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BURIAL-PLACES OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.

BY CANON SCOTT ROBERTSON.

ARCHBISHOP BENSON is the 93rd actual occupant of the Primatial See of Canterbury, but Roger Walden, who was intruded into Archbishop Arundel's throne, for a few years, is not usually counted as one of the Primate's ; so that we reckon only 91 predecessors of the present Primate as legitimate Archbishops. Another prelate (Reginald Fitzjoceline, Bishop of Bath) was elected to the Primacy, but he died before he could be enthroned. John de Ufford (Lord Chancellor) died before he could be consecrated. Of the 91 predecessors of Archbishop Benson, the ashes of 58 lie in Canterbury ; but all of these lived and died before the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

7 were buried at Lambeth, in or beside the parish church there (viz., PARKER, BANCROFT, TENISON, HUTTON, SECKER, CORNWALLIS, and MOORE).

6 were interred at Croydon (viz., GRINDAL, WHITGIFT, SHELDON, WAKE, POTTER, and HERRING).

5 are buried at Addington (viz., MANNERS-SUTTON, *HOWLEY, *SUMNER, LONGLEY, and *TAIT).

3 mingled with the dust at Oxford. (1) CRANMER was burned there in 1555. (2) LAUD, after his execution in 1644, was buried at Barking All Hallows, but in 1663 his remains were carried to the Chapel of St. John's College, Oxford. (3) JUXON (who, when Bishop of London, attended Charles I. upon the scaffold) was also interred at Oxford, in the Chapel of St. John's College, in 1663.

1 lies in London at the Church of St. Lawrence, Jewry. I mean John TILLOTSON, who died 23rd November 1694.

1 has a fine tomb in Westminster Abbey ; viz., Cardinal LANGHAM,

* For Howley, Sumner, and Tait there are memorial cenotaphs in Canterbury Cathedral.

who died at Avignon, on the 22nd of July 1376, but was removed to Westminster in 1379. He had resigned the Archiepiscopal See upon being created Cardinal Priest of St. Sixtus in 1368. His tomb stands on the north side of the Choir of Westminster Abbey.

2 Pre-Norman Archbishops (ELFIN (or ALFSIN) and STIGAND) were buried at Winchester.

1 ROBERT (a Pre-Norman Primate) lies at Gemetica (Jumièges) in Normandy.

1 St. EDMUND of PONTIGNY (a native of Abingdon) lies at Pontigny.

1 Archbishop BALDWIN, dying at the Crusade, was buried at Tyre.

1 Archbishop KILWARDBY was interred at Viterbo.

1 BONIFACE (a Savoyard) was buried in Savoy.

1 RICHARD WETHERSHED or GRANT lies at St. Gemma in Italy.

1 Archbishop SANCROFT lies at Fressingfield.

1 Archbishop ABBOT was buried at Guildford, his native place.

Of the 58 Primates who were interred at Canterbury, 11 were buried at the Abbey called St. Augustine's; and 47 were interred at Christ Church. Of these 47, we find that 19 died before the Norman Conquest and 28 died after the Conquest.

To St. Augustine's Abbey were brought Archbishop AUGUSTINE and his 9 immediate successors (LAWRENCE, MELLITUS, JUSTUS, HONORIUS, DEUSDEDIT, THEODORE, BRITHWALD, TATWIN, and NOTHELM). Another Saxon Primate, JAMBERT (who had been Abbot of St. Augustine's), was subsequently interred in the Chapter House of that Abbey in 790. These eleven Primates are commemorated now in St. Augustine's College in the little windows of the Crypt Chapel.

Intra-mural interment was much objected to by the Romans and by the Saxons. Consequently the burial-ground for all Canterbury during several centuries was at St. Augustine's, which stands outside the City walls.

Archbishop CUTHBERT was the first who broke through the old custom, and in defiance of the claims of St. Augustine's Abbey, he was buried at his own Cathedral Church in A.D. 758, within a chapel dedicated by himself to St. John the Baptist; wherein several of his successors were afterwards interred. Gervase records that in A.D. 1180* his remains were carried to the North-east Transept, and laid on the south side of the Altar of St. Stephen. His successor

* The most accessible translation of Gervase's description of the positions in which the remains of Archbishops were deposited in A.D. 1180 is found in Professor Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 55—58.

BREGWIN was likewise translated at the same time (A.D. 1180) to the South-east Transept, and was there re-interred at St. Gregory's Altar.

Seventeen Pre-Norman Primates were interred at Christ Church after Cuthbert and Bregwin, many of them in the Chapel of St. John Baptist, which Cuthbert had built. Of these we know, from Gervase, that—

ATHELARD was translated in A.D. 1180 to the north of St. Stephen's Altar in the new Choir's North Transept.

WILFRID was likewise translated, in 1180, to the North-east Transept, but was laid on the south side of St. Martin's Altar.

FEOLGELD, CEOLNOTH, and ATHELRED are not mentioned by Gervase.

PLEGMUND was translated to St. Gregory's Altar.

ATHELM and WLFHELM are not noticed by Gervase.

ODO, who was placed behind the Altar of the Trinity in Ernulph's and Conrad's Retro-choir, was brought to St. Dunstan's Altar in 1180, and in the fourteenth century was moved to the south side of the Corona.

ST. DUNSTAN, in 1180, was brought to an altar and shrine on the south side of the High Altar in the new Choir, and there his body rested until the Reformation. His shrine was opened in 1508, on the 20th of April, when his body was found therein.

ETHELGAR was, in 1180, removed to St. John the Evangelist's Altar in the South-east Transept.

SIRIC's translation is not mentioned by Gervase.

ÆLFRIC, who was interred at Abingdon in 1006, was brought later to Canterbury, and in 1180 was removed, like Ethelgar, to St. John's Altar in the South-east Transept.

ST. ELPHEGE, who was murdered in 1012 by the Danes at Greenwich, on the site where the parish church of St. Elphege now stands, after burial in St. Paul's, London, was carried to Canterbury eleven years later, King Canute himself following the coffin to the bank of the Thames. In 1180, the Saint's remains were brought to a shrine on the north side of the High Altar in the new Choir, and an altar was erected to his honour. More than two centuries later, Archbishop Courtenay, in memory of St. Elphege, filled with glass a window in the new Nave of the Cathedral, at a cost of £20.

LIVING (ob. 1020) was placed north of St. Martin's Altar, in the North-eastern Transept, in 1180.

AGELNOTH and EADSY were buried in their Cathedral, but Gervase does not mention the removal of their remains in A.D. 1180.

THE TOMBS OF 12 POST-NORMAN PRIMATES, who were buried in their Cathedral, have nearly, or *wholly disappeared*.

LANFRANC (ob. 28 May 1089) was buried on the south side of the High Altar in the old Trinity Chapel. In 1180 he was translated to the south side of the Altar of St. Martin in the North-east Transept, where this Archbishop's name, scratched upon the south wall, is still visible.

ST. ANSELM was buried at the head of Lanfranc in 1109, but was removed to the Chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul, and was buried behind the High Altar thereof. The chapel has ever since borne his name, as St. Anselm's Chapel.

RALPH DE TURBINE, or D'ESCURES (ob. 1122) was interred near the Altar of St. Benedict.

WM. CORBOIL (ob. 1136) was buried near the Altar of St. Benedict, in the Martyrdom.

THEOBALD (ob. 1161) was first buried at the east end of Conrad's Trinity Chapel on its north side, but in 1180 was removed to the front of the Altar of St. Mary in the north aisle of the Nave. His remains were found there in 1786. (See Hasted's *History of Kent*, xii., 326 note.)

THOMAS BECKET was murdered in 1170. No trace of his tomb in the Crypt remains, but representations of it abound in the ancient glass (about 670 years old) in the north-east windows of the Retro-choir, or Trinity Chapel, wherein are represented various miraculous cures which were said to have been wrought at the tomb of St. Thomas.

RICHARD (once Prior of Dover) was buried in the Lady Chapel in the Nave's north aisle, and his remains were found in 1735-40 while a grave was being dug.

SIMON ISLIP was buried in April 1366, at midnight, in the Nave's middle aisle, at its eastern end. When the Nave was rebuilt, about twenty years later, his monumental brass was removed to the North side of the Nave, and placed between two pillars of the north arcade. In 1786, when the Nave was newly paved, his memorial stone, robbed of its brass, was carried probably into the Chapter House, where one similar to it may now be seen in the floor. Dart gives an engraving of Islip's tomb on p. 151 of his *History of the Cathedral of Canterbury*.

WILLIAM WITTESEY, nephew of Archbishop Islip, was buried opposite his uncle, in June 1374, between two pillars of the

south arcade of the Nave. His memorial slab has entirely disappeared. Dart engraved it on p. 155 of his *History*. In 1786, when the Nave was repaved, his skeleton was found entire. His body seemed to have been laid in wood ashes.

THOMAS ARUNDEL during his lifetime founded for himself chantries in the Nave of Canterbury Cathedral, and in Maidstone Church. Pope Gregory XII. gave his formal approval of both, on June 1, 1408. The matrix of Archbishop Arundel's memorial brass is said to have remained in the Nave of the Cathedral until 1786, but his chantry on the north side was pulled down at the Reformation.

JOHN STAFFORD was buried in the Martyrdom, in July 1452, and there still remains the matrix of his monumental brass.

HENRY DENE was buried in the Martyrdom in 1503, and the matrix of his monumental brass remains there, in the floor of the North-west Transept adjacent to, and south of, that of Archbishop Stafford. It is north of the matrix of the monumental brass of Prior Finch.

Of 16 PRIMATES' TOMBS STILL VISIBLE in Canterbury Cathedral, the earliest is that about which so much was lately heard—I mean that of HUBERT WALTER, who died in 1205, and was buried beside a window on the south side of the Retro-choir, called Trinity Chapel. The tomb is shrine-like, with no effigy, but it bears six carvings of heads, four of which are seen in Dart's engravings upon pp. 123, 156, of his *History*. These heads are differently attired. On two of them are mitres, which suggest that the prelate here commemorated held only two sees in succession, as Hubert Walter did. He was elevated to the Primacy in 1193 from the See of Salisbury (to which he had been consecrated in 1189). A third head wears a cap, which may be that of a Dean or Canon, as Hubert Walter had been Dean of York from 1168 to 1188. As he had been a Judge or Justiciary in the reign of Henry II.; the Chief Justiciary of England under King Richard I.; and Lord Chancellor under King John (who, like his brother Richard, was crowned by Hubert Walter), the other three heads may have represented him in these dignities.

It is strange that tradition should have attributed this tomb to Archbishop Theobald, who, dying in A.D. 1160, was buried on the north side of the old Trinity Chapel, and whose body and tomb were in A.D. 1180 transferred to the Nave, and laid near the Altar of St. Mary the Virgin. The mistake was pointed out in A.D. 1640 by Somner (*Antiquities of Canterbury*, p. 123 of Battely's edition).

Somner traces the error to Bishop Godwyn, and says that none before Godwyn had authorized the report that this was Theobald's tomb. Dart, in A.D. 1726, likewise drew attention to the falsity of this report. Yet it continued to be repeated, and believed, until our own time. Professor Willis says (*Architectural History of Christ Church, Canterbury*, p. 128) of this tomb, "It is usually attributed to Archbishop Theobald, but without reason; and it is too late in style."

The position of Hubert Walter's tomb is mentioned accurately and distinctly in only one of the extant manuscript records of the burial-places of Archbishops of Canterbury. A monk of Christ Church, writing *circa* A.D. 1532, says, respecting Hubert Walter, "*Sepultus est in Ecclesia Christi Cantuar, juxta feretrum Sancti Thomæ.*"* In the outer margin of the MS. are written, by another hand, these words, "*aliter sub fenestra in parte australi,*" which seem to complete the identification of the site of this tomb (some-time called Theobald's), which I mentioned, in the year 1881, as the probable burial-place of Archbishop Hubert Walter.† Trefoiled arches such as we find in the arcading which ornaments this tomb were unknown in England until they were used by the architect, William of Sens, who commenced the rebuilding of the Choir of Canterbury Cathedral, after the great fire in the twelfth century. Ten windows (broad and low), which he introduced, above the great windows of the Choir, have such trefoiled arches. These windows were inserted during A.D. 1177-8, and still remain; five on the north side, and five on the south.‡ The tomb itself stands near the site of Becket's shrine, and near the tomb of the Black Prince.

* Parker MS. No. ccxcviii, 5 (at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge), folio 106. This manuscript record was unknown to Professor Willis. In 1844-5, he wrote: "No record of a monument on this spot is preserved, and if, as is probable, it has been removed from its original site, all clue to its history is gone." The opening of this tomb, in March 1892, enabled many questions to be settled and set at rest. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, and every expert who examined the interior of the tomb, decided without doubt that this tomb was in its original position, and that its contents had never before been disturbed.

It may be useful to mention other MSS. which record the burial-places of Archbishops of Canterbury:—Harleian MS. No. 636 (*circa* A.D. 1313), *Polistorie del Eglise de Christ de Caunterbyre*; MS. Galba E. iv. (*circa* A.D. 1321), printed in Dart's *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Appendix xiii; in Lambeth Palace Library, Wharton's MS. Collections for his *Anglia Sacra* include a later copy of the Parker MS. (by a monk of Christ Church, A.D. 1532) in MS. No. 585. Very faulty, but of some little use, is Harleian MS. 1366, Richard Scarlett's record of what he saw in Canterbury Cathedral, especially the heraldic blazoning on tombs, as Scarlett was an heraldic painter, or coach-painter.

† *Archæologia Cantiana*, XIV., 284.

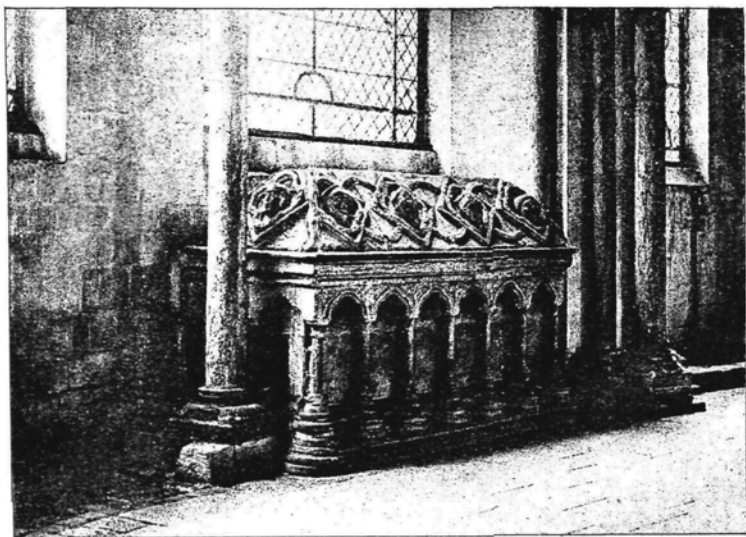
‡ They are shewn on two plates opposite pp. 74 and 77 of Professor Willis's *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*.

It is placed beside the south wall of the Retro-choir (called Trinity Chapel), which was rebuilt during the years 1181-84, but was not roofed in until A.D. 1184. Every one can therefore see the truth and cogency of Professor Willis's remark (p. 128 of his *Architectural History of Cant. Cath.*), "The style seems a little later than the completion of the Trinity Chapel." After the completion of Trinity Chapel, the first Primate who was interred at Canterbury was Hubert Walter. He was buried there on the 13th of July 1205. His successor, Stephen Langton (who was not consecrated until 1207, when he became Primate), was buried, as all records testify, in St. Michael's Chapel, in A.D. 1228, *before the altar*; and when that chapel was rebuilt (about 175 or 180 years later), the monk who *circa* 1532 wrote the Parker MS. distinctly tells us that the coffin of Stephen Langton was placed *beneath** the Altar of St. Michael, in the rebuilt chapel. The position in which we see it, now, exactly accords with this statement. When the Altar of St. Michael was removed at the Reformation, the head of the coffin of Stephen Langton would be exposed to view, as it now appears. Thus, before the interior of this tomb (falsely called Theobald's) was examined, the testimony of the old monk's manuscript, and the evidence of date afforded by the architectural details of the tomb, both rendered it tolerably certain that the occupant of the tomb must be Hubert Walter.

When the tomb was opened on March 10, 1892, and the stone coffin was found to contain the remains of a prelate whose sacred vessels with their inscriptions, whose jewels, and whose vestments were all clearly of a date not later than A.D. 1199, it became indisputably certain that this prelate must have been Hubert Walter, who was Bishop of Salisbury from A.D. 1189 to 1193, and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1193 to 1205.

It remains to notice the fact that, for two or three centuries, an altar-tomb in the south aisle of the Choir has been invariably designated the tomb of Hubert Walter. We may trace this error to Archbishop Parker's words. He says that Hubert Walter was buried "*in chori pariete ad austrum*." His description of the site of Walter Reynolds's tomb is "*in australi chori muro*." The tomb so long ascribed to Hubert Walter stands but a few feet to the east of Walter Reynolds's tomb. The architectural details of both these tombs prove that they were erected early in the fourteenth century; more than one hundred years after the death of Hubert Walter. Professor Willis had observed this architectural contra-

* Lambeth MS. 585, p. 86, "*in capella Sancti Michaelis sub altare*."



THE TOMB BEFORE IT WAS OPENED.



THE TOMB AS OPENED MARCH, 10TH 1890.

diction of the truth of the tradition, and mentions it. Another fact might also have prevented experts from falling into the error of supposing that this altar-tomb could be the burial-place of Hubert Walter. Can any one point to an altar-tomb, anywhere, which was built so early as 1205? The earliest altar-tombs in Canterbury Cathedral commemorate two worthies who died in A.D. 1292, viz., the Countess of Athol and Archbishop Peckham. When Archbishop Hubert Walter died, altar-tombs had not been introduced into our churches. It becomes now a *crux*, for experts to discover to whose memory this tomb in the south aisle of the Choir was really erected.

On Saturday the 8th of March 1892, one of the top or roof stones of the pyramidal tomb (falsely ascribed to Theobald) was lifted, and a lighted taper was inserted. To the surprise of those* who were looking in, there was seen a complete stone coffin with well-moulded lid. On Monday the 10th of March the contents of the coffin were fully examined.†

The coffin, of Caen stone, tapers from a width of $30\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the head (or west end) to $22\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the foot (or east end). The lid, of Purbeck marble, is 7 inches thick. Two chamfers run completely round this lid. The outer one is a simple flat chamfer, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. The inner or upper chamfer is a wide shallow hollow, which varies on the two sides and at the corners from $6\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 inches in width. These chamfers cause the central top surface of the lid to be only $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at the head, and $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at the foot. The total length of the coffin lid is 6 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The depth of the exterior of the coffin is 16 inches, below the lid. The width of the coffin is rather greater at the top than at the bottom; so that at the foot, its exterior width at the top is 24 inches, and at the bottom 22 inches.

When the lid was lifted, the body of an Archbishop in full pontificals was disclosed. His crosier was lying across the body from the right foot to the left shoulder. A chalice and paten had been placed beside him. His head rested upon a stone pillow, in which a hollow had been hewn to receive the head. The stone pillow extended across the full width of the coffin.

Upon the head of the Archbishop was a plain mitre made of silk, without any embroidery or ornament. This silk was merely folded into shape; the two *infulæ* or pendants seem to have been attached to it with a couple of stitches.

* Canon F. Holland, Canon C. F. Routledge, and Dr. Sheppard.

† There were then present:—Canon Francis Holland, Archdeacon B. F. Smith, Canon W. A. Scott Robertson, Dr. J. Brigstocke Sheppard, the Rev. John Morris, S.J., F.S.A., and the Rev. Père Du Lac.

The woollen *pallium* had decayed away ; but two gilt pins, each $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, which had fastened the *pallium* to the chasuble, near the shoulders, still remain, and the leaden weights which kept down the ends of the *pallium* were also found. They were flat pieces of lead about 2 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$, which had been covered with black silk. The heads of the *pallium*-pins were shaped like daisies or marguerites, $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of an inch in diameter. Each marguerite has 16 petals. Some prefer to call the flower a marigold.

Around the primate's neck was the collar of his amice. It was lying loose, as the amice itself (like the alb and *pallium*) had decayed away. This collar is a wonderful example of embroidery in gold thread on silk. The width of it is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its length $22\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Yet within this small space are embroidered seven distinct figures, each within a roundel. A jewel (or mock turquoise) was originally inserted between each pair of roundels, but these are gone.

- (I.)—The central figure represents our Blessed Lord, seated, with His right hand upraised in the attitude of Benediction. Above His right shoulder is a Greek Alpha, and above His left is the letter Omega.
- (II. and III.)—Right and left of our Lord are the Evangelistic symbols of St. Matthew and St. John, with the name of each embroidered, not in a straight line, but with the letters placed wherever room could best be found ; as *MATEVS* and *IOHANNES*.
- (IV.)—On the spectator's right of St. John's symbol appears an ox-like Lion of St. Mark, with the name "*MARCVS*."
- (V.)—On our left of St. Matthew appears the symbol of St. Luke with the word "*LVCAS*."
- (VI.)—On the spectator's extreme left is the figure of the Archangel Michael, with his name, and on his right is one crescent moon.
- (VII.)—On the extreme right of the spectator is the figure of the Archangel Gabriel, with the name "*Gabrielis*," and two crescent moons, which may possibly symbolize his two messages of Annunciation—one to Elizabeth, and the other to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The lettering of all these names is in capitals of the twelfth century, closely resembling those which appear upon the wall-paintings in the Crypt Chapel of St. Gabriel in Canterbury Cathedral, as shewn in *Archæologia Cantiana*, XIII., 66-7, 75, 78.

The chasuble of the Archbishop is of that ample form which was used in the twelfth century. It is composed of silk, perhaps white originally, but now of the old-gold colour seen also in the mitre, in the ground-work of the amice-collar, and in the primate's sanctuary shoes. This very ample chasuble is bordered, at its edges, by a gold ribbon about 1 inch wide, formed of green silk and gold thread woven together.

Up the centre of the front of the chasuble passes a broad braid or silken ribbon, woven with patterns which comprise the filfot, the swastika, and the tau, in various combinations. This vertical and central stripe has near its base two short flanking stripes, which seem to lean against it like buttresses. They produce the effect of a tripod at the base, and they at once reminded me of the similar ornament upon a chasuble of Archbishop Thomas Becket, which is still preserved at the Cathedral of Sens. There are other additional stripes of ornament on that chasuble of Becket; but this of Hubert Walter, which we examined on the 10th of March, appears to me closely to resemble that of Becket in amplitude and shape, as well as in this portion of its ornament.

Parts of the stole, woven in silk with various combinations of the tau and the filfot patterns, still remain, and a piece of the Primate's hair shirt was found near the waist.

The hands having withered away to little more than mere bones, the Archbishop's signet ring of gold was lying loosely. It contains a Gnostic gem of the fourth century, as the Rev. S. S. Lewis (an expert) tells us, formed of a green stone called *plasma*, and adorned with the figure of a serpent standing erect, about whose head are rays of light. Parallel with the serpent's body is inscribed his name, in Greco-Coptic letters, "XNVPHIC." This ring weighs half an ounce avoirdupois. The inner diameter of the ring is $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch, and it exactly fits the forefinger of my own right hand. The gem is three-quarters of an inch long, and nine-sixteenths of an inch broad. Probably Hubert Walter had worn this signet when he was Bishop of Salisbury, and did not discard it when he became Primate. We are told by Mr. Waterton, in an article on Episcopal Rings, that after Hubert Walter had become Archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Innocent III. definitively settled, in A.D. 1194,* that thenceforward an episcopal ring should be of gold, solid, and set with a precious stone on which nothing was to be cut. Waterton quotes as his authority a work by Merati, edited by Gavanti (p. 1341). He states also that a curious episcopal ring, of the latter part of the twelfth century, was found near Oxford in 1856; the bezel of which was set with a fine antique *plasma*, bearing the bust of a female. This episcopal ring seems closely to parallel that which we found in Archbishop Hubert Walter's tomb. The use of ancient Gnostic gems by prelates at that period may have caused Pope Innocent III. to issue his ordinance (in 1194) that henceforward episcopal rings

* *Archæological Journal*, vol. xx., pp. 226-7.

were to be plain, without device. The ordinance was probably enforced for a certain period after its issue, but ultimately no doubt it became a dead letter.

The sanctuary shoes of Archbishop Hubert Walter are very remarkable. They are of silk, covered with a profusion of embroidery in gold thread. Their depth is such that they must have surrounded the ankles. The principal design is formed of large pear-shaped open curves. Two of these are interwoven at the toe. Between the toe and the instep are five of these pear-shaped curves, their broad ends being towards the toes, and the pointed end of each is finished with a jewel (a garnet) set in gold thread as in a ring. On both sides of the instep are two figures; the upper pair being large heraldic lions passant; the lower pair being bird-headed monsters, with tails that end in heads. Around the heel of each shoe we see several repetitions of a square figure, from each corner of which projects a fleur-de-lis, while a similar fleur-de-lis projects from the centre of each side of the square. This design, I fancy, has been copied from some coin.

Upon the Primate's legs were buskins or leggings of silk, adorned with the filfot in various combinations.

Near the feet was the "apparel" of the alb. That garment itself had entirely disappeared, having gone to dust.

The crosier is in fragments, but it had been quite $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. Its round stem is of cedar wood, about three-quarters of an inch (or more) in diameter. At the bottom was a long spiked ferule of metal, which was found close to the Primate's right foot. Near the top was a large silver gilt boss, in which were four antique red gems, one of which has dropped out. The late Rev. S. S. Lewis described the gems thus:—(a) Carnelian (pale) engraved with a horse passant; (b) Sard (red) engraved rudely with 3 ears of wheat, held by a human hand; (c) Jasper (red) engraved with a female figure (perhaps Persephone) seated on rocks, holding wheat ears in her right hand. Under her feet is a river god. The crook itself was small and plain, of silver gilt, and had become separated from its staff. The crosier was found lying across and resting beside the left shoulder of the Archbishop.

The chalice is unique. It is more highly ornamented than any early coffin-chalice previously found. It weighs $10\frac{3}{4}$ ounces avoirdupois, and is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. The broad hemispherical bowl, 4 inches and $5\text{-}16\text{ths}$ in diameter, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch deep, is wholly gilt inside, and has a decided lip curling outward. The exterior is adorned with engraved patterns which are parcel gilt. The design



CHALICE & PATEN FROM TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP HUBERT WALTER, AT CANTERBURY.

shews 24 round arches interlaced. Twelve of these are short and spring from 12 small trefoil bosses; the other 12 are deeper and spring from 12 larger bosses of foliage on a lower level than the others. The base and knop are in one piece, hollow and open. When a rule is inserted within the base and knop it penetrates 3 inches and 5-16ths.

The knop is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. It is shaped into 12 convex flanges, above and below which there is a ring of large beads, 22 in number. Between each pair of flanges there is a minute incised ornament, resembling a series of small angles drawn parallel to each other.

The swelling trumpet-like base is highly adorned, and parcel gilt. It bears 12 repoussé flanges, flattened not convex. Each is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and at its upper part beneath the knot $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch wide, while at the bottom the widest part is 15-16ths of an inch, beneath which comes the curved end. Engraving enriches each of these repoussé flanges, and the engraving is gilt. Around the edge of the base, which is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches or 4 inches and 7-16ths in diameter, there is a band of simple engraving parcel gilt. The pattern resembles a band of triangles.

Inside the bowl there is, on one side, at the bottom, a discoloration of the surface. Whether this was produced by wine or by other action one cannot be sure. It is merely superficial. The gilding is perfect beneath the stain. On the exterior of one side of the bowl there are signs of decay produced by chemical action.

The small plate-like paten has especial interest from its double inscription in twelfth-century capitals. This little paten weighs $2\frac{3}{4}$ ounces avoirdupois. Its diameter is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The centre is not flat but curved; it is dished so as to have a depth of 7-16ths of an inch. The diameter of the dished centre is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The width of the rim is $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch.

Upon the rim is one inscribed band, gilt, and upon the curved central part there is a second. These bands are each $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch wide. That upon the dished centre surrounds a carefully engraved figure of the Holy Lamb. A cruciform nimbus encircles the head of the Lamb. The inscription around this central figure is, "AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI, MISERERE NOBIS." The only contracted words are *Dei*, *tollis*, and *nobis*. For them the letters engraved are *Dr*', *TOLL*', and *Nob*'.

The lettering is especially remarkable. It exactly resembles the twelfth-century lettering seen on the wall-paintings in the Crypt Chapel of St. Gabriel.* In this inner inscription we find one

* *Archæologia Cantiana*, XIII., see Plates opposite pp. 67, 75, 78.

square backed E (being the second E in the word MISERERE). Otherwise all the letters E upon this paten have round backs. Of the other letters all except H are shaped like Roman capitals, and every N is reversed thus N.

The inscription around the rim is :—

“Ara crucis, tumulique calix, lapidisque patena,
Sindonis officium (*sic*) candida bissus (*sic*) habet.”

Canon Francis Holland translates it thus :—

The Altar, Chalice, Paten, Veil,
O Lord of Quick and dead,
These are the Cross, the Tomb, the Stone,
And napkin round Thy Head.

The Latin lines occur upon a small altar slab of the twelfth century at Cologne, in a church of St. Mary.

Cardinal STEPHEN LANGTON, who died in 1228, was buried in the St. Michael's Chapel of Lanfranc's Cathedral, “deuaunt lauter Seint Michel.”* When that chapel was rebuilt by Prior Chillenden (*circa* 1400-10) the Cardinal's stone coffin was placed under the altar,† and part of it was built into the east wall. An arch was turned over the foot of the plain stone coffin, the lid whereof is carved with a cross, the head of which is still seen within the chapel, and resembles a Maltese cross. Dart gives a distorted view of it on p. 134 of his *History of the Cathedral of Canterbury*.

JOHN PECKHAM, ob. 1292, buried in the Martyrdom, has a very handsome tomb there, in the north wall at its western end. There is a wooden effigy of the Primate, and over the tomb is a beautiful canopy elaborately cusped. A poor engraving of it is given by Dart opposite p. 136 of his *History of the Cathedral*.

ROBERT DE WINCHELSE was buried (in 1313) near the south wall of the South-east Transept beside the Altar of St. Gregory.‡ There his tomb was seen by Leland in the reign of Henry VIII. The reputation of this Primate's sanctity was so great that, in 1319, the Lord Steward of England, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester, strove to get him canonized; and there was at that time, in front of Winchelse's tomb, a written description of the miracles wrought by God for this Archbishop. In 1324 Archbishop Reynolds applied to the Pope for Winchelse's canonization, but in vain. It is supposed that on account of its reputation for miracles,

* Harleian MS. 636, *Polistorie del Eglise de Christ de Caunterbyre*, folio 204^b.

† Parker MS. No. ccxcviii, 5, at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; a copy is in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 585, p. 86.

‡ Devers le suth deuaunt lauter seynt Gregorie le p'pe (Harleian MS. 636, *Polistorie*, fol. 234^a, second column).

the tomb was removed at or before the Reformation. There is an effigy (of a date *circa* A.D. 1300–20) which has been inserted, with marks of violence and alteration, beneath a window in the south aisle of the Choir which may possibly be Winchelse's effigy. It has the mitre,* but neither pall, nor crosier, nor primate's staff—it lies east of and close to the tomb of Archbishop Reynolds. Dart engraved it on p. 131 of his *History*, calling it (erroneously) the tomb of Hubert Walter. The Canterbury monk, who wrote *circa* 1532, says, "*Robertus de Wynchilse sepultus est in Ecclesia Christi Cantuar. coram altari S. Gregorii in australi parte chori in pariete.*" The last six words seem to describe the site we are considering, rather than that of St. Gregory's Altar in S.E. Transept.

WALTER REYNOLDS died in 1327, and an effigy without pall or staff, beneath a window in the south aisle of the Choir, is ascribed to him. It is engraved on p. 143 of Dart's *History*.

SIMON MEPHAM, who died in 1333, is commemorated by a handsome tomb of black marble, without an effigy. This tomb stands beneath the arch of entrance to St. Anselm's Chapel (dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul), near the eastern end of the south side of the south aisle of the Choir. It now forms the screen between St. Anselm's Chapel and the Choir aisle. The carvings, in low relief, upon the black marble of this tomb are worthy of attentive examination. Arched apertures through the width of the tomb were left open, according to a custom observed with respect to tombs of persons of saintly reputation. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many persons, who were troubled with bodily infirmities, desired to pass through such apertures afflicted portions of their bodies, expecting to derive curative benefit thereby. An engraving of the tomb will be found in Dart's *History*, opposite p. 141. When Archbishop Mepham was buried, the Bishop of Rochester (that well-known Kentish man, Haymo de Hethe) performed the chief part at his obsequies.

JOHN STRATFORD, who died on the 23rd of August 1348, was interred in a place of great honour, on the south side of the Presbytery, and south of the steps of St. Dunstan's Altar. His effigy is elaborately carved. It shews him wearing the mitre and the pallium (pinned upon the shoulders with long pins), and holding his pastoral staff. The arrangement and details of the cushions beneath his head should be compared with those seen beneath the heads of Archbishop Reynolds and the other prelate who lies east

* Priors of Christ Church used a mitre after 1234; but no crosier before A.D. 1378.

of Reynolds (probably Winchelse). Each side of the altar-tomb, beneath his effigy, is ornamented with an arcading of fifteen small arches, beneath six of which small statuettes were originally placed. Over the whole stands an elaborate canopy of tabernacle work. (See an engraving in Dart's *History*, p. 145.)

THOMAS BRADWARDINE, who died at the Bishop of Rochester's Lambeth residence, December 18th 1349, was interred beneath the great south window in St. Anselm's Chapel, which had been inserted thirteen years before. There is no effigy of him, and this altar-like tomb has not much decoration. It is shewn in Dart's *History*, on p. 149.

SIMON SUDBURY was regarded somewhat in the light of a martyr, because he was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 14th of June 1381, by Wat Tyler's rebels. Consequently, when his body was brought to Canterbury (his head is still shewn at Sudbury), a position of highest honour was accorded to him, east of Archbishop Stratford's tomb, and south of the Altar of St. Dunstan. Thither came the Mayor and Corporation of Canterbury to pray for his soul, upon the anniversary of his death, every year, until the Reformation. Sudbury was a great benefactor both to the City and to the Cathedral. There is no effigy of him, but his altar-tomb is surmounted by an elaborate canopy of tabernacle work. Leland describes this monument as "a high tomb of copper and gilt." Dart gives an illustration of it on p. 154 of his *History*. When alterations, in the steps and floor, caused this tomb to be accidentally opened, in or about A.D. 1833, it was seen that the Archbishop's head was absent, and in its place was a ball of lead. The body was wrapped (apparently) in sere cloth.

WILLIAM COURTENAY's tomb stands on the south side of the central portion of the Retro-choir, commonly called the Trinity Chapel. It is exactly opposite the tomb of Hubert Walter, and it stands to the east of the Black Prince's tomb. The effigy of this Archbishop shews him wearing the mitre and the pallium, with the crosier on his left side. Its sides are ornamented with arcading, forming canopied niches with pinnacles. There is no canopy over the tomb. As Archbishop Courtenay's will named for his burial, either Exeter Cathedral or the churchyard of the Parish Church of Maidstone (which he had made Collegiate), and as he died at Maidstone, where a monumental brass to his memory was inserted in the floor of All Saints' Church, in front of the High Altar, it was by many believed that he was buried at Maidstone. The records of Christ Church, Canterbury, state, however, that Richard II., being

at Canterbury in 1396, when Archbishop Courtenay was to be buried, directed that the Primate's body should be brought to his Cathedral Church, and that he was here buried. Thorn, the chronicler, distinctly states that he was entombed near the Shrine of St. Thomas. The Obituary of Christ Church as distinctly says that Courtenay was buried at the feet of the Black Prince. As Courtenay had been a great benefactor to this Cathedral, in giving and procuring money to defray the cost of rebuilding the Nave and the Cloisters, it was agreed by the Prior and Convent in November 1395, that a perpetual chantry for him and his parents should be maintained, to be served daily by two monks alternately (each serving for one week), who should be paid £2 per annum each for their services. Also it was arranged that upon every anniversary of his death, a solemn service for him should be said with the same pomp and solemnity as was always observed upon the anniversary of Archbishop Robert de Wynchelse. It was added that upon every such anniversary every monk of Christ Church who was a priest should say one mass for him, and every other monk should for him repeat fifty psalms. No doubt, by these arrangements they satisfied his desire that for his soul should be said 15,000 masses, and 2000 matins. Dart's engraving of Courtenay's tomb is found on p. 156 of his *History of the Cathedral*.

HENRY CHICHELE, who died on the 12th of April 1443, erected for himself the only painted tomb that now remains in Canterbury Cathedral. It stands on the north side of the Presbytery, nearly opposite the modern throne of the Archbishop, which is in the Choir. Chichele founded All Souls' College at Oxford; he built the south-west tower of this Cathedral, which is known as the Oxford Steeple; and he erected the Lollards' Tower in Lambeth Palace. When he had been Primate for about 18 or 19 years he began to arrange for the erection of this tomb. On the 21st of April 1432, the Prior and Chapter of Christ Church gave permission that he might build his tomb on the north side of the Choir,* and they undertook that his monument should never be disturbed. He caused two effigies of himself to be placed, one above the other, upon this tomb. The upper effigy represents him in all the glory of primatial state, with mitre, pallium, Primate's staff, and every ensign of dignity that a Primate can wear. Beneath this Chichele caused to be placed a figure of himself as an emaciated corpse, denuded of all the ensigns of rank and power. Upon the

* "Inter locum reliquiarum et introitum chori de vestibulo ad summum altare." Sheppard's *Litteræ Cantuarienses*, iii., 159.

large columns at the head and foot of the tomb are niches containing small statues of the Twelve Apostles, and also allegorical figures representing Time and Labour, Death and Rest. Upon the upper part of the sides of the altar-tomb are the arms of several Dioceses in England and Wales. Chichele's own arms, as Archbishop, are seen upon the canopy above the tomb. The authorities of All Souls' College have always evinced a lively interest in their founder and his tomb. In 1451-2, on February 17th, the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, in response to a grant of £7 per annum from the College, engaged that at St. Stephen's Altar (which stood nearest to Chichele's tomb) there should daily be said one low mass for the soul of Archbishop Chichele, and at the High Altar a solemn mass of Requiem at his Anniversary.* Between A.D. 1630 and 1640 the tomb was repainted at the expense of the College, which, during this nineteenth century, has again repaired it. Dart's engraving of this tomb, on p. 159 of his *History of the Cathedral*, is remarkably good; that given by Battely in his edition of Somner's *Antiquities of Canterbury*, part ii., between pp. 34 and 35, is also good; far better than others in his book, and supplies some minute details not given in Dart's engraving.

JOHN KEMP, a native of Olantigh in Wye, who was Archbishop of York and a Cardinal Bishop before he became Archbishop of Canterbury, died on the 22nd March 1453-4, and was buried on the south side of the Presbytery. His tomb bears no effigy, and its sides are simply panelled; each square panel contains a quatrefoil, cusped within, and having an ornament outside the indentation of each large cusp. Over it is a very elaborate double canopy; a flat rectangular upper canopy surmounting the three tall tower-like pinnacles of the tabernacle work. These are clearly seen in Dart's engraving on p. 160 of his *History*.

THOMAS BOURGHCHIER (whose name is now often contracted to "*Bowcher*," and on his tomb is spelt Bouchier, was in his lifetime spelt "*Bourghchier*") died on the 30th of March 1486. He was buried in a tomb built by himself during his lifetime, on the north side of the Presbytery, next to the Altar of St. Elphege. It is formed of Purbeck marble, in which are carved over and over again the Bourghchier Knot (a family badge), the arms of the See with the same knot placed across them, and the *rose en soleil* badge of King Edward IV., whom this Primate crowned, and whom he afterwards married to Elizabeth Woodville. In 1472 (14 years before his death) this Primate obtained King Edward's licence to

* *Literæ Cantuarienses*, iii., 212, 213.

give Pamfield Manor, in Essex, to the Prior and Convent of Christ Church in order that its proceeds might defray the expenses of "Bowchyr's Chauntry." In 1473, on September 2, Prior Sellyng engaged that "Bourghchier's-mas" should be said daily at St. Stephen's Altar (in the North-east Transept) by two priest monks alternately (each officiating for one week), and he also engaged that on the Anniversary of Bourghchier's death, 8s. 4d. should be annually distributed in the Cathedral among 100 poor persons, 1d. to each, in memory of this Primate.* This Archbishop died at Knole. His body was carried first to Maidstone Church, and next day to Faversham Abbey, whence, on the following day, it was carried in state to Canterbury, and buried in the tomb he had made ready. In 1492 King Henry VII. declared that Archbishop Bourghchier had no right to grant Pamfield Manor to the Priory here. The King, however, permitted the Priory to retain it, but upon condition that the masses and the distribution, which had been offered and made for the deceased Archbishop, should henceforth be offered and made for the King (Henry VII.), for his mother (the Lady Margaret), and for others of his family. Bourghchier's tomb is engraved by Dart on p. 163 of his *History*.

CARDINAL JOHN MORTON during his lifetime erected in the Crypt upon its south side, near the Chapel of our Lady in the undercroft, a handsome canopied monument, with effigy of himself. His cardinal's hat, his rebus of "Mort" (a bird) and a "tun," and the portcullis of Henry VII. are carved frequently upon his monument. In 1499 the Prior and Convent granted promise of frequent services in the Cathedral for his prosperity in life, and for his soul after death.† A huge monumental brass, commemorative of Cardinal Morton, was laid down in the floor of the Crypt in front of the Altar of "Our Lady," and it still remains there stripped of its brass; but Mr. Duncombe states that when this stone was lifted the space beneath it was empty, so that probably the Cardinal was buried beneath his Chantry tomb, south of the Lady Chapel. Dart's engraving of Cardinal Morton's tomb is found at p. 164 of his *History*.

WILLIAM WARHAM died on the 3rd of August 1532, but in March 1507 his Suffragan, Dr. John Thornton, Prior of Dover, titular Bishop of Cirene, dedicated a new altar of stone, in the Martyrdom. In April, on Easter Day, the Archbishop's Chantry services were commenced thereat. During the same year Warham's tomb

* *Literæ Cantuarienses*, iii., 263—267.

† Christ Church Cant. Register S, as analysed by Dr. Sheppard.

was completed, and in August the new stone altar was placed within its "Oratory." In September* this altar in its new position was a second time dedicated by the same Bishop Suffragan. The Archbishop was there buried in 1532, twenty-five years after his tomb had been erected. This tomb is said to have been repaired and rearranged by the Dean and Chapter in 1796-7 at a cost of £160. Archbishop Warham's tomb is engraved in Dart's *History* at p. 167; and we can therein see how differently it was arranged before A.D. 1796.

CARDINAL REGINALD POLE's tomb remains in great simplicity in the Corona, at the extreme east end of the Cathedral, on the north side. The figure of St. Christopher, and beneath him two distinct subjects, in the lowest of which were two angels bearing shields with the Cardinal's arms, one shewing the arms of the See, the other the Pole coat of eight quarterings, were formerly painted upon the north wall, above his tomb. All these paintings have disappeared, but the engraving in Dart's *History*, p. 170, shews them.

Since the interment of Cardinal Pole no Archbishop has been buried at Canterbury.

* Somner's MSS., C. xi, *Register of the Penitentiaries*, as analysed by Dr. Sheppard.