

XIX.—*Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174-1191); his episcopate, and his share in the building of the church of Wells. By the Rev. C. M. CHURCH, M.A., F.S.A., Sub-dean and Canon Residentiary of Wells.*

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I VENTURE to think that bishop Reginald Fitzjocelin deserves a place of higher honour in the history of the diocese, and of the fabric of the church of Wells, than has hitherto been accorded to him.

His memory has been obscured by the traditionary fame of bishop Robert as the “author,” and of bishop Jocelin as the “finisher,” of the church of Wells; and the importance of his episcopate as a connecting link in the work of these two master-builders has been comparatively overlooked. The only authorities followed for the history of his episcopate have been the work of the *Canon of Wells*, printed by Wharton, in his *Anglia Sacra*, 1691, and bishop Godwin, in his *Catalogue of the Bishops of England, 1601—1616*. But Wharton, in his notes to the text of his author, comments on the scanty notice of bishop Reginald;^a and Archer, our local chronicler, complains of the unworthy treatment bishop Reginald had received from Godwin, also a canon of his own cathedral church.^b

^a Reginaldi gesta historicus noster brevius quam pro viri dignitate enarravit. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 871.

^b Historicus noster et post eum Godwinus nimis breviter gesta Reginaldi perstringunt quae pro egregii viri dignitate narrationem magis applicatam de Canonicis istis Wellensibus merita sunt. Archer, *Chronicon Wellense, sive annales Ecclesiae Cathedralis Wellensis*, p. 75.

Dr. Archer, archdeacon of Taunton, 1712, of Wells, 1726, and canon residentiary, died 1739. He was the friend and correspondent of Thomas Hearne. His hand can be traced in notes throughout the Wells chapter registers. He has left books of manuscript notes, and a valuable chronicle of Wells history from the earliest time to the end of bishop Drokenesford's episcopate, based on most careful study of the episcopal and chapter registers.

We start therefore, with some distrust of our guides, to trace the history of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and his share in the building of the church.

We find now, that the authorities quoted both by Wharton and Godwin are not the only or the original sources for the early history of the church of Wells. They are rather the traditions of the fifteenth century, as understood and interpreted to us by bishop Godwin and Wharton in the seventeenth.

1. The *Canon of Wells* is the title given in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* to a composite document—two anonymous manuscript tracts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found in the Wells chapter register,^a which Wharton has “woven together” to form one continuous history of the earlier episcopates:—

(a) “*Historia minor*” contains a short catalogue of the bishops from Daniel, the legendary bishop of Congresbury, to bishop Harewell's time, 1367—1386;

(b) “*Historia major*” is a longer document of the same kind, which begins with Edward the Confessor's time and ends with bishop Bubwith, 1406—1424.

2. Francis Godwin, canon of Wells, bishop of Landaff, 1601, and of Hereford, 1617, was son of Thomas Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1584—90. Though he had exceptional opportunities for examining the documents in the Wells registers, yet he seems to have been content to follow these same documents which Wharton has printed, varying his form of statement in the different editions of his book, viz., the English edition, “*The Catalogue*,” &c., printed in 1601, and the Latin, “*De Praesulibus Angliae Commentarius*,” printed in 1615—16.

Mr. Hunter has thrown out the conjecture that “the Canon of Wells,” author of the *Historia major* of Wharton, may have been Thomas Chandler, chancellor of Wells, 1454, warden of Winchester, friend of bishop Beckington,^b and afterwards chancellor of Oxford, 1472-79.

But the discovery by Mr. Hunter, in the register of Bath priory, of the manuscript of the time of Henry II., which he printed in 1840 as the *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Sumersetensis*,^c has supplied earlier historical evidence down to the end of bishop Robert's episcopate. And now contemporary documents in the Wells chapter registers, which have lately been made more accessible

^a R. iii. f. 296—302.

^b Rev. J. Hunter *Introduction to Historia*, p. 4, *Eccl. Doc. Camd. Soc.* Publ. 1840.

^c *Eccl. Documents* in Camden Soc. Publications. 1840. *A Brief History of the Bishopric of Somerset, from its foundation to the year 1174.* An extract from the *Registrum Prioratus Bathon.*—a MS. in the Library of the Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn.

to the student, give additional and contemporary information with regard to bishop Reginald's episcopate.

I propose to sketch the history of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and to show, by the help of these unpublished documents, that there is ground for claiming for bishop Reginald a greater share than has been hitherto allowed him in building up the constitution and fabric of the church of Wells.

PART I.

Bishop Reginald's episcopate.

Bishop Reginald Fitzjocelin de Bohun, and bishop Savaric, his kinsman and successor, were the two last in the succession of foreign bishops who held the see of Somerset from the time of Edward the Confessor. Reginald was of the family of de Bohun, of the Côtentin, the north-west corner of Normandy, where two villages—St. George and St. André de Bohun, near Carentan, in a district of plain and canal like Sedgmoor—still mark the cradle of the family. Richard de Bohun, bishop of Coutances, 1151—1179, was his uncle; his father was Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Sarum, 1141—1184.

Another member of the family, Engelger de Bohun, is mentioned as one of Henry II.'s evil counsellors who incited Henry against Becket, when at Argentan he uttered the hasty words which led to the murder of the archbishop.^a

Into this family married Savaric Fitzchana, son of Ralph, the lord of Beaumont and St. Suzanne, and of Chana, his wife, daughter of Geldewin, a Dane, lord of Saumur. He himself was made lord of Midhurst, in Sussex, by Henry I.

His son, Savaric FitzSavaric, inherited the lands of de Bohun; but, dying childless, he was succeeded in his inheritance by his nephew Franco de Bohun, son of Geldewin FitzSavaric, and his wife Estrangia. Savaric, bishop of Bath, 1192, in succession to his cousin Reginald Fitzjocelin de Bohun, was younger brother of Franco de Bohun.^b

Reginald Fitzjocelin was born about 1140, before his father, the bishop of Sarum, had been admitted to the priesthood, yet so shortly before, that the question could be raised as an objection to his consecration to the episcopate in

^a W. FitzStephen, in *Materials for History of Becket*, vol. iii. p. 129, R.S., "Engelgerus de Bohun, quidam inveteratus dierum malorum," gave the counsel, "Let him be crucified."

^b Bishop Stubbs in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov. 1863, and Preface to *Epp. Cantuarienses*, p. lxxxvi. note, has supplied materials for genealogies of bishops Reginald and Savaric.

after years. Sufficient testimony was at that time brought forward to satisfy and to remove objections. Either as born of Italian blood, or from early residence in Italy, he bore the name of "the Lombard" or "the Italian." The schools of Lombardy, Pavia, Bologna, Padua, whence had come to Normandy Lanfranc and Anselm, were famous. The towns of Lombardy were asserting their independence of the emperor at this time, and Henry's wide-reaching continental policy, and the foreign marriages of his sons, were bringing Englishmen into close relations with Italians and Germans, as well as French.^a

Herbert of Bosham, in his life of St. Thomas, names "Reginald the Lombard" among those attached to the archbishop in his earlier days abroad. Though he laments his defection afterwards, in the time of the archbishop's quarrel with Henry, he describes him at this time as a young man high-spirited, intelligent, prudent beyond his years in council, active and able.^b From the letter of Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, to Reginald, when archdeacon of Sarum, we know that he combined a keen love of hawking with attention to business.^c These qualities would have been likely to have brought the young ecclesiastic into favour with the chancellor in his earlier days.

In 1158 Becket, then chancellor, was sent on an embassy to Paris, with a large suite and much pomp, to arrange the betrothal of Henry's eldest son, then a boy of seven, to Margaret, daughter of Louis VII. The marriage compact was finally completed, not without a quarrel and a reconciliation between the two kings, in 1160.^d Perhaps Reginald joined Becket about this time, and, as Becket's friend, passed into favour at the French court. In 1164 he received from Louis VII. of France a piece of court preferment, succeeding therein the king's brother Philip as abbot of St. Exuperius in Corbeil. The deed of gift, of which

^a On Henry's relations with Italy, France, Germany, v. Stubbs' *Pref. to Benedict of Peterborough*, ii. p. xxxi. On Italian affairs of interest in England at this time, v. Stubbs' *Pref. to R. Howden*, ii. p. xcii.

^b Herbert of Bosham names some Lombards among the "eruditi" of Becket's followers, together with Reginaldus Lombardus; Lombardus of Piacenza, afterwards archbishop of Beneventum, Becket's teacher in canon law; Humbert Crivelli, of Milan, afterwards archbishop of Milan, and pope Urban III. in 1185, and others. Herbert thus describes Reginald:—

"Reginaldus natione Anglus, sed sicut educatione et cognomento Lombardus, pro aetate prudens et industrius, animosus et efficax in agendis, qui extra patriam aliquanto tempore nobiscum fortiter stans, cito doloris nostri fuit principium." V. *Materials for Life of Becket*, iii. p. 524.

^c Peter of Blois, Ep. 61. He reminds him when archdeacon of Sarum, "curam non avium sed ovium suscepisti," and warns him of the danger, "si non oves avibus antefertis."

^d R. de Diceto, vol. i. p. 302 (R. S.), an. 1158. They were betrothed 1160, p. 304.

the original is extant among the chapter documents of Wells, entitles him "arch-deacon of Sarum," and recites that the preferment was due both to his own merits and also to the solicitations of his friends—"Donavimus pro honestate suâ, et pro amicorum suorum prece." (See Appendix A.)

The year of his appointment to the abbey of St. Exuperius was the year of the archbishop's quarrel with the king.

On January 25, 1164, the Council of Clarendon was held, and, after the meeting at Northampton, Becket withdrew from England to Pontigny. Bishop Jocelin of Sarum, father of Reginald, had been the leader and spokesman of the bishops in the vain attempt to mediate between the king and the archbishop, and to conciliate the archbishop after the scene at Northampton. He and Gilbert Ffolliot, bishop of London, became thenceforth the objects of Becket's violent hostility, and he excommunicated the two bishops, together with John of Oxford, dean of Sarum, and others of his opponents, from Vezelay, on Whitsun Day, 1166. In this quarrel Reginald took his father's side, and withdrew from Becket's party. Herbert of Bosham laments his defection from the archbishop's cause in his struggle and distress; but speaks kindly of him, and acknowledges that in after years his industry and high principle had marked him out for the episcopate.

Peter of Blois about this time intercedes for Reginald with one of Becket's court, and defends him for having left the archbishop in duty to his father, whom the archbishop had denounced. But Reginald had now taken the king's side. His education, ability, foreign experiences, and conciliatory temperament soon made him one of the most acceptable of Henry's diplomatists at the court of Rome, where the quarrel between two violent and headstrong men was mainly fought out.

In 1167 he was at Rome with John of Oxford, dean of Sarum, and Clarembald, abbot of St. Augustine's, when they obtained from pope Alexander the prohibition to the archbishop against publishing his censures pending the attempt at reconciliation.^a He was there again in 1169, and accompanied to England the legates Gratian and Vivian, who were sent to effect the reconciliation;^b and he then incurred Becket's violent abuse for his activity and influence at Rome on the occasion."^c

In 1170, June 14, Roger, archbishop of York, together with the bishops of

^a W. FitzStephen, in *Materials for Life of Becket*, iii. 99, R. S.

^b *Ib.* vi. 565, R. S.

^c *Ib.* vii. 59, R. S.

London, Sarum, Durham, and Rochester, crowned the young king Henry in Westminster abbey. The anger of the archbishop and primate blazed out afresh at this violation of the prerogative of the see of Canterbury. A formal reconciliation was effected with the king for a time ; but at the close of this year the six years' struggle between king and archbishop reached its tragic end when the archbishop was struck down by his murderers, the four knights^a of the court, in the transept of Canterbury cathedral church, December 29th, 1170.

Reaction in favour of the cause of "the martyr" at once set in. Henry, shocked at the outrage and sacrilege, and alarmed at the consequences to his kingdom and to himself, sent at once an embassy to Rome, of men selected as "acceptable to the court of Rome, and well able to plead the king's cause,"^b of whom Reginald, archdeacon of Sarum, was one. The letter to the king reports the result of the mission—they had arrived on Palm Sunday ; had been treated with little respect by the cardinals and denied audience by the pope, who was at Frascati ; the king's name was execrated ; Maundy Thursday, the day of public absolution or excommunication by the pope, was approaching ; Henry's excommunication and the interdict of the kingdom of England was threatened. With the greatest difficulty^c they obtained suspension of the interdict, and it had been averted by their pledging themselves that the king would stand to judgment and submit to sentence from the pope. So the interdict was averted ; but the excommunication of the murderers and of all concerned was proclaimed. The legates were sent to England or Normandy to receive Henry's submission. The king's purgation and penance at Avranches followed in the next year (May 21, 1172) ; the canonization of St. Thomas, ordered by the pope, was proclaimed on Ash Wednesday, 1173, and December 29 set apart as the festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury.^d

According to one of the conditions required from Henry by the papal legates,

^a Three of the four knights held lands in Somerset : Reginald Fitzurse—Richard Breto—William de Traci.

^b Gervase says (i. 233, R. S.) : "misit nuntios spectabiles et admodum loquaces." R. Howden gives the names, vol. ii. p. 26, R.S. : Rotrodus, archbishop of Rouen, who stopped in Normandy ; Aegidius bishop of Evreux ; Roger bishop of Worcester ; Richard de Blossville, abbot of La Valasse ; Reginald archdeacon of Sarum ; Richard archdeacon of Lisieux ; Richard Barre and Henry Pinchun, clerks. For the letter giving report, v. R. Howden, vol. ii. p. 25.

^c Gervase adds (*ibid.*) : "aliam viam supplicandi, more scilicet Romano sunt aggressi—vix tandem quingentis marcis interpositis admissi sunt."

^d Bull for the canonization of St. Thomas, dated March 13, 1173. R. de Diceto, i. 369.

Henry now proceeded to fill up the English sees which he had kept vacant during his quarrel with Becket.

Reginald Fitzjocelin was nominated to the see of Bath, which had been vacant more than eight years, since bishop Robert's death in 1166. He was duly elected by the two chapters, the prior and convent of Bath and the dean and canons of Wells^a in conformity with bishop Robert's provision; and his election was confirmed at the Council of Westminster, in April, 1173. At the same time the sees of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, and Lincoln were filled up; and Richard, prior of Dover, the late archbishop's chaplain, was nominated to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

But the young king Henry, under the influence of his father-in-law Louis of France, protested against the nomination of bishops in England without his consent, and lodged an appeal against their consecration at Rome. Reginald was selected to accompany the archbishop-elect to Rome to obtain the pope's confirmation. They started in the autumn of 1173. There were tedious delays and diplomacy with the Roman chancery; but at last Richard was consecrated archbishop by the pope at Anagni, on Low Sunday, April 7, 1174, and received the pall and his appointment as legate.

The consecration of Reginald and the other bishops-elect was deferred under various pretexts until the return to England.^b

Soon after, they left Rome, on their homeward journey—one which has many points of interest for us. The travellers crossed the passes of Mont Cenis, and stopped for a time at St. Jean de Maurienne, in the territory of the count of Savoy.

It was at this wayside station, on the old road between France and Italy, that Reginald, notwithstanding the delays interposed at Rome, was consecrated bishop of Bath.

The chronicles do not tell us the causes which brought about his consecration. We are left to infer them from concurring circumstances, by which this distant Alpine district was being brought into close connection with England, and with our own diocese in particular.

Henry had been negotiating in 1173 a marriage, for political purposes, between

^a The act of pope Alexander reciting and confirming the joint action of the two chapters is contained in *Chapter Documents* i. 40. Cf. R. i. f. 94; R. iii. f. 266.

^b Howden, ii. 59, v. *Reginaldi Epist. ad regem*, May 5, 1174. He says, "My own consecration and that of the others are deferred. Our lord the pope has determined to settle nothing until reconciliation between you and your son shall be brought to pass."

his son John and the eldest daughter of Umberto, count of Maurienne. Early death in that year saved her from this fate.

In the terms of the marriage settlement, by which certain places commanding the passes of the mountains would have been secured to Henry, Reginald, arch-deacon of Sarum, had been named as one of the arbitrators on the king's side, in case of any change being made in the terms. Some business arising out of these settlements, and the closing of the arrangements, may have caused Reginald's delay at this time at St. Jean de Maurienne.^a

The presence of Reginald in these parts was opportune for another purpose which Henry had in view at this moment.

At this time Henry had undertaken to found three religious houses in England, in partial performance of his penance for the violence of his words against Becket. He had enlarged and reconstructed the religious foundations at Ambresbury and Waltham, and changed the religious orders of the inmates; and he was now planting the first house of the Carthusian order in England. The site which he had given was at Witham, on the borders of the royal forest of Selwood, in the diocese of Bath. Henry was seeking a prior for the new house from the parent house of the order, the Great Chartreuse in the "desert of St. Bruno," near Grenoble.

One of the envoys of the count of Savoy had told him of the fame of brother Hugh of Avalon. "Such a man as would not only ensure success to his new foundation, but would fill the whole church with the beauty of his holiness."^b

The Great Chartreuse was within easy reach of St. Jean de Maurienne, and letters were sent to the archbishop and to Reginald, to use all endeavours to induce Hugh to come to England, to take charge of the Carthusian colony at Witham.

The bishop-elect of the diocese in which it was planted was the fit person to invite Hugh in Henry's name, and doubtless it was felt that he would speak with more effect if he were the consecrated bishop. So, with this end in view, as we may conjecture, objections at Rome were overcome, and Reginald's consecration was hastened.

^a R. Howden, ii. 41, 45. Cf. Benedict, who gives the document. By the settlements the passes of Mont Cenis, and four castles commanding them, would have been secured to Henry and put into his hands. In November of the same year Frederick Barbarossa entered Italy through the Mont Cenis passes, burnt Susa, and besieged Alexandria, lately built by the Lombard League. Vide Stubbs's *Pref. to Benedict*, p. xvi. on Henry's projects.

^b Vide *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 54. R. S. Cf. Preface, p. xxi.

Reginald was required to purge himself by oath of any complicity in the murder of St. Thomas. Testimony sufficient was given to establish the legitimacy of his birth. He was consecrated by archbishop Richard and the archbishop Peter of Tarentaise, in the church of St. John, at Maurienne, on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1174.^a

Then, as bishop of Bath, in company with the bishop of Grenoble, he journeyed to the house of the order in the "Eremo" or desert of St. Bruno, enclosed under the pines and crags of the Grand Som and between the torrents of the Guier "Mort," and the Guier "Vif," entering it probably from Grenoble on its south-east side by Sappey and St. Pierre de Chartreuse.

Hugh of Avalon, with much reluctance, and only by order of his bishop, undertook as his mission the charge of the new priory in England; and it was the first act of Reginald's episcopate to bring to England, and to plant in his own diocese of Somerset, Hugh of Witham, known afterwards to the whole church as St. Hugh of Lincoln.

Then the archbishop and bishop Reginald continued their journey to meet Henry in Normandy.^b

In the first days of August they were at St. Lo, in the diocese of his uncle the bishop of Coutances, and in his own country of the Côtentin, and on the 5th of August, 1174, he consecrated the church of St. Thomas at St. Lo, dedicated to the memory of his old master, now the newly-canonized St. Thomas the Martyr.^c

This church, probably the earliest consecrated to the martyr canonized only the year before, and consecrated by the bishop, who had been active against him, son of a bishop whom he had excommunicated, is a monument of the sudden revulsion of feeling which his murder had caused. It is still standing, though long since desecrated; containing architectural signs of the period of its consecration—in the flat semi-Norman pilasters on the outside, in the massive

^a "Juga quoque montium transcendens intra valles Morianae, in ecclesia S. Johannis, et in vigilia S. Joannis Baptistae, Batoniensem electum consecravit, archiepiscopo Tarentasiae praesente, manum etiam apponente; accepta prius purgatione Batoniensis electi, quod mortem beati Thomae neque verbo, neque facto, neque scripto procuravit scienter. Alii juraverunt quod, sicut opinabantur, conceptus fuit priusquam Jocelinus pater suus ad gradum sacerdotii promoveretur. R. de Diceto, i. 391. R.S.

^b Archiepiscopus, Batoniensi comitatus episcopo, Burgundiae promontoria, campestris Galliae, Neustriae littora, cum aliqua remotione transcendit, pertransiit, attigit. R. de Diceto, i. 391. R.S.

^c The document is preserved in the archives of St. Lo. v. *Somerset Archaeol. Proceedings*, xix. ii. 94.

round columns of the nave, and the apsidal end with six pointed arches resting on the Norman columns.^a

On August 8th they met Henry on the shore at Barfleur (*Barbari fluctus*), just arrived from England after an eventful month. On July 8 he had landed at Southampton from Normandy. He had gone through his three days' humiliating penance at the tomb of St. Thomas at Canterbury. He had crushed rebellion in the midland of England, and, with the king of Scots his prisoner, had now landed at Barfleur within the month.

From thence the archbishop and Reginald crossed to England. The archbishop arrived at Canterbury on September 4, to become a witness of the fire which broke out on the next day, September 5, 1174, in his cathedral church, and burnt the choir to ashes. On October 6th Reginald assisted at the consecration at Canterbury of the bishops of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester, and there made his profession of obedience to the primate. On November 24th he was enthroned with much solemnity by the primate in person, who was then making a visitation of his province as "legate of the apostolic see," in his own church.

It would be interesting to know whether Bath or Wells—the church of St. Peter, or the church of St. Andrew—was the scene. Ralph de Diceto says the presence of the legate made the event of the enthronisation especially memorable;^b

^a The nave of the church is about 144 ft. long, by 30 ft. wide, and is divided from aisles 15 ft. wide by six massive Norman columns on each side. Two central columns on each side, larger than the rest, support a tower. Pointed arches rest on the columns.

It is a painful instance of thorough desecration—the nave is boarded over above the arches, and is used as an agricultural hall on market days; the upper part is a theatre approached by a door at the east end, and stairs. Under the later tower arches is the stage of the theatre—there had been a representation there by a travelling company the night before I was there—on Sunday, June 27th, 1886. There were two traditions told to me at St. Lo about the church; one, that it was built by St. Thomas when in exile—the other, that he was at S. Lo while it was building, and being asked to what saint it should be dedicated, replied, "to the first martyr"—after events led them to take this as a prophecy and direction with regard to himself.

^b R. de Diceto, i. 398 (R.S.): *Intronizationem Batoniensis episcopi Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, dum officio fungeretur legationis, visitando provinciam, sua praesentia multo sollempniores effecit, viii.º kalendas Decembris, et futuris reddidit memorialem.*

Archer, *Chron. Wellense*, f. 46, quoting R. de Diceto in support, but, as it appears, incorrectly, assumes Wells to be the scene.

"Ricardus Cantuariensis legationis potestatem exercens provinciam suam visitavit cumque Welliam pervenisset viii. Kal. Dec. die Dominica Reginaldum Batoniensem inthronizavit."

but he does not name the place of the enthronisation. Archer assumes that it took place at Wells, but he does not give any evidence in support.

Bath had been the chief seat of the bishop, *sedes praesulea*, from whence the title was derived since bishop John's time, eighty years ago. Bishop Robert had done much in reasserting the equality of Wells with Bath, but Bath was still recognised by the pope, Adrian IV., in 1157, as the *sedes praesulea*.^a The bishops now, and for some time to come, until 1245, took their title either from Bath alone, or between 1196 and 1219 from Bath and Glastonbury, and the fair conclusion we are forced to draw is, that the legate on this occasion made Bath, as the chief seat of the bishop, the scene of the enthronisation in person, though, no doubt, the bishop was enthroned in both his churches, and perhaps by the legate also, in Wells.^b

In the earlier years of his episcopate, bishop Reginald appears as one of Henry's counsellors in the chief national councils of the reign.^c

^a R. iii. f. 268, 289—293. Confirmation of possessions of Bath abbey, by Adrian IV.

Bishop Reginald had been chosen by the joint action of the two chapters of Bath and Wells. R. i. f. 94. R. iii. f. 266. Cf. Doc. 1, 40.

^b The contemporary documentary evidence is clear and consistent, that the title of the see from bishop John, 1088, to bishop Roger, 1244, was either "Bath" alone, or, between 1196—1219, "Bath and Glastonbury." On the other hand, we have the statement of the "Canon of Wells," writing in bishop Bubwith's time, in the 15th century, "that bishop Robert obtained from the pope a decree that the bishop's seat should be in both churches, that the bishop should be enthroned in both his churches, and that the name of Bath should be placed first in the bishop's style." But this statement is not supported by the *Historia Minor*, nor by early documents in the Wells registers.

Archer, *Chronicon Wellense*, f. 29, had long ago corrected Wharton and Godwin. As to the date of the first assumption of the title "Bath and Wells," he says, "Canonicus noster et Godwinus quin et ipse Whartonus haud satis perspicue rem narrant—Nullus etenim episcoporum Bathoniensis et Wellensis nuncupatus est a prima sedis translatione per Johannem Turonensem facta usque ad annum 1244." Roger was consecrated at Reading, Sept. 11, 1244, by the title of Bath and Wells, "ad instantiam Domini Papae." But he kept the old title of bishop of Bath on his seal. Pope Innocent writes to him from Lyons, May 14, 1245, "We hear from the dean and chapter of Wells that you resist our ordinance. We now enjoin you to call yourself bishop of Bath and Wells, and so to describe yourself on your seal." Vide Vatican Transcripts in the British Museum, Additional MS. 15353, vol. v. f. 235. Cf. R. i. f. 93—96. The subject has been elaborated in two articles in *The Genealogist* for July and October, 1885, *First Bishop of Bath and Wells*.

^c (1) During Henry's reign—from 1174 to 1189.

Bishop Reginald at Westminster,	May 18, 1175.	Howden, ii. 72.
"	at Woodstock, July 1	" ii. 78.
"	at London, March 16, 1177.	" ii. 120, 131.
"	at Toulouse " 1178.	" ii. 151, 165.
"	at the Lateran Council, March, 1179.	" ii. 171, 189.

In the dispute which followed between the archbishop and his monks he was appointed one of the pope's commissioners in 1187. After Baldwin's death these events led on to his nomination to the vacant primacy in the last year of his life.

(a.) *Bishop Reginald in his diocese.*

During these years of his episcopate, 1174—1191, bishop Reginald was doing good work in his diocese, and they were years of diocesan life and progress.

Church building was going on around him and under his eye at Bath, at Glastonbury, at Witham, and in other religious houses in the diocese, and gifts and endowments were being made to the cathedral church of Saint Andrew in Wells. It was his policy to carry on bishop Robert's work and constitution at Wells, to make Wells the headquarters and centre of the diocese, and to give it a fabric and a ministrant body worthy of the dignity of the cathedral church of the diocese. He resided at Wells—there is no evidence that he ever resided at Bath. Yet Bath was not neglected—the hospital of St. John Baptist, by which the sick and poor of the city had the benefit of the hot waters, was founded by him in 1180, and endowed with lands and tenements in Bath and its neighbourhood, and with a tithe of hay from his demesne lands. It was put under the control and management of prior Walter and the convent of Bath, who also gave their endowments.

Walter the prior, a man of learning and holy life, was a contemporary and friend of bishop Reginald.* Elected in 1175, he was with him in his last hours, when dying at Dogmersfield.

The register of the priory of Bath contains a list of gifts made by the bishop to the convent, of lands and churches, of ornaments and vestments, of a statue of St. Peter, and also, strange to read, of the body of St. Euphemia, virgin and martyr. He also enriched their library with many books.^b

At Witham, between 1180 and 1186, prior Hugh was at work laying the foundations of his Charterhouse, with a small band of French monks, meanly lodged, and endeavouring to support themselves under severe and ascetic discipline, in the desert of Witham. The chapel of the friary, some remains of which in the transitional-Norman style are to be seen still in the parish church, and the necessary buildings for thirteen monks and about the same number of lay brethren, were finished, and the order and discipline of the house was organised before prior Hugh was taken to be bishop of Lincoln in 1186.

* "Vir multae scientiae et religionis," A. S. 585.

^b See Appendix B.

The house became the home of those who sought a severer discipline amidst the growing laxity of other monastic houses. Walter, prior of Bath, and Robert, prior of St. Swithun's, were two of those who entered the house late in life.^a Sometimes it was found too severe a life for those who had entered it without counting the cost.^b Walter left it again before his death. It was the home of retreat year by year for Saint Hugh when he came from Lincoln to take up again the simple life of a monk in his cell at Witham.

The bishop, who had been the instrument to bring Hugh of Avalon to England, continued to support his work in the diocese. The king's charter was granted at Marlborough. A chapel had stood in the "Eremo," the desert of Witham on the outskirts of Selwood forest, belonging to the priory of Bruton. The king gave to Bruton the rectory of South Petherton in exchange, and exchanges of land were made with the Witham owners.

The house was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. John Baptist. The king granted lands which afterwards became the parish of Witham, and lands on Mendip for a cell of the Charterhouse near Cheddar. The house was exempted from all ecclesiastical visitations and imposts; from all claims of sheriffs and officers of the forest. Bishop Reginald on his part, "cum consensu capituli Wellensis," granted exemption from tithes and dues to the Charterhouse in the parish of Cheddar.^c

Other religious houses were growing up at the time in the diocese.

The abbey of St. Mary at Glastonbury, the great rival ecclesiastical power which had hitherto overshadowed the church of Wells, separated from it by six miles of moorland, was soon about to go through a period of disaster and humiliation.

^a Richard of Devizes, the chronicler of the "Gesta Ricardi," 1189—92, a monk of St. Swithun's, paid a visit there to his late prior, to whom he dedicated his Chronicle, "to see how much nearer to Heaven was the Charterhouse at Witham than the Priory of St. Swithun." He bears his witness to the greater severity of discipline there, not without a touch of sceptical sarcasm. "Robertus prior S. Swithini Wintoniae, prioratu relicto et professione postposita, apud Witham, dolore, (an dicam devotione?) deiecit se in sectam Cartusiae. Walterus prior Bathoniae prius ibidem simili fervore vel furore praesumserat, sed semel extractus nihil minus videtur adhuc quam de reditu cogitare." R. of Devizes, p. 26, § 30. See also the Prologue.

^b *Reg. Prior. Bath*, ff. 315, 316.

^c Henry's grant is recited in a confirmation to the prior and convent of Witham by Innocent IV. in 1246, in which the boundaries of the land are set out. Vatican Transcripts in the British Museum. Add. MS. 15355. vol. v. ff. 374—381.

But under bishop Reginald's episcopate there were friendly negotiations and territorial exchanges and mutual concessions.

Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who ruled the abbey for more than forty years, 1125-1171, had lately died. Robert, prior of Winchester, succeeded. By an arrangement with abbot Robert, the church of Pilton was ceded to the bishop to form two prebends in the cathedral church, of which the abbot held one, without obligation of residence, but bound to pay three marcs to a vicar. The canon appointed by the bishop to the second prebend received ten marcs from Pilton. The abbot thus became a member of the bishop's chapter, and the Glastonbury writers deplore the advantage obtained over the abbey by this arrangement, whereby the bishop received the acknowledgment of jurisdiction from the abbot, as one of the canons of his cathedral church.^a

At the same time, to put an end to a long-standing controversy between the abbey and the church of Wells, the bishop granted the abbot a separate territorial jurisdiction, to be held by a special officer (the abbot's archdeacon) over the churches which were in the twelve hides of Glastonbury.^b The church of South Brent, which had belonged to Glastonbury, was ceded to the archdeacon of Wells, in lieu of seven churches of the Glastonbury archdeaconry, which the archdeacon of Wells had claimed, and it has ever since remained impropriated to the archdeaconry of Wells, and in its patronage. The church of Huish, near Langport, was also annexed to the archdeaconry of Wells by bishop Reginald.^c

Great building work had been going on at Glastonbury under bishop Henry of Blois—the builder of St. Cross near Winchester, founder of Romsey abbey, and refounder of Taunton priory. Abbot Robert carried on the work until his death in 1178. Then the abbey was held by the king, and put into commission to Peter de Marci, a Cluniac monk, as administrator of the revenues during the vacancy. While the abbey was in the king's hands, on St. Urban's day, May 25, 1184, a fire destroyed the whole of the abbey buildings of Henry de Blois, and only a new chamber, which had been built by abbot Robert, with its chapel, and the great bell-tower, remained.^d

^a R. i. f. 24, lxix. f. 25, lxxv. Cf. Adam of Domerham, i. 235; ii. 351.

^b The abbey had claimed exemption for the churches of the twelve hides from all local jurisdiction secular and spiritual, under a pretended charter of king Ine.

The exempt jurisdiction was now conceded, and the jurisdiction of the abbot over the churches made equal to a separate and exempt archdeaconry.

^c Reginald's grant v. Adam of Dom. ii. 345.

^d Adam of Dom. ii. 333.

Henry, grieved at the loss sustained by the Church while the abbey was in his hands, undertook to rebuild the church, and committed the work to Ralph Fitzstephen, the chancellor, to spend all the available resources of the convent on the fabric. A charter was given by Henry, December 1184, in which he made himself and his heirs responsible for the fitting restoration. The work was of national interest, the revenues of vacant benefices were applied to the work, and a charge was laid upon certain churches in support. Ralph Fitzstephen is described as munificent in his gifts, and the royal treasury supplied what was required. A great store of relics of saints and worthies buried at Glastonbury was now displayed; and the timely discovery or invention about this time of the bones of Arthur and his queen, and the publication of the Arthurian legend, helped to draw a large concourse of pilgrims, and brought much gain of money to the abbey.

So rapidly grew the work, that in the second or third year after the fire, "on St. Barnabas day, 1186,"^a or 1187,^b bishop Reginald dedicated the new church of St. Mary on the spot where the old church, the "*vetusta ecclesia*," had stood. At the same time the foundations were laid, and the building commenced, of "the great church," "*major ecclesia*," 400 feet in length and 80 feet in breadth. But with the death of Henry, in 1189, the works were stopped—until 1235. "King Richard's mind was more directed to military affairs than to the building which was begun, so the work was stopped because there was no one to pay the workmen."^c Soon after began the great war with Wells, under bishop Savaric, continued under bishop Jocelin until 1219, in which the revenues of the abbey were consumed by litigation at Rome. No building was carried on again until 1235; and a whole century intervened before the next consecration of the church, then only partially built, on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1303.^d

So far we have followed out bishop Reginald's history, as it is connected with the general history of the time, and described in the chronicles of Henry the Second's reign.

^a Adam of Dom. ii. 335, describes the work, but does not give the year of consecration, "*Ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae in loco quo primitus vetusta steterat ex lapidibus quadris opere speciosissimo consummavit, nichil ornatus in ea praetermittens.*" John of Glastonbury (i. 180) names the year thus indefinitely, "*quam dedicavit Reginaldus, tunc Bathoniae episcopus, anno Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo circiter sexto die S. Barnabae.*"

^b Mr. Parker says, "more probably 1187." S.A.P. vol. xxvi. 28.

^c Adam of Dom. ii. 341.

^d John of Glast. i. 255.

(b.) Bishop Reginald at Wells.

But we turn to our own local documents, and to the history lurking in the unprinted manuscripts at Wells, to learn more particularly what was going on at Wells during bishop Reginald's episcopate.

Wells was the bishop's seat all through his time, until his translation to Canterbury in the last days of his life.

The charters of his time show his care to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor, and to carry on bishop Robert's policy at Wells: (*a*) by confirming and increasing the privileges of the town; (*b*) by adding to the number of the prebends, and increasing the permanent endowment of the stalls; (*c*) by provision for the building of the fabric of the church.

The municipal history of Wells is ancient and interesting. Its early charters are of especial value, as showing the relation of the town to the bishop, and the growth of the town around the cathedral church.

Two charters to the city by bishop Reginald stand at the head of these contemporary records, and are of general as well as local interest.

Early in his episcopate, certainly before 1180, as the names of the attesting witnesses show, bishop Reginald gave two charters to the town.

In the first of these he recites the charter of his predecessor, bishop Robert; and, desiring to follow the footsteps of his venerable predecessor, and at the request of the burgesses, he confirms with further grants their privileges then conferred. (Appendix C.)

Bishop Robert had forbidden markets to be held in the precincts of the cathedral church, because the tumult of the buyers and sellers interrupted the devotion of the worshippers, and made the house of God a den of hucksterers; and he ordered their removal to the open spaces of the town. At the same time, also, he granted to the citizens fairs with freedom from tolls on three festival times in the year, viz. on the eves and festivals of (*a*) the Invention of the Holy Cross; (*b*) the feast of St. Calixtus; (*c*) the feast of St. Andrew.

Bishop Reginald, in his confirmation of this charter, granted three additional days, viz. the morrow of each of these festivals. He also granted to the burgesses one moiety of the profits arising from the hiring of stalls, which belonged to him as lord.

In the second charter, referring again to the example and the charter of his predecessor, he grants that the town of Wells shall be a free borough; that every

one dwelling within its limits and possessing a messuage in the name of a burgage should have freedom of dwelling, going, and coming ; also of mortgaging, selling, and granting their houses, except to houses of religion. He reserves to the bishop the payment of twelve pence a year out of every house in the borough ; forbids sale of raw skins, or hides, within the limits of the borough ; grants authority to hold a court for settlement of disputes, and for civil and criminal trials, except in cases where deadly wounds or injuries for life had been inflicted, without any fee to the bishop's justices. He reserves to the bishop right of appeal, and right to interfere or revise the sentence of the burgesses if they failed to do justice.^a

These charters, two of a series of municipal charters, beginning with bishop Robert, confirmed and amplified by bishop Reginald, and afterwards by bishop Savaric, the lords of the manor of Wells, and confirmed by king John, 1202, illustrate the peculiar position and character of Wells as the ecclesiastical city growing up around the church, which Mr. Freeman has described so fully in his history of the cathedral church and elsewhere: "Wells stands alone among the cities of England proper as a city, which exists only in and through its cathedral church, whose whole history is that of its cathedral church Unlike other cities, it has its municipal history; but its municipal history is simply an appendage to its ecclesiastical history: the franchises of the borough were simply held as grants from the bishop."

They have a further and subsidiary interest as setting out before us the names and designations of the representatives of the ecclesiastical corporation, of the townspeople and their trades, of the owners of land in the neighbourhood, the names of the farms and villages, at the time contemporary with these bishops of the twelfth century.

Bishop Reginald gathers round him the officers and canons of his cathedral church, the landlords and the burgesses and townsfolk, to witness to the charter of purchase, which, as lord of the manor, he freely bestows upon them. At the same time, as their lord, he reserves to the bishop the right of administering justice and reviewing the sentences of the town magistrates.

In the first of these charters, given before 1166, occur the names of the first officers of the newly constituted chapter, as witnesses to bishop Robert's charter: Ivo the dean ; Reginald the precentor, nephew of the late bishop John of Tours ; and archdeacons Robert and Thomas.

In bishop Reginald's charter, between 1174-1180, there are the names of the

^a See Appendix C.

second generation of officers of the cathedral chapter: there is another dean, Richard of Spakeston (Spaxton on the Quantock) 1160-1180; another precentor, Hildebert or Albert, 1174-1185; another archdeacon, Richard of Bath, with title of local jurisdiction; William the treasurer; Robert the sub-dean: there are the canons Ralph of Lechlade, afterwards archdeacon of Bath, and dean, 1216-1220; William canon of Haselbury; and Peter of Winchester, afterwards chancellor, 1185.

In both charters of bishop Reginald we meet with the first mention of a name which was to be more known and honoured than any in the history of Wells, Jocelin, the chaplain, the future bishop.^a

A large number of names representing the neighbouring landowners and the townsfolk of Wells sign on this memorable occasion in the early life of the city, when canons and clerks, burgesses and tenants, were called together by the bishop, their lord, to receive this first deed of city incorporation. (See Appendix C.)

We gather from other charters in the Wells registers, and the attestations to documents belonging to bishop Reginald's time, the names of some more of his contemporaries in the diocese and in the chapter.

^a The family of bishop Jocelin can be traced in the documents of the time, *e. g.*

Certificate by bishop Rainaud, that Walter Pistor of Bath had sold land at Lanferley, to Edward de Wellis and to Hugh his heir for five marcs of silver.

The original grant made to Walter by the late bishop Robert had been burnt—the fee is surrendered at the Hundred Court.

Witnesses: Ralph of Lechlade, archdeacon of Bath; Richard, archdeacon of Coutances; Robert of Geldeford; Robert of St. Lo (de Sancto Laudo); Joceline, chaplain; John of St. Lo; Godfrid the Frenchman, and others. Bishop Reginald was keeping up his connection with his uncle's diocese of Coutances.—*Chap. Doc. i. 9.*

In *Chap. Doc. i. 10.* Inspeximus of grant by Ralph de Wilton of all his land in Wells to Edward de Wellis for 10 shillings annually, and a present of 50 shillings, and to Wimarc his wife a gold brooch, and 6 pence each to two of his sons. Witness to the original grant: Ralph of Lechlade; Alexander, subdean; Robert Fitzpane, sheriff of Somerset. Witnesses to the Inspeximus: William of Welesley; Alexander, subdean; Jocelin, chaplain; Peter de Winton, Mathias de Winton, &c.

In other documents we find the names of Sarum dignitaries; *e. g.* R. i. f. 36.

Agreement between bishop Reginald and William son of Richard of Melbury (Mauleberg) about 7 acres near the wood of Wokiolo, and a meadow of 5 acres near Poulesham is witnessed by representatives of the Wells and Salisbury chapters; bishop Joceline of Sarum; Walter, the precentor of Sarum; Thomas, archdeacon of Wells; Baldwin, chancellor of Sarum; Ralph of Lechlade; Robert of Geldeford; Jocelin, chaplain; Stephen of Tor, canon of Wells, and others.

In another document, *Chap. Doc. i. 13.* among the witnesses occur the names of Edward of Wells, Hugh son of Edward, Jocelin his brother, together with Alexander the dean, Thomas the subdean, William of Dinr (Dinder), William of Weleslia.

The names appear, *nomina tantum* for the most part, of the several dignitaries—dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, the three archdeacons of Wells, Bath, and Taunton, subdean, succentor. Two deans were living through his episcopate: Richard of Spakeston, from 1160 to 1180; Alexander, from 1180 until the third year of bishop Jocelin, 1209.

Two archdeacons, Thomas of Wells, and Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, appear in the history of the time as taking part in public events beyond the diocese.

Thomas Agnellus, archdeacon of Wells, is identified as the preacher of the funeral sermon on the death of the young king Henry, in 1183, which bishop Stubbs quotes,^a as showing that the young king Henry was looked upon as a champion of the old regime against the reforming tendencies of the father.

Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, 1175—1190, is the learned rhetorician and theologian, and letter writer and literary adventurer, who was known to all the leading men of the day, an active political agent in Henry's court, and at the Roman Curia, of Henry against Becket—of Baldwin against the monks of Canterbury, but changing sides after Baldwin's death. In his letters,^b he appears as archdeacon of Bath before Reginald's appointment to the bishopric; he anticipates Reginald's preferment, and warns him of the responsibilities; he defended Reginald for taking the side of his father in the quarrel with Becket. In after years he complained to Reginald, as bishop, of his severity in enforcing discipline upon his deputy in the archdeaconry for nonpayment of a debt. He appears to have been put out of the archdeaconry with some disgrace, but in 1192 he was archdeacon of London,^c and died about 1200.

William of St. Faith, a witness to bishop Robert's charter before 1166, was precentor in 1187. In that year the precentor of Wells and the archdeacon of Bath were at Rome working on Baldwin's side against the monks of Canterbury, while their bishop was the pope's commissary in England, and supporting the monks against Baldwin.^d

The latter part of the twelfth century, the strong reign of Henry II., following the lawlessness and anarchy of Stephen's reign, was marked by an outburst of zeal and liberality towards the church and objects of religious veneration.

It was a time of foundation and endowment of monastic houses, and of prebends for secular canons in cathedral churches.

^a Pref. to R. of Howden, ii. p. lvii.

^b *Epistolae Petri Blesensis*, i. Ep. 62, 58, 149.

^c R. de Diceto, i. Pref. lxxix.

^d *Epist. Cantuar.* cxxxv., p. 107. *Ep.* ccxiv.

The registers of the chapter of Wells contain many deeds of gifts of land and churches from clergy and laity made to the church of Wells during bishop Reginald's time. These gifts were employed by the bishop in council with his chapter, in augmenting the common fund of the chapter, or in endowing prebends, or in the maintenance of the fabric.

In this, he was following the action of his predecessor, bishop Robert, and the example of other well-governed churches. The estate of the chapter and canons had been made by bishop Robert distinct from the personal estate of the bishop. The property of the cathedral body was thus secured from the grasp of the crown during the vacancy of the see, and from lapsing into private hands, as had occurred during bishop John's episcopate.

The funds given to the cathedral church were divided into a common fund for the support of the resident officers of the chapter, and prebends were endowed for the support of the several canons of the church.

These deeds of gift were confirmed by bishop and chapter, by king and pope, to secure their permanent validity. Charters of confirmation of the rights and possessions of the see occur frequently at this time, and serve as compendious summaries of the gradual growth of the possessions of the see during bishop Reginald's episcopate.

They also show incidentally the state of insecurity as to rights of property, and the care taken by the bishop to obtain the highest legal sanction for the rights and possessions of his cathedral church.

There are six such charters of confirmation in the chapter registers of the time—

1. By pope Alexander III. in 1176, given at the request, (*pro postulationibus*), of dean Richard and the canons of Wells. (R. ii. f. 46.)
2. By pope Alexander III. in 1179, given to bishop Reginald at the Lateran Council. (R. iii. f. 266.) (See Appendix D.)
3. By king Henry II. in 1185, at Argentan, confirming former royal grants to Bath and to the see. (R. i. f. 15, 16.; cf. iii. f. 333.)
4. By bishop Reginald, of gifts made to the see in the early part of his episcopate before 1180. (R. i. f. 24; cf. iii. f. 10.)
5. By king Richard I. Nov. 26, 1189, confirming royal grants of his predecessors, with special confirmation to bishop Reginald of an agreement with regard to his land at Dynre (Dinder), and grant of the park at Dogmersfield. (R. i. f. 15, 16; cf. iii. 333.)

6. By king Richard I. at the same date, in the first year of his reign, confirming to bishop Reginald the possessions of the see acquired during his episcopate. (R. iii. f. 13 in dors.)

7. By pope Clement III. in 1190. (R. iii. f. 260.)

The two charters most valuable, as illustrating the history of the diocese at this time, are the charters (1) of pope Alexander in 1176, at the beginning of bishop Reginald's episcopate, and (2) of king Richard I. in 1189, thirteen years after, and two years before bishop Reginald's death :—

1. The charter of pope Alexander III., brought back by bishop Reginald from Rome after his attendance at the Lateran Council in 1179, is very full in recapitulation of all the possessions and rights of the see, and also of the bishop's jurisdiction and relation to the great religious houses in his diocese. The bishop has the power of removing the prior of Bath for sufficient reasons, after consultation with the chapter, "or other religious men;" no church or oratory may be erected in the diocese without the bishop's sanction; his rights of authority and jurisdiction over religious houses and churches within the diocese are generally but vaguely defined, with reservation of appeal to the pontifical legate or the Roman court; he has authority to compel attendance at his synod of abbots and priors; none are to officiate in the diocese without his permission; if any monks, or other religious men, clerks or laymen, present themselves or are presented to benefices without the bishop's consent, he may remove them.

2. The charter of Richard I. in the first year of his reign, on the eve of setting out for the Holy Land, November 26th, 1189, presents a summary of the gifts which had been made to the church during bishop Reginald's episcopate of fifteen years, by which sixteen prebends were founded in the cathedral church, and other grants and privileges were bestowed. (See Appendix E.)

Additional privileges of a special character were also granted by the crown at this time: (a) the right of keeping hounds, which his predecessors in the see held, but with fuller privileges of hunting through the *whole* of Somerset, roe and fallow deer only excepted. This was a privilege which, in mitigation of the extreme rigour of the forest laws, as enforced by Henry I., must have been a great boon to his predecessors, and which, from his earlier sporting tastes, bishop Reginald would have been fully able to appreciate. He conferred also, at this time, (b) the more important and permanent benefit to the see of rights of mining for lead (*mineram de plumbo*) throughout all the bishop's lands, and probably, in connexion with this, (c) the power to create a borough and hold market in his land at Radclive, *terra sua de Radeclive*, described in R. iii. f. 266, as also

“the Portus of Radeclive,” in the manor of Compton Episcopi and Axbridge—perhaps a “hithe,” or wharf, at the head of the tideway on the Axe, for the exportation of the lead ore of Mendip.^a

But the list in Richard’s charter of confirmation does not exhaust the grants made to the church at this time. In the border country of the west of Somerset were the family lands of three of the knights who had struck down Becket in his cathedral church at Canterbury. The Tracy family had given Bovey in Devonshire to the church. Simon Brito, or le Bret, of Samford Bret, now gave the church of St. Decumans, on the headland overlooking the western channel, for a prebend in the church of St. Andrew in Wells, and Robert Fitzurse, of Willetton, in the same beautiful valley under the Quantock hills as Samford Bret, endowed St. Decumans with twenty acres of land, and gave land to a manse for a chaplain to serve a chapel at Willetton, in the parish of St. Decumans.^b

In the same district, on the borders of Exmoor, William de Romara, earl of Lincoln, founder of Cleeve abbey in 1188, gave the church of Old Cleeve^c to bishop Reginald; and the church of Wynesford,^d on the Upper Exe, a few miles above the Augustinian priory of Barlynch, was given by the lady Alicia de Roges.

These documents show how the constitution and property of the church was built up at this time, under bishop Reginald’s rule. I reserve for a second part of this paper, notice of those documents which relate to the maintenance of the fabric, and for the consideration of the share which bishop Reginald may have had in the building of the church.

Before closing the general history of his episcopate, it is necessary to notice the events of the two last years of his life, in which he passed from Wells to Canterbury.

Between the year after his return from the Lateran Council in 1179, and Henry’s death in 1189, bishop Reginald does not appear much in public affairs.

These quiet years of his episcopate had formed an important period in the history of the diocese. Henry II., his old master, who had trusted and employed him on important occasions, died at Chinon on the Loire, July 6, 1189.

^a *Ratcliffe* in Stuckey’s map, on the Axe, which is navigable so far—*Ratley* in Greenwood’s map, in Compton; it is *Ripley* in Ordnance map.

^b S. Decuman, i. f. 40, Carta Simonis Brito; i. f. 39, Carta Roberti fil. Ursi; i. f. 38, Confirmatio Reginaldi Episcopi, teste Alexandro Decano.

^c Cleeve, R. iii. f. 382.

^d Wynesford, R. i. f. 59; R. iii. f. 351.

A time of restless excitement, of foreign adventure, and political struggles at home, followed upon Richard's accession. Reginald, as one of the friends and counsellors of Henry, took a leading part in the first events of his son's reign.

He appears to have been drawn away from his diocese into the political and ecclesiastical intrigues of the court.

Whether justly or not, he incurs the suspicion of having aimed at the chancellorship, and of secretly intriguing for the primacy.

On September 3, 1189, he assisted at the coronation of Richard at Westminster. It was a scene of unusual pomp. In the coronation procession to and from the church, and to and from the altar, Hugh bishop of Durham on the right, and Reginald bishop of Bath on the left hand, walked by the side of Richard.^a Four barons bore over them a silken canopy supported on four tall lances, and the company of earls, barons, knights, clergy and laity followed in long procession. After Richard had made the coronation oaths, he was anointed and crowned by archbishop Baldwin, the archbishops of Dublin, Rouen, and Trèves assisting;^b and enthroned by the two bishops of Durham and Bath.

After this, Reginald was at the council of Pipewell abbey, on September 15, when the appointments to the chief offices and vacant bishoprics were made by Richard. The see of Ely and the chancellorship were then given to William Longchamp.

Richard, intent upon an immediate start for the Holy Land, was selling the offices of state, and making conveyances of crown lands, and castles, and towns to the highest bidders. All who could were buying rights and privileges, offices and benefices; "not only to the confirmation of their own, but to the usurpation of their neighbours' rights"—"*et caeteri, quicunque volebant, emebant a rege tam sua quam aliena jura.*"^c

It is assumed, on a statement of Richard of Devizes, that Reginald made a high bid of 4000*l.* for the chancellorship, which Richard gave to William Long-

^a Deinde venit Ricardus dux Normanniae, et Hugo Dunelmensis Episcopus a dextris illius ibat et Reginaldus Batoniensis Episcopus a sinistris illius ibat, et umbraculum sericum portabatur inter illos. Et omnis turba comitum et baronum et militum et aliorum, tam clericorum quam laicorum sequebatur usque in atrium ecclesiae et sic usque in ecclesiam ad altare. *Benedict*, ii. 81.

^b It was a mark of honour to the see, and perhaps also in this case to the man. Brompton, writing at the close of the thirteenth century (f. 1158-9) says, "Atque istud privilegium etiam hodie praesules Dunelmenses et Bathonienses sibi vendicant." Savaric, as bishop of Bath, took this same place at the coronation of John.

^c Vide Howden, vol. iii. 29, for a list of some of the state offices sold by the king at this time.

champ, though he paid for it 1000*l.* less—"Willielmus Eliensis electus, datis tribus millibus libris argenti, sigillum regis sibi retinuit, licet Reginaldus Italus quartum millerium superobtulerit."^a On the strength of this unsupported statement, a charge is brought against Reginald of selfish ambition. Undoubtedly, at such a time only such men as St. Hugh of Lincoln, as St. Anselm in earlier times, could pass through kings' courts and papal chancelleries without taint, or suspicion at least, of worldliness and corruption. Whether he was tempted to offer a high price for the chancellorship or not is doubtful. But it is certain that at this time Reginald was employing his money for the benefit of the diocese in buying from the king confirmations of all the possessions and privileges of the see, and the grant of the manor of North Curry; a costly purchase, which he made over to the canons of his cathedral church.

Reginald was a man who mixed in the world, but he does not seem to have been covetous or personally ambitious as compared with his contemporaries, such as Hugh of Durham, Hugh Nonant of Coventry, and the chancellor Longchamp. He appears to have been pushed forward into prominent positions, and employed by others as a counsellor and an arbitrator trusted by both sides, rather than a self-seeking intriguer for high places. In 1191 he was twice employed as one of the arbitrators in the quarrel between the chancellor Longchamp and earl John at the pacification of Winchester, April 25; and again, between the chancellor and the rebellious sheriff of Lincoln, Gerard de Camville, July 28. He was one of those who opposed the chancellor for his high-handed treatment of Geoffrey; but he took no prominent part in his trial and humiliation in October, 1191.

It was probably his unaggressive, conciliatory line of conduct, which led to his election to the vacant primacy, rather than any secret intrigues on his part.

A struggle had been going on since 1187 between archbishop Baldwin and his chapter, the prior and monks of the cathedral church at Canterbury.

Reginald had been forward in supporting Baldwin as the king's nominee, and in conciliating the monks to accept him, in 1184. But now, when it may reasonably have appeared that the archbishop was using his authority arbitrarily, he did

^a R. of Devizes. *De rebus gestis Ricardi*, p. 9, § 10, ed. Stevenson. Bishop Stubbs and others assume that bishop Reginald is the person here so named; elsewhere, Richard of Devizes calls him by his ordinary title, *Episcopus Bathoniensis*.

At the same time Hugh, bishop of Durham, paid for the office of justiciar 1,000 mares; for the earldom of Northumberland, 2,000; and 600 for the manor of Sedbergh. The king, "*decem millia libras argenti de scriniis ejus diligenter extraxit.*" R. of Devizes, p. 8, § 9.

not shrink from opposition to the king, and from taking the unpopular side of the convent. St. Hugh of Lincoln was on the same side afterwards.^a

The immediate subject of dispute was the foundation by the archbishop, out of some of the funds of the cathedral chapter, of a college and church of secular canons at Hackington, near Canterbury. The project gave much offence to the monks, who thought they saw in it, what was probably the intention, a desire to supplant them in their position as metropolitan chapter, and to substitute a body of secular canons (out of their revenue) who would be more amenable to the primate.

They naturally resisted what in their view must have appeared an act of usurpation and arbitrary authority on the part of their abbot, the archbishop.

The king supported the archbishop; the courtiers, for the most part, went with him. The convent appealed to the pope. The pope, Urban III. in October, 1187, took up the cause of the convent, and appointed a commission, consisting of Reginald bishop of Bath, Seffred bishop of Chichester, and the abbots of Feversham and Reading, ordering them to destroy the building.

With the death of Urban III. in 1187, proceedings were suspended. Henry died in July 1189. A new reign began in England. The quarrel was arranged for a time; and archbishop Baldwin went on the Crusade with Richard.

Baldwin's death at Acre was known in England in March 1191.

The monks used the opportunity of the vacancy in the see to overthrow the scheme of the late archbishop, and to secure to themselves the election of his successor.

In May 1191, pope Celestine issued his mandate peremptorily to bishop Reginald and the commissioners, to execute the order for the destruction of the new buildings at Hackington, and on July 21 they were levelled to the ground.

The monks had succeeded in one of their objects.

They were now eager to secure the election of the archbishop. Reginald is

^a Vide Stubbs, Pref. to the *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. liii. for the history of this controversy; and letters to and from Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, in the collection. Also Letters of Peter of Blois. Ep. cxxxv. ccclv. Vide *Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 134-5. At this same time two of the chapter of Wells were Baldwin's agents at Rome, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, and William of St. Faith, precentor of Wells.

The letters illustrate Peter's character. V. Ep. cxxxv., his letter on Urban's death; ccclv., his change of sides, in disgust at not having been paid his expenses. So he writes about May, 1191, "perdidi operam et impensas—meisque peccatis exigentibus permisit me Dominus occasione illius archiepiscopi damnose deludi . . ." and he offers his services to the Convent.

charged with secretly intriguing for the primacy; but there is no evidence that he sought the office, or took any steps to obtain it.^a

It was likely that his support of the convent, his position as pope's commissioner, and his execution of the pope's orders, should have won him the favour of the monks. He certainly had an active but self-interested agent in his cause in Savaric, his kinsman, who had some mysterious influence with the emperor Henry VI., and the king of France, Philip, son of Louis VII, the patron of Reginald in early life. If Savaric was intriguing for Reginald, he certainly was intriguing also for himself, and for the reversion of Reginald's bishopric of Bath.

Under his influence, the emperor wrote in November 1191, to recommend the convent to take the advice of Savaric "*dilectus consanguineus noster*," in the choice of their archbishop. At the same time, Philip of France recommended Reginald as the friend of his father, who had given him the abbey of St. Exuperius in 1164; and as strongly supported by Savaric, "our faithful friend."^b

The king's justiciars had appointed December 3 for a meeting of council to elect. But before the day, the monks, anticipating the meeting of the council, held a chapter on November 27, to assert their claim and to nominate their candidate.

The prior tried to sound the archbishop of Rouen, the chief justiciar, as to the person who would be accepted by the king. The archbishop, as Gervase hints,^c intended the monks to choose himself; if so, he must have failed to make himself intelligible, or to have convinced the prior of his merits. "Would the bishop of Bath be admissible?" The archbishop did not say "yes," but the monks interpreted his looks as favourable. "We elect," cried the prior, "the bishop of Bath." The monks re-echoed the nomination, and, laying violent hands on Reginald, thrust him, protesting, imploring, struggling, into the archbishop's chair.

The archbishop of Rouen protested in the king's name; the members of the council threatened further proceedings; but the monks supported their right to elect. Reginald re-asserted his unwillingness, but acquiesced in the election, and announced his intention of awaiting the pope's confirmation, with the words: "*anxius, invitus consentio vel gratulabundus cedo*."

But all that had been done was made void by Reginald's death within a month of the election.

He was on his way to or from his diocese, when he was seized with paralysis at his manor of Dogmersfield on Christmas Eve.

^a Gervase so says, "*clam ambiens*." Bishop Stubbs, *Pref. Ep. Cant.* lxxx. thinks "he was quietly laying his plans for the primacy." See also *ibid.* lxxxix.

^b *Epp. Cant.* ccclxxxi. ii.

^c Gervase, *Opera Hist.* i. 511. R. S.

The prior of Christchurch was sent for. The archbishop, anticipating his death, ordered him to bring the monk's habit, that he might die as a member of the brotherhood. His last words were, "God willeth not that I should be your archbishop. But I desire to be a monk, and one with you. Farewell, and pray for me without ceasing, as one of the brotherhood."^a

He died on St. Stephen's day. The body was taken to Bath, and buried before the high altar on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, December 29.

Peter of Blois, no longer now archdeacon of Bath, speaks of him as "*Magni nominis umbra*," and marks—perhaps with malicious humour—the curious coincidence that his days of death and burial were the feasts of the two saints to whom the church was dedicated, which he had been instrumental in destroying. "It was as if St. Stephen had killed him, and St. Thomas had buried him." But Richard of Devizes, to whom bishop Stubbs gives the character of "an ill-natured historian, who never misses an opportunity of speaking ill," is witness to his love for his church of Bath, and the love of his diocese for him,^b and has condensed in two lines of an homely epitaph—in which he plays upon his name, a high testimony to his character,

*Dum Reginaldus erat bene seque suosque regebat—
Nemo plus quaerat—quicquid docuit faciebat.*^c

Reginald's life is connected with interesting scenes and important events in the great reign of Henry II. As a statesman, he was one of the foremost in the second rank of able men whom Henry gathered round himself.

As a bishop, though he was of another type from the ascetic and unworldly Saint Hugh, yet he rose far above the selfish and worldly bishops of his time, who were the scorn of Henry.^d

Reginald had no opportunity of showing whether he was capable of ruling the church of England as primate, in those troubled times. We may think it was happier for him, and for his reputation, that he had not to undergo the trial. But at least Wells has reason to honour him as one of her chief benefactors, not only in ecclesiastical, but in civil history; zealous and liberal, and wise in government; and a worthy successor of bishop Robert.

^a Ep. cccclxxxviii. "*Mihi non videtur quod velit Deus quod vester sim archiepiscopus. Vester autem volo et desidero esse monachus. Valet, et gratia vestri incessanter, incessanter, oretis pro me.*"

^b "*Quam multum diligebat, magis ab ea dilectus.*"

^c R. of Devizes, p. 46, § 58.

* Reginald rightly named, himself and his flock ruled well;
How? What he taught he did; there is no more to tell.

^d William of Newbury, III. c. xxvi.

PART II.

Bishop Reginald's share in the fabric of the cathedral church of Wells.

It has been generally assumed by later writers, who have followed the Canon of Wells and Godwin as the original authorities on the history of the fabric, that we have no documentary evidence of bishop Reginald's work on the fabric of his own cathedral church.

The Canon of Wells, as quoted in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and bishop Godwin say nothing of any building works between the times of bishop Robert and bishop Jocelin.

Professor Willis,^a in his lectures on the church of Wells, passes from bishop Robert to bishop Jocelin, as the next prelate who comes architecturally on the scene.

Mr. Freeman says, "We may pass more lightly over the time of the two bishops who came between the first great founder, Robert, and the second great founder, Jocelin. Their time is a most important time in the history of the see of Bath and Wells; it is the most important of all times in the late history of the church of Glastonbury; but it provides but little matter bearing on the history of the fabric, or the constitution of the church of Wells. The next bishop, Reginald, founded several new prebends, but I do not find any mention of the fabric in his time."^b

But we have additional evidence, contained in the chapter registers at Wells, which are of earlier authority than the Canon of Wells and Godwin. Professor Willis had access to these registers for his lectures on Wells; and he says, that he "drew from these records many particulars of dates and facts hitherto unknown in relation to the progress of the building in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries."

But, unfortunately, his researches did not extend to the earlier records bearing on this first portion of the history of the fabric.

The first document quoted from his own observation is dated 1286. He exhorts members of the chapter, who have the opportunity, to pursue inquiries into the cathedral registers.

^a *Somerset Archaeological Proceedings*, vol. xii. part I. p. 17.

^b *Cathedral Church of Wells*, p. 70.

Mr. Freeman looks forward to the time when these and all such documents "locked up in manuscript" shall be put into print. We may be sure he will be the first to give weight to any evidence there may be "lurking in these manuscripts" to illustrate the history of the cathedral church, which he has taught others to study. For, if we can discover charters contemporary with the episcopates of Reginald and Savaric, they will give a continuity to the history of the fabric, which has hitherto been wanting, for the time between Robert and Jocelin; and we can test the claim of the Canon and Godwin to represent the earliest history of the fabric.

These documents in the registers of the chapter of Wells have lately been calendared, and their contents printed in a volume published by the Historical MSS. Commission. This is the first step to the publication of separate documents which may have historical value.

I propose to compare some of these earlier documents with the history of the fabric contained in the Canon and Godwin.

The contemporary document in the register of the priory of Bath, the *Historiola de primordiis episcopatus Somersetensis*, gives the history of the church in Robert's time, 1135-1166.

Porro non est oblivioni tradendum quod ecclesia Welliae suo consilio fabricata est et auxilio. Et factum est cum perfecta esset ecclesia Welliae ab eodem domino, Welliae ascitis sibi et adjunctis grandis et praeclarae memoriae tribus pontificibus G^o. Sar'. et S. domino Wygorn. Roberto domino Herefordiae, consecravit et dedicavit ipsam ecclesiam.

The date of this consecration of the church after restoration is determined, by the dates of consecration and death of the three assisting bishops, as not later than the year 1148.^a The three bishops were Jocelin de Bohun, bishop of Salisbury, 1142-1184; Simon, bishop of Worcester, 1125-1150; and Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford, who was consecrated in 1131, and died in 1148.^b

The writer of the *Historiola*, as if in fresh recollection of the event, goes on to tell how the anniversary of the consecration was marked by the grant from the bishops assembled of one hundred days of remission of penance to all who should come on the anniversary of that day to the church.

The writer ascribes to bishop Robert in general terms the rebuilding of the church; and the consecration of the work is marked as a great event in the history of the church. No details are given of the condition of the church, or of the parts rebuilt.

^a *Angl. Sacra*, i. 561.

^b Stubbs, *Episc. Succession*.

The next writer is the Canon of Wells of the fifteenth century. He goes more into detail about bishop Robert's work than the contemporary writer :

"Dedicavit Ecclesiam Wellensem, praesentibus Gocelino Sarum, Simone Wigorn, et Roberto Herefordensi Episcopis. Multas ruinas ejusdem Ecclesiae destructionem ejus in locis pluribus comminantes egregie reparavit."^a

Godwin comes after, and varies the words of the canon :

"Ecclesiam annosa vetustate labantem et properante ruina collapsuram partim refecit, partim de novo condidit."^b

"Whereas our church of Wells at this time was exceeding ruinous, and likely every day to fall to the ground, he pulled down a great part of it and repaired it."^c

Dr. Archer, who could find nothing in the registers to bear out these statements of the later writers, adds this significant comment, "unde vero isti hauserunt non constat."^d

Here and elsewhere he puts us on our guard against accepting with implicit confidence the authority of the Canon and Godwin.

Bishop Robert died August 31, 1166.

No mention of the fabric of the church is made by the Canon of Wells or by Godwin in their history of the time between Robert and Jocelin, who succeeded May 28, 1206, and consecrated the church in 1239.

We are left to infer—

1. That no building was carried on in Reginald's time ;
2. That Jocelin found both the Saxon church and Robert's new work in ruins, and pulled down the whole church and rebuilt it.

But we have evidence in contemporary charters which in some measure supplies the blank in the history of the fabric, and leads to different inferences.

While bishop Reginald was receiving and applying benefactions to the church from the clergy and laity of the diocese, he on his own part was making liberal provision by his own acts, both for the augmentation of the common fund of the canons, and also for the maintenance and progress of the fabric of the church.

Early in his episcopate he had made over to the canons the "Barton" or home farm, which was the property of the bishop, free of the annual rent of twelve marks, which they had hitherto paid for it.

"We have given to God, and to St. Andrew, and to the canons there, devotedly

^a *Anglia Sacra*, p. 561.

^b *Godwin*, Lat. ed. 1614.

^c *Godwin*, Eng. ed. 1601.

^d *Archer's Chronicon Wellense*, f. 42.

serving God, their Barton, free from all service, and expressly (*nominatim*) from the rent of twelve marks, which they were wont to pay to us yearly.”^a

He had also given to the common fund of the chapter the tenths of all mill-dues on his manor of Wells, *ad communam canonicorum ibidem deo servientium*.^b

These benefactions to the income of the canons, given in perpetuity for himself and his successors, were accompanied with another gift during his own lifetime to the fabric fund of the church.

In a deed done in chapter very early in his episcopate, in the presence of the dean Richard of Spakeston, William of St. Faith the precentor, Thomas, archdeacon of Wells, and “almost all the canons of the church,” he made over to the chapter, specially for the uses of the fabric, all the fruits accruing from vacant benefices throughout the diocese, until the work shall be finished.

This grant is conveyed in a charter which recites in the preamble the duty incumbent on the rulers of the church, and his own continual solicitude that God shall not be dishonoured by the squalor and neglect of the beauty of His house. So, with the assent of his archdeacon, and in full council with his chapter, he had set himself to discharge this duty incumbent upon him of providing a fund out of the episcopal revenue, from the fruits of benefices^c during the time they were

^a R. i. f. 25, i. f. 59. “Bertona est villa vel prædium frumentarium.” The “canon’s barn” is now (1885) converted into the cathedral grammar school, by the liberality of canon Thomas Bernard, chancellor, 1868.

^b R. i. f. 40, cxlix. “Carta de decimis molendinorum de Well.”; R. i. f. cxlviii. recited and confirmed by Savaric afterwards.

^c “The vacant benefice reverted to the diocesan both in spirituals and temporals. He was the guardian of both, bound to provide for the spiritual care of the flock, and also for the revenues chargeable with that care.

“This custom or rather common law was one of the survivals of the earlier condition of the Church, when the endowments of a diocese were a *diocesan* fund, administered by the bishop and synod, and applied to the support of a diocesan corps of clergy.

“These fruits formed a regular part of episcopal revenue administered by a sequestrator-general, until the Act of Henry VIII. which, in order to secure payment of his first-fruits from the incoming incumbent, gave to the incumbent the fruits during vacancy—leaving to the bishop only the duty of husbanding those fruits by a sequestrator, and providing therefrom for the spiritual duties.”—Note by bishop Hobhouse.

Bishop Jocelin in 1216, after consultation with dean Leonius and the chapter, granted to the commune two-thirds of the revenues of vacant benefices, R. i. f. 59.

Bishop Roger in 1246 claimed all the vacant benefices; but the chapter appealed to the grant made to them by bishop Reginald, and the bishop withdrew his claim upon examination of the charters. The chapter then made a free gift to him of the two-thirds (saving to the archdeacon the third part) in consideration of the debts of the bishop and bishopric. But they gave this only for the bishop’s life, and their act was not to bind future times. R. i. f. 64.

vacant, which should be entirely applied during his lifetime towards the building of the cathedral church, until, by the help of God, the whole work shall be brought to an end.^a

Other grants follow, which have a special interest as unpublished evidence bearing upon the history of the fabric.

A group of contemporary documents bear witness that some building was going on in the church at the time, and that grants were being made for the completion of the work. The dates of these early documents are not expressly given; they can only be ascertained by internal evidence and the names of attesting witnesses.

There are three grants of churches neighbouring to one another in the district of Castle Cary, made probably by members of the same family, the Lovels of Cary, either attested by witnesses who were contemporaries with bishop Reginald, or confirmed by Reginald himself.

(a.) Robert de Kari, lord of Lovinton, gives to God and St. Andrew the advowson of the church of Lovinton, with one hide of 160 acres of land, and a messuage near the church.^b

This deed is confirmed by bishop Reginald.^c

(b.) Nicolas de Barewe,^d in ruri-decanal chapter at Cary (in capitulo apud Kari), "*considerata canonicorum Wellensium honesta conversatione et surgentis ecclesie sue laudabilis structura*," gives up his life interest in the temporalities of this same church of Lovinton for an annual pension of two shillings.^e

Among the witnesses is Adam, the sub-chanter, who also witnessed the grant of Lovington.

^a "Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit, Reginaldus Dei gratia Bathon. Episcopus salutem in Domino et Dei benedictionem. Iis quibus est divina dispositione pastoralis officii cura commissa et ecclesiarum sollicitudo injuncta summo opere providendum est ut domum Dei ea excolant diligentia quod dignitas Domini in domus squalore non possit devenustari. Hoc igitur zelo ducti de assensu et consilio archidiaconorum nostrae auctoritatis ad hoc duximus, munimen impendendum ut ad fabricam Wellensis Ecclesiae ad cujus regimen sumus domino disponente admissi, fructus et obventiones vacantium ecclesiarum in nostra diocesi existentium quamdiu vacaverint convertantur, et in usus operationis ex toto cedant donec per Dei miserantis auxilium consumetur.

Factum est hoc in capitulo Wellensi, praesente Ricardo de Spakeston, ejusdem ecclesiae Decano, Willelmo precentore, T. archidiacono et omnibus fere illius ecclesiae canonicis."—*Liber Ruber* ii. f. 14.

^b R. i. f. 38, cxxx.

^c *Ib.* f. 61, ccxlii.

^d North Barrow, the next parish to Lovinton. R. i. f. 38, cxxxi.—Cf. R. i. f. 61, ccxli.

^e R. i. f. 38, cxxxi.

(c.) Alured de Punson grants the neighbouring church of South Barrow, "in fundo meo sitam," to God and St. Andrew, to the commune of Wells, and to Reginald bishop of Bath.^a

Among the witnesses are Thomas archdeacon of Wells, Robert de Geldeford archdeacon, Alexander subdean of Wells, etc.

These deeds follow one another in the register, as if, in the mind of the chapter clerk who copied them, they had connection of time and place.

The attestations to these charters fix their dates to the time of Reginald.

A special interest attaches to the charter of Nicolas of Barrow for the insight which it gives, though but a glimpse, into the state of the cathedral chapter at this time.

The motives which prompted the grant of the church of Barrow, perhaps of others, was a desire to support in their work the canons who bore a good reputation in the diocese, and to promote the building of the church, which was now rising in beauty. He makes his grant "in consideration of the right conversation of the canons of Wells and the admirable structure of the rising church."

These terms in the preamble of a formal document have some force of meaning. They give an interest to the bare names of canons which occur as signatories to these documents of the time, they imply that there was attention to duty, piety, and devotion in dean Alexander and the archdeacons and canons, Robert of Guildford, Ralph of Lechlade, William of Martock, and doubtless Jocelin the chaplain, which commanded the respect of their brethren of the ruridecanal chapter of Cary.

And also at this time the church of St. Andrew was rising and becoming an object of interest and admiration to the clergy and laity of the diocese, so that when Nicolas of Barrow and Michael of Aldeford, and Ralph of Yarlinton came up to Wells they would contrast their own little village churches with the proportions and architectural beauty of the buildings rising at Wells, and report that their cathedral church was becoming "exceeding magnifical," and a praise in the diocese, "*laudabilis structura*."

Again there is another charter which tells more definitely of new buildings at Wells, and of the restoration of older work at this time.

Martin of Carscumbe, presumably Croscombe, near Wells, makes a grant of three silver marcs towards the construction of the new work, "*ad constructionem novi operis*," of the church of St. Andrew in Wells, and another two marcs to the

repairs of the chapel of St. Mary there, “ad emendationem capellæ beatæ Mariæ ejusdem loci.”^a

The deed is attested by an unknown witness, Baldwin the chaplain. But it is dated with a precision which fixes it to certain years—“in the second year after the coronation of the lord the king at Winchester.”

Two years are possible. Winchester was the scene of royal coronation twice during the last part of the twelfth century.

At Whitsuntide 1170, the young Henry, eldest son of Henry II. (sometimes called *rex junior*, sometimes “Henricus III.”)^b had been crowned at Westminster without his wife Margaret of France, by Roger archbishop of York. That disastrous event had brought down upon Henry the wrath of Thomas of Canterbury for the violation of the privileges of his see, and of the king of France for the slight offered to his daughter. He was crowned a second time with his queen in St. Swithun’s, Winchester, on August 27, 1172.

If we might take our date as the second year from this coronation, and assign 1174 to this charter, it would fall in the first year of Reginald’s episcopate, and it would be the earliest evidence of any architectural work succeeding Robert’s consecration of the church in 1148. But it is improbable that the young Henry, though crowned and called *rex junior* and *Henricus tertius* in contemporary documents, would have been called *dominus rex* during the lifetime of his father.

There was another coronation at Winchester in twenty-four years. Richard I. who had been crowned in state at Westminster on his accession on September 3, 1189, was crowned a second time after his return to England, as it were “to wipe out the stain of his captivity and his foreign homage,” on April 17, 1194, at

^a *Carta Martini de Karscumbæ*. Noverit universitas vestra quod ego Martinus dedi deo et ecclesiae beati Andreae in Wellia pro salute animae meae et animarum omnium antecessorum meorum, tres marcas argenti ad constructionem novi operis—et duas marcas ad emendationem capellae beatæ Mariæ ejusdem loci accipiendas de redditu de Maperton quem dominus meus H. de Novo Mercato mihi in solutionem debiti mei assignavit et in carta nostra confirmavit. . . .

Ut haec donatio firma permaneat et inconcussa eam sigilli mei appositione roboravi. His testibus : Baldwino capellano, &c. Anno secundo post coronationem domini Regis apud Wintoniae. R. i. f. 41.

Henry Newmarch (de Novo Mercato) was lord of the barony of Cadbury in Somerset, 6 Richard I. Dugdale, *Baron*. p. 435.

^b Richard of Devizes, *De rebus gestis Ricardi I.* p. 5, § 3. “Ricardus filius regis Henrici secundi, frater regis Henrici tertii.” “Henry, son of King Henry the Second, is frequently styled Henry the Third in the early chronicles and contemporaneous State Papers. He died in 1183.” Note by editor.

Winchester. The year 1196 would then be the second year after the coronation, the fourth year of Savaric's episcopate.

In either case the document is evidence that—1. New building was going on in the church at Wells in the latter part of the twelfth century, either by Reginald in succession to Robert, or by Savaric in succession to Reginald. 2. That there was then a chapel of St. Mary which required and was undergoing repair.

We cannot trace any other documentary reference to the "new work" in Savaric's time. But we have some clue to an earlier chapel, which may be the chapel of St. Mary now under repair.

In a charter of bishop Robert of the date of 1136, there is mention of the chapel of the Blessed Mary, which bishop Giso endowed with land in Wotton.

"Dimidiam etiam hidam in Wotton cum virgata terrae quam jocundae recordationis Gyso episcopus dedit Capellae Beatae Mariae."^a

It may be that Giso built this chapel at the time when he was building the cloister and refectory for his canons, on the ground south of the church, where we know a "chapel of St. Mary near the cloister" was standing in Jocelin's time, and afterwards, and is mentioned repeatedly in later documents.

This chapel may have been spared when bishop John pulled down the canonical buildings of his predecessor.

These documents, relating to the years between 1174-1196, bear witness that building was going on at Wells in the latter part of the twelfth century, and in Reginald's episcopate.

There are no fabric rolls of that date, but the charters of gifts and endowments for the sustentation of the fabric and for the completion of work going on, and the acts of confirmation by bishop and chapter contradict the inferences drawn from the language of the Canon of Wells and Godwin, that nothing was done between Robert's and Jocelin's time.

It seems antecedently improbable that Reginald should have left the fabric of his own cathedral church to fall into ruins, or to remain neglected during seventeen years of an active episcopate. It was, as we see, a time of activity and progress in the diocese. The bishop was carrying on Robert's work, "following the footsteps of his predecessors, and led by their example."

He was a vigorous man, a Norman, and might be supposed to have had that love of building which distinguished the race. He was high in favour with the

^a R. i. f. 31, "De ordinatione prebendarum."

kings Henry and Richard and John his brother. He had travelled much, and must have seen or known of new buildings rising abroad and at home—in his uncle's diocese of Coutances, and at Canterbury, where the rebuilding after the fire of 1174 was going on throughout his episcopate; in his own diocese—at Bath, where he was the restorer of two churches, the founder and builder of the hospital; at Witham, where St. Hugh was building his first church, and preparing for his greater architectural work at Lincoln; at Glastonbury, where buildings of national interest were going on between 1184 and 1193, under Norman workmen; and he was the consecrator of the first completed part, the chapel of St. Mary.

There would have been sufficient to kindle the ambition of an active ruler to keep up and to beautify the church of one of the seats of his diocese, which his predecessor had begun to rebuild.

But we know now from these documents, and from his own words, that the building of the church was the subject of his care and solicitude. We know that he was promoting the building by a large gift to the fabric fund for his lifetime; that the work was being carried on, and the church was rising and becoming a goodly structure in the land; and that new work and repair of old building were being planned or carried out, to which offerings were made, in the first years of his successor's episcopate.

It is alike against antecedent probability, and against positive evidence, that the church was neglected and falling into ruins between 1174 and 1196.

We turn now to the description of the church in Jocelin's time, as told by the Canon of Wells and Godwin, and compare their statements with contemporary documents.

The Canon of Wells, writing of Jocelin, says: "*Ipsamque Ecclesiam vetustatis ruinis enormiter deformatam prostravit, et a pavimentis erexit dedicavitque.*"

This is the description of a building allowed to fall into shapeless ruin, *enormiter deformatam*, by a century of neglect and decay.

The rebuilding of the whole church is attributed to Jocelin, from pavement to vault, "*prostravit et a pavimentis erexit.*"

We are accustomed to vague descriptions in the accounts of restorations of dilapidated buildings, but it is important to weigh the words used in this case, as they affect the general credibility of the traditions of the church and the date of parts of the present architecture.

When we examine this description more critically, we observe that the same kind of language had been used by the Canon in describing the state of the church at Robert's restoration: "*Multas ruinas ejusdem Ecclesiae (Wellensis) destructionem*

ejus in locis pluribus comminantes egregie reparavit." Again the peculiar expression, "*enormiter deformatam*," is found in the chapter register of the year 1338, as descriptive of the damage done by the settlement of the central tower. The church is there described as "*totaliter confracta et enormiter deformata.*" So that it is to be remarked that the same words are used to describe the church in ruins in Jocelin's time which had been applied with still stronger emphasis to describe the partial damage caused to part of the nave by the settlement of the tower.

Bishop Godwin enlarges upon the text of the Canon, and describes, with more pretention to exactness, Jocelin's work.

In the English edition he says :

"Moreover, in building he bestowed inestimable summes of money. He built a stately chappell in his pallace at Welles and another at Owky, as also many other edifices in the same houses ; and lastly, the church of Welles itselfe being now ready to fall to the ground, notwithstanding the great cost bestowed upon it by bishop Robert, he pulled downe the greatest part of it, to witte all the west ende, built it anew from the very foundation, and hallowed or dedicated it October 23, 1239. Having continued in his bishopricke 37 yeeres, he died at last November 19, 1242, and was buried in the middle of the quier that he had built under a marble tombe, of late yeeres monsterously defaced."

He varies and amplifies his statement in the Latin editions of 1614-1616 :

"*Ecclesiam ipsam Wellensem jamjam collapsuram (quamvis in ejus reparatione ingentes non ita pridem sumptus fecerat Robertus Episcopus) egregie refecit ac restituit, vel potius novam condidit. Nam partem multo maximam, quicquid nimirum presbyterio est ab occidente, demolitus est, ut cum ampliorem tum pulchriorem redderet, structura excitata ex polito lapide affabre insculpto, augustissima et spectatu dignissima. Triennio antequam excederet Ecclesiam jam absolutam dedicavit Octobris vicesimo tertio, 1239.*"

"*Humatus jacet in medio chori a se constructi.*"

This account of Godwin is somewhat confused. In the English edition he seems to say that the west end was the greatest part which Jocelin pulled down. At another time he says "he pulled down from the west to the presbytery." But under certain variations in detail the language of these two authorities is decisive, that in their view—

- (a.) There was no building going on at Wells in the time between Robert and Jocelin ;
- (b.) That Jocelin pulled down and rebuilt the west end and the greatest part of the church.

We may say, as Archer said of statements by the same authorities on the state of the church in Robert's time: "Unde vero ista hauserunt non constat."

Let us ascend to the earlier authorities.

(a.) In the traditions of fifty or sixty years earlier than the Canon (as given in the *Historia Minor* of bishop Harewell's time, 1367-1386), we have another and a simpler description of Jocelin's work:

Cui successit Jocelinus . . . qui ecclesiam Bathoniensem dedicavit—hic in primo anno consecrationis suae servitium B. M. in ecclesia Wellensi fecit quotidie decantari ipsamque ecclesiam a parte occidentali pro majori parte erexit et eam cum manerio de Wynescombe et advocacione ipsius dotavit—capellas etiam cum cameris de Wellys et Woky nobiliter construxit.

In this description of the building the writer of the fourteenth century at least says nothing about ruins, but fixes upon the western part of the church, and the chapels at Wells and Woky in the bishop's houses, the remains of which are of the same style as the west front, as the new building works by which Jocelin's episcopate was distinguished.

Let us ascend still higher to contemporary documents.

(b.) Jocelin notices the consecration of his work at Wells in two documents. We have no consecration deed—no contemporary historical account of the act of reconsecration by Jocelin, such as the *Historiola* gave of Robert's work in 1148. But the bishop mentions the consecration of the church twice in the introduction and preamble to two charters given to the church about this time.

1. In a charter confirming to the chapter the manor and church of Wynescumb, given "on the morrow of St. Romanus," he says:

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos praesens carta pervenerit Jocelinus Dei gratia Bathon. episcopus, salutem in Domino.

Noveritis nos in dedicatione ecclesiae nostrae Wellensis quam die Sancti Romani mense Novembris anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1239, in honorem Sancti Andreae Apostolorum mitissimi dedicavimus, dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse pro nobis et successoribus nostris in dotem ejusdem ecclesiae nostrae, et decano et capitulo nostro Wellensi manerium de Wynescumbe.

In cujus rei robur et testimonium datum Welliae in crastino Sancti Romani anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1239, et pontificatus nostri anno xxxiv.^a

No more than the fact of the consecration is here mentioned.

2. Jocelin speaks with more particularity in the preamble to another charter,^b

^a R. i. f. 50., iii. f. 53 *in dors.* Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 291.

^b R. i. f. 51, ii. f. 44, 45, iii. f. 8.

by which, in the last year of his life (1242) he increased the "quotidians," the daily apportionment of the common fund of the canons, and made ampler provision for the maintenance of every member of the cathedral staff :

Omnibus Christi fidelibus praesens scriptum visuris vel audituris Jocelinus Dei gratia Bathonienis episcopus salutem in Domino.

Postquam ad episcopatus officium nos promoveri permisit altissimus, omne studium adhibuimus et adhuc adhibemus, ut cultus divini nominis et decus ecclesiae nobis commissae temporibus nostris cumuletur et ampliatur—quicquid ad dispositionem, utilitatem, et ornatum ipsius ecclesiae respiciat semper cogitantes, et ad effectum pro viribus nostris deducere festinantes, *ecclesiam Sancti Andreae Wellensis, quae periculum ruinae patiebatur prae sua vetustate*, cui, Jesu Christo Salvatore nostro permittente, presidemus ipsius auxilium invocantes, *aedificare caepimus et ampliare ; in qua de sola sua gratia adeo profecimus quod ipsam divinis precibus et sacris unctionibus, cum altaribus, vasibus, vestimentis et reliquiis ad divinum cultum explendum in eadem devote solempniterque consecravimus*. Et quia ecclesias aedificantibus, non solum de aedificio ipsiusque consecratione cogitandum est verum etiam de ministrantium alimentis

Acta in capitulo Wellensi sextodecimo Kal. Nov. anno Incarnationis domini nostri Jesu Christi Mill^o cc^o. xlii. (1242) et pontificatus nostri tricesimo septimo.

This charter is sealed by the bishop and the dean, John Sarracenus.

We have traced to its source in Jocelin's own words the tradition passed on to us by the Canon of Wells and Godwin, and adopted from them, that Jocelin was the sole builder of the fabric.

Professor Willis has assumed that "Jocelin himself asserts in one of his statutes that he pulled down the church and rebuilt it."

Do his words justify this assumption ? He himself makes no such claim ; he recites his share in the completed work of the fabric in a preamble to an ordinance for the better endowment of the church, which was yet to be done, and to which he looks forward as his more special act of grace and benefaction. He does not dwell so much on what had been done as on what remained to be done. He only alludes in the preamble to this past stage of his episcopate work, and passes on to be precise and emphatic on what is the special subject of his charters. He is not even careful to date precisely the day of his consecration of the church ;^a he only

^a There is a curious variation in the date of the day of consecration. The bishop himself fixes the date as "the day of St. Romanus," and "in the month of November."

Mathew Paris, iii. 638, R. S. names the day of St. Romanus as the day of consecration, but fixes the date as Aug. 9,—*"quinto idus Augusti die scilicet S. Romani"*—i.e. the day of St. Romanus, martyr. The day of St. Romanus, confessor and bishop, archbishop of Rouen, in the Sarum Calendar, is October 23. In the Calendar of the Leofric Missal of the latter part of the tenth century, November 18 is marked as the day of St. Romanus, "*Passio Sancti Romani*."

says it was "mense Novembris," though strictly "the 10 Cal. November," was in the month of October. The words themselves do not demand a fuller or more precise meaning than that he thoroughly repaired, enlarged, and completed the church which he found unfinished, ruinous in parts, and in danger from the effects of a time of neglect. Such an interpretation is in agreement with the evidence already given of continuous work upon the fabric up to the year 1196.

Such partial dilapidation and danger from cessation of work and neglect is probable from the circumstances of the time which had intervened between such a date as 1196 and the recommencement of work under Jocelin.

Let us compare briefly the history of the fabric as far as it is mentioned in contemporary documents, and the chief events of the diocesan history between the last date cited, 1196, and the date of Jocelin's consecration of his church, 1239.

It was about this time that bishop Savaric obtained papal sanction for his ambitious policy of annexing the abbey of Glastonbury to the see of Bath.^a The abbey appealed. The war with Glastonbury followed; costly missions to Rome, and ruinous litigations drained to Rome the resources of convent and see, and stopped all building, as we know, at Glastonbury, and we may conjecture at Wells.

Savaric himself was an absentee from his diocese. Consecrated in 1192 at Rome, he was abroad, and chancellor of Burgundy to the emperor Henry VI. until late in 1197. Then he came to England, and for the first time after consecration he entered his diocese, but little of his time was spent among his flock. He died August 8, 1205. His erratic career was summed up tersely in lines written after his death—

Hospes erat mundo per mundum semper eundo
Sic suprema dies sit tibi prima quies.

Though Alexander the dean, Robert of Guildford, and Ralph of Lechlade,

The same day, Nov. 18, is marked in the calendar of the church of Milan as the day of St. Romanus, martyr, of Antioch. There is no mention of St. Romanus in the later Roman Calendar. Did Jocelin consecrate the church on Oct. 23, or Nov. 18? It is an interesting question whether the day of our dedication feast should be October 23, according to the Sarum use, or November 18, following the earlier Ambrosian and Lotharingian Calendars. Godwin assumes that Oct. 23, the day of St. Romanus, bishop and confessor, was the day of consecration—if so, Jocelin, when he wrote "mense Novembris" must have meant the 10th of the kalends of November, an inexact and unusual method of computation.

^a Adam of Domerham, ii. p. 364, gives the date "VI. Kal. Julii, M^o.C.XC.VI." Pontificatus vero Domini Caelestini papae tercii anno sexto.

Jocelin himself as canon, and others of the chapter may have been resident during Savaric's episcopate, it is not likely that the building would have advanced much, if at all, during that time.

Jocelin was consecrated bishop of Bath May 28, 1206. The instruments of his separate election by the two chapters of Bath and Wells are among the chapter manuscripts. They bear witness to his connection with the church of Wells from his earliest years, and his irreproachable character. "Cum in sinu ecclesiæ Wellensis a primo lacte coaluerit et sine querela inter eos conversatus esset." We are familiar with his attestation to documents in Reginald's time, and as a contemporary with Alexander the dean between 1180 and 1209.

He appears to have been also archdeacon of Chichester in 1182 and up to 1205.

There could have been little building going on at Wells at the beginning of Jocelin's episcopate. The political troubles, the interdict upon the kingdom, and Jocelin's exile from 1206 to 1213, when the revenues of the see were seized by the crown, the struggle with Glastonbury until 1219, were causes sufficient to check any building upon the church. Not until after Jocelin's return from exile in 1213,^a not until after the final concord had been made with Glastonbury, August 11, 1219, could Jocelyn have begun the completion of works left unfinished more than twenty years before, and the repair of older parts which were suffering from longer periods of dilapidation.

The notices of the fabric in contemporary documents for these years are few and scanty, corresponding with such a disastrous condition of things at Wells.

One charter only there is which contains grants to the fabric between the years 1196 and the time of dean Ralph of Lechlade.

A charter of one of the canons, Alexander of Henstridge, contains a grant made to the dean and chapter of St. Andrew of land and money for the purpose of hastening the completion of the fabric.^b The only internal indications of date are the names of the prebendary of Henstridge, Alexander, and the initial letter R. of the name of the dean at the time.

A series of documents record the grant of Henstridge by the Camville family to form a prebend in the church in Reginald's time, and the initial of the dean's name in this particular charter might have been taken to correspond with Richard Spakeston, dean 1160-80 under Reginald. But a later charter, in which the name of Alexander the canon again occurs, agrees more directly with the date of Ralph

^a 15 John. May 24, 1213, Jocelin admitted to peace. Rymer, *Foedera*, i. 111, 112.

^b R. iii. f. 383.

of Lechlade, dean under Jocelin in 1217-20.^a Alexander the canon gives by this deed for his life the produce of the arable land of the rectorial glebe at Henstridge, half his meadow in Ridgehill and pasture adjacent, and one silver mark from the altarge of Henstridge, to dean Ralph and the chapter of St. Andrew in Wells, for the fabric of the church, “*ut fabrica celerius ad optatam consummationem mea sedulitate consurgat.*” He gives this in lieu of the sum assessed upon his prebend by the chapter; it is to be paid quarterly into the hands of the canons who had charge of the fabric.^b

We gather from this charter that an assessment had been levied upon the canons for the fabric at this time, that Jocelin had begun to rebuild, and that voluntary offerings over and above the assessment were being made in this instance at least to promote and hasten the work.

The date of building is so far fixed to the years 1217-1220, during which Ralph of Lechlade, long time canon and contemporary with Reginald, was now dean under Jocelin.

Beyond this charter we have very little documentary evidence about the fabric in Jocelin's time, before the year 1239. Fines levied upon any tenant or subject of the bishop under the dean's jurisdiction are to be paid to the fabric under a statute of 1237.^c

A clause in an early draft of the will of bishop Hugh of Lincoln, brother of Jocelin, dated 1212, when the brothers were in exile, provides for a legacy of 300 marcs to the church of Wells^d; but the legacy would not have taken effect until after the bishop's death in 1237.

The Close Rolls of Henry III. under the date October 3, 1225, mention a grant from the crown to bishop Jocelin, for the fabric of the church, of five marks annually for twelve years. No mention is made of this grant in the chapter documents.

These are all the notices that have been found making any mention of the fabric in Jocelin's time previously to his own statement of the completion and consecration of the work in 1239.

^a R. i. f. 21. Eustachia de Camville, who gives the charter, was wife of Gerard de Camville, 7 John—17 John, and survived him. Vide Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. p. 627.

^b Cf. instances of assessment for the fabric in later history, in Prof. Willis's *Lecture, Som. Arch. Proc.* vol. xii. part i. p. 23.

The case of bishop Jocelin's levy of one-fifth is referred to as a precedent, in 1248. R. i. f. 69.

^c R. i. f. 43, *in dors.*

^d Draft of bishop Hugh's will, R. iii. f. 248, *in dors.*

We can understand how the work taken up after 1219 would go on and increase under favouring circumstances. After the composition with Glastonbury in 1219 the see was enriched by the ceded manors of the abbey. Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, brother of bishop Jocelin, was making gifts of manors and advowsons to the see. Other gifts, such as that of Alexander of Henstridge, the crown grant of 1225, the rich legacy of bishop Hugh, falling in in 1237, all were making the see, which had been poor and impoverished between 1196 and 1219, now rich and increased in goods ; and Jocelin was enabled to bring his work of twenty years to completion by consecration in 1239, and then to go on to augment the endowments of the church.

One more document completes the contemporary history of the fabric at the death of Jocelin.

Jocelin died Nov. 19, 1242.

He had ordered that his body should be buried at Wells.

The canons of Wells by a stratagem, which the monks of Bath resented, secured the burial of their bishop in their own church of Wells before they had made known his death to the convent of Bath. Reginald and Robert, and every bishop since John of Tours, had been buried at Bath. But it was fitting that the bishop who had done so great things for Wells should be buried among his own people. The canons gave him burial in the place of honour, as the other bishops had been buried at Bath, before the high altar of the church of St. Andrew.

No arrangements had hitherto been made for the burial ground outside the church ; but now, when the building on the west and south sides was completed, the ground was laid out around the newly-consecrated building, by a statute of chapter passed on July 9, 1243, during the vacancy of the see :^a

1243. Jul. 9. Die Jovis proxime post translationem beati S. [Thomae]^b deliberatum est de sepultura Willelmi de Chiue canonici ; statutum est inde ut de caetero canonici residentes sepeliuntur in claustro per ordinem secundum dignitatem ordinis et conditionis—ita quod majores minoribus proponantur [nisi forte sepulturus alibi vel in ecclesia vel extra designaverant in vita sua]^c et ut incipiat sepultura eorum ad ostium ecclesiae versus austrum, adeo prope sicut fieri poterit, et ut extendet se usque ad angulum claustrum directe—et sic deinceps—cautum est etiam ut nullus laicus vel vicarius sepeliatur inter eos—sed vicarii sepeliantur in caemeterio versus orientem retro capellam beatae Mariae [et alibi in caemeterio] laici vero in caemeterio versus occidentem et incipiat sepultura eorum juxta huiusmodi ibi plantatos juxta locum illum ubi consuevit esse Hastillaria et sic extendet se versus occidentem—ita quod de caetero nullus laicus sepeliatur

^a R. iii. f. 363, *in dors.*

^b Partially erased.

^c In a later hand.

ante ostia ecclesiae versus occidentem—maiores autem personae de ecclesia sepeliantur in nave ecclesiae si voluerint ipsi, vel amici eorum. Predicta statuta sunt de canonicis nisi in vita sua de corporibus suis aliter ordinaverunt.^a

By this the ground plan of the church of Jocelin's time is apparent. The great door of Jocelin's newly-constructed west front opened out on the burial ground, kept inviolate from markets since bishop Robert's order a century before,^b and now become the lay cemetery. The south-west portal led out to the cloisters, the burial-ground of the canons on the south side of the church. Further east, beyond the east cloister walk, was "the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, near the cloister," round which was the burial-ground of the vicars.

We have now traced in these contemporary documents notices of the fabric, which, though few and scanty, are important, for the purpose of showing the progress of a building with a continuous life growing to completion, though with breaks and stoppages, from the time of Robert's consecration in 1148 to Jocelin's completion and consecration in 1239.

Three periods of building are distinct :—

Robert's work, 1148-1166.

Reginald's work, 1174-1196.

Then, after an interval of about twenty-five years,

Jocelin's work, from 1219 to 1239.

These contemporary documents supply links in the chain of the history of the fabric which have hitherto been wanting. They place in due relation the several workers in the great fabric. They enable us to correct the traditions of later writers, who ascribed all the work to one great benefactor. In the silent attestations to these documents we see the names of Jocelin and his contemporaries, Robert of Guildford, Ralph of Lechlade, Thomas and Peter of Chichester, who had taken part in council with Reginald, living on to be the last workers and finishers of the building under Jocelin which they had seen rising in their earlier days.

Skilled architects may differ as to the parts of the building which belong to Reginald's time, or to his successors, but these documents present a claim that Reginald's share in the work should not be ignored.

High architectural authorities have differed as to the interpretation of the architectural evidence. Judgments have been swayed by deference to the supposed authority of the printed statements of the Canon of Wells and Godwin. It

^a R. i. f. 61.

^b Vide R. iii. f. 245.

is time that we were set free from subjection to that authority as decisive in considering the architectural history.

It is evident that the church bears unmistakeable signs of two very different styles of building in the west front and nave. The west front "is built in the fully-developed Early-English style in which Salisbury, Ely, and Lincoln are built."

Professor Willis expresses the general judgment that the date of the consecration of the church by Jocelin, in 1239, agrees with "that phase of Early-English work which the architecture of the west front presents, though the sculptures may have been completed long after the tabernacles which received them."^a

There is a general consent that Jocelin was the builder of the west front. Mr. Irvine, after long and conscientious study of the architecture, has raised a standard of revolt against this general consent, and has boldly asserted that Reginald was the builder of the west front and Jocelin of the nave.^b But the view that Reginald has anticipated the style of fifty years later in the west front, has been too startling for acceptance. Meanwhile, Mr. Irvine's architectural criticisms deserve the greatest respect, and the contemporary documents support his view that more building was done in Reginald's time than has been supposed or taken into account in the architectural history.

There is more division of opinion as to the date of the building east of the west front.

The church which Jocelin consecrated is generally understood "to take in the nave, the north porch, the transepts, and what is now the choir proper, that is, the three western arches of the eastern limb. It takes in the three towers up to the point where they rise above the roof of the church."^c

Mr. Freeman says, "The west front, within and without, differs widely in its architectural detail from the arcades of the nave and transepts. The rest of the early work is built in a style which in England is almost peculiar to Somersetshire, South Wales, and the neighbouring counties, and which is much more like French work. It has a good deal of the earlier Romanesque leaven hanging about it; its mouldings and the clusterings of its pillars are much less free; the abaci or tops of the capitals are square or octagonal, instead of round; it makes no use of those detached shafts, often of marble, which are so abundantly found

^a Lecture reported in *Somerset Archaeological Soc. Proceedings*, vol. xii. part i. p. 18.

^b *Somerset Archaeological Soc. Proc.* vol. xix. part ii. pp. 13, 14, 23.

^c *Cathedral Church of Wells*, pp. 75, 76.

in the west front. Now, which of these two, the style of the west front or of the nave is the earlier? The latter is, no doubt, earlier in idea, though this does not absolutely prove that the parts of the church which are built in it are necessarily older in date.”^a

The style of the nave is called a “local and a Somerset style” by Professor Willis; he says: “The character of its architecture is unlike that of any ordinary Early-English building, and deserved to be called the pure Somerset style; it is very beautiful, and did credit to the county, and was manifestly the work of local masons.”^b

Professor Willis tells us that the west front is of later date than the nave, and the western part of the nave is later than the eastern part, the choir, and the north porch; and he enters into detail in his description of differences and breaks in the building. In his lecture at Wells, conducting his audience from east to west in the order of the building, he drew their attention to breaks and stoppages in the work, and signs of differences of construction, which must occur in a building which, in the vicissitudes of centuries, has experienced repairs by different hands. But a general uniformity, broken by regular diversity, is observable in the nave.

He is thus reported in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society*—

“If they examined the spandrils, or open wall-spaces between the sides of the arches down the nave, they would see that three remarkable changes had taken place in the work. The work was commenced, continued, and carried on from east to west in order of time, inasmuch as the stonework in the spandrils improved as it went on, the stones in the spandrils nearest the tower being small and indifferently set as compared with those nearest to the east end. . . . When they got to the west end, they found a change, as if an architect had been then called in who would have his own way and his own style, and that was the common Early-English, and not the (local) Somerset style (of the nave). The two styles were mixed together at their junction in the most complicated way. . . .

The west front was of somewhat later date. He fortified this opinion by explaining how the Somersetshire work abutted against the Early English, and was joined and interlaced with it, and the example of this was the most curious he

^a *Cath. Ch. of Wells*, pp. 75, 76.

^b *Som. Arch. Proc.* xii. part i. p. 16. Why it should be called the local or Somerset style, when “it is common to the neighbouring counties and S. Wales, and is like French work,” does not appear. The workmen may have come from Normandy and France, and have spread themselves over the opposite counties.

had ever beheld. In some cases the Early English overlapped the Somerset, and was actually superimposed upon previously-erected plinth walls of that style.”^a

If, then, the west front is (according to high authorities) of later date than the nave, and it is the work of Jocelin, finished in 1239, to whom shall we ascribe the rest of the church, which is “unlike any Early-English building, and belongs to a style, on the whole, fifty years earlier ;” a style characterised as “a transitional pointed Norman, an improved Norman worked with considerable lightness and richness, but distinguished from the Early-English by greater massiveness and severity, the style formed in the second half of the twelfth century, which became the fashion in the days of Henry II.”

The direct statements of the Canon of Wells and Godwin attribute all to Jocelin. But these statements of writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have not been received without weighty protest, even by those who have accepted them as original authorities. It is well to reproduce architectural opinions formed from the structural evidences of the date of the building in opposition to the general tradition. Britton, writing in 1847, expresses his opinion of the date of the nave—

“Although the whole of the church of Wells is designed and built in the Pointed style of architecture, yet it will readily be seen that from the west end to the third column on each side of the choir there is a regular and nearly symmetrical correspondency in the thickness of the walls and the form of the buttresses ; and that in both respects they partake far more of the massive solidity and heaviness of the Norman character than we are accustomed to meet with in churches constructed in the Pointed system. There is, in fact, such simplicity in all the more ancient parts which include the nave and transept, and the walls of the west part of the choir there, that had not the Canon of Wells so particularly mentioned the restoration of the cathedral by Jocelin of Wells, and bishop Godwin so strongly corroborated his testimony, there could be little hesitation in ascribing it to bishop Robert, and assigning them to the reign of Henry II. (1154—1189).”

That testimony we now can weigh as later tradition : he continues—

“The north porch might still more decidedly be referred to the same period, for it possesses so many characteristics of Norman architecture, that there can be no doubt of its having been erected before the Pointed style had obtained its full ascendancy. The buttresses are flat and plain, and their pinnacles are almost devoid of ornament. The outward arch, though acutely pointed, exhibits amidst its deeply recessed mouldings a twofold series of zigzag or diagonal sculpture,

^a *Somerset Archaeol. Soc. Proc.* vol. xii. part i. 17.

intermixed with Norman foliage, and the capitals of its banded shafts partake, in their grotesque figures and flowing leaves, of the same character. The panelled front of the surmounting gable also, which consists of six lancet-headed arcades of different heights rising to the weatherings, bespeaks an early age, and even the piercing (to admit light into the roof) of the lower part of the middle panels into three lancet-shaped apertures corresponds with other specimens of the date assumed."

"During whichever episcopacy the earlier parts of the edifice were raised, it is evident that the design was formed at that very point of time when the Pointed style of architecture was first attaining its supremacy over the massive compositions of the Norman builders."

Another writer comments on the difficulty of reconciling "the only known authority for the history of the cathedral," the statement of the Canon of Wells, with the architectural evidence, "which, assigning nothing of the existing church to Robert or Reginald, attributes everything to Jocelin. If internal evidence were with the history or tradition I would not complain, but it is dead against it."^a

These opinions are borne out by architectural features in the nave and north porch which belong to the transitional style of the latter part of the twelfth century, and by the similarity of architecture in those parts with contemporary buildings of the transitional style. For instance, at Glastonbury the chapel of St. Mary, consecrated by Reginald in 1187, is a dated specimen of the semi-Norman style. Professor Willis^b remarks on the similarity of details between that building and the north porch of Wells "in the zigzag ornamentation of the later Norman and intricate kind in which straight lines alternate with angles;" the sculptured monsters, and wild imagery on the walls and in panels of the north porch, in the capitals and tympana of the clerestory arches of the easternmost parts of the nave contrast with the more human representations and naturalistic foliage of the capitals in the western arcades of the nave.

With all these evidences of later-twelfth-century work in the eastern parts of the nave and north porch, why has no mention of Reginald as a builder-bishop in the later twelfth century ever been made in the traditions of the church?

Because all the later traditions expressed in the Canon of Wells and Godwin have been followed generally by those who have written on the architecture of the church.

^a V. Note, part iii. *Wells Cathedral*. Murray, 1861, attributed to Mr. Sharpe.

^b *Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey*, p. 44.

But now that we have contemporary documentary evidence which enables us to discriminate, it may be pardonable to break away from the ordinary tradition which assigns all the buildings to one great man, and to indulge in some conjecture at least as to the several builders and their work.

Mr. Sharpe may be quoted again :—" Not a word is said about Reginald FitzJoceline's part in the cathedral, but enough is told of his character as a munificent prelate to make it extremely unlikely that he did nothing. My own belief is that he finished the nave, up to the then Norman west front, which he left standing. The history and existing remains of Glastonbury afford collateral evidence of this," which must have been in vigorous progress (though not completed as he says) up to 1193.

With this transitional architecture before us in the north porch and nave, and these documents which speak of buildings going on in the twelfth century, may we not claim that in the nave of Wells we have a remarkable example of transitional architecture intervening between the Norman and the Early-English styles.

We may conjecture with Mr. Sharpe that the general design of the parts east of the west front belonged to Reginald, though the actual work was stopped somewhere in the nave, and the whole has been greatly remodelled in details by successive builders in after years. If, as we are told, all Robert's work has perished, we may see in the three western arches of the choir Robert's work recast by Reginald. If there is one point in the nave where it is allowable to conjecture the great break between Reginald's and Jocelin's work may have taken place, it will be in the part westward of the north porch, the arches of the nave which run on to the west front.

Here, Professor Willis remarks, the masonry improves, here the forms of sculptured foliage and human heads are more free and natural, more characteristic of the later workmen, here he considers that we have the work of a later date. Here it is we may conjecture that Reginald's work stopped; here was the new work to be carried on in 1196; here the work was suspended in 1196, when troubles threatened the church under Savaric, when the war with Glastonbury began. Here may have been for the next three and twenty years, between 1196-1219, the gaping chasm between the unfinished nave and the old Norman front, which, from its age, was showing sign of decay, and was ready to fall, "*pro sua vetustate patiebatur periculum ruinæ.*"

What if Jocelin, after 1219, began to build at the west end, pulling down the old Norman work to the ground, raising up on its ruins the new work in the rich Early-English style of the period, rivalling his brother's work at Lincoln? What

if he then joined it on to the unfinished nave of Reginald, building up the three western arcades of the nave in the earlier style of his predecessor, and uniting here in one glorious whole his own new work with the work of Reginald and of Robert. "Enough glory would still remain to Jocelin in the erection of the west front, and all that naturally accompanies it."

It would have been a noble architectural achievement for the last twenty years of a troubled episcopate.

If he did this and no more than this, it would not be difficult to imagine how the tradition would have grown that he was the builder of the whole church. We can understand how after generations who immediately inherited the benefits of Jocelin's wise legislation and generous benefactions should have cherished the memory of their last builder, as if he was the one and only builder, of the new church.

He was of Wells,^a his father had lands at Lancherley and round about Wells; his brother was archdeacon of Wells, and afterwards bishop Hugh of Lincoln, and he himself, as chaplain and canon and bishop, had grown up, and lived, and died, and was buried among his own people; his grave and memorial tomb was with them in their church, honoured the more as it was the tomb of the first bishop buried at Wells since the seat of the bishop had been transferred to Bath one hundred and fifty years before. Each generation had before their eyes that part of the church which was Jocelin's undoubted work, gradually rising under the hands of successive builders to the height of its western towers, looking over the burial-place of the dead and the homes of the living. Generation after generation saw the deeply recessed niches, the 600 tabernacles gradually filled with sculptured imagery, telling the whole tale of earth and heaven, of man's fall and resurrection, of the Lord's advent in mercy and in judgment, and of the long roll of saints and worthies of the race, and of their own land.

It was this western face of their church which ever caught their gaze at morning and at noon, and glowing in the evening sunset in the rich materials of Douling stone and blue lias shafts and coloured statuary; and by the time of bishop Bubwith, under whom the north-western tower rose to its full height, the tradition might well have taken root, that Jocelin of Wells, who alone had raised this western front, had rebuilt the whole church, and that as builder, legislator, and benefactor, "there had been none like him before him, neither after him hath any arisen like unto him"^b—"Qui sibi similem anteriorem non habuit, nec hujusque visus est habere sequentem."

^a Note on page 20.

^b 1 Kings iii. 12.

If the fame of bishop Jocelin was gathered up in such a record as this in the century and a-half after his death, it is not surprising that the name and memory of bishop Reginald FitzJocelin and his work should have gradually been confused and obscured before the light of the greater luminary, the last and greatest builder of the fabric and constitution of the church of Wells.

But now with these documents before us we put in a plea that justice shall be done to Reginald among those who have gone before as builders of the church. As Jocelin of Wells, the Englishman, bore the name of his Norman predecessor, Reginald FitzJocelin de Bohun, and carried it on to greater honour, so the church of Jocelin of Wells represents the earlier work of Reginald FitzJocelin, ennobled, finished, and consecrated ; and Reginald deserves to hold the second place of honour between Robert the “author,” and Jocelin the “finisher,” as one of “the first three” master builders of our holy and beautiful house of St. Andrew in Wells.

CONTEMPORARIES OF

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BISHOP REGINALD.	BISHOP SAVARIC.	BISHOP JOCELIN OF WELLS.
(a.) 1174-1180.	1192-1205.	1206-1242.
<p><i>Kings:</i> Henry II. 1154, 1189 Henry III. junior, 1170-1183 <i>Pope:</i> Alexander III. 1159</p> <p><i>Archbishops of Canterbury:</i> Richard, 1174</p> <p><i>Dean of Wells:</i> Richard of Spakeston. (Bishop Reginald, Charter ii.)</p> <p><i>Precentors:</i> Reginald. (R. i. f. 36, 1164) Albert, or Ilbert. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.) William of S. Faith. (R. ii. f. 14)</p> <p><i>Chancellor:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 25)</p> <p><i>Treasurer:</i> William. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.)</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Wells: Thomas. (R. i. f. 25; f. 36)</p> <p>Bath: Richard of Poitiers. (R. i. f. 48) Peter of Blois. (<i>Epist. Cantuar.</i>)</p> <p>Taunton:</p> <p><i>Subdean:</i> Robert. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. i.)</p> <p><i>Succentor:</i> Galfrid. (R. i. f. 36, 1164)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Jocekin. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. i. ii.) William of Chard. (Bishop Reginald, Ch. ii.)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Walter. (R. i. f. 27)</p>	<p><i>Kings:</i> Richard I. 1189-1199 John, 1199-1216 <i>Popes:</i> Clement III. 1187-1191 Celestine III. 1191-1198 Innocent III. 1198-1216</p> <p><i>Archbishop:</i> Hubert, 1193-1205</p> <p><i>Dean:</i> Alexander. (R. i. f. 23)</p> <p><i>Precentor:</i> William. (R. i. f. 23; f. 57)</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Wells: Robert de Geldeford Bath: Hugh de Welles Robert de Geldeford Ralph de Lechlade Taunton: William de Wrotham. (Pat. 6 John)</p> <p><i>Subdeans:</i> William. (Le Neve) Thomas. (R. i. f. 23, <i>in d. f.</i> 57)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Helias. (R. i. f. 49)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 49)</p>	<p><i>Kings:</i> John, 1199-1216 Henry III. 1216-1272 <i>Popes:</i> Innocent III. 1198-1216 Honorius, 1216-1227 Gregory, 1227-1241 Innocent IV. 1243-1254</p> <p><i>Archbishops:</i> Stephen, 1207-1228 Edmund, 1234-1240</p> <p><i>Deans:</i> Alexander (R. i. f. 57), 1209 Leonius, 1213 Ralph de Lechlade (R. i. f. 57), 1216-1220 Peter of Chichester (R. i. f. 27, <i>in d.</i> 1220, 59), 1236 William de Merton (R. i. f. 43), 1236 John Saracenus (R. i. f. 57), 1237-1250</p> <p><i>Precentors:</i> William de Hamme. (R. i. f. 61; f. 57) Thomas de Tornaco, 1213. (R. iii. f. 383)</p> <p><i>Chancellors:</i> Richard de Kenelword, 1235. (R. i. f. 33) Thomas of Retford. (R. i. f. 34; f. 46) 1213. (R. iii. f. 383)</p> <p><i>Treasurers:</i> Peter. (R. i. f. 61) Richard</p> <p><i>Archdeacons:</i> Hugh de Welles Ralph de Lechlade William de Wrotham, 1215 Hugh de Wilton William de Bardeney, 1221. (R. i. f. 44)</p> <p><i>Subdeans:</i> Thomas. (R. i. f. 57) Lambert. (R. i. f. 27, <i>in d.</i>)</p> <p><i>Chaplain:</i> Roger. (R. i. f. 61)</p> <p><i>Prior of Bath:</i> Robert. (R. i. f. 54)</p>

APPENDIX A. (p. 5).

IN CHAPTER DOCUMENTS, 1-7

Appointment by Louis VII. king of the French, of Reginald, archdeacon of Salisbury, to be abbot of St. Exuperius, Corbeil. Dated Melun, 1164.

In nomine Sancte et individue Trinitatis, Amen.

Ego Ludovicus Dei gratia Francorum rex. Nobis honor est, et ecclesiis nostris commodum, quotiens earum curam discretis et honestis committimus viris. Notum itaque fecimus universis tam presentibus quam futuris quod abbatiam Sancti Exuperii^a de Corbolio, Reginaldo archidiacono Salesberiensis, pro honestate sua, et pro amicorum suorum prece donavimus, habendam et tenendam, sicut frater meus Philippus et ceteri ante eum abbatiam tenuerunt et hoc fecimus salvo jure nostro et canonicorum salva etiam ecclesie dignitate; quod ut ratum sit in posterum scribi [nostra auctorit]ate communire precepimus. Actum Miledu[num incarn]ati M^o. C^o Lxiiiij. astantibus in palatio [quorum infra scri]pta sunt nomina et signa.

S' comitis Theobaldi dapiferi nostri.

S' mattei camerarii.

S' Guidonis buticlarii.^b

S' Constabulario nullo;

Datum per manum Hugonis cancellarii.

^a St. Exuperius, "a military saint, one of the companions of S. Maurice."

^b V. Ducange—

Buticlarius. idem quod pincerna—

buta = lagena, cupa.

butta = dolium, vas vinarium.

buticula, dim = bouteille —

buticularius Franciae—unus e quatuor majoribus palatii officialibus qui literas et diplomata regia subscribebant.

The document is on a small piece of parchment much worn and torn. The letters within brackets are wanting, and are supplied conjecturally.

APPENDIX B, p. 13.

Gifts of bishop Reginald to the church of Bath.

Vide Registrum Prioratus Bathon., p. 315.

[R]eginaldus Episcopus hujus loci omnes terras nostras a predecessoribus suis ad opus fabrice Ecclesie nostre diucius detentas devote restituit et que a predecessoribus suis nobis restitute erant affectuosius ab ipso nobis, confirmate sunt. Ecclesiam de Aystona, Ffulconis de Alneto, in usus proprios nobis confirmavit. Ecclesias de Brugges et de Kary et de Radestoke, nichilominus in usus proprios nobis confirmavit. Ecclesiam etiam de Manerio nostro de Fforda in usus proprios nobis confirmavit et proventus ad fabricam Ecclesie nostre assignavit. Oblacionem vero pentecostalem a predecessoribus suis nobis concessam, Ecclesie nostre veluti Matriconi Ecclesie somersetie devotissime confirmavit. Hospitale sancti Johannis in Bathonia, Ecclesie nostre contulit, et de ipso sicuti de propria, elemosinaria nostra nobis disponere concessit. Corpus Beate Eufemie virginis et Martiris^a ecclesie nostre contulit, et plures reliquias sanctorum cum capsulis eburneis. Albam quoque preciosam auro textam amictum quoque, et Mitram sancti Petri chasesiensis Ecclesie nostre adquisivit. Cereum vero ardere, ante corpus dominicum, et sanctorum reliquias constituit, et quadraginta solidos ad ca^o perpetuitatem de Ecclesia de Banewelle, per manus Canonicorum de Briwtone assignavit. Bibliotecam etiam Ecclesie nostre, pluribus libris ditavit. Plura etiam ornamenta Ecclesie nostre contulit scilicet duas Capas preciosas et v meliora et majora pallia. Ecclesiam vero nostram cartis regum de libertatibus, et privilegiis summorum pontificum de dignitatibus sufficienter ditavit. Cujus Anniversarius dies in albis celebretur, et c pauperes reficiantur, et Mensa fratrum copiosius procuretur.

The register of Bath Priory is a manuscript in the library of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, who have kindly allowed this transcript to be made.

^a Cf. Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*. App. F. p. 280.

APPENDIX C. (p. 17).

1176—1180.

Bishop Reginald's charter to the town of Wells, confirming bishop Robert's charter forbidding markets in the church court, and giving free markets to Wells (1135-1166).

Carta Domini Reginaldi Episcopi Bathoniensis.

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit. Rainaldus Divina miseratione Bathon. Episcopus salutem ab auctore salutis.

Ad universitatis vestre notitiam volumus devenire nos cartam Roberti bone memorie Bathon. Episcopi decessoris nostri inspexisse et eam in presenti pagina de verbo ad verbum annotasse

^a Robertus Dei gratia Episcopus Bathoniensis universis fidelibus tam clericis tam laicis tam Francis quam Anglis salutem et Dei benedictionem.

Postquam divina vocante clementia pontificatus apicem dignitatis conscendimus summa ad hoc animi intentione desudavimus ut Ecclesiæ beati Andree in Wellis regimini nostro commissæ venerationem debitam impenderemus et ab aliis impendi faceremus ; et si que in ea prave essent consuetudines eas a liminibus ejus pulsaremus et honorem ejus et utilitatem quantum in nobis erat amplificaremus.

Nonnullorum autem constat experientie quod tumultus nundinarum que in eadem ecclesia et in atrio ejus hactenus esse consueverunt ad dedecus et incommodum ejusdem ecclesie accedit, cum in ea ministrantibus quam maxime sit importunus quia et eorum devotionem impedit et orationum quietem perturbat. Verum ne contra vocem divinam domum orationis speluncam patiamur esse negotiationis, statuimus et firmiter precipimus ut quicumque illic in tribus festivitibus videlicet in Inventione S. Crucis et in festivitate S. Calixti, et in celebritate beati Andree, negotiaturi convenerint in plateis ville illius negotiationes suas securi et ab omni prava consuetudine et in quietudine libere exerceant, et nullatenus ecclesiam vel atrium ecclesie violare presumant.

Concedimus etiam consilio clericorum nostrorum et constituimus ut omnibus in predictis festivitibus et earum vigiliis quieti de teloneo in perpetuum permaneant. Quod quidem in posterum ratum esse volentes presenti scripto commendamus et sigilli nostri impressione roboramus. Testes : Ivo Decanus Wellensis : Reginaldus precentor : Robertus et Thomas Archidiaconi : Edwardus : Magister Eustachius : Willelmus de sancta fide : Radulfus Martre : Willelmus de Atebera : Petrus de Chiu : Walter Pistor : et alii multi clerici et laici.

Nos igitur venerabilis predicti decessoris nostri vestigiis inherentes, ob reverentiam beati Andree Apostoli et ad petitionem Burgensium nostrorum Wellensium omnes consuetudines et libertates negotiatoribus illic in tribus festivitibus et earum vigiliis venientibus ab eo concessas ratas habentes et in posterum illibatas volumus permanere. Adjicientes ut eisdem libertatibus et

^a Cf. R. iii. ff. 245, 246.

consuetudinibus in crastino etiam omnium predictarum gaudeant festivitatum ; Nobis quidem et successoribus nostris de consensu predictorum Burgensium conductus omnium feldarum medietas in prescriptis nundinis debet in perpetuum remanere.

Que omnia ut rata et intacta in posterum perseverentur presentis scripti testimonio et sigilli nostri appositione duximus confirmandum.

Hiis testibus : Magistro Willelmo Thesaurario Well' : Roberto Subdecano Well' : Magistro Rad. de Lichel : Jocelino Capellano : Willelmo de Meleburn : Johanne de Cumb. : Thoma de Dinant. : Gaufrido clerico : Magistro Rogero medico : Michaelle clerico : Hugone clerico : Henrico de Armentis : Willelmo de Erleg : Philippo de Wika : Ricardo de Ken : Walerando de Wellesley : Willelmo de Maulerb' : Reginaldo de Wodeford : Eadward de Wellis : Godefr. de Cnoll : Jocelino de Welles : Willelmo de Sept : Henrico Bedello. Hugone fabro. Willelmo forestar. Rad. Cade. Huberto filio Coci. Alfredo mercatore. Raino Ruffe. Gaufr. Ruffo. Rad. Cusin. Willelmo Colo et aliis multis.

Endorsed : Carta dñi Regiñ Ep' Bathon
de tribus nundinis concessis . . .

The silk cord and a fragment of green wax on which is the outline of a bishop's robe and a few letters are attached to the earlier of the two charters.

The seal of the other is in fair preservation (1886) ; on it is the figure of a bishop in the act of blessing with right hand—a pastoral staff in the left. The legend on it

✠ REGINALDVS DEI GRATIA BATHONIENSIS EPISCOPVS.

Bishop Reginald's charter to the town. Among the charters in the Townhall, Wells.

Carta domini Reginaldi Episcopi Bathon. [A.D. 1174-1180].

Universis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens carta pervenerit Reginaldus Dei gratia Bathoniensis Episcopus salutem in domino.

Patrum et predecessorum nostrorum inherentes vestigiis et eorum auctenticis ducti et docti exemplis quod ipsi sua statuerunt industria nos roborandum duximus auctoritate nobis a deo indulta.

Concedimus ergo juxta tenorem carte predecessoris nostri pie memorie Roberti episcopi villam Wellie Burgum esse in perpetuum et eisdem finibus quibus in eadem carta diffinitum est et prescriptum.

Volumus etiam et concedimus ut quilibet intra easdem metas messagium aliquid in presentiam possidens vel in posterum possessorus nomine burgagii liberam habeat commorandi, recedendi, et revertendi, simulque domos suas impignerandi, vendendi, necnon et donandi nisi domibus religiosis licentiam, secundum propriam sue dispositionis voluntatem, reddituum nostrorum integro jure retento, id est de singulis massagiis duodecim denariis annuis.

Volumus preterea si lis aliqua forte dampnosa intra ambitum massagii alicui eorum [emiserit] liberam habeant potestatem ut administrationes concordessint, justitia nostra nullam exigente inde consuetudinem vel emendationem donec Burgenses in justitia defecerint, nisi mortale vulnus vel dampnum corpori perpetuum inflictum fuerit vel etiam nisi aliquis litigantium justicie nostre querimoniam faciat, salva in omnibus justicia regni et dignitate.

Inhibemus etiam ne aliquis in eadem villa pelles crudas vel coria cruda emere presumat nisi fuerit in luna et lagha Burgensium Wellarum.

Huic nostre concessionis et confirmationis testes sunt :

Ricardus Well. decanus.

Ilbert precentor Well.

Henricus Exon et Ricardus Bath archidiaconi.

Robertus Subdecanus.

Johannes de Cumba.

Magister Eustachius.

Godfridus de Hercredeb.

Willelmus et Jocelinus Capellani.

Ernisius clericus filius Theobaldi.

Petrus de Winton.

Thomas de Dinan Wellensis Canonicus.

Willelmus Canonicus de Haselburg.

Adam de Suttone.

Willelmus de Spinenall.

Magister Radulphus de Lechelade.

Gaufridus de Sancto Georgio.

Robertus filius Hamo.

Galfridus Giffard.

Godfridus de Dinre.

Walerannus.

Walcelen de Well.

Gaufridus francus.

The seal and counterseal of the bishop is appended.

APPENDIX D. (pp. 12 and 21).

Confirmation of the possessions of the church of Bath to bishop Reginald, by pope Alexander III. (Sept. 3, 1159-1181) March 4, 1179.

R. iii. f. 266, in dorso.

Confirmatio Alexandri venerabili fratri Rainardo Bathoniensis episcopo ejusque successoribus canonice substituendis in perpetuum; si omnibus fratribus et coepiscopis nostris cogamur ex ministerio susceptæ amministrationis adesse et apostolicum ipsis patrocinium exhibere, tibi tanto fortius tenemur suffragium apostolicæ defensionis impendere et consideratione tue commissam tibi ecclesiam in sua justitia confovere quanto circa nos et Romanam ecclesiam puriorem devotionem genere comprobatis, eamque nobis certioribus indiciis visus es reddere manifestam.

In hac privilegii confirmatione panis, medo, et capreoli sive porci quæ presentantur in crastino paschæ de Glaston.

Qua propter venerabilis in Christo frater episcopo tuis justis postulationibus elementer annuimus et Bathoniensem ecclesiam cui Deo auctore preesse dinosceris sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscepimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus.

Statuentes ut quascunque possessiones quecunque bona eadem ecclesia in presentiarum juste et canonice possidet aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum, vel principum oblatione fidelium seu aliis justis modis prestante domino poterit adipisci firma tibi tuisque successoribus et illibata permaneant.

In quibus hæc propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis.

Totam civitatem Bathonie cum omnibus consuetudinibus extra et infra ut liberius habet rex et civitatem aliquam in tota Anglia, cum moneta, cum teloneo, tam in campis quam in silvis, tam in foro quam in pratis et aliis terris insuper nundinas in festivitatibus S^{ti}. Petri et hidagium quod exigebatur de viginti hidis ad eandem civitatem pertinentibus et omnia placita et leges et justitias et omnes consuetudines omnino et adjutoria et si qua sunt alia quæ Rex Willelmus vel frater ejus Rex Henricus in eadem civitate plenius et liberius habuerunt, quæ ipsi Johanni Episcopo predecessori tuo et successoribus ejus in perpetuum concesserunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt præterea confirmamus, quod manerium de Calveston [Kelston] sit in hundredo Bathonie et in justicia tua sicut prefatus Rex Henricus concessit et confirmavit, parcum etiam et warennam bertonam Hantonam Fordam Clavertonam Lincumban cum molendinis et aliis appendiciis earum in terris aquis pratis pascuis in bosco et plano cum omnibus consuetudinibus et libertatibus earum eidem civitati adjacentibus et omnia alia ad eandem civitatem pertinentia.

Ecclesiam de Wellis cum universis prebendis suis et ipsum manerium cum Woehi et Westberiae cum parco suo cum feodis militum et ffranchelanorum et terris rusticorum ad idem manerium pertinentia cum boscis et planis pratis et pascuis molendinis et vineis aquis et omnibus aliis appendiciis suis.

Ecclesiam de Chyu et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Villam de Yatton cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Villam de Banewel et Villam de Cumton cum portu de Radeclive et parte villæ quam habes in Axebrugg ad Banewell pertinente cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Ecclesiam de Ceddre et duas hidas in eadem villæ.

Ecclesiam de Evercrez et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Terram de Merk que est in Wedmor, quam prefatus Henricus rex predecessori tuo concessit et confirmavit.

Ecclesiam de Kingsbere et ipsum manerium cum hundredo et omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Et Ecclesiam de Cerde et ipsum manerium.

Et Ecclesiam de Hiwis et ipsum manerium cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in terris pratis pascuis bosco et pasturis.

Ecclesiam de Walenton et ipsum manerium cum Bokelande et ceteris pertinentiis et libertatibus suis.

Ecclesiam et villam de Lidiard cum hundredo et ceteris pertinentiis et libertatibus.

Ecclesiam et villam de Wivelescumb cum hundredo cum omnibus pertinentiis et libertatibus suis et Ffidam similiter.

Ecclesiam de Dorkemefeld et ipsum manerium cum socha sacha et tol et theam et infan-genethrop cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis et libertatibus suis in bosco plano pratis et pascuis que memoratus Rex Henricus predecessor tuo et ecclesie Bathoniensi reddidit concessit et carta sua confirmavit ejus successor Henricus rex secundus similiter eandem tibi concessit et reddidit cum domibus Winthorne et carta propria confirmavit sicut jus tuum et ecclesia tuæ tenendum in libera et perpetua elemosyna ; feodum etiam de Dinra quod idem rex tibi reddidit et ecclesie tuæ et carta sua confirmavit, quod Henricus de Tille cum ecclesia de Dochemefeld et ipso manerio in curia memorati regis tibi et ecclesie tue quiete clamavit.

Apud Gatinton terram de salinis et ipsas salinas et omnes pertinentes in nova foresta et duas hidas in Cherleton. Præterea duos panes certæ quantitatis et duos barilos medonis certæ mensure et duos capreolos vel duos porcos que annuatim in secunda feria pasche tibi redduntur et ecclesie Wellensi a monasterio Glastoniensi a tempore beati Dunstani ex ipsius institutione.

Præterea de benignitate apostolica tibi duximus indulgendam ut liceat tibi priorem ecclesie tuæ pro manifesta causa depositione digna cum consilio capituli vel aliorum religiosorum virorum a prioratu sine contradictione qualibet amovere.

Ad hec apostolica auctoritate statuimus ut a monasteriis monachorum vel monialium et in ecclesia regularibus que in tuo Episcopatu consistunt, eam decreti de cetero habeas potestatem quam predecessores tui et tu ipse usque ad hoc tempora in eis noscimini rationabiliter habuisse. Prohibemus insuper ut infra (intra) Episcopatum tuum sine assensu et auctoritate tua vel successorum tuorum salvis autenticis scriptis apostolica sedis nullus de novo ecclesiam vel oratorium construendi habeat facultatem.

Si quando vero abbates vel priores aut alii ad tuam jurisdictionem spectantes qui religiosi locis tui Episcopatus precesse noscuntur tibi in his rebelles et inobedientes extiterunt in quibus obedientiam et reverentiam exhibere tenentur, fas tibi sit in eos canonice sententiam promulgare advocatis autem conventualibus seu parochialibus ecclesiis tue jurisdictionis qui non habent in

ipsis ecclesiis quicquid aliud præter jus patronatus easdem ecclesias ordinandi vel in eis quidquam temeritate propria statuendi sine auctoritate et concurrentia tua omnem intercludimus facultatem metropolitano quoque tuo, sine speciali mandato Romani pontificis in eisdem ecclesiis te inconsulto nisi causam super his ad eum per appellationem deferri contingeret aut apostolicæ legationis obtentu quicquam statuere liceat, vel rite sive manifesta et rationabili causa sententiam promulgare—præsentī etiam scripto tibi duximus indulgendum ut si quando abbates priores vel aliæ personæ que ad tua synoda venire tenentur et precipue que tibi professionem fecerunt ad synoda vocati non venerunt, in eas de auctoritate nostra nisi canonicam excusationem probaverint, animadversionem tibi liceat canonicam exercere.

Illas autem qui super justitiis tuis quas aliquando tibi nolunt exsolvere vel pro alia causa a te duxerunt appellandum appellatione remota liceat tibi compellere, et infra certum et convenientem terminum quem eis præfixeris appellationem interpositam exequantur vel ad mandatum tuum juxta rigorem juris super his pro quibus appellatum est, tibi satisfactionem exhibeant competentem.

Religiosos vero vel alios ecclesiasticos viros ad tuam ordinationem spectantes si qui te presente sive tua vel te absente sive archidiaconi tui licencia, ordines ab episcopis receperunt alienis infra episcopatum tuum in ordinibus taliter receptis sive tuo vel successorum tuorum assensu ministrare penitus prohibemus. Si qui autem monachi canonici aut alii religiosi viri clerici vel laici in ecclesias tui episcopatus ad presentationem eorum spectantes earum personis decedentibus intrudere seipsos vel alios sine tua auctoritate presumpserint taliter intrusos dummodo excessus eorum sit publicus et notorius ab eisdem ecclesiis fas tibi sit remove. Et in ipsas si ad mandatum tuum cedere forte noluerint ecclesiasticam sententiam promulgare, præterea benedictiones et professiones abbatum tui episcopatus nec non etiam institutiones et ordinationes ecclesiarum omnes quæ in tuo episcopatu consistunt.

Another page follows with the usual warning and saving clauses.

Then follow the signatures of pope Alexander and the cardinals.

Eighteen cardinals sign.

Datum Laterano, per manum Alberti Sancte Romane Ecclesie Presbyteri Cardinalis et Cancellarii.

IV. Cal. Martis Indictione XI. Incarnationis Dominicæ Anno Millesimo Centesimo lxxviii^o pontificatus vero domini Alexandri Pape tertii anno vicesimo. (1159-1179.)

APPENDIX E (p. 22).

Carta Regis Ricardi de prebendis et terris de novo adquisitis.

R. iii. f. 13.

Richard by the Grace of God king of England, etc.

Know that we have granted and by this present charter have confirmed to God and the church of Saint Andrew in Wells, and to Reynaud Bishop of Bath and his successors for ever, all donations of churches and other benefices made to him and the aforesaid church as the charters of the givers do testify, viz. :

1. *By the gift of Robert abbot of Glastonbury and the convent there, the church of Pylton and the church of South Brent.*

By a composition between the two ecclesiastical magnates, the bishop and the abbot, whose territories and jurisdictions marched together, two prebends were made by the gift of Pilton, of which the abbot held one, and became a member of the bishop's chapter. By the cession of South Brent, archidiaconal jurisdiction was given to the abbot over seven of the churches of the Twelve Hides of Glastonbury, and was exercised by a special officer, the abbot's archdeacon, exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction.

No longer a prebend. The abbot afterwards gave up the prebend. Pilton became a peculiar in the jurisdiction of the precentor of Wells.

2. *By gift of Richard de Camvilla, the church of Hengestrigg, in perpetuam prae bendam.*

Henstridge, near Wincanton, on the Dorset border, was the gift of Richard de Camvilla, Henry's envoy to Sicily to conduct Joanna, his daughter, to be the wife of William king of Sicily, in 1176. He was present at Richard's coronation, 1189, commanded the English fleet which took Richard on the Crusade, was justiciar of Cyprus, and died at Acre 1191. Gerard, son of Richard, was sheriff of Lincolnshire, and one of the chief opponents of Longchamp the chancellor during the regency in Richard's absence. He confirms the grant of his father, and archbishop Richard (1174-1184) attests it. Charlton Camvill, now Charlton Horethorne, in Somerset, granted to bishop Robert by Richard de Camvilla (*Ad. de Domerham*, i. 298), and Clifton Camville, in Staffordshire, bear witness to the family estates in both counties. Henstridge is a prebend at the present time.

3. *By gift of Oliver de Dynham, the church of Bokelande, in perpetuam prae bendam.*

Buckland Dinham, near Frome, and Corton Dinham, near Sherborne, probably received names from Dinan, in Brittany, the original seat of a family which had lands also in Devon and Cornwall. Hugh de Dinan held under William de Tracy ; also under William de Braosa of the honour of Barnstaple (*Berdestaple*) in Devon. Buckland Dinham is a prebend at the present time.

4. *By gift of William Fitzjohn of Harpetre, the church of Estharpetre.*

William of Harpetre, one of the family of Lovel of Cary, had before this made restitution to the bishop of his fee of Dynre (Dinder), which his father had taken from bishop Robert. He now added this gift of the church of East Harptre, *in perpetuam praebendam*. East Harptre is a prebend at the present time.

5. *By gift of William Fitzwilliam, the church of Haselbergh, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Haselbury, near Crewkerne, was the scene of the hermit Wulfrie's life and miracles; his cell there was visited by bishop Robert in 1154.^a Haselbere is a prebend at the present time.

6. *By gift of Hamon of Blakeford, the church of Scanderford, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Blackford in Wedmore or near Wincanton; Scanderford in Essex, now Shalford, is a prebend at the present time.

All these gifts are confirmed by an earlier deed of bishop Reginald,^b and were given during dean Spakeston's time, between 1174-1180.

7. *By gift of Gerberte de Perci and Matilda Arundel, the church of Compton and the church of Bromfeld.*

Gerbert or Gilbert de Perci gave the church of Childcompton, on the Mendip, "*quantum ad dominum fundi pertinet*," *in perpetuam praebendam*. Matilda de Arundel, his wife, gave the church of Bromfield, on the Quantock range, "*in perpetuam eleemosinam*." Childcompton was alienated to Bradenstoke. No longer a prebend.

8. *By gift of Alan de Fornellis, the church of Cudeworth with Cnoll chapel, in perpetuam praebendam.*

Alan de Fornellis (Furneaux), one of Henry's justiciars in 1179, lord of Kilveton, Somerset, held lands in Devon at the time, under the bishop, and under Robert, the king's son. One of the same name was sheriff of Cornwall in Richard's reign. Cudworth is a prebend at the present time.

9. *By gift of James of Montsorel, the church of Wytelakyngton, in praebendam.*

The castle of Montsereau, in Anjou, besieged by Henry of Normandy, afterwards Henry II. in 1151, or the great fortress in the earldom of Leicester, Mount Sorel, we may suppose to be the seat of the family, who now owned Whitelackington, which was Roger Arundel's demesne in 1084 (*vide* Eyton, D. S.). Whitelackington is a prebend at the present time.

Three gifts from Devonshire landowners follow.

10. *By gift of Jocelin de Treminet, the church of Aulescomb, in praebendam.*

Aulescomb, on the south side of the Blackdown hills, near Honiton, "*in Agro Devoniensi et Dioecesi Exon*." No longer a prebend.

^a Matt. Paris, ii. 203. *Som. Arch. Proc.* vol. xix. part i. 28.

^b Bishop Reginald's *Confirmatio*, R. i. folio 24; R. iii. folio 10.

11. *By gift of Oliver de Traci, the church of Bovey, in praebendam.*

Oliver de Tracy—Traci, near Bayeux, in Normandy—a large landholder in Devon, represented the family of William de Tracy, one of the murderers of St. Thomas. William de Tracy held the honour of Tracy, in Devon, consisting of twenty knight's fees, at the same time.

12. *By gift of Radulf son of Bernard, the church of Holcombe and Lameia, in praebendam.*

Holcombe Regis, in Devon, probably. Lameia does not appear elsewhere. There is a Holcombe in Somerset. Holcome gives name to a prebend at the present time.

13. . . . , *the church of Ceddre.*

The name of the giver of the church of Cheddar is omitted here (R. i. folio 27). About this time the prior and convent of Bradenstoke, in Wiltshire, gave all their rights in the church of Cheddar to Alexander, dean and canon of Wells—witnessed by Walter, prior of Bath; and bishop Reginald gave to the convent of Bradenstoke, with the assent of Alexander, the dean, and the canons, the church of Childcompton, the dean reserving the jurisdiction over it as once a prebendal church (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii. folio 209). R. i. f. 27. In 1240 bishop Jocelin confirmed Cheddar to the chapter. R. i. f. 30.

14. *By gift of the sisters Alicia, Christina, and Sara, the church of Tymberscombe, in praebendam.*

Another sister, Cecilia, is mentioned in the bishop's confirmation act: the husbands are named as consenting parties. One, John de Columpstock (Collumpton), was a Devonshire landowner. Timberscombe is a prebend at the present time.

15. *By gift of Robert de Bolevill, the church of Lideford, in praebendam.*

One Richard de Bonneville (Bonneville on the Tonques, in Normandy) was holding land at this time in Devon. Robert de Boleville, or Bonneville, made the grant in bishop Robert's time. A suit arose with his brother John, which was arranged in 1187 and impropriation made. West Lydford is no longer a prebend.

16. *By gift of Radulf Wac, the church of Doveliz.*

Dowlishwake, in South Petherton hundred, is not mentioned elsewhere in the register.

One Baldwin Wac (Wake) was present at Richard's coronation, and afterwards one of Richard's hostages in Germany. Dowlishwake, near Ilminster, is the church which preserves the name of the family. Howden, iii. 14, and 233.

17. *By gift of Simon Bozun, the church of Karenton.*

In the register of the priory of Bath, f. 4, the prior and convent grant the vicarage of Karentan to Walter the clerk. Simon Buzun is witness.

Simon Bozun, knight, one of a family of landholders also in Devon, granted Karenton (Carthampton); he retained the appointment for his life to the prebend. It then reverted to the bishop. Carthampton, near Dunster, in West Somerset, or perhaps Carentan, in Cotentin, Normandy, was the original seat of the family. The Bohun family came from near Carentan, where is S. André de Bohun and S. George de Bohun. .

18. *By gift of Stephen son of David, a moiety of the church of Waleton.*

19. *By gift of Matilda de Chandos, the church of Stoweia, in perpetuam eleemosinam.*

Maude de Chandos was heiress of Robert de Chandos, who died 1120, the founder of Goldclive, with Isabella, his wife, daughter of Alured de Hispania, Domesday lord of Nether Stowey. Maude married Philip de Colombiers in 1166, who held eleven knights' fees in Devon and Somerset.

20. *By gift of Alured de Punston, the church of Berewe.*

Alured de Ponsot, or Ponsard, or Punston, lord of South Barrow. One of a group of grants made by Robert of Cary, lord of Lovington, and Nicholas of North Barrow—members of the family of Lovel of Castle Cary.

21. *By gift of Radulf Fitz-William, the church of Werminstere, in prae bendam.*

Grant of Warminster, in Wilts, the church of St. Dionysius, by Ralph, son of William (Malet?).

22. *By gift of Galfred Talbot, half a virgate of land at Norham, with all the meadow which he had there, in perpetuam eleemosinam.*

Norham, in North Curry hundred.

23. *By our gift, the manor of North Cory with the church and all its appurtenances.*

The church or manor of North Curry, Wrentich, and West Hache, were grants of crown lands after purchase by the bishop from king Richard, when he was raising money for the needs of the Crusade by sale of lands and offices (R. ii. folio 90). They were bought by the bishop from the crown, and made over by him as a benefaction to augment the common funds of the canons, and formed the largest manorial possession of the chapter. The manor of North Curry included the hundred, and was a great lordship.

At the same time, on the same occasion, and doubtless on the same conditions of heavy payments, bishop Reginald obtained from king Richard charters confirmatory of all the grants and privileges made to the see by his predecessors from William II.'s time.

APPENDIX F (p. 14).

Monasticon of Somerset in the time of bishop Reginald.

(I am indebted to the Right Rev. Bishop Hobhouse for this table).

Name and Order.	Founder.	Date.
<i>Benedictine.</i>		
Glastonbury.	Unknown.	
Bath.	King Osric.	676.
Muchelney.	King Athelstan.	939.
Athelney.	King Alfred.	888.
Dunster. (Cell to Bath.)	William Mohun I.	1080.
<i>Augustinian Canons.</i>		
Bruton.	William Mohun II.	1143.
Taunton.	Giffard and H. de Blois, bishops of Winchester.	temp. Stephen and Henry II.
Keynsham.	Earl of Gloucester.	1167.
Stavordale.	The Barons Lovel of Cary.	12th cent.
Barlinch.	The Say family.	1175.
Woodspring.	The Courteney family.	1210.
<i>Cistercian.</i>		
Cleeve.	De Romarâ, earl of Lincoln.	1188.
<i>Carthusian.</i>		
Witham.	King Henry II.	1174.
Hinton.	Ela Longespée, countess of Salisbury.	1222.
<i>Cluniac.</i>		
Montacute.	Earl of Mortaigne.	1068.
<i>Alien.</i>		
Stoke Courcy	De Courcy family.	temp. Hen. II.
A cell to the Benedictine abbey of Lonley, Normandy.		
<i>Nunneries.</i>		
Mynchin Barrow.	Gournay family.	before 1212.
Mynchin Buckland.	W. de Erlegh.	1166 and 1199.
Canington.	De Courcy family.	c. 1140.
White Hall, Ilchester.	William Denys.	c. 1216.