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The Coucher Book of Selby

This two-volume work comprises a fourteenth-century cartulary containing charters and deeds that document the history of Selby Abbey from its foundation under William the Conqueror in 1069 until the mid-fifteenth century. The editor, J.T. Fowler (1834–1924), originally a surgeon, left medicine for the church. He studied at Durham University before becoming a deacon in the Durham diocese and holding posts in the university itself. The contents of the cartulary are divided across the two volumes, originally published between 1891 and 1893, and Fowler has aimed to reproduce the Latin text as closely as possible, noting any errors in occasional footnotes. Volume 2 includes a preface discussing some personal names of interest found in the cartulary. Also featured is a description of the abbey by architect Charles Clement Hodges (1852–1932), with illustrative plates. The appendix contains further documents relating to the ownership of the abbey's lands.

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VOLUME 2

EDITED BY J.T. FOWLER

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Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paolo, Delhi, Mexico City

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108058568

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This edition first published 1893
This digitally printed version 2013

ISBN 978-1-108-05856-8 Paperback

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THE YORKSHIRE
Archæological and Topographical
ASSOCIATION.

RECORD SERIES.
VOL. XIII.
FOR THE YEAR 1892.

THE COUCHER BOOK OF SELBY,
VOL. II.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS. IN THE POSSESSION OF THOMAS BROOKE, ESQ., F.S.A.,

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

AN ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH, ETC.,

BY C. C. HODGES,

EDITED BY

THE REV. J. T. FOWLER, M.A., F.S.A.,

Member of the Councils of the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association and of the Surtees Society, etc.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1893.

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DURHAM:
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PREFACE.

THE present volume contains the whole of the Coucher-book from fol. 120*v*. to the end of 219*v*., the last page of the MS., together with an appendix of documents at Durham and in the Public Record Office. Prefixed is the continuation of the *Tabula* from Vol. I. The Editor has not been able to carry out the intention expressed in the Introduction of the first volume, that, namely, of giving some account of the descent of the various possessions of the abbey, but it is hoped that Mr. Hodges' admirable architectural history of the church, which will be found below, will be at least equally acceptable to many. It must, however, be mentioned here that the abbey lands were acquired first by Sir Ralph Sadler, as fully shown in Appendix, No. v, and by him sold to Sir Leonard Beckwith within a year, not acquired by the latter in the first instance, as stated by an oversight in the former Introduction, p. xviii. On the same page, the reference to Burton should be corrected to 399*n*. And the endorsement of the parchment wrapper there referred to, which was much faded, has now been further made out; for "Seleby" read "old," and continue "Touchinge Seleby, Brayton, Burton, Lund, Gaiteford."

There will be found in this volume, together with the rest of the Yorkshire charters, those relating to the large possessions of the abbey in other counties, particularly Lincolnshire. Of these, there are no less than 116 under the head of Stallingborough alone. Those of Crowle, Eastoft, and Amcotts, are interesting in connexion with the fisheries in and drainage of the Isle of Axholme. No. MCCXI contains a number of fishery terms,

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some not very intelligible. Lists of the monks of Selby will be found on pp. 346, 348,[1] and the survey, p. 349, helps us to form some idea of the place where they dwelt. We have not found anything to explain the most fortunate preservation of the choir as well as the nave; the latter having been used parochially was kept for a parish church, as at Bridlington and elsewhere. At Tewkesbury, the church was bought by the parishioners of the Crown for £453 (about £5,000 of our money). So again, at Malmesbury, Anthony Wood says that after the choir, north and south cross aisles, and central tower had been demolished, "the bodie that remained was with much ado purchased of the King by T. Stumps, a wealthie clothier, of Malmburie, to the end it might serve for a church for the parish."[2] At St. Albans, the church, having remained in the hands of the Crown until May 12th, 1553, was bought by the inhabitants of Edward VI for £400, to serve in lieu of the demolished church of St. Andrew.[3] The monastic buildings, with the ground about the abbey-church and that of St. Andrew, which stood on the north side of the abbey, had been granted to Sir Richard Lee in 1540. At Selby, by the grant referred to above, Sir Ralph Sadler received, not only the site of the monastery, but the church, bell-tower, and churchyard, the tower being probably mentioned as including the bells, for there was no separate tower so far as we know. Sadler or Beckwith may have either given or sold the church to the parishioners, but no deed of conveyance has as yet been discovered. By Patent Roll, 16 James I (A.D. 1619), part 2,

[1] The list of those who received pensions at the Dissolution has often been printed, *e.g.*, by Burton, and by Morrell.

[2] Life, etc. (Oxf. Hist. Soc.), II, 410; see also Leland, *Itin.*, II, 27, 28.

[3] *Mon. Angl.*, II, 208.

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No. 2, it was provided that whereas the parish of Selby consisted of about 3,000 souls, who for want of a preaching ministry had lived long in ignorance, and thereby had been the more easily seduced and infected with errors of popery, to the great danger of their souls and the withdrawing them from their loyalty and obedience due to the king and to the laws, the king granted to William Jackson, M.A., then curate and preacher of the said parish church of Selby and to his successors for ever, preaching ministers to be there resident, one annuity or yearly pension of thirty pounds by the receiver general of the Crown for the County of York, to be paid in half-yearly portions at Lady Day and Michaelmas. The Archbishop of York to appoint, institute, and induct. Westminster, Mar. 20 (1619).

Any one interested in curious names will find some by looking through our two indexes. Arnesnest was a place somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kirk Ella or Holme on Spalding Moor, and probably received its name at a time when the eagle still found a home in the Yorkshire wolds. So in the foundation charter of Newminster the *Nidus aquilæ* at Ulgham near Morpeth is mentioned. When places were named from them, eagles' nests were probably becoming so rare as to be remarkable. Douneayck, Hendelaic, and Strihac may have been named from well-known oak trees. Thorp juxta Ebor. (Bishopthorpe) was at one time known as Mustardthorp, mustard having probably been extensively grown on the rich level lands by the Ouse. Such names as Houshendel, Smalenebregefeld, Twinegosridding, Sitbihan, Slepyngakyr, Wulfhamhilheiland, Yghelkerholm, are less easy to explain, but Aumener (the Almoner's) orchard and ridding, or clearing, and Cellarer orchard, were doubtless under the charge of the officers whose names they bear. Innames and Ofnames were pieces of

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land taken in from or off the common land, such as were and still are called Intakes. Personal names are often very curious, thus we find Alicia cum Anulo and Adam cum baculis ; Thomas Attehalleyate, Robertus Attekyrke, Hugo Attebrigg, Ricardus Atte Flet, and Henricus at Lane end. The Croftcalf family probably got their name from a nickname in the first instance. The same origin may be assigned to Etelaf, Malecake, Wetekake, and the very remarkable name Spurneturtoys, probably given to some one who was brutal enough to kick a tortoise about. Gerardescosyn is unusual, and Heghunter, Ichegamen, and Wildegrippus are not so intelligible as some. It would be curious to find the *summus vexillator* of the Conqueror providing for the souls of the sainted king Edward and of "Willelmus Bastardus," did we not know that this was the title by which William was commonly known in his lifetime.[1] As nominal rents, we find an arrow, clove, ginger, gloves, grain of wheat, pepper, and a rose. The charter No. DCCVI contains an unusually copious list of feudal services. The *parva* or *minor ecclesia,* or small parochial chapel, formerly on "Church Hill," in Selby, is mentioned in vol. I, pp. 136, 137, 174, 184, 185, and in Mr. Hodges' introduction to this volume, pp. i*, ii*. At the very moment of our going to press, Mr. W. Brown has kindly sent us a full transcript of the entry relating to the visitation in Archbishop Giffard's register, referred to below, p. ii*. The inventory of goods belonging to the chapel is of too great interest not to be given here. The main part of the document, however, refers to the gross scandals mentioned in Morrell, p. 73, and in *Fasti Ebor.*, 305, etc., and to others of the same kind, but the following is what relates to the chapel:—

[1] See Freeman, *Norman Conquest,* II, 175, 626.

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Reg. Giffard, fo. 145.—Visitacio facta in Ecclesia S. Germani apud Seleby quæ vocatur Capella, per Magistrum N. de Welles, clericum domini Ebor. Archiepiscopi, vj Id. Augusti, A.D. m. cc. lxx. quinto.

Inuentum est competens missale sine nota. Duo gradalia tollerabilia cum tropar'. j troparium. Duo antiphonaria, vnum cum temporali et sanctorum, et aliud similiter, utraque cum ympnar'. Duo psalteria, j legenda satis bona, ij manualia tollerabilia, dum modo cooperiantur coreo, et dominus Walterus promisit correccionem. Inuenta sunt duo vestimenta cum casulis, j fruntale vetus et fractum, aliud et melius procurabitur per dominum Walterum capellanum. j turribile bonum. ij fiola stagni. Non sunt ibi vasa Euskaristiæ, set reseruantur in monasterio maiori. Duo candelabra de asmalo. Percipiunt den. B. Petri, set nihil soluunt. Cancellum debiliter est coopertum. Quatuor tuallia ad altare.

INQUISICIO IBIDEM.

Dominus Walterus capellanus parochialis iuratus et examinatus dicit quod seruicium Dei bene fit et honeste et secundum Ebor., et dicit quod duo sunt presbiteri, set vnus per abbatem et alius per quendam parochianum qui eum conducit. Est ibi vnus clericus tantummodo. . . . Dicit quod ecclesia B. Germani in villa est capella, consueuit tamen ibi esse baptisterium aliquo tempore, set postea amotum fuit usque in monasterium monachorum, nescit tamen cuius auctoritate. Dicit quod abbas percipit in villa de den. B. Petri circiter x solidos, de quibus nichil soluit. De stipendiariis percipientibus dim. marcam vel minus, recipiunt decimam tamen ad oblaciones eos non astringunt. Dicit quod nullus capellanus vadit ad sinodum, quia monachus quidam vadit ibidem pro omnibus. Dicit quod duo pauperes, vir et uxor, submersi fuerunt, scilicet Henricus de Arnewy et Agnes uxor eius ; plus debent quam habebant. Item Walterus Stoyl decessit cum eisdem eodem infortunio, et plus habuit in bonis quam alii. Ista capella non est dedicata, nec altare, nec habet cimiterium, quia parochianorum cadauera sepeliuntur in cimiterio magni monasterii. Iste ordinatus est in Hybernia, set dominus archiepiscopus Walterus de Grey ratificauit ordinem, set literam inde non habet, unde dimissus est suæ conscienciæ. Dicit quod ista capella non soluit procuracionem, et habet alteragium ad firmam pro xxviii marcis.

Thomas capellanus iuratus et examinatus dicit quod bene fit seruicium in ista capella et in omnibus præscriptis concordat cum præiurato . . . .

It would seem from the above that, as there was no altar, mass cannot have been then celebrated in the chapel, but that the Breviary Offices (*servicium Dei*) were, and according to the York use, not the Benedictine, which would be used in the monastic church. Also that, although it was not dedicated, it was called the church of St. Germanus. It seems to have had

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an altar at some time previous, for the inventory mentions a missal, grails and troper, vestments, frontals, cruets, and two candlesticks, as well as Eucharistic vessels removed, as perhaps the altar had been, to the monastery. We have not elsewhere met with *de asmalo,* used of the material of the candlesticks.[1] *Baptisterium* seems to be here used according to one sense given by Ducange, viz., "Ecclesia baptismalis, parochialis." To the reference to the *Gentleman's Magazine, infra,* p. ii*, should be added one to which our attention has been directed by Mr. Cheesman, of Selby, viz., Wright's "Essays on Archæological Subjects," 1861, vol. I, pp. 44-46, where an excellent woodcut of one of the coffins will be found.

A few words may here be said as to the mode which has been adopted in dealing with the text. When the Editor was asked to see the cartulary through the press, the whole of the MS. had already been copied with extension of contractions, and it was then too late to entertain the question of reproducing the text as it stands. He has always been of opinion that this is the more excellent way, though he has extended, under protest, in six volumes which he has edited for the Surtees Society, in accordance with the usual practice of that learned body. The Preface to the fourth volume of Bishop Kellaw's Register, edited for the Rolls Series by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, contains, perhaps, the heaviest indictment that has yet appeared against the extending system. About seven pages of this are occupied by examples of wrong

[1] *Asmalum* is evidently a Latin form of the Old French *esmal* or *esmail*, English *amel*, now superseded by the compound *en-amel*. The French is probably from a Teutonic source, with which are connected the English verb *smelt*, to fuse ore, and the German substantive *schmelz*, enamel. See the New English Dictionary under AMEL. Enamelled work may sometimes have been called "enamel" in the thirteenth century, as at present.

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extensions, some of them of a most amazing description, occurring in such works as "Scriptores post Bedam," Rymer's "Fœdera," and Fenn's edition of the Paston Letters. Any one may make mistakes, and there are many cases in which it is impossible to say how a contraction ought to be extended. If the contractions be given as in the MS., the reader will not be misled, and in doubtful cases he may judge for himself. It has lately been pointed out how one of the most famous of modern scholars and historians, quoting a charter of William Rufus, beginning "Willelmus Rex Angliæ," observes that "the new-fangled title was now coming in"; that is, that the "King of the English" was becoming "King of England." If he had seen the charter itself, or had been accustomed to MS. charters, cartularies, etc., or if, in the work which he consulted, the charter had been printed as written, he would have known that the style was simply "Rex Angl.," [*i.e.,* Rex Angl*orum*] and that the "Angl*iæ*" of the printed book was the word of the editor, not of the original charter. Turning to the Royal Charters in our former volume, we are glad to see a footnote, p. 6, explaining that it is always "Angl." in our MS., but extended in accordance with the usual styles of the sovereigns. The authorities employed in these extensions were Sir Harris Nicholas' "Chronology of History" and Mr. Selby's "Jubilee Date-book."

When our former volume appeared, one friendly reviewer complained that there were not more notes, while another thought that the Editor had apologised unnecessarily for the lack of notes. In this present volume, as in Vol. I, the notes are only occasional *obiter dicta,* without any attempt at a complete commentary on a text which is, it must be confessed, in some places rather barren of special interest.

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Canon Raine has, as before, most kindly looked over the proof-sheets. Mr. Adams, one of the most learned correspondents of *Notes and Queries,* whose suggestions were of the greatest use to the Editor while preparing the Metrical Life of St. Cuthbert for the Surtees Society, and whose knowledge of Old French is at once most accurate and thorough, has rendered valuable help in the editing of the French documents in the Appendix; while Messrs. Hardy and Page, who have supplied the transcripts from the Public Record Office, have always been most obliging in answering questions about matters falling within their especial province. Our obligations to Mr. Brooke, who has spared no expense in order that these volumes may be as complete as possible, can never be adequately expressed. The Editor only regrets that other duties have prevented his doing more in the direction of an ideal edition of a cartulary.

BISHOP HATFIELD'S HALL,
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THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF SELBY ABBEY,

BY

CHARLES CLEMENT HODGES, ARCHITECT.

MEDIÆVAL chroniclers and historians are not often very precise as to the information they give us regarding the rise and progress of the great churches which were a special product of their times. In the case of by far the greater number of the monastic houses, all we know of their buildings, from a historical point of view, is the bare fact of the date of the foundation of the convent; consequently it is to the remains of the buildings themselves that we must look for any information as to the period and manner of their erection. It sometimes happens, rather provokingly, that where there are but scanty remains of buildings there is a more or less complete record of them preserved, and where the buidings are extensive, or comparatively entire, there is no record of their erection of any moment. Selby is an instance of the latter, and two other abbeys at no great distance from it, Meaux, in Holderness, and Thornton, on the Humber, are instances of the former class. To a certain extent these records of destroyed monasteries can be made use of for elucidating those which remain in a more complete state, but are deficient in recorded history.

Selby Abbey appears to have been founded in 1069. The story of the foundation has already been given in the introduction to Vol. I, and need not be repeated. Benedict the anchorite, and the first abbot, is said to have erected an oratory, or chapel of wood, and to have subsequently added domestic offices to it, also of wood. This oratory appears to have been the first church in Selby of any sort, for the "Historia" says it was in the same place where to this time the chapel of the

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town remains standing.[1] Subsequently it is again mentioned, in the record of a flood, as the chapel of the town, and as being near the course of the river. This was after the Norman portion of the abbey had been built, and the chapel appears to have fallen into desuetude, or at any rate to have been out of repair, as the walls are said to have been covered with bushes.[2] Somewhat later, during the reign of Stephen, we find another mention of the chapel, from which it may be inferred that the original wooden building was then standing, for St. Germain interfered in its behalf to save it from the flames, while the surrounding houses were consumed, on the occasion of a fire in the town.[3] The subsequent history of this chapel is soon told. From the registers of Archbishop Giffard (1265-1279), we learn that "the church of St. Germanus in the town is a chapel, the rite of baptism was administered in it till children were carried to the monastery. The chapel and its altar are not dedicated, because the dead are interred in the burial ground of the abbey."[4] In 1310 the chapelry was appropriated to the abbey.[5] It henceforth continued as a chapel-of-ease, served from the monastery,[6] the church of which became the church of the town, the nave being used parochially. In 16 James I, the whole church was by letters patent made parochial, and the burden of keeping it in repair was thrown upon the parish. From that time, if not previously, it may be assumed, the chapel would be allowed to go down, and its site is now covered by modern houses. In 1857 some burials were uncovered in its vicinity, which are described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[7] as having

[1] *Historia,* Cap. xiv, Vol. I p. 15
[2] *Historia,* Cap. xxxiv, Vol. 1, p. 27.
[3] *Ibid., Monitum Auctoris,* Cap. ix, Vol. I, p. 36.
[4] *Fasti Eboracenses,* Vol. I, p. 306.
[5] Vol. I, p. 343*n*.
[6] A deed printed on page 382 shows that later in the fourteenth century the chapel had not the right of burials, etc.
[7] 1860, Vol. II, p. 639.

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been in unhewn oak coffins, the date of which is altogether uncertain.

The abbey church and the monastic buildings annexed to it were begun in the time of Hugh de Lacy, the second abbot, on a new site, somewhat further from the river, and on slightly higher ground than the old oratory of Benedict. Hugh was a man of strong character, having both ability and perseverance, and being also possessed of those characteristics which ensure devotion and obedience on the part of others, he was just the man to accomplish a great work. He was also a scion of a noble and powerful family, and had therefore great influence with those in power. It is not to be wondered at that such a man should conceive the scheme of building anew the house under his control. The period of his abbacy (1097-1123) was one of great architectural activity, and though somewhat before the time of the rise of the great Cistercian abbeys, which form the special mediæval architectural feature of the county of York, it was that in which all the English cathedrals, with the exception of Salisbury, were built in a more or less complete form. Most of the great Benedictine abbeys were founded, and their buildings erected, during this period, so that Hugh would not lack examples, and these he was evidently anxious enough to follow. Nothing of his abbey but the church has come down to our day. This is most fortunately nearly complete, and as sufficient remains of the foundations of its original eastern termination have been recently laid bare to indicate what the plan was, the form and extent of the whole church, as projected by him, are now definitely known.

Abbot Hugh's plan, though not nearly so ambitious as those of many of his contemporaries, was of some magnitude, and followed in its general lines the normal plot of the minster of the period. There can be little doubt that, according to the usual custom, he laid down the foundations of the whole church at once, and that the general conception of the nave, as well as

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of the transepts and the original choir, is due to his architect.[1]

The church was to have a nave of eight bays with aisles, a west front, with two engaged towers, and a north porch; a transept without aisles, but with an apsidal eastern chapel in each arm; a choir of, apparently, three bays with aisles, probably terminating in solid apses; and a sanctuary, formed by projecting an apse east of the choir. The crossing was to be surmounted by a tower of two stages above the ridges of the roofs. The whole church was meant to be covered with stone vaults, quadripartite in the aisles, and probably the same in the choir and transept, but in the nave it is clear that a great quadripartite vault covering two bays was contemplated, as there are grounds for supposing was originally intended at Durham. The internal length of the church was 220 feet; the length of the transept 111 feet; the width of the nave to the aisle walls 59 feet; and the height from the floor to the wall-head 51 feet. These dimensions show that the Norman church was one of the third magnitude (*i.e.*, having a length of less than 300 feet). Still it ranked high amongst the churches of its day, and had the original design been carried out it would have been as fine a model of architectural completeness as the Romanesque style could produce.

The plans that may, in a general way, be compared with Selby are Hereford, Chichester, Southwell, Romsey, Gloucester, Worcester, and Lindisfarne, in England; Llandaff, in Wales; and Jedburgh, in Scotland. The complete Norman plan of all these churches is known, their main points of resemblance to Selby being the aisleless eastern apse, with a great and ornate sanctuary arch opening to it, as existing at Hereford and Llandaff, and indicated at Jedburgh; and the apsidal eastern chapels to

[1] This is not a treatise on mediæval architecture, and it will be only necessary to say that I have no faith in the oft-repeated fallacy that clerics were their own architects. The Durham deed which describes Richard de Farnham, the architect of the Nine Altars, as "*architector novæ fabricæ Dunelm.*" is sufficient proof of this.

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transepts, which occur at Southwell,[1] Romsey, Tewkesbury, Chichester, Gloucester, Norwich, and Lindisfarne. It seems clear that the choir aisles ended as shown on the accompanying plan, apsidal inside and square outside, as they were at Peterborough and Winchester, and still are at Romsey. It is also probable that the apse was flanked by two stair turrets with tall spires, such as still remain at Peterborough. In the setting out of the nave, the alternate arrangement of circular columns, and compound piers carrying vaulting shafts, was adopted. Space does not admit of our going into the whole question of the design and development of the Romanesque and Gothic church plans, it will be enough to say that amongst our Norman churches there are two distinct types, those with continuous lines of circular columns all of one size and form, as Gloucester, Tewkesbury and Southwell, and those where circular columns and great clustered piers alternate with each other, as at Selby, Waltham, and Durham. Between these extremes are various less clearly defined types. It is evident that in the one class a stone vault was not intended to be used, but in the other the very motive of the design was the supporting of a great vault. The prototypes of the two classes were the long avenues of classical columns in the early Christian basilicas in the one case, and the widely-spanned domed churches of Byzantium in the other. It is interesting to observe how these two original forms become modified as they travel westward and give rise to the numerous and generally beautiful phases of Romanesque architecture which western Europe was at this time developing.

As to the exact period of Abbot Hugh's rule that the work was begun we have no information, and the building itself, so far as his work remains, is the only guide to its date. We are told that he laid the foundations of the church and the domestic

[1] The whole plan is very like that of the Norman church at Southwell, except that there the east end was square.

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buildings, and that he completed the greater part of the church and the buildings round it. The chapter-house is mentioned as being in use during his abbacy, so it may fairly be included among the buildings he erected. It is evident from the recorded accounts that Hugh pressed the work on with all speed, and as he does not appear to have been hampered by lack of funds, and, also, as he did not complete the church before he resigned his office, we may conclude that it was not begun before about the year 1110, the thirteen years ensuing to the time of his resignation allowing ample time for building what can be assigned to the time of his abbacy.

We are fortunate in possessing, in the cathedral of Durham, a church built on similar lines to Abbot Hugh's church, though on a much greater scale, of the erection of which a sufficiently detailed record has been preserved in the writings of Symeon to guide us in assigning a date to the Norman work at Selby. Durham Cathedral was begun by William of St. Carileph in August, 1093, and at the time of his death in January, 1096, the choir and a part of the transepts were in a more or less complete state. Carileph's successor, Flambard, between 1099 and 1128, finished the nave up to the vault. The earliest work in the nave at Selby shows in some of its details a slight advance on that in the nave at Durham; it is therefore but reasonable to infer that it was building at the same time or immediately afterwards. The year 1123 is the last in which we can place any of Abbot Hugh's work at Selby, and 1128 the last in which we can place any of Flambard's in the nave at Durham. The comparison, therefore, compels us to conclude that Flambard's work in the Durham nave was brought to a completion some years before his death, and that Abbot Hugh's work at Selby is a little later in date, as it distinctly is in character. In any case there are the strongest grounds for supposing that Flambard and Hugh employed the same architect. Apart from the parallelism of the two plans,

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and the occurrence of the double spiral moulding on the circular columns in the same relative position in both the naves, there are also two details used in the same manner in both cases which are of such extreme rarity as to render it almost certain that we see the work of the same man in both places. These details are a projecting band, or string-course, of characteristic Norman section, which is carried along the walls just above the plinths, and also round the bases of both columns and compound piers; and the use, in the hollow of the base mouldings to the columns and piers, of an ornamented band, such as a cable, a row of lozenges, or of lozenge-shaped reticulations, as the case may be. At Durham neither of these details occurs in Carileph's work. The string-course above the plinth first appears in the north and south walls of the transept and in the bases of the line of columns and piers on the east side of the transept, and including the eastern piers of the central tower. The ornaments in the bases first appear in the nave, after the two eastern bases have been passed. At Selby the band above the plinth occurs only inside the church, in the bases of the tower piers, inside the transept, along the south aisle wall to within a few feet of the west wall, and in the north aisle to the extent of nearly two bays and a half from the east end. It does not occur on any of the bases in the nave. It may be said to mark the extent of Abbot Hugh's building. The minor ornaments in the bases do not occur in the tower piers but are found in all the Norman bases in the nave. (See plan).

It seems clear that Abbot Hugh built the whole of the eastern arm, the transept, the tower to the top of the first stage above the ridges of the roofs, as high as where the Norman work is yet to be seen at the north-west angle, and the first arch on the south side of the nave. He also carried up the walls of the nave aisles, on the north side, to a distance of rather more than two bays west of the transept, but on the south side for

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almost the whole length of the nave. This was done to enclose the cloister from the then open ground on the north, and to prevent any but legitimate access to the monastic buildings; as well as to prevent the meditations of the monks, as far as possible, from being disturbed by the building operations that were going on in the nave.

The remains of Hugh's church are of a somewhat fragmentary nature, but enough still exists for us to realise in imagination what it was, or was intended to be, when finished. The choir has entirely gone, and the unfortunate destruction of the south transept has robbed us of what was, in all probability, the most interesting portion of his building, from an archæological, if not from an architectural point of view. Of this transept nothing now remains above ground except the northern jamb of the arch which opened to the apsidal chapel on its eastern side. This jamb has two engaged shafts with simple cushion capitals, of much plainer character than any of those in the church, showing that the work was more elaborately detailed as it proceeded westward. The tower piers present plain wall surfaces on their inner sides, but have responds of clustered shafts towards the nave and transepts, from which the arcades and the arches opening to the nave aisles spring. The north transept still retains a large part of the original Norman work. The eastern apsidal chapel was removed when the new choir was connected with the older work, and the whole of the lower portion of the east wall has been so altered that little of the original work is visible. The north wall has also been completely transformed by the insertion of a large Perpendicular window, so that the Norman masonry only appears beneath its sill and at its sides. The western wall,[1] however, still remains to a large extent in its original state, and is on the whole the most interesting portion of Abbot Hugh's work left. Its exterior face presents two arched recesses, one of which contains the only

[1] Vol. I, Plate II.

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Norman window left in the whole church, and which probably represents the form of all the original windows of the ground story. This window retires within the arched recess nearest to the nave. Its hood mould is the continuation of an embattled string-course which runs along the west wall and is carried over it. This same string-course seems to have been continued all round, as it is interrupted by the later insertions. In the north-west angle is a newel stair, the loop lights to which are seen, one above another, in the pilaster buttress which strengthens the angle. The Norman clerestory of this transept has been so changed by later work that but little of the original masonry remains *in situ*. The later builders thinned the wall, by setting back its outer face and inserting larger windows in the spaces between the buttresses. On the east side, and near the north-east angle, the northern portion of one of the Norman clerestory arcade arches remains. This seems to show that the design of the clerestory was an arcade of three arches in each bay, the centre one pierced to form a window. The portions of the arch that remain are part of a plain square architrave and jamb. There are no indications of nook shafts or any elaborate details. The height of the Norman walls is indicated by a small piece of the original corbel table in the angle of the north transept and nave. This shows that the old walls were several feet lower than the later ones, which were raised to give more room for, and to add greater dignity to the clerestory.

Of the four piers carrying the central tower, but one remains in an unaltered condition, that at the south-west angle. The south-eastern pier was entirely rebuilt after the fall of the old Norman tower, but the same stones were re-used, so that it does not greatly differ in appearance from the others. The north-eastern pier underwent considerable change when the new choir was joined up to the older work to the west of it, while the north-western one has been modified by the addition of a later respond on its north face. The unaltered pier shows that they

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all four consisted of what may be described as considerable sections of the main wall used to carry the tower, rather than of piers composed of clusters of shafts, as was usually the case. The inner faces, looking north and south, are flush with the inner surface of the main walls, and the eastern and western arches, or rather their soffit orders, are carried on a short pier projected out upon corbels at the level of the triforium string-course, while the outer orders of the same arches die into the walls above the level of the spring of the triforium arches. The northern and southern arches are very much less in span than the other two, and rise from the capitals of nook shafts which have their origin in the main bases. This peculiar difference in the treatment of the two pairs of crossing arches was adopted to give the clear width of the nave under the eastern and western arches, in order that the choir stalls might be placed against a flat wall surface: the choir, as was usual in the Norman churches, having been formed beneath the crossing and extending, perhaps, a short distance west of it. The corbels beneath the eastern and western arches are interesting examples of the grotesque heads so usually found in the Norman work of the better kind.

The small portion of the old tower that remains shows that it was of no great elevation, and that it was provided with two wall passages, one above the other, in the first stage, *i.e.*, the stage between the crowns of the arches supporting it and the ridges of the roofs. The lowest of these passages has its floor level on the line of a chamfered string-course, three courses above the crowns of the arches. It was lighted from within the tower by means of four openings on each face. Two of these are of large size, with recessed arches, semicircular jamb shafts and scolloped capitals. Between these and the angles are two small openings, perfectly plain but, singularly enough, having triangular heads cut out of one stone. The purpose of these is

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evidently to afford some borrowed light to the wall passage where it turns the angles. A little higher up, the other wall passage is reached. It is of the same width, but of greater height than that below it, and is lighted from without by two windows in each face. These are placed so near the angles that in their upper parts they come above the slope of the original roofs. Their architectural treatment is similar to that of the larger openings below, and the detail of the capitals in the jambs shows that Abbot Hugh's work was carried up to this point. In the next stage of the tower only a small portion of the north-west angle is original; it is the one in which the newel stair was carried up in a slight projection, with nook shafts in the angle against the tower wall. The four corners of the tower were also reeded with engaged nook shafts.

Abbot Hugh's work extended into the nave, but it appears that, with the exception of the aisle walls, it proceeded but a very short distance west of the crossing. The first arch on the south side and the ornamented column beyond it may be assigned to this period, as well as a single bay of the triforium, and a mere fragment of the wall above against the tower, but no portion of the clerestory arcade. On the north side is to be seen a similar small piece of Norman masonry against the angle of the tower, carrying but three corbels, of the old corbel table, and the parapet above it; showing that the first Norman work just cleared the tower, and only enough was built west of it to carry out the levels and form some abutment to the crossing arches. On the north side, the pier itself seems to have been relied upon for this purpose, as the arch next the crossing belongs to the second section of the work. Of the aisle walls, as far as they belong to the Norman work of the first period, there is little to be said. The projecting band, mentioned before, is carried along inside the walls as far as they were built at this time. In the second bay from the east in the south aisle is a built-up

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Norman doorway, which was supplanted by the later one in the eastern bay. The repairs of the wall have obliterated the external traces of this doorway. In the seventh bay from the east in the same wall is a curious blind arcade of four members, with small semicircular heads worked out of single stones. There are appearances of openings here, but they are confused. Similar small round-headed openings may be seen in the early work under the Common Room in Durham Castle and in the west end of Yarm Church. Externally there are no Norman features in the south aisle wall, but on the north side is a single Norman buttress, and the corbel table in the two eastern bays, with the parapet above, are of the same date.

The details of Abbot Hugh's work as seen in the nave are of a slightly more advanced character than those in the nave at Durham. The capital of the ornamented pier is circular instead of octagonal, and the ornament on the pier, which at Durham is formed by a semicircular groove, is here a sunk reed, or semicircular moulding, worked out of the surface of the column. The chevron ornament, too, is a little more elaborate and refined in character than at Durham, and the carving of the capitals points towards the coming changes in the style. There can be little doubt that the year of Hugh's resignation (1123) was the year which marks the end of the first section of the Norman work.

The pause made before another section was undertaken could not have been a long one, for the completion of two bays on either side of the nave as high as the clerestory string-course seems, to judge from the details, to have soon followed. The same design was carried on, no doubt under the same architect, and a little more ornament was introduced. The pier arches have two rows of chevrons in the mouldings. The capitals are richer and more delicately carved. The triforium has a main arch and two sub-arches in each bay. In the tympanum the stones are all square and laid lozenge-wise. There are two

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engaged shafts in each jamb, and the sub-arches are carried by a short circular column, all with carved and scolloped capitals. A settlement of the foundations of the piers of the tower having occurred, and possibly some disturbance, owing to the thrust westward of the arches; the sub-arches of the eastern bay on each side were taken out and the main arch built up, a small arch, similar to one of the sub-arches, being built in. The capitals of the inner jamb shafts are embedded in the walls filling the arches. The vault over the two eastern bays of the south aisle is of this period; it is quadripartite, with heavy moulded transverse and diagonal ribs, and is the only piece of Norman vaulting in the church.

It may be inferred that a temporary wall was now built across the nave at the first clustered pier from the east, and a temporary roof put on at the level of the clerestory string-course.

Whether the recorded characters of the abbots succeeding Hugh prevented the work being carried on with any degree of speed, or if there was a lack of funds, or if the convent kept one or two masons dressing stones and building alternately, so as to make some little progress, cannot well be decided. There is some confusion in the details at this point which seems to make the last possibility the most likely one of the three, for we find a late capital on an early base, and Norman chevron mouldings along with plain ones of Transitional character in the same arch. In any case the third and fourth bays on either side of the nave, in a more or less complete state, followed, and formed a third section of the work at the end of the Norman period, or running into that of the Transition. There is some appearance in the arches of ready-worked stones being used up with others worked to a fresh section, but the old design was not changed and the bases, piers and capitals are the same as in the parts further east.

Between 1170 and 1180 a decided effort was made to complete the nave, and the work seems to have been begun in a

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systematic manner, and to have been carried on with great vigour for some years; for during the Transitional period, or before 1190, the whole of the ground story had been built, including the lower part of the west front, the north porch, the arcades of the nave, and the triforium on the north side up to the west front. All this work is of excellent design and most carefully carried out. The exuberance displayed in the arches of the great west doorway, and the north doorway between the porch and the church, mark the beginning of the work, when the ornaments of the older Norman were beginning to be used with much freedom and to run off into all kinds of new forms and modifications, till their very richness sealed their doom, for they suddenly disappear, and their places are taken by plain mouldings, designed with the greatest care, and wrought with such precision, that the very workmanship has a beauty peculiarly its own. It was just at this time that this large section of the nave at Selby grew up. Possibly the severe plainness, but admirable design and workmanship of the great Cistercian churches in the same county had influenced all around them, and the builders began to see that a bold design carried out by skilled craftsmen had a far better effect than the wearisome and fretful trifling of the carver's chisel. The circular column of the Norman work is changed into a beautiful cluster of seven pear-shaped shafts and a triple vaulting shaft, carrying a capital divided in the bell, but bound together by a great circular abacus. The older form of clustered pier, formed by placing nook shafts in recesses, is converted into groups of round and pear-shaped shafts, each carrying its own portion of the arch mouldings.[1] The semicircular vaulting shafts

[1] The gradual growth of the nave at Selby has resulted in the multiplication of the different forms of columns to a remarkable degree, there being in the whole church no less than thirteen distinct varieties, including the two forms in the choir, but without counting any of the responds; a number of various types which probably no other church in England could produce.

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