those who are also described as master or the equivalent, or which occur in the surviving contract (see below, section B.13.1). At the simplest level, if a mason is paid more than any of the other masons named in connection with a project, it

may be suspected that he is exercising some sort of supervisory function. A second possible clue, of a purely diplomatic nature, is that the mason named first in such lists of wages, whether or not he is paid more than the others, may turn out to be the most important of them: Lewyn's work at the priory in the 1350s contains several examples of this phenomenon (see notes 17-18). Again, masons who are recorded as having undertaken to do specific projects by contract may be of significance, though it must be stressed that works undertaken by this means range from major schemes, such as the reconstruction of the dormitory, to minor works, which would not need any special skills. The payment of a mason by fee (as specified in John Bell II's contract: see below, section B.13.1), rather than at a daily rate, or by combination of a retainer and a daily rate, is a system apparently restricted to those of higher status; and the inclusion of perks, such as the provision of a rent-free house (again a feature of John Bell II's contract), or a robe, is a reasonably clear indication of a craftsman to whom high importance was attached. A final criterion for determining the status of a mason is the taking of apprentices. In both of the surviving contracts (see Appendix 5) the apprentices are bound to a mason who, on other grounds, was demonstrably the most important then in the priory's employ. Though this does not of itself prove that the practice was restricted to masons of such high status, those to whom apprentices are bound in other references can often also be shown to have been of comparable importance, so there is a *prima facie* case for at least taking it to be a mark of comparatively high status. As apprentices are not mentioned in the accounts before the fifteenth century, this criterion is somewhat limited in its chronological scope (see Appendix 5).

It may be supposed that many of the difficulties in isolating master masons would be resolved simply by concentrating on the kinds of tasks which the documents reveal them engaged upon, rather than on how they were designated, or how they were paid. This is true up to a point, but the range of functions with which master masons are assumed to have been concerned is in fact very unevenly represented in the documentary evidence. Using the above criteria, it is comparatively easy to establish the names of masons in charge of executing a building project, but much rarer to find evidence relating to the designing of it. As will be demonstrated below, there is evidence to suggest that the roles of designer and executant were often separated at late medieval Durham, and it is precisely in recording the process of design, the principal concern of the architectural historian, that the documents are at their most uninformative. The situation is further complicated by the possibility that masons who served as executants for some projects might also have acted as designers for others, depending on the importance of the work and changes in their own status.

IX.B: THE EVIDENCE FOR INDIVIDUAL CAREERS

IX.B.1 ROGER (*fl.* 1329-30 x 1336-7)

IX.B.1.1 References in Durham Sources

In 1329-30 master Roger, mason, was paid 3s by command of the prior in connection with work at Norham.[1] A mason of the same name appears in debts owed by Holy Island in 1333,[2] and again in 1336-7, constructing an angle buttress for the chapel above the Abbey gate.[3]

IX.B.1.2 References in Other Sources

None known.

IX.B.1.3 Stylistic Analysis

As the Abbey gate was completely reconstructed later in the Middle Ages (see Chap. V.B.2.1), nothing survives of work of Roger's period. The nature of the work at Norham is not specified, and cannot be assumed to have been connected with the church. And even if it were, it seems unlikely on general stylistic grounds that the windows inserted into the east end of the chancel (Pl. 213, 214, 216) could be associated with the date of that reference (see Chap. VII.C.2). Thus, even assuming that all three documentary references are to the same individual, nothing can be deduced about his style.

IX.B.1.4 Status

Two points about these references call for comment, again assuming that they refer to the same person. Firstly, all three use the term 'magister', implying that the mason must have acted in a supervisory capacity at least, while the 1329-30 reference looks as if it is an *ex gratia* payment, which may imply that his status was higher than that. Secondly, the fact that he apparently worked as far afield as Norham, and not only at Durham itself, looks very much like an unusually far-flung example of a phenomenon, more clearly attested in the case of other masons, of a priory mason being sent to work on the convent's properties in preference to the hiring of a local man.[4]

IX.B.2 HUGH (DE SCHIREWODE?) (*fl.* 1344-5)

IX.B.2.1 References in Durham Sources

Hugh of Schirewode and his associate masons were paid 6s for making the prior's 'tumulum' (presumably his grave-slab) in 1340-1.[5] This man may be identical to the Hugh the mason paid for making the doorway of the lower chamber at Pittington manor in 1339-40;[6] and to the one for whom a horse was hired in 1344-5 to take him to Billingham to see the chancel.[7] On the other hand, there seems to have been at least one other mason called Hugh working for the priory in the 1340s,[8] which raises some doubts that all three references are to the same man.

IX.B.2.2 References in Other Sources

None known.

IX.B.2.3 Stylistic Analysis

Even apart from the doubts as to the identity of the references quoted above, none of the works mentioned in any of them survives.

IX.B.2.4 Status

The naming of Hugh de Schirewode alone in the 1340-1 reference indicates that he was the principal mason involved in making the prior's grave-slab, though this does not of itself imply that he was of more than executant status, nor that he worked for the priory on other occasions. The Billingham reference, however, sounds as if its subject might have been acting in an advisory capacity, as Lewyn was to do at Coldingham in 1363-4 (see Chap. VI.B.2 and note 12, and below, section B.4.1), which suggests a greater competence than that of an executant and, if the Hughs of the 1340-1 and 1344-5 references can be identified, together suggest the possibility that he was the principal mason employed by the priory in the early 1340s.

IX.B.3 JOHN HURPER (*fl.* 1347-8 x 1351-2)

IX.B.3.1 References in Durham Sources

John Hurper, master mason, is first mentioned working for twenty weeks on a new window, perhaps in the dormitory, in 1347-8.[9] He is presumably to be identified with the

master John the mason who receives two further payments at the same rate for work the location and nature of which is not specified, being paid for 13 weeks in 1348-9 and for 43 weeks in 1349-50,[10] and who is recorded working on the brew-house in 1350-1,[11] and on the insertion of a window into the east wall of the chancel of Billingham in 1351-2.[12]

IX.B.3.2 References in Other Sources

None known.

IX.B.3.3 Stylistic Analysis

Impossible, as none of the buildings with which he may be associated is extant.

IX.B.3.4 Status

The reference to Hurper as master at least establishes his executant status, while his likely association with the Billingham window suggests that he may also have had responsibility for exercising design functions.[13] The period when he is known to have been active coincides with the start of the insertion of window traceries into the cathedral (see Chap. III.A.4.1), and at the Durham cells (see Chap. VI.H), so the absence of extant works with which Hurper might be associated is particularly unfortunate. If the three-light convergent mouchette traceries and the more elaborate curvilinear designs are all to be associated with his successor, John Lewyn, (see below, section B.4.3) it is conceivable that the stylistically distinct north transept facade traceries (Pl. 304) are to be associated with him. On the other hand, it is not clear that they date from as early as the period of his *floruit*, as, if they are the work of an unidentified outside consultant, as argued above (see Chap. VIII.D), they may have been designed and erected during Lewyn's own period of activity. If the two-light windows of the side-walls of Monkwearmouth chancel (Pl. 175) can be dated to the late 1340s (see Chap. VI.G.2), they may perhaps be attributed to Hurper, though their pattern is undiagnostic; the much more idiosyncratic east window (Pl. 178) cannot, alas, be dated sufficiently closely to warrant an attribution to him.

IX.B.4 JOHN LEWYN (*fl.* 1353-4 x 1398)

IX.B.4.1 References in Durham Sources

Lewyn first occurs making chamber windows and repairing chimneys, respectively at the convent's manor of Bewley, and at the guest house at the priory, between 1353 and

1355.[14] He was apparently surveying ('rodand'') the priory's demesne land at Billingham in 1356-7,[15] the year in which his assistance in the design or setting out ('ordinacionem') of a kiln, is also recorded.[16] To judge from references in the following years, this must have been a malt-kiln, as the malthouse was largely reconstructed between 1357 and 1359, Lewyn being named first in the list of masons involved in 1357-8 and 1358-9.[17] Lewyn is named frequently (his name again always coming first) in other bursar's expenditure in the late 1350s and early 1360s, but in only one case, the prior's garden wall, is the location or nature of the work specified.[18] He received a substantial *ex gratia* payment from the prior at this time.[19]

The next major project in which Lewyn is known to have been involved was the construction of a new granary and granator's exchequer between 1362-3 and 1365-6, at a contracted price of £56, which in itself suggests that he had direction of the work; the reference to work on the exchequer also mentions his supervision.[20] This was followed almost immediately by the reconstruction of the monastic kitchen which was in progress by 1366 and completed by 1374 (see Chap. III.B.4). Again, the documents make clear his leading role; he is termed 'magister cementarius' in the kitchen building-account of 1366-8, and receives the exceptionally high annual salary of 40 marks (£13 6s 8d).[21] He also repaired the priory kiln at this time.[22]

Lewyn is also mentioned once in the accounts of the Durham cells, when his travel expenses to and from Coldingham were paid by the sacrist there in 1363-4. As the same entry involves a payment to a mason from Jedburgh 'for viewing the church', it seems clear that both he and Lewyn were being employed in a consultative capacity (see Chap. VI, note 12).

Further references to Lewyn in priory documents are confined to purchases made from him, loans taken from him, and debts repaid to him, by various officials between 1376-7 and 1398-9.[23] The diplomatic of the accounts in which these references occur are often such as not to specify the exact circumstances of the transactions, but (*pace* Harvey 1978, 161) there is no need to suppose that any of them was connected with building works, especially given that, by this stage in his career, Lewyn was demonstrably engaging on business ventures in other areas than the building trade (see below, section B.4.2).

IX.B.4.2 References in Other Sources

It is conceivable, as suggested by Harvey, that the 'John Loewyne' found working briefly at Westminster Palace in 1351 should be identified with the Durham John Lewyn (Harvey 1984, 181). Lewyn is referred to as 'mason of the bishop' in connection with a grant of exemption from jury service in 1368-9 ((—) 1871, 287). It is unclear exactly what this implies about the nature of his working relationship with Bishop Hatfield - in particular, the phrase cannot be assumed to have been used as a kind of title - but it at least suggests that he enjoyed Hatfield's patronage at that time.

In May 1368, Lewyn undertook his first documented work for the crown, at Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland. An inquisition of 1375 reveals that he had allegedly not then completed all the work for which he had been paid.[24] In 1378, Lewyn also contracted to work for the crown at Roxburgh Castle, Roxburghshire (now destroyed), and at Carlisle Castle, where his reconstruction of the gatehouse, now known as de Ireby's tower, still survives, though with many later alterations (Pl. 306, 307). Both these projects were probably complete by 1387.[25] In the same year, 1378, Lewyn also contracted with Sir Richard Scrope for work at Castle Bolton Castle, North Yorkshire (Pl. 308-11). This structure survives substantially complete and Hislop's recent analysis of its fabric has suggested that the contract of 1378 marks the earliest phase of the work there.[26] In addition to the considerable group of works begun in the late 1370s, Lewyn also undertook work for another royal patron, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, at Dunstanburgh Castle, Northumberland, in 1380-1,[27] and substantial (though unspecified) work for the crown at Berwick between 1384 and 1386.[28] Lewyn's last documented royal commission was for further work at Roxburgh in 1392.[29]

Besides these numerous references to Lewyn's activities in the building trade, there are others which indicate that his financial interests extended into other areas. Already recorded as a property owner in Durham by the late 1360s ((—) 1871, 287), his later purchase of rents and services in Broomley, Northumberland, and his tenure of lands in Newton Cap, near Darlington, co. Durham, reveal something of his property dealings, and of the ways in which he was investing the extensive amounts of capital by then at his disposal. Besides, in 1384-5, he was one of the farmers of the vill of Durham.[30] But the most striking insight into his commercial interests is provided by the way in which the arrears for his work at Roxburgh, amounting to nearly £400, were paid to him by the crown in 1388.

This took the form of a relief from toll on his export of wool, implying that he was engaging in mercantile activities on a considerable scale.[31] He is last mentioned in 1398.[32]

IX.B.4.3 Stylistic Analysis

Though the preceding sections have demonstrated the ample extent of the documentary evidence relating to Lewyn, it is unfortunate that many of the buildings with which he can be firmly associated are no longer extant, and, further, that those which do survive are singularly plain, making it exceptionally difficult to isolate any characteristics which may be due to his personal role in their design, and rendering ineffective the technique of mouldings analysis which has proved so fruitful in comparable analyses elsewhere. Nevertheless, this has not deterred scholars from seeking to attribute buildings to Lewyn on stylistic grounds, and he is credited with the design of a substantial number of major buildings erected in the north of England in the later fourteenth century. This section considers the arguments for each of these attributions, and advances others not previously advocated.

Whatever the inconsistencies of the Durham documents of the later fourteenth century in naming masons involved in building works (see Chap. II.B.2.4), the chronological framework which they provide at least enables those works which were carried out during the period of Lewyn's documented association with the priory to be identified. It is important to stress that this involves only a part of his career. The latest direct reference to him in the service of the priory is in 1368 (in the kitchen account); thus, even if one assumes that he remained in charge of that project until its completion in 1374, this covers only the first two decades of a career (that is, from his first mention in 1353-4 to 1374) which is documented for almost as long again. The principal unattributed works demonstrably executed during this period at the priory is the series of Decorated window traceries inserted into the cathedral and chapter house, the datable examples of which seem to have been carried out between about 1355 and 1363 (see Chap. III.A.4.1). The coincidence of dates does not of itself prove that Lewyn designed these windows (though it seems highly likely that he would at least have acted as executant mason for them, and so become intimately familiar with their designs); nevertheless, as the most important mason known to have been working for the priory at this time, Lewyn must be the prime candidate for their designer. How, then, is this hypothesis to be corroborated?

First, certain distinctive features of the cathedral traceries, notably the preoccupation with pairs of convergent mouchettes, which is the standard form used in the three-light traceries and forms such a prominent feature of one of the south choir aisle windows (Pl. 17), have already been noted as also present, albeit in simpler versions, in windows inserted into several of Durham's cells during precisely this same period. Thus three-light versions were inserted at Jarrow (chancel south (Pl. 167)) and, probably, at Farne (chancel east (Pl. 138)) (see Chap. VI.F.2, D.3). The form is common enough, and cannot be taken as at all diagnostic when considered in isolation, but the version over two lights at Holy Island (nave south aisle (Pl. 126)) is much more unusual, and the single-light version in the Finchale refectory (Pl. 155) rarer still (see Chap. VI.H). It is singularly unfortunate that the only cell with which Lewyn's involvement is directly documented, Coldingham, now preserves no remains of its extensive later fourteenth-century alterations. This reference does demonstrate, however, that a master mason working at the mother-house might be employed in a consultative capacity at a cell, which strengthens the hypothesis that the virtually simultaneous occurrence of similar tracery motifs at the cathedral and its cells might be due to Lewyn's having supplied the designs. And the parallels between mother-house and cells extend to other architectural details also, such as the ogee-headed doorway of the chapel on Farne, which is paralleled in a minor doorway inserted into the south choir aisle of the cathedral (Pl. 136, 137). Moreover, if the argument presented in Appendix 3, that the appearance of one of the lost Coldingham traceries is reflected in flowing traceries inserted much later into neighbouring Scottish churches (which share a close resemblance to one of the cathedral traceries otherwise difficult to explain (Pl. 324-326)), it would seem that a Durham pattern was formerly present at Coldingham also, further reinforcing the case for Lewyn being the common factor behind their distribution, and very likely also their authorship.

A final strand in the argument for associating the campaigns of renovation at the northern cells with John Lewyn concerns their documented chronology, the earliest apparently being Coldingham in the early and mid 1360s; the works at Holy Island then followed in either the late 1360s or early 1370s, while the rebuilding of the chapel on Farne is certainly attributable to the years 1369-72. These dates are significant in three respects. Firstly, their chronological spread may perhaps reflect certain logistical limitations in the implementation of the works, perhaps the fact that they were under the overall charge of a single individual, and perhaps also that they were the work of a single team of masons, for there is no discernible reason in terms of the financial organisation of the cells why works

should not have been commissioned simultaneously. Secondly, the fact that their overall span falls within the period during which Lewyn was certainly or probably still actively involved in projects at Durham itself, that is, before 1374, strengthens the likelihood of his personal involvement. Finally, if Lewyn were regularly involved in visits to the northern cells in these years, they would provide a context in which his appointment to carry out works for the crown nearby at Bamburgh castle in 1368 (a commission which was to prove such a crucial turning-point in his career) becomes much more easily explicable (Figs. 14-15).

The discussion so far has concentrated on the cells at which distinctive tracery patterns occurred. It may be that the use of this criterion provides only a minimal picture of the extent of Lewyn's involvement at the cells, however. The reticulated traceries of Farne or Finchale are undiagnostic as patterns, which is not to say that Lewyn may not have had a hand in their selection. The presence of a single example of convergent mouchette tracery at Finchale, albeit in a minor context (Pl. 155), may also be interpreted as a hint that his role there may have been more extensive than either documents or stylistic features now permit one to detect.

Another tracery pattern in north Northumberland which may be associated with Lewyn is that formerly in the east window of Embleton church, Northumberland, the pattern of which is related to the east window of Houghton-le-Spring and ultimately to the great west window of the cathedral (Pl. 256, 257, 26). It has been argued above that this tracery was inserted in the early 1390s, but had probably been manufactured a decade earlier, and that the executant mason was almost certainly Henry of Holme, who is documented as being in control of the works at Dunstanburgh Castle nearby at this time (see Chap. VIII.B.1.4). The fact that Holme had been preceded by Lewyn as master of the Dunstanburgh works seems unlikely to be entirely coincidental, however, and suggests the possibility that Lewyn's personal involvement was the underlying factor explaining the formal resemblances to traceries in and near Durham. Harvey has suggested that the nature of Lewyn's relationship to Holme at Dunstanburgh is likely to have been that of consultant to executant, Lewyn designing the works and carrying out their early phases himself, then leaving them to be completed by Holme (Harvey 1984, 183), though this interpretation has not been universally accepted.[33] Lewyn's role in the Embleton tracery design may thus have been precisely parallel, providing a parchment design which Holme then realized.

Cumulatively, then, the evidence does seem to suggest that Lewyn's authorship can be adduced as the best explanation of the common stylistic features shared by the whole group of later fourteenth-century traceries in the North East, whose widely scattered distribution would otherwise be difficult to explain (Figs. 14-15). Moreover, an explanation in terms of individual authorship would explain the retardaire character which the documented absolute dates indicate for the group. The production of curvilinear forms as late as the early 1360s at the cathedral was already conservative in national terms, when Perpendicular forms had been developing for a generation, but their continuation in the region for a further twenty years cannot be explained by its isolation from contemporary trends, for fully Perpendicular forms had already appeared at Newcastle (St Nicholas, chancel) in the 1360s (Pl. 282, 283), and probably at Brancepeth (chancel) in the next decade (Pl. 278-80) (see Chap. VIII.B.2.6, 2.7). Yet this situation does make sense seen as consequent upon the conservatism of an individual whose repertoire of designs had scarcely been affected by contemporary trends. Only the presence of a transom at Embleton (Pl. 256) might be considered to indicate a concession to Perpendicular forms.

If the above arguments are accepted, they define a corpus of works which characterize Lewyn as an extremely conservative designer of tracery, perpetuating curvilinear forms for nearly a generation after they had gone out of fashion, in the light of which the claims of other undocumented candidates for attribution to him may be evaluated. He thus emerges as the likely author of the other traceries of closely comparable form, the east window of Houghton-le-Spring, and perhaps also that of Sedgefield (Pl. 257-9), and the Brancepeth transept and west tower traceries (Pl. 248-51). The latter may also hint that he had been involved at works at the adjacent castle, though the surviving medieval work there does not have enough diagnostic stylistic features to confirm it.[34]

The pattern of simultaneous involvement by Lewyn at a castle and neighbouring church, already suggested for Dunstanburgh and Embleton, and possibly paralleled at Brancepeth, may also have occurred at Castle Bolton, where the curious combinations of Decorated tracery heads with transoms in the windows of the neighbouring church (Pl. 313, 314) parallel the combination of elements and approach to design characteristic of work probably by Lewyn at Embleton (Pl. 256). The former occurrence of tracery in the south aisle of Holy Island parish church identical to that in the south aisle of the priory itself suggests another variant of a similar situation (Pl. 126, 245). Presumably what underlies these conjunctions is either the patron of the one work also commissioning the other, or

parishioners seizing the opportunity of the presence of an important mason in their area to get some work done for themselves.

It is possible that the prime example of undertaking works for different patrons simultaneously in adjacent locations occurred at Durham itself. Admittedly, the only direct evidence that Lewyn worked for any of the bishops of Durham is the ambiguous phrase 'mason of the bishop' already noted (see above, section B.4.2); nevertheless, as Harvey has pointed out, it is a not unreasonable guess that Lewyn was responsible for some at least of Bishop Hatfield's extensive works at Durham Castle. Their chronology is unclear, though the start of work on the great hall roof in 1350 (Page 1907-28, III, 22, note 59) suggests that the partially blocked two-light reticulated traceries in its south wall date from the later 1340s and are thus unlikely to be by Lewyn. Harvey may be correct in surmising that Lewyn was involved in the reconstruction of the keep, however (Harvey 1984, 182), since Hislop's recent analysis of the possible context of the design (obliterated in the nineteenth-century rebuilding) suggests that it is unlikely to have been begun before the 1360s (Hislop 1989, 15-16). This provides a possible context for the reference to Lewyn as bishop's mason in 1368-9 (see above, section B.4.2) though it does not reveal whether his role may have extended to that of designer; since Lewyn was certainly undertaking important works for the priory throughout the 1360s, however, (see above, section B.4.1), it seems at least probable that his employment by both patrons overlapped in time to a considerable extent. One surviving minor alteration perhaps of this period at the castle is the window in the west gable of the north range, of three lights beneath convergent mouchettes (Pl. 312). The tracery type is not diagnostic taken on its own, but, given Lewyn's probable association with this particular curvilinear form, it perhaps reinforces the case for ascribing works at Durham Castle to him in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.

Much more difficult to assess is the attribution of castles with similar plan-types to those on which Lewyn is known to have worked, but displaying few other diagnostic details. Hislop's recent analysis has stressed links both of planning and of architectural detail between the great Neville fortresses of Raby, Brancepeth, and Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, and also between these and Castle Bolton, for the design of which Lewyn was almost certainly responsible (see above, section B.4.2). The fact that distinctive features of the gatehouse of Sheriff Hutton can also be related to Lewyn's gatehouse at Carlisle further strengthens the likelihood of its association with him (Hislop 1989, 133). On the other hand, Perpendicular forms also occur at Raby, and in view of the association between Lewyn and

curvilinear traceries argued above, it is unlikely that the hall windows (Pl. 260) can be by him (*pace* Hislop 1989, 21); though this would not rule out Lewyn as the designer of the kitchen there, the form of which has several points of close similarity with the Durham one (Harvey 1984, 182; Hislop 1989, 20-1), it does raise other possibilities (see below, section B.5.3). This argument assumes, of course, that Lewyn never came to terms with Perpendicular forms. While there is no way of ruling this out completely, it seems unlikely that a man who seems to have adhered to old-fashioned curvilinear forms for so long should have had a radical stylistic conversion in old age. The likelihood that he was not responsible for the design of the bishop's throne in the cathedral (though he may have acted as executant for the work) reinforces the impression of an imperviousness to the influence of the Perpendicular style (see below, section B.5.3). It therefore seems most unlikely that he can have been the designer of such fully fledged (though idiosyncratic) Perpendicular designs as the chapter house of Howden Minster, Yorkshire, or the east end of Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire (Harvey 1978, 116), a view recently confirmed by Hislop's analysis (Hislop 1989, 118-22).[35]

Apart from characteristic features of planning and layout in castle designs associated with Lewyn, Hislop has also drawn attention to the use of idiosyncratic constructional features, most notably drainage spouts disgorging through walls, and flues opening from window-heads (Pl. 309) (Hislop 1989, 129-33). Other undocumented designs displaying some of these distinctive features, such as Middleham Castle, Yorkshire (Hislop 1989, 43-4, 133-4), or the hall and kitchen added to Bamburgh Castle, Northumberland, in the years after 1384 (Hislop 1989, 72-3, 85-6), may also be associated with Lewyn personally or at least reflect his influence. These two buildings are as plain as the surviving documented works, but a larger group of related castle designs dating from the end of the fourteenth century, at Warkworth in Northumberland, Lumley and Hylton in co. Durham, and Wressle in East Yorkshire (Hislop 1989, 133-4), also exhibit those same distinctive features in combination with overtly Perpendicular details which, moreover, differ from one building to another. The latter circumstance suggests either that these buildings were designed by a group of masons who had been trained under Lewyn, or (perhaps more probably given the consistently high quality and sophistication of their layouts) that the latter was involved exclusively as a consultant at the planning stage, the detailing being entirely delegated to the executants on site (Hislop 1989, 134-5). This process can, perhaps, already be detected at Castle Bolton itself, where the fenestration of the later phases, consisting of simple cinquefoiled lights (Pl. 309-11) makes an (admittedly minimal) concession to Perpendicular forms; these and

other variations in detail suggest increasing delegation to executants in the later phases of construction (Hislop 1989, 30-4).

IX.B.4.4 Status

Considerable claims have been made for Lewyn's importance as a master mason. Indeed, Harvey has described him as '... the most important provincial architect of medieval England of whose career we have adequate details.' (Harvey 1984, 184). Though the evidence discussed above does not suggest that the scope and development of Lewyn's career will ever be as controversial as that of his contemporary Henry Yevele (Harvey 1984, 358-66; cf. McLees 1973), it does enable a substantial amplification and reassessment to be advanced. First, it seems that, from his earliest appearance in priory documents, Lewyn was competent to function as a designer, at least in a limited way. The 'ordinacio' of the kiln in 1356-7 implies this; and if the attribution of the cathedral traceries to him is accepted, his role as designer must already have been more extensive. Nevertheless, it seems that he may also still have been acting in an executant capacity in this phase. The erection of the bishop's throne is one possibility; and the negotiations which were apparently in train between the bursar and a York mason in 1363-4 raise the possibility of the involvement of an outside consultant in the priory's own works of this period, the designing of the great kitchen being the most likely project given the date (see further below, section B.5.3). On the other hand, Lewyn was himself already acting in a consultative capacity for Coldingham Priory in 1363-4.

The terms of Lewyn's surviving contracts (Salzman 1952, 454-9; see note 25) do not contain any specific references to his design capacities, so it would be possible to argue, as McLees has done in the case of Henry Yevele, that the evidence implies no more than that Lewyn had acquired a reputation as an efficient and trustworthy building-contractor (McLees 1973). Another possible interpretation would be that the lack of such explicit references in the contracts is a function rather of diplomatic constraints, and that Lewyn's role as a designer in realizing the specifications in the contracts to which he was a party was considered so self-evident as not to require specific mention. This dilemma could in principle be resolved by comparing the remains of the buildings contracted for to determine what distinctive features they have in common, but the option is severely limited in this case by the destruction of most of the documented works, and by the exceptional plainness of those which do survive.[36] What is more, it may be argued that such plainness is in itself a

distinguishing stylistic feature of Lewyn's work (it is, after all, not only characteristic of the Durham kitchen, where a utilitarian approach might seem appropriate, but also of Castle Bolton Castle (Pl. 306-11), where it must surely have been the result of a deliberate choice); but in the nature of the case this is less conclusive than being able to point to a group of distinctive features common to the documented sites and rare elsewhere. Indirect and circumstantial though it is, the implication of the conformity between the distribution of Decorated tracery patterns which have distinctive features in common and that of the sites to which Lewyn's documented contract works relate (Figs. 14-15) seems to be the crucial evidence, for if his authorship of the traceries is accepted as the likeliest explanation for their distribution, the probability that he was also exercising design functions with respect to the adjacent contract works is surely substantially increased. In that case, the very number and geographical spread of the projects on which he was working simultaneously from the later 1370s suggests that his role can hardly have been other than that of a consultant, providing the designs and, at most, periodic oversight of their execution. Alternatively, the nature of Lewyn's involvement at Dunstanburgh may suggest that he might oversee the early stages of the work himself, presumably including all the setting out, and then leave its completion to an executant. As noted above, a similar sequence may have occurred at Castle Bolton (see above, section B.4.3).[37] What is more, Hislop's analysis of Lewyn's influence raises the possibility of distinguishing a further stage in his career, in the later 1380s and 1390s, when his role was probably confined to that of planning consultant, architectural details being delegated entirely to executants. Such a function seems entirely appropriate for a master by then advanced in years, whose days as an active on-site director of works were presumably over. As noted in the preceding section, this interpretation convincingly explains both the close similarities of plan and constructional idiosyncrasies of the group and the differences in their architectural details. What is more, it implies that lack of similarity in architectural detailing should not be taken *ipso facto* to rule out common authorship, but rather that the criteria for identifying common authorship may change as a master's career developed over time.

The sheer quantity of projects with which Lewyn can plausibly be associated, and the wide area over which he can be shown to have worked, clearly indicate the extent of his reputation amongst his contemporaries. It may be that, to some extent, this reflects the lack of competition within the North East, but the facts that his work extended southwards into Yorkshire, where more competition might be expected, and that he received so many royal commissions, indicates that his intrinsic ability must also have been considerable. From this

perspective, the nature of his design skills is of particular interest, for, whatever impressed his contemporaries, it can hardly have been the originality of his tracery designs nor, so far as one can tell, his command of fine detailing of any kind. It would be rash to assume that this need reflect personal conservatism on Lewyn's part, though an inability to come to terms with Perpendicular forms has been suggested as an explanation for adherence to Decorated forms in the case of one of his contemporaries in East Anglia (Fawcett 1979, 93-4). Equally, to invoke the conservatism of Lewyn's patrons may be to impute to them a degree of deliberate discrimination not justified by the available evidence; it may simply be that they were content with whatever Lewyn provided, and that there was, in consequence, no reason for him to modify significantly designs he must have absorbed around the middle of the century. Nor need one assume that Lewyn was atypical in this respect; the extent to which his work came to seem old-fashioned may in part be a further consequence of his unusually long working life of at least forty years. Indeed, it could be argued that the retardaire element in his work was due to his initial training in a style which was soon rapidly to go out of fashion;[38] contrast the much more up-to-date repertoires of his contemporaries Henry Yevele and Robert of Patrington (see below, section B.5.3). At any rate, the comparative absence of the qualities of stylistic originality and fashionableness which so preoccupy present-day art-historians did not, apparently, deter Lewyn's patrons; more surprising, perhaps, is their evident tolerance of (or, conceivably, positive preference for) the absence of displays of elaborate detailing from his buildings. What then did they most value? Ingenuity in the layout of his buildings is one possibility, particularly as regards his castle designs (Gilyard-Beer 1977, 205); much harder to demonstrate, though perhaps no less telling, may have been a reputation for general administrative competence. If the extent of his operations both as a mason and as a businessman prove anything it is that, like his contemporary Henry Yevele, Lewyn's logistical and managerial skills must have been very highly developed. Perhaps, then, some patrons valued competence and efficiency more highly than elaborate or up-to-date architectural details.

IX.B.5 ROBERT OF PATRINGTON (*fl.* 1352 x 1385)

IX.B.5.1 References in Durham Sources

The association of a mason of this name with Durham rests on a single reference to an *ex gratia* payment by the prior of a mark to 'master Robert of "Pat'naton", mason of York' in 1363-4.[39] The form of the name must give rise to a certain amount of doubt about its identification as 'Patrington', though no other interpretation suggests itself. If it can be

accepted, however, its potential significance for the attribution of works of this decade at Durham is considerable.[40]

IX.B.5.2 References in Other Sources

Robert of Patrington became a freeman of the city of York in 1352, and succeeded John Hoton as master mason at the Minster in 1369; he is last mentioned in 1385. Harvey has suggested that, on chronological and stylistic grounds, his principal involvement with the Minster works must therefore have been with completing the Lady chapel and presbytery, begun in 1361, and largely complete by 1373 (Harvey 1984, 229).

IX.B.5.3 Stylistic Analysis

In view of the possibility raised by the reference of 1363-4 that Patrington was involved with works at Durham, and given that his principal documented activity was as executant mason for the east end of York Minster, it is surely not coincidental that a monument with close stylistic affinities with that part of the Minster must have been erected at Durham not long after the gift recorded in that reference was made. As Wilson has demonstrated, the architectural details of the tomb and episcopal throne erected by Bishop Thomas Hatfield (Pl. 31-3) depend very closely on those of the Minster Lady chapel (Wilson 1980a, 98-100, pls. XIV, C-F, XV, A-C). He tentatively suggested that its designer was John Lewyn (Wilson 1980a, 100; cf. Simpson 1941, 99), but his lack of documented connections with York and, more significantly, his apparent lack of familiarity with Perpendicular forms, surely rule him out (see above, sections 4.3, 4.4). The documentary and stylistic evidence point to a date in the mid to late 1360s (see Chap. III.A.5.1), so it is tempting to suppose that the *ex gratia* payment of 1363-4 was made on the occasion of a visit by Patrington to Durham in connection with this project.

This is not to say that Patrington's role in the design of the throne is by any means unambiguous. It should be remembered that, at this stage, Patrington was not yet in charge of the works at the Minster; until his death in 1369, the master mason was William Hoton, and it is he who has been credited with the design of the Lady chapel (Harvey 1977, 163-5; Harvey 1984, 180), the details of which so closely parallel those of the throne. Conceivably, therefore, Patrington might have been executing a design of Hoton's, rather than providing one of his own; or perhaps his responsibility lay in working out its actual arrangement, the details being derived from those provided to the York masons by Hoton.

There is no proof that the prior's payment to Patrington was made out of anything more than courtesy.[41] Yet another incidental payment in the same account for the bursar's expenses in going to York 'about a mason (or 'masons')' makes one wonder whether the prior and convent might not have had business of their own with Patrington.[42] Of course, the bursar cannot be proved to have been dealing with Patrington rather than another mason in the city. Nevertheless, it is worth speculating that, perhaps as a direct result of his employment by Hatfield, Patrington was also being consulted by the prior and convent. But what about? One possible candidate is the west window of the chapter house (Pl. 302), typologically the earliest tracery in the Perpendicular style at the priory and conceivably dating from as early as the 1360s (see Chap. III.B.3). On the other hand, its simple pattern seems unlikely to have been commissioned from an outside consultant; while the earliest traceries at the Minster, in the Lady chapel aisles, employ the much commoner early Perpendicular form of reticulation in which the bottoms of the units are concave and not ogeed, as in the Durham window (Pl. 315). The fact that the reticulation units in the tracery panels flanking the bishop's throne at Durham also conform to the type with concave lower sides (Pl. 31, 32) strengthens the likelihood that the chapter house window is not to be associated with him.

By far the most significant building project at the priory in the later 1360s and early 1370s was the reconstruction of the monastic kitchen, begun by 1366 (see Chap. III.B.4; Pl. 46, 47). It is conceivable that Patrington provided the design for it, and that Lewyn, who is named as master mason in the building-account, was in fact only the executant, a function he may also have performed for the throne. On the other hand, Lewyn's substantial fee may suggest that his role was greater than that, in which case, if Patrington had a hand in this project at all, it may well have been in an advisory capacity at the planning stage.

If the above speculations can be accepted, their implications are potentially far-reaching. The (hitherto unsuspected) presence of a leading York mason at Durham in the 1360s makes good sense as an explanation of the stylistic origins of the Hatfield throne, and raises exciting possibilities about the authorship of the kitchen. But the incidental nature of the references in the Durham sources is such that, had the stylistic affinities of the throne not been so diagnostic, and had Patrington not also been independently documented at York, their potential significance might never have been realized.

A case can also be made for identifying Patrington as the mason working on several projects for the Nevilles in the later fourteenth century. Wilson has already pointed out that, despite its superficially more Perpendicular appearance, the similarities of detail between the Hatfield throne (Pl. 31-3) and the tomb in the nave at Durham made for John, Lord Neville, who died in 1386 (Pl. 319), suggest a common authorship (Wilson 1980a, 100); this may well point to Patrington, the contrasts between the two monuments perhaps being explicable by supposing that the latter was designed entirely by him, and by the possibility that the Neville tomb may be as much as two decades later than Hatfield's.[43] Equally striking are the resemblances between the tracery of two-light windows of the Barons' Hall at Raby, the lower lights of which, beneath the transom, have shallow curves in the angles, and those in similar positions in the external clerestory and internal triforium tracery of the Lady chapel of York Minster (Pl. 316, 317). It was suggested above (see Chap. VIII.B.1.6) that the form of the head of the upper lights at Raby might be seen as a two-dimensional version of the squared nodding ogees of the Neville tomb (Pl. 318, 319), and that the disked cusps are most closely paralleled on the wall-bench of Bishop Skirlaw's tomb in the cathedral (Pl. 73). Slight though the evidence of these minor details is, their form is sufficiently unusual to suggest that they may reflect Patrington's influence, though the Skirlaw tomb at least is almost certainly too late to have been by Patrington himself (see Chap. IV.A.8.1). It is also possible that the chancel of Brancepeth (Pl. 278-80), if correctly dated to the 1370s or early 1380s (see Chap. VIII.B.2.6), may also be associated with Patrington, especially as the evidence of the tomb in the cathedral suggests that he enjoyed Lord Neville's patronage at that time.

In view of the possibility that Patrington was working for the Nevilles on at least one project in co. Durham in the 1370s and 1380s, the similarities between the kitchen at Raby and its counterpart at Durham become even more intriguing given the possibility of Patrington's involvement with the priory at the time the Durham kitchen was designed (see above). One may also wonder whether Patrington was a recipient of one or more of a series of *ex gratia* payments made by the prior of Durham in the 1380s to 'Lord Neville's mason(s)' (tantalizingly, never identified by name in the accounts: see Chap. VIII, note 13).

Moving further afield, Patrington has recently been suggested as a candidate for the design of the Bedern hall at York (Stocker and Wilson 1980, 36), a case strengthened by the resemblance noted between its traceries and those of the chapter house at Howden (Stocker and Wilson 1980, 38), for Wilson has noted detailed links between the Neville tomb and the pulpitum at Howden which, in turn, is closely linked stylistically to the chapter house there.[44]

Further, if Patrington's involvement at Brancepeth can be accepted, the links between its traceries and those at Beverley Minster raise further possibilities with regard to his role in the late fourteenth-century works there, not least because the recent re-dating of the west window glazing indicates that more of the west end belongs to the fourteenth century than had previously been thought (O'Connor 1989, 73). Given this context other detailed similarities, such as the resemblance between the blind arcading of the sides of Hatfield's tomb (Pl. 320) and that of the lower parts of the west front at Beverley (Pl. 321), seem unlikely to be coincidental.

IX.B.5.4 Status

The amount of work outside York that the above hypothetical reconstruction of Patrington's career suggests may seem excessive, but it must be remembered that the apparent lull in the Minster works for at least twelve years after the death of Archbishop Thoresby in 1373 would have allowed ample opportunity for him to work elsewhere, as was anticipated in the terms of his contract (Harvey 1984, 229). If it is right, it furnishes a striking parallel to Harvey's view of the career of Henry Yevele (Harvey 1984, 365-6), in which the general case for considering that Yevele acted as consultant to a large number of outside projects (whatever the merits of any particular attribution) seems considerably strengthened by the fact that, like Patrington, he was not much exercised by the patron who had first call on his services (in Yevele's case, the crown).

Even on the results of this provisional analysis, Patrington emerges as a potentially major figure in the dissemination of early Perpendicular forms in the north, and a remarkably capable and inventive designer whose career is ripe for reassessment with the benefit of a comprehensive mouldings analysis. This might also help to resolve the difficulties in distinguishing Patrington's work from that of his predecessor and successor at York, William Hoton and Hugh Hedon.[45] The contrast with Lewyn, who, it seems, continued to work in increasingly old-fashioned curvilinear forms throughout the same period, could hardly be more striking.

IX.B.6 PETER DRYNG (*fl.* 1367-(*ob.*) 1404

IX.B.6.1 References in Durham Sources

Dryng is first mentioned in Durham documents in the kitchen building account in the wages for week nineteen, which ended on 21 March 1367 (M. C. 7264, m. 3). Thereafter, he occurs in 58 out of the remaining 61 weeks covered by the account, being paid at the skilled rate of 3s per week (2s 6d in winter), but not being distinguished in any way from the other masons of this class. In 1370-1 he was paid the substantial sum of £6 for making the almoner's exchequer.[46] A debt was paid to him by the prior of Finchale in 1375-6 which dated from the time of his predecessor, that is John Normanby, prior 1373-5. If the debt was for mason-work done at Finchale (and there is no guarantee of this), the most likely context for it during those years is probably the repair of the mill-dam in 1374-5, which required a stone buttress (*columpna*) costing £4 2s 4½d.[47] Between 1376 and 1378, Dryng inserted a new window into Northallerton church, for which he was paid £17 13s 4d (see Chap. VII.E.2 and note 65). And in 1380-1, he received 6s 9d from the almoner in part payment for making a chimney.[48]

Apart from two mentions in the accounts which are probably related to financial transactions rather than building work,[49] There are no further references to Dryng for the best part of twenty years, a circumstance which may in part reflect the decline in building activity in the late fourteenth-century priory (see Chap. III.C). From 1400 until his death, probably in early June 1404, he assumed responsibility for the completion of the Durham dormitory (begun in 1398 under John Middleton (see Chap. IV.B.1.1)), contracting for what must have been the final stage of the work early in 1402.[50] He is also mentioned at this time in accounts relating to the construction of the tomb and chantry of Bishop Walter Skirlaw, dating from between 1398 and 1403 (Pl. 72, 73), though there is no clear evidence that his involvement was as a mason.[51]

IX.B.6.2 References in Other Sources

Like Lewyn, Dryng appears to have taken an active part in local affairs and to have been a man of some substance in Durham, holding four tenements on Framwellgate Bridge, and being granted twenty acres of land near Bearpark in 1386-7, the latter suggesting that he had received episcopal patronage (Bonney 1990, 176, n. 112-13).[52] If, as suggested above, the long hiatus in his documented work for the priory indicates a real decline in the amount

of work in progress there, it is likely that his principal employment would have been away from the monastery in the last twenty years of the fourteenth century, though if so, documentation has not survived.

IX.B.6.3 Stylistic Analysis

As none of the references to Dryng makes it explicitly clear that he was capable of practising as a designer, and as hardly anything of his documented works has survived, it is all but impossible to determine whether Dryng worked in a distinctive style, so attributions can only be attempted on the uncertain grounds that unassigned works likely to date from the period during which he was working at Durham may be by him. There is, at any rate, no evidence to support Harvey's assertion that he worked with Lewyn on the remodelling of the church at Finchale, which was complete before his appearance in the payments of debts discussed above (Harvey 1984, 87).

It is particularly unlucky that no record or remains of the Northallerton tracery survives, as it seems likely, given the stronger circumstantial evidence presented above for Lewyn, that Dryng would have designed this himself, and it would have formed his most diagnostic documented work. The dormitory is of no help here, since in his contract Dryng is explicitly enjoined to follow closely the work of his predecessor, which presumably excludes any personal stylistic contribution (Raine 1839, App., clxxxviii); certainly only the slightest changes of design are now discernible in that part of the fabric erected by him (see Chap. IV.B.1.1).

One work which may be by Dryng is the five-light west window of the chapter house. This is undocumented, but on stylistic grounds its simple straightened reticulated tracery suggests that it ought to belong to the period between the abandonment of curvilinear tracery at Durham and the arrival of mature Perpendicular forms at least by 1398, with the start of work on the dormitory. If Lewyn's authorship of the Durham curvilinear traceries, and his continued use of this form into the 1380s are accepted (see above, section B.4.3), any connection between him and the chapter house window seems most unlikely. Equally, the work seems too pedestrian to be ascribed to Robert of Patrington; nor do the details of its form support an association with him (see above, section B.5.3). In contrast, its low quality may be seen rather as a pointer in favour of an association with Dryng, given the evidence for his status (see below, section B.6.4); a later fourteenth-century date for the chapter house window seems certain, which coincides with the period during which Dryng is known to

have worked at the priory, his documented tasks almost certainly including the design of a window tracery.

The resemblance between the chapter house window (Pl. 302) and the east window of the priory's appropriated church at Eastrington, Yorkshire, probably the one documented in 1365-6 (Pl. 299), has already been noted (see Chaps. III.B.3, VIII.D). The reference does not name the mason; indeed the phrase used, 'a certain mason', suggests that he was not known to the accountant (see Chap. VII.E.3 and note 80). It is thus possible that the stylistic resemblance is to be accounted for by supposing that Dryng was the unnamed mason responsible for the Eastrington window. If correct, this speculation would imply that Dryng was able to perform at least comparatively simple design processes before his first documented appearance at Durham; and since the work at Eastrington would then constitute the earliest known association of Dryng with Durham, that work may even have provided an *entrée* to his being employed at the priory subsequently. If so, it would be of considerable interest as the only evidence of how any of the principal masons associated with the priory had come to the attention of the monks.

IX.B.6.4 Status

The only clear evidence of Dryng's status is contained in the dormitory contract, which clearly shows that, by the end of his career at least, he was capable of acting as executant master on a major project. And it seems not unreasonable to suppose (though impossible to prove) that he had himself provided the design of the tracery he inserted into Northallerton church, which would mean that he was capable of some design functions on his own behalf much earlier. Further, if the straight-reticulated traceries at the cathedral and Eastrington church can indeed be attributed to him, then he may have been competent to carry out designs at this level even before he came to work at Durham. The extreme simplicity and lack of invention of this pair of traceries perhaps reinforces the suggestion that they are the work of a local man who, like Lewyn before him, had formulated his characteristic designs at a comparatively early stage in his career and did not modify them subsequently. All in all, the impression given by the surviving documentation relating to Dryng is that, in contrast to Lewyn, he never rose from being an executant master to the status of a consultant, and that his capabilities as a designer remained limited.

IX.B.7 JOHN MIDDLETON (*fl.* 1398-1401)

IX.B.7.1 References in Durham Sources

The sole known references to Middleton relate to his work on the reconstruction of the Durham dormitory which, on 21 September 1398, he contracted to rebuild by Christmas 1401.[53] He also received a payment in the first dormitory account of May 1398-June 1400.[54]

IX.B.7.2 References on Other Sources

None known.

IX.B.7.3 Stylistic Analysis

It is unfortunate that the most elaborate tracery design of the dormitory, its great south window, has vanished without material or graphic record, the present window being entirely nineteenth-century (see Chap. IV.B.1.1 and note 61). To compound the problem, the evidence suggesting that Middleton's design for the cubicle windows differed from that of his successor must be treated with the utmost caution (see Chap. IV, note 57). To judge from the small two-light upper windows in the east and west walls, however (Pl. 82), Middleton was evidently well versed in mature Perpendicular forms, contrasting markedly with the straight-reticulated tracery of the chapter house west window tentatively attributed above to Peter Dryng (see above, section B.6.3). If Middleton was indeed employed as a consultant, his reputation and expertise are likely to have been considerable, and it is a pity that he appears to be undocumented elsewhere.[55]

Hislop has recently drawn attention to the close resemblance between details of the dormitory, notably the tracery of its upper windows, and the form of its parapet string and crenellations, and those of the hall range at Lumley Castle, co. Durham (Hislop 1989, 64, Lumley, pl. 8-9). The latter probably dates to the last decade of the fourteenth century (Hislop 1989, 59), so is probably the earlier of the two. This raises the possibility that Middleton may already have been in charge of (and was perhaps also the designer of) the works at Lumley when he undertook the dormitory contract. What is more, the close resemblance between the plan of Lumley and that of Castle Bolton (Hislop 1989, 59-61), a building almost certainly designed by John Lewyn (see above, section B.4.2), raises the intriguing further possibility that Middleton had formerly been associated with (and, perhaps, trained by) Lewyn.

IX.B.7.4 Status

The facts that Middleton is not mentioned in the dormitory account for 1400-2, while Dryng appears to have been in charge from at least the middle of 1400 (see note 50), imply that he directed the work for no more than two years. This may indicate that he died or resigned during the project; alternatively, however, it may be another example of a consultant master who executed only the first stage of his design on site, then left it to a local executant master to complete. This is confirmed by a comparison of the terms of the two contracts, Middleton's (but not Dryng's) clearly envisaging that he will not be permanently resident at Durham,[56] while Dryng's enjoins him to follow closely the work of his predecessor (Raine 1839, App., clxxxviii); and by the evidence of the structure itself, which contains only the slightest changes of style (see Chap. IV.B.1.1).

IX.B.8 THOMAS HYNDELEY (*fl.* 1400 x 1442)

IX.B.8.1 References in Durham Sources

Hyndeley is first mentioned in connection with minor work around the feretory, including the 'placing of images', in 1400-1.[57] He was paid a total of £4 13s 4d 'for making two windows' in the church between 1401 and 1403 (see Chap. IV.A.1 and note 1), and for making Skirlaw's tomb in 1402-3.[58] In 1411, one of the crowbars belonging to Finchale was recorded as being in his possession, which may mean that he had been doing work there shortly before.[59] He first appears in the building accounts relating to the cloister, under way by 1409 but probably begun immediately after completion of the dormitory (see Chap. IV.B.1.2), in 1411-12.[60] Beginning with the next year's account, however, a series of large cash payments to him suggests that he may by then have been in overall charge of the works on site,[61] finally assuming sole responsibility for their completion by contract in 1416.[62] Hyndeley also undertook occasional minor works for the priory during this period: a new chimney in the prior's study in 1414-15;[63] a doorway beneath the prior's chamber in 1416-17;[64] and a doorway within the cloister costing £2 and new construction work on a chamber at Bearpark, both in 1418-19.[65] The borrowing of 10s from him by the Prior of Finchale in that year, which was repaid in the next, may be connected with minor works done there.[66]

Throughout almost the whole of the period covered by these references, from 1405-6 until 1420-1, Hyndeley is recorded as the tenant of a property itself rented by the feretrar

from the abbot of Blanchland. Throughout Hyndeley's tenancy, the rent charged to him is the same as the rent charged to the priory by Blanchland; after this date, however, the rent charged by the priory to its new sub-tenants increases considerably, implying that while he was working for the prior and convent, Hyndeley enjoyed the sub-tenancy on very favourable terms (Feretrar 1405-6 x 1420-1, (Arreragia) Redditus (Assise)).

No references to Hyndeley occur in Durham sources between 1420-1 and 1427-8, when he is mentioned in a schedule of debts; thereafter he is mentioned in connection with a series of minor works, all apparently related to his skills as a marbler.[67]

IX.B.8.2 References in Other Sources

As his name is a common one, certainly being shared by at least one mason of late medieval York (Harvey 1984, 157) to whom he may conceivably have been related, the identification of Hyndeley in other sources is a hazardous enterprise. Harvey may, however, be right in his identification of Hyndeley with the eponymous master mason recorded working for the crown on the rebuilding of the Constable's tower at Scarborough castle between 1425-6 and 1428-9.[68] Like Lewyn and Dryng, Hyndeley was also involved in local affairs, being mentioned as a party to a recognizance in 1417-18 ((—) 1872, 109).

IX.B.8.3 Stylistic Analysis

Again it is unfortunate that hardly anything of the documented works associated with Hyndeley survives. Even if he can be assumed to have executed the surviving fragment of the Skirlaw tomb, it is not likely that he designed it (cf. above, sections B.6.1, 6.4). The doorway within the cloister made in 1418-19 is probably the one at the north end of the passage leading southwards to the college (Pl. 322). Traces of his chamber at Bearpark may exist, but the reference gives no indication of where in the large complex of buildings it was situated, effectively ruling out identification. Thus, even if all the above identifications are accepted, the surviving remains are too fragmentary to gain any clear idea of what Hyndeley's style was like.

By analogy with Lewyn and Dryng, it is possible that Hyndeley was responsible for other unattributed works at the priory which can be securely dated to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Thus the lancets of the Nine Altars were filled with tracery at this time, and large windows inserted into the south wall of the south transept and the east end of the south

aisle of the nave (Pl. 50-5; Chap. IV.A.1.1, 1.2). Besides being close together in time, these traceries are similar to each other stylistically, suggesting that they are all by the same hand. It is not impossible that they were designed by a consultant master - perhaps Thomas Mapilton (see below, section B.9) - and only executed by Hyndeley. The situation might be clearer if the cloister traceries (or, indeed, other substantial traceries elsewhere) by Mapilton had survived; but, if fourteenth-century practice is anything to go by, it is equally likely that they were designed at Durham, in which case, Hyndeley must be the likeliest candidate. One other work which might be attributable to Hyndeley is the early Perpendicular work at St Oswald's, Elvet, where in particular the original form of the window tracery of the nave clerestory, which was apparently complete by *c.* 1412 (Pl. 198), has points of similarity with the cathedral windows discussed above (see Chap. VII.B.6).

IX.B.8.4 Status

The first clear evidence of Hyndeley's status comes only in 1416 with the contract to complete the cloisters, but the accounts suggest that he may have acted as executant from at least 1412-13, while the nature of the minor works with which he is associated, in particular the construction of windows and doorways, seem very like the kind of minor routine design tasks given to a local master which have already been observed in the cases of Lewyn and Dryng, though, unlike the latter, he is not the only priory mason of the early fifteenth century to undertake such work (cf. John Bell I: section B.10.1). The evidence of the terms of his tenancy do not demonstrate anything specific about his status, though they are reminiscent of the accommodation which appears as an element in the terms of employment of later fifteenth-century masters, most clearly John Bell II (see below, section B.13.1); at least this suggests that Hyndeley was regarded as a favoured employee. The only evidence that Hyndeley may have progressed beyond acting as an executant master is the reference to his work at Scarborough, assuming that the identification with the Durham Hyndeley is accepted. It may receive some support from Hyndeley's disappearance from priory records during most of the 1420s, which certainly cannot be explained by supposing that this was a time when little building work was afoot (see below, section B.10), so may indicate that he had left Durham, or at least that he was often working away from the city. If he did indeed design the works tentatively assigned to him above, he was capable of a certain elegance in the design of window traceries at least.

IX.B.9 THOMAS MAPILTON (*fl.* 1408-*ob.* 1438)

IX.B.9.1 References in Durham Sources

Mention of Mapilton in Durham sources is confined almost exclusively to the surviving cloister building-accounts between 1408-9 and 1412-13.[69] The mention of rent owed to Finchale in 1411 suggests that arrangements had been made for his accommodation while at Durham.[70] His association with the priory had presumably ended by 1416, when Hyndeley contracted to complete the fourth part of the cloisters (see note 62). His departure perhaps provides a possible context for a small *ex gratia* payment made to him by command of the prior.[71]

IX.B.9.2 References in Other Sources

Though there are no known references to Mapilton before he came to Durham, his later career can be traced in some detail. He was probably based in London during his connection with Durham.[72] He had entered royal service by 1417,[73] and was appointed to the principal post of disposer of the king's works of masonry at Westminster and the Tower in 1421. Although no important projects were undertaken in his time, he carried out alterations to Portsmouth Castle and to the King's Wardrobe in London.[74] His principal non-royal works of the period comprised acting as consultant for the reconstruction of the south-west tower of Canterbury Cathedral from 1423 until at least 1429 (Pl. 323).[75] He was also responsible for the rebuilding of the church of St Stephen Walbrook in the city of London after 1429, and advising on Rochester bridge in 1422 and on the west tower of Bury St Edmunds in 1429-30 (Harvey 1984, 195). He died towards the end of 1438 (Harvey 1984, 196).

IX.B.9.3 Stylistic Analysis

With the single exception of the south-west tower of Canterbury, none of Mapilton's documented works survives, which greatly hampers any stylistic appreciation of his output; and though the buttresses and walls of the Durham cloisters survive, their traceries were removed without record in the 1770s (Pl. 87; Chap. IV.B.1.2), so even his possible impact on other works at Durham itself cannot be assessed. All that can be said is that, if his earlier Durham traceries were anything like either of those in the Canterbury tower (Woodman 1981, 173-5) (Pl. 323), they had no discernible impact on later traceries at Durham (see last section).

IX.B.9.4 Status

It is notable that, in 1409-10 and 1411-12, when the number of weeks worked is specified, Mapilton works less than the period of the account, and less than the number worked by several of the other masons;[76] and in 1409-10 he is apparently paid a fixed annual fee, plus an additional allowance for each week actually worked. What is more, the arrears of rent owed to Finchale may imply that he had been given accommodation on favourable terms when in Durham (cf. above, section B.8.1). All these features suggest that his role was that of a consultant who was also largely responsible for the initial stages of execution, but left the whole of the final phase to a local master. This pattern has already been suggested in connection with Lewyn at Dunstanburgh, and may already have occurred at Durham itself with Middleton and the dormitory (see above, sections B.4.4, B.7.4). And given his subsequent career, it can hardly be doubted that he also provided the designs; the loss of the cloister traceries is undoubtedly one of the most grievous ever sustained by the priory buildings.

IX.B.10 JOHN BELL I (*fl.* 1408 x 1443)

IX.B.10.1 References in Durham Sources

Bell must have been a competent mason by the time of his earliest appearance in the Durham records, that is, in the cloister building-accounts between 1408-9 and 1411-12, as he receives the skilled mason's wage of 3s 4d per week. Moreover, it may be a significant indication of his seniority that he is initially placed third in the list of masons' wages, after Mapilton himself and Richard Barton (a mason not otherwise attested), replacing the latter and moving into second place from 1411-12.[77] He is also found doing minor, though highly paid, work for the sacrist in that same year.[78] He had carried out minor repairs at Bearpark as early as 1410-11;[79] other piecemeal repairs to various priory buildings and manors occupied him for much of the remainder of the decade. Substantial repairs were carried out at the manors of Pittington and Beaulieu in 1414-15, while, in Durham itself, a new chimney in the prior's chamber was constructed, and a new buttress at the abbey gate erected.[80] Major repairs to the great kitchen followed in 1415-16, and to the mill-dam at Scaltok, near Durham, the year after.[81] The prior's chamber at Durham and Pittington manor were again undergoing repair in 1418-19.[82]

From about 1420 onwards, Bell became more involved with larger-scale building projects. The principal project at the priory in the 1420s was the reconstruction of the infirmary, between 1419 and 1430, and the sole remaining building-account, for 1420, indicates that Bell was the principal mason involved at that stage.[83] This work presumably left room for only occasional minor works elsewhere.[84] As the infirmary drew near to completion, work intensified on the reconstruction of the prior's lodging, and Bell was involved in the early stages of this work, from at least 1427-8 until 1429-30.[85] But scarcely was this project under way when he was transferred to the repair and alteration of the Galilee, on which work began in March 1429.[86] The first two accounts recording work on the prior's lodging in which Bell is mentioned do not, unfortunately, record how long he worked there, but it occupied him for only four weeks in the 1429-30 account (see note 85).

In the last two years of work on the Galilee, Bell worked somewhat less than a full year in 1432-3, and considerably less in 1433-5 (see note 86). While this may simply reflect the winding-down of the amount of masonry work involved as the project approached completion, it may also indicate that he was needed elsewhere. The central tower, which had been struck by lightning in 1429, was apparently being repaired between 1432 and 1436, and this may explain both his decreasing involvement with the Galilee, and the lack of other references to him in the mid 1430s (see Chap. IV.A.5, A.6). It is also possible that a minor debt owed to him by Finchale in 1439 points to his having also worked there in this period.[87]

The final phase of Bell's career seems to have involved activity on some minor windows of the cathedral, which can almost certainly be identified with the simple tracery inserted into the upper windows of the nave, choir, and north transept (see Chap. IV.A.3). This work was in progress by 1438-9, and continued until at least 1440-1.[88] Bell is last recorded doing minor work on a tenement in 1442-3.[89]

IX.B.10.2 References in Other Sources

Bell was apparently still alive in 1456, when a tenement in Claypath held by someone of that name is mentioned in defining the boundaries of an adjacent property being leased (M. C. 2233).

IX.B.10.3 Stylistic Analysis

As with several of his predecessors, the destruction of many of the buildings on which Bell is known to have worked means that, if he himself did design anything, it is difficult to establish what it might have looked like. Of all the projects discussed above, only the Galilee alterations survive intact, the existing masonry features of the prior's lodging being rather uninformative, and the clerestory window traceries, which were recorded by Billings (Pl. 6-11), too plain to tell one much. And stylistic assessment based on the Galilee presupposes that Bell's role involved something more than acting as executant. Given the piecemeal nature of the alterations, this cannot be ruled out, but the assumption may well be unjustifiable, given that the work was entirely financed from the episcopal exchequer, and that the bishop may have engaged or deployed a consultant mason of his own to supply the designs. The accounts are complete, and no outside consultant appears in them, but the bishop might well have paid one independently of the accounts. On the other hand, the work is unambitious stylistically, and the fact that the tracery pattern of the three-light west windows in the Galilee, with strong verticals, supermullions, and trefoil-cusped tracery lights beneath segmental heads, is a smaller version of the five-light windows of the library at Durham, a priory project which need not be suspected of outside influences, suggests that a local (presumably priory) mason may have been responsible for both (Pl. 64, 86). Moreover, the Library windows must have been designed between 1414 and 1418, more than ten years before the Galilee traceries, which again points to a local man (see Chap. IV.B.1.3). *Prima facie*, the most obvious candidate would be Thomas Hyndeley, but these traceries seem distinct in pattern from the group of early fifteenth-century traceries tentatively ascribed to him above (see above, section B.8.3), and there is no record of Hyndeley still working for the priory as late as the period of the Galilee, except in the specialist capacity of a marbler. Bell's career, on the other hand, demonstrably does span this period, so it is possible that these traceries were designed by him.

IX.B.10.4 Status

If the Galilee and Library traceries can be attributed to Bell, the picture of his career which emerges is most reminiscent of Peter Dryng's: a local master, either working as an executant on large projects or directing smaller local piecemeal works, whose design capabilities were limited in scope. And, in view of the quantity of works in progress in early fifteenth-century Durham, the implication that Bell had begun to exercise a function as a designer while Hyndeley was still active at the priory need cause no surprise. The way in

which Bell vanishes from the cloister building-accounts in 1412 to reappear on other projects very shortly after Hyndeley first appears in them, may also suggest that their careers at Durham were complementary in character. The other piece of evidence suggesting that Bell was of master's status is the series of references to his apprentice, Thomas Caldeclough, between 1411-12 and 1416-17. Moreover, Caldeclough is described as the 'apprentice of the house' by 1414-15 (see Appendix 5). The training of apprentices, including one on the priory's behalf, is a function mentioned in the contract with the master mason John Bell II in 1488 (see below, section B.13.1), and this strongly suggests that John Bell I enjoyed a comparable status.

IX.B.11 JOHN KNAYTH (*fl.* 1429 x 1461-2)

IX.B.11.1 References in Durham Sources

Knayth is first mentioned working under John Bell the elder on the Galilee in 1429.[90] Then he transferred to the prior's lodging, working for half a year in 1429-30, and full-time until 1433-4.[91] In spite of working theoretically full-time on the prior's lodging, Knayth is in addition paid 3s for a week's work on the cloister lavatory in 1432-3.[92] Knayth reappears at the Galilee in the penultimate account, for 1434-5, dividing his time almost equally between that and the prior's lodging, probably also completed in 1435.[93] He makes a brief reappearance in the mines accounts in 1436-7, probably working at Bearpark.[94] Between 1438 and 1440 he was involved in making windows for the guest hall (see Chap. IV, note 73).[95]

The absence of references to Knayth in the 1440s is more likely to reflect a real period of comparative inactivity in the building works of the priory, as there is independent evidence which indicates the severity of its economic difficulties in this period (see Chap. IV.C). He next occurs in 1450, making the windows and other architectural details for the new hall of Pittington manor,[96] and in 1452-3 was involved in the construction of a new granary within the Hostiller's manor of Elvethall.[97] Knayth was also named in connection with minor works for the infirmarer and sacrist in the 1450s.[98] Finally, again for the hostiller, he inserted another series of windows into the guest hall and into one of its chambers between 1459 and 1462,[99] while also carrying out work on that official's appropriated church of Elvet in 1460-1 (see Chap. VII.B.6 and note 29).

IX.B.11.2 References in Other Sources

None known.

IX.B.11.3 Stylistic Analysis

As none of the documented buildings associated with Knayth survives, attributions and assessment are impossible.

IX.B.11.4 Status

None of the references to Knayth demonstrates that he exercised design functions; and even if he designed what he is recorded as having built, the projects seem to be either minor or utilitarian in character, with the possible exception of the hall at Pittington. His inclusion here rests less on the criteria used to judge other masons in this chapter than on two other considerations. The first is that, however lowly his status in absolute terms, he seems to have been the most important mason working for the priory in the middle decades of the fifteenth century, though this must immediately be set in context by the consideration that it was a period of financial crisis and retrenchment for the monastery, when circumstances for undertaking major works were unpropitious (see Chap. II.B.2.7). The second consideration is that, in the earliest phase of his career, his movements seem to be deliberately complementary to those of the elder Bell. Thus Knayth moves from the Galilee to the prior's lodging in 1429-30, the same year in which Bell moved in the opposite direction. In 1433-5, when Bell was probably diverted from the Galilee to the central tower, Knayth reappears at the Galilee, dividing his time between it and the prior's lodging. Further, the period when Knayth was first inserting windows into the guest hall, 1438-40, is the time when Bell is known to have been at work on the upper windows of the cathedral. This boxing and coxing is reminiscent of the relationship between Bell and Hyndeley, especially over the building of the cloisters.

The evidence thus suggests that Knayth was deputizing for Bell at a time when several different projects were afoot simultaneously. The diplomatic of the building-accounts may lend some support to this interpretation, Knayth being consistently named first in those lists of masons from which Bell is absent, though he is never paid more than 3s per week, which is less than the skilled mason's wage paid to Bell himself (and, occasionally, to

others), and implies that his status was then inferior to Bell's, whereas the relationship between Bell and Hyndeley seems to have been on a more equal footing.

IX.B.12 THOMAS BARTON (*fl.* 1465-6 x 1474-5)

IX.B.12.1 References in Durham Sources

Barton is only mentioned in Durham documents in the (highly defective) sacrist's accounts. He first occurs in 1465-6,[100] and again in each of the short run of three accounts surviving between 1472 and 1475.[101] Barton had apparently died or retired by 1476, when the principal mason at Durham was clearly John Bell II (see note 102), and was certainly dead by 1488, when Bell was granted the house which Barton had inhabited during his lifetime (Raine 1839, App., cclxxiv).

IX.B.12.2 References in Other Sources

Possibly, as suggested by Harvey, Barton is to be identified with the eponymous mason of York, who was free of the city in 1447 (Harvey 1984, 15); he may also be the same as the Thomas Barton who is found working on the *campanile* of the Minster in the fabric account for 1445-6 (Raine 1859, 61).

IX.B.12.3 Stylistic Analysis

As the start of the rebuilding of the central tower was probably connected with the election of Richard Bell as prior of Durham in 1464 (see Chap. V.A.1), the first reference to Barton in 1465 may mark his arrival in Durham. His presence at such an early stage, before large-scale work had got under way, may lend support to Harvey's suggestion that Barton was responsible for the design of the tower (Harvey 1984, 15). And, given its undeniable resemblance to the central tower of the Minster (Pl. 90, 97; see Chap. V.A.2.5), the case would be strengthened if his identification with the eponymous York mason could be accepted, especially if the latter had formerly been employed at the Minster. Even if Barton's authorship is accepted, however, it offers no clues to other buildings on which he may have worked.

IX.B.12.4 Status

Whatever their other ambiguities, the documentary references do at least establish Barton's status as master beyond doubt. Features of the diplomatic, such as the payment of a stipend as well as a weekly wage, and of a rent allowance, point to such a status; while the reference to him in the John Bell II's contract of 1488 implies that Barton was his

predecessor - and Bell's status as master is beyond dispute. The evidence is not sufficient, however, to decide whether Barton was merely an executant, or had also acted as the designer of the tower.

IX.B.13 JOHN BELL II (*fl.* 1476 x 1493-4)

IX.B.13.1 References in Durham Sources

The first mention of Bell is in the indentures of apprenticeship of Hugh Wall, dated 21 November 1476, in which he is termed the 'latamus principalis' of the prior.[102] The gap in the sacrist's accounts between 1475 and 1483 undoubtedly means that much information concerning him has been lost, but he occurs as a witness to a claim of sanctuary in 1478,[103] and appears in all of the sacrist's accounts to survive between 1483-4 and 1487-8, the entries being exactly similar in each account.[104] In 1488, the famous contract with him was drawn up (see below). In 1492-3 he was paid for major work on the great oven of the priory;[105] and was paid an *ex gratia* payment of a mark by the bursar in the following year, perhaps in connection with advice on a buttress of the infirmary.[106] In 1500 he was still occupying a house rent-free, as specified in his contract of 1488.[107] He may have been alive as late as 1503 if he can be identified with the John Bell who appears renting a tenement from the almoner in that year (Almoner's Rental, 1503, fol. 37v).

The contract drawn up between John Bell and Prior John Auckland (printed: Raine 1839, App., ccclxxiii-ccclxxiv; (with minor errors) Dring 1908; Salzman 1952, 592-4) is the most remarkable single document concerning masons to have survived from the priory. Its uniqueness in the context of the Durham archive, however, raises particularly acute problems of interpretation, not least as to whether it ought to be seen as the only survival from a series of such documents, or whether it represents an innovation in the way masons were employed at Durham. Harvey appears to have taken it in the former way, suggesting that Durham was one of a number of places at which this was established practice (Harvey 1984, xlvii).

The contract has hitherto been interpreted in isolation from the other evidence relating to Bell's career and this has led to a misunderstanding of its immediate purpose. Though no hint is contained in the document itself, it is clear from other evidence that Bell had been the chief priory mason since at least 1476 (see note 102). The contract therefore represents an alteration in the terms of his employment, and not the beginning of his

engagement.[108] Presumably the main changes were his appointment for life, and the provision of a pension in case of old age or infirmity, a development which can be paralleled elsewhere (Knoop and Jones 1933, 96).

The criteria for selection of items for inclusion in the priory registers is frequently an unfathomable business, but it is worth noting that the only previous inclusion of a mason's contract was the one to reconstruct the dormitory in 1398, a very different kind of document. This must at least raise a suspicion that Bell's contract was registered because it was the first contract for life that the priory had ever made. If previous chief masons had been employed by contract at all, it was thus presumably by fixed terms. This is corroborated by the previously widespread use of outside consultants, for whom a contract for life would obviously have been inappropriate, and by the chronology of the careers of masons like Lewyn or Hyndeley, who seem to have left priory service in the later stages of their careers. Further, the arrangement for Bell to be paid his stipend by the sacrist is without precedent in Durham accounts before the period of his predecessor, Thomas Barton, which suggests that the whole arrangement may in fact have been a consequence of the reconstruction of the central tower, this work being administered by the sacrist. The building of the tower took a long time (see Chap. V.A.2.2), and it is therefore possible to see Bell's appointment for life as an attempt to come to terms with that fact.

If the above interpretation is right, the 1488 contract, so far from being the only survivor from a regular series, is to be seen rather as an innovation in response to the particular circumstances of building work at the priory in the later fifteenth century; this would also account for the lack of parallels in earlier priory registers. It follows that the contract cannot be used as evidence for the earlier existence of an 'office' of chief mason at the priory; while the emergence of the arrangement only in the circumstances of the most protracted building-campaign of the later Middle Ages at Durham makes it easier to see why this form of organization had been adopted much earlier at York, where major works had been in progress more or less continuously for nearly a quarter of a millennium (Gee 1977; Harvey 1977).

IX.B.13.2 References in Other Sources

Harvey may be correct in suggesting that Bell is to be identified with the eponymous mason who became free of York in 1465 and occurs working for the Minster in 1472 (Harvey 1984, 18).

IX.B.13.3 Stylistic Analysis

None possible.

IX.B.13.4 Status

Though there is nothing to indicate positively in the surviving documents that Bell acted as a designer, the training of apprentices, and, perhaps, the more favourable terms of his contract of 1488, must surely suggest that he was capable of it, even though his main task at Durham must have been to execute already established designs for the tower.

IX.B.14 THOMAS CHALMER (*fl.* 1508)

IX.B.14.1 Reference in Durham Sources

Chalmer is described as 'magistro latomorum' in a claim to sanctuary of 1508 (Raine 1837a, 53). Nothing more is known of him.

IX.B.14.2 References in Other Sources

None known.

IX.B.14.3 Stylistic Analysis

None possible.

IX.B.14.4 Status

The one thing that seems clear from the only extant reference to Chalmer is that he was of master's status, presumably succeeding John Bell II as the priory's chief mason.

IX.B.15 CHRISTOPHER SCUNE (*fl.* 1505 x 1521)

IX.B.15.1 References in Durham Sources

Scune occurs as a witness, described as 'magistro latamorum' in a claim to sanctuary in 1515 (Raine 1837a, 70) and again in 1519, described on that occasion simply as 'latamo' (Raine 1837a, 85).

IX.B.15.2 References in Other Sources

Scune first occurs in charge of the construction of the steeple of Louth church, Lincolnshire, between 1505 and *c.* 1512 (Dudding 1941, 78-179, *passim*).[109] He was also working at Ripon Minster by 1514 until at least 1520-1, probably supervising the erection of the new nave.[110] These references are sufficient to show that Scune worked on at least two widely separated and important commissions simultaneously, and may conceivably have worked on both of those as well as at Durham for a period. On the other hand, it is clear that Scune had lost interest in the Louth project after 1512, though he did not formally abandon it until 1515 (see note 109). It may be that an appointment to Durham supplies the reason.

IX.B.15.3 Stylistic Analysis

Stylistic attributions to Scune must rest primarily on the assumption that he designed the nave of Ripon, rather than acted as executant for another's design. Unfortunately, the evidence is not sufficiently clear on this point. If correct, however, it may offer an explanation for the resemblances between the tracery of its aisle windows and that formerly in the nave aisles at Durham (Pl. 98, 99), which was tentatively dated to the priorate of Thomas Castell (1494-1519) (see Chap. V.A.3). If Scune was responsible for both, the work must date to the last few years of Castell's priorate.

IX.B.15.4 Status

The documentation relating to Scune does at least make it clear that he was much sought after, with a widespread practice in the north; even though his authorship of any of the projects which he executed cannot be proven, that fact alone seems sufficient to indicate that he was a master of some repute, who would thus have been well capable of large-scale design work. It also implies that, at the close of the Middle Ages, Durham was still capable of attracting high-ranking masons into its employment.

IX.C: DISCUSSION

Despite the many complexities and ambiguities of the evidence regarding the process of design and the attribution of designs to individuals which the foregoing analysis has revealed, one aspect does seem reasonably well enough established to call for general comment: the extent to which the role of outside consultants seems to have dominated the design process in late medieval Durham. It is certainly arguable, though not conclusively demonstrable in all cases, that almost all work of any aesthetic quality or complexity was designed by an outside consultant, or at least, with outside advice, only simpler and comparatively utilitarian projects being entrusted to local masons. What were the factors which brought this about? First, there does seem to be a clear link with outside patronage, and especially with episcopal patronage, a reflection, perhaps, of the more numerous opportunities to acquire the services of masons from elsewhere to which the itinerant nature of the medieval episcopate gave rise. This applies not only to works like Hatfield's throne, where the episcopal interest is obvious, but also to the reconstruction of the dormitory and cloisters, where the priory was the beneficiary. Similarly, the shrine base and the reredos were largely paid for by the Nevilles, and it is conceivable that their involvement influenced the decision to employ London masons. There are, of course, possible exceptions to this trend on both sides. On the one hand, Langley's work on the Galilee may only have involved masons already working for the priory; while the convent may have taken outside advice at least on the construction of the kitchen, and Prior Fossor may have obtained an unknown consultant to design the north transept facade traceries associated with his burial-place and chantry nearby. The fact that such questions do not seem to arise from consideration of documentary or material evidence in connection with more utilitarian projects, such as the reconstruction of the monastic guest house, infirmary, or prior's lodging, and still less with work at the convent's manors or the more local appropriated churches and cells, suggests that such projects would be regarded as the preserve of more local masons, and, in the late fourteenth century at least, were arguably the preserve of a single mason based at Durham, John Lewyn.

A more general factor underlying the prevalence of consultancy at Durham may have been the poverty of the region in the later Middle Ages, compared with other areas of England which enjoyed periods of considerable prosperity; another facet of that contrast was the poverty of the priory compared both with other great Benedictine houses elsewhere, and

with its own position before the early fourteenth century. Though the detailed study of the priory as a builder in this period set out in chapters III-VII suggests that its level of activity was greater than the evidence of surviving remains would lead one to expect *prima facie*, and though the increasing defectiveness of the documentary record from the end of the fifteenth century has doubtless distorted the picture to some extent (see Chap. II.B.2.2) there is no evidence to suggest a sustained programme extending throughout its properties to match the one of the mid to late fourteenth century. A situation in which neither the priory nor other potential patrons in the region was in a strong enough position financially to commission major works must have considerably lessened the likelihood of attracting high calibre masons to base themselves in the region. The limited opportunities which the area offered to masons in the late Middle Ages is confirmed by the comparative scarcity of buildings dating from later than the early fifteenth century (see Chap. VIII.C), a scarcity which is too great to be accounted for by subsequent accidental loss. It thus appears that, from the mid fifteenth century onwards at least, it would have been much more difficult for masons of Lewyn's calibre to have found enough work in and around Durham to enable them to follow his example and base themselves in the city, as he appears to have done. The reconstruction of the central tower may have changed this situation, though even here, the fact that the work seems to have been carried out slowly over a long period suggests that, once the design had been established, the project would have needed comparatively little supervision from a first-rank mason, as the career of Scune, simultaneously supervising works at Durham and Ripon, suggests.

The Durham evidence also shows that consultancy need not invariably have been a question of supplying designs for others to carry out. It suggests rather that an intermediate position, in which the mason supplying the designs carried out enough of the work himself to enable a less skilled executant to finish it off, may also have been employed, even where this is not stated explicitly in the surviving contracts. Such a relationship seems reasonably clear in the case of Mapilton and Hyndeley over the cloisters, and is a reasonable interpretation of that between Middleton and Dryng over the dormitory, though the complete lack of other documentation relating to Middleton means that other possibilities cannot be ruled out. It probably also explains the relationship between Lewyn and Holme at Dunstanburgh; indeed, if Lewyn's authorship of the Embleton tracery is accepted, a case can be made for regarding Holme as Lewyn's executant in both places. On the other hand, the case of Scune failing to complete at Louth apparently because he had simply lost interest in the project warns against assuming that this explanation will always account for such a

succession of masters on a project. What particularly needs to be stressed is that it is only when enough documentary evidence happens to survive that the relationship between individual masons can even be guessed at; their role is rarely stated explicitly in any individual document, which emphasizes the dangers of basing any interpretation on isolated documentary references.

On a more positive note, the Durham evidence suggests another criterion for distinguishing local masters from outside consultants. The documentary evidence relating to masons like Lewyn, Dryng, and Hyndeley, shows an involvement in local affairs which can only have come with a long-term commitment to being resident in Durham, and this contrasts markedly with, say, Patrington or Mapilton, who never appear in such contexts in Durham documents.

The evidence for a considerable range of ability among the number of masons who seem to have exercised some sort of supervisory capacity has already been amply demonstrated; but it also provides some clue as to how that status might change over time. This is clearest with regard to Hyndeley, who first appears in Durham documents as an executant for Mapilton and develops into a master capable of giving advice himself. It may also be true of Dryng, though the extent to which he may have acted as an executant for others in the early part of his career remains unclear. At any rate, this glimpse into how careers might have developed is a reminder that the dynamic element of this process remains one of its most mysterious aspects; parallels can, however, be found in the royal works (see, for example, the early careers of Lote and Mapilton (Harvey 1984, 187-9, 195-6)).

From a more general perspective, the elusiveness and ambiguities of the Durham evidence in the area of the authorship and process of design must indicate that the establishment of 'careers' for individuals named in documents, though not an impossible task, is one which needs to be tackled with considerable caution, and where partial success is more likely to be the rule than the exception. It is possible to argue that the Durham evidence exaggerates the problems, given that the priory's particular circumstances were likely to involve an increasing degree of consultancy (see above). This is certainly true in comparison with the north's other great cathedral, York Minster, where sustained rebuilding took place with few interruptions until the later fifteenth century; the masons in charge of the works there must have needed to exercise designs skills more often, and on a larger scale than at Durham, and the city and its hinterland would also have provided a much more extensive and

varied outlet for their talents if they were not needed at the Minster itself, as witness the activities of Patrington suggested above (section B.5.3). Harvey's interpretation of the York evidence as implying the existence of a regular succession of men of this calibre, to the extent that the master mason of the Minster came to be formalized into an office (Harvey 1977, 188-92), is more credible in the circumstances of York than it is at Durham; any attempt to interpret the Durham evidence in this way, especially in so far as it depends on the assumption that the 1488 contract was an example of a more widespread practice at Durham, is difficult to sustain.

Yet it would be unwise to assume that the problems raised by the Durham evidence can be entirely explained away as a consequence of the particular circumstances of the priory. The controversy over the nature of the career of Henry Yevele in general (McLees 1973), and, in particular, over his authorship of the design of the nave of Canterbury (see note 111 and below, General Conclusions, C), is sufficient to show that even the career of a well documented mason in the royal service is by no means free from such interpretative difficulties. And the Durham archive is complete enough to indicate that such problems are more a function of the intractable nature of the evidence for the design process itself and of the ambivalence of its appearances in the documentary record. In this respect the Durham evidence tends to confirm Atkinson's gloomy assessment of the possibility of inferring the identity of designers (Atkinson 1947, 12), especially when (as is often the case) the documentation consists of only isolated references. The context which the Durham evidence provides reveals just how misleading such references might be. In particular, it suggests that the higher the probable status of the masons who appear in Durham documents, the fewer the number of documentary references there are likely to be, and the more likely they are to be in documents, notably contracts or building-accounts, which must always have been comparatively dispensable and many of which may not have long survived the completion of the projects which generated them.[111] Worse still, in several instances, consultancy status is only established beyond doubt by the existence of contemporary corroborative references elsewhere. In some cases, notably that of Lewyn, the evidence is sufficient to demonstrate that there were indeed masons who built up extensive practices over wide geographical areas, a conclusion supported by studies of the material record (see, for example, Fawcett 1975); but it is also clear that the chances of both sufficiently unambiguous documentation from other sources and enough of the buildings with which a designer was involved surviving to prove the point are likely to be remote indeed. Other comparable careers will be either

completely undocumented or, just as likely, documented in such a way that the status of the mason cannot be clearly determined.

There is, further, a more general methodological problem here. Though the Durham evidence suggests that it is possible to identify the personal preferences, if not the personal styles, of designers, it does not follow that this concept is as universally appropriate as Harvey assumes that it is. The ambiguity of authorship in cases such as the Hatfield throne or the Durham kitchen may not be entirely due to ambiguities in the documents. It is just as likely that, in this most cooperative of the arts, there were occasions when team efforts were involved, the above analysis of Lewyn's career suggesting that the extent of delegation was not a cut-and-dried affair, but varied with factors such as other contemporaneous claims on the consultant's time, and his age and mobility. It is significant that a reassessment of the evidence from another perspective has reached similar conclusions. Reviewing recent research in mouldings analysis, Morris has pointed out that a degree of delegation of design details seems likely in contexts in which consultancy was prevalent, and suggests that such a situation may explain the variety sometimes found within contemporary mouldings sets (Morris 1990, 245-6). The fact that, for practical purposes, accountants found it practical to deal with individuals does not in itself prove that designs were solely individual products.

CHAPTER IX - NOTES

1. 'Magistro Rogero cementario ex precepto prioris, iij s.' (Bursar 1329-30, Norham; cf. Proctor of Norham 1329-30, Oblaciones).

2. 'Magistro Rogero cementario, xiij s. iiij d.' (Holy Island, Status 1333, Debita).

3. 'Magistro Rogero cementario et duobus garcionibus suis sculpentibus lapides pro quoddam buteracio ad corner' capelle supra portam abbathie de novo construendo, Cviij s. ij d.' (Bursar 1336-7, Structura Domorum).

4. Compare, for example, Lewyn's trip to Coldingham while in priory service (see below, section B.4.1 and Chap. VI, note 12).

5. 'Et Hugoni de Schirewode et sociis suis cementariis pro factura tumuli prioris, vj s.' (Bursar 1340-1, Expense Necessarie).

6. 'Hugoni cementario pro factura hostii camere inferioris apud Pytingdon, xij d.' (Bursar 1339-40, Structura Domorum).

7. 'In j equo conducto Hugonem cementarium versus Billingham ad videndam cancellam , iiij d.' (Bursar 1344-5(B), Expense Minute).

8. For example, a mason called Hugh de Clippeston is mentioned in Bursar 1341-2 and 1347-8, Structura Domorum, and one called Hugo del Bate in Bursar 1341-2, Structura Domorum.

9. 'Johanni Hurper magistro cementario operanti super structuram nove fenestre capienti in septimanam ij s. a festo Apostolorum Petri et Pauli [29 June] usque diem dominicam proximam post festum Sancti Martini [11 November] per xx septimanas, xl s.' (Bursar 1347-8, Structura Domorum).

10. Bursar, 1348-9, Structura Domorum; Bursar 1349-50, Structura Domorum.

11. 'Magistro Johanni cementario operanti super les gargelons pistrine per unum mensem capienti in septimana ij s., et duobus sociis operantibus ibidem per tres septimanas cuilibet in septimanam ij s. iiij d., cum ferr' eorum acuendis, xxij s. x d.' (Bursar 1350-1(B), Structura Domorum).

12. Quoted Chap. VII, note 15. The following two items in the same account also refer to this mason:
'Eidem pro roba sua, x s. Eidem pro labore suo extra convencionem, vj s.' (Bursar 1351-2, Structura Domorum).

13. While the theoretical possibility that the 1350-1 and 1351-2 accounts refer to John Lewyn (see below, section B.4) rather than to Hurper cannot be entirely discounted, it seems very unlikely given that the former is invariably referred to in priory documents by both names, and not by his forename alone.

14. 'Johanni Lewyn pro fenestris camere prioris apud Beulu faciendis ut patet per indenturas prioris, vj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1353-4, Reparacio Domorum).
'Johanni Lewyne reparanti duos caminos ibidem ['cameram versus lardariam prioris'], xiij s. viij d.' (Hostiller 1354-5, Reparaciones Domorum).

15. 'Et in solucione facta Johanni Lewyn pro terris dominicalis de Billingham rodandis, xiij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1356-7, Reparacio Domorum).

16. 'Johanni Lewyn pro auxilio suo circa ordinacionem thoralis infra abbathiam precepto prioris, iij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1356-7, Reparacio Domorum).

17. 'Et Johanni Lewyn [8 names omitted] <cementariis> et aliis servientibus suis operantibus super le malthous per tempus compoti ut patet per dietas, xxvij li. xvj s. ix d.' (Bursar 1357-8, Reparacio Domorum).

'Et Johanni Lewyne [8 names omitted] cementariis et aliis servientibus suis operantibus super le malthous per tempus compoti ut patet per dietas, xxiiij li. vij s. vij d.' (Bursar 1358-9, Structura Domorum).
'Johanni Lewyne pro factura unius goter ad finem del malthouse, xiij s. vj d.' [It is possible that the reference following the one just quoted also refers to work on the malthouse]: 'Item eidem Johanni in solucionis xl s. pro ij fenestris, xx s.' (Bursar 1360-1, Reparacio Domorum).

18. 'Et eisdem cementariis [Lewyn et al.] operantibus super clausuram gardini domini prioris et alibi infra curiam et extra per idem tempus, vj li. xiij s. iij d.' (Bursar 1357-8, Reparacio Domorum).
'Johanni Lewyne [5 names omitted] et sociis suis cementariis et aliis servientibus suis operantibus infra curiam et extra per idem tempus [compoti], xxxv li. iij s. vij d.' (Bursar 1359-60, Reparacio Domorum).
'Johanni Lewyne Johanni Kay et sociis suis cementariis operantibus infra curiam et extra per idem tempus, ix li. v s. viij d.'(Bursar 1360-1, Reparacio Domorum).

19. 'Johanni Lewyne ex dono domini prioris, xl s.' (Bursar 1360-1, Dona et Exennia Domini Prioris).

20. 'Johanni Lewyn pro factura murorum novi granarii in partem solucionis lvj li., xlvj li.' (Bursar 1362-3, Structura Domorum).
'Item Johanni Lewyn pro factura novi granarii in partem solucionis lvj li., l s.' (Bursar 1363, Structura Domorum).
'Item Johanni Lewyn pro factura novi granarii in partem solucionis lvj li., l s.' (Bursar 1363-4, Structura Domorum).
'Johanni Lewy' pro scaccario granatar' et pro supervisione sua in aliis operibus, lxxiij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1365-6, Reparaciones Domorum).

21. There are six entries recording payments to Lewyn in the account, one for each of the six quarters covered by it. The first is given below as an example:
'Item Johanni Lewyne magistro cementario pro primo quarterio anni, lvj s. viij d.' (M. C. 7264, marginated 'Johannes Lewyne'). The formula is repeated exactly in the next four payments; the sixth, in week 79 of the account, is further specified 'pro stipendio suo'. This amount compares favourably with the amounts recorded by Harvey for other consultant and resident masters of the period (Harvey 1984, 380-1).

22. 'Johanni Lewyn pro factura de les aillours thoralis abbathie [amount illegible]' (Bursar 1367-8, Reparacio Domorum).

23. Sacrist 1376-7, Expense; Chamberlain 1377-8, [Mutuaciones]; Chamberlain 1379, Debita que Officium Debet; Bursar 1383-4, [Mutuaciones] (cf. Bursar 1384-5, Soluciones Debitorum); Bursar 1384-5, [Mutuaciones]; Hostiller 1385-6, Empcio' [Prati] et Feni; Bursar 1386-7, [Mutuaciones] and Soluciones Debitorum; Chamberlain 1391, Nomina Creditorum; Finchale 1394-5, Mutuaciones (Raine 1837b, App., cxii), cf. Finchale 1395, Soluciones Debitorum (Raine 1837b, App., cxv); Finchale 1395-6, Mutuaciones; Finchale 1397-8, Mutuaciones (Raine 1837b, App., cxx), cf. Finchale 1398-9, Soluciones Debitorum (Raine 1837b, App., cxxiii).

24. For the appointment to impress masons and purchase materials, see CPR 1367-70, 115; and for the inquisition of 1375, CPR 1374-7, 143-4. See also Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963, II, 557.

25. The Carlisle contract of April 1378 (PRO E. 101/483/31) is printed in Salzman 1952, 456-7, and illustrated in Gilyard-Beer 1977, pl. XII, which also offers an analysis of the gatehouse, and a discussion of the divergences between the structure as built and the contract specification. See also Brown Colvin and Taylor, II, 599. The Roxburgh contract of August 1378 (PRO E. 101/483/32) is printed in Salzman 1952, 457-9; for Lewyn's works at Roxburgh, see Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963, II, 819-20. A licence to impress masons for the works at both Carlisle and Roxburgh was issued in July 1378 (CPR 1377-8, 257). Lewyn's final account for the works at both castles dates from 1386 (PRO E. 364/21, rot. g, noted in Gilyard-Beer 1977, 209, n. 14). The final part of the works at Roxburgh were accounted for in 1387, the balance being paid in November 1388 (Salzman 1952, 457; Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963, II, 820).

26. The Bolton contract of September 1378 is printed in Salzman 1952, 454-6. For the evidence that the 1378 contract marks the start of work and not, as has previously been thought (Harvey 1984, 182), its final phase, see Hislop 1989, 25-37, who suggests a completion date in the mid 1390s (Hislop 1989, 32).

27. The contract of October 1380 is printed in Lodge and Somerville 1937b, no. 922 (translated Simpson 1949, 21-2, no. 3). Orders of October 1380 and July 1381 to Gaunt's receiver at Dunstanburgh for payments to Lewyn under the terms of this contract are printed in Lodge and Somerville 1937a, respectively nos. 410 and 566 (translated Simpson 1949, 22-3, nos. 4 and 5), the latter mentioning 'une autre overeyne' which was in addition to the terms of the original contract. By December 1381 Lewyn had been replaced by Henry of Holme as the mason in charge of the works (see Chap. VIII, note 11).

28. Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963, II, 569, citing PRO E. 364/26, rot. a, notes expenditure of £506 19s 10d during this period. A writ authorising Lewyn to procure food and building-materials, and impress workmen '... pro quadam opere infra villam nostram Berewici super Twedam ... de novo construendi ...' is printed in (—) 1819, 80.

29. PRO E. 101/483/4, noted in Harvey 1984, 183. See also Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963, II, 820.

30. Broomley (*c.* 1378): Hodgson 1902, 146-50; Newton Cap (*c.* 1382): Greenwell 1857, 47; Lanchester and Kimblesworth (dates uncertain): Raine 1864b, 59-60; farmer of borough of Durham (with three others, 1384-90): (—) 1871, 320.

31. Harvey 1984, 183, quoting CCR 1385-9, 544. (For another example of his mercantile activities figuring in royal documents, see CPR 1388-92, 355.)

32. The 'quarry where John Lowyn digs stones' is mentioned in the boundary clause of a lease of 1398 (Page 1907-28, III, 22 and n. 66); the prior and convent entered into a bond in the sum of £40 10s with Lewyn on 24 December 1398 (Reg. II, fol. 330v).

33. Reservations about this interpretation have been expressed by Hislop, who suggests that the outer gatehouse, contracted for in 1383, may have been Holme's own design (Hislop 1989, 80-4). The poor survival of all the buildings at Dunstanburgh makes the question of attribution all the more intractable.

34. The entry in the Durham Chancery Enrolments for 1390-1 recording Ralph Lord Neville's agreement to release John Lewyn and his son Walter from a recognizance and to pay them 200 marks for renewing all 'les rodes' at Brancepeth within two years of its being required ((—) 1872, 74) is difficult to interpret. Harvey suggests that it may be related to building operations at Brancepeth undertaken by Lewyn (Harvey 1984, 183).

35. The attribution to Lewyn of part of the cloisters at Durham (Harvey 1984, 184) appears to rest on a misapprehension as to their date: see Chap. IV.B.1.2.

36. Recent work by Richard Morris has, however, suggested that even very simply detailed buildings may prove to have diagnostic features, such as the angles of chamfers (Morris 1986, 164-5, fig. 4).

37. This process can also be paralleled in some of the Durham works of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries: see below, sections B.7.1, 9.4.

38. For the stylistic context in which Lewyn was probably trained, see Chap. VIII.D.

39. 'Item magistro Roberto de Pat'naton cementario Ebor' ex curialitate prioris, xiij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1363-4, Dona et Exennia).

40. As it stands, the form in the 1363-4 account is impossible, and is most likely explained as a copying error for 'Pat'ngton', the letters *g* and *a* being closely similar in the script of the account, and the confusion being explicable as a misreading by the scribe of a name with which he was unfamiliar. I am most grateful to Mr V. E. Watts and Dr A. I. Doyle for their advice on this point.

41. Compare the payments made to Lord Neville's mason or masons in the later fourteenth century (quoted Chap. VIII, note 15).

42. 'Item in expensis bursarii versus Ebor' circa cement' et alia negocia domus, xx s. xj d. ob.' (Bursar 1363-4, Expense Necessarie et Minute).

43. 'Obiit Johannes de Neville anno Domini MCCCLXXXVI, et sepultus iacet in ecclesia Dunelmensi cum uxore sua in plaga australi navis ecclesie' (Raine 1839, 137). The heraldry of the tomb, in which the Neville arms alternate with the lion of Percy (Page 1907-28, III, 118) implies that Neville was buried with his first wife, Maud Percy, and that the tomb was designed with this eventuality in mind. It was therefore presumably designed before her death, which took place before June 1383-4, in which year Neville married again (Surtees 1816-40, IV, 158-9). Wilson has suggested that the failure to employ a metropolitan mason, in contrast to the shrine base and Neville screen (see Chap. III.A.5.2) may imply that the tomb was made after Neville's disappearance from court circles in 1376 (Wilson 1980a, 98). Alternatively, Hislop has suggested that it may date the tomb to the 1360s, before the start of Neville's close association with the court (Hislop 1989, 13).

44. Wilson specifically draws attention to the resemblance between the square panels of fleuron on the cresting of the Neville tomb and that of the south choir aisle screen at Howden, and between the small cusped panels which alternate with the fleuron in the cresting of the tomb and the panels at the base of the image socles on the Howden pulpitum (Wilson 1980a, 100, n. 44). The continuous quatrefoils of the central arch of the pulpitum at Howden are echoed in the panels in the backs of the seats in the chapter house there (Pevsner 1972, 263) suggesting that both works were by the same hand.

45. The stylistic affinities of the spire of Patrington church, Yorkshire, to the choir of York Minster rather than the presbytery (Maddison 1989, 146), perhaps favour its attribution to Patrington's successor at York, Hugh Hedon, rather than Patrington himself. The eastern parts of Melrose Abbey, Roxburghshire, the traceries of which Harvey has compared to the Howden chapter house (Harvey 1978, 116) are comparable in these and other respects to the east end of York Minster. The destruction which necessitated the reconstruction of Melrose took place in 1385, the year of the latest documented occurrence of Patrington's name; but he may have survived for some time after that, so his involvement in at least the early stages of the work at Melrose cannot be ruled out.

46. 'Et Petro Dryng in plenam solucionem pro factura dicti scaccarii, vj li.' (Almoner 1370-1, Reparaciones Domorum).

47. 'Et de xxxv s. solutis Petro Dring de tempore eiusdem [the previous accountant]' (Finchale 1375-6, Soluciones Debitorum (Raine 1837b, App., xcv, cf. xci)).

48. 'Petro Dryng [*c.* 4 letters illegible] soluc' [l]xiij s. iiij d. [pro factura] dicti camini, vj s. ix d. (Almoner 1380-1, dorse [unmarginated]).

49. Bursar 1386-7, [Mutuaciones] (a reference which seems to associate Dryng with John Lewyn); Bursar 1388-9, Varia Recepta.

50. Dryng's contract, in which he bound himself to complete the dormitory before November 1404, is dated February 1402 (Loc. II, 13 (17), printed Raine 1839, App., clxxxvii-cxc; Salzman 1952, 476-7). He was apparently in charge of the works from the middle of 1400, however, to judge from his first appearance in the dormitory building-accounts for 1400-2: 'Item idem solvit Petro Dryng cementario pro pensione sua de quattuor terminis prenominatis, liij s. iiij d. Item in gentaculis factis bina vice predicto Petro Dryng et cementariis, ij s. viij d.' (Loc. II, 13 (9), Expense). An alternative version survives as Loc. II, 13 (6). This reads 'duobus annis' for 'quattuor terminis', demonstrating that the terms were half-yearly. He is mentioned in the 1402-4 accounts delivering £28 to the prior and subprior in one version (Loc. II, 13 (10), Expense), and receiving £86 in the alternative version (Loc. II, 13 (12), Expense). Dryng died in early June 1404, the account for May-October 1404 recording what was presumably the repayment of cash in hand from his executors and of the masons' wages for the period after his death (Loc. II, 13 (14), Varia Recepta et Mutuaciones; Expense).

51. 'Item petit allocacionem de xx s. oneratis in compoto precedenti, debitis per Petrum Dring, non levabilibus' (M. C. 2651, [allowances at foot of account of November 1402-3] (printed Fowler 1901,

lix-xi)). He is also mentioned in connection with a small cash livery in the Skirlaw chantry account of 1398-1402 (M. C. 5726, Recepta).

52. Dryng held land at Dryburn, near Durham, from *c.* 1388 (Page 1907-28, III, 165, n. 88). He is also mentioned as a party to some recognizances, for example, in 1402-3 ((—) 1872, 53), which suggests that he was prominent in local affairs.

53. Reg. II, fol. 215b (printed Raine 1839, App., clxxx-clxxxii; Salzman 1952, 473-5). A version in French, omitting some of the building specification, survives as Loc. II, 13 (16).

54. 'In primis in solucione facta Johanni de Midelton cementario lx li. et non plus quod dominus Thomas Dautre et Thomas Lyth computant de vj li. xiij s. iiij d. solutis predicto cementario ut patet per papira sua.' (Loc. II, 13 (3), [unheaded]).

55. There is a sketch elevation of the (flying) buttress formerly at the south-west corner of the dormitory, presumably the 'bono botras et substantiali inter finem dicti muri et le sowthgavill', in John Carter's sketchbook (BL MS Add. 29933, fol. 33 dorse); its arch appears to have used simple hollow-chamfered forms resembling those of the surviving doorways (Pl. 83, 84).

56. In particular: 'Dabunt [prior et conventus] etiam eidem cementario, durantibus tribus annis supradictis, victum in esculentis et poculentis pro ipso et garcioni suo, quandocunque pro opere predicto Dunelmi moram traxerit, et ibidem circa opus predictum fuerit occupatus.' (Raine 1839, App., clxxxii). Shelby's analysis of these contracts is seriously compromised by his failure to appreciate Middleton's status as a consultant (Shelby 1976).

57. 'Item Hyndely et Roberto Lesmaker latomus pro labore suo circa feretrum, vj d.' (Feretrar 1400-1, Expense Necessarie).
'Item Thome Hyndeley latamo pro imposicione ymaginum et labore circa feretrum, vj d.' (Feretrar 1401, Expense Necessarie).

58. 'Item Hyndley latamo pro factura tumuli domini ex precepto Petro del Hay, vj s. viij d.' (M. C. 2651, Expense (Fowler 1901, lx)).

59. 'Item remanent ij gaveloks, scilicet j in domo et j in manu Thome Hyndley.' (Finchale, Status 1411 (Raine 1837b, App., clviii)).

60. 'Item Thome Hyndley pro iiij^{xx} fothir', precium fothir' ix d., iiij li. ij d.' (Cloister 1411-12, Cariac' Lapidum (Loc. II, 19 (1))).

61. 'Item in solucione facta Thome Hyndeley per diversas vices ut patet per indenturas, xlij li.' (Cloister 1412-13, Expense Latomorum). 'Item Thome Hyndley pro cariac' lapidum ante convencionem factam, xl s.' (Cloister 1412-13, Cariac' Lapidum). 'Item pro pergameno et scriptura indentarum Thome Hyndley, ij s.' (Cloister 1412-13, Operarii (Loc. II, 19 (1))).
'In primis in solucione facta Thome Hyndeley per diversas vices, xxxviij li. xiij s. iiij d. [3 items omitted] Item pro toga Thome Hyndeley, xiij s. iiij d.' (Cloister 1413-14, Expense (Loc. II, 19 (5))).
'In primis in solucione facta Thome Hyndley cementario per tempus compoti ut patet per indentur' super solucionem fact', lxxj li. xiij s. iiij d. Item pro garniamento eiusdem, xij s. x d. Item Willelmo Cragg cementario et aliis pro operibus ultra convencionem Thome Hyndley, xj s. viij d.' (Cloister 1414-15, Expense (Loc. II, 19 (6))).
'Et de xiij li. vj s. viij d. receptis de Petro del Hay per manus Thome Hyndeley cementarii' (Cloister 1415-16, Recepta). 'In primis in solucione Thome Hyndley cementario per tempus compoti ut patet per indenturas super eandem solucionem factas, lxvj li. xvj s. viij d. Item pro garniamento eiusdem erga Natalem, xiij s. viij d.' (Cloister 1415-16, Expense (Loc. II, 19 (7))).

62. Hyndeley entered into a bond obliging him to complete the fourth ~~walk~~ of the cloisters within two years from Michaelmas [29 September] 1416. This refers to a contract ('quibusdam indenturis') which has not survived (printed Raine 1839, App., cciv-ccv). Unfortunately, only one account (for May 1418 to June 1419), containing only one incidental reference to him, survives from after 1416: 'In primis pro j garniamento Thome Hyndley cementario, xj s. iiij d.' (Cloister 1418-19, Expense (Loc. II, 19 (9)).

part

63. 'Item Thome Hyndeley cementario pro uno camino in studio domini prioris de novo constructo cum mundacione et riddacione fundi eiusdem, xxxvj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1414-15, Reparaciones Domorum).

64. 'Item Thome Hyndeley cementario pro factura operis cementarie unius ostii subtus cameram domini prioris, vj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1416-17, Reparaciones Domorum).

65. 'Item Thome Hyndeley latamo pro factura unius ostii lapid' infra claustrum ex convencione cum eo facta, xl s.' [30 lines omitted] Item Thome Hyndeley latamo super reparacione [reparacione struck through] nova constructione facta unius camini infra manerium de Beaurepaire, xxvj s. viij d.' (Bursar 1418-19, Reparaciones Domorum).

66. Finchale 1418-19, Mutuaciones (Raine 1837b, App., clxxvi), cf. Finchale 1419-20, Soluciones Debitorum (Raine 1837b, App., clxxxi).

67. Mines Accounts, Arreragia, first appearing in 1427-8.
'Item Thome Hyndeley pro j petra de merbyll pro domino priore, xx s.' (Mines Accounts, 1429-30, [unheaded]).
'In primis idem computat in denariis solutis Thome Hyndley cementario pro lucracione petrum marmorearum in querrura de Eglyston, ut patet per compotum suum, Ciij s. x d.' (M. C. 7150, Expense [5 further items mentioning Hyndeley occur subsequently in this section of the account] (printed Raine 1839, App., ccccxliii)).

68. Hyndeley was summoned to 'devyse and ordeine the most siker grounde' of the tower, and paid for 'wirkyng there and devysyng the forsaide werk' (quoted Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963, II, 832, citing PRO E 101/482/8 and E 101/51/13).

69. 'De quibus computat in primis in solucione facta Thome Mapilton pro feodo suo per tempus compoti scilicet pro uno anno integro, Cvj s. viij d. Item pro garniamento empto pro eodem erga Natalem, xiij s. iiij d.' (Cloister 1408-9, Expense Latomorum).
'De quibus computat in primis Thome Mapilton pro feodo suo de terminis Purificationis [2 February] et Sancti Petri ad Vincula [1 August], Cvj s. viij d. Item eidem capienti per septimanam iiij s. pro xv septimanis, lx s.' (Cloister 1409-10, Expense Latamorum (Loc. II, 19 (1))). [It is not clear how the preceding information is to be reconciled with that in a short alternative version, (Loc. II, 19 (3)), overlapping the end of the period covered by the 1409-10 account, in which Mapilton's wages for seven weeks are given as 3s 4d per week.]
'In primis Thome Mapilton capienti per septimanam iiij s. pro xxxviij septimanas extra vij s. viij d. de falcat', vij li. iiij s. iiij d. Item pro garniamento eiusdem, xiij s. iiij d.' (Cloister 1411-12, Expense).
'De quibus petit allocacionem de xij s. in manibus Thome Mapilton.' (Cloister 1412-13, [allowances against surplus balance] (Loc. II, 19 (1))).

70. As Harvey correctly notes the arrears owed to Finchale in 1411 imply that Mapilton was then renting one of its properties:
'De Thoma Mapilton pro j termino, vj s.' (Finchale 1410-11, Arreragia (Raine 1837b, App., cliv)).

71. 'Item Thome Mappilton latamo ex precepto domini prioris, iij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1416-17, Dona et Exennia).

72. Mapilton was described as 'citizen and mason of London' in the will of Stephen Lote of 1417 (Harvey 1984, 194). He was clearly on good terms with Lote (king's master mason at Westminster and the Tower from 1400 until his death in 1417 or 1418 (Harvey 1984, 67, 189)), witnessing a codicil to his will in 1417, and being bequeathed, *inter alia*, 'all patterns' (drawings or templates?) in Lote's chamber at Sheen, where the latter was in charge of the works, and a term of rent to ensure his cooperation in carrying out Lote's commission to make the Duke of York's tomb (Harvey 1984, 188-9).

73. He was warden of the masons at Westminster and the Tower (Harvey 1984, 194).

74. For the terms of his appointment, see CPR 1416-22, 374. For his works in this capacity, Harvey 1984, 195-6; Brown Colvin and Taylor 1963, II, 793, 982.

75. Harvey 1984, 195; Woodman suggests that he probably also supervised the completion of the south transept (Woodman 1981, 172-6).

76. 15 out of 39½ weeks in 1409-10, and 38 out of 54½ weeks in 1411-12.

77. Bell is employed at 3s 4d per week for 44 weeks and 2 days in 1408-9 (Cloister 1409, Expense Latamorum (Loc. II, 19 (1))), for 38 weeks 1½ days ('extra vj d. de falcat') in 1409-10 (Cloister 1409-10, Expense Latamorum (Loc. II, 19 (1))), and for 42 weeks [corrected from 31] and 2 days in 1411-12 (Cloister 1411-12, Expense (Loc. II, 19 (1))).

78. 'Item Johanni Bell pro opere suo super phiolas ix altarium per ij septimanas et ij dies, ix s.' (Sacrist 1411-12, Expense in Ecclesia).

79. 'Item Johanni Bell operanti ad aulam de Beaurepair per iij septimanas, capienti per septimanam iij s. iiij d., x s. (Bursar 1410-11, Reparaciones Domorum).

80. 'Item in reparacione facta apud Pyttyngton per Johannem Belle cementarium, lij s. [1 item (quoted note 63) omitted] Item Johanni Belle cementario pro camino in camera domini prioris de novo constructo, lxviij s. viij d. [9 items (1 struck through) omitted] Item pro reparacione manerii de Bieulieu facta per Thomam Wadley et Johannem Belle ut patet per papirum ipsius computantis, vj li. iij s. iiij d. [2 items omitted] Item in constructione unius novi boteras ad portam abbathie omnibus compotatis preter stipendium Johannis Belle et Thome Caldeclough, xxxj s. iiij d. [2 items omitted] Item in stipendio Johannis Belle cementarii operantis tam infra quam extra per xxiiij septimanas <ultra opera predicta per ipsum facta> capiens per septimanam iij s. iiij d. ex convencione, iiij li.' (Bursar 1414-15, Reparaciones Domorum).

81. Bell worked for 3s 4d per week for 32 weeks on the kitchen in 1415-16 (Bursar 1415-16, Reparaciones Domorum), and for 39 weeks on Skaltok mill-dam in 1416-17 (these latter wages apparently also covering work on the repair of a tenement in Framwellgate and on another mill-dam (Bursar 1416-17, Reparaciones Domorum)).

82. 'Item in reparacione facta in camera domini prioris per Johannem Belle Johannem Wadley Thomas Curwen et alios ut patet per dictum papirum, xliiij s. j d. [13 lines omitted] Item in reparacione facta infra manerium de Pittyngton per Johannem Bell Willelmum Kemp Thomam Curwen et alios ut patet per papirum, xxix s. j d.' (Bursar 1418-19, Reparaciones Domorum).

83. Bell made two chimneys for £1 4s and cut 300 ashlars for £2 5s by agreement (and probably made 65 ells of window for 43s 4d, though this item is not explicitly attributed to him), besides working on the walls for 45 weeks at 3s 4d per week (M. C. 7265, [unheaded] (extracted Fowler 1898, 270)).

84. Minor works recorded in the early 1420s comprise: 12s 8d for a new stone window in the prior's chamber at Bewley in 1421-2 (Bursar 1421-2, Reparaciones Domorum); a gift (to Bell and other craftsmen) totalling 4s 10d for viewing and repairing defects in Witton manor (Almoner 1421-2, Dona et Exennia); 5s 6d for repairing an oven at Witton, and 12s for a door, window, and stone chimney beside St Margaret's chapel [in Crossgate?] (Almoner 1421-2, Reparaciones Domorum); and 7s 8d for a week's work by him and his servants in the malt-house in 1422-3 (Bursar 1422-3, Reparaciones Domorum).

85. Bell is named (without indication of his wage or the number of weeks worked) in Mines Accounts 1427-8, Expense, and 1428-9, Expense; he was paid for 4 weeks at 3s per week in 1429-30 (Mines Account, 1429-30, [unheaded]).

86. Bell's weekly wages for work on the Galilee were 3s in winter and 3s 4d in summer. He is listed as having worked 33 whole and 10 part summer weeks (allowing for saints' days and absence) in the 1429 account (M. C. 5713, Expense Latomorum), 41 weeks (33 in summer, 8 in winter), less allowances for saints' days and for absence, in that for 1429-30 (M. C. 5714, Expense Latomorum), 7 weeks in that for September-November 1430 (M. C. 5715, Expense Latomorum), 48 weeks in 1430-1 (M. C. 5716, Expense Latomorum), 50 weeks in 1431-2 (M. C. 5717, Expense Latomorum), 39 weeks in 1432-3 (M. C. 5719, Expense Latomorum), and 18 weeks in 1433-5 (M. C. 5720, Expense Latomorum). He is not mentioned in the account for August-October 1435 (M. C. 5721).

87. 'Item Johanni Bell maason [*sic*] de Dunelm, vj s. viij d.' (Finchale, Status 1440, Debita que Domus de Fynkhall debet a Festo Pentecostes Anno Domini etc. xxxix^{to} (printed Raine 1837b, App., ccxxx)).

88. See Chap. IV, note 27. (The 1438-9 account also contains the entry: 'Item eisdem [Bell and Chaumer] pro porta in cimiterio monachorum, xxj s. viij d.' (Sacrist 1438-9, Reparaciones Domorum)).

89. He made a stone window (Hostiller 1442-3, Reparaciones Domorum).

90. Knayth worked on the Galilee for 13 full weeks at 3s per week, and 7 part weeks (M. C. 5713, Expense Latomorum).

91. Knayth is named in the mines accounts as working for 26 weeks in 1429-30, [unheaded], and for a whole year in the next four accounts: 1430-1, Expense; 1431-2, Expense (specified as 'super facturam novarum camerarum domini prioris'); 1432-3, Expense Domini Prioris (specified as 'super facturam camere domini prioris'); and 1433-4, Expense Domini Prioris.

92. M. C. 7150, Expense (printed Raine 1839, App., ccccxliv).

93. In 1434-5, Knayth worked for 16 weeks on the Galilee (M. C. 5720, Expense Latomorum), and for 14 weeks on the prior's lodging, at 3s per week (less allowance), specified as 'super facturam nove porte iuxta cameram domini prioris' (Mines Accounts 1434-5, Expense Domini Prioris).

94. As the prior's lodging was probably also completed in 1434-5, Knayth's final appearance in the mines accounts (in 1436-7, working at 3s per week for 12 weeks 'ad limitacionem domini prioris' (Mines Accounts, 1436-7, [unmarginated])) was probably in connection with work at Bearpark rather than Durham (see Chap. IV, note 70). The same phrase is found in connection with him the following year (Bursar 1437-8, Reparaciones Domorum).

95. '... lx s. xviij d. solut' Johanni Knaythe pro adquisicione lapidum et factura novarum fenestrarum ibidem [aula hospitali] ...' (Hostiller 1438-9, Reparaciones Domorum).
'Et in stipendio Johannis Knayth latami operantis super factura novarum fenestrarum in aula hospitali per xxx^{ta} septimanas capientis per septimanam ij s. x d., iiij li. v s.' (Hostiller 1439-40, Reparaciones Domorum).

96. 'Et solvit Johanni Knayth et Willelmo Chambr' cimentariis pro factura ij fenestrarum ex convencione secum facta in grosso, C s. Et eidem [*sic*] pro factura ij formpeys chaumeres retournes corbels t[r]anasons [*sic*] j sol' skownsiom pro ij fenestris in grosso lxvj s. viij d. Et eisdem pro iij ostiis ex convencione secum facta in grosso, xx s. Et eisdem pro xlviij et dimidio ulnis tabularum, precium ulne viij d., xxxij s. iiij d. Et eisdem pro v^{xx} viij achillars, xij s. iij d. Summa xj li. xj s. iij d.' (M. C. 7266, Custus Latamorum (printed with minor errors Raine 1839, App., cccxxv)).

97. 'Et Johanni Knaithe et Willelmo Usworth pro factura murorum et posicione volte predicti granarii [de Elvethall] ex convencione in grosso, xlvj s. viij d. Et eidem Johanni Knaithe pro operacione xxvj ulnarum petrarum tabellarum pro eodem, xiij s. viij d. Et sol' eisdem Johanni et Willelmo pro factura cuiusdam gradus ante introitum dicti granarii ex convencione, xiij s. viij d.' (Hostiller 1452-3, Reparaciones Domorum).

98. 'Et solut' Johanni Knayth lathamo pro emendacione unius muri lapidii infra domum infirmarie, x d.' (Infirmarer 1453-4, Expense). Minor and unspecified work is also recorded for the sacrist in 1458-9 (Sacrist 1458-9, Expense pro Ecclesia).

99. 'Et sol' Johanni Knaith operanti ibidem [aula hospitali] per ij dies ad v d., x d. Et sol' Johanni Knaith pro factura j nove fenestre in quadam camere vocata Clerkechaumbre unacum viij s. solutis Thome Shaldon pro vitriacione eiusdem, xvij s. viij d.' (Hostiller 1459-60, Reparaciones).
'Et sol. Johanni Knath pro factura unius fenestre in quadam camera vocata Clerkchaumbr una cum iiij s. j d. solut' Thome Shawden pro vitriacione eiusdem, vj s. v d.' (Hostiller 1460-1, Reparaciones Domorum).
'Et sol. Johanni Knathe et Johanni Thomson latamis operantis super facturam novarum fenestrarum in aula hospitali, xix s. iiij d.' (Hostiller 1461-2, Reparaciones Domorum).

100. He was paid only 7s 9d in the 1465-6 account (Sacrist 1465-6, Reparacio Campanilis), together with a pension of 12s 11d for 10 weeks' work (Sacrist 1465-6, Pensiones Landmall et Contribuciones). On the other hand, he also received two allowances: 'Et Thome Barton latamo pro allocacione firme sue, viij s. Et eidem ut in precio unius bovis ad festum Sancti Martini, xiij s. iiij d.' (Sacrist 1465-6, Dona et Exennia).

101. By the 1470s, entries in the sacrist's accounts relating to Barton followed a well defined pattern. One concerned his stipend: 'Et Thome Barton latamo pro stipendio suo, lxvj s. viij d.' (Sacrist 1472-3, Stipendia Famulorum; this entry is repeated exactly in the accounts for 1473-4 and 1474-5). The other recorded his allowances. That for 1472-3 (Dona, Exennia et Allocaciones) exactly repeated that for 1465-6 (quoted note 100), while in the 1473-4 and 1474-5 accounts his rent allowance had been increased to 13s 4d (Sacrist 1473-4, Dona et Exennia; Sacrist 1474-5, Dona Exennia et Allocaciones).

102. One of the conditions of Hugh Wall's indentures of apprenticeship required him '... in artificio latamie attendenciam diligenciam quod et servicium suum exhibituri Johanni Bell latamo principali predicti prioris ad artem latamie ab ipso Johanni et aliis latamis prefati prioris erudiendum ...'. For their part, the prior and his successors undertook: '... predictum Hugonem apprenticium suum in arte latamie per predictum Johannem Bell et alios latamos dictam artem exercentes facient competenter instrui doceri et informari ...'. (Loc. XXVIII, 19). The same terms occur in the indentures of apprenticeship of John Ligh of 1 July 1487 (Loc. XXVIII, 18).

103. Raine 1837a 4. Bell occurs in another claim to sanctuary in 1486 (Raine 1837a 13). He is called simply 'mason' in the first reference, and 'latamo' in the second.

104. 'Et sol' Johanni Bell latamo pro feodo suo, vj li. xiij s. iiij d.' (Sacrist 1483-4, Reparacio Campanilis (repeated in Sacrist 1484-5, 1485-6, 1486-7, 1487-8, Reparacio Campanilis)).
'Et in allocacione facta Johanni Bell latamo pro firma sua, viij s.' (Sacrist 1483-4, Dona Exennia et Allocaciones (repeated in Sacrist 1484-5, 1485-6, 1486-7, 1487-8, Dona Exennia et Allocaciones)).

105. 'Et sol' Johanni Bell latamo cum vij famulis operantibus super facturam eiusdem furni [magni furni abbathie], iiij li. iiij s. vj d.' (Bursar 1492-3, Reparaciones Domorum).

106. 'Et sol' Johanni Bell latamo in regardo xiij s. iiij d.' (Bursar 1493-4, Reparaciones).

107. 'Johanne Bell pro j tenemento iacenti ex parte orientali simitorii abbathie nil quod concessum est ei per dominum priorem in feodo suo per terminem vite sue ...' (Sacrist's Rental, 1500, fol. 9v).

108. Salzman 1952, 593, n. 1. Other evidence suggests that contracts were offered only to already established masters: compare, for example, Woodman's comments on Thomas Mapilton and Richard Beke (the latter for life) at Christ Church Canterbury in the early fifteenth century (Woodman 1981, 10, 264-5).

109. 'Also pd Lourence mason for ridyng to his master [Scune] in north countre for to spure him whether he wolde make ende of the broch & he said he wolde dell no more with itt bot he shewed his councell, 6s 8d.' (1515-16 account (Dudding 1941, 179)). The preceding account, for 1514-15, mentions payments to a messenger '... ridyng to Repon for master mason to come & wirke apon broch ...' (Dudding 1941, 166), and to bearers of letters requesting Scune to come and work on the spire, but it is clear from the negligible expenditure on the project in that year that they were unsuccessful. The last account which records Scune's actual attendance on the work is that for 1512-13 (Dudding 1941, 133).

110. Scune was presumably working at Ripon (where work on the nave was in progress by 1503-4 (Walbran 1877, 170)) when the messenger from Louth was sent to him in 1514-15 (see note 109). He received an *ex gratia* payment in the Ripon fabric account for 1520-1: 'Crist. Scoign' pro sua bona diligencia in supervidend' lathomos operantes circa fabricam, x s.' (Fabric Roll 1520-1, Soluc' Feod' et Regard' (printed Walbran 1877, 181)). To judge from the small amounts spent on the new work in subsequent fabric accounts, the nave must have been more or less complete by this year, so it is possible that Scune's payment was in effect a parting gift.

111. *Pace* Woodman, the very fact of the strength of Thomas of Hoo's documented association with Christ Church Canterbury tends to suggest that he was the resident executant rather than the designer of the nave (Woodman 1981, 161).

CONCLUSIONS

A: DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

The analysis of the variations in the recording of building activity in late medieval Durham (see Chap. II.B) has revealed several aspects which are of general interest to those involved in the process of relating material and documentary evidence. First it demonstrates that, beneath the plethora of widely varying choices exercised by individual accountants, there are discernible long-term trends, which do determine the kinds of information available in fundamental respects, such as whether particular buildings or individual craftsmen can be identified, and whether building expenditure can be isolated from other categories. This analysis provides a background which enables the documentary record for any particular project to be placed in context, not only in terms of what one is told about it, but also what its diplomatic context suggests one would not expect to be told in a particular set of accounts of a certain period. This is an essential preliminary to establishing the degree of comparability of evidence, and the scope for inference from negative evidence, aspects which are often impossible to assess for documents surviving from more fragmentary archives. The Durham evidence, in contrast, is complete enough to reveal something of the possible range of variation which might be encountered; and where changes over time have been observed (see Chap. II.B.2.4), it prompts the question as to whether these might reflect more widespread changes in accounting practice. It thus suggests some possible constraints in interpretation which would often remain unsuspected from a study of documents for which such a context is now lacking.

More fundamentally, the Durham archive is complete enough to enable one to make an informed guess as to what the limits of knowledge of building activity would be had the archive survived as it might have stood at the Dissolution,[1] so defining the parameters within which the relation between documentary and material evidence operated. It is immediately evident that our knowledge would remain very uneven in important respects. For example, information on work at the cells would be much rarer than at the mother-house, and detailed prosopographical studies of workmen would be possible only at the latter and only from the mid fifteenth century onwards (see Chap. II.B.2.4). Equally, the elliptical terms frequently used to refer to the buildings to which alterations took place mean that problems of location and identification would still remain. What is more, it seems likely that the *papiri* and other subsidiary records were liable to be disposed of once the main accounts were compiled and audited. The particular propensity for the sorts of document most likely to be informative on

questions of design (as opposed to execution) to be discarded has also been noted. Thus contracts with masons to design particular works probably survived by good luck and occasional prudence on the part of the compilers of the convent's registers, and not because any systematic need to preserve them was perceived (see Chap. IX.B.13.1). Nevertheless, it seems clear that many of the ambiguities in this area of fundamental concern to contemporary research are not due solely to the incomplete survival of the records and the high odds against more ephemeral and informative categories being preserved, but are inherent in the nature of the records themselves. It appears that much of what one would like to know about the processes of the design and modification of buildings in late medieval Durham was probably not written down at all, or was recorded in ambiguous terms, or destroyed soon after it was written. The complex structures of probability and inference (involving the material evidence as much as the documents) on which the preceding analysis has perforce depended would thus have been scarcely less essential in 1539 than they are today. Moreover, the dependence of the vestigial tradition of chronicle writing in late medieval Durham on such sources means that it was almost as much a prisoner of their limitations as present-day researchers are (see Chap. II.A.2).

B: THE PATTERN OF PRIORY BUILDING

The most significant element of the pattern of building activity in late medieval Durham, as revealed by the information in the accounts on chronology and amounts expended, is its unevenness. Among the peaks, that in the mid to late fourteenth century stands out as the single most extensive renovation which the convent's property received in the later Middle Ages, this period being no less important in the histories of several of the cells and appropriated churches than it was for work at the mother-house itself. The comprehensiveness of the programme of repairs and alterations underlines the importance of considering the whole of the convent's properties, rather than focusing on Durham itself. It has been shown above (see Chap. I.B.1) that the larger Benedictine houses varied considerably in the range of subsidiary properties attached to them, but it is clear that, for those which had numbers of cells or appropriated churches as Durham had, their total architectural impact, and a full understanding of the demands on their resources, can only be appreciated if such buildings are also brought into consideration. Houses such as St Albans, Ely, Gloucester, or Norwich, where the penumbra of subsidiary property was extensive,

would evidently repay investigation from this perspective. The Durham evidence also suggests two major caveats, however. First, the question arises as to why the comprehensive renovation of the later fourteenth century never seems to have been repeated later in the Middle Ages. Financial constraints are the most immediately obvious answer, but other considerations suggest that the situation is not quite so simple. The increasing dependence on rent from tenements also involved substantial expenditure on their construction and maintenance, which must in turn have drained the convent of resources which might have been spent on some of its other property. Further, the fact that the evidence demonstrates periods of inactivity as well as of intensified building activity is no less important. It is clear, for example, that the amount of new building in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the middle decades of the fifteenth was negligible; and while Durham's economic problems in the later Middle Ages may have been exaggerated by local circumstances, this is not unparalleled elsewhere. Even Christ Church Canterbury had its periods of retrenchment (Woodman 1981, 180). It cannot therefore be assumed that the priory was always an active or influential architectural patron; nor was this necessarily the case even when the amount of building activity was comparatively great, much of the work undertaken by the priory in the 1420s and 1430s, for example, being piecemeal reconstruction without any evidence of the involvement of high quality designers (see Chap. IV.B and below, section C).

The second salient feature of the pattern of priory building concerns the duration of individual projects. The comparatively modest surpluses which (even in economically favourable times) were all the priory could afford to spend on building, tended to mean that large projects had to be spread over several years. The protracted rebuilding of the central tower is the most obvious example (see Chap. V.A.2.2), but the necessity of phasing work is evident even at the height of the intensive renovations of Fossor and Wessington (see Chaps. III.C, IV.C). The contrast with the much faster pace at which work often happened at other cathedral monasteries, such as Canterbury or Ely, reflects not so much any marked difference in conventual resources as the increased extent of episcopal and aristocratic patronage at the latter. Bishops and nobles, with their considerably greater cash reserves, could engender and sustain building works which were both larger-scale and more quickly completed. This phenomenon can be observed at Durham in the few projects which did involve substantial episcopal subsidy, notably the dormitory and cloisters (see Chap. IV.B.1.1, 1.2); its rarity may reflect both Durham's difficulty in attracting such patronage, and, perhaps, an earlier attitude of ambivalence towards episcopal involvement which the convent may have had cause to rue in the straitened circumstances of the late Middle Ages.

C: MONASTIC PATRONAGE

A *prima facie* assessment of the priory's standing as an architectural patron in the later Middle Ages might be inclined to rate it highly. Apparently the monks were still capable of acquiring work of the highest quality, such as the Neville screen, and of employing London-based consultants in the early fifteenth century. A closer inspection of the material and documentary evidence together suggests a less optimistic evaluation, however. In almost every case in which a mason of high quality is known to have been employed at the priory, it can be argued that this was as a result of the direct intervention of agencies other than the monks. Thus it was very probably Bishop Hatfield who introduced Robert of Patrington to Durham to work on his tomb, and the Nevilles who subsequently took him up; the monks may well have seized the opportunity created by others to obtain his advice (and perhaps even his design services) for themselves, but it is a moot point as to whether they would have done so had he not already had other business in and around Durham (see Chap. IX.B.5). Similarly, the employment of the London-based Thomas Mapilton at Durham on the cloisters, a project predominantly, if not entirely, financed by episcopal subsidy, was almost certainly the result of episcopal patronage (see Chap. IX.B.9). The bishops, in their capacity as royal servants, were well placed to secure the services of such craftsmen in a way that the priory scarcely was.[2] The same view might be taken of the Neville screen, certainly from a metropolitan workshop of the highest quality (see Chap. III.A.5.2). The dominant voice in the choice of designer must surely have been the person who footed the bill, John, Lord Neville, a man who was both rich enough to contemplate commissioning work of this quality and, with his court connections until his fall in 1376 (Given-Wilson 1986, 73, 148, 159), well placed to procure the services of a top London designer to carry it out.

In contrast to the above picture, the only major project of the later Middle Ages which is likely to have been commissioned directly by the monks without any evidence of episcopal assistance, the central tower, is a quintessentially provincial design, for the sources of which one need look no further afield than Yorkshire (see Chap. V.A.2.5). This is difficult to construe as a parallel case of the employment of an outside consultant as an exercise in high patronage, for the monks were evidently turning to their nearest source of masons skilled enough to cope with a major work of this kind and, if the suggestion that the Durham design was directly modelled on that of York Minster central tower is right, had approached masons at a church where a comparable problem had recently been tackled (Harvey 1977,

173-5). The convent had therefore arguably done no more than circumstance compelled; in this respect, the contrast in the quality of the Durham design with that obtained for Christ Church Canterbury is particularly instructive (Woodman 1981, 206-11). The later stages of the work on the tower appear to have been supervised in at least one case by an outside consultant, Christopher Scune, but what is known of his career beyond Durham shows that his practice was essentially northern and provincial.

Even in the case of the best-known mason in the service of the late medieval priory, John Lewyn, the implications of his employment by the monks for the nature of conventual patronage are less than clear-cut. There is, first, the indication that Lewyn also enjoyed episcopal patronage, and though the reference to this dates from more than a decade after his first documented association with the priory (see Chap. IX.B.4.2), it raises the possibility that it may have been episcopal patronage which first brought him to Durham. Second, even if Lewyn had been the monks' own choice in the first instance, his stylistic characteristics as analysed above (see Chap. IX.B.4.3) point clearly to his provincial origin. Finally, the stylistic context of the north transept north facade windows of the cathedral indicates that the prior probably employed an outside consultant for this work, possibly (though their date cannot be determined precisely enough to be certain) over Lewyn's head (see Chaps. III.A.4.1, VIII.D). Indeed, this episode is the only occasion in the later Middle Ages for which it may be argued that the convent brought in an outside consultant on aesthetic grounds. And even if the above qualifications regarding Lewyn are accepted, the fact remains that he seems to have been more highly skilled than most if not all of the masons subsequently employed by the monks on their own initiative. That the priory's patronage seems to have been more elevated in the mid to late fourteenth century than at any subsequent period may owe much to the exceptional abilities of the then prior, John Fossor; the failure of even the most ambitious of his successors to follow suit may perhaps be construed as one indication that, in the quality of the patronage associated with it as in other respects, the great renewal of Fossor's time marked the end of an era.

What is no less striking than the paucity of evidence for direct priory patronage of outside consultants is the lack of discernible impact which the designs of those who were employed at Durham had on the local masons. Admittedly, subsequent destruction of the evidence makes this hard to quantify, but it is difficult, for example, to detect any influence which might be attributable to the work of Thomas Mapilton, the designer of the lost cloister tracery, to judge from what survives of his work elsewhere (see Chap. IX.B.9.3). The same

is true of the two earliest essays in the Perpendicular style, the Hatfield throne and Neville screen, and indeed of the earlier north transept traceries. It is surely significant that the earliest evidence of work in that style commissioned by the monks themselves, the west window of the chapter house (Pl. 44, 302), seems to have no stylistic connection with (and is markedly inferior in quality to) the Hatfield throne (Pl. 31-3), which probably predated it.

One is left with the impression that the apparent lack of interest in the work of outside designers on the part of local masons was largely due to the fact that the priory's direct patronage generally involved comparatively utilitarian and domestic works carried out by masons who perceived the imported designs as either too sophisticated for them to digest intellectually or as irrelevant to the kinds of work they were likely to be called upon to carry out. If so, it suggests that the widespread use of consultancy tended to result in an increasingly rigidly defined hierarchy of skills among later medieval masons; and it may be that this distinction had become sharper by the mid fifteenth century at the priory than it had been earlier. Perhaps a practice which began as an exercise of aesthetic choice ended up by placing more and more design functions in the hands of fewer and fewer masons, and so produced a situation of enforced dependence. On the other hand, it would be wrong to suggest that patronage below the level of outside consultants was entirely confined to the priory. Given the modest aesthetic ambition of Bishop Langley's alterations to the Galilee, it seems that this might also apply to works of episcopal patronage.

To some extent the quality of masons available locally must reflect the low level of building activity in the region, at least after the early fifteenth century, as well as the monastery's diminishing finances (see Chaps. VIII.C, I.B.2.1). But though these factors may have intensified Durham's difficulties, comparison with other Benedictine houses in the later Middle Ages suggests that it was only a matter of degree. The themes of diminishing revenues and comparatively small-scale adaptation of thirteenth-century or earlier structures might apply almost as much to, say, fifteenth-century Peterborough as to Durham; while the absence of major works later than *c.* 1400 at Ely or Tewkesbury are comparable examples of the major shift in late medieval patronage away from the major old-established ecclesiastical institutions.

D: PATRONAGE AND THE PARISH CHURCH

The analysis in Chapter VII has suggested that Durham Priory discharged its obligations with respect to its appropriated churches certainly no worse and, on occasion, rather better than might have been expected given the general trend for religious houses to spend as little as possible on their appropriations (Thompson 1929, 14-15). Nor is there any clear evidence that the priory's financial commitment decreased during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages; if chancels were on occasion neglected, as in the mid fifteenth century (see Chap. VII.F.4), they were at any rate being treated no worse than other categories of monastic property in periods of financial difficulty. What may have changed over time was not the discharging of the monks' financial obligations as such, but the process by which these were given architectural expression. It seems that, south of Tees at least, the financing of alterations to the chancels of the priory's appropriated churches and control over the architectural form and execution of those alterations became increasingly separate processes after *c.* 1400, reflecting not only an increasingly active role on the part of the parish (and, more particularly, of increasingly influential lay farmers of the rectorial tithes), but also changed attitudes on the part of the appropriator. It may not be coincidental that this change took place at about the same time as the widespread move towards indirect exploitation of the priory estates (see Chap. I.B.2.2), suggesting that it is to be interpreted as another aspect of the greater detachment of the later medieval landlord from the property which provided his income.

These conclusions considerably modify the suggestion made by Harvey and others that the architectural styles present at appropriated churches may provide a clue to those current at the monastery to which they belonged (Harvey 1984, p. 1). They suggest rather that, by the fifteenth century, the initiation of major alterations to the chancel, and the choice of mason to carry them out, is much more likely to have lain in the hands of lay patrons of substance than with the appropriator. The Durham evidence suggests that the priory generally fulfilled this function until the late fourteenth century, however, retaining it after that period only in the exceptional political, social, and economic circumstances of the northern Northumberland churches, where there was probably no feasible alternative.

E: CONSULTANTS AND CLIENTS

The Durham evidence prompts some reflections on the characteristic ways in which masons went about their work, and about the relationships between masons and clients, which reinforce some existing theories and challenge others, offering a set of paradigms which may be useful in suggesting possible interpretations of the material evidence in contexts where documents survive less fully or not at all. The prevalence of consultancy in the production of higher quality design work has already been noted. The comparative evidence suggests that this practice was no less characteristic of the region as a whole, at least so far as works of high patronage were concerned. The evidence of John Lewyn's career is important in this respect for, if the arguments as to the extent of his role as a designer are accepted (see Chap. IX.B.4.4), the demonstrable simultaneity of several of the projects with which he was involved, and their widely separated locations, imply that he must have relied heavily on wardens present on site for the day-to-day supervision of the work; while the combination of characteristic similarities of layout and constructional idiosyncrasies with contrasting architectural details in projects with which he may have been associated at the end of his career suggest an even greater degree of delegation appropriate to the circumstances of his old age. A particularly significant result of the above analysis of Lewyn's career is the hypothesis that secular and ecclesiastical works which there would be no obvious stylistic grounds to associate with each other may in fact share a common authorship. That the same designer should have been capable of both secular and ecclesiastical designs should in itself occasion no surprise; what is worth emphasizing is the difficulty with which common authorship could be demonstrated on purely stylistic grounds. The exceptionally plain nature of Lewyn's secular buildings doubtless exaggerates the problem in this instance, though it has been argued recently that even the simpler forms of such structures may be more diagnostic than *prima facie* inspection may indicate (see Chap. IX, note 36). Nevertheless, the evidence relating to Lewyn suggests that considerable methodological difficulties may be anticipated in establishing an overall picture of the output of an individual designer from the material evidence alone.

Taken as a whole, the evidence from the later Middle Ages in the North East tends to support the conception of masons acting as consultants and controlling the process of design at several different sites advanced by the works of John Harvey (though his case is sometimes marred by incautious attributions), rather than that of contractors without

significant design functions advocated by McLees (McLees 1973). The latter's argument is undoubtedly at its most persuasive in stressing the inherently extremely ambiguous character of the documentary evidence taken on its own. To be convincing, the attribution of extensive design capabilities to consultants must depend on stylistic analysis and the interpretation of distribution patterns as much as on documentation. From this perspective, it is surely significant that recent support for Harvey's attribution of a major design to Yevele has come from a consideration of the implications of its stylistic context (Wilson 1987, 508).

The nature of the relationships between designers and their patrons remains to be considered. If it is correct to suppose that the appropriators of Embleton (encouraged, perhaps, by their parishioners) took advantage of the unaccustomed presence of highly skilled masons at work on the nearby castle to commission work of their own, it follows that convenience of access was probably their uppermost consideration. It would be easy to explain this away as nothing more than a reflection of the circumstances of a remote Northumberland parish in politically unstable times; yet it may be unwise to assume that the situation at Embleton was entirely without parallel. If the distinction proposed above (see section C) between the prior and convent as passive recipients of works of high patronage as opposed to actively commissioning them themselves is accepted, it may be that the Durham monks found themselves in a situation not so very unlike that which obtained at Embleton on more than one occasion. Their possible relationship with Robert of Patrington is a case in point (see Chap. IX.B.5), and their assiduous courting of Lord Neville's mason(s) in the later fourteenth century may be another (see Chap. VIII, note 15). What is more, if the contracting of entire projects to masons in the late fourteenth century at least was as popular as the surviving documentary evidence suggests, it follows that clients were less likely to have chosen their masons purely, or even primarily, on aesthetic grounds, but that their business competence and reliability may have counted for just as much if not more. It may therefore be worth speculating that choice on aesthetic grounds was the exception rather than the rule, at least beneath the topmost level of patronage, and that dependability, proven competence, and availability, counted for more. Such considerations may go a long way towards explaining the success of masons like Lewyn, whose logistical competence is arguably rather better attested than his aesthetic capacities (see Chap. IX.B.4.4).

There are more serious theoretical implications to all this, however, for present-day preoccupations with the stylistic analysis of the substantial surviving corpus of medieval material evidence tends to have associated with it a series of (frequently implicit)

assumptions concerning the processes by which changes to it come about, assumptions which the above view of the evidence calls into question. It follows from the priorities in the selection of a mason suggested above that such changes can by no means be assumed to be a simple reflection of the aesthetic preferences of clients, for example; frequency of occurrence of particular stylistic features could not then necessarily be taken to imply their 'popularity', in the sense of reflecting a consumer preference on the part of the patrons, but might rather be due to conservatism or lack of innovation on the part of the masons responsible. The window traceries in the region attributed above to John Lewyn are a case in point; their number might also be said to reflect the exceptional length of Lewyn's career rather than that the design remained 'in demand' for a long time, or that the later examples of it, such as Embleton, reflected 'conservatism' on the part of the patrons. It would be equally misleading to interpret the wide distribution of these traceries (Figs. 14-15) as evidence of the 'dissemination' of a design from its source in Durham, or of the 'influence' of Durham as a major centre in its region. It is possible that the presence of important traceries in this style at the cathedral moved the rectors of nearby Houghton-le-Spring to emulate them; but the distribution of most members of the group arguably has much more to do with the changing historical circumstances of Lewyn's employment than it has with any aesthetic impact which his Durham cathedral works may have made on contemporaries.

Nor are typological or developmental concepts of much use in describing the stylistic changes in the region as a whole in the later fourteenth century. A number of identifiable styles are present in the area (see Chap. VIII.B), but these do not seem to develop one into another; rather they seem to be a series of self-contained and discontinuous phenomena. It may be that this too is a consequence of the widespread use of consultancy in the region, a situation likely to produce a series of 'one-off' designs which were not then replicated or developed as they might have been had their designers remained resident in it. Whether these consultants were in turn selected on aesthetic grounds by patrons to whom the system gave a wider choice than they would otherwise have had is a moot point; in so far as this was the case, it shows no uniformity of taste, and might be interpreted as a choice in more general terms, perhaps reflecting a desire to be fashionable or up-to-date, rather than a preference for one particular individual's style over another's. On the whole, the impression given is that the determination of stylistic characteristics remained very much the preserve of the professional masons themselves.

The extent to which this situation was the result of the particular circumstances of the late medieval North East remains a subject for future research. It may well be that the discontinuities between the various styles attested in the region are indicative of the area's peripheral status, reflecting both the extensive use of a variety of outside consultants, and the corresponding lack of a body of local masons able either to provide acceptable alternatives to the more sophisticated designs imported from distant centres, or to absorb and respond to them.

F: PROSPECT

In general terms, the agenda which the conclusions of the present work have set for future research are clear. If understanding of structural remains surviving from the past is to advance, the detailed study of that comparatively small proportion of them associated with well documented contexts is of central importance. While the present study has demonstrated the numerous pitfalls in interpreting such documents and synthesizing them with surviving material remains, it has also revealed something of the potential richness of its rewards. For it is only as a result of undertaking analyses of this kind elsewhere that something of the complexity of the processes which provide an explanatory context for the generation and modification of this part of the material record can begin to be identified and understood. Evidently, then, the investigation of other building-complexes with substantial quantities of associated archives must be a major research priority; no less important is the application of the interpretative potential of such analyses to those (alas, far more numerous) situations in which the material record is all that now survives.

CONCLUSIONS - NOTES

1. In practice of course, some losses occurred during the Middle Ages (Dobson 1973, 5).

2. For possible indirect evidence of a relationship between Bishop Langley and another leading London-based royal mason of the day, see the bequest to him in a codicil added to the will of Stephen Lote in December 1417 (Harvey 1984, 189).

APPENDIX 1: MAJOR OBEDIENTIARIES AND HEADS OF CELLS: RESPONSIBILITIES FOR BUILDING MAINTENANCE

The purpose of this appendix is to set in context the building works discussed in detail elsewhere in the present work by giving a brief general indication both of those priory buildings for which the major Durham obedientiaries were responsible (apart, of course, from their own administrative buildings or exchequers) and of those buildings on their estates which might potentially involve them in building expenditure. Obedientiaries with comparatively small estates, notably the chamberlain, communar, feretrar, and infirmarer, have been excluded. The division of responsibilities as regards certain of the monastic buildings at Durham is unclear, the tentative attributions below being based on the apparent customary responsibility for maintenance as reflected in the accounts. The summary of estate properties necessarily excludes tenements in settlements other than Durham. In addition, the larger cells of Holy Island and Finchale have been included to indicate the principal component properties of their estates.

BURSAR

Responsibilities of Office

Dormitory, refectory and loft, kitchen, prior's lodging, gatehouse, service buildings of outer court.

Manors

(co. Durham, including major residential buildings) Bearpark, Bewley, Ketton, Muggleswick, Pittington, Wardley (Fielding 1980, 129-32); (co. Durham, other) Aldingrange, Aycliffe, Bellasis, Billingham, Burdon, Dalton, Eden, Ferryhill, Fulwell, Hesleden, Heworth, Houghall, Jarrow, Merrington, Rainton, Westoe; (Northumberland) Ellingham, Wallsend, Warkworth; (Yorkshire) Woodhall (Lomas 1973, 337).

Mills

20 in co. Durham (Lomas 1973, 339-40).

Appropriated Churches

(co. Durham) Aycliffe, Billingham, Heighington, Jarrow, Kirk Merrington, Monk Hesleden, Monkwearmouth, Pittington; (Northumberland) Bedlington, Branxton, Ellingham, Holy Island, Norham; (Scotland) Earlston, Ednam, Edrom (half); (Yorkshire) Eastrington, Northallerton, (Lomas 1973, 339-42).

Urban Property in Durham

See Bonney 1990, chap. IV, table 1.

SACRIST

Responsibilities of Office

Cathedral church; chapter house?; cloister?

Manors

(co. Durham) Ayhope, Biggins, Landieu, Sacriston (Lomas 1973, 235-8).

Appropriated Churches

(co. Durham) Whitworth chapel; (Northumberland) Bedlington, Bywell St Peter (half), Edlingham (Lomas 1973, 239-44).

Urban Property in Durham

See Lomas 1973, 230-4.

HOSTILLER

Responsibilities of Office

Priory guest house.

Manor

Elvethall.

Appropriated Church

Elvet (Lomas 1973, 197-201).

Mills

2 in co. Durham (Lomas 1973, 180, 184).

Urban Property in Durham

See Bonney 1990, chap. IV, tables 2-3.

ALMONER

Responsibilities of Office

Infirmary outside priory gatehouse; Magdalen hospital, Durham; Witton Gilbert hospital.

Manors

(co. Durham) Almonerorchard, Bradbury, Burnhope, Hilton, Relley, Rookhope, Witton Gilbert (Lomas 1973, 215-21).

Appropriated Church

Magdalen chapel, Durham (Lomas 1973, 224).

Urban Property in Durham

See Bonney 1990, chap. IV, table 4.

HOLY ISLAND

Manor

(Northumberland) Fenham (Raine 1852, 174-5).

Mill

1 in Northumberland (Raine 1852, 174-5).

Appropriated Church

Holy Island, St Mary (see Appendix 4).

FINCHALE

Manors

(co. Durham) Haswell, Thorpe Thewles, Wingate (Raine 1837b, xv-xvi; accounts, *passim*).

Mills

5 in co. Durham (Raine 1837b, App., cxix).

Appropriated Churches

(co. Durham) Bishop Middleham; (Yorkshire) Giggleswick (see Appendix 4).

APPENDIX 2: THE COMPILATION OF FIGURES 1-13

FIGURES 1-2: GENERAL NOTES

All accounts which survive too fragmentarily to determine whether or not they contained information about building expenditure have been omitted. Accounts covering substantially less than a year (including Bursar 1442-3 and 1445-6) have been counted as 0.5 years, and accounts covering substantially more than a year as 1.5 years. The percentages for the cells accounts after 1489 have been calculated on a basis of 48 rather than 50 accounting years, as the cells were dissolved in 1536, and no surviving account dates from later than 1536-7.

FIGURES 3-13: GENERAL NOTES

PERIOD COVERED

Most accounts cover twelve months and (from the early fifteenth century at least) were generally opened and closed shortly before the priory's annual chapter in June (Dobson 1973, 254-5). Many, however, use the dates of moveable feasts (most commonly Ascension or Pentecost), so may cover slightly more or less than a year. Other runs of accounts, especially before the early fifteenth century, open and close at different times of year. Accounts, therefore, often cannot be precisely compared in respect of periods covered, and the preceding or following accounts may also need to be taken into consideration. Precise details of the periods covered by all obedientiary and cell accounts, together with the evidence for establishing their dates, are to be found in the card indexes of the Archives and Special Collections section of Durham University Library (formerly the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic), at present housed in the Battiscombe Search Room at the Prior's Kitchen.

Accounts may from time to time cover substantially more or less than a year. Where two short accounts make up a complete year, the totals have been amalgamated. Occasionally an account covering less than a year is sandwiched between two runs of accounts each

covering a series of whole years but opening and closing on different dates. In such cases the amount has been halved and redistributed between the preceding and following accounts. Such case are noted below, official by official.

DESTROYED ACCOUNTS

Accounting years for which accounts are either no longer extant or have lost those parts in which building expenditure would have been recorded have been left blank. Occasionally only the total of a building expenditure section survives while its constituent items have been destroyed or, conversely, the items survive, enabling an assessment of the amount of detail with which they were recorded to be made, while the amounts and total relating to them have been destroyed. Such cases can be identified in Figs. 6-13 by the presence of a bar in one of the charts corresponding to a blank in the other: see, for example, Hostiller 1457-8.

CHARTS SHOWING AMOUNTS OF BUILDING EXPENDITURE

Accounts in which no building expenditure is recorded, and those in which the expenditure is less than 10s, have been entered as £0.5. All other totals have been rounded to the nearest pound, 10s and more being rounded up, less than 10s being rounded down.

Subject to the above qualification, whenever a total for itemized building repairs is given in an account, that amount has been used in the chart. The adding up of the original has not been checked; nor have the decisions taken by the accountants themselves as to what counts as building expenditure usually been challenged. (Many accounts are not, in any case, detailed enough for this to be possible (see Fig. 3), but when they are, it is clear that some variation in what is selected may occur.)

Certain accounts are set out such that the items relating to building expenditure are not separately grouped and totalled; what seem to be the relevant amounts have therefore had to be selected and totalled (see, for example, Finchale 1410-11, quoted below). In general, activities such as hedging and ditching have been excluded; so have amounts which might well have been used for purposes other than building (for example, purchases of iron, which may well have been used principally in connection with farriery). Items compounded with other expenditure certainly unrelated to repairs have generally been omitted unless it seemed likely that a high proportion of the total would have been related to the repairs. Absolute

consistency in arriving at these totals certainly cannot be claimed, and is probably unattainable anyway. At least it seems reasonable to suppose that the results obtained in this way are no less accurate than those calculated by the medieval accountants themselves, who must have had to face similar problems of selection.

It will be seen from the above that the charts are a less precise guide to expenditure on building and repairs than might at first be supposed. It seems likely, however, that the problems are not great enough to have distorted the overall pattern to any significant extent.

CHARTS SHOWING AMOUNTS OF DETAIL IN RECORDING OF BUILDING EXPENDITURE

Accounts have been assigned to one of five categories. The lowest, 2, indicates a single entry without sub-totals. The ways in which these are expressed varies considerably, from the very short and simple to the extremely elaborate. Compare, for example, two fourteenth-century instances from Finchale:

> 'Et de xij li. xix s. v d. ob. in reparacione domorum' (Finchale *c.* 1352, Expense).
>
> 'Item in ferro, plumbo, tabulis, sclattis, calce, meremii empcione, carriacione, sarracione, clavis, seris, ligaturis, stramine, et huiusmodi ad edificandum necessariis, et conductione carpentariorum, latamorum, et aliorum operariorum, ac servientium eisdem, xxiiij li. xiiij s. v d.' (Finchale 1379-80, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., ci)).

However great the apparent detail of the latter example, the formulaic nature of its statements is revealed by their repetition in successive accounts, demonstrating that such elaborate formulae do not actually reveal any more about how the total which they record was spent than the simplest ones do. This category, closely definable as it is in terms of the characteristic form of its diplomatic, is the most objective of the five. At the other end of the scale, the highest category, 10, shown in the charts by a fully extended bar, indicates that a considerable amount of detail is present. In particular, the numerous sub-totals enable a reasonably comprehensive impression of the ways in which the total was expended to be built up. For a substantial example extracted from a late fifteenth-century bursar's account, see Chap. VII, note 47.

The intermediate categories, 4, 6, and 8, attempt to grade accounts which fall between the two extremes, depending on the extent to which they identify the buildings being worked on, and the amount of sub-totalled itemization which they contain, thus enabling the relative cost of the various building operations described to be determined. Unlike 2, none of these categories can be easily defined in terms of a single diplomatic form, so the assignation of accounts to any of them involves a considerable degree of subjective judgement, and is intended only as a tentative and approximate guide. For example, Holy Island 1364-5 and 1365-6 (quoted in Chap. VI, note 38) have been graded 4 rather than 2 even though they still consist of a single entry without sub-totals, since they also contain *ad hoc* (that is, non-formulaic) clauses indicating the principal buildings being worked on. Finchale 1410-11, consisting of several short but individually totalled entries scattered throughout the expenses section of the account, may serve as an example of grade 6:

> 'Item in edificacione tenementorum in Wyndegates et Cokyn, Cxij s. v d. Item in reparacione coquine, et molendini de Aldingrig, lxv s. viij d. Item in emendacione del dame de Fynchall, vj s. viij d. [8 items omitted] Item in reparacione fenestrarum vitrearum, iiij s. iiij d. [1 item omitted] Item in stipendio carpentarii, lxvj s. viij d.' (Finchale 1410-11, Expense (Raine 1837b, App., cxlix)).

Examples of category 8 are provided by three successive Finchale accounts, for 1364-5, 1365-6, and 1366-7 (quoted in Chap. VI, note 90).

Finally, it should be noted that the inclusion of an account in any of the above categories is more likely to give an accurate indication of the variation in detail between accounts of the same official than between those of one official and another. In part this is because the data were compiled over a long period by scanning the accounts of each official in chronological order, making systematic cross-checking of categorizations between series of accounts difficult. What is more, the variation in number and nature of the properties for which each official was responsible (see Appendix 1) may (at least on occasion) have influenced the way in which repairs were accounted for. Perhaps the most extreme example of this is the bursar. Though variations in the diplomatic of his accounts undoubtedly occur, building and repairs to the properties of his extensive and varied estate are always recorded using a comparatively large amount of itemized detail, so classification according to amount of detail would not be appropriate, and a chart has not therefore been attempted in this case.

NOTES ON INDIVIDUAL SERIES OF ACCOUNTS

Bursar (Fig. 5)

1341 and 1341-2 amalgamated
1342 (May-November) redistributed
1348-9 and 1349 amalgamated
1354-5 and 1355 amalgamated
1356-7 covers less than a year
1360-1 covers less than a year
1362-3 and 1363 amalgamated
1367-8, having an actual total of £245, cannot be shown to scale
1371-3 covers more than a year (assigned to 1372-3)
1373-4, having an actual total of £200, cannot be shown to scale
1374-5 covers less than a year
1375-6 covers more than a year
1376 redistributed
1376-7 covers less than a year
1391-2 covers less than a year
1432 redistributed

Between 1438-9 and 1445-6 inclusive the bursar's estate was divided between the bursar, cellarer, and granator (Dobson 1973, 287-90; see Chap. II.B.2.4). Discounting slight variations in the opening and closing dates of the three sets of accounts, the building expenditure totals for these years have been compiled by adding together the amounts for each of the three officials. Since the cellerar's account for September 1442-March 1443 and both the cellarer's and granator's accounts for November 1445-June 1446 are missing, the surviving totals for 1442-3 and (particularly) 1445-6 must be presumed to be less than the original expenditure.

Sacrist (Fig. 6)

1338-40 covers more than a year (assigned to 1339-40)
1341-2 covers less than a year
1349-50 covers less than a year
1363-4 covers less than a year
1367-8 covers less than a year
1384-5 covers less than a year
1403-4 covers less than a year
1405-6 covers less than a year
1407 redistributed
1408-9 and 1409 amalgamated

Beginning in 1465-6 an additional *Reparacio Campanilis* (hereafter abbreviated to RC) section appears in the accounts, recording expenditure connected with the central tower. Their totals have been amalgamated with the ordinary building expenditure in Figs. 4 and 6. The figures for each section are as follows: 1465-6, RC £7 0s 8½d, other £13 15s 1d; 1472-3, RC

£4 15s 7d, other £10 11s 10d; 1473-4, RC £10 5s 4d, other £6 1s 6d; 1474-5, RC £5 19s 0½d, other £6 18s 2d; 1483-4, RC £60 14s 9½d, other £15 16s 6½d; 1484-5, RC £66 17s 3d, other £10 4s 7d; 1485-6 RC £63 5s 6d, other £6 2s 8½d; 1486-7 RC £49 19s 5d, other £16 12s 8d; 1487-8 £40 13s 5d, other £10 4s 3½d.

Hostiller (Fig. 7)

1345-6 covers less than a year
1350-1 covers less than a year
1360 and 1360-1 amalgamated
1379 and 1379-80 amalgamated
1381 redistributed
1383 and 1383-4 amalgamated
1387 redistributed
1389-90 covers less than a year
1391 redistributed
1393-4 covers less than a year
1395 and 1395-6 amalgamated
1399 and 1399-1400 amalgamated
1442 and 1442-3 amalgamated

Almoner (Fig. 8)

1354 redistributed
1373 and 1373-4 amalgamated
1374-5 covers less than a year
1392 redistributed
1395-6 covers less than a year
1396-7 covers less than a year
1408-9 and 1409 amalgamated
1411-12 covers less than a year
1412-13 covers less than a year
1450 and 1450-1 amalgamated

The account purporting to be for 1505-6, together with its duplicate (1505-6(A) and (B)) is (excepting the years in the heading, which are clearly an alteration) identical with that for 1504-5. The latter has two items added to the end of the *Expense Necessarie* section lacking in the former two, indicating that it had been corrected before submission, which suggests that it is in fact what it purports to be. The unamended versions were presumably intended to be used as the basis for the 1505-6 account, but were never corrected with the actual amounts expended in that year. It has therefore been assumed that the account for 1505-6 in effect does not survive.

Holy Island (Fig. 9)

1352-3 covers less than a year
1358-9 covers less than a year
1362-3 and 1363 amalgamated; covers less than a year
1367 and 1367-8 amalgamated
1379-80 covers less than a year
1381-2 and 1382 amalgamated
1383, 1383-?4, and 1384 amalgamated
1390-1 covers less than a year
1442 and 1442-3 amalgamated

Farne Island (Fig. 10)

1363-4 covers less than a year
1368 and 1368-9 amalgamated
1390-1 covers less than a year
c. 1395 entered under accounting year 1395-6
1406-7 covers less than a year
1407-8 covers more than a year
1417 redistributed
1418-19 covers less than a year
1421-2 covers less than a year
1431-2 covers less than a year
1440-1 covers less than a year

It is possible that one or more accounts between 1461 and 1464 were never drawn up, as monks from Farne were forced to take refuge with their fellows on Holy Island, apparently for most of 1463 and 1464 (Holy Island 1462-5, Recepta), as a result of the disorders following the loss of Berwick to the Scots in 1461 (Dobson 1967, 9, n. 4).

Jarrow (Fig. 11)

1344-5 covers less than a year
1348-9 covers less than a year
1350-1 covers less than a year
1354-5 covers less than a year
1357 and 1357-8 amalgamated
1358 and 1358-9 amalgamated
1362-3 and 1363 amalgamated
1363-4 covers less than a year
1367-8 covers less than a year
1369-70 covers less than a year
1370 and 1370-1 amalgamated
1373 and 1373-4 amalgamated
1376-7 covers less than a year
1379-80 covers less than a year
1381-2 covers less than a year
1408 and 1408-9 amalgamated
1410-11 covers less than a year

The account for 1413 has been left out of consideration, as it neither covers a full year nor contains any references to building expenditure which could be amalgamated with the preceding and following accounts.

1422-3 covers less than a year
1425-6 covers less than a year
September 1425-July 1431: cell closed
1446-7 covers less than a year
1477-8 covers less than a year

Wearmouth (Fig. 12)

1349-50 covers less than a year
1360-1 covers less than a year
1362-3 covers less than a year
1369-70 covers less than a year
1385-6 covers less than a year
1395-6 covers less than a year
1398 and 1398-9 amalgamated
1417 and 1417-18 amalgamated; covers less than a year
c. 1419 entered under accounting year 1419-20
1425-6 covers less than a year
1446-7 covers less than a year
1466-7 covers less than a year

Finchale (Fig. 13)

c. 1352 entered under accounting year 1352-3
1354-5 and 1355 amalgamated
1367 and 1367-8 amalgamated
1373-4 covers less than a year
1383-4 covers less than a year
1395 redistributed
1411 and 1411-12 amalgamated
1440-1 covers less than a year
1450, 1450-1, and 1451 amalgamated

APPENDIX 3 : THE DATE AND CONTEXT OF TWO TRACERIES AT THE ABBEYS OF JEDBURGH AND MELROSE, ROXBURGHSHIRE

The building of an outer south nave aisle at the Cistercian abbey of Melrose (Roxburghshire) represented the latest stage of a complete rebuilding of the church undertaken between the late fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Work on the aisle began at its east end in about the 1420s and extended into the early sixteenth century (RCAMS 1956, II, 267-8, 270-2). Detailed analysis of the sources of the rich succession of tracery designs here and in the eastern parts of the church still remains to be done (see Fawcett 1984, 154-5), but one is of particular relevance in the context of the influence of Durham Priory tracery patterns. This is the four-light window in the fifth bay from the east (Pl. 325) which, on the evidence of an adjacent armorial panel, is to be dated to the abbacy of Andrew Hunter (*c.* 1444-71) (RCAMS 1956, II, 276, fig. 377). Except for a minor difference in the cusping, the tracery pattern of this window is identical to one of those in the south choir aisle of Durham, sX (Pl. 5, 324).[1] The pattern is repeated, again with minor variations in cusping,[2] in the north transept facade at Jedburgh abbey, Roxburghshire (Pl. 326). This has been dated (albeit uncertainly) by the presence on it above the window of an armorial now illegible, but allegedly that of William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow 1447-54 (RCAMS 1956, I, 199; Fawcett 1984, 174, 176). What, then, is the explanation for the presence of a tracery design so closely related to Durham work of the 1360s at two of the major monastic churches in the Scottish borders in the mid fifteenth century?

It is possible that the tracery pattern was copied by the master mason directly from Durham itself, but the absence of other evidence of the influence of Durham designs in the traceries of this period at Melrose, coupled with the documented hostility to Scottish visitors to Durham in the later Middle Ages (Bonney 1990, 179, 187-8, 222), combine to make this unlikely. Alternatively, it is possible that the design has its ultimate origins in a Low Countries or French flamboyant antecedent. The general dependence of Scottish late medieval tracery designs on such sources cannot be in doubt (Fawcett 1984, 155, 157-8), and the documented presence of a Parisian master mason, John Morrow, in charge of the works at Melrose earlier in the fifteenth century (Fawcett 1984, 155) shows how ideas from such sources may have been transmitted. The extant traceries most likely to be by Morrow do not appear to be related to the design under consideration, however (Fawcett 1984, 155-6); while

the precision of the relationship to the Durham tracery does seem to suggest that the latter is more likely to have been its ultimate source than a continental model.

If Durham itself seems likely to have been too remote and inaccessible to have served as the direct model for the Melrose and Jedburgh traceries, its cell of Coldingham must have been easier for Scottish master masons to examine. What is more, Durham's control over her cell, at best intermittent after the expulsion of the Durham monks in 1378, was effectively relinquished for ever in 1462 (Dobson 1967, 8) so that, after this date and for intervals before, the church of Coldingham would presumably have been the direct responsibility of Scottish master masons, perhaps those already in charge of Dunfermline Abbey, from which monks were intruded into Coldingham (see Chap. VI.B.1). It has already been demonstrated that at least three windows had been inserted into the church of Coldingham in the 1360s, all of them probably in the transepts and likely including a window in the north transept facade (see Chap. VI.B.2). A window in such a prominent position is likely to have been of more than three lights, and it is not unlikely that the lost Coldingham example could have been of four. What is more, John Lewyn, Durham priory's master mason active at this period, had been involved in advising on the work at Coldingham and (though the documents nowhere make this clear) may well have gone on to provide Coldingham with tracery designs (see Chap. IX.B.4.3). Given the widespread interest among fifteenth-century Scottish masons in flowing tracery designs, the presence at Coldingham of traceries in this style may well have continued to attract attention long after such forms had become unfashionable south of the border, and would provide a plausible explanation for the presence of this particular Durham pattern at Melrose and Jedburgh; further, it would provide indirect evidence of the form of one of the lost Coldingham traceries (most probably the one inserted into the north transept facade), and so of the replication at a Durham cell of a design recently installed at the mother-house.[3]

APPENDIX 3 - NOTES

1. The apex of the light was quatrefoiled at Durham, but is uncusped at Melrose. The differences were increased by an inaccurate nineteenth-century restoration of the Durham window, which introduced simplified cusping; see further Chap. III, note 10.

2. The quatrefoil in each of the side-pieces has a larger upper element at Jedburgh, unlike the virtually symmetrical versions at Melrose and Durham; the spandrels flanking the springing of the Y-division are solid at Jedburgh, but pierced at Melrose and Durham; and the heads of the four lights are trefoil-cusped at Jedburgh, but cinquefoil-cusped at Melrose and Durham. The fact that the Jedburgh window shares with the Melrose one the divergences in cusping from Durham which the latter exhibits (the apex, which is quatrefoil-cusped at Durham, being uncusped, and the divergent mouchettes of the side-pieces having one fewer cusp than at Durham) while introducing others of its own suggests that, if the argument set out below for a Durham derivation is accepted, it is probably later than the Melrose tracery, and derived from it. Further, if the dating by association with armorials is correct in each case (see below), it implies that both windows must have been inserted between *c.* 1444 and 1454.

3. This hypothesis has interesting implications (which cannot be pursued further here) for the question of continental influence or revival of English Decorated designs posed by Fawcett in connection with the flowing traceries inserted earlier into the eastern parts of Melrose (Fawcett 1984, 155).

APPENDIX 4: DATES OF APPROPRIATION OF DURHAM PRIORY RECTORIES

AYCLIFFE

Papal licence gained 1160 x 1176, episcopal permission 1217 or 1218; vicar occurs shortly afterwards (Lomas and Piper 1989, 226).

BEDLINGTON

Vicar occurs 1260 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 225).

BERWICK

By 1253 (Barlow 1950, 130, n. 1).

BILLINGHAM

Episcopal licence gained 1197 x 1208; vicar occurs before 1234 x 1244 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 226).

BISHOP MIDDLEHAM

Episcopal permission gained in 1278 (Raine 1837b, 148-9).

BOSSALL

Royal regrant of advowson 1386 (CPR 1385-9, 243; cf. Dobson 1973, 151, 349).

BRANTINGHAM

Royal licence gained 1458 (CPR 1452-61, 425; cf. Dobson 1973, 152, n. 2, 351, n. 2).

BRANXTON

Episcopal licence gained 1251 (Barlow 1950, 38, n. 5).

BYWELL ST PETER

Episcopal licence gained 1174 (Barlow 1950, 21).

DALTON-LE-DALE

Episcopal permission gained 1217 or 1218 (Barlow 1950, 28, n. 1).

DURHAM (MAGDALEN HOSPITAL)

Chapel of hospital administered by almoner also served as parochial chapel (Lomas 1973, 224).

EARLSTON

Vicar occurs 1259 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 224).

EASTRINGTON

Originally a chapelry of Howden, appropriated when the latter was made collegiate in 1265 x 1268 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 226-7).

EDLINGHAM

Episcopal licence gained 1174 (Barlow 1950, 21).

EDNAM

Vicar occurs by 1271 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 224).

EDROM

Vicar occurs 1234 x 1244 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 224).

ELLINGHAM

Effected in the mid thirteenth century; vicarage ordained 1274 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 199, 225).

ELVET

Papal licence gained 1160 x 1176, episcopal permission before 1195, confirmed 1198 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 222).

FISHLAKE

Royal regrant of advowson 1386 (CPR 1386, 243; cf. Dobson 1973, 151, 349).

FISHWICK

Vicar occurs 1275-6 (Raine 1841, App., cx; Dunlop 1939, 59).

FRAMPTON

Royal licence gained 1386 (CPR 1385-9, 233; cf. Dobson 1973, 151, 349).

GIGGLESWICK

Archiepiscopal permission gained 1230; vicarage ordained 1259 (Raine 1837b, 64, 66).

HEIGHINGTON

Effected 1253 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 226).

HOLY ISLAND

Rectory part of endowment of cell (Lomas and Piper 1989, 224-5; see Chap. VI.C.1).

JARROW

Rectory part of endowment of cell (Lomas and Piper 1989, 225; see Chap. VI.F.1).

KIRK MERRINGTON

Papal confirmation gained 1171 x 1181 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 226).

LAMBERTON

By 1271 (Barlow 1950, 130, n. 1).

MONK HESLEDEN

Papal licence gained 1160 x 1176, apparently effected by 1181 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 226).

MONKWEARMOUTH

Rectory formed part of endowment of cell (Lomas and Piper 1989, 225; see Chap. VI.G.1).

NORHAM

Papal licence obtained 1160 x 1176, confirmed 1171 x 1181 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 224).

NORTHALLERTON

Papal licence gained 1160 x 1176, priory apparently controlling tithes by 1167; ordinance for vicarage drawn up by 1234 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 222).

OLD CAMBUS

Vicar occurs 1214 x 1253 (Barlow 1950, 130, n. 1).

PITTINGTON

Papal licence gained 1160 x 1176, episcopal consent 1217 or 1218; vicar occurs 1229 (Lomas and Piper 1989, 225).

RUDDINGTON

Royal regrant of advowson 1386 (CPR 1385-9, 243; cf. Dobson 1973, 151, 349).

STICHILL

By 1272 (Barlow 1950, 130, n. 1).

SWINTON

Vicar occurs 1188 x 1212 (Barlow 1950, 130, n. 1).

APPENDIX 5: APPRENTICE MASONS IN DURHAM SOURCES

The references to apprentice masons in Durham documents are fraught with interpretative difficulties. For one thing, it is not clear why none occurs before the early fifteenth century. It is possible that this reflects a genuine change in organizational practice, perhaps reflecting a decision on the convent's part to train masons on a formal basis, rather than as a private arrangement between apprentice and master which may well not have been reflected in the diplomatic of the documents, and would certainly have not have been identifiable in circumstances in which whole projects were contracted for, as was common in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Nor is the evidence sufficient to reveal whether there was a regular succession of apprentices, or whether (as the dates of the surviving references to them suggest) the phenomenon was confined to periods of more intensive building activity, when masons of sufficient calibre to take on apprentices were likely to be found in the priory's employ, and when there was the prospect of enough future work to make the arrangement sufficiently attractive to both parties. This would certainly explain the concentration of references in the 1480s, when work on the central tower was in full swing. It is evident from the numerous references in the existing sacrist's accounts of this decade that much more would be known about late medieval apprentices had more accounts survived. As it is, the system envisaged in John Bell II's contract of 1488 (see Chap. IX.B.13.1), in which one apprentice was indentured to the prior and convent and the other to the master mason personally, each for ten years, is attested by the evidence of these accounts. Thus Hugh Wall, indentured as the convent's apprentice in 1476, was replaced by Thomas Lawe in 1485-6, who was in turn succeeded after serving only two years by John Lighe in 1487; while William Sanderson seems to have ended his term of apprenticeship to Bell in 1485, to be replaced by John Yott. Earlier in the fifteenth century Thomas Caldeclough was described as the 'apprentice of the house' while one William was described as John Bell I's apprentice, indicating that the same system was almost certainly in operation at that time. Both Wall and Sanderson continued in priory service to judge by the number of later references to them. And as neither of these is known to have exercised any of the skills characteristic of high-status masons at Durham (see Chap. IX.A), the purpose of the apprenticeships was evidently not to train master masons, but rather to help ensure a supply of ordinary skilled craftsmen. The sources are completely silent on the history of the apprentices before they appear in this capacity in Durham records, and on how they were

selected for it. This should occasion no surprise, however, as it is almost invariably the case with any mason who appears in the Durham records.

A list of references (in chronological order) to apprentices in Durham documents is given below, in order of their first appearance.

Thomas Caldeclough (1411 x 1417)

Sacrist 1411-12, Expense in Ecclesia; Cloister 1411-12, Expense, Operarii (twice) (Loc. II, 19 (1)); Bursar 1414-15, Reparaciones Domorum (twice); Bursar 1415-16, Reparaciones Domorum; Bursar 1416-17, Reparaciones Domorum (twice). Described in last three accounts as 'apprenticius domus'.

William (1428 x 1430)

Mines Accounts 1428-9, Expense; Mines Accounts 1429-30, [unheaded]. Described as 'apprenticius Johannis Bell' in both accounts.

Hugh Wall (1476 x 1505)

Indentures of ten-year apprenticeship, 1 November 1476 (Loc. XXVIII, 19; see Chap. IX, note 102); witnesses claim to sanctuary, September 1483 (Raine 1837a, 10); Sacrist 1483-4, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1484-5, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1485-6, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1486-7, Reparacio Campanilis (twice); witnesses claims to sanctuary, January 1490 (Raine 1837a, 15), November 1490 (Raine 1837a, 17), October 1493 (Raine 1837a, 23), March 1494 (Raine 1837a, 24), December 1495 (Raine 1837a, 26), August 1500 (Raine 1837a, 32), October 1500 (Raine 1837a, 33), June 1501 (Raine 1837a, 34), September 1503 (Raine 1837a, 38), November 1504 (Raine 1837a, 41), and March 1505 (Raine 1837a, 41). Described as 'apprenticius domini prioris' in all occurrences in sacrist's accounts.

William Sanderson (1483 x 1493)

Sacrist 1483-4, Reparacio Campanilis; witnesses claim to sanctuary, September 1483 (Raine 1837a, 10); Sacrist 1484-5, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1485-6, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1486-7, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1487-8, Reparacio Campanilis; witnesses claims to sanctuary, January 1490 (Raine 1837a, 15), November 1490 (Raine 1837a, 17), September 1491 (Raine 1837a, 19), March 1492 (Raine 1837a, 21), October 1493 (Raine

1837a, 23). Described as 'apprenticius Johannis Bell' in Sacrist 1483-4, 1484-5, suggesting that he was fully qualified by 1485.

Thomas Lawe (1485 x 1487)

Sacrist 1485-6, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1486-7, Reparacio Campanilis. Described as 'apprenticius domini prioris' in both accounts.

John Yott (1485 x 1488)

Sacrist 1485-6, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1486-7, Reparacio Campanilis; Sacrist 1487-8, Reparacio Campanilis. Described as 'apprenticius Johannis Bell' in all three accounts.

John Lighe or Legh (1487 x 1488)

Indentures of ten-year apprenticeship, 1 July 1487 (Loc. XXVIII, 18); Sacrist 1487-8, Reparacio Campanilis. Described as 'apprenticius domini prioris' in sacrist's account.

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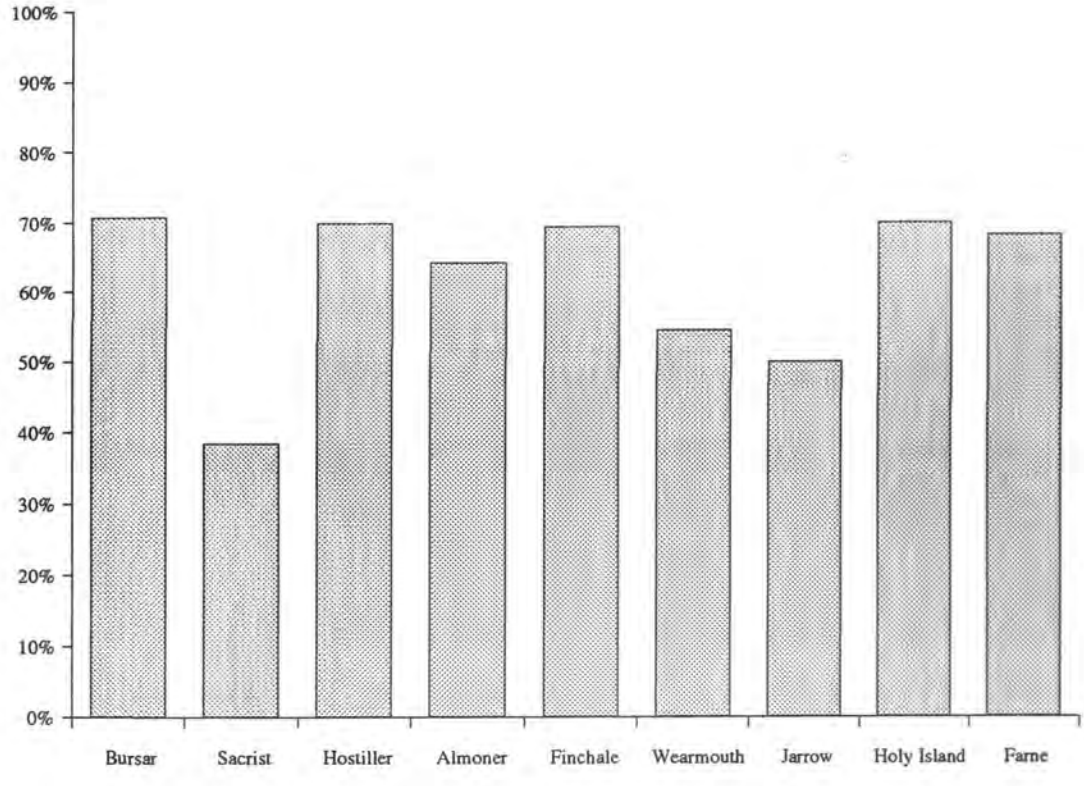


Fig. 1: Durham Obedientiaries and Heads of Cells: Percentages of Surviving Accounts, 1339-1539

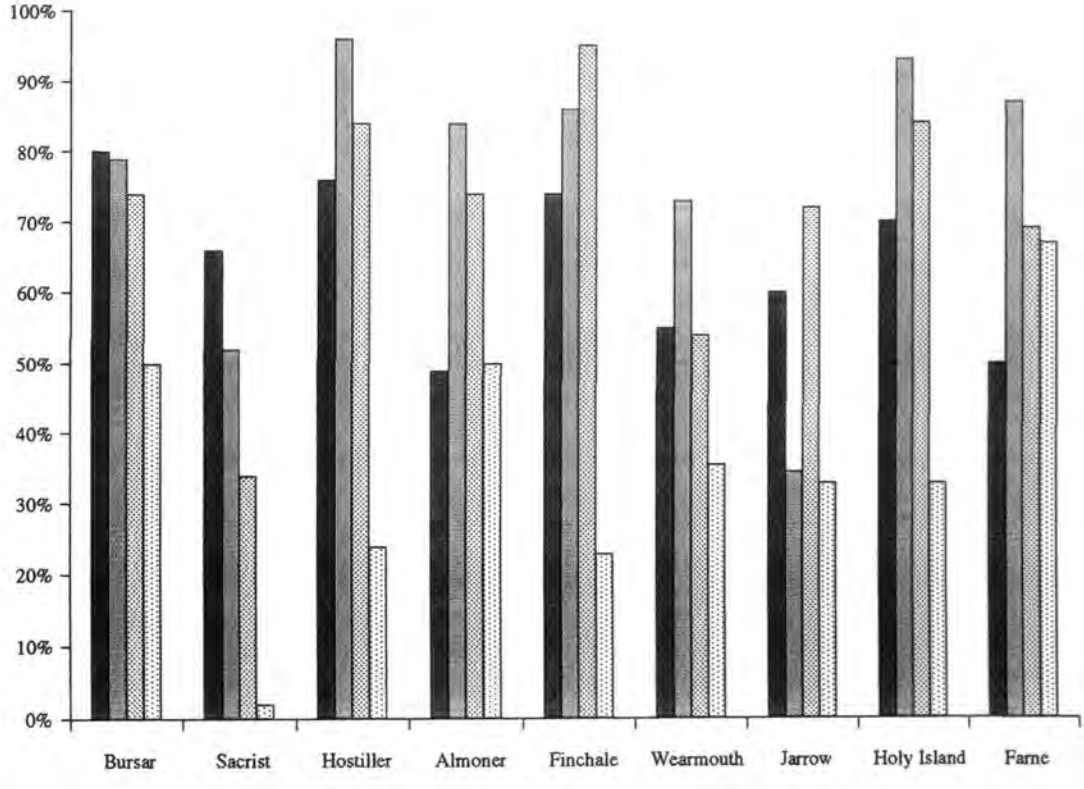


Fig. 2: Durham Obedientiaries and Heads of Cells: Percentages of Surviving Accounts, 1339-1539, by Half Century

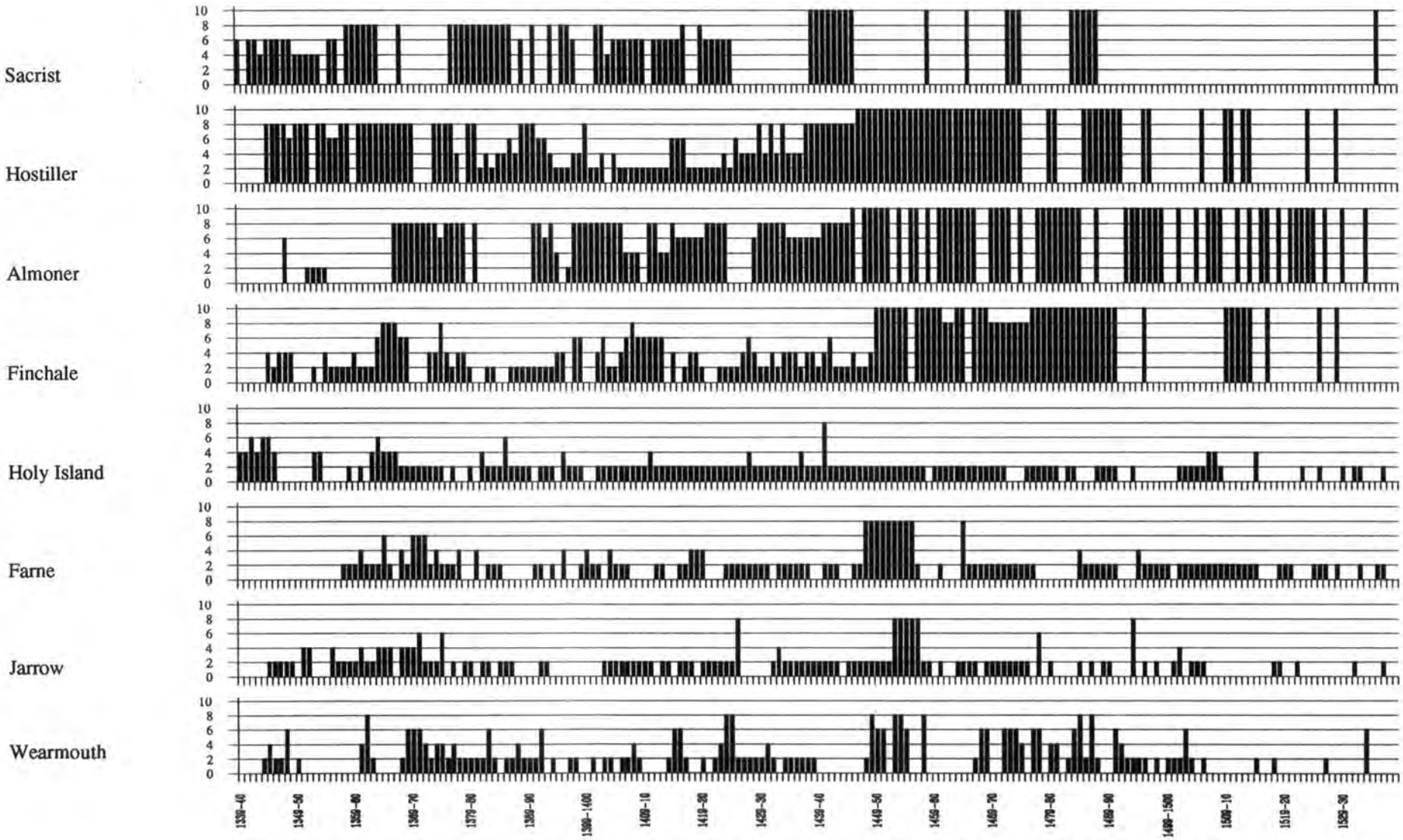


Fig. 3: Durham Obedientiaries and Heads of Cells: Comparative Amounts of Detail in Treatment of Building Expenditure

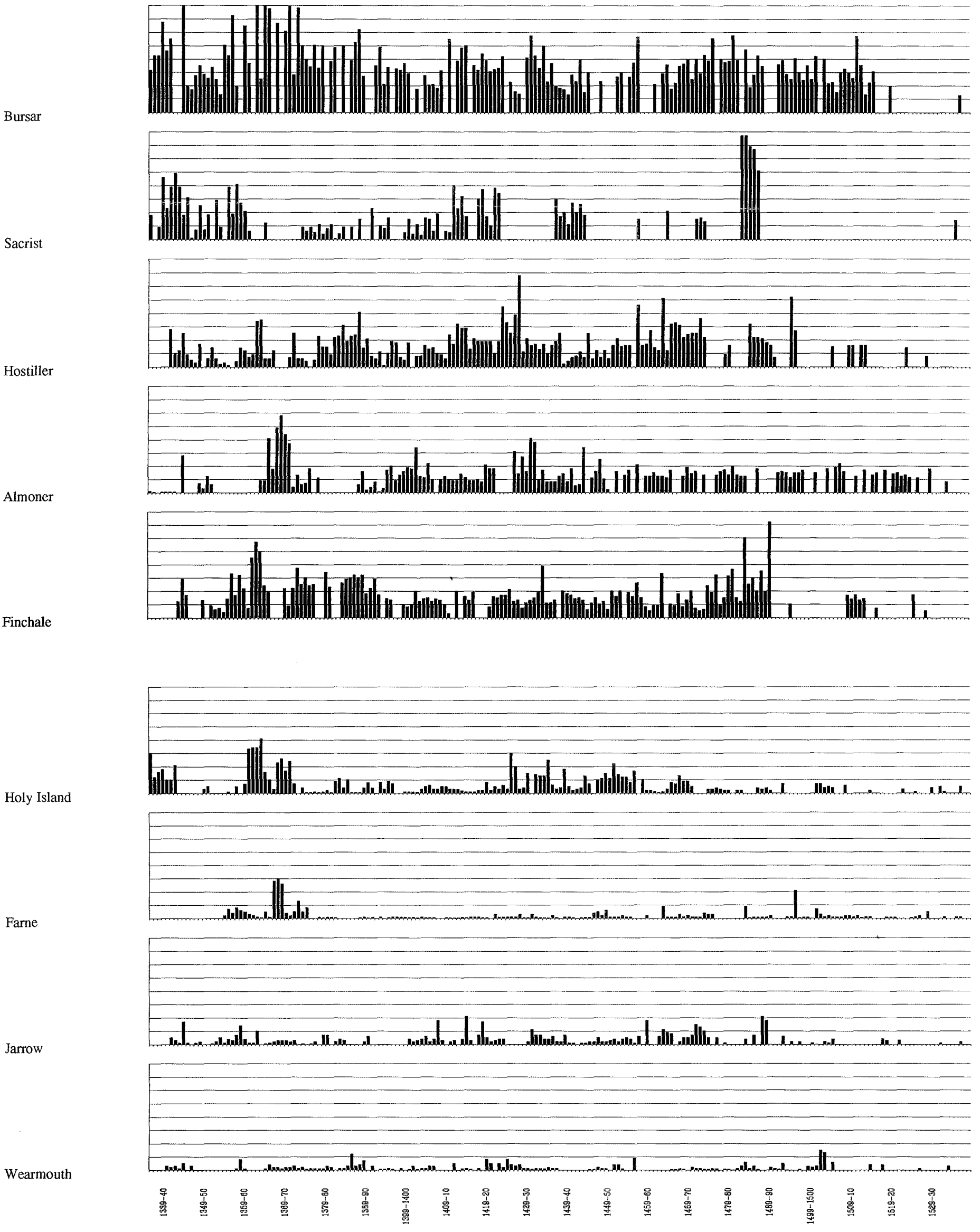


Fig. 4: Durham Obedientiaries and Heads of Cells: Comparative Building Expenditure in Pounds
Note: vertical intervals £10 (Bursar £20)

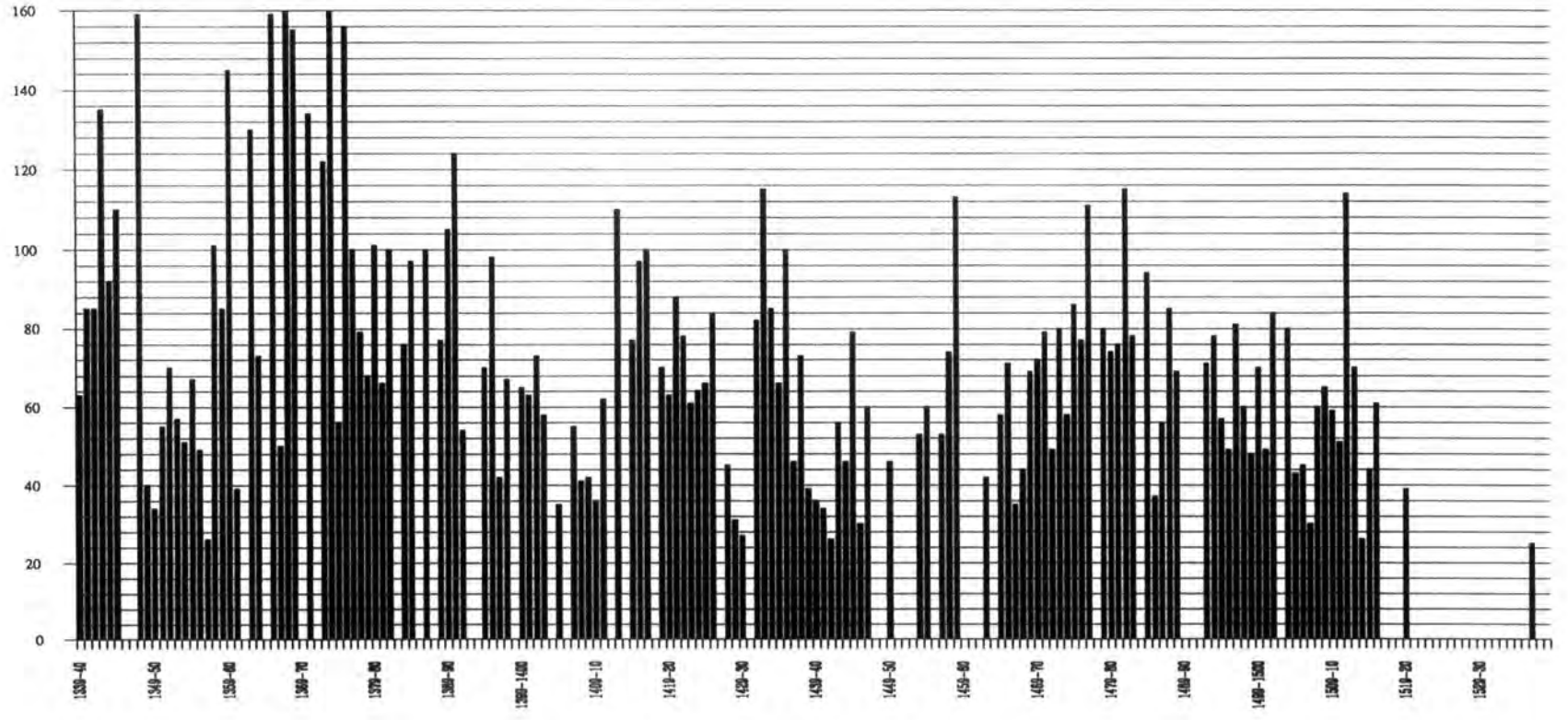


Fig. 5: Bursar: Building Expenditure in Pounds

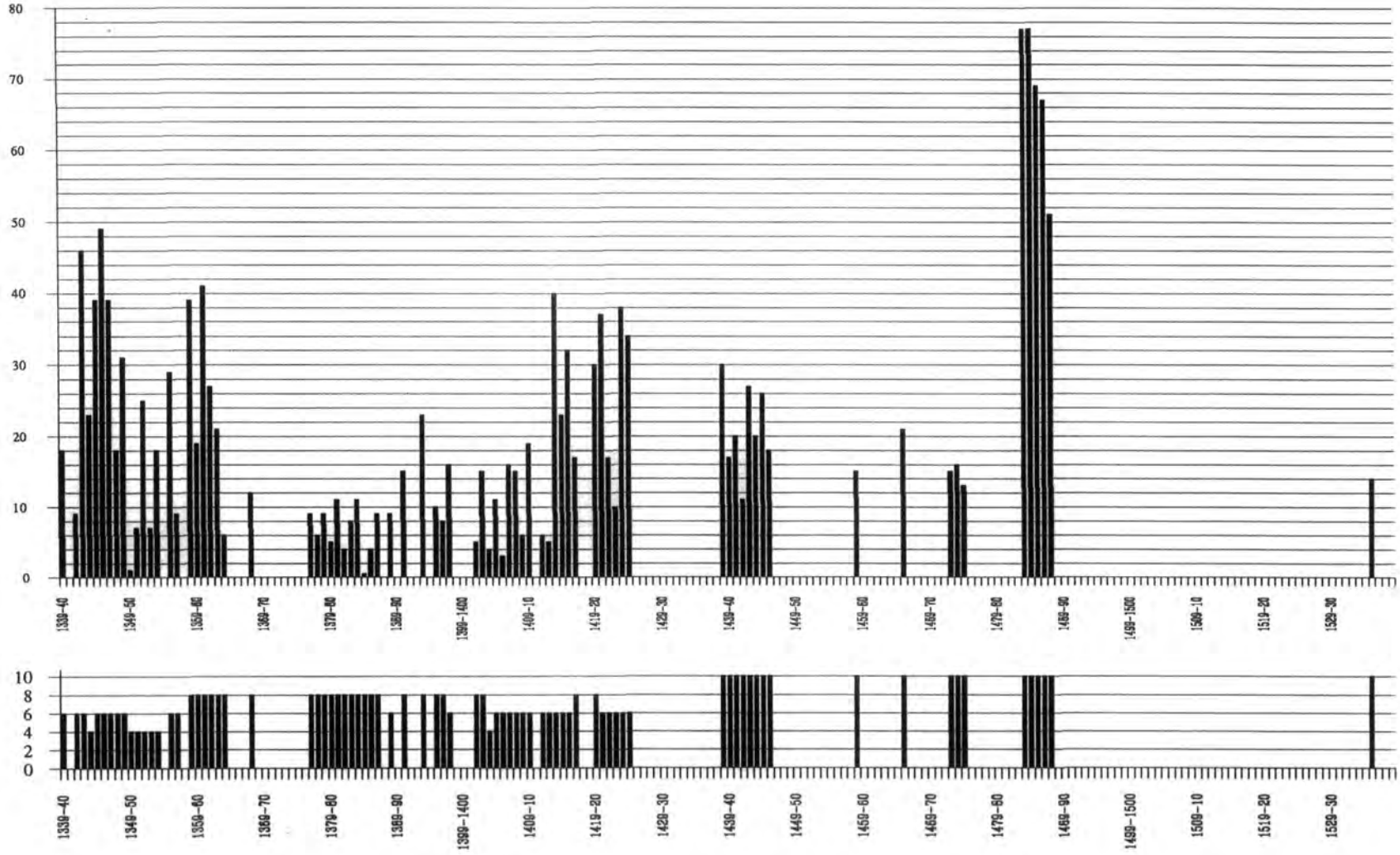


Fig. 6: Sacrist: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

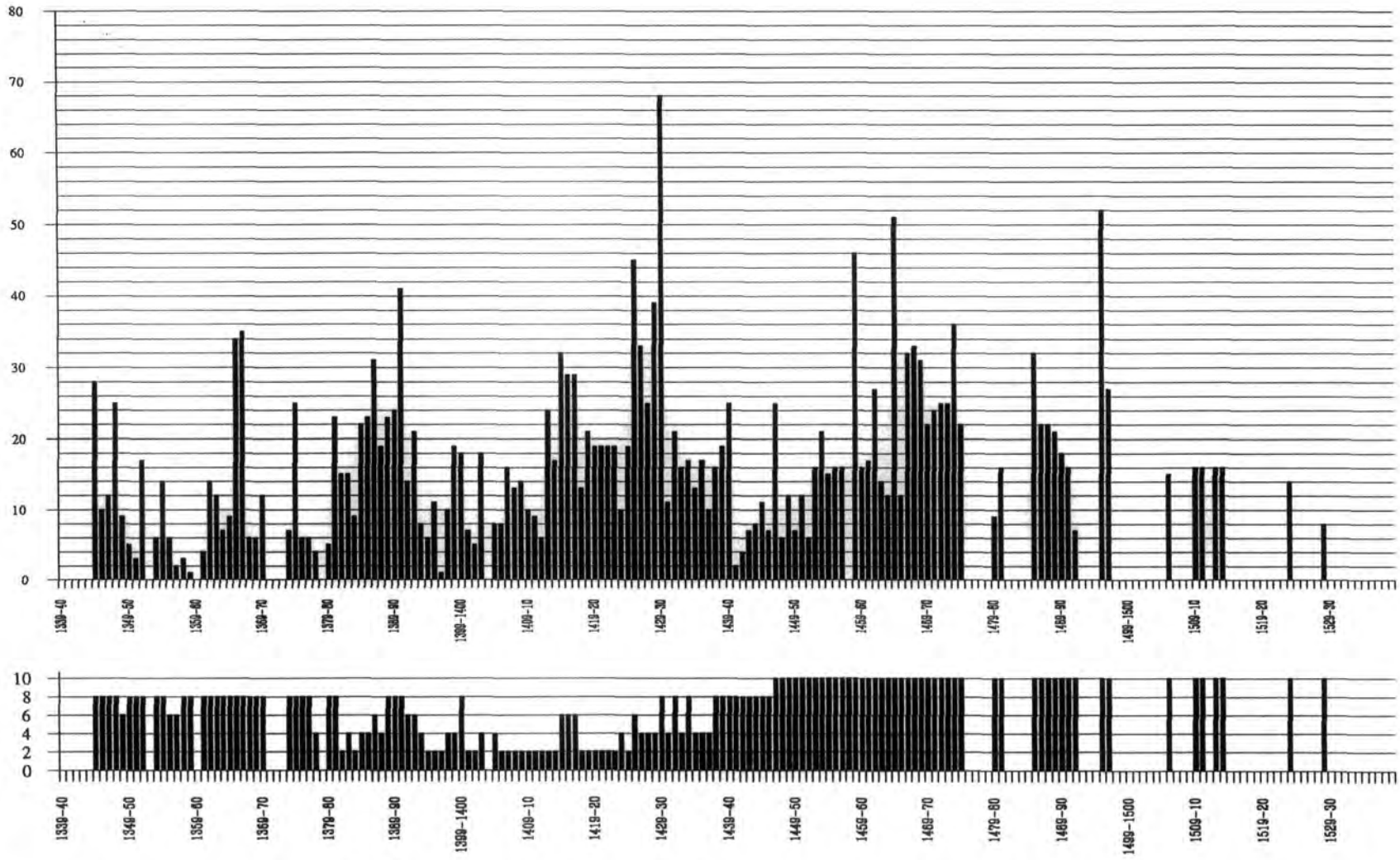


Fig. 7: Hostiller: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

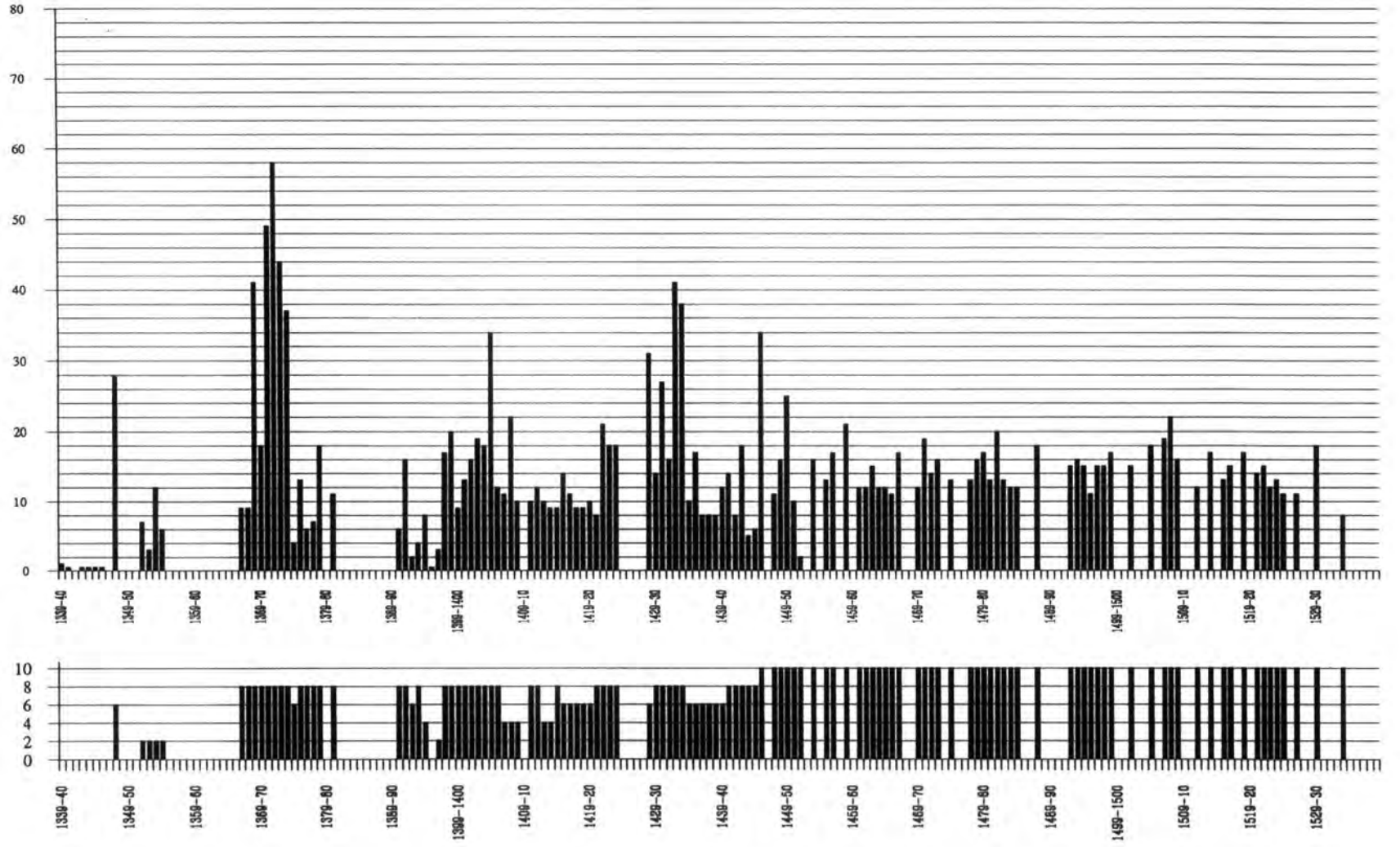


Fig. 8: Almoner: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

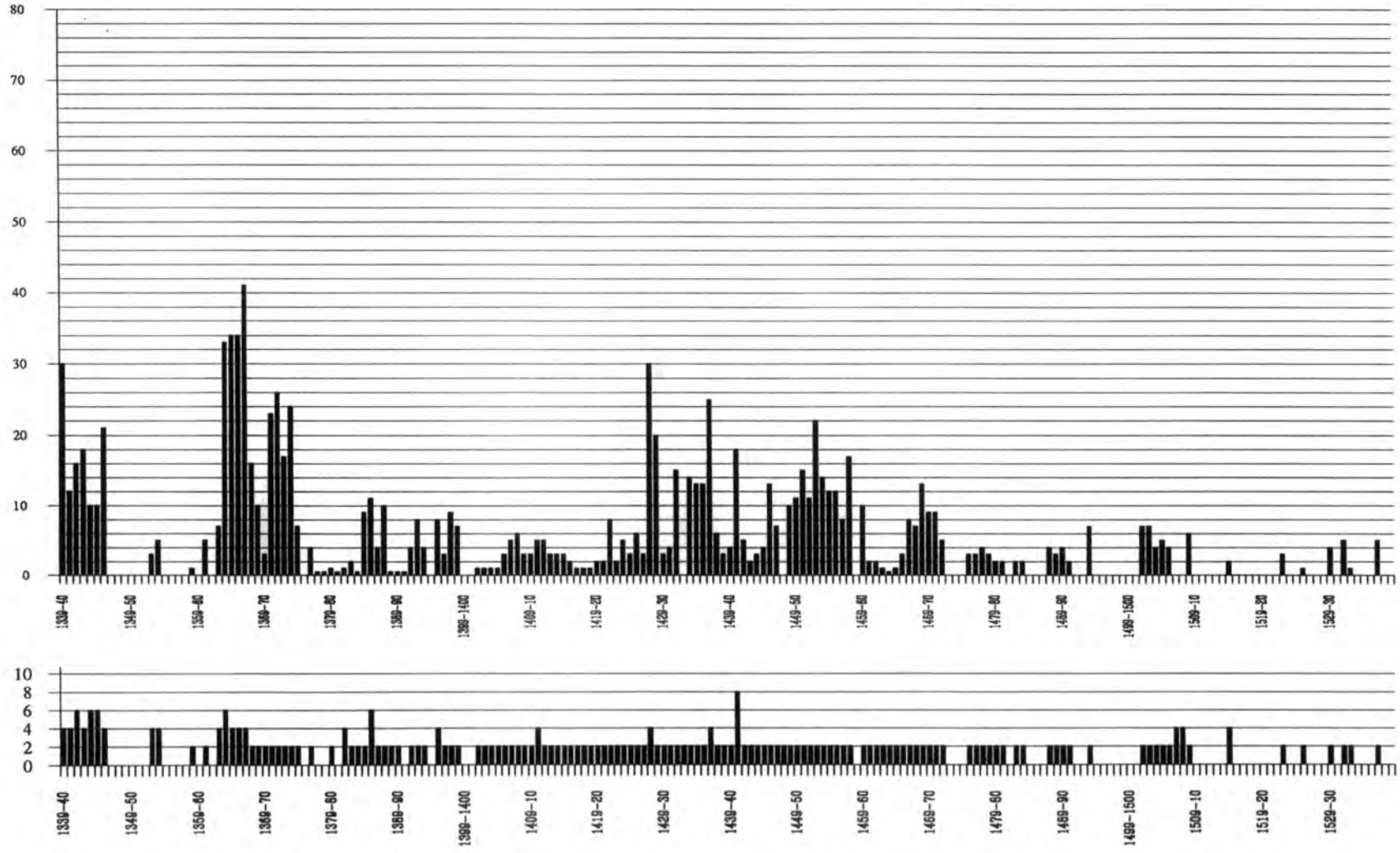


Fig. 9: Holy Island: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

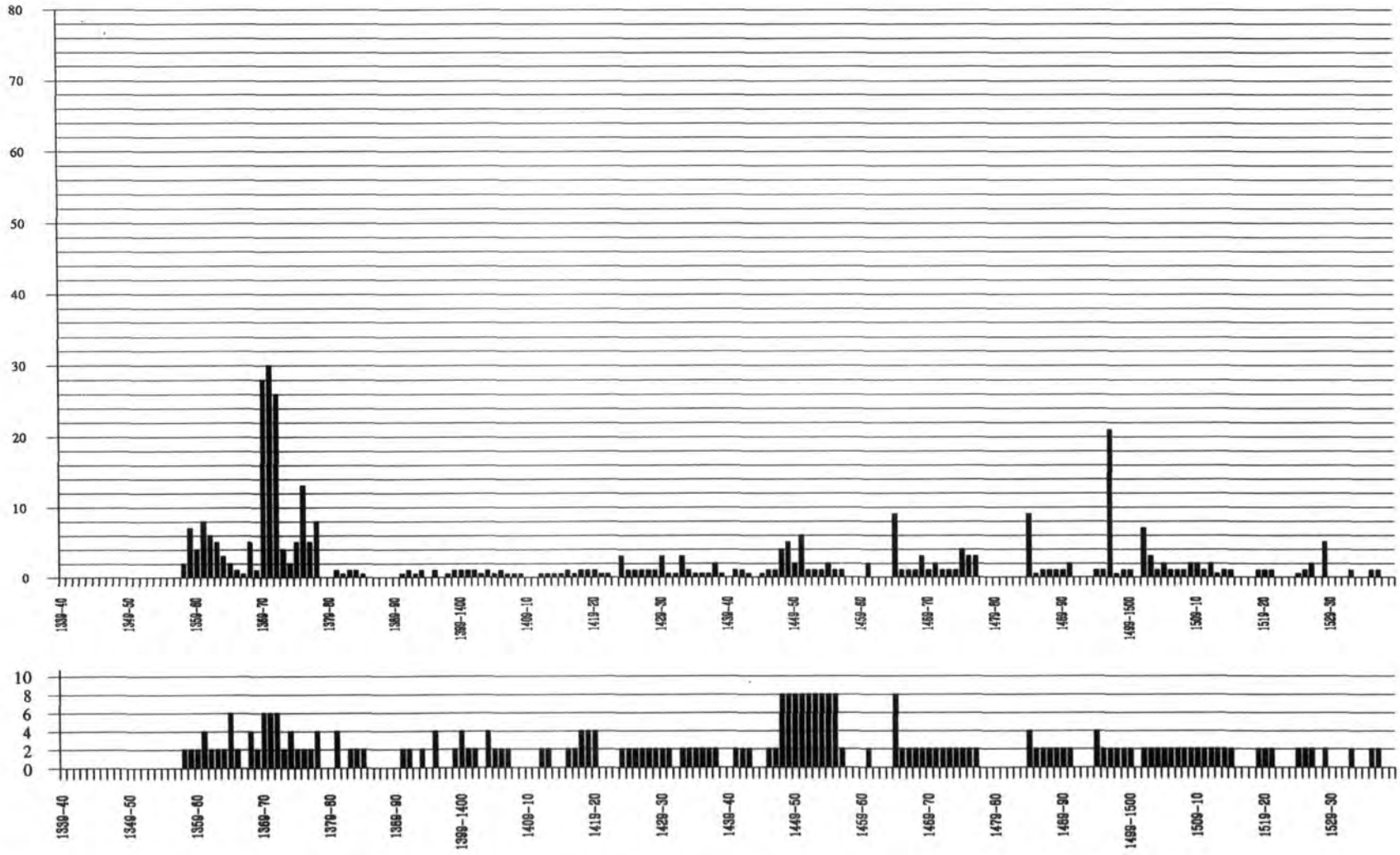


Fig. 10: Farne: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

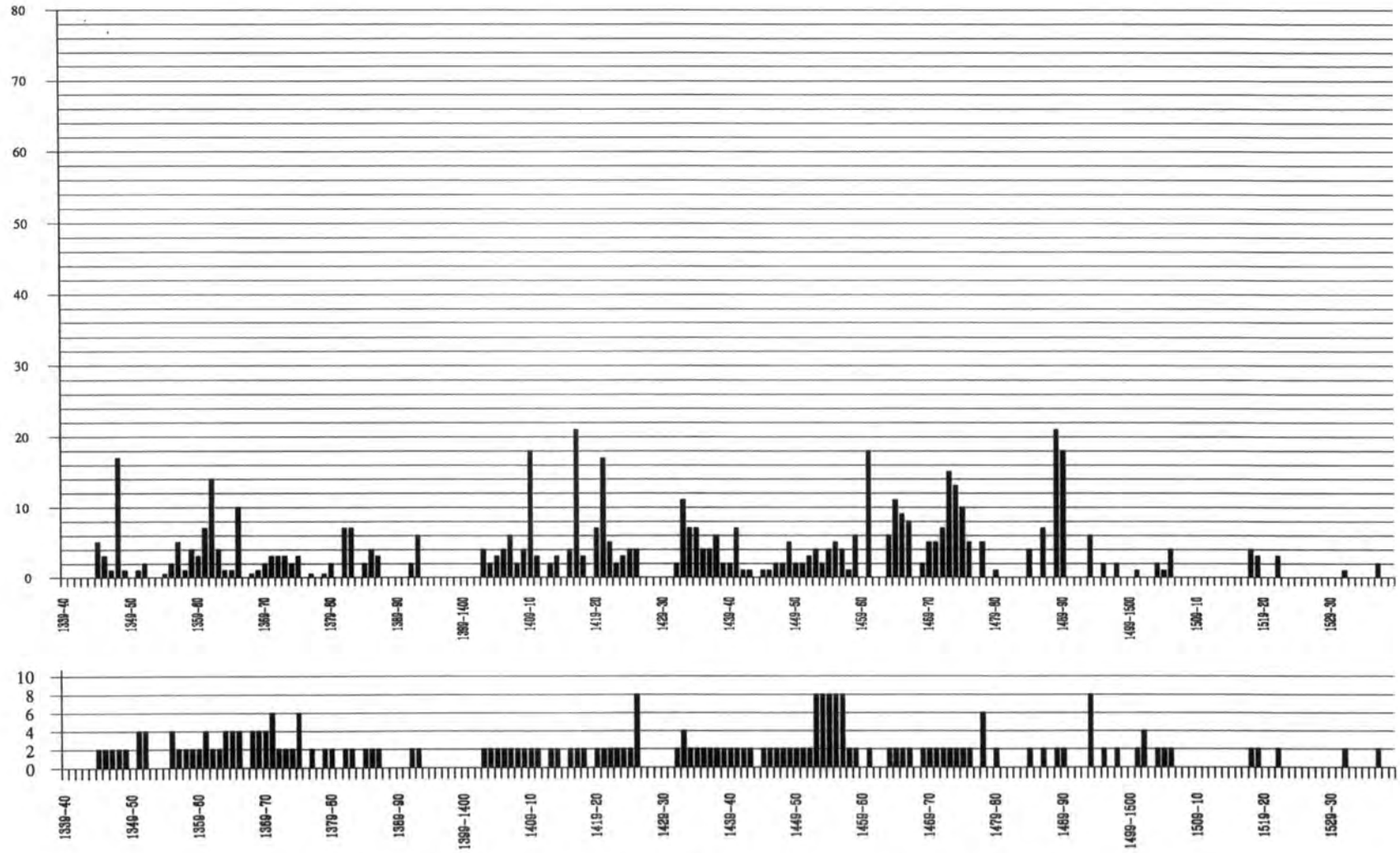


Fig. 11: Jarrow: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

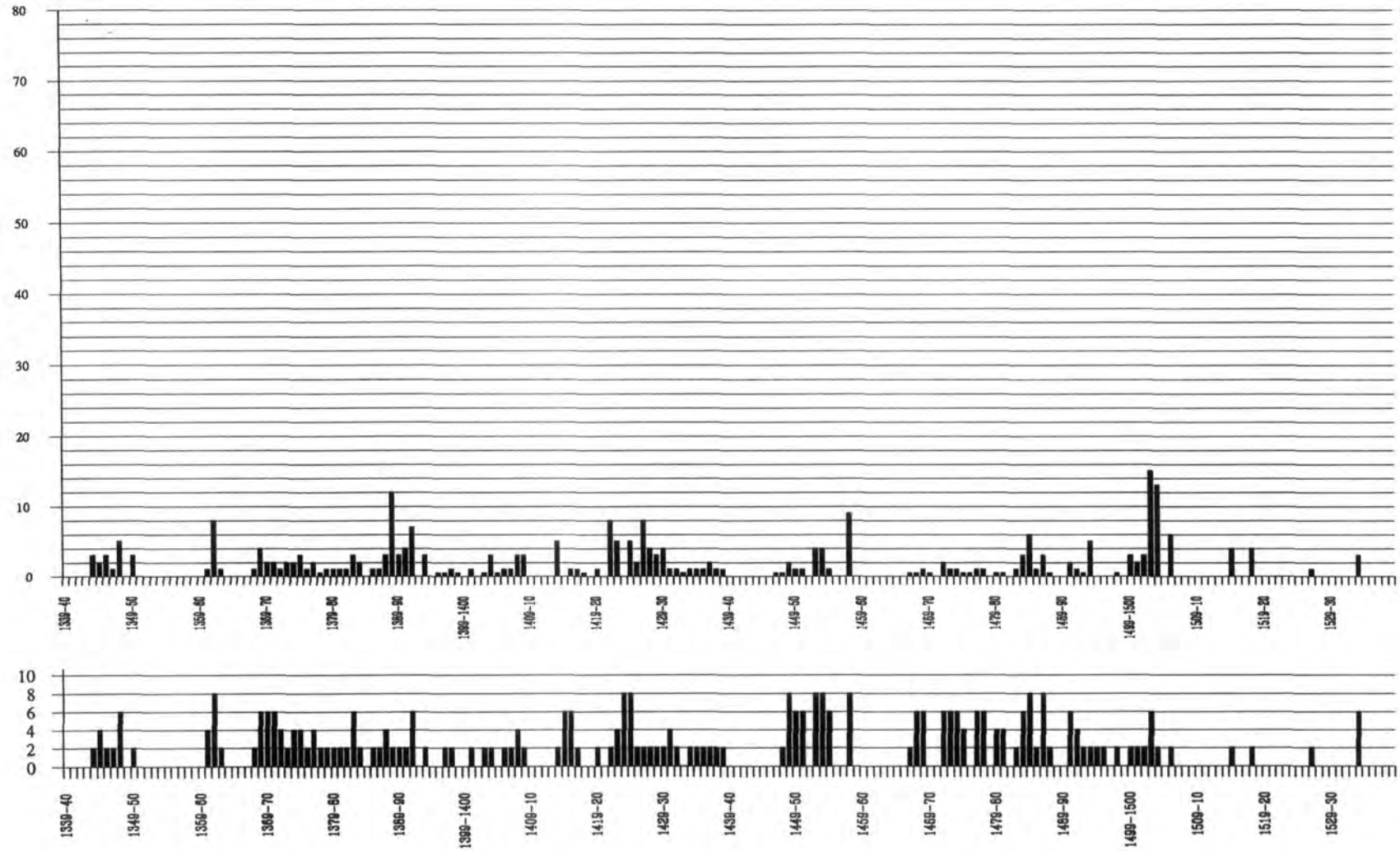


Fig. 12: Wearmouth: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

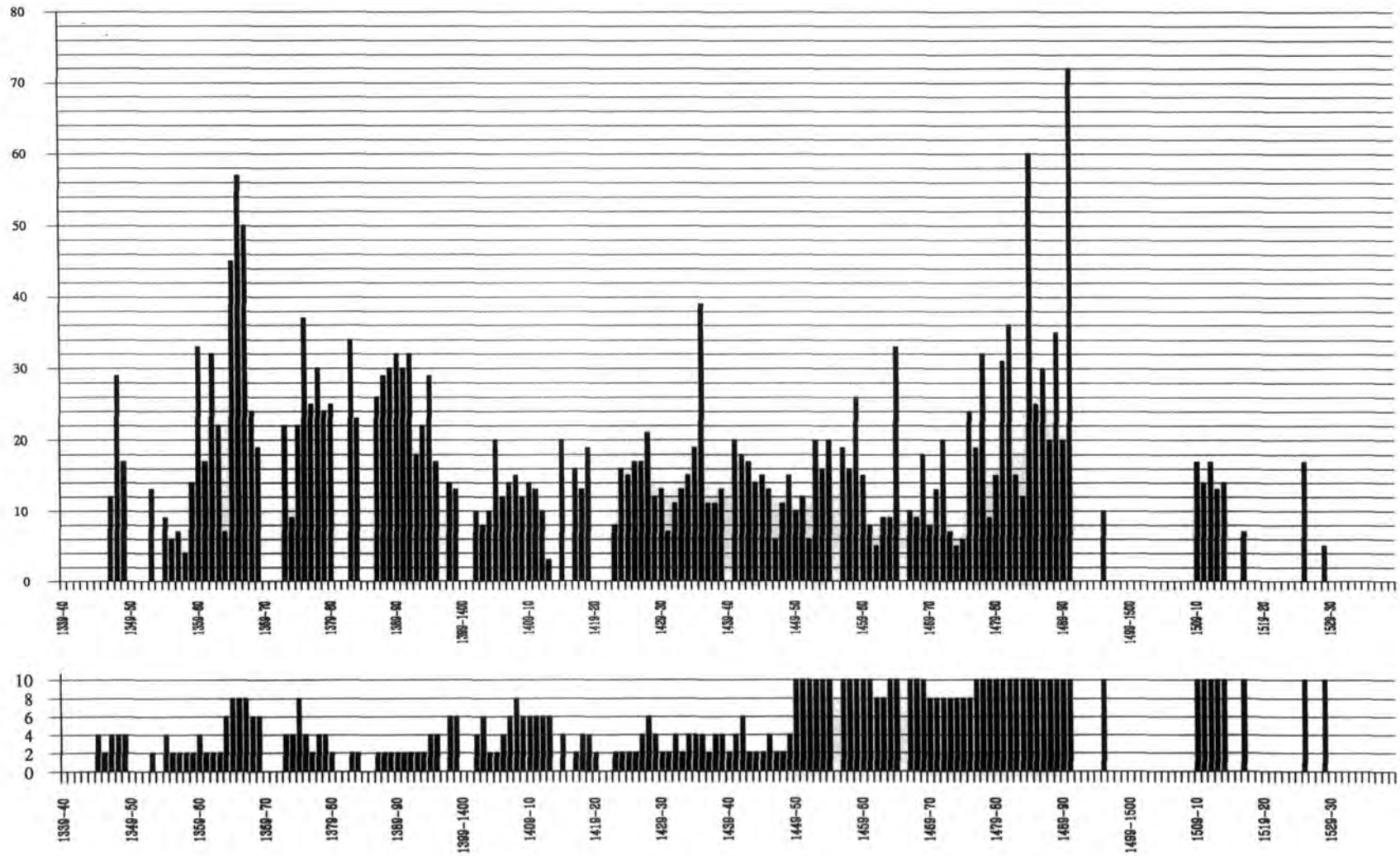


Fig. 13: Finchale: Building Expenditure in Pounds (above), and Amounts of Detail in Treatment (below)

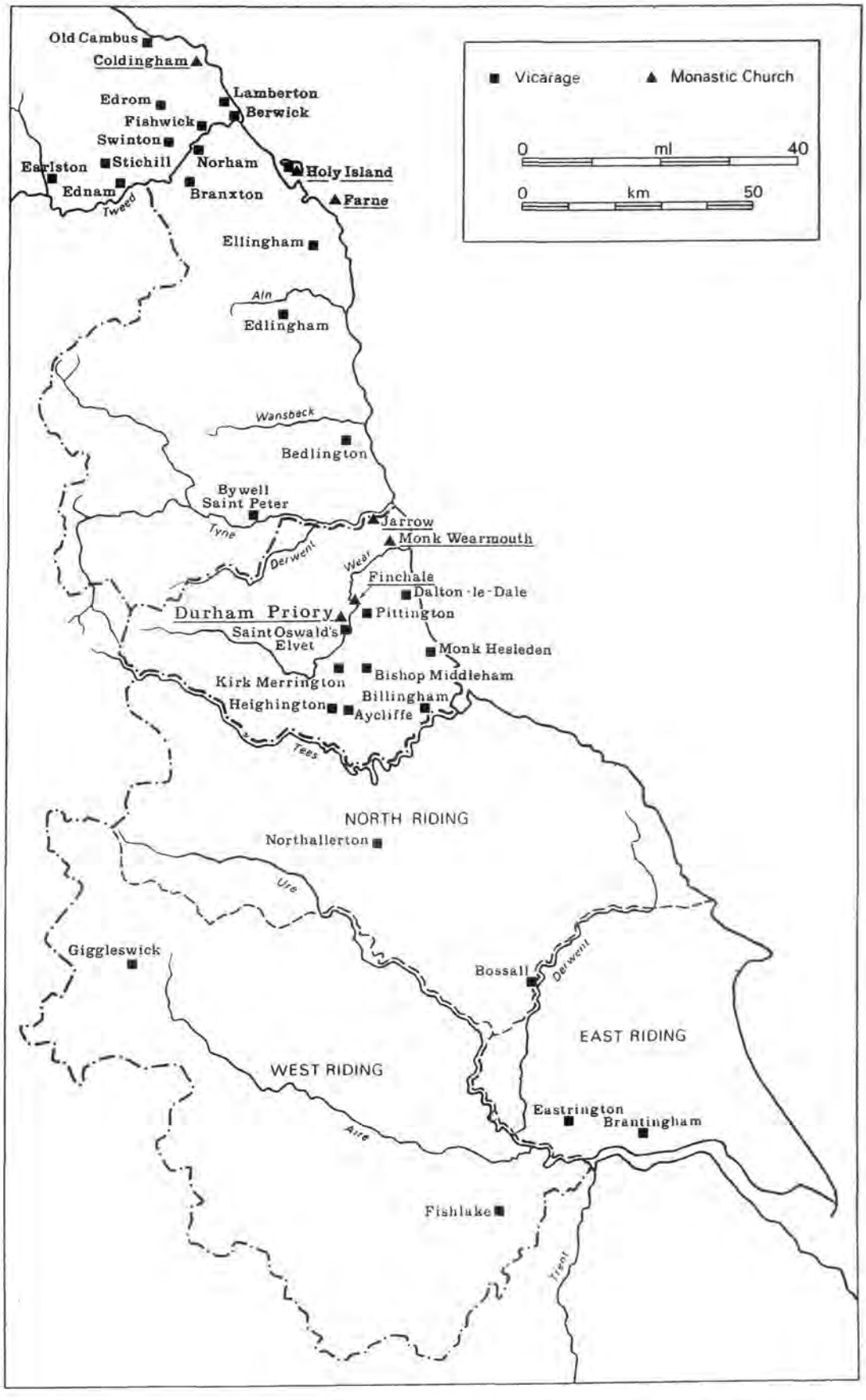


Fig. 14: Map showing Durham Priory Cells and Appropriated Churches (after Platt 1981, ill. 59)

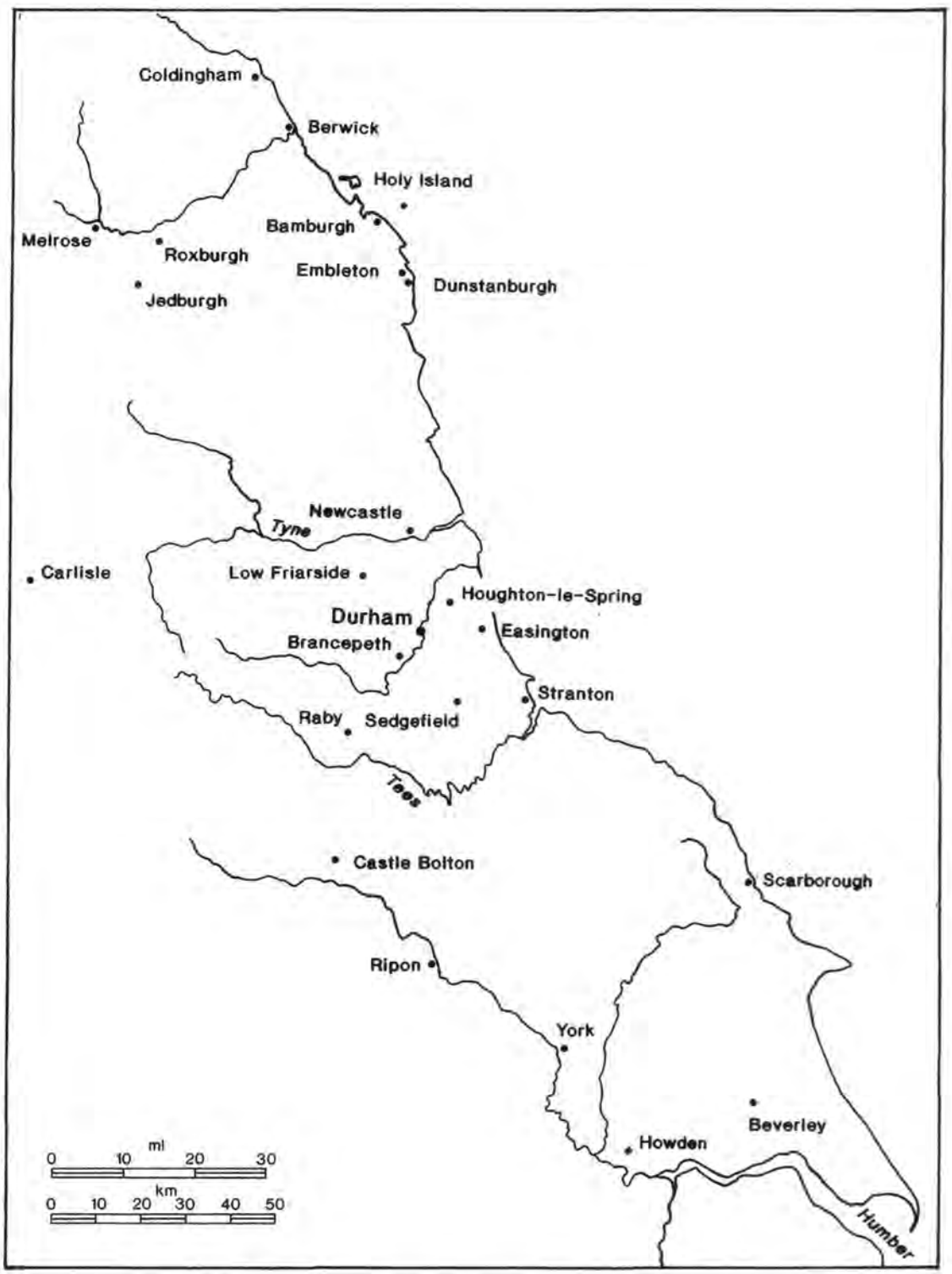
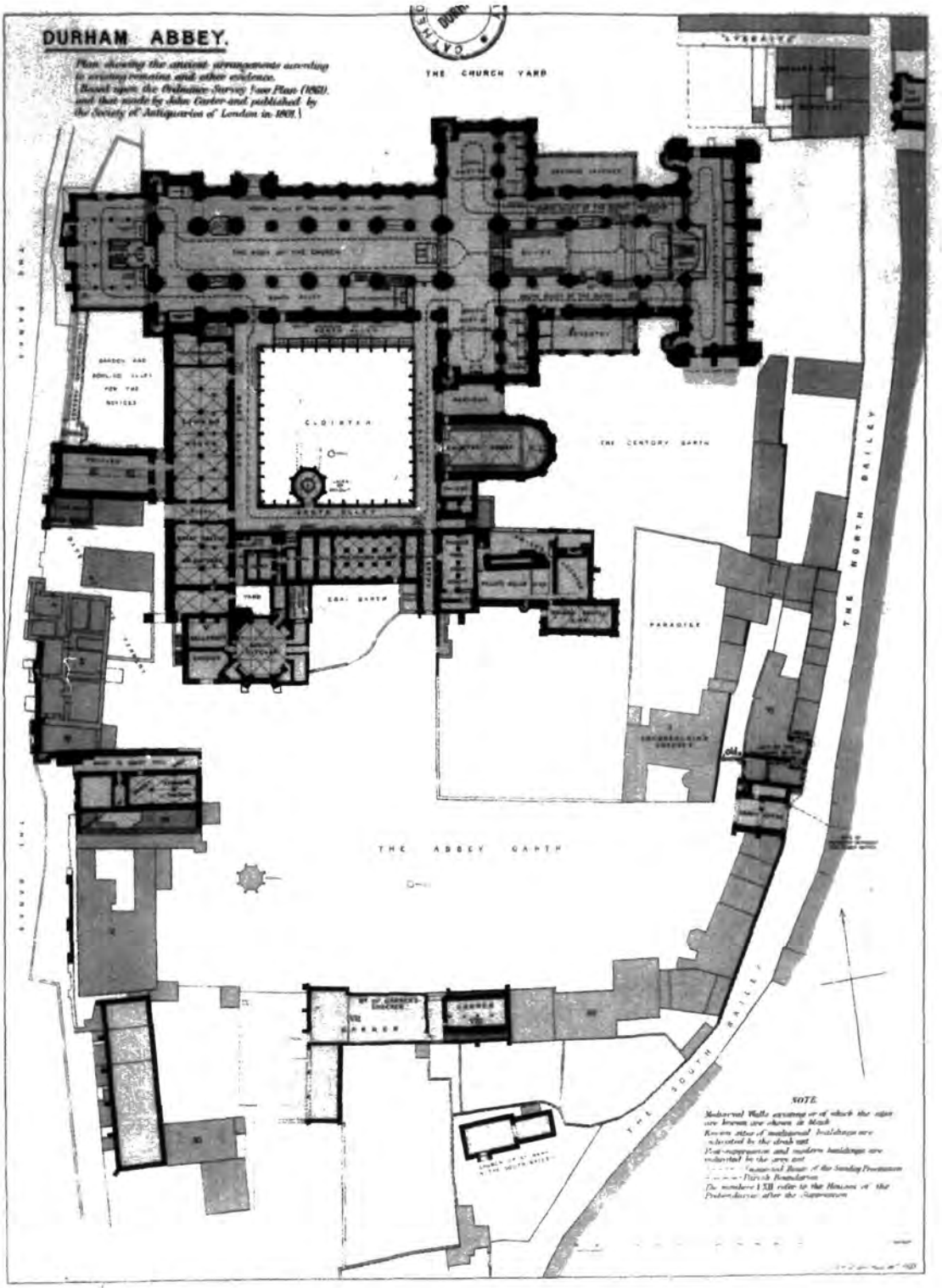
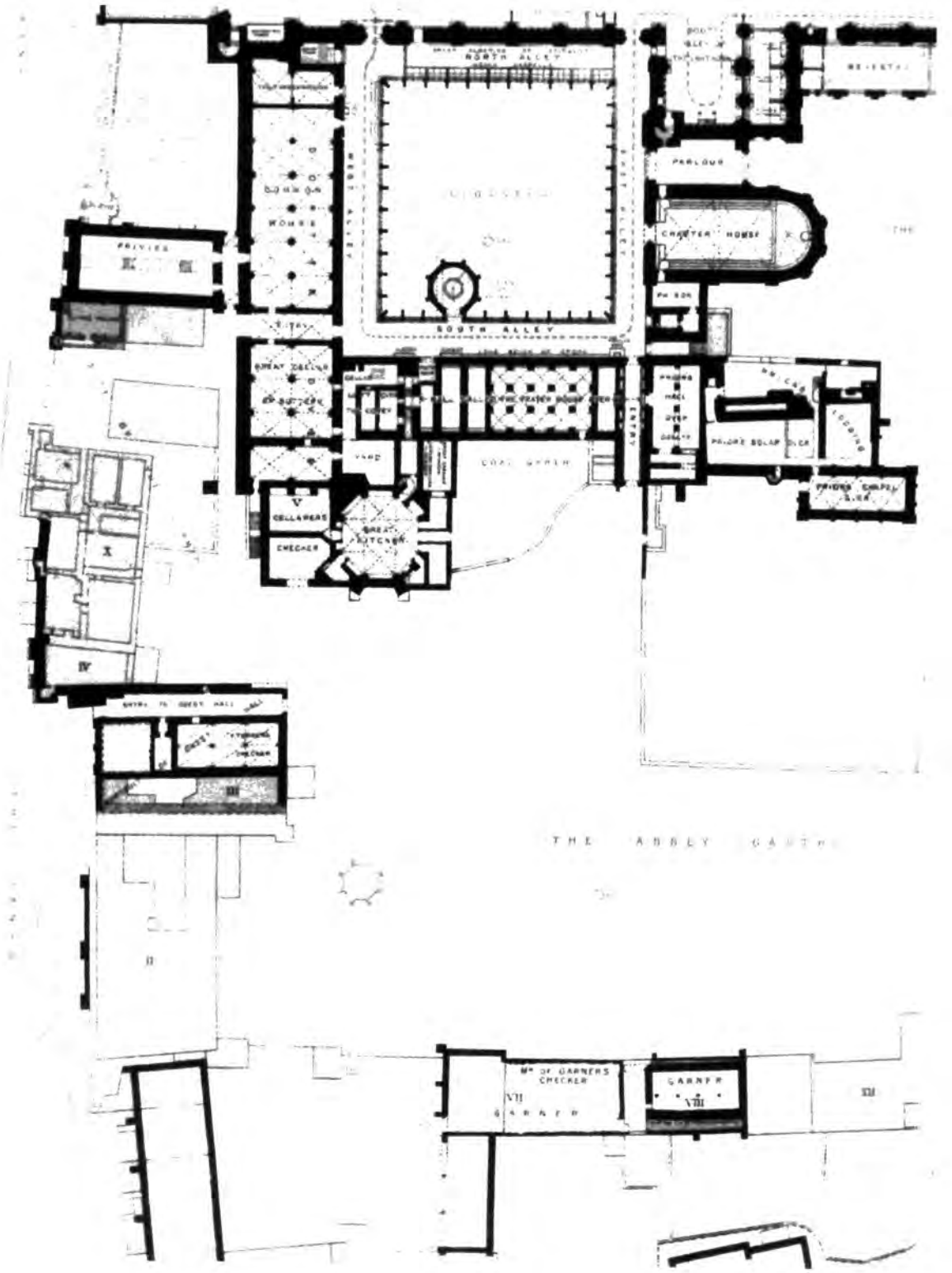


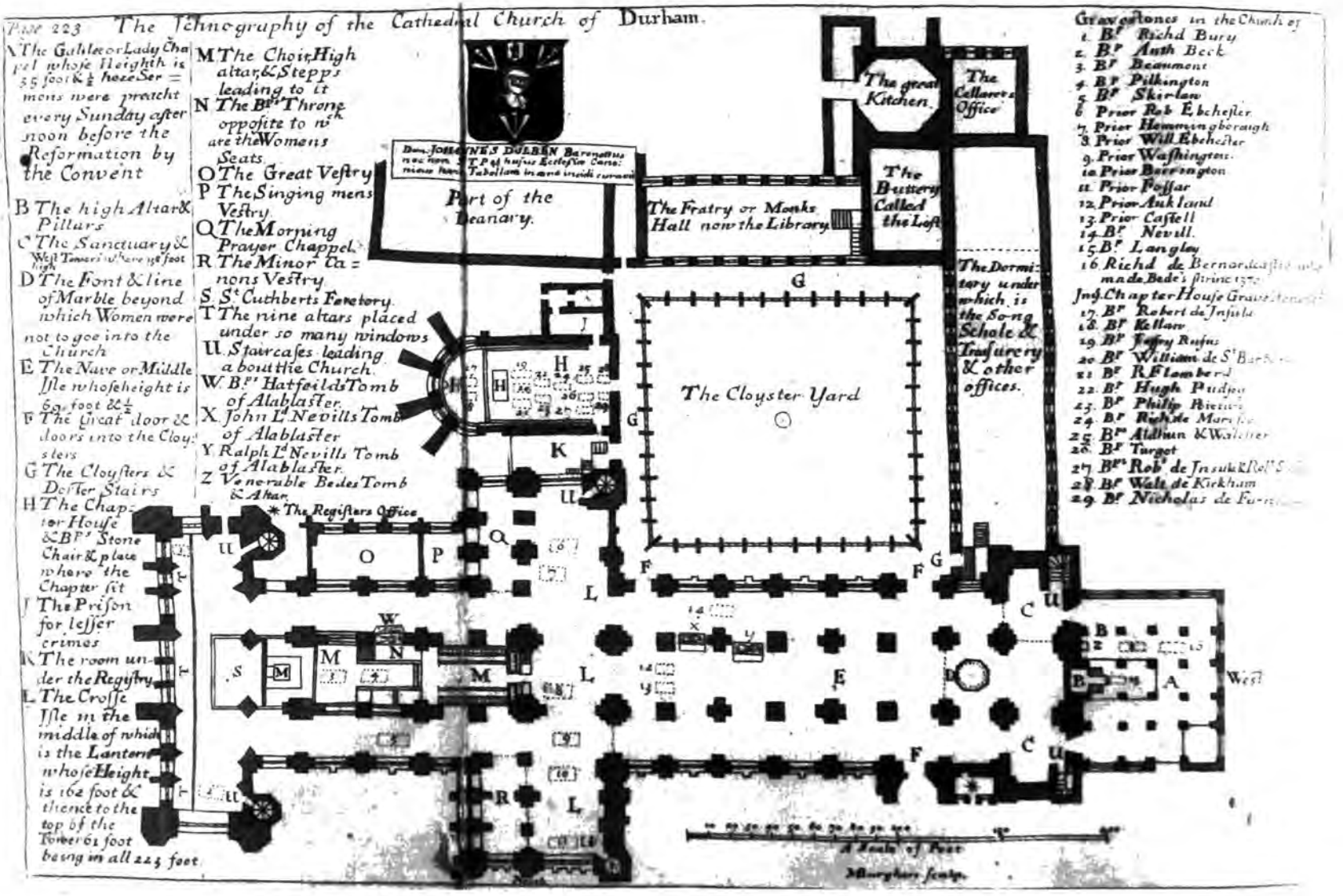
Fig. 15: Map showing Principal Buildings Discussed in Chapters VIII-IX and Appendix 3



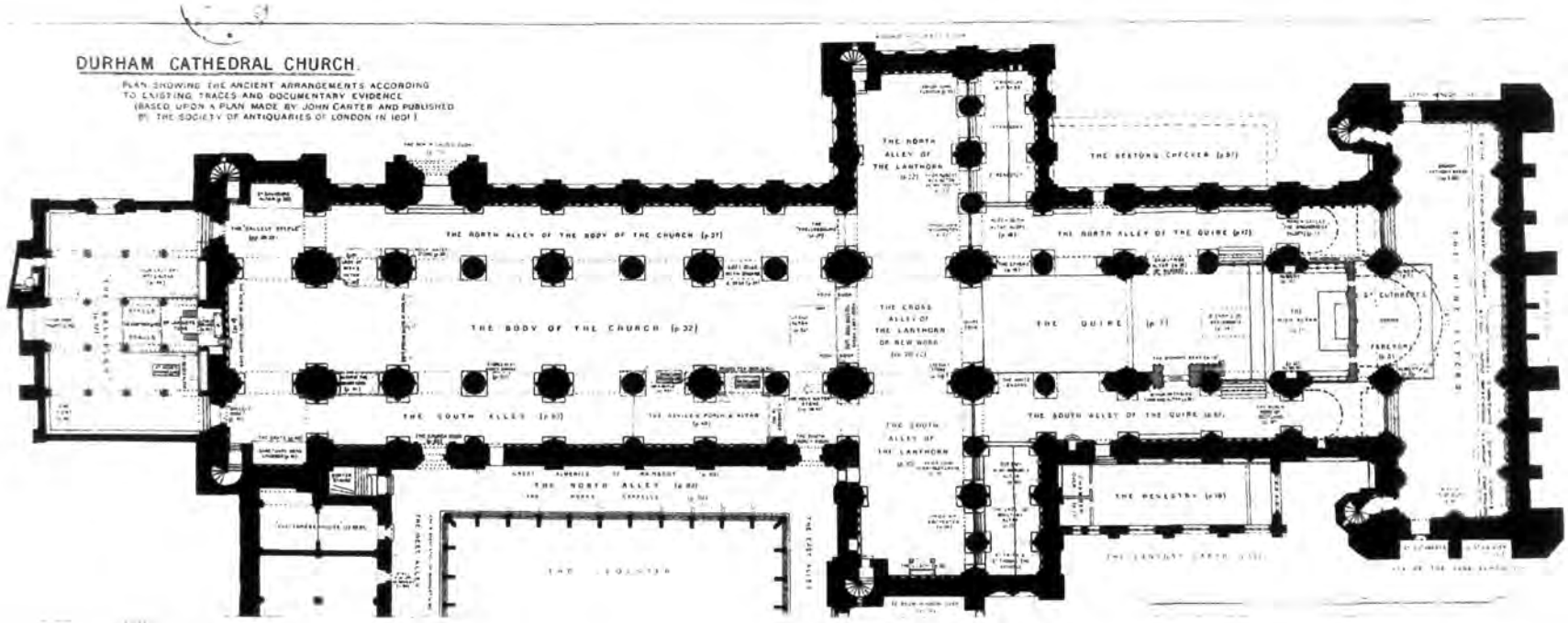
Pl. 1: Durham Priory, ground-plan (Fowler 1903)



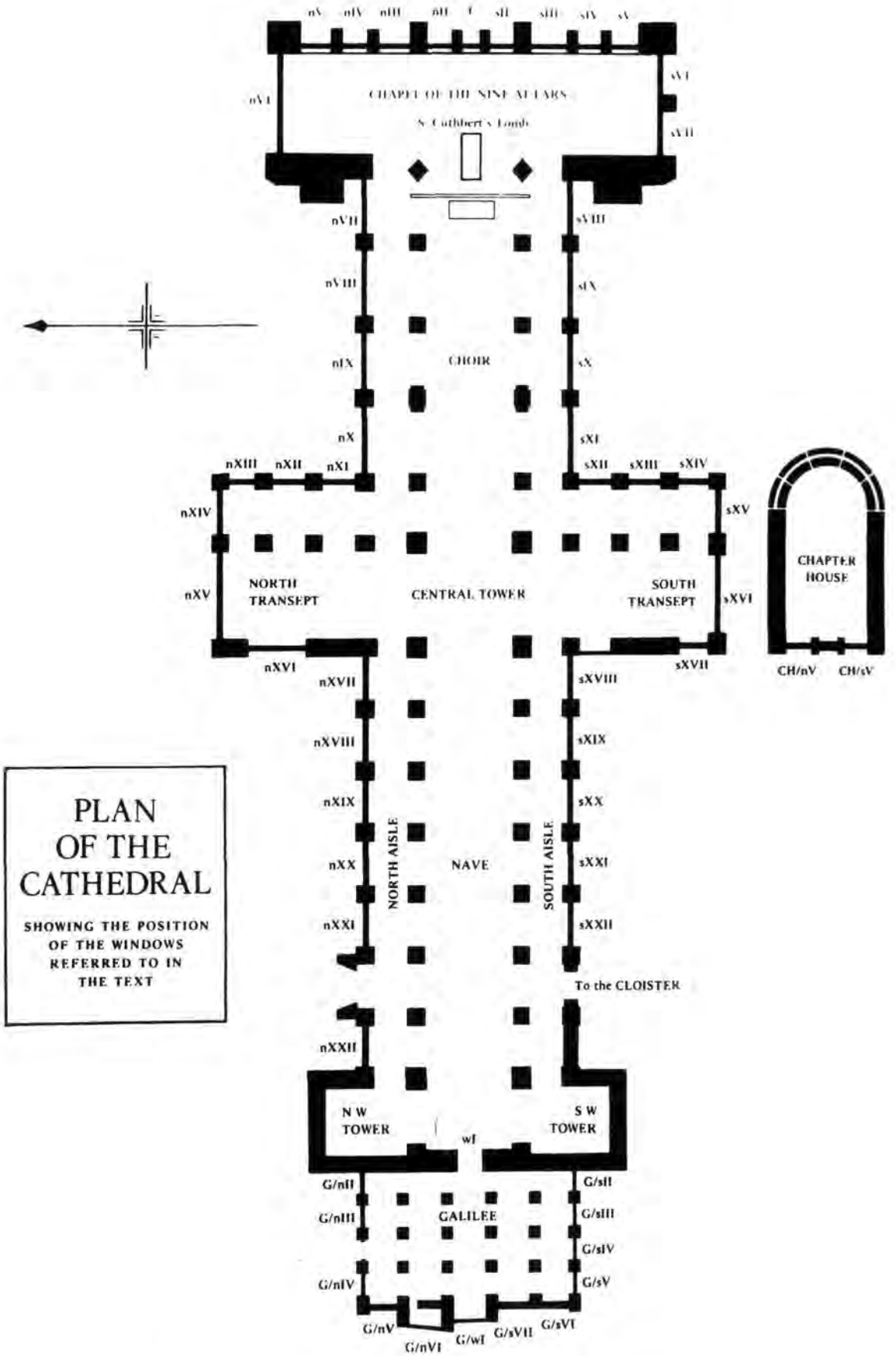
Pl. 2: Durham Priory, ground-plan, detail of cloister (after Fowler 1903)



Pl. 3: Durham Priory, ground-plan (Willis 1727, pl. facing 224)



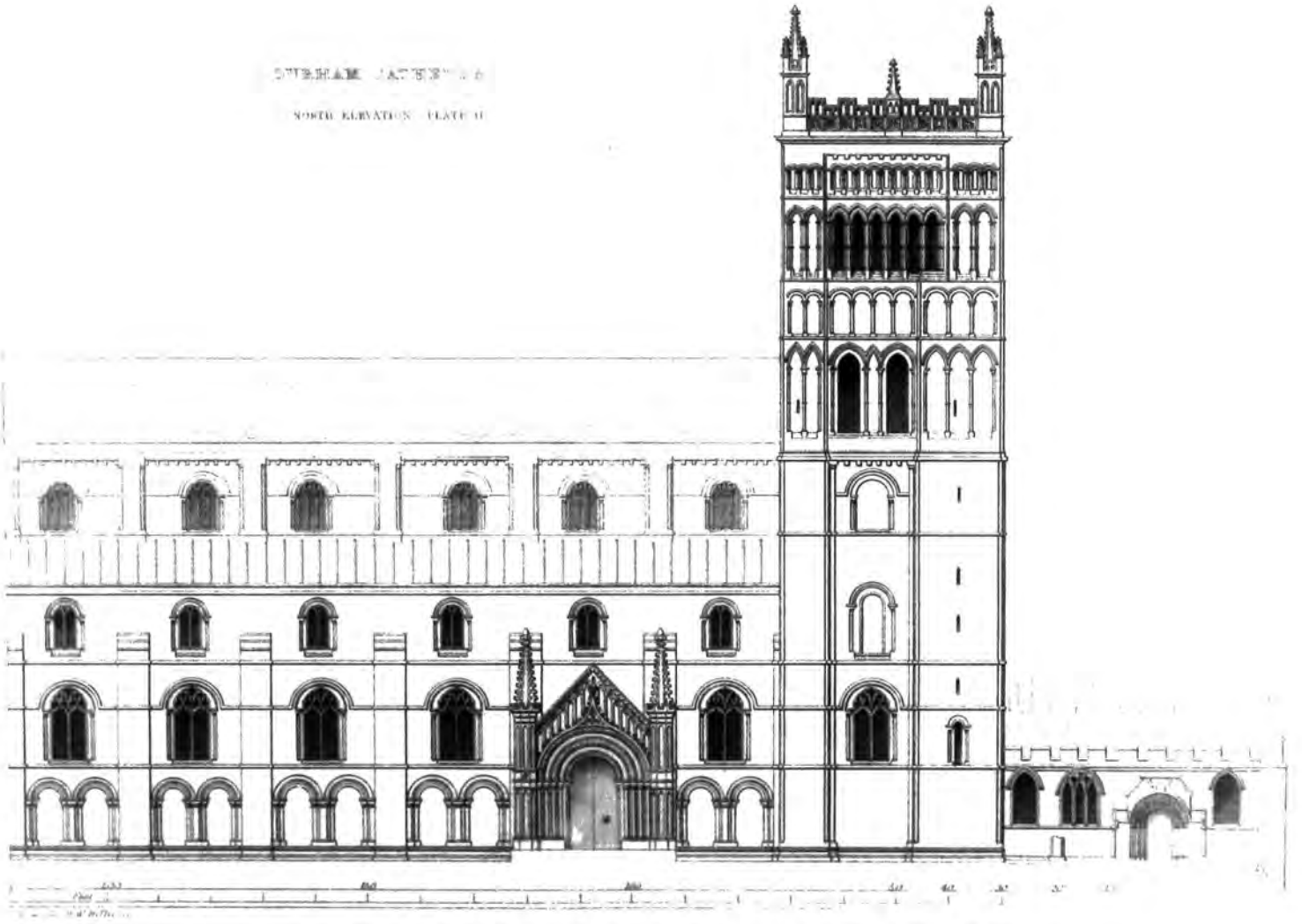
Pl. 4: Durham Cathedral, ground-plan (Fowler 1903)



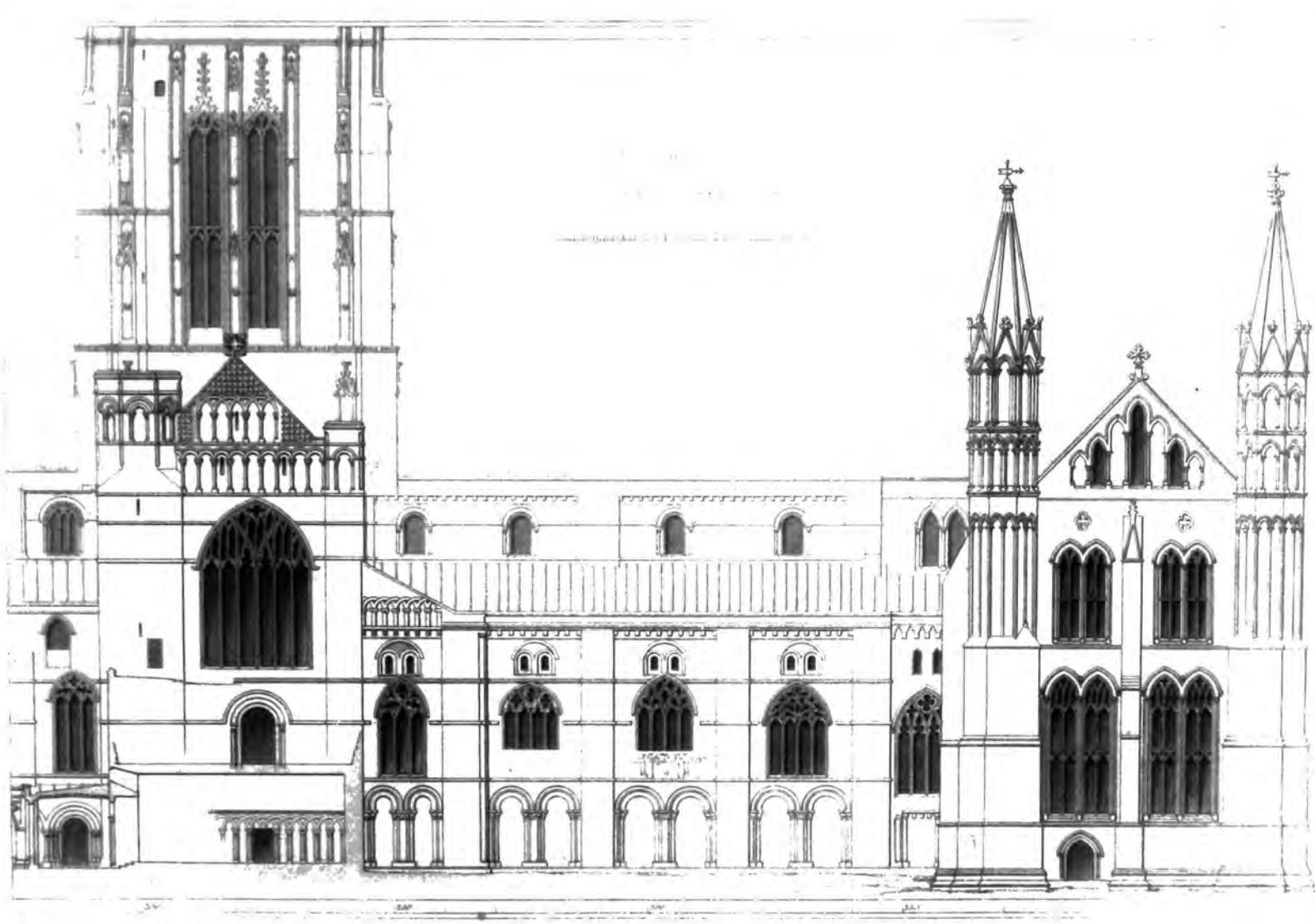
Pl. 5: Durham Cathedral, ground-plan showing numbering of windows (Haselock and O'Connor 1980, 212, fig. 1)



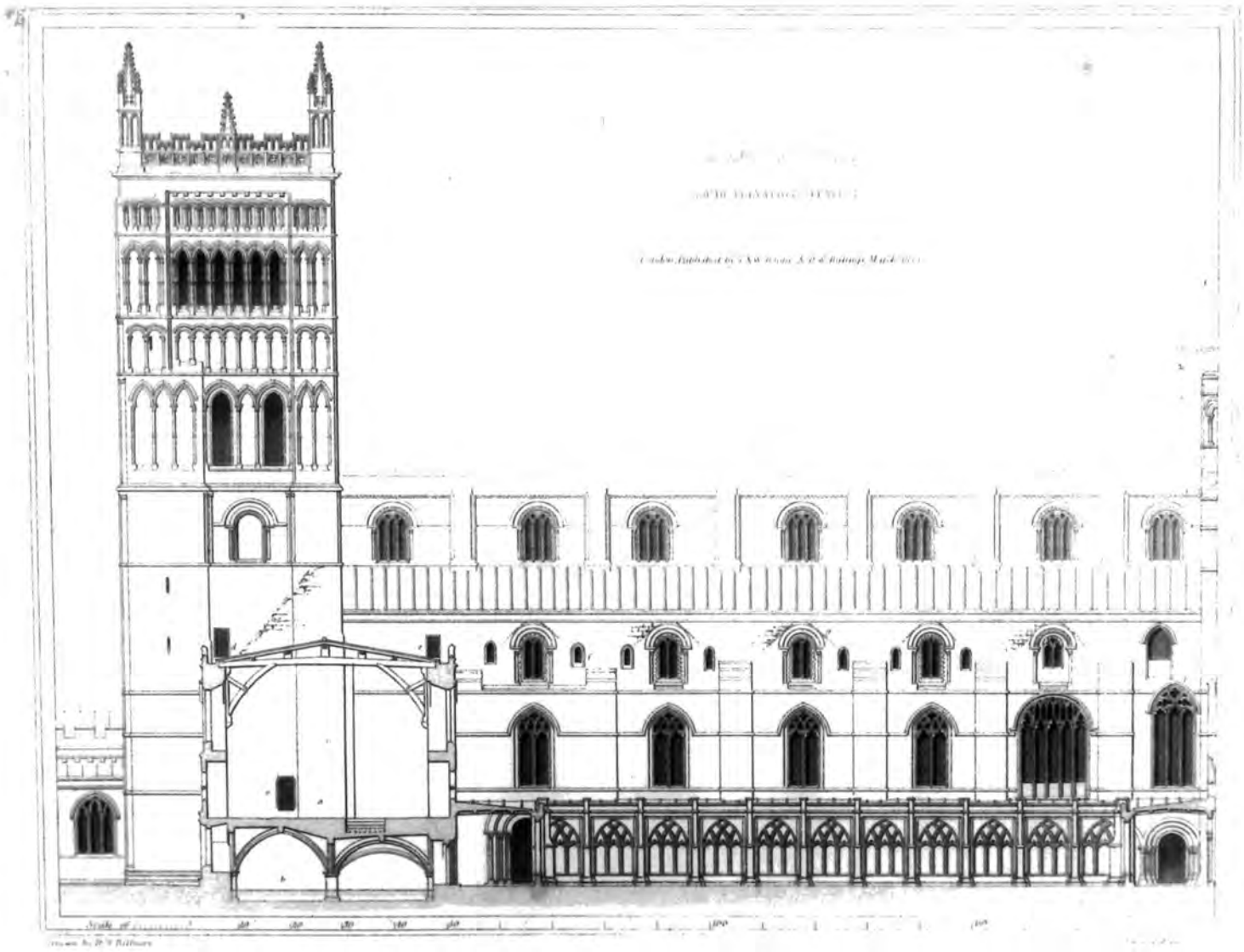
Pl. 6: Durham Cathedral, north elevation, eastern part (Billings 1843, pl. VI)



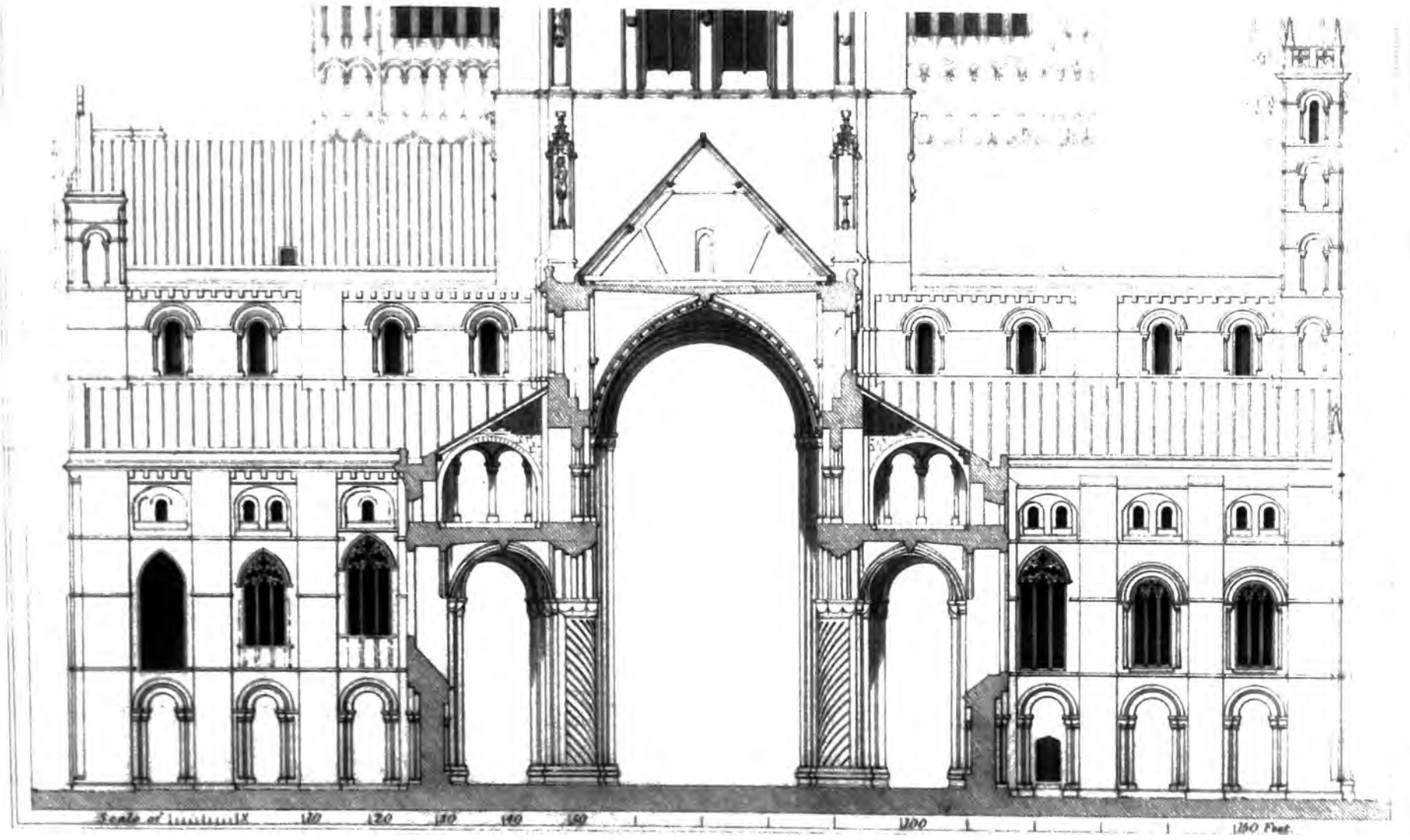
Pl. 7: Durham Cathedral, north elevation, western part (Billings 1843, pl. VII)



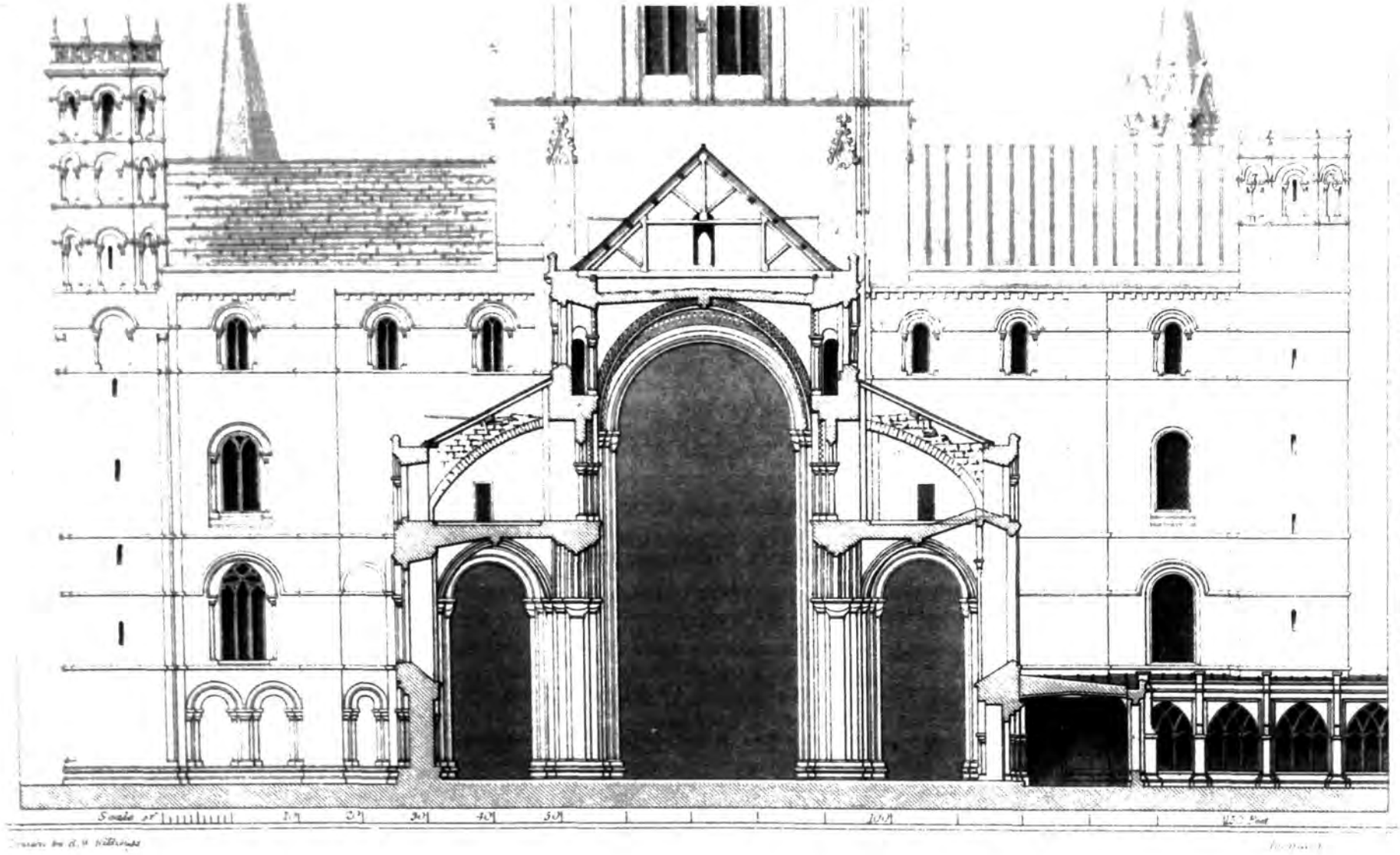
Pl. 8: Durham Cathedral, south elevation, eastern part (Billings 1843, pl. IX)



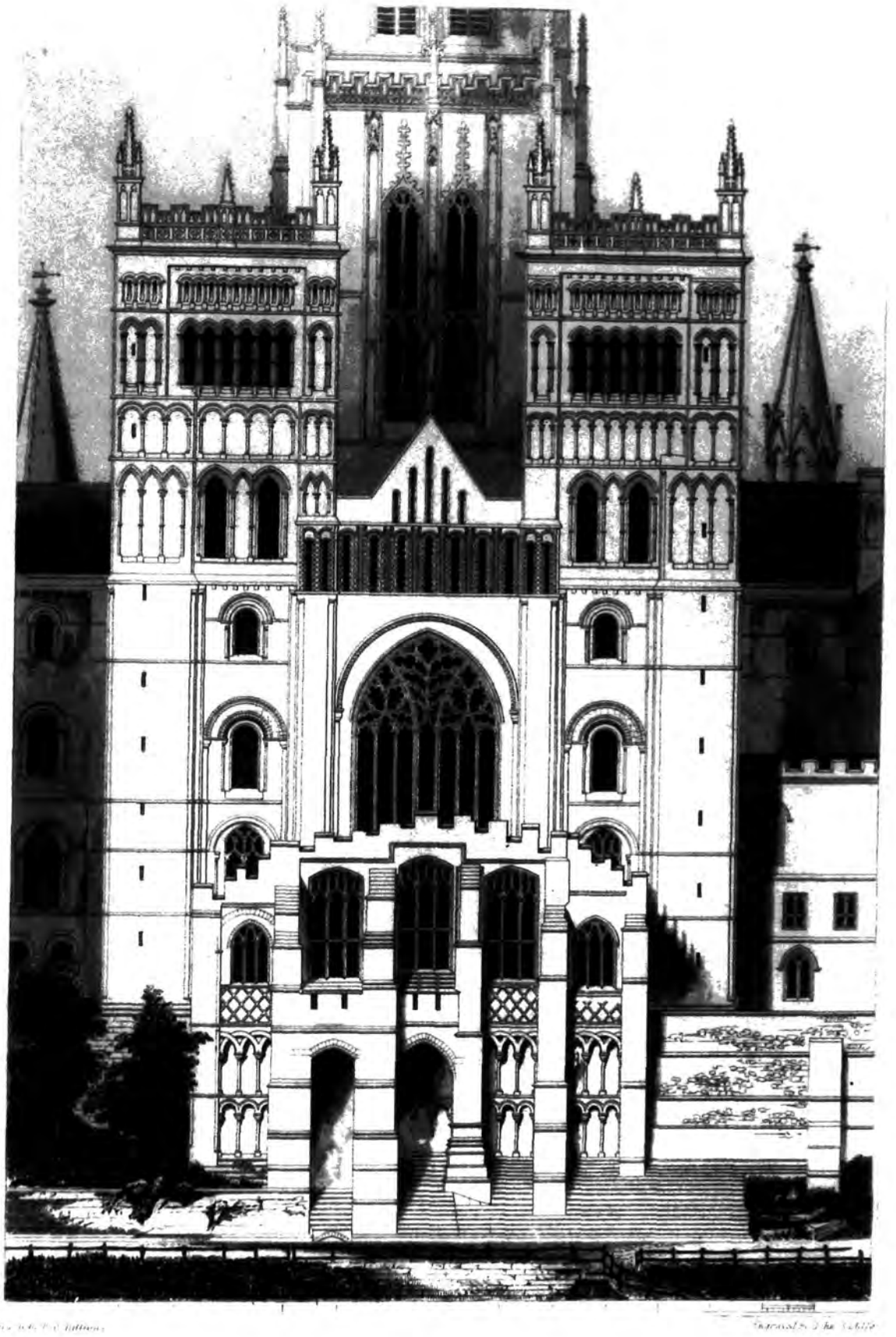
Pl. 9: Durham Cathedral, south elevation, western part (Billings 1843, pl. VIII)



Pl. 10: Durham Cathedral, transepts, east elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XVI)



Pl. 11: Durham Cathedral, transepts, west elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XIII)



Pl. 12: Durham Cathedral, west elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XII)

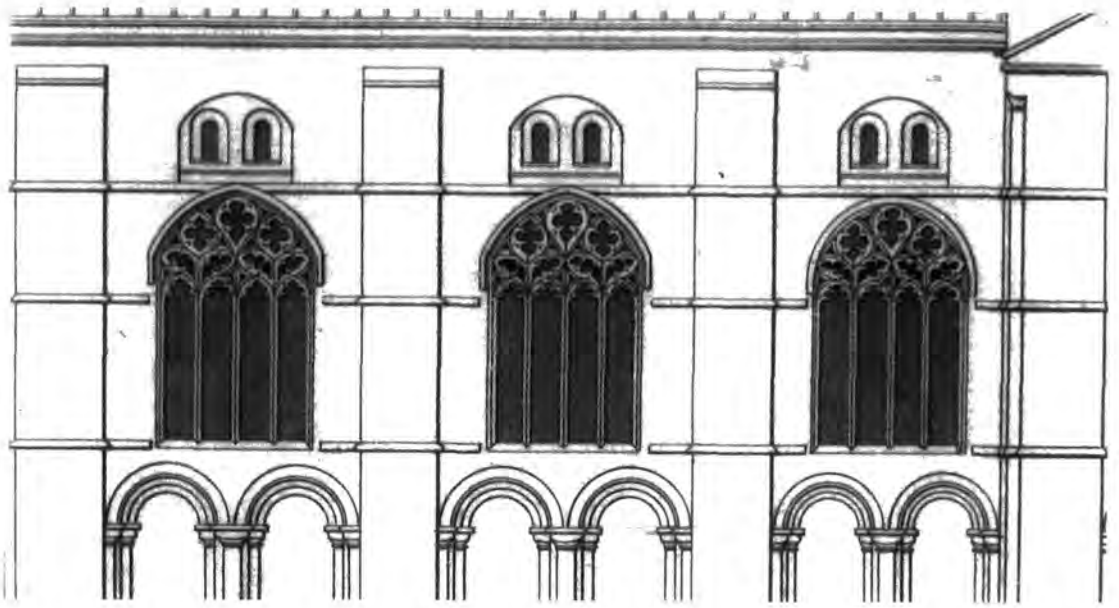


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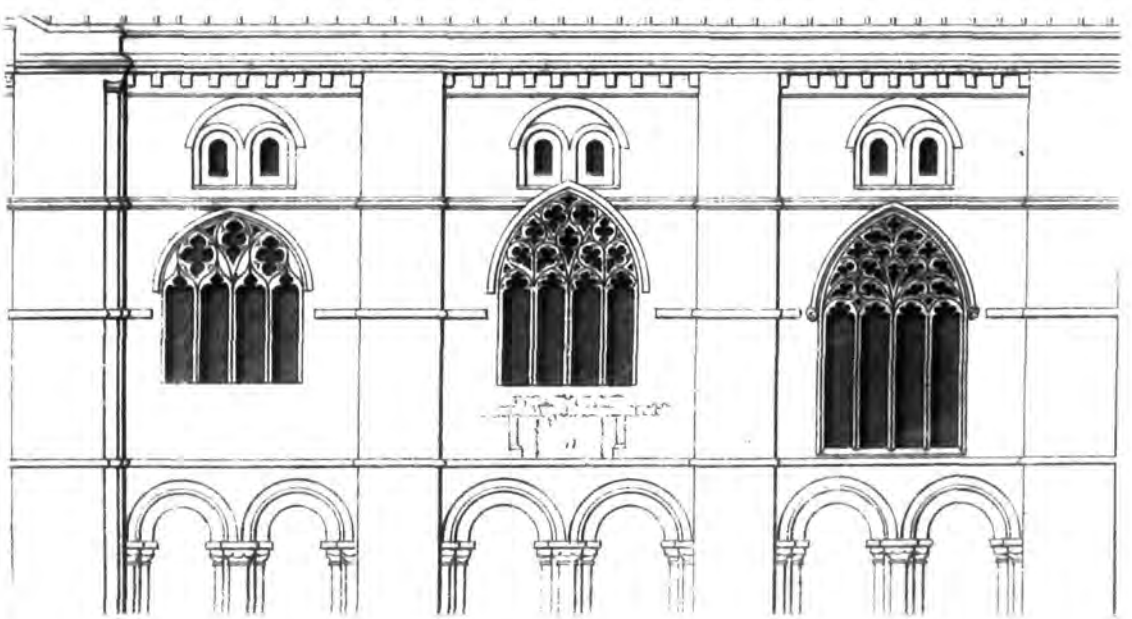


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Pl. 13: Durham Cathedral, traceries in clerestories of Nine Altars and choir (Billings 1843, pl. LXII, detail)
Pl. 14: Durham Cathedral, window in south nave gallery, rere-arch (T. Woods)



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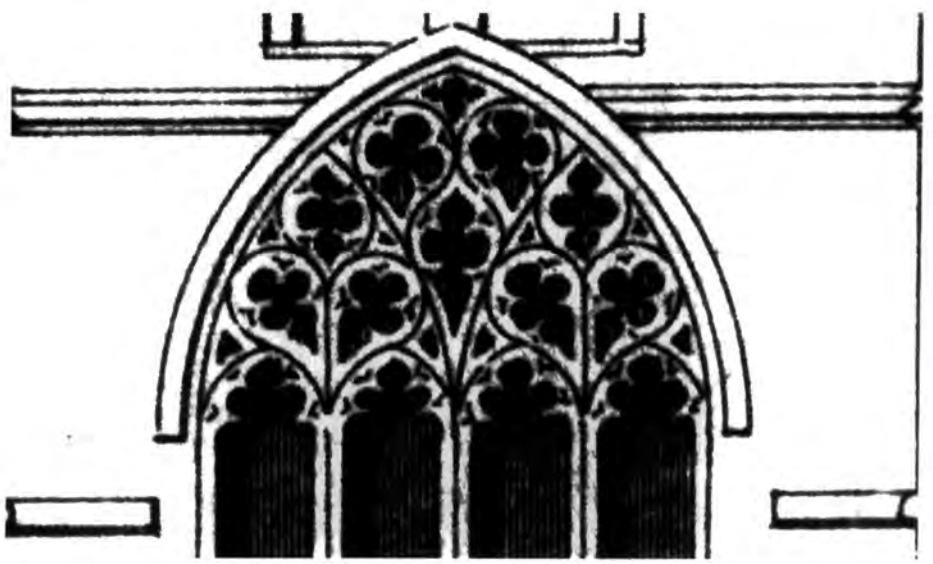


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Pl. 15: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, windows nVIII-nX (Billings 1843, pl. VI, detail) **Pl. 16:** Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, windows sIX-sXI (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)



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Pl. 17: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sIX (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail) **Pl. 18:** Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sX (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail) **Pl. 19:** Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sXI (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail)



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Pl. 20: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, window nVIII, rere-arch (T. Woods) **Pl. 21:** Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, window nIX, rere-arch (T. Woods) **Pl. 22:** Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, window nX, rere-arch (T. Woods)



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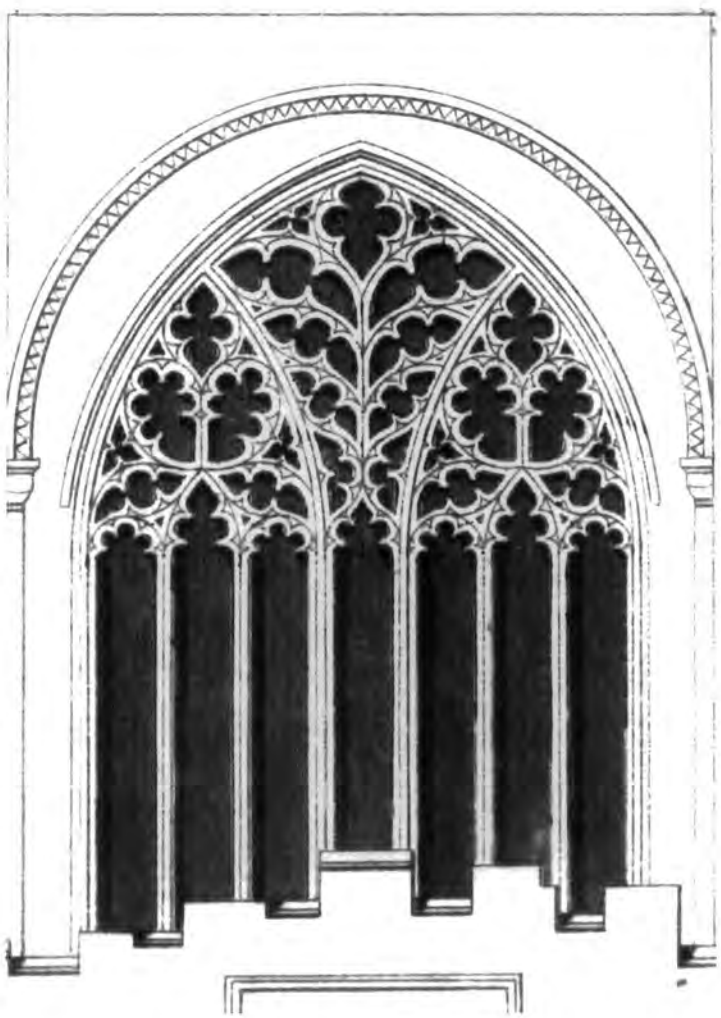


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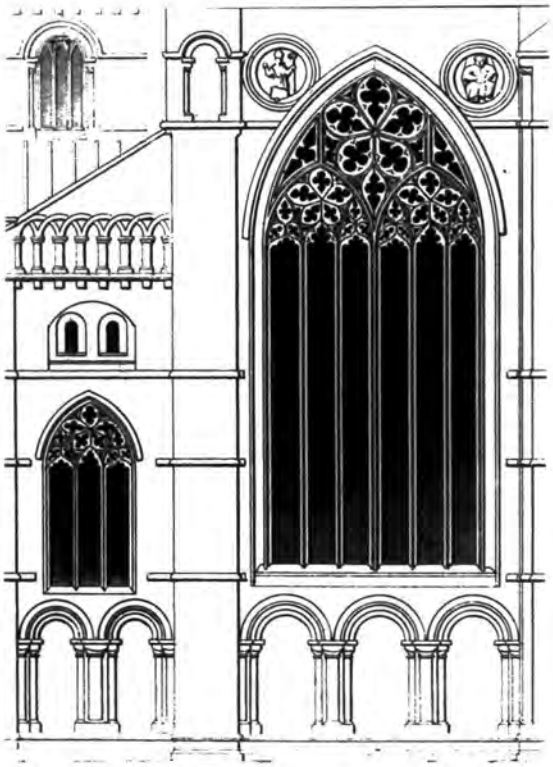


25

Pl. 23: Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sIX, rere-arch (T. Woods) **Pl. 24:** Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sX, rere-arch (T. Woods) **Pl. 25:** Durham Cathedral, south choir aisle, window sXI, rere-arch (T. Woods)



Pl. 26: Durham Cathedral, west window (Billings 1843, pl. XII, detail)



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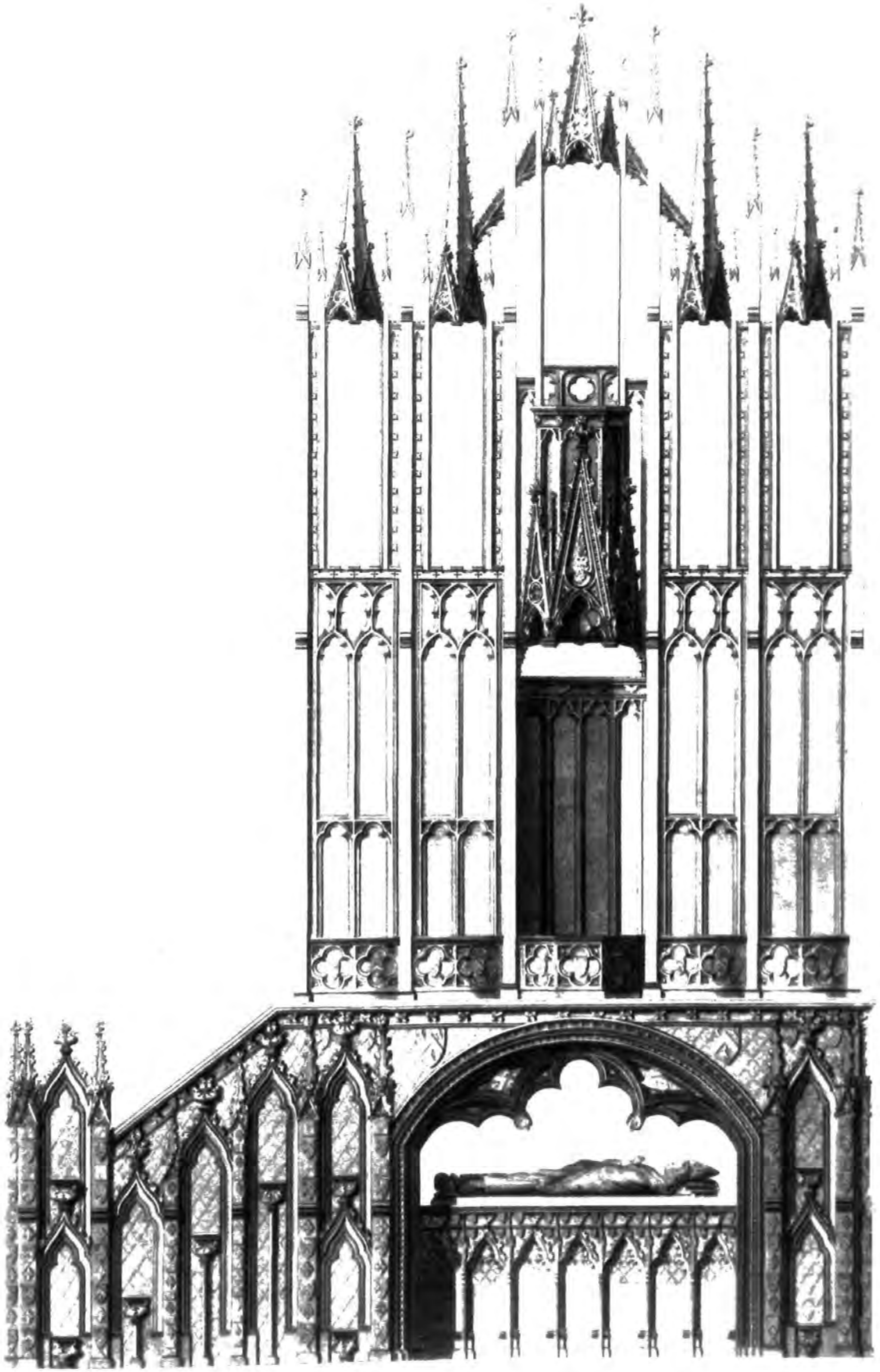


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Pl. 27: Durham Cathedral, north transept, windows nXIV-nXV (Billings 1843, pl. VI, detail) **Pl. 28:** Durham Cathedral, north transept, window nXV, exterior mouldings **Pl. 29:** Durham Cathedral, north transept, window nXV, interior (T. Woods) **Pl. 30:** Durham Cathedral, north transept, window nXV, detail of rere-arch (T. Woods)



Pl. 31: Durham Cathedral, Hatfield tomb and throne, north elevation (Carter 1801, pl. VIII)



32

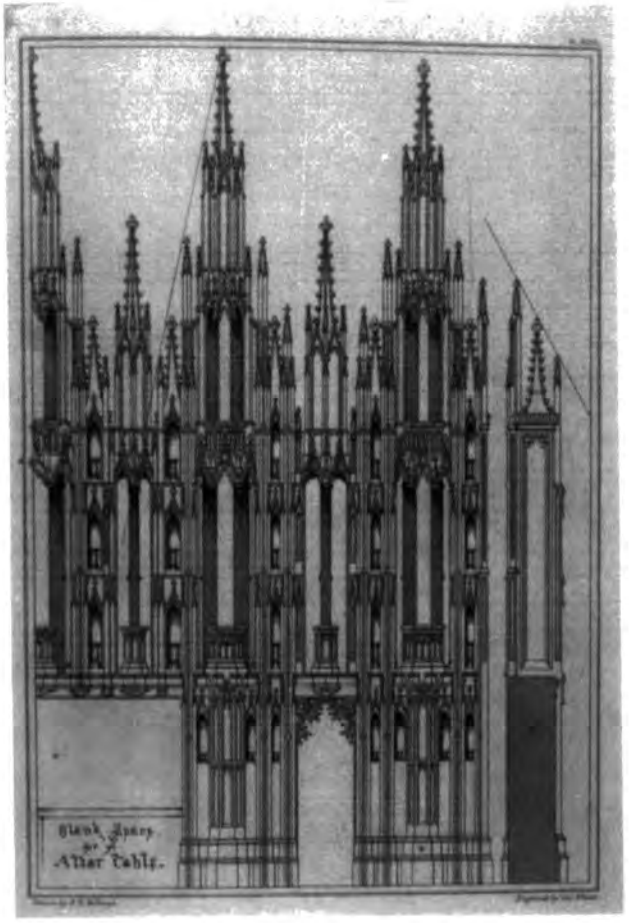


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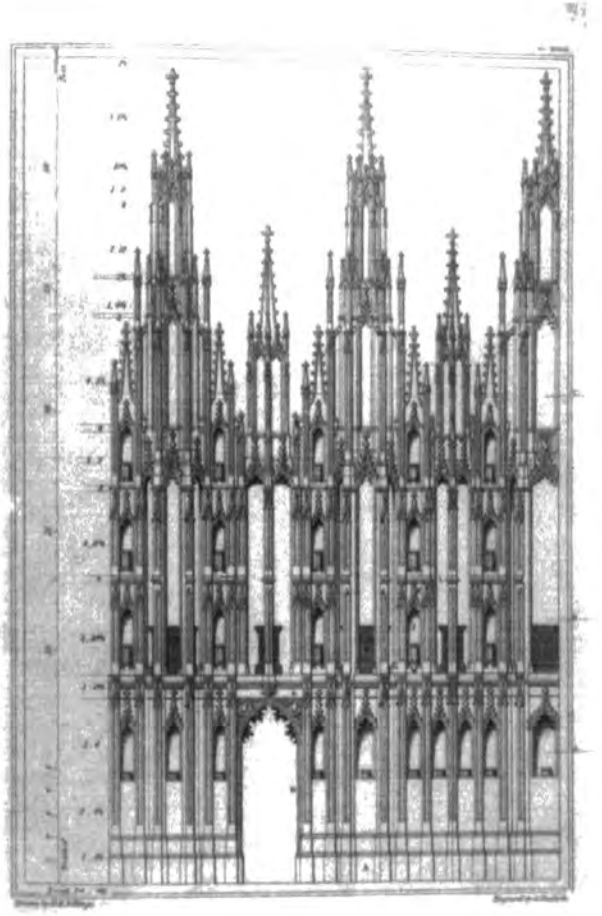
Pl. 32: Durham Cathedral, Hatfield throne, from south (T. Woods) **Pl. 33:** Durham Cathedral, Hatfield tomb, from south (T. woods)



Pl. 34: Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, from west (T. Woods)

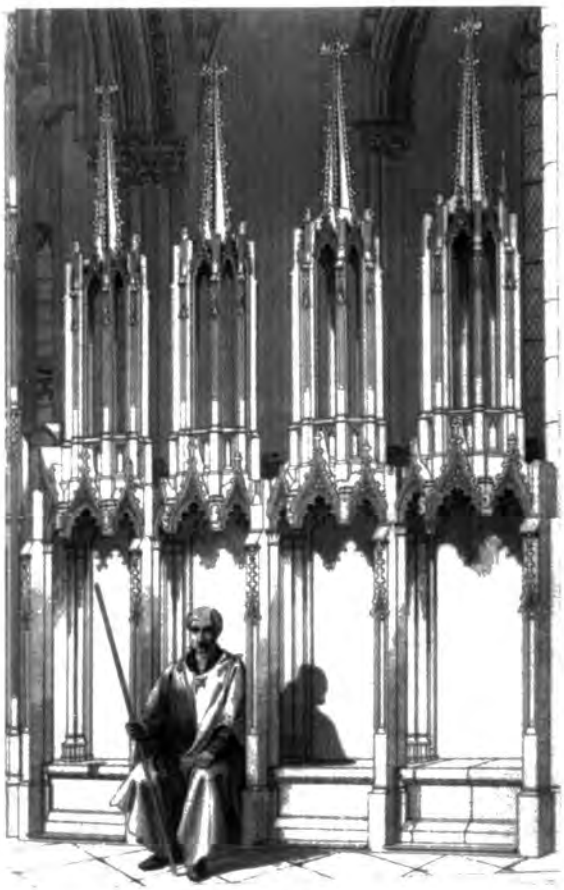


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36

Pl. 35: Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, half elevation from west (Billings 1843, pl. XXXII) **Pl. 36:** Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, half elevation from east (Billings 1843, pl. XXXIII)



37

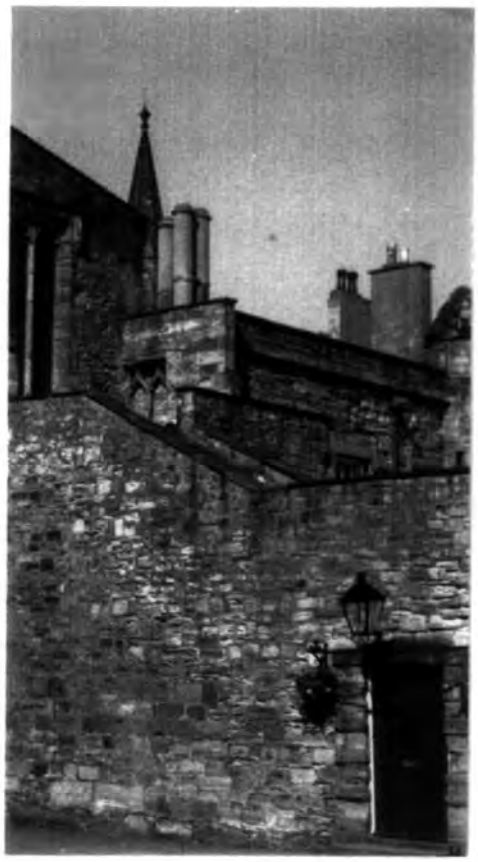


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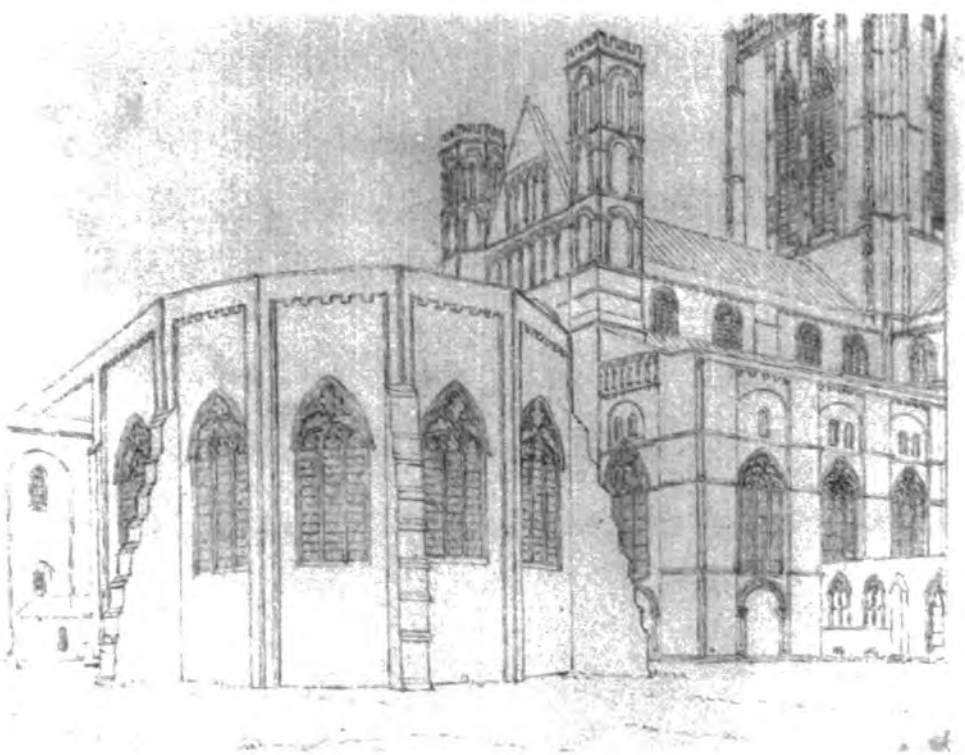


39

Pl. 37: Durham Cathedral, sedilia on south side of sanctuary (Billings 1843, pl. LXI) **Pl. 38:** Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, detail of canopies (T. Woods) **Pl. 39:** Durham Cathedral, Neville screen, detail of canopies (T. Woods)

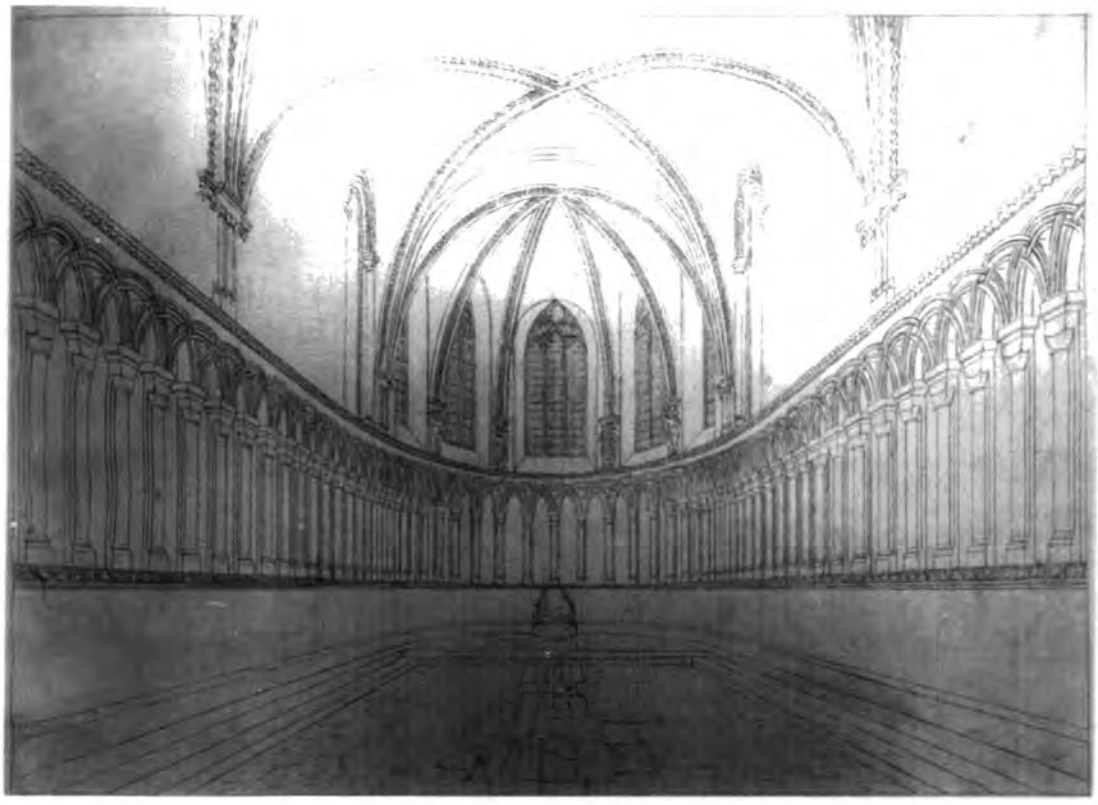


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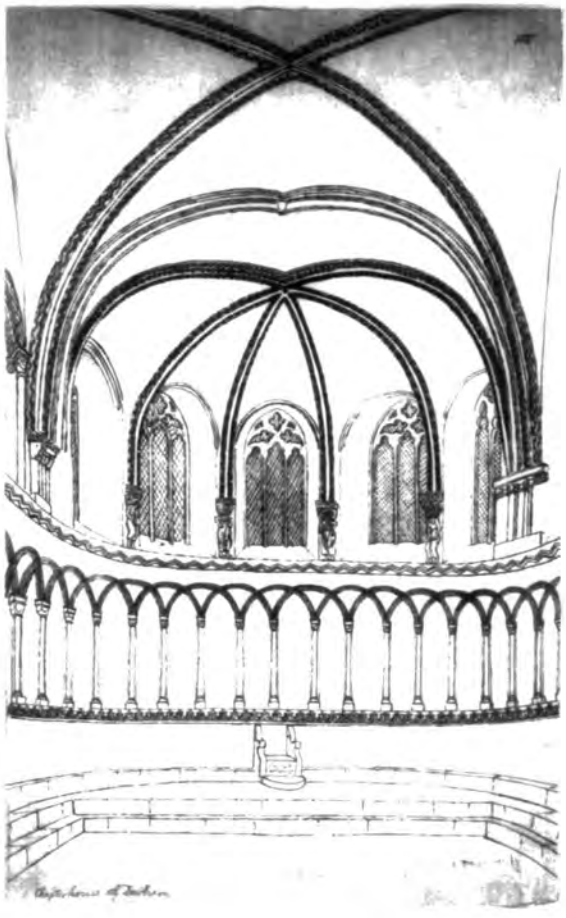


41

Pl. 40: Durham Cathedral, prior's lodging, blocked window in west wall of great chamber **Pl. 41:** Durham Cathedral, chapter house, exterior from south-east (J. Carter, DCD Lib., drawing (no. 15) dated 1795)



42



43

Pl. 42: Durham Cathedral, chapter house, interior looking east (J. Carter, DCD Lib., drawing (no. 11) dated 1795) **Pl. 43:** Durham Cathedral, chapter house, interior looking east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15538, no. 155)



44

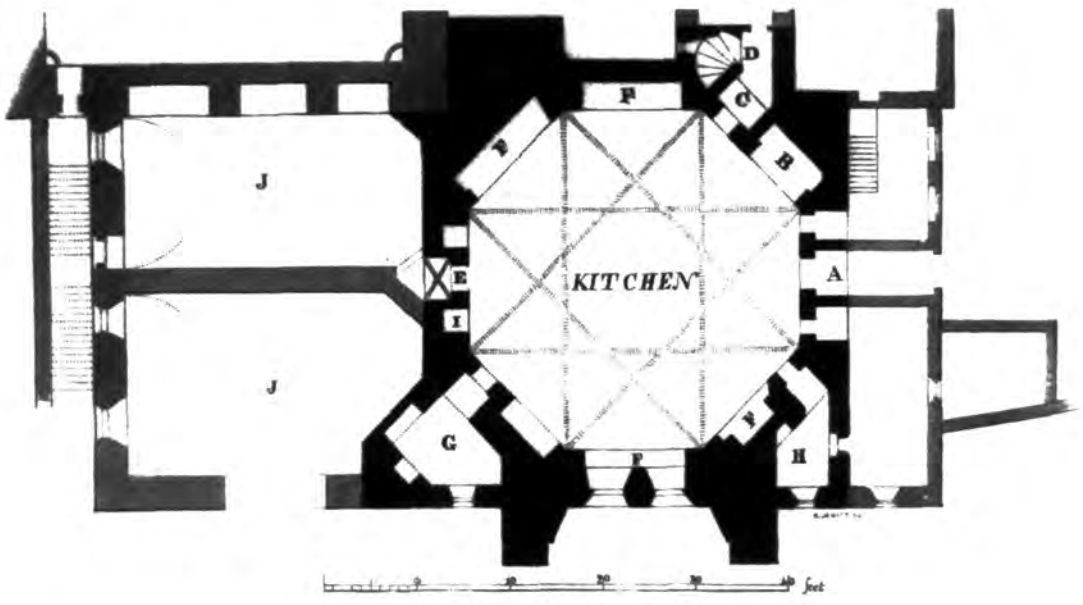


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Pl. 44: Durham Cathedral, chapter house, west window, interior (T. Woods) **Pl. 45:** Durham Cathedral, chapter house, west window, detail of rere-arch (T. Woods)



46



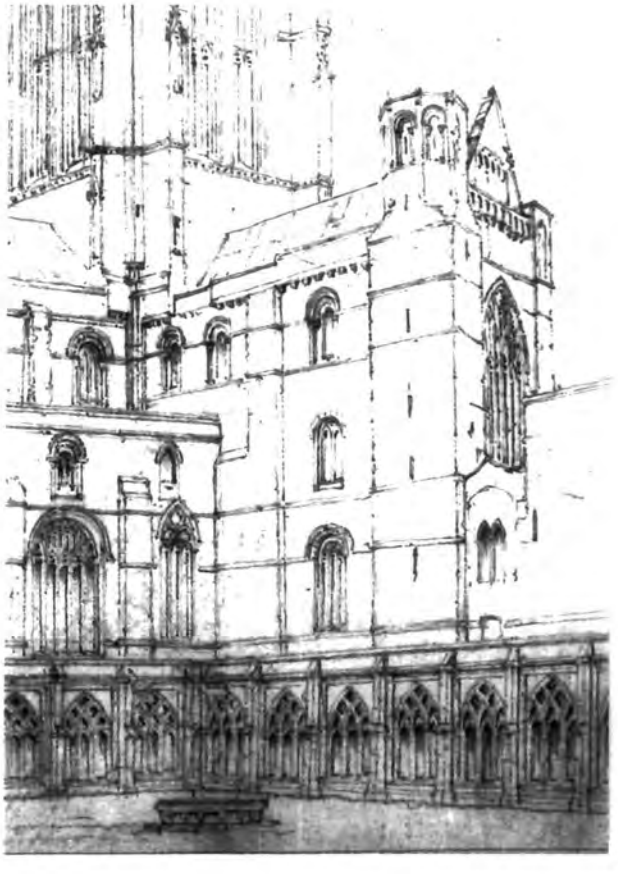
THE ABBOT'S KITCHEN DURHAM

47

Pl. 46: Durham Cathedral, kitchen, interior from north-east (Parker 1853, fig. following 120) **Pl. 47:** Durham Cathedral, kitchen, plan (Parker 1853, fig. facing 120)

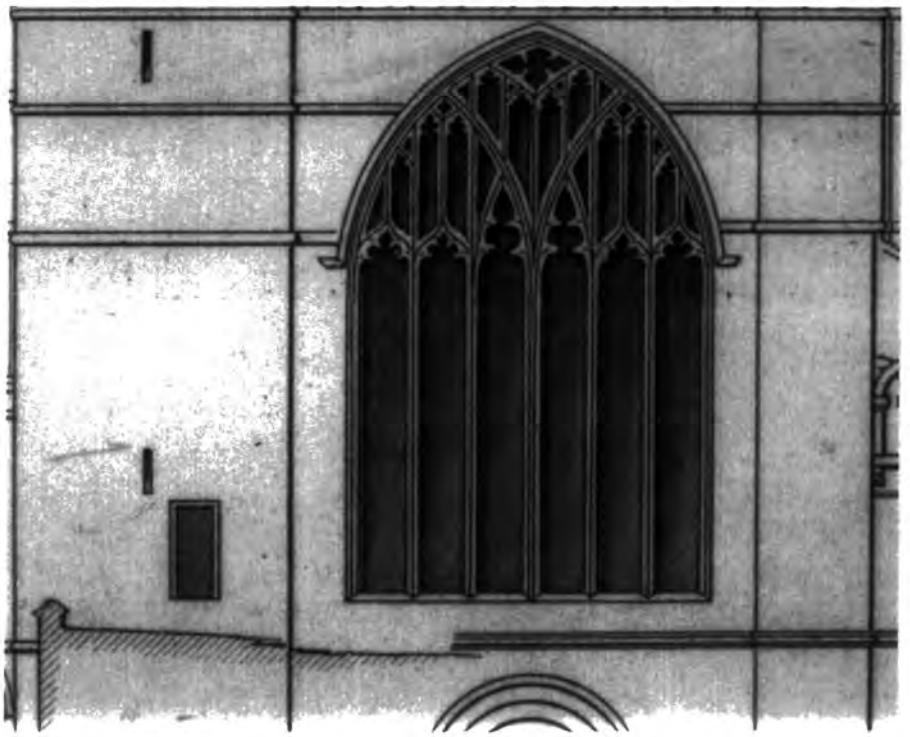


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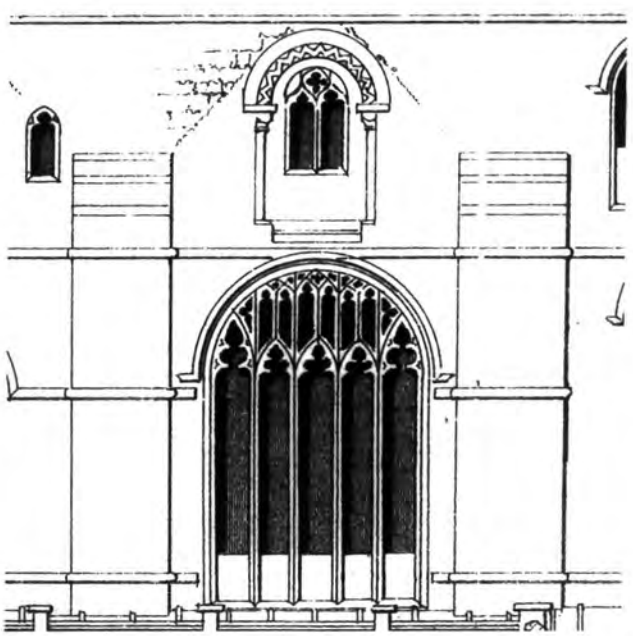


49

Pl. 48: Durham Cathedral, angle of south transept and nave (Billings 1843, pl. XLV, detail) **Pl. 49:** Durham Cathedral, angle of south transept and nave (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42036, no. 96)

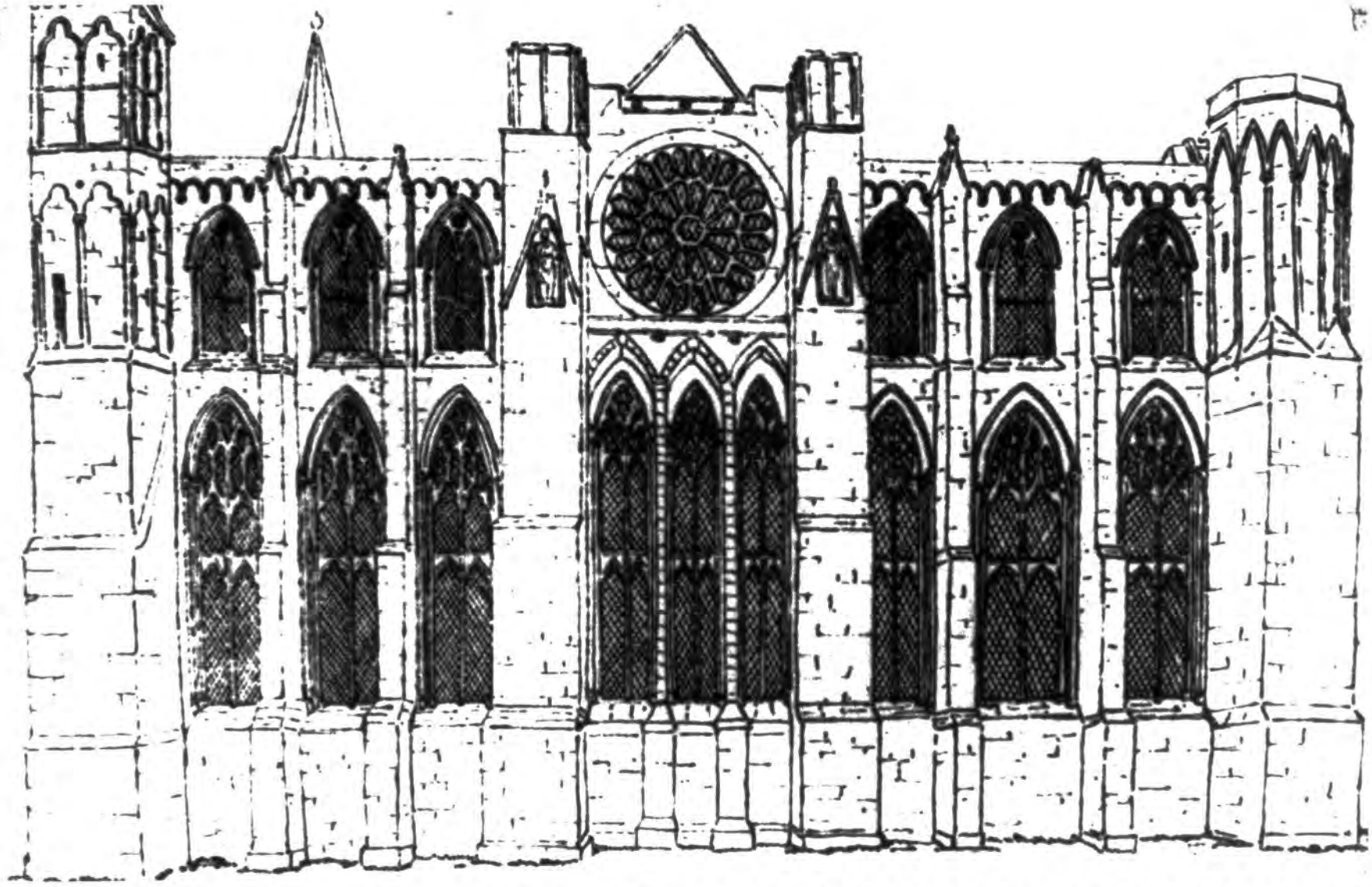


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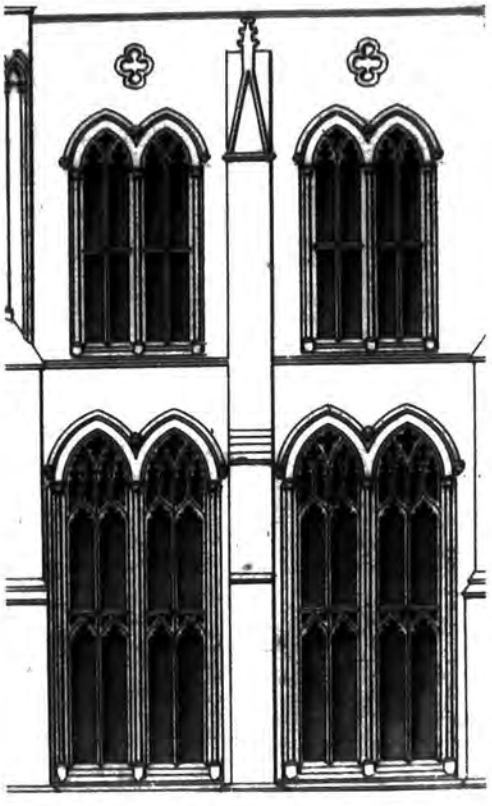


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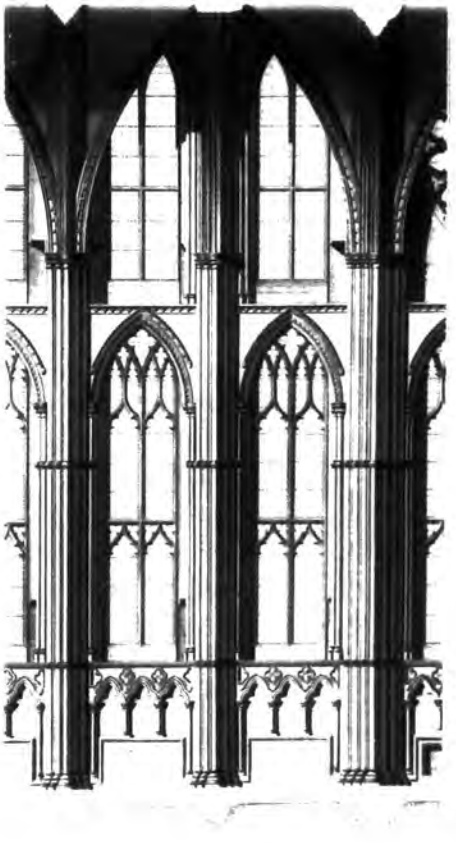
Pl. 50: Durham Cathedral, window sXVI (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail) **Pl. 51:** Durham Cathedral, window sXIX (Billings 1843, pl. VIII, detail)



Pl. 52: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, exterior from east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15538, no. 132 (Greenwell 1896-1905, pl. VII following 36))



53

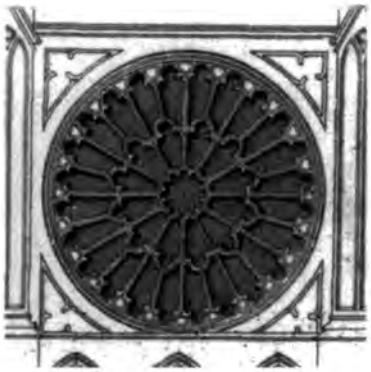


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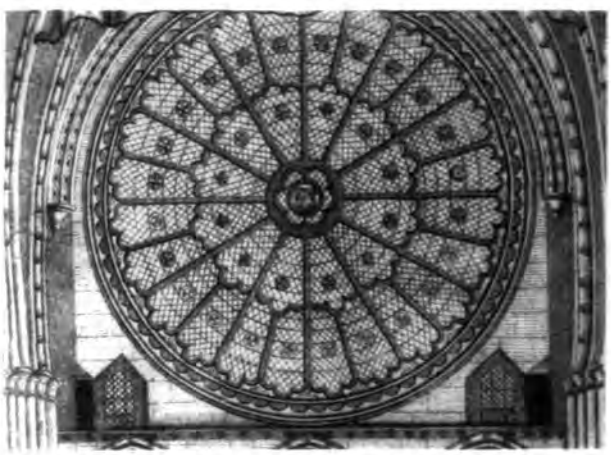
Pl. 53: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, south wall (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail) **Pl. 54:** Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, east wall, interior (Carter 1801, pl. VII) **Pl. 55:** Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, interior looking south-east (E. Blore in Surtees 1816-40, IV)



56



57

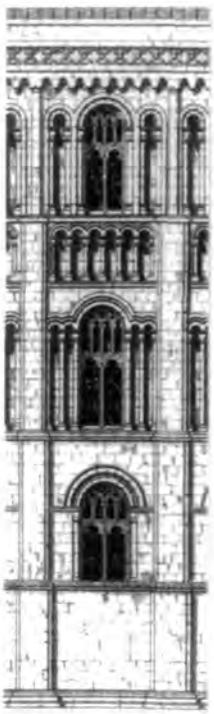


58

Pl. 56: Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, rose window, exterior (Billings 1843, pl. XXI, detail) **Pl. 57:** Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, rose window, interior (Carter 1801, pl. VII, detail) **Pl. 58:** Durham Cathedral, Nine Altars, rose window, interior (Bede 1722, frontispiece, detail)



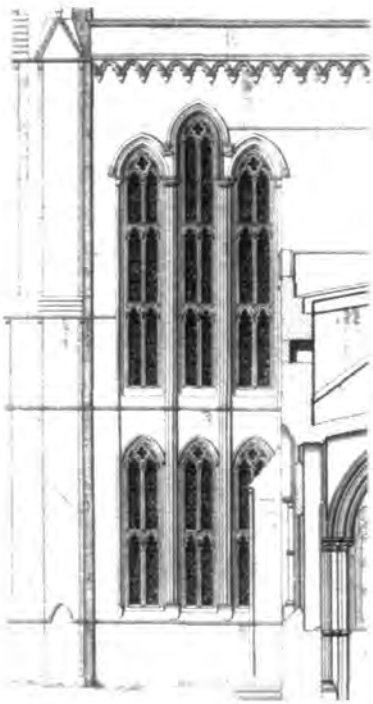
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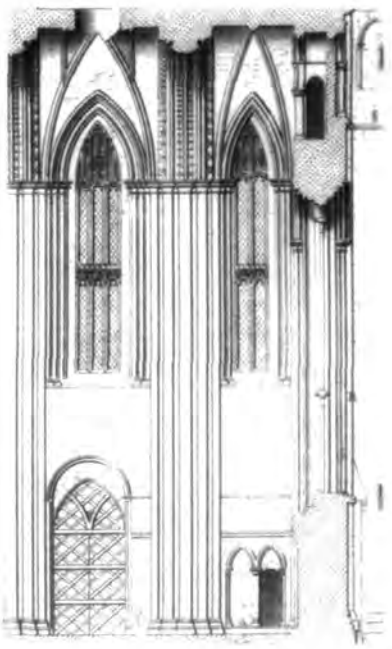
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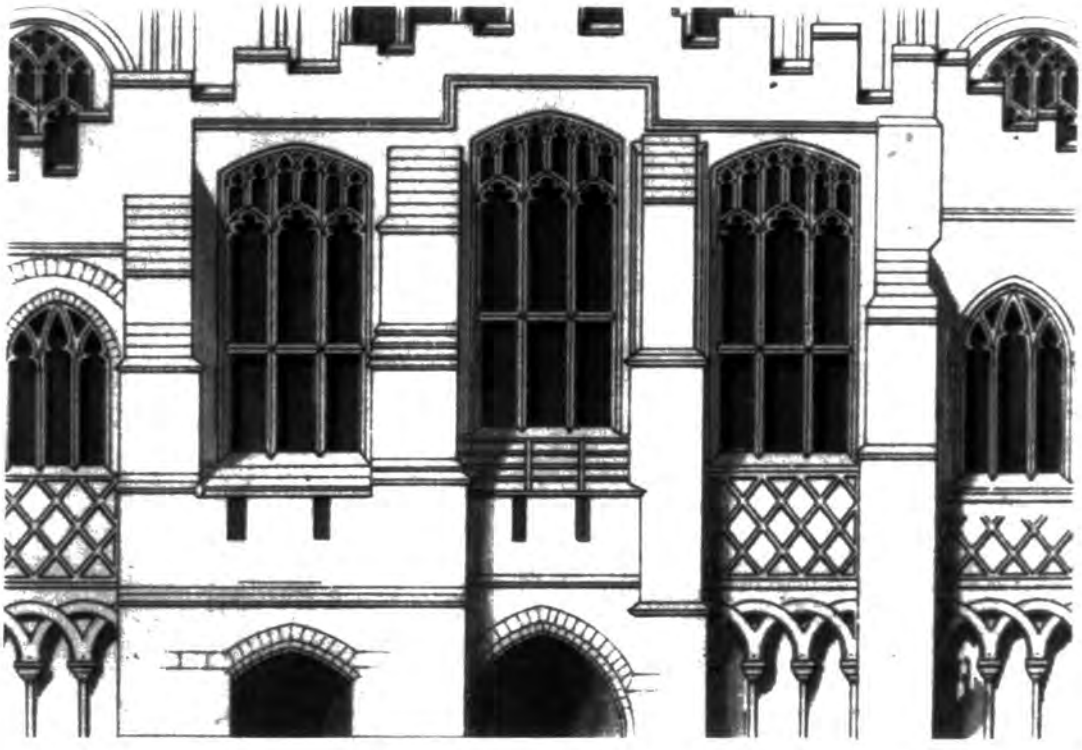


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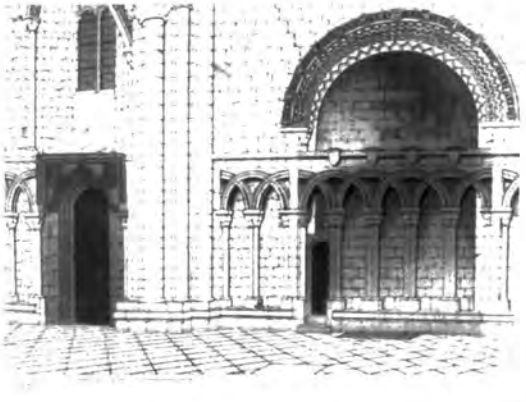


63

Pl. 59: Wells Cathedral, tracery in nave windows (Britton 1836c, Wells, pl. VII) **Pl. 60:** Peterborough Cathedral, tracery in windows of north transept west wall (Britton 1836d, Peterborough, pl. XIV) **Pl. 61:** Winchester Cathedral, tracery in windows of south transept east clerestory (Britton 1836b, Winchester, pl. XXIII) **Pl. 62:** Worcester Cathedral, tracery in lancets of north choir transept west wall (Britton 1836c, Worcester, pl. IX) **Pl. 63:** Peterborough Cathedral, tracery in lancets of west front (Britton 1836d, Peterborough, pl. V)



64

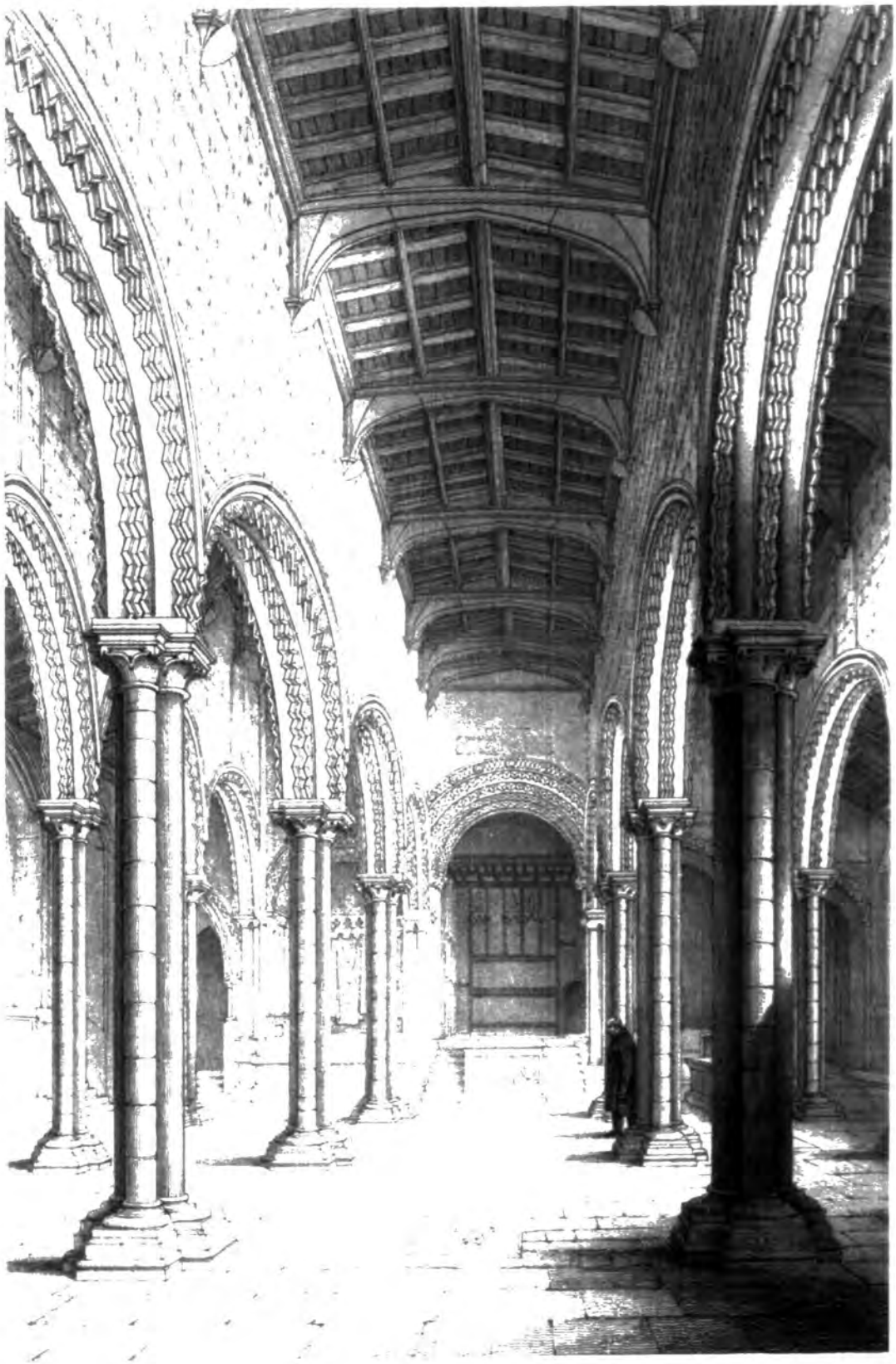


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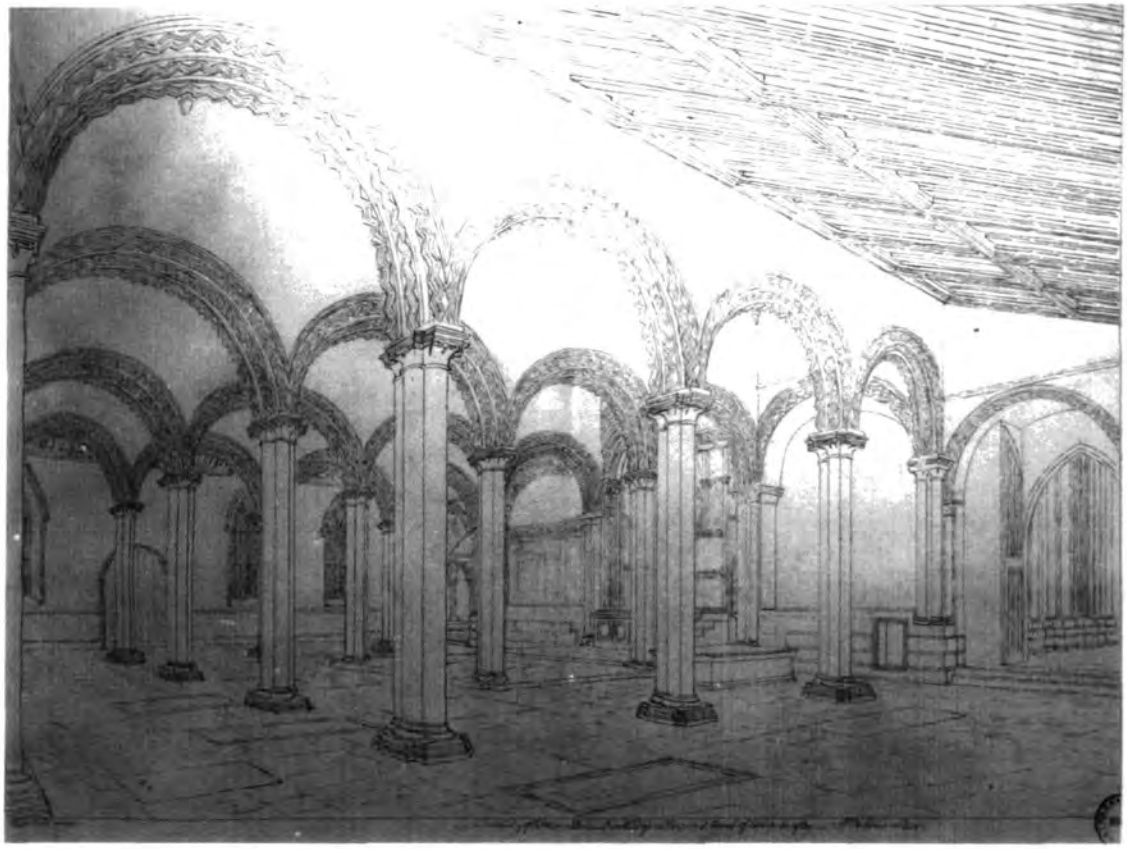


66

Pl. 64: Durham Cathedral, Galilee, west elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XII, detail) **Pl. 65:** Durham Cathedral, west doorway, fifteenth-century blocking, and south Galilee door (Billings 1843, pl. XXXVIII) **Pl. 66:** Durham Cathedral, door from north nave aisle to Galilee (T. Woods)



Pl. 67: Durham Cathedral, Galilee, interior, central aisle looking east (Billings 1843, pl. XXXVI, detail)



68



69



70

Pl. 68: Durham Cathedral, Galilee, interior looking north-east (J. Carter, DCD Lib., drawing (no. 7) dated 1795) **Pl. 69:** Durham Cathedral, Galilee, Langley tomb from west (T. Woods) **Pl. 70:** Durham Cathedral, painting of north side of cathedral as before c. 1650, detail of western part



71



72



73

Pl. 71: Durham Cathedral, north choir aisle, doorway to Sacrist's exchequer (T. Woods) **Pl. 72:** Skirlaw tomb, wall bench (T. Woods) **Pl. 73:** Skirlaw tomb, wall bench, detail (T. Woods)



74



75



76

Pl. 74: Durham Cathedral, dormitory roof above reredorter junction, looking west (T. Woods) **Pl. 75:** Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west wall exterior, offset above reredorter junction **Pl. 76:** Durham Cathedral, dormitory roof, detail (T. Woods)



Pl. 77: Durham Cathedral, dormitory roof looking north (T. Woods)



78

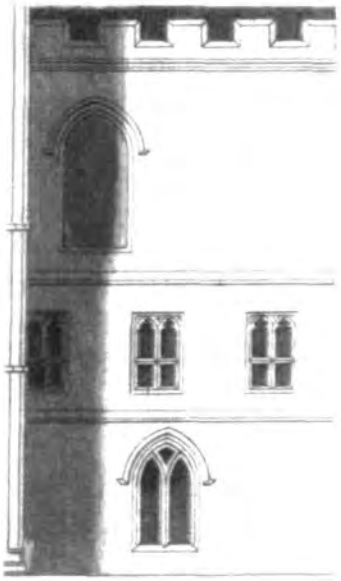


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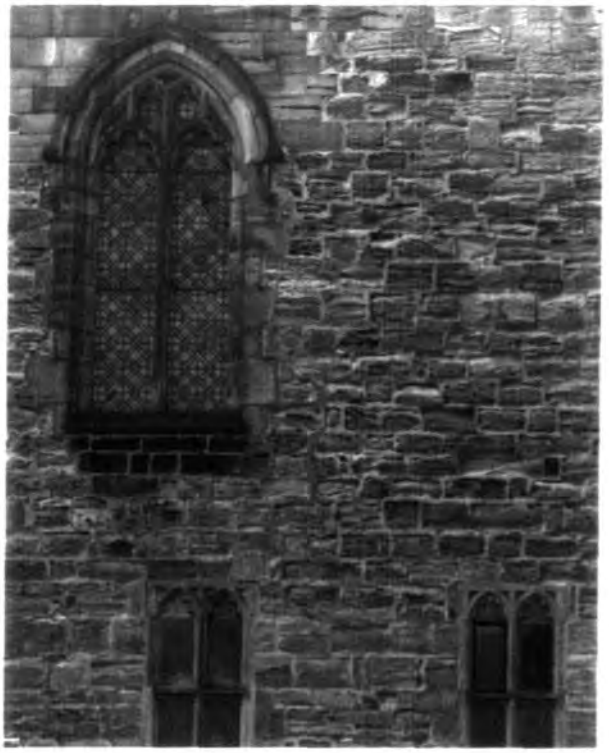


80

Pl. 78: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation **Pl. 79:** Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation (Billings 1846, frontispiece) **Pl. 80:** Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation (Carter 1801, pl. III)



81



82



83



84

Pl. 81: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, west elevation (Billings 1846, pl. XII, detail) **Pl. 82:** Durham Cathedral, dormitory, windows in east wall (T. Woods) **Pl. 83:** Durham Cathedral, dormitory undercroft, doorway in north end of east wall (T. Woods) **Pl. 84:** Durham Cathedral, dormitory undercroft, doorway in south end of east wall (T. Woods)



85



86

Pl. 85: Durham Cathedral, dormitory, corbel in south end of west wall (T. Woods) **Pl. 86:** Durham Cathedral, west window of library, and dormitory, east elevation, north end (Billings 1846, pl. facing 34)



87

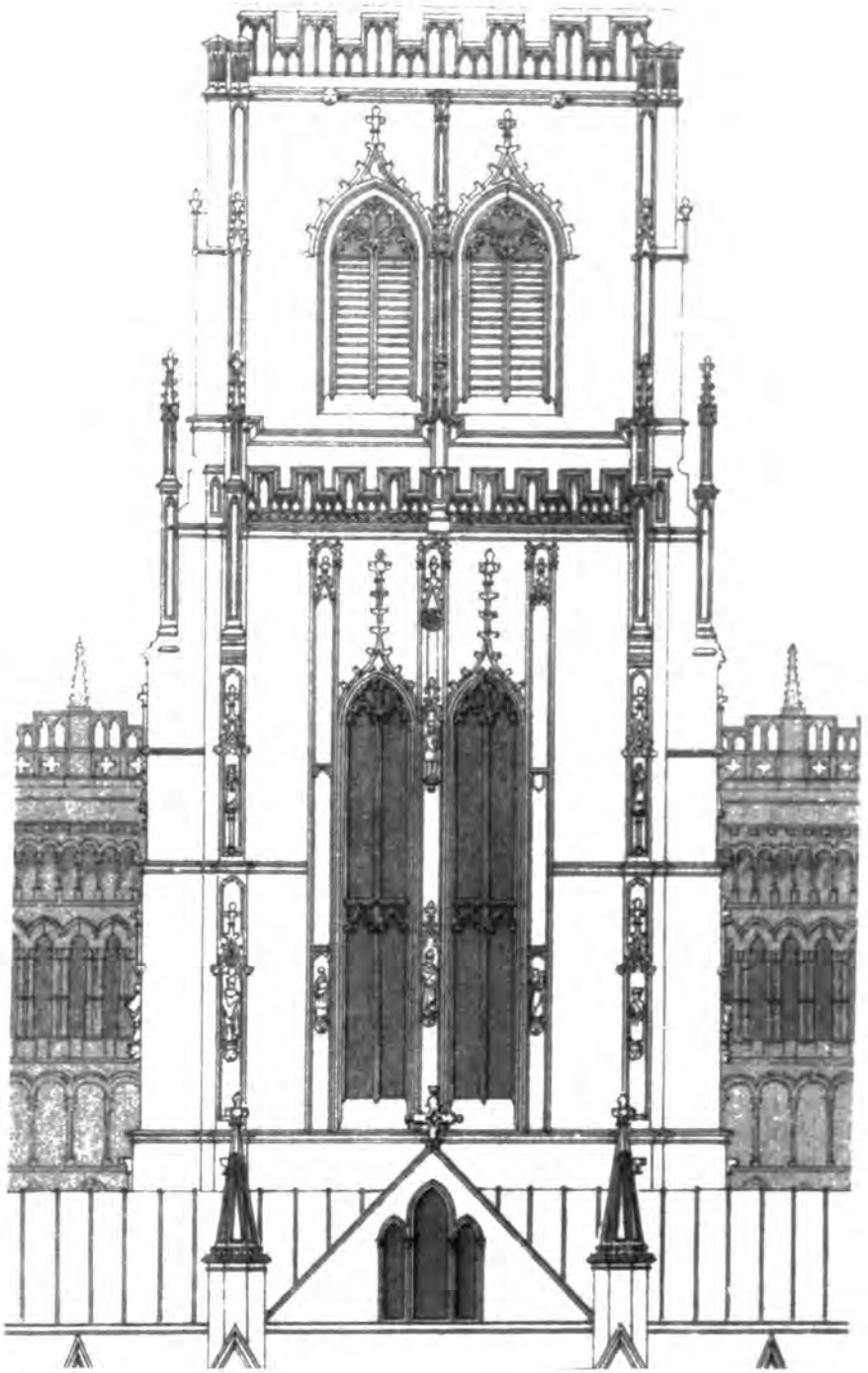


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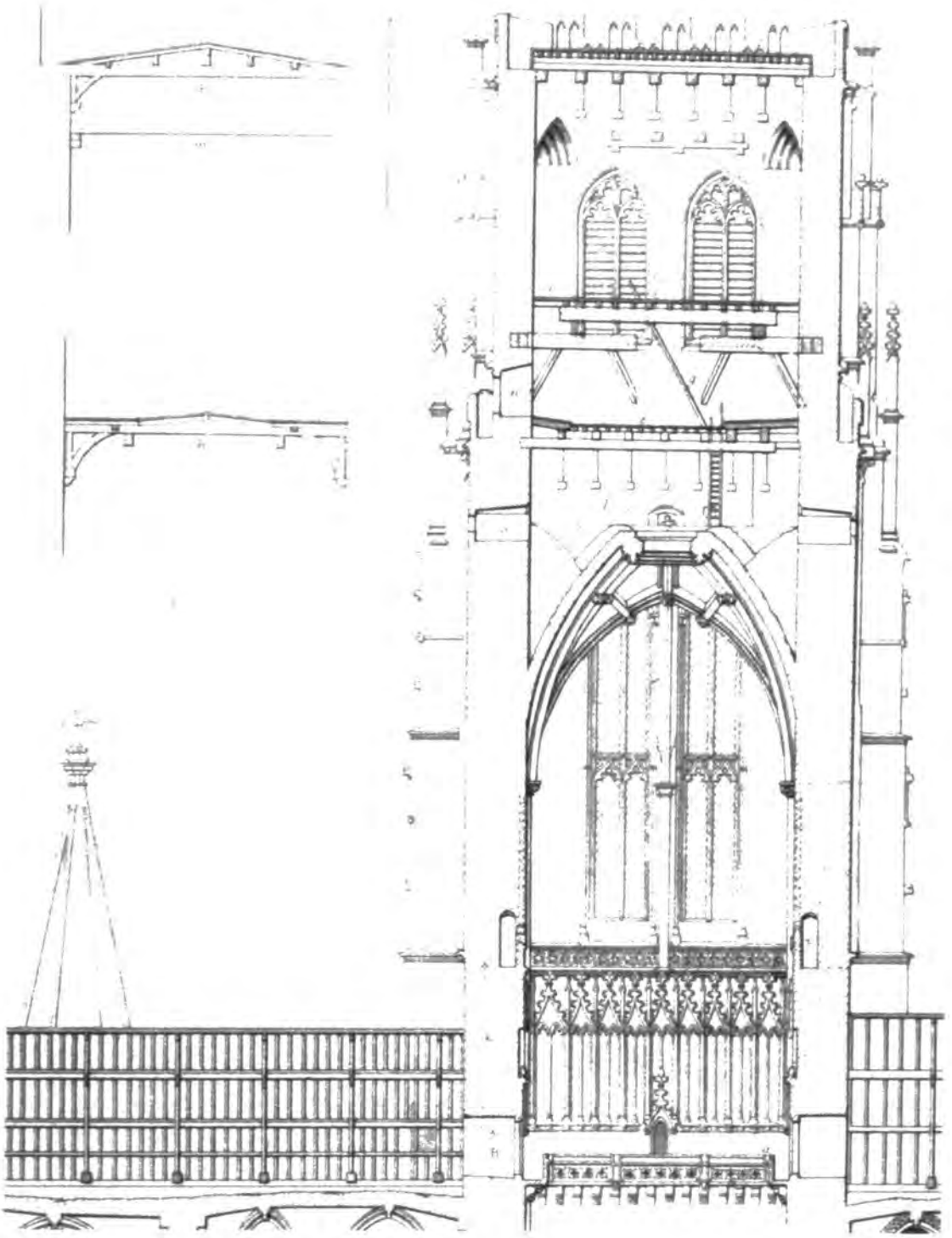


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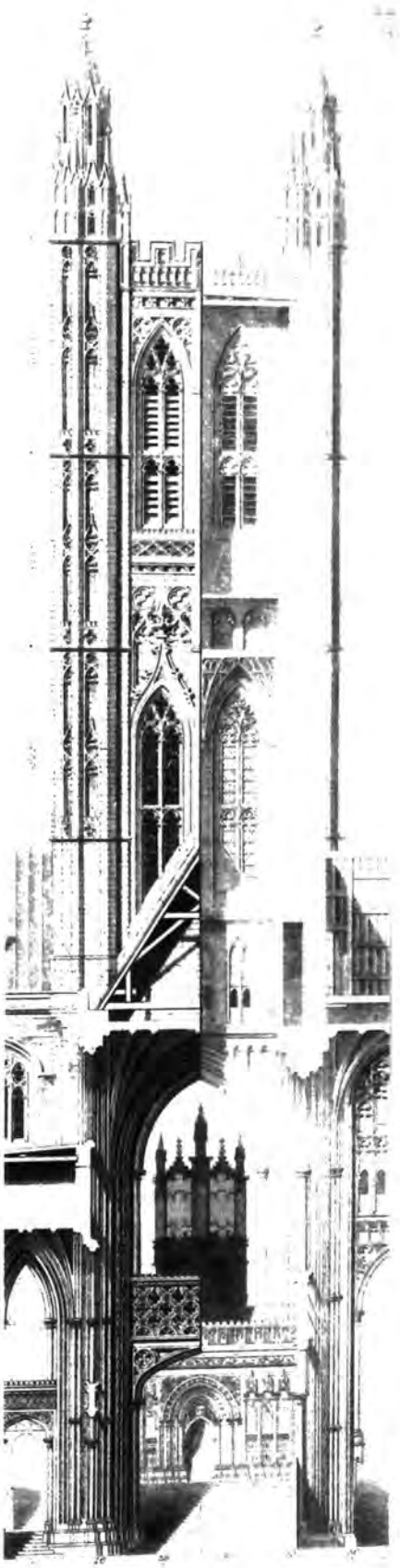
Pl. 87: Durham Cathedral, cloister, east walk, north section **Pl. 88:** Durham Cathedral, cloister lavatory basin, detail (T. Woods) **Pl. 89:** Durham Cathedral, cloister, corner of north and east walks, ceiling (T. Woods)



Pl. 90: Durham Cathedral, central tower, east elevation (Billings 1843, pl. XXI, detail)



Pl. 91: Durham Cathedral, central tower, section north-south (Billings 1843, pl. XV, detail)



Pl. 92: Canterbury Cathedral, central tower (Britton 1836a, Canterbury, pl. IV)



93



94

Pl. 93: Durham Cathedral, central tower showing crown spire proposed by G. G. Scott (DCD Lib., drawing in extra-illustrated copy of Carter 1801) **Pl. 94:** London, Old St Paul's Cathedral, central tower (W. Hollar in Dugdale 1716, pl. following 134)

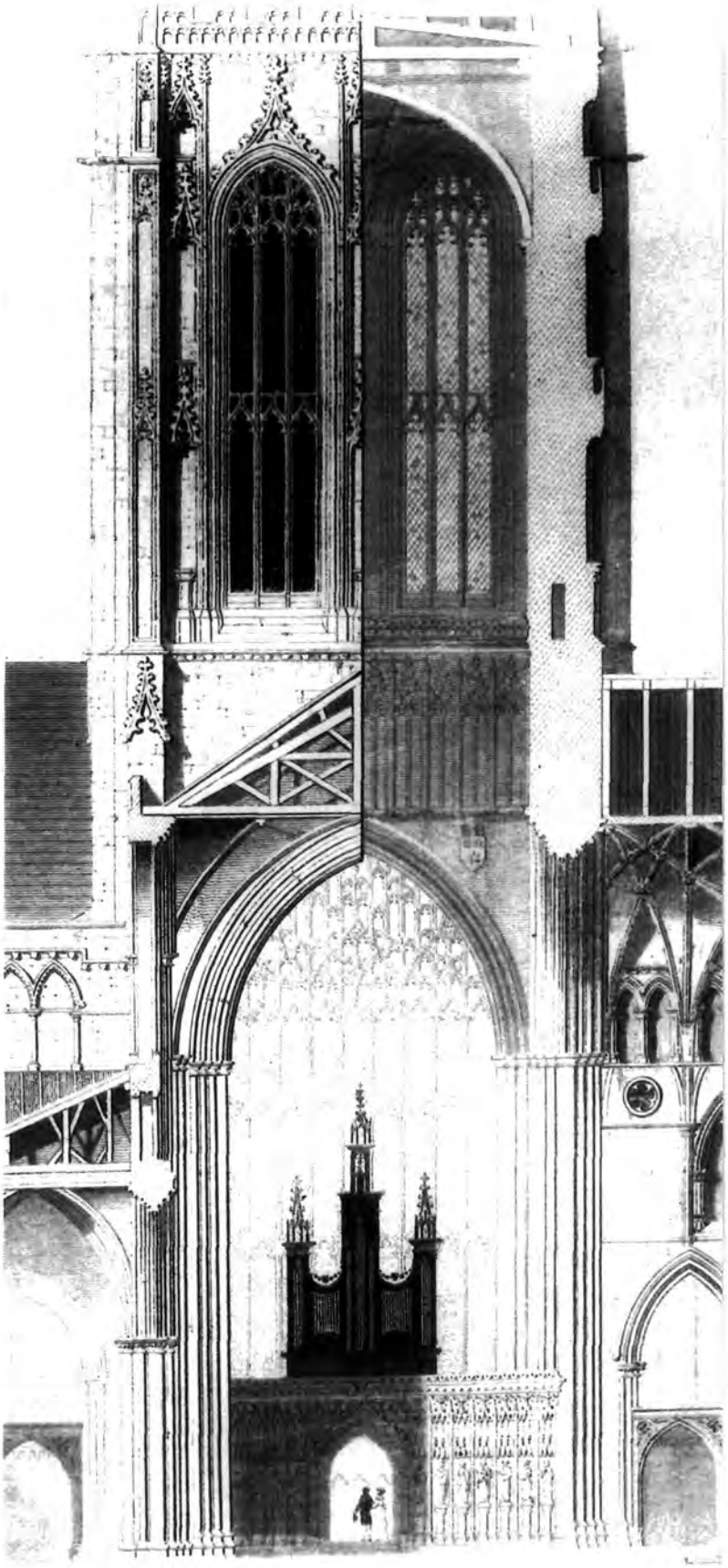


95

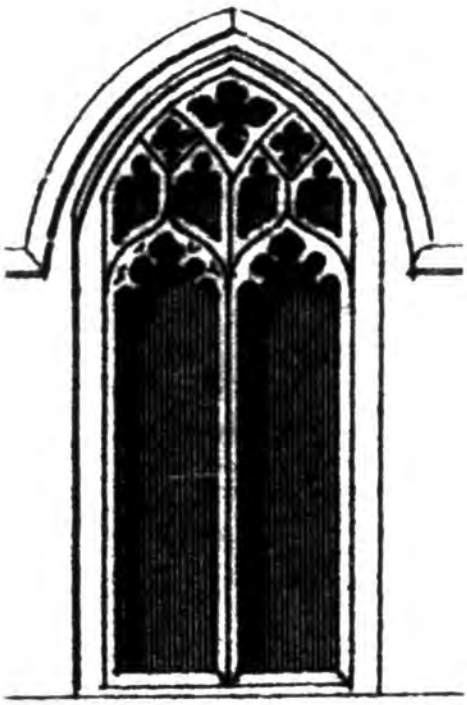


96

Pl. 95: Howden Minster, Yorkshire, central tower **Pl. 96:** Howden Minster, Yorkshire, central tower, vault springers



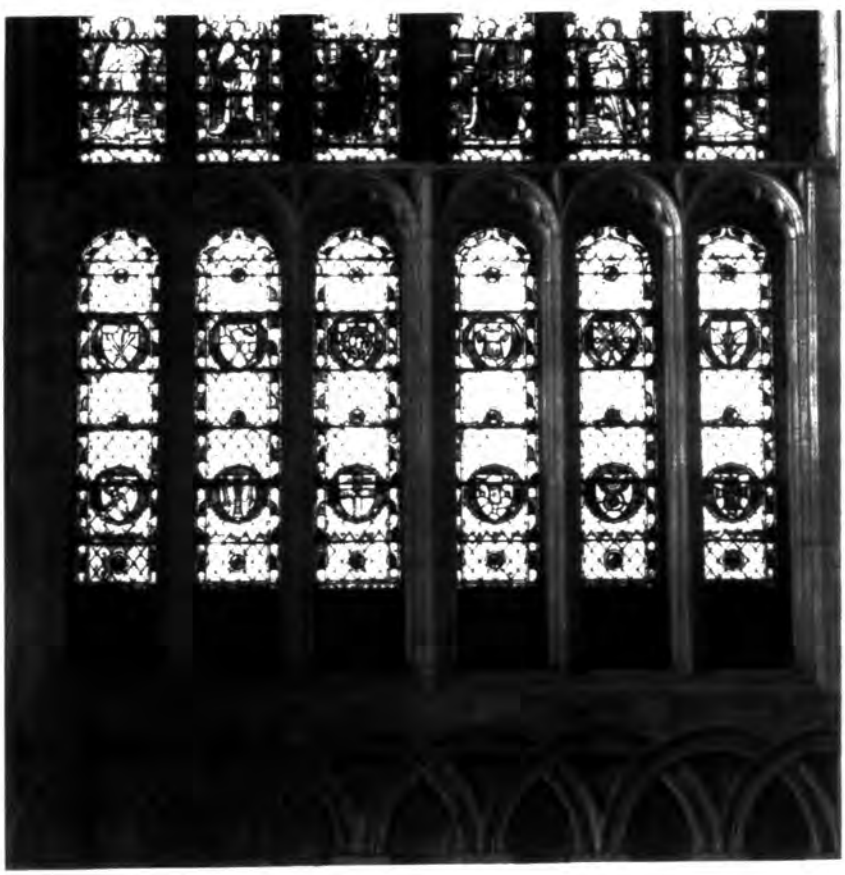
Pl. 97: York Minster, central tower (Britton 1836a, York, pl. XIV)



98



99



100

Pl. 98: Durham Cathedral, nave tracery (Billings 1843, pl. VIII, detail) **Pl. 99:** Ripon Cathedral, Yorkshire, window at east end of south nave aisle **Pl. 100:** Durham Cathedral, window nXV, interior showing transom (T. Woods)



101



102

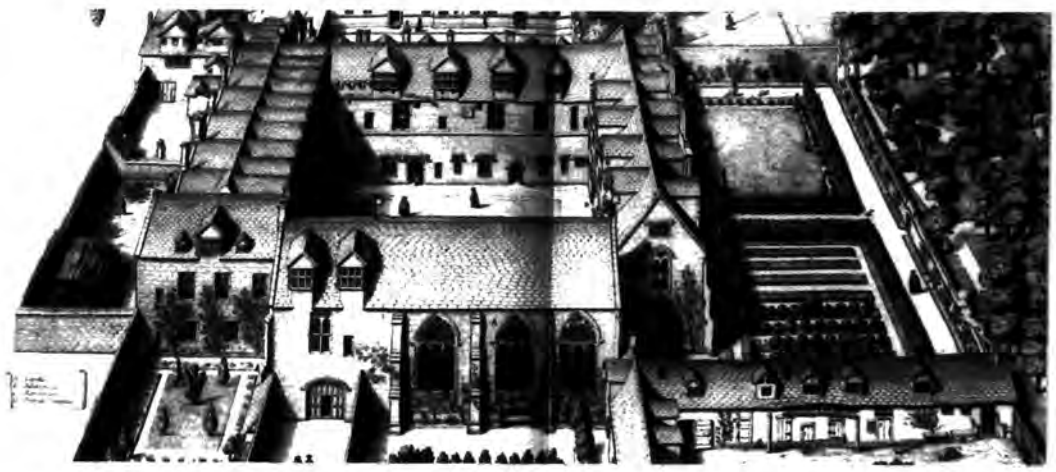


103



104

Pl. 101: Durham Cathedral, prior's lodging, great chamber from south-west **Pl. 102:** Durham Cathedral, gatehouse, vault from west **Pl. 103:** Durham Cathedral, prior's lodging, south window of hall **Pl. 104:** Durham Cathedral, gatehouse and adjacent building from south-west



105

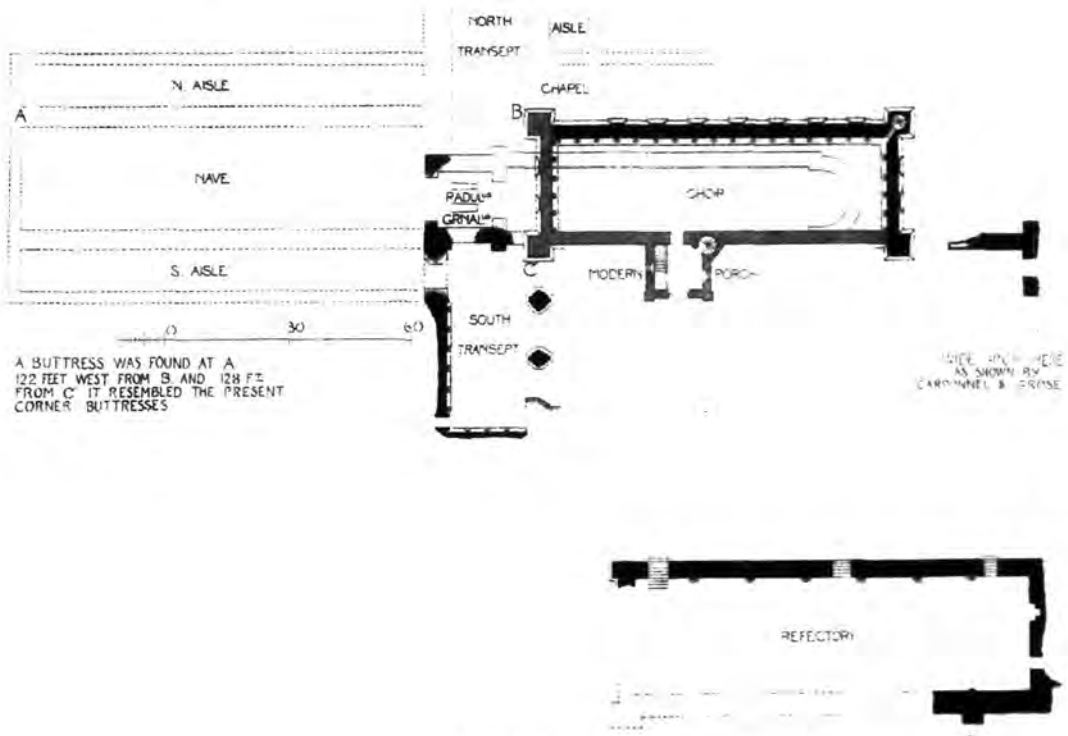


Fig. 397.—Coldingham Priory. Plan.

106

Pl. 105: Oxford, Trinity College (formerly Durham College) from south (Loggan 1675, pl. XXVIII)
Pl. 106: Coldingham Priory, ground-plan (MacGibbon and Ross 1896, 438, fig. 397)



107

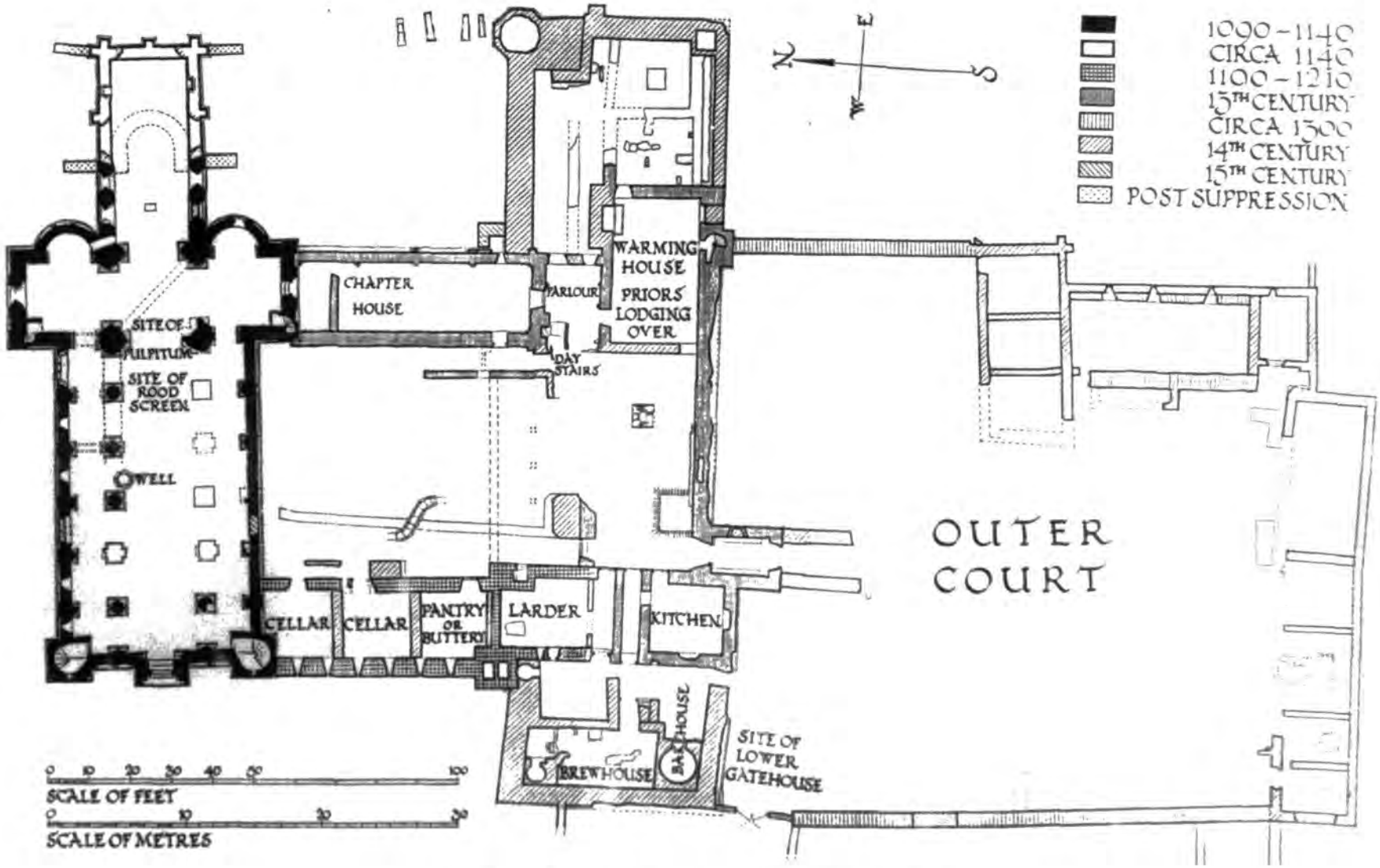


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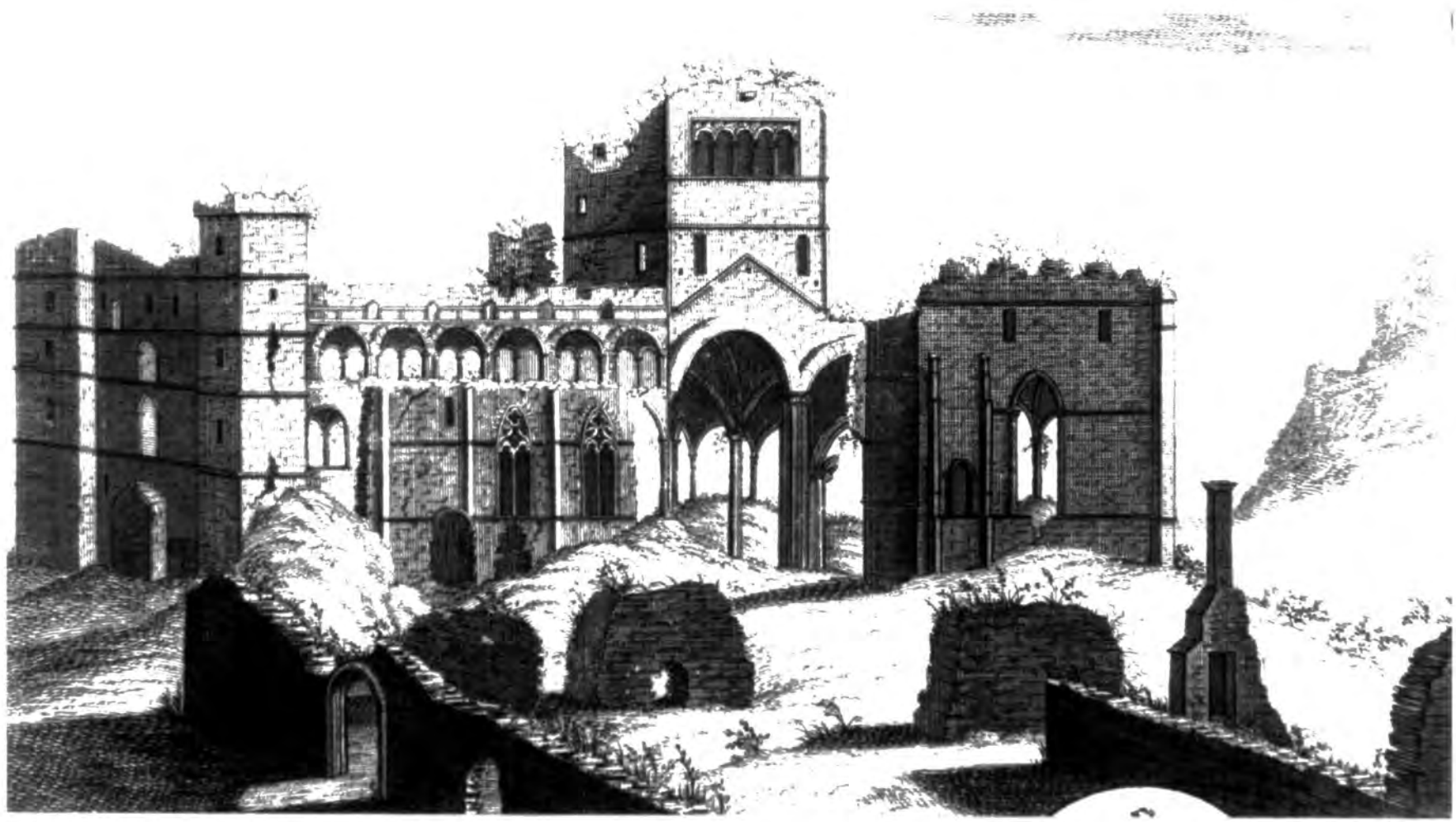


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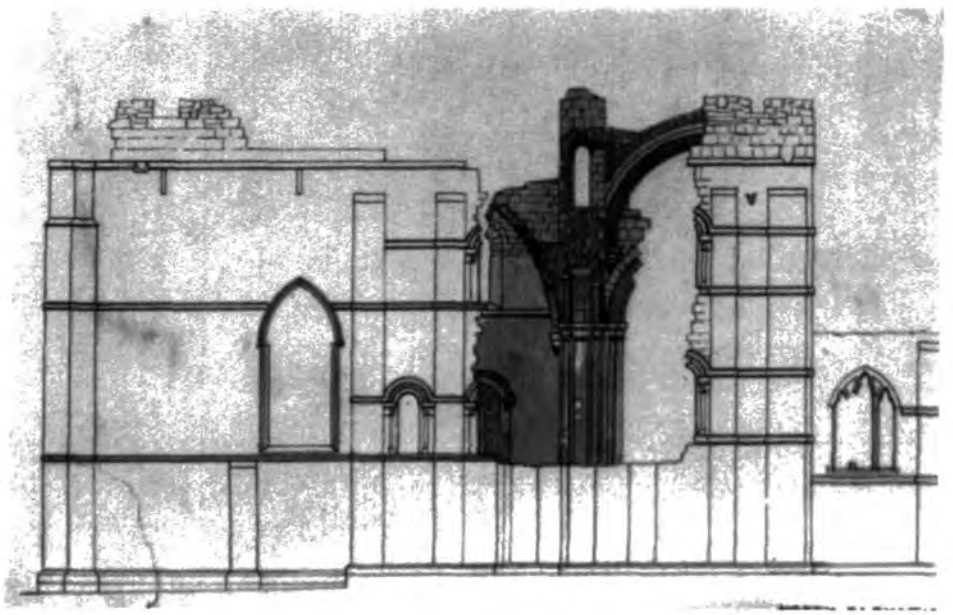
Pl. 107: Coldingham, choir from north-east **Pl. 108:** Coldingham, remains of south transept from north-east **Pl. 109:** Coldingham, remains of undercroft south of choir, from south-east



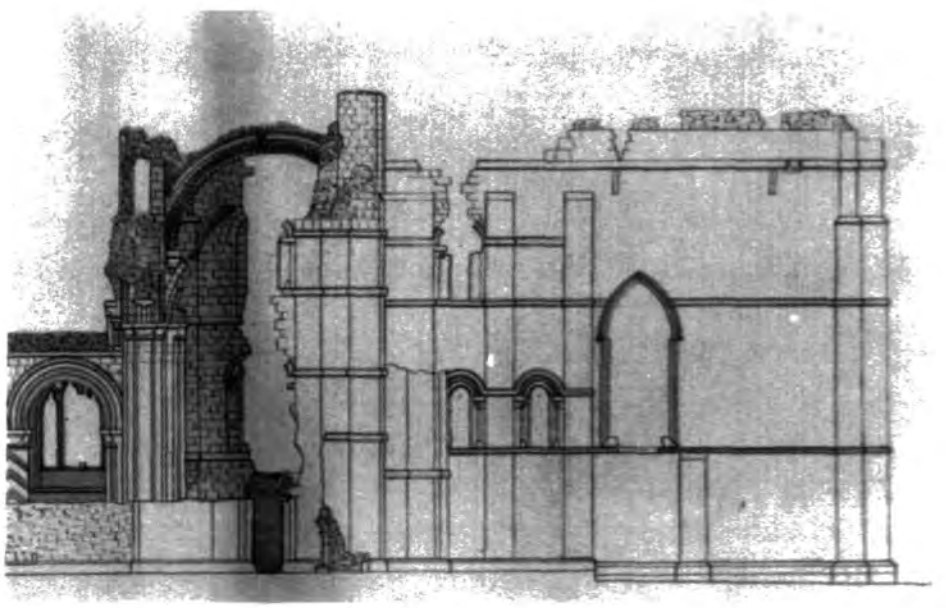
Pl. 110: Holy Island priory, ground-plan (Thompson 1949)



Pl. 111: Holy Island priory from south-west, 1728 (S. and N. Buck)



112



113

Pl. 112: Holy Island, north elevation of choir, c. 1850-5 (A. Salvin, London, RIBA Library, drawing no. Y6/57/2, detail) **Pl. 113:** Holy Island, south elevation of choir, c. 1850-5 (A. Salvin, London, RIBA Library, drawing no. Y6/57/2, detail)



114



115

Pl. 114: Holy Island, church from south, fair copy, dated 1778 (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 186)
Pl. 115: Holy Island, part of church from south c. 1778, sketch, detail (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 196)



116



117



118



119

Pl. 116: Holy Island, east window of north nave aisle **Pl. 117:** Holy Island, window in north wall of choir **Pl. 118:** Holy Island, window in south wall of choir **Pl. 119:** Holy Island, window in north wall of choir, interior



120



121

Pl. 120: Holy Island, outer court from north-west **Pl. 121:** Holy Island, church and precinct wall from south-east



122



123



124

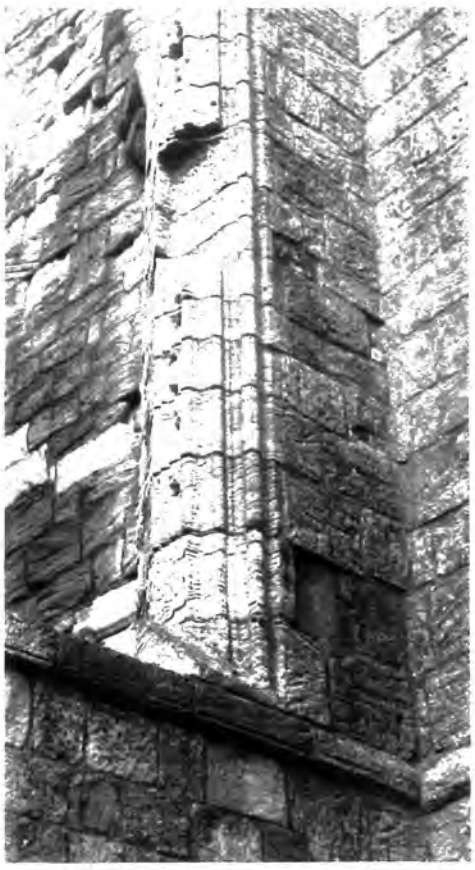


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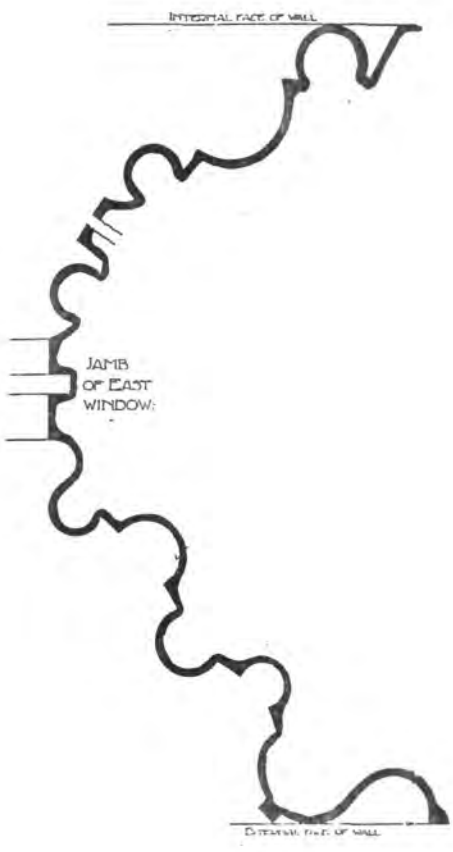
Pl. 122: Holy Island, prior's lodging, chimney-block from south-east **Pl. 123:** Holy Island, fortifications, angle bartizan east of prior's lodging from south **Pl. 124:** Holy Island, west front, exterior (Billings 1846, pl. following 52, detail) **Pl. 125:** Holy Island, west front, interior (Billings 1846, pl. following 52, detail)



126



127



128

Pl. 126: Holy Island, windows in south wall of nave, sketch (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 196, detail) **Pl. 127:** Holy Island, east window, north jamb from south-east **Pl. 128:** Holy Island, east window, jamb moulding (after Owen 1903)

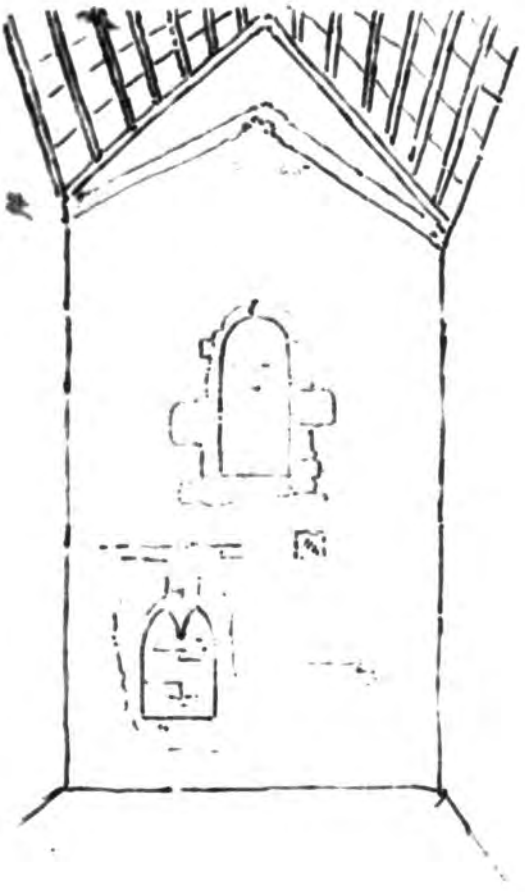


129



130

Pl. 129: Farne Island, remains of cell from south-east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 97) **Pl. 130:** Farne Island, remains from east (Raine 1852, 360)



131



132



133

Pl. 131: Farne Island, chapel, west wall, interior, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 94) **Pl. 132:** Farne Island, chapel, west wall, exterior, south part **Pl. 133:** Farne Island, chapel, from south-east



134



135



136



137

Pl. 134: Farne Island, chapel, south wall, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 95) **Pl. 135:** Farne Island, chapel, south wall, eastern window **Pl. 136:** Farne Island, chapel, doorway at west end of south wall **Pl. 137:** Durham Cathedral, door in south choir aisle (T. Woods)



138



139

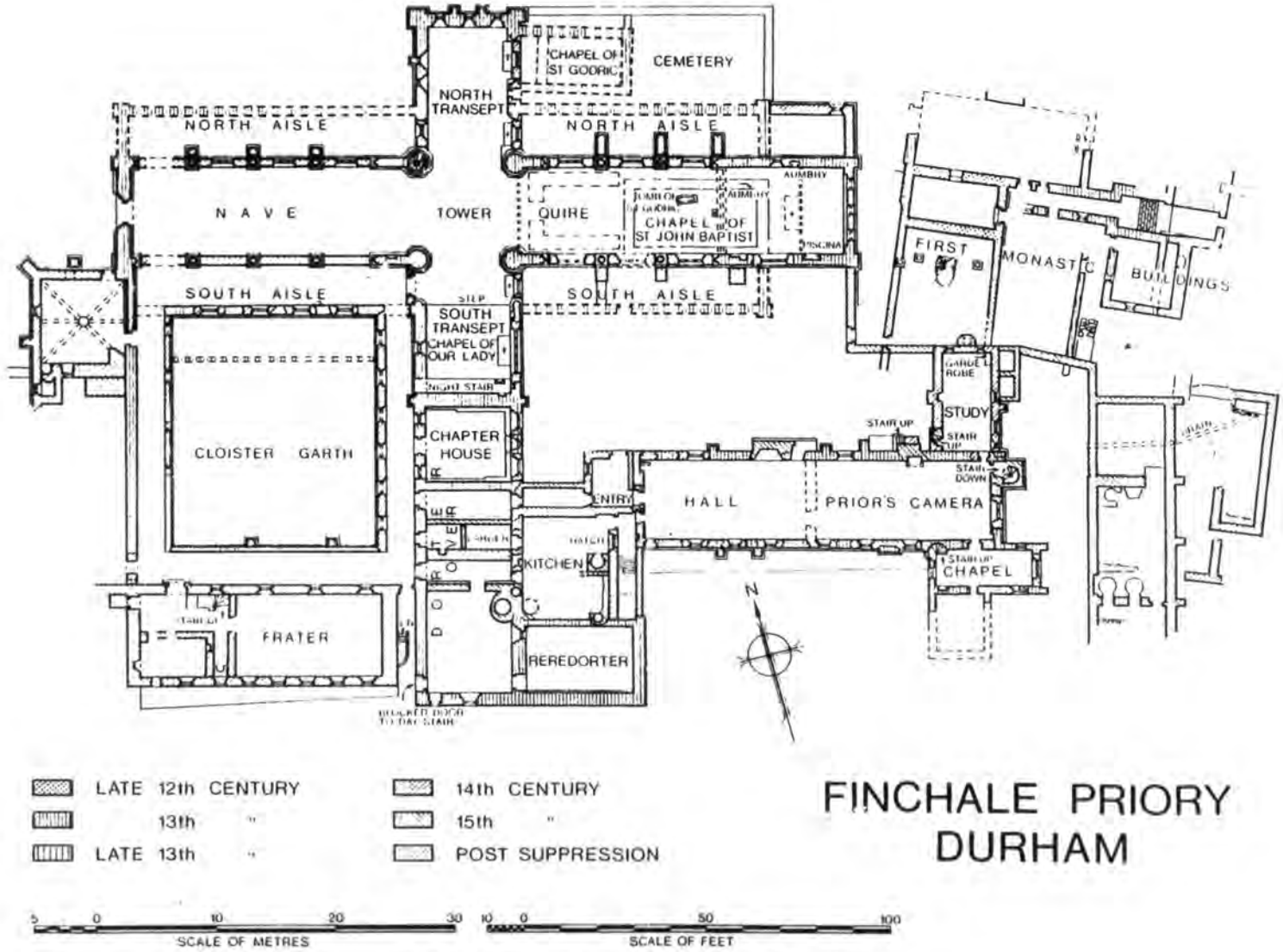


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141

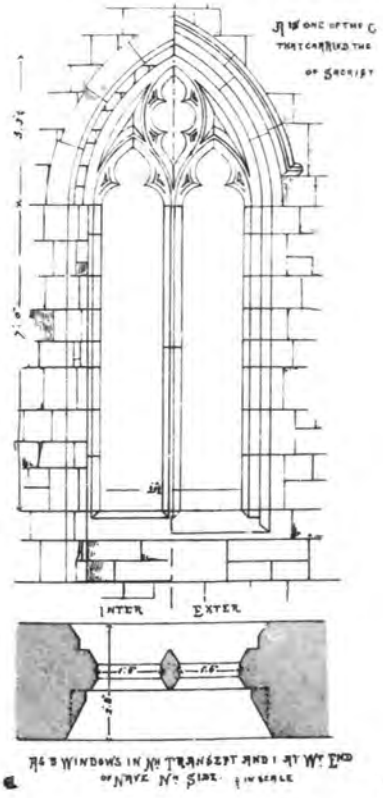
Pl. 138: Farne Island, chapel, east wall, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15543, no. 96) **Pl. 139:** Farne Island, chapel, east window **Pl. 140:** Farne Island, tower house from south-east **Pl. 141:** Farne Island, tower house from south-west



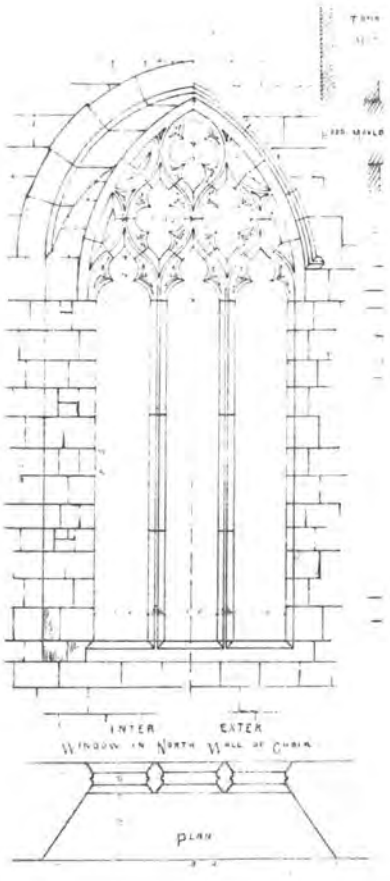
Pl. 142: Finchale priory, ground-plan (Peers 1973)



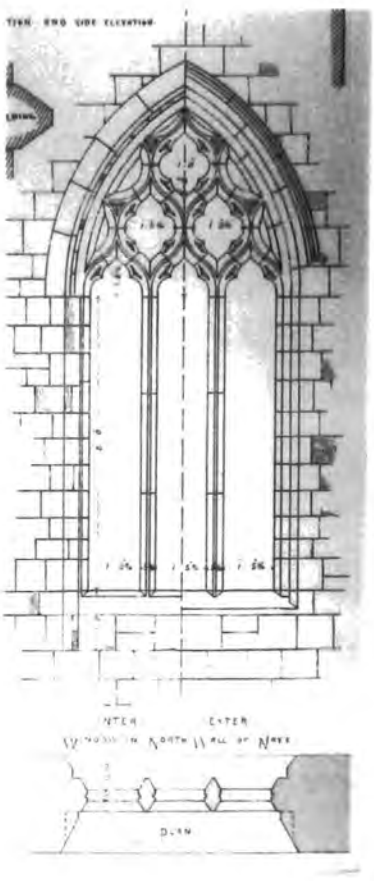
143



144



145

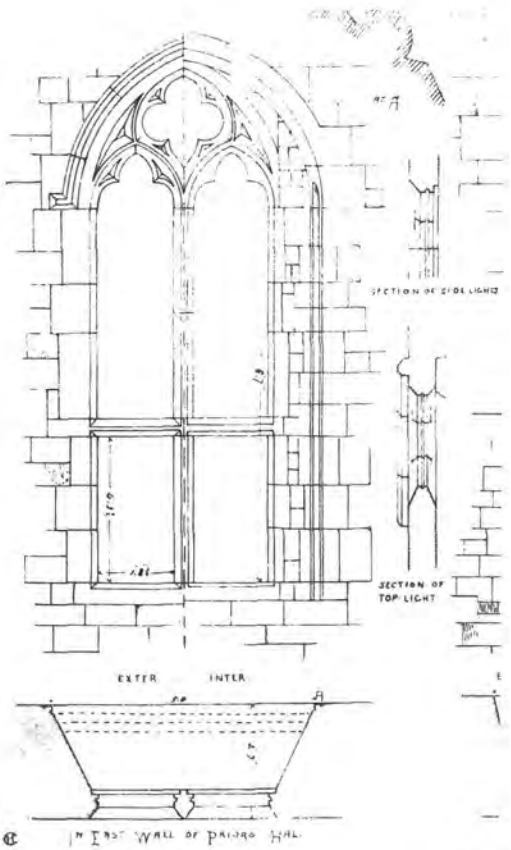


146

Pl. 143: Finchale, north cloister arcade, from south **Pl. 144:** Finchale, tracery in west bay of north nave arcade (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 29) **Pl. 145:** Finchale, choir, north arcade, tracery (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 24) **Pl. 146:** Finchale, nave, north arcade, tracery (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 24)



147

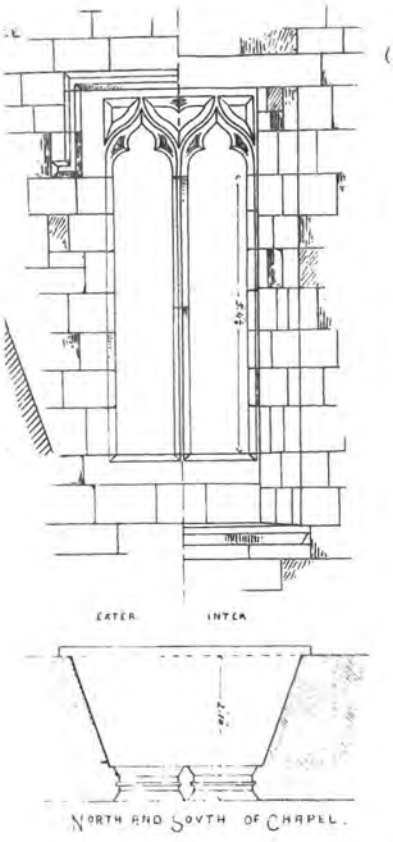


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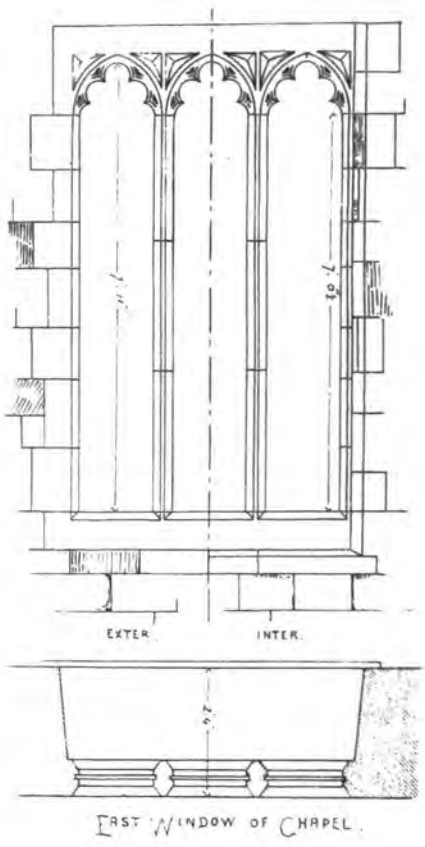


149

Pl. 147: Finchale, tracery in blocking of west end of south choir aisle **Pl. 148:** Finchale, prior's lodging, great chamber, east window, tracery (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30) **Pl. 149:** Finchale, prior's lodging, great chamber, east window, from west



150



151

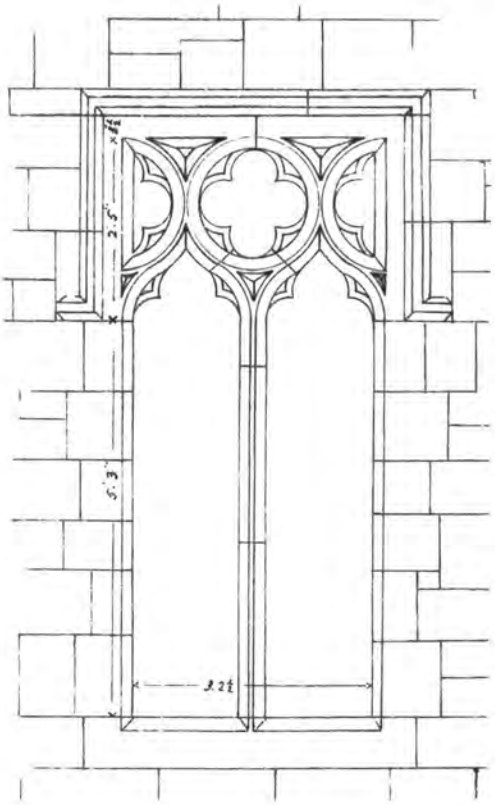


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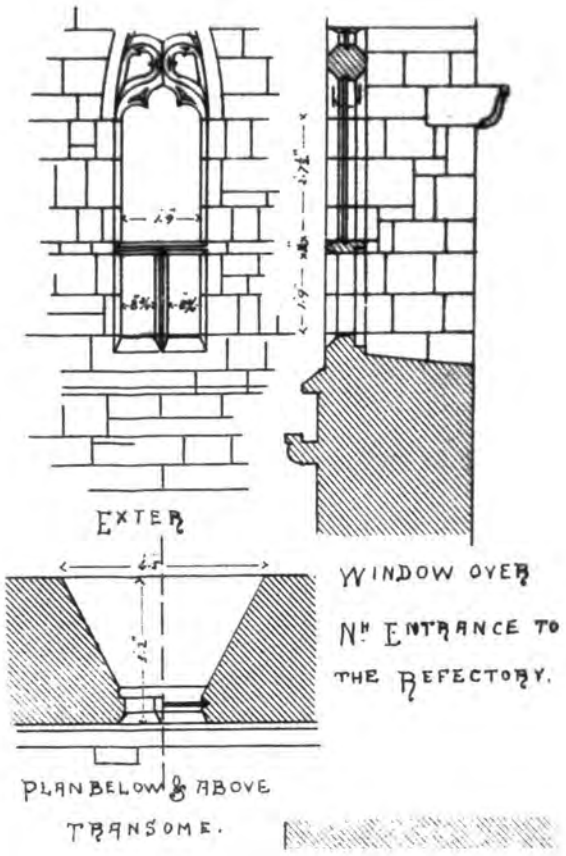


153

Pl. 150: Finchale, prior's chapel, south window (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30) **Pl. 151:** Finchale, prior's chapel, east window (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30) **Pl. 152:** Finchale, chamber north-west of cloisters from north **Pl. 153:** Finchale, chamber north-west of cloisters, junction with church, from east



154



155



156

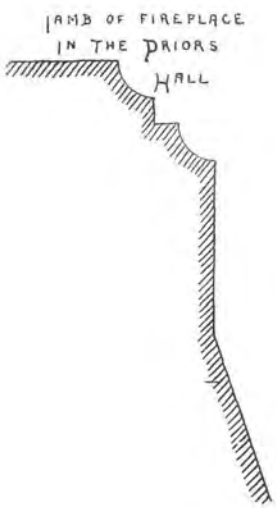


157

Pl. 154: Finchale, chamber north-west of cloisters, tracery in north wall (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 29)
Pl. 155: Finchale, refectory, window above doorway from cloisters (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30)
Pl. 156: Finchale, possible remains of structure outside west door of church, from north-west
Pl. 157: Finchale, tracery fragment, perhaps from window in north transept north wall



158



159

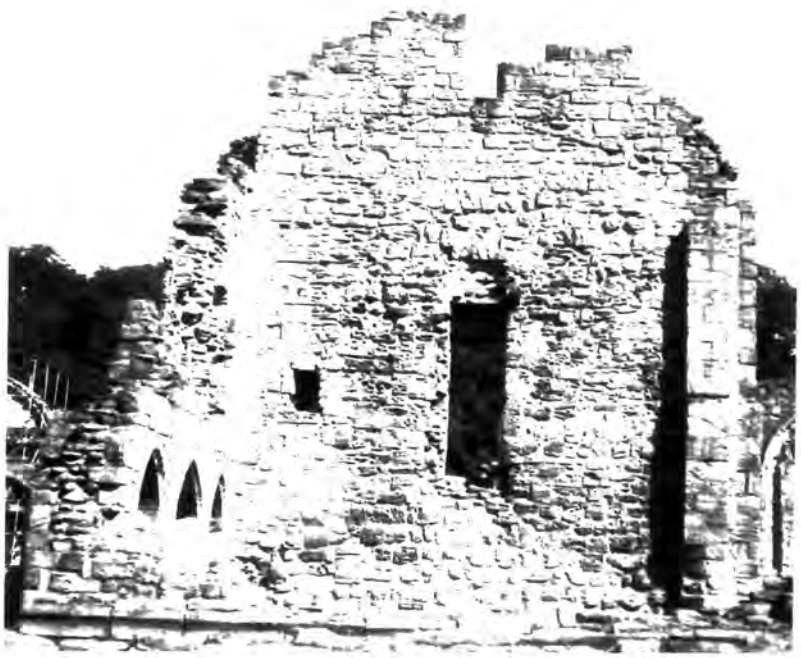


160

Pl. 158: Finchale, prior's hall, inserted chimney-breast, from south-west **Pl. 159:** Finchale, prior's hall, jamb of fireplace (Perry and Henman 1867, pl. 30) **Pl. 160:** Finchale, prior's hall, doorway of porch, west jamb

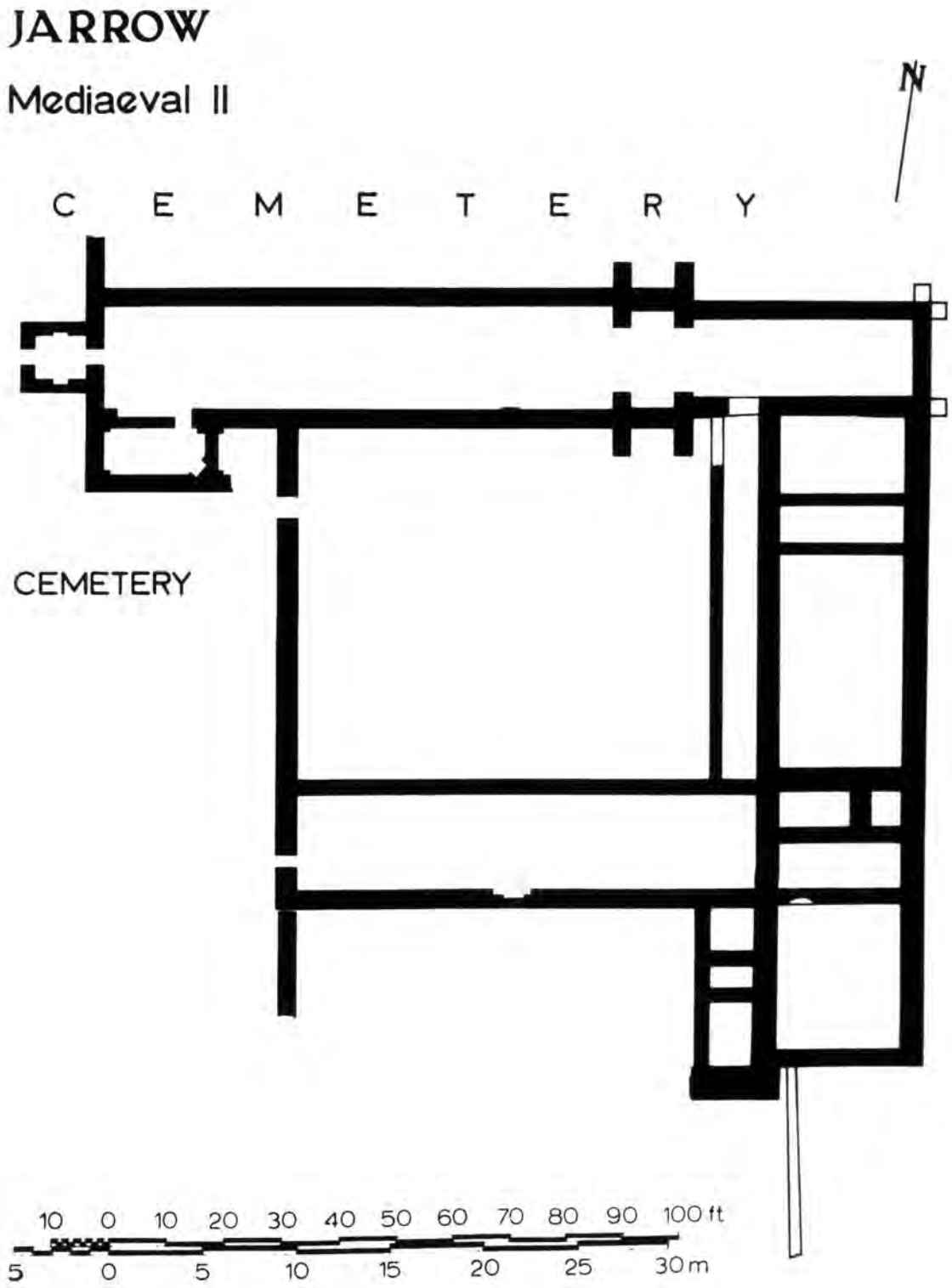


161

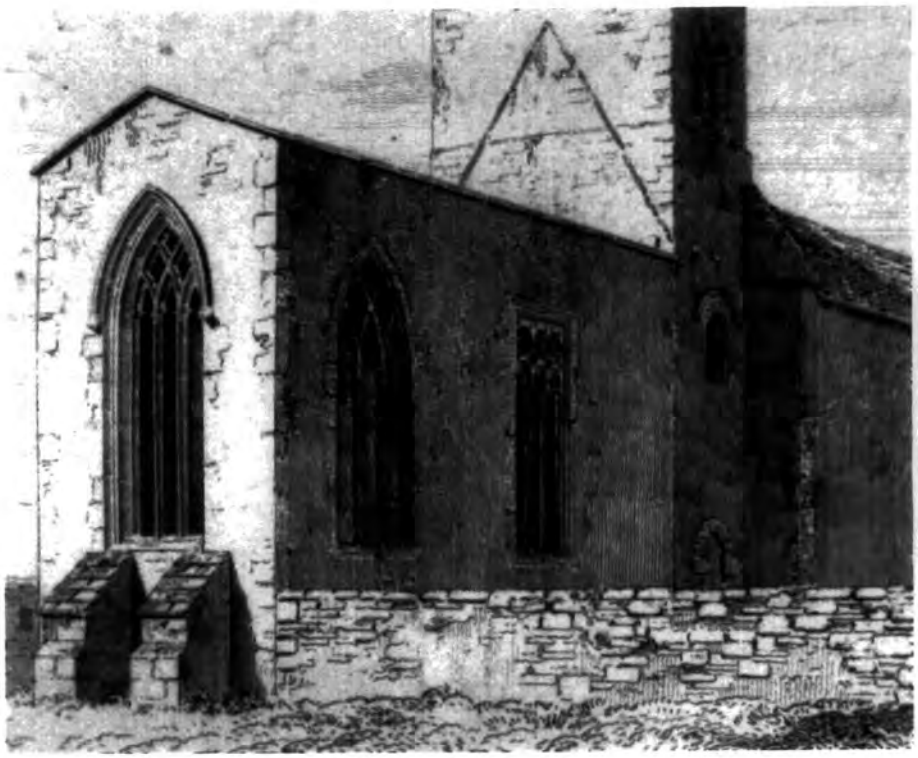


162

Pl. 161: Finchale, prior's hall, inserted windows in south wall **Pl. 162:** Finchale, roof-line of north end of dormitory, from south



Pl. 163: Jarrow, ground-plan (Cramp 1976a, 227, fig. 32)



164



165

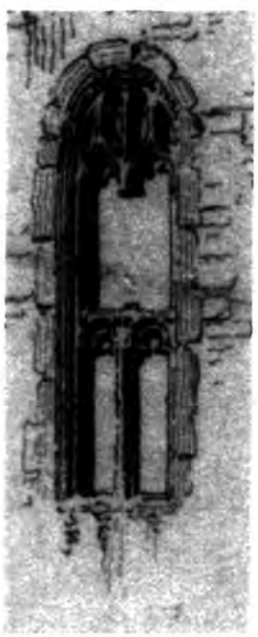
Pl. 164: Jarrow, chancel from north-east (E. Blore in Surtees 1816-40, II, facing 67) **Pl. 165:** Jarrow, north wall, central window



166



167



168



169

Pl. 166: Jarrow, window in west end of north wall (Hodgson 1906-11b, pl. IX following 136) **Pl. 167:** Jarrow, chancel, window in west end of south wall **Pl. 168:** Jarrow, west gable of south range (E. Blore in Surtees 1816-40, II, pl. facing 67) **Pl. 169:** Beverley Minster, lowest tier of wall arcading of west front, from north



170

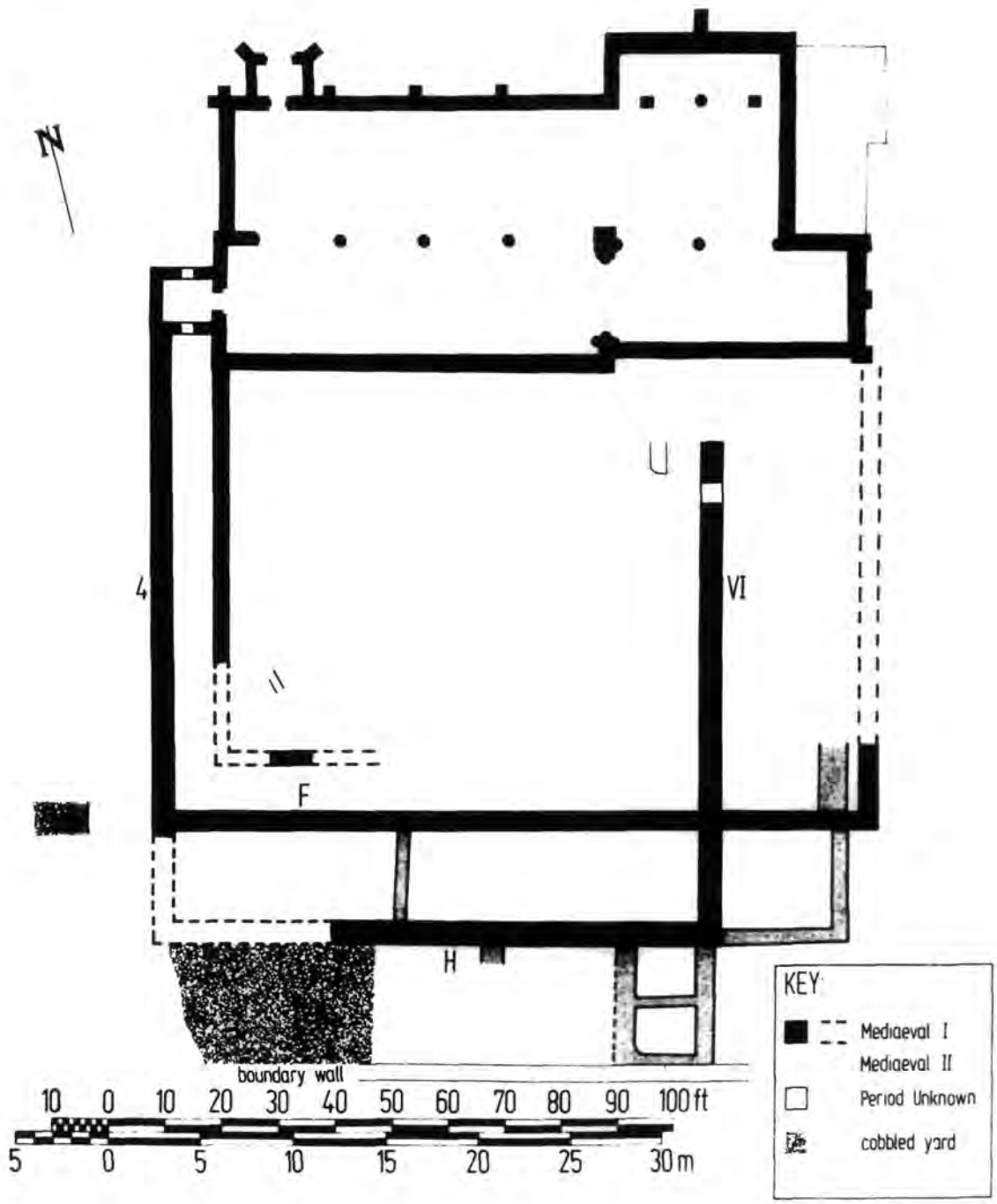


171

Pl. 170: Jarrow, reconstruction of excavated tracery fragments from east range (K. McBarron) **Pl. 171:** Jarrow, view from south-west (S. and N. Buck, 1728)

MONKWEARMOUTH

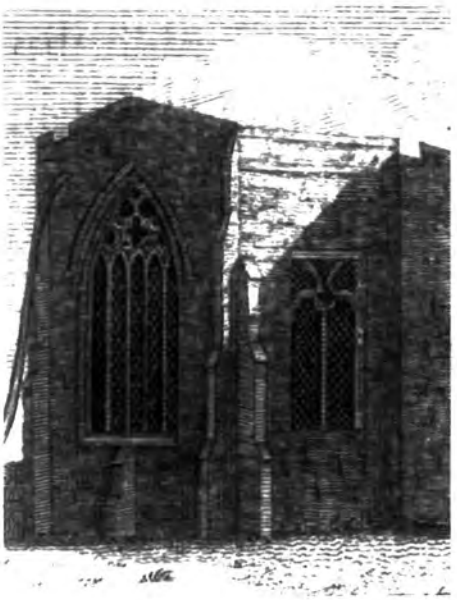
Mediaeval I
Mediaeval II



Pl. 172: Monkwearmouth, ground-plan (Cramp 1976b, 236, fig. 35)



173



174

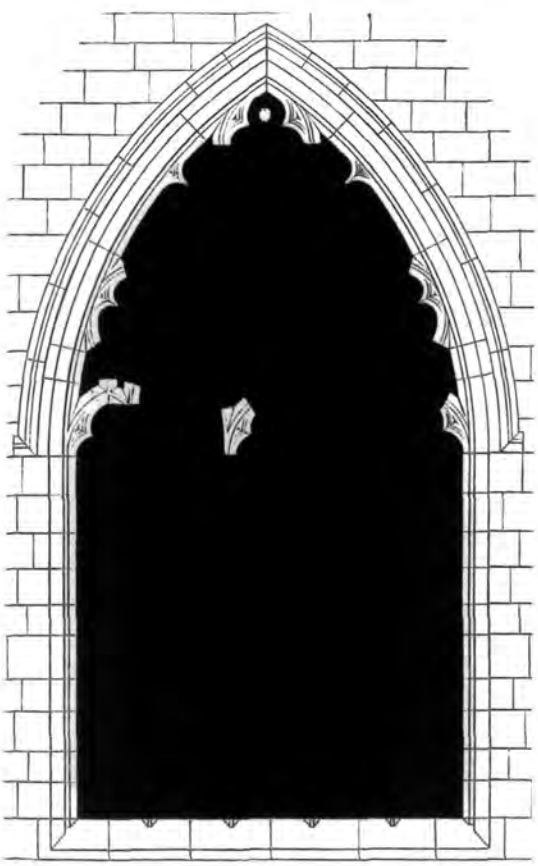
Pl. 173: Monkwearmouth, chancel from south-east **Pl. 174:** Monkwearmouth, chancel from north-east (Hutchinson 1785-94, II, fig. on 501)



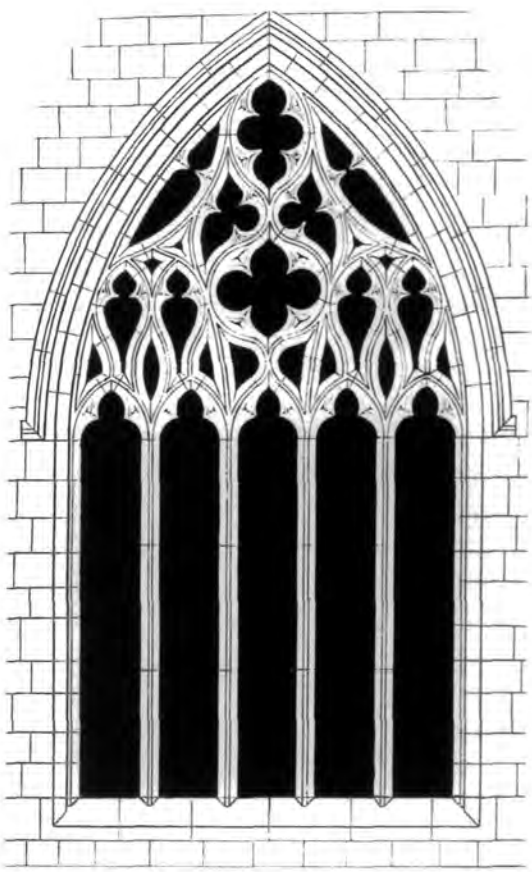
175



176



177



178

Pl. 175: Monkwearmouth, windows in south wall of chancel **Pl. 176:** Monkwearmouth chancel, east window **Pl. 177:** Monkwearmouth, chancel, remains of east window tracery (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. facing 78) **Pl. 178:** Monkwearmouth, chancel, reconstruction of east window tracery (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. facing 79)



179

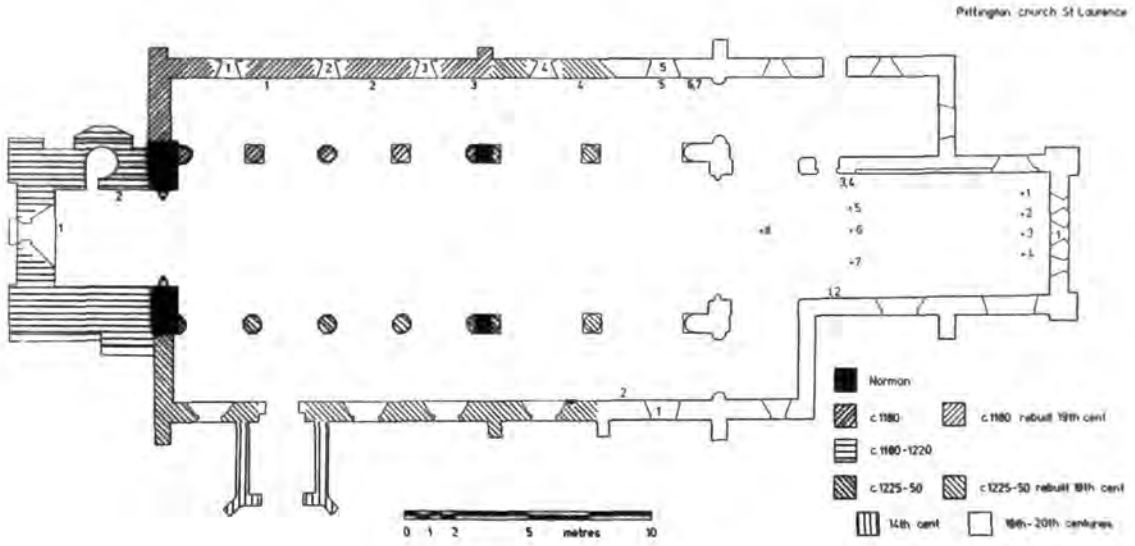


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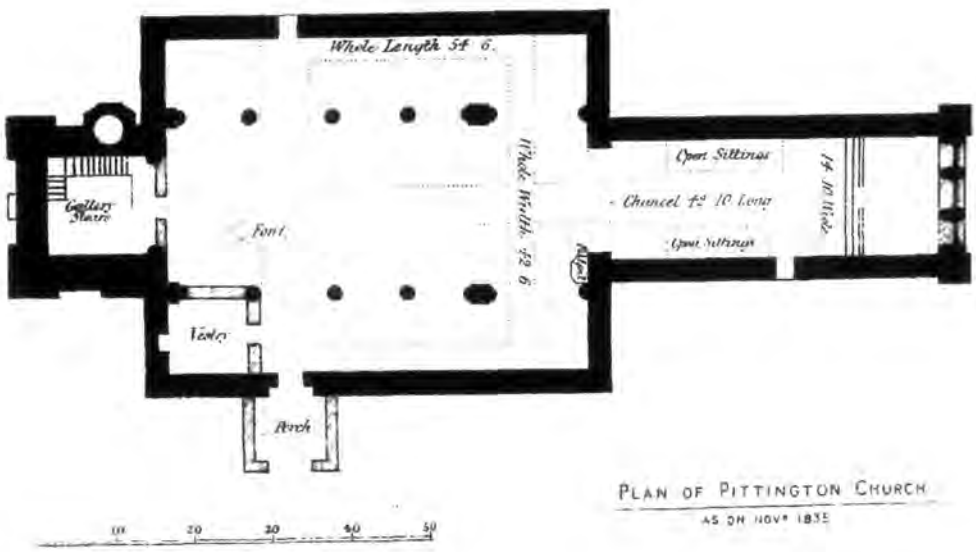


181

Pl. 179: Dalton-le-Dale, chancel from south-east **Pl. 180:** Bishop Middleham, chancel from south-east
Pl. 181: Pittington, church from south before restoration (Barmby 1880-9, pl. following 32)

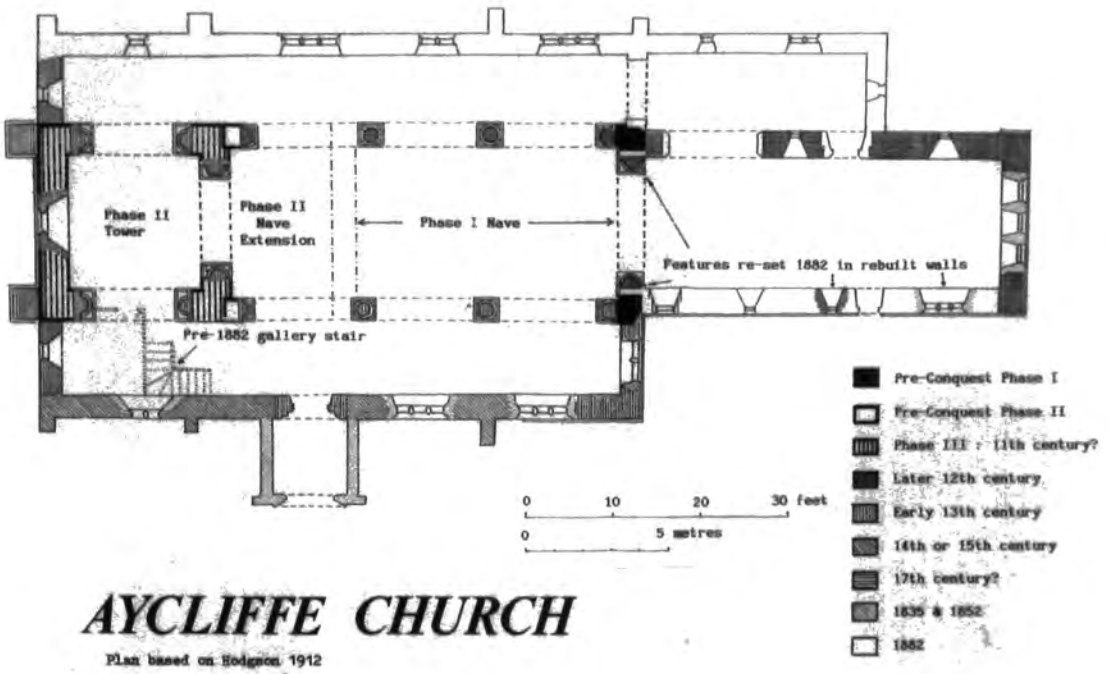


182



183

Pl. 182: Pittington, ground-plan as existing (Clack 1978) **Pl. 183:** Pittington, ground-plan before restoration (Barmby 1880-9, fig. facing 32)



184

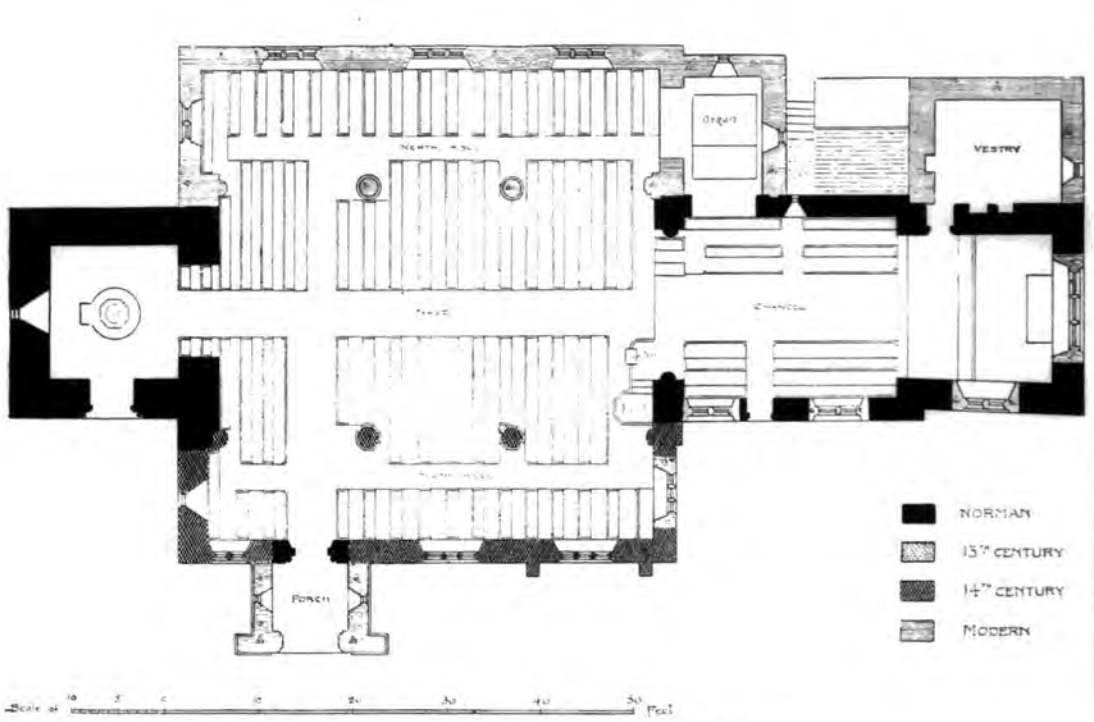


185

Pl. 184: Aycliffe church, ground-plan (Ryder 1988, fig. 1 on 46) **Pl. 185:** Aycliffe, chancel from south-east



186



HEIGHINGTON CHURCH GROUND PLAN.

187

Pl. 186: Billingham church, nave looking east into chancel, before rebuilding (Billings 1846, pl. facing 22)
Pl. 187: Heighington church, ground-plan (Hodgson 1896-1905a, pl. following 24)



188

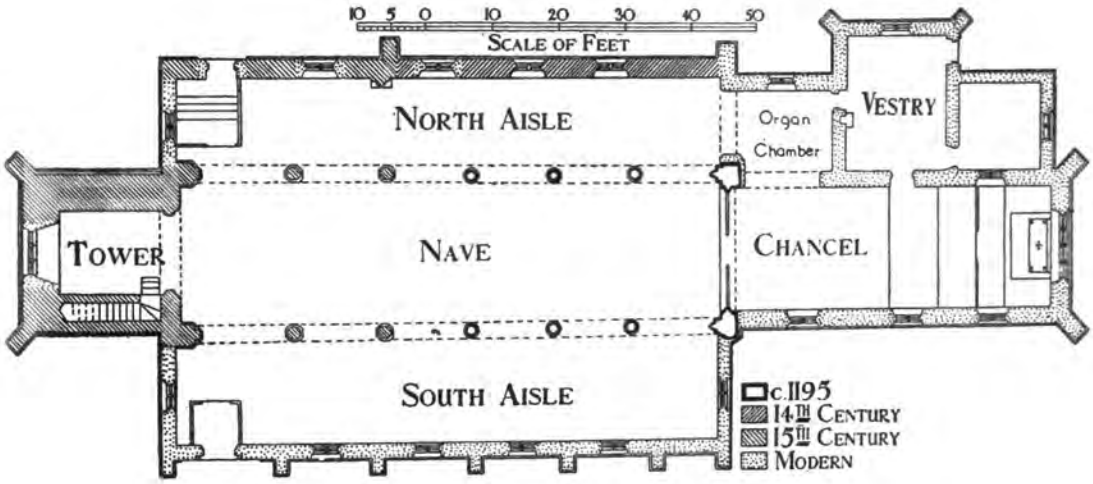


189



190

Pl. 188: Heighington, chancel from south-east **Pl. 189:** Heighington, window reset in east wall of organ chamber **Pl. 190:** Heighington, door in south wall of chancel



191

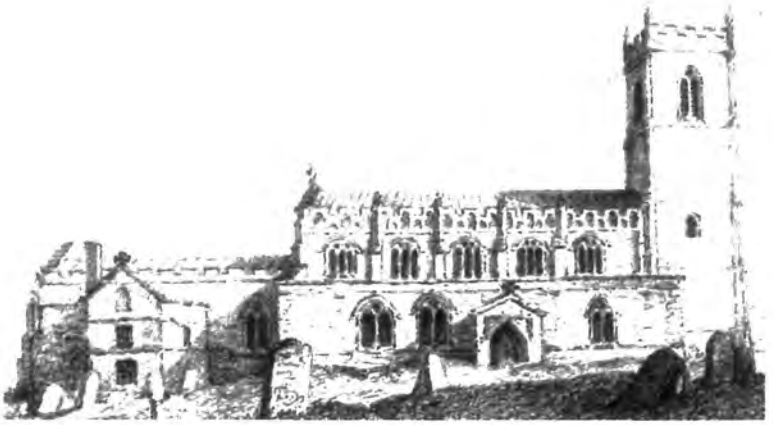


192



193

Pl. 191: Elvet church, Durham, ground-plan (Page 1907-28, III, fig. on 175) **Pl. 192:** Elvet, chancel from south **Pl. 193:** Elvet, chancel from east



194



195

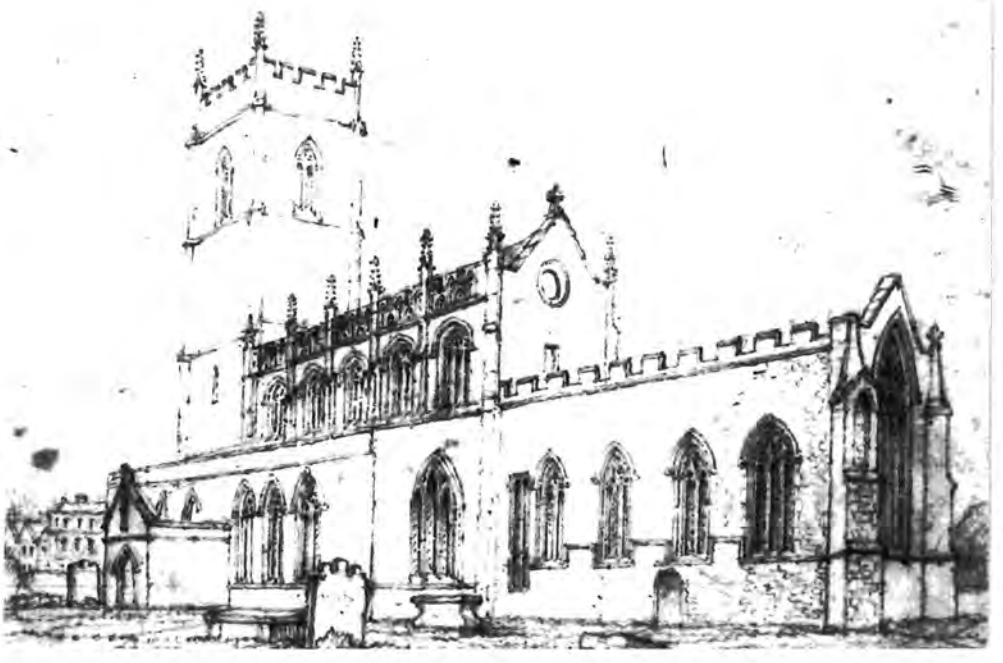


196

Pl. 194: Elvet, church from north, early nineteenth century (J. Bouet, DCD Lib. MS 95, no. 9) **Pl. 195:** Elvet, church, window at east end of north nave aisle wall **Pl. 196:** Elvet, nave from south

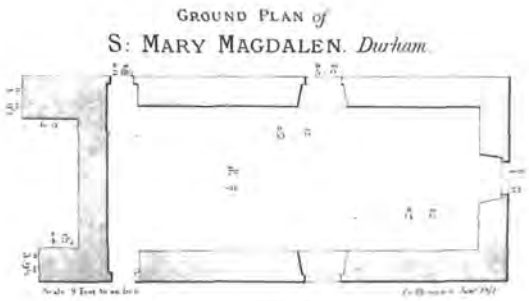


197



198

Pl. 197: Elvet, church from south-east, fair copy, early nineteenth century (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42040, no. 17) **Pl. 198:** Elvet, church from south-east, sketch, early nineteenth century (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42040, no. 20)



199



200

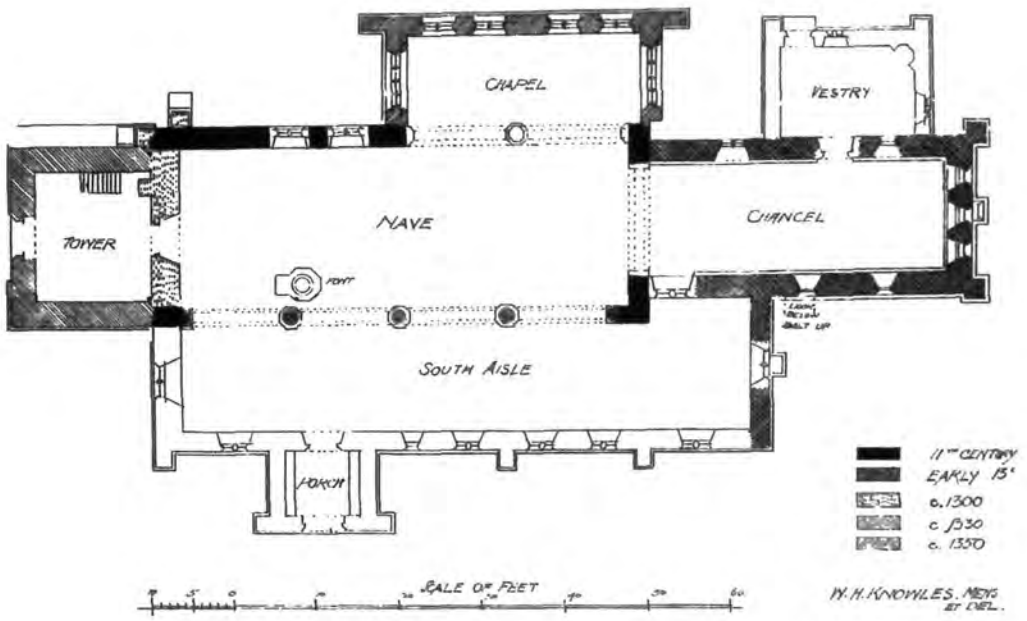


201



202

Pl. 199: Magdalen chapel, Durham, ground-plan (Thompson 1869-79, fig. facing 146) **Pl. 200:** Magdalen chapel, vignette from north-east (Billings 1846, pl. I) **Pl. 201:** Magdalen chapel, from north-east, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15538, no. 210) **Pl. 202:** Magdalen chapel, from north-east



203

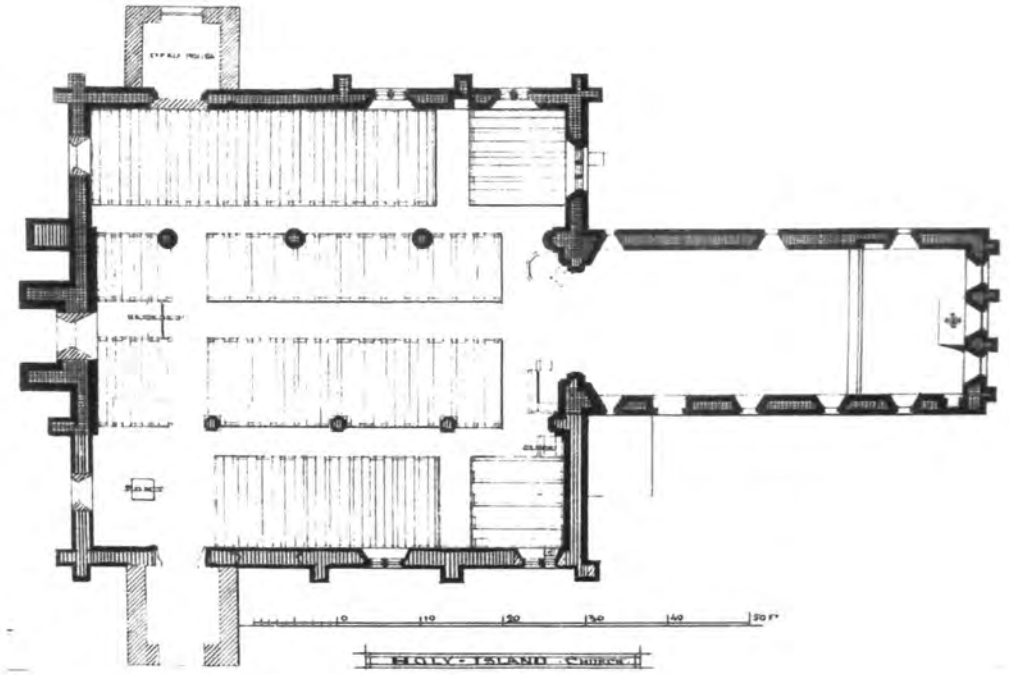


204



205

Pl. 203: Bywell church (St Peter), ground-plan (Hodgson 1902, fig. on 106) **Pl. 204:** Bywell (St Peter), chancel from south-east **Pl. 205:** Bywell (St Peter), chancel from north-east



206



207

Pl. 206: Holy Island church (St Mary), ground-plan (Wilson 1870, fig. facing 18) **Pl. 207:** Holy Island (St Mary), chancel from south-east

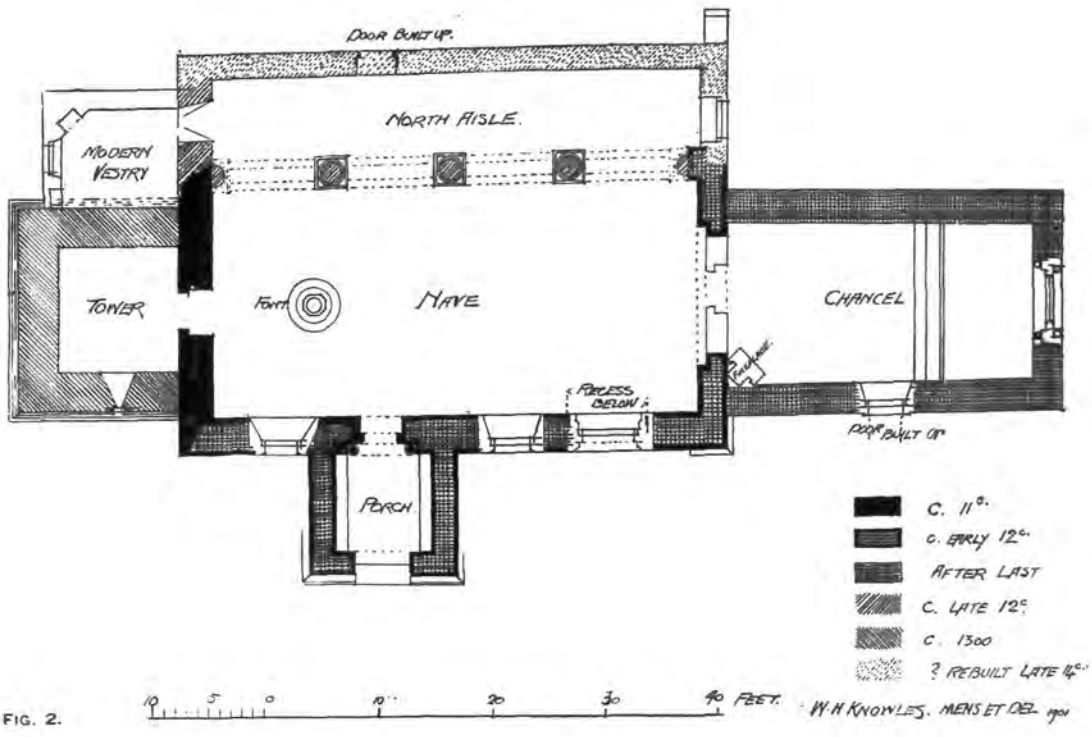


FIG. 2.

208

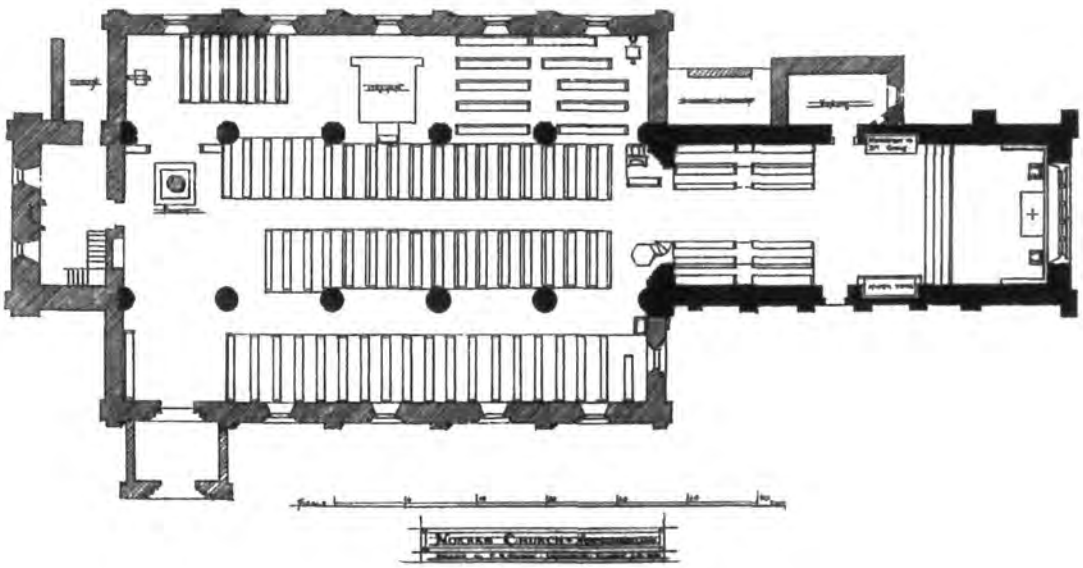


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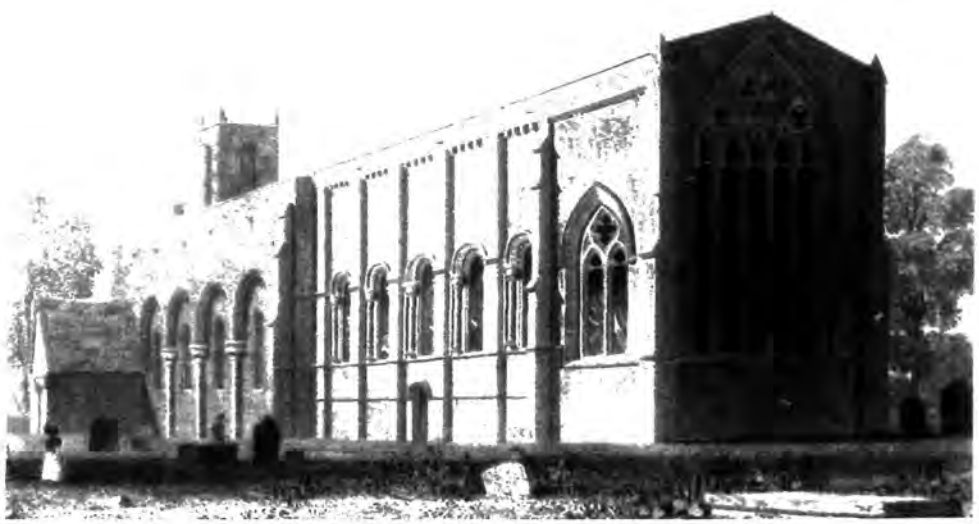


210

Pl. 208: Edlingham church, ground-plan (Knowles 1896-1905, fig. 2 on 40) **Pl. 209:** Edlingham, chancel from north-east **Pl. 210:** Edlingham, chancel from south-east



211



212

Pl. 211: Norham church, ground-plan (Wilson 1870, fig. following 26) **Pl. 212:** Norham, chancel from south-east (E. Blore in Raine 1852, pl. facing 259)



213



214



215

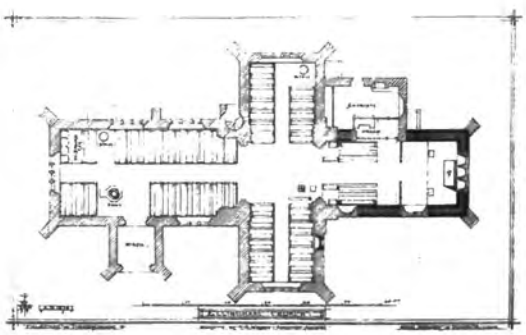


216

Pl. 213: Norham, east window **Pl. 214:** Norham, window at east end of chancel south wall **Pl. 215:** Norham, tomb in chancel south wall (E. Blore in Raine 1852, pl. facing 259) **Pl. 216:** Norham, window at east end of chancel north wall



217



218



219

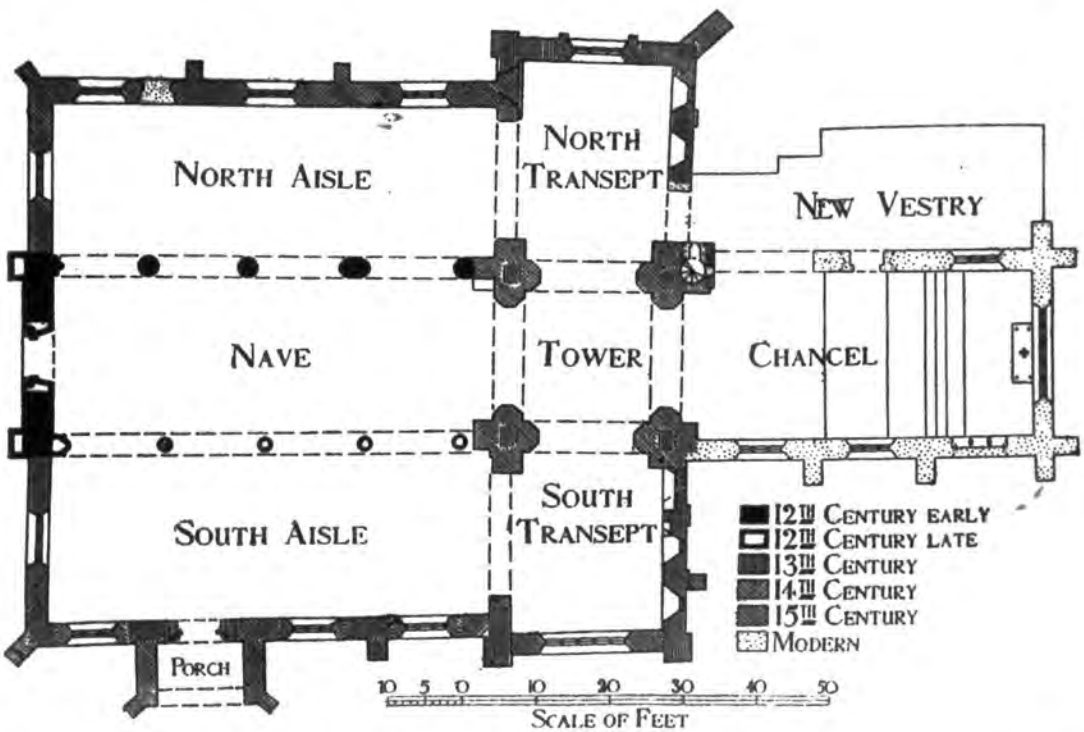
Pl. 217: Norham, chancel from north-east **Pl. 218:** Ellingham church, ground-plan (Wilson 1870, fig. facing 80) **Pl. 219:** Ellingham, from south-east



220



221



222

Pl. 220: Bossall church, chancel, west end of south wall **Pl. 221:** Northallerton church, central tower from south-east **Pl. 222:** Northallerton, ground-plan (Page 1914, fig. on 427)



223



224

Pl. 223: Eastrington church, north arcade of chancel **Pl. 224:** Eastrington, south arcade of chancel



225



226



227

Pl. 225: Eastrington, chancel from north **Pl. 226:** Eastrington, chancel from south-east **Pl. 227:** Eastrington, chancel from south-west



228



229



230



231

Pl. 228: Eastrington, east wall from north-east **Pl. 229:** Eastrington, east window, detail **Pl. 230:** Giggleswick church, chancel from south-east **Pl. 231:** Giggleswick, chancel from north-east



232



233

Pl. 232: Giggleswick, south chancel and nave arcades **Pl. 233:** Giggleswick, north wall of chancel and arch to north chancel chapel



234



235



GIGGLESWICK CHURCH

236

Pl. 234: Giggleswick, junction of south nave aisle and clerestory with west tower **Pl. 235:** Giggleswick, west window of tower **Pl. 236:** Giggleswick, vignette from south-east, c. 1837 (Raine 1837b, facing xxi)



237



238



239



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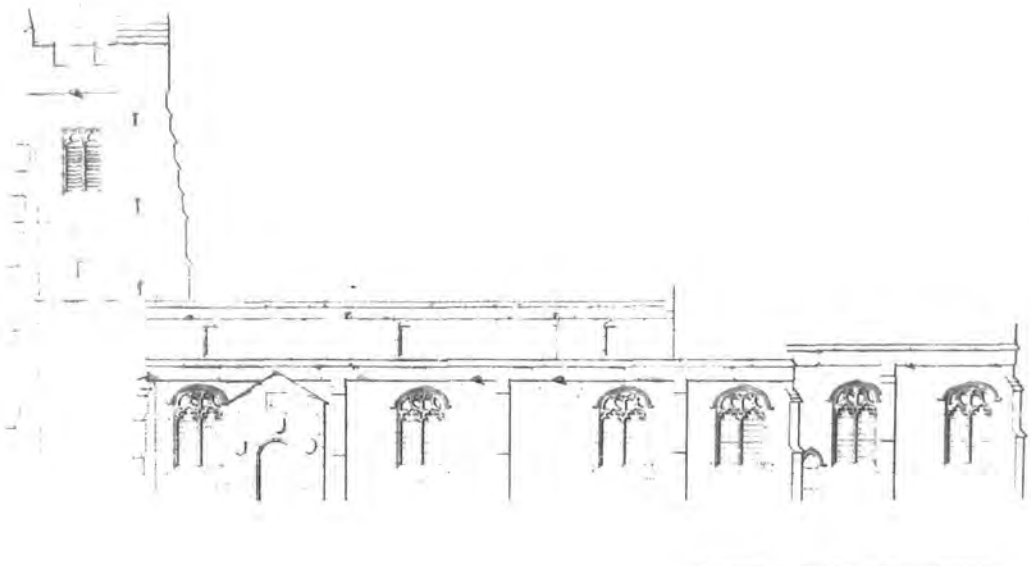
Pl. 237: Fishlake church, from north-west **Pl. 238:** Fishlake, south chancel chapel and door in south wall of chancel **Pl. 239:** Fishlake, chancel from north **Pl. 240:** Fishlake, east gable and tracery of east window



241

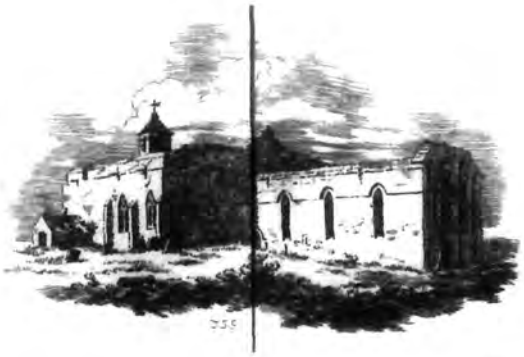


242



243

Pl. 241: Eastrington, nave and chancel clerestories from south **Pl. 242:** Fishlake, nave and chancel clerestories from south **Pl. 243:** Catterick church, south elevation before restoration (A. Salvin in Raine 1834, pl. III)



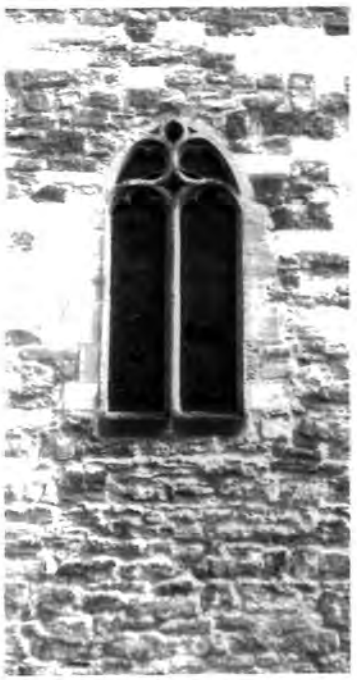
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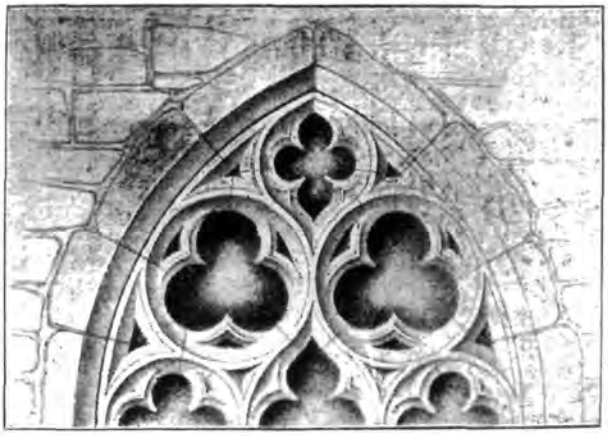


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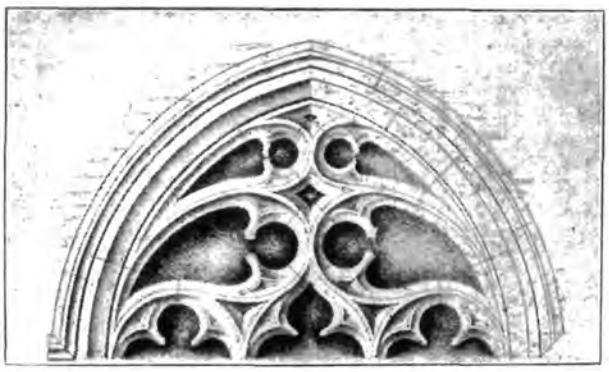
Pl. 244: Holy Island church (St Mary), from south-east, c. 1817 (T. S. Good in Hodgson 1892, pl. following 132) **Pl. 245:** Holy Island (St Mary), window formerly on south side of nave (T. S. Good in Hodgson 1892, pl. facing 133) **Pl. 246:** Brancepeth church, from north-east (Billings 1846, pl. facing 24) **Pl. 247:** Brancepeth, tower, west window



248



249



250



251

Pl. 248: Brancepeth, north transept, east window (Hodgson 1890-5, pl. III) **Pl. 249:** Brancepeth, south transept, east window (Hodgson 1890-5, pl. II) **Pl. 250:** Brancepeth, south transept, south window (Hodgson 1890-5, pl. II) **Pl. 251:** Brancepeth, south transept, south window



252



253

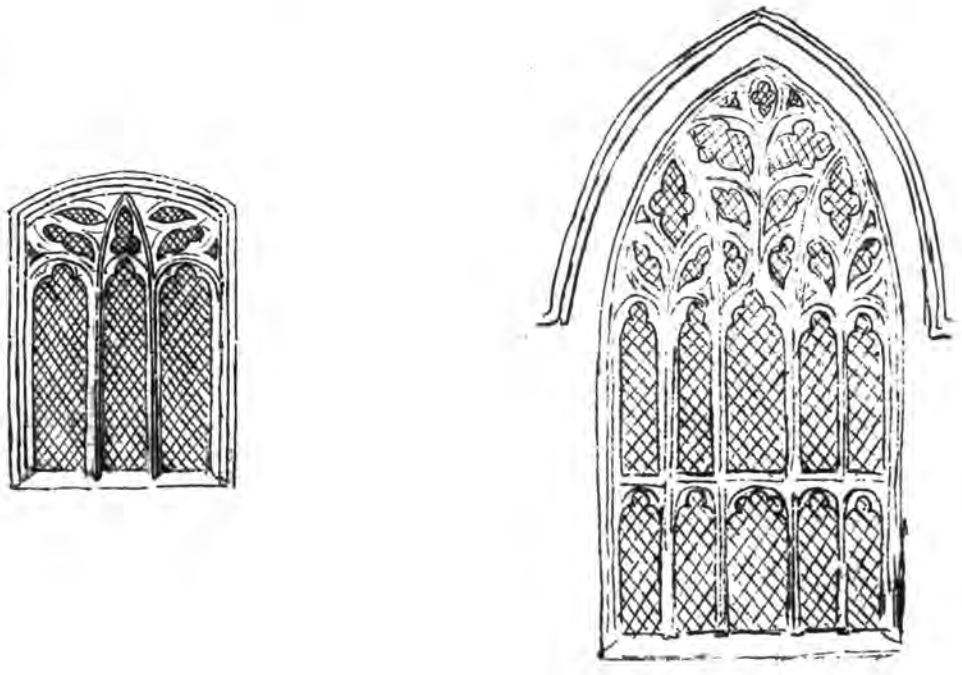


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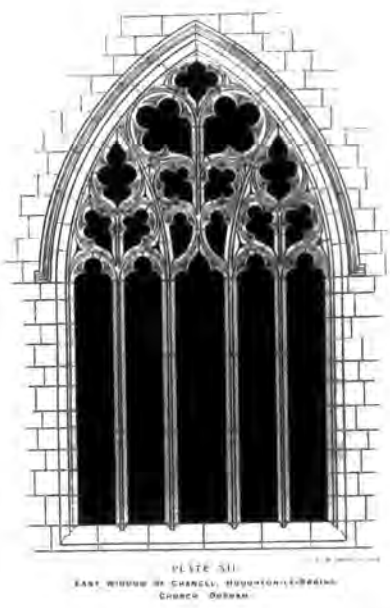


255

Pl. 252: Houghton-le-Spring church, east window (Billings 1846, pl. facing 46)
Pl. 253: Houghton-le-Spring, from east **Pl. 254:** Embleton church, from south-east **Pl. 255:** Embleton, from south-east, sketch, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, no. 66 (dorse))



256

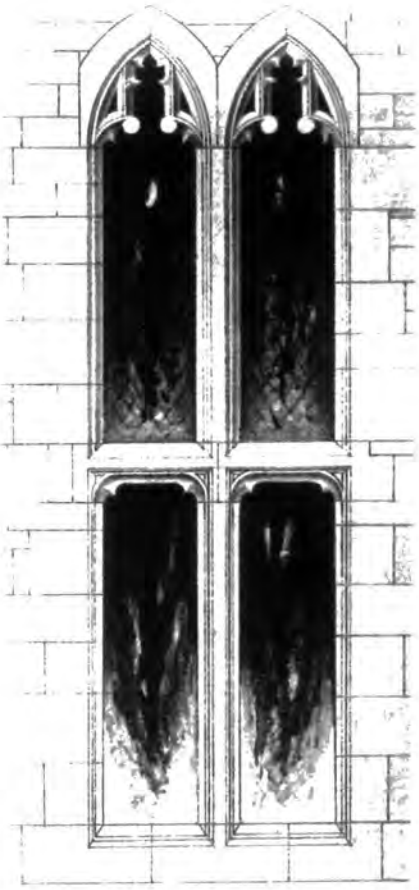


257

Pl. 256: Embleton, tracery details, late eighteenth century (S. H. Grimm, BL MS Add. 15539, nos. 65-6)
Pl. 257: Houghton-le-Spring, east window (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. facing 73)



258



260



259

Pl. 258: Sedgefield church, east window **Pl. 259:** Sedgefield, east window (Billings 1846, pl. following 62) **Pl. 260:** Raby Castle, window of great hall (Hodgson 1880-9b, pl. following 182)



261



262

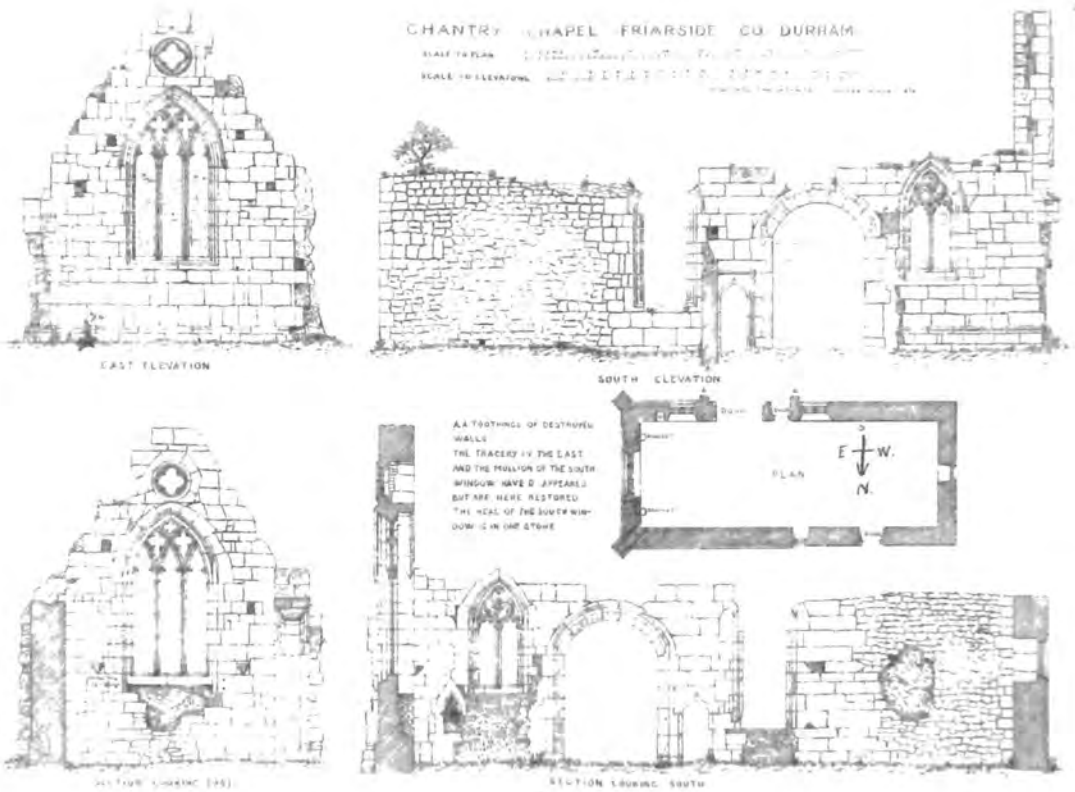


263



264

Pl. 261: Stranton church, chancel from south-east (Billings 1846, pl. following 64) **Pl. 262:** Stranton, south wall of chancel, east window **Pl. 263:** Easington church, chancel from south-east (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42016, no. 10) **Pl. 264:** Easington, tracery of south window of chancel (Billings 1846, pl. II)

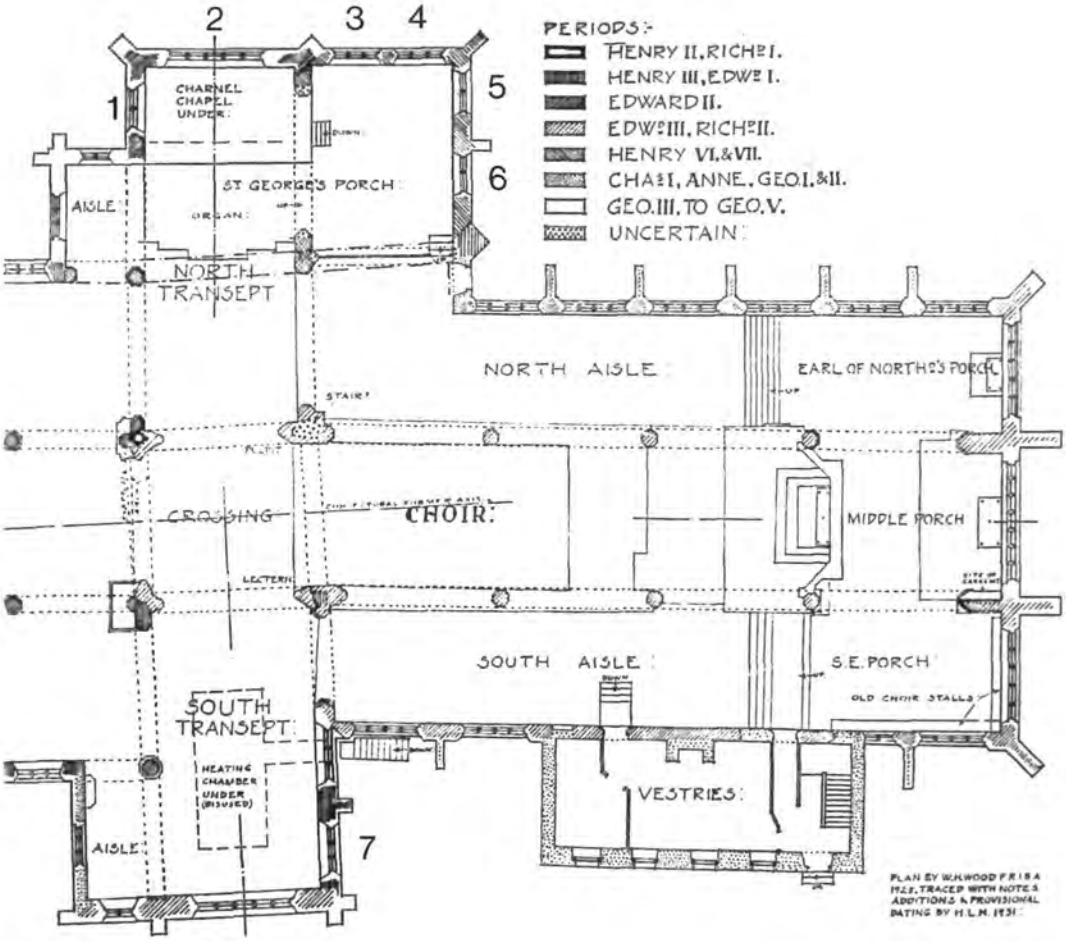


265



266

Pl. 265: Low Friarside chapel, east and south exterior and interior elevations (C. C. Hodges in Longstaffe 1869-79, pl. following 120) **Pl. 266:** Low Friarside, from south



267

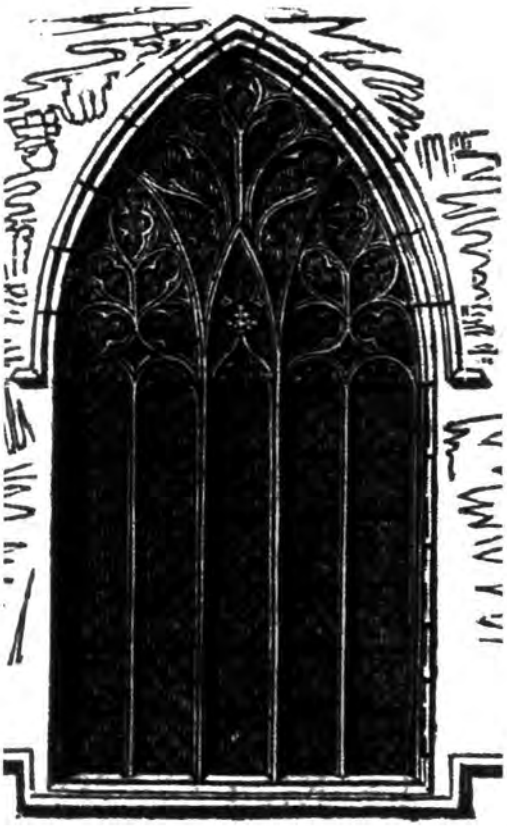


268



269

Pl. 267: Newcastle Cathedral (St Nicholas), plan of choir and transepts showing numbering of windows (after Honeyman 1932, fig. facing 190) **Pl. 268:** Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 3)
Pl. 269: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 4)



270



271



272



273

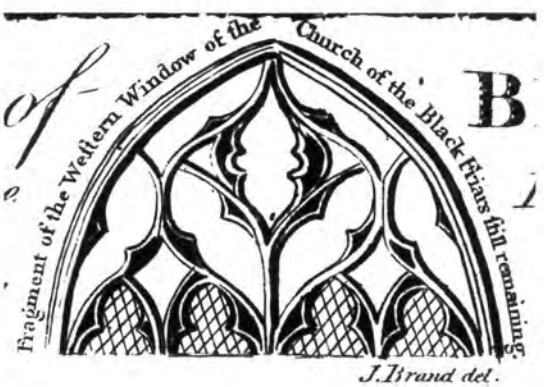


274

Pl. 270: Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 2) (Mackenzie 1827, vignette on 322) **Pl. 271:** Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 2) **Pl. 272:** Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 1) **Pl. 273:** Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 5) **Pl. 274:** Newcastle (St Nicholas), window (no. 7)



275



276

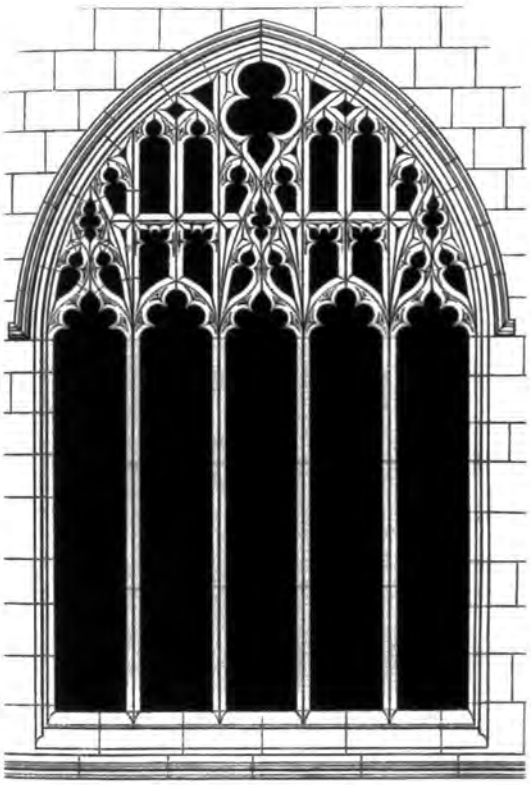


277

Pl. 275: Newcastle, St Mary's hospital, Westgate, east window (Knowles 1892, pl. XVIb, facing 198)
Pl. 276: Newcastle, Blackfriars, window in south gable of dormitory (Brand 1789, I, pl. facing 122, detail)
Pl. 277: Boston church, window in south nave aisle



278



279



280



281

Pl. 278: Brancepeth church, chancel, from south-east **Pl. 279:** Brancepeth, east window of chancel (Hodgson 1896-1905b, pl. XXIII) **Pl. 280:** Brancepeth, window in south wall of chancel **Pl. 281:** Beverley Minster, south aisle of Lady chapel, east window



282

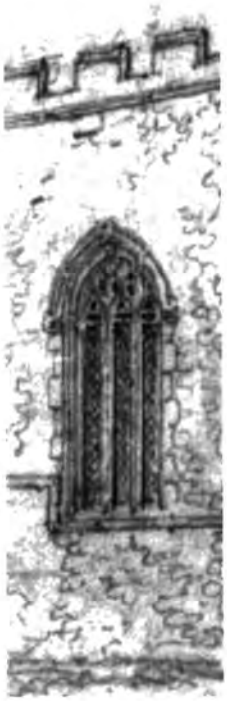


283



284

Pl. 282: Newcastle, St Nicholas, window at east end of north choir aisle **Pl. 283:** Newcastle, St Nicholas, window in south choir aisle **Pl. 284:** Ely Cathedral, south choir aisle, window in second bay from west



285



286



287

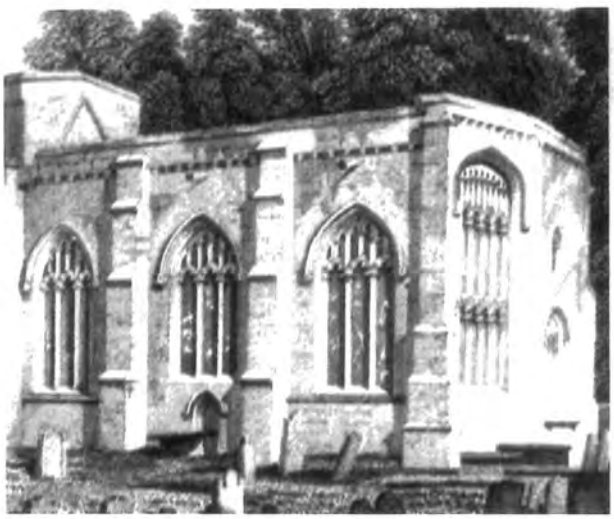
Pl. 285: Elvet church, east window in south wall of chancel, (E. Blore, BL MS Add. 42040, no. 20, detail)
Pl. 286: Durham, St Giles's church, west window of tower **Pl. 287:** Stranton church, east window



288



289



290

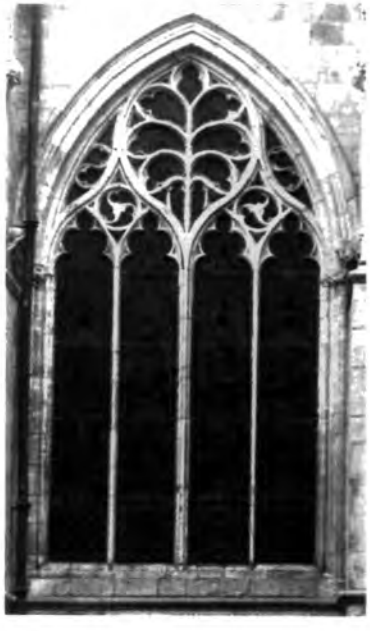


291

Pl. 288: Chester-le-Street church, west window of tower **Pl. 289:** Norton church, chancel from south-east (Surtees 1816-40, III, pl. facing 199) **Pl. 290:** Staindrop church, chancel from south-east (Billings 1846, pl. facing 62) **Pl. 291:** Stranton, window in south aisle of nave



292



293



294



295

Pl. 292: Beverley Minster, nave, north aisle, window **Pl. 293:** Beverley Minster, nave, south aisle, window
Pl. 294: Welwick church, east window **Pl. 295:** Patrington church, chancel, north side



296



297



298

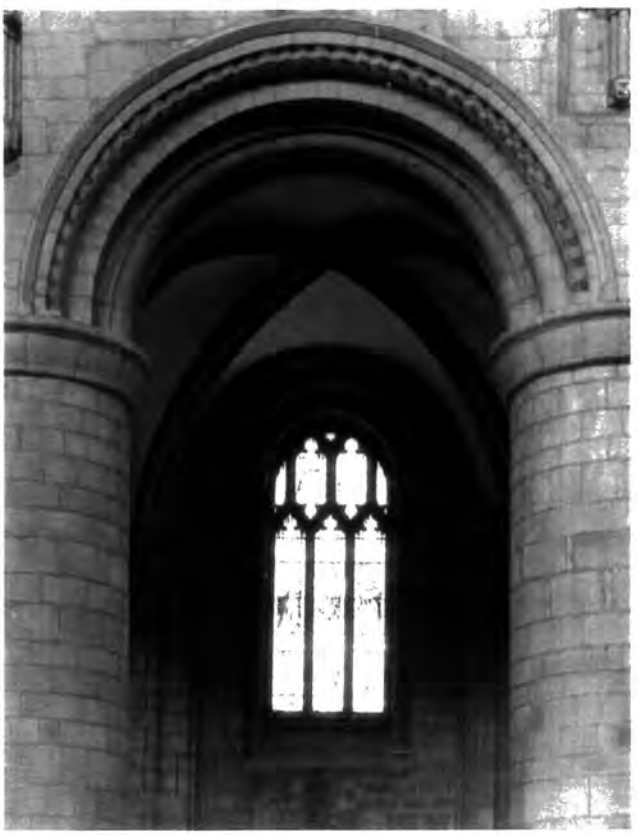
Pl. 296: Grantham church, south chancel chapel, window in south wall **Pl. 297:** Hull, Holy Trinity church, window at east end of south choir aisle **Pl. 298:** Ely Cathedral, south wall of choir, gallery and clerestory windows



299

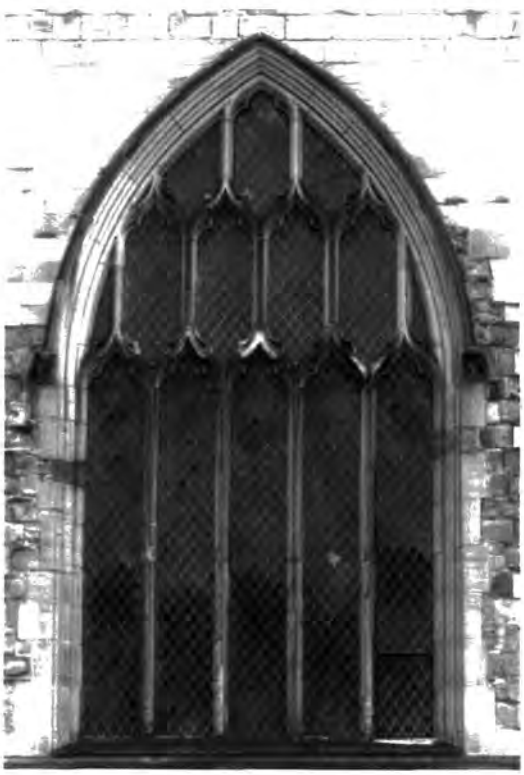


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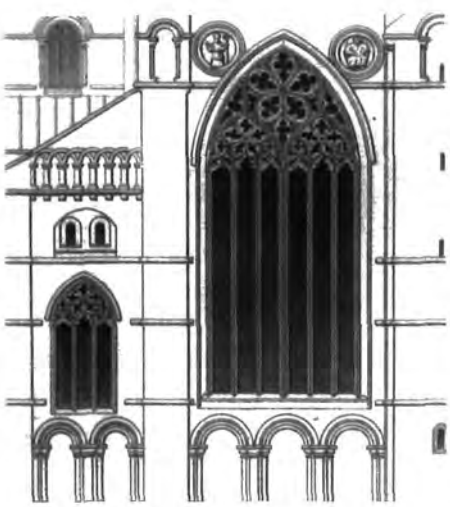
Pl. 299: Eastrington church, east window **Pl. 300:** Lincoln Cathedral, south nave aisle, west window
Pl. 301: Gloucester Cathedral, window in north nave aisle (Courtauld Institute of Art, London)



302



303



304



305

Pl. 302: Durham Cathedral, west window of chapter house **Pl. 303:** Tewkesbury Abbey, north transept, window in west wall (F. W. Pritchard) **Pl. 304:** Durham Cathedral, windows nXIV-nXV (Billings 1843, pl. VI, detail) **Pl. 305:** Lichfield Cathedral, north choir clerestory (Britton 1836b, Lichfield, pl. IX)



306



307



308

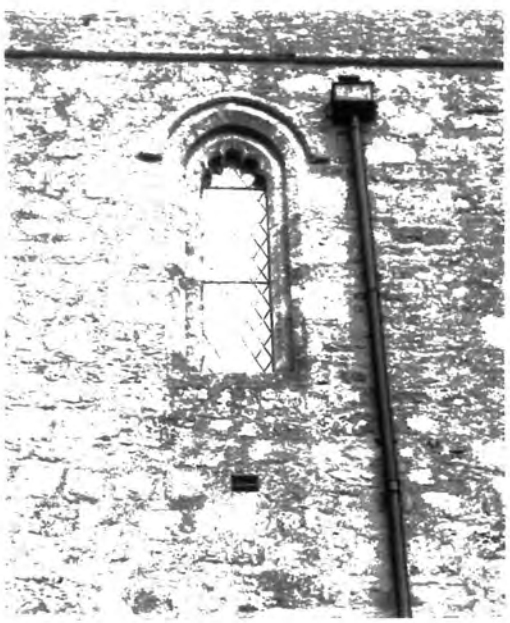
Pl. 306: Carlisle Castle, de Ireby's tower from south **Pl. 307:** Carlisle Castle, de Ireby's tower from north
Pl. 308: Castle Bolton Castle, courtyard, entrance



309



310



311

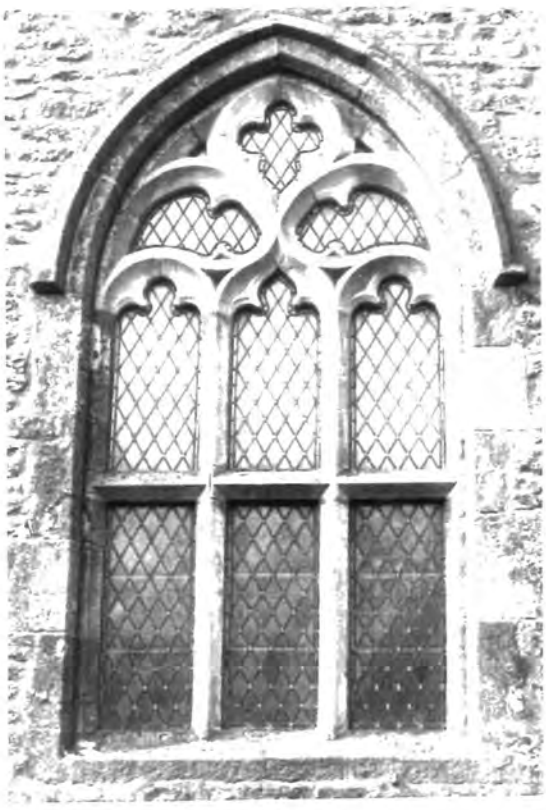
Pl. 309: Castle Bolton Castle, hall window, detail showing flue **Pl. 310:** Castle Bolton Castle, window, detail **Pl. 311:** Castle Bolton Castle, window, detail



312



313

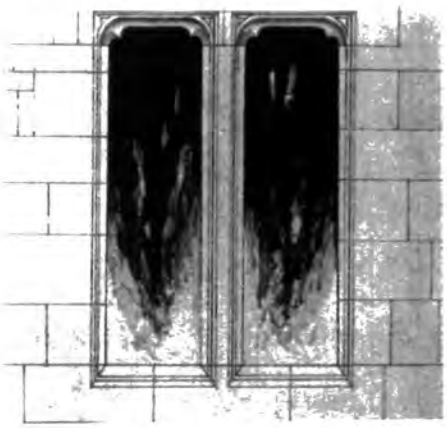


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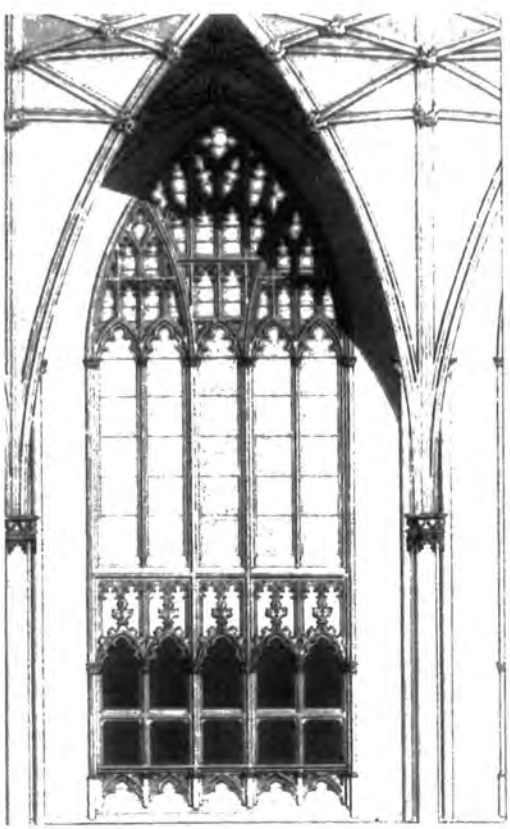
Pl. 312: Durham Castle, window in west gable of north range **Pl. 313:** Castle Bolton church, window in chancel south wall **Pl. 314:** Castle Bolton church, east window



315



316





317

Pl. 315: York Minster, window in south aisle of Lady chapel **Pl. 316:** Raby Castle, window of great hall, detail of lower part (Hodgson 1880-9b, pl. following 182) **Pl. 317:** York Minster, clerestory of Lady chapel (Britton 1836a, York, pl. XXIV)



318



319



320



321

Pl. 318: Raby Castle, window of great hall, detail of upper part (Hodgson 1880-9b, pl. following 182) **Pl. 319:** Durham Cathedral, tomb of John, Lord Neville, detail (T. Woods) **Pl. 320:** Durham Cathedral, Hatfield tomb, detail of arcading (T. Woods) **Pl. 321:** Beverley Minster, west front, detail of arcading



322



323

Pl. 322: Durham Cathedral, door from south-east corner of cloister to slype **Pl. 323:** Canterbury Cathedral, south-west tower, from east (Britton 1836a, Canterbury, pl. III)



324



325



326

Pl. 324: Durham Cathedral, window sX (Billings 1843, pl. IX, detail) **Pl. 325:** Melrose Abbey, south aisle of nave, window in fifth bay from east **Pl. 326:** Jedburgh Abbey, window in north transept facade

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