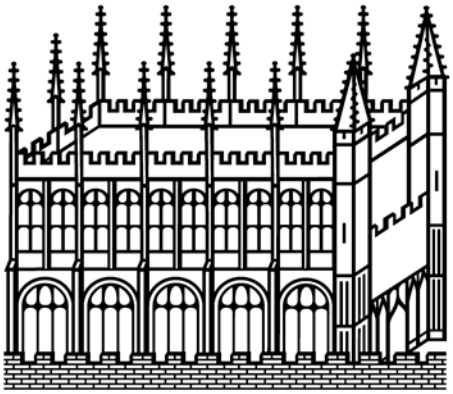
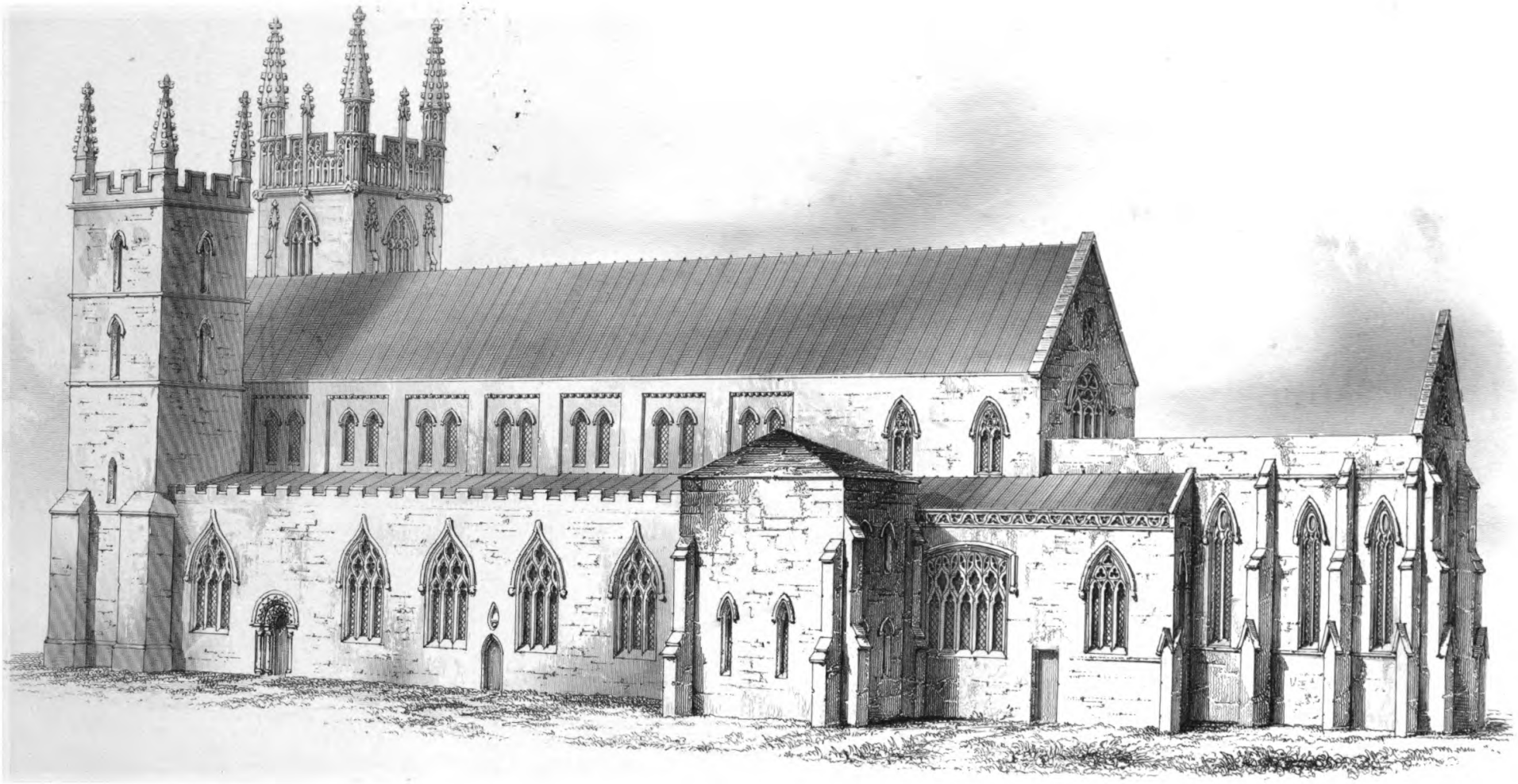


LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL RESTORED.

REMARKS

ON THE

ARCHITECTURE

OF

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL;

WITH

AN ESSAY

TOWARDS A

HISTORY OF THE FABRIC.

BY

EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A.,

LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD, AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE."

LONDON:
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TO THE

VERY REV. W. D. CONYBEARE, M.A.,

DEAN OF LLANDAFF,

&c., &c.,

THIS NOTICE OF THE CHURCH

OVER WHOSE RESTORATION HE SO WORTHILY PRESIDES

IS INSCRIBED,

IN MEMORY OF THE KINDNESS AND HOSPITALITY

RECEIVED FROM HIM

DURING THE RESEARCHES

WHICH LED TO ITS COMPOSITION.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PREFACE.

THE present volume has grown up in a manner which I may venture to call analogous to the history of the building of which it treats. Happening to be present at the Cardiff Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1849, when Llandaff Cathedral naturally formed one of the most prominent objects of attention, I was induced to make some remarks at one of the evening meetings on some of the more singular peculiarities of the fabric. This was after only a very cursory examination of the building, and was as much to point out a few of the many difficulties connected with, as to offer any solution of them. My casual speech next developed into a paper for the Journal of the Association, the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. This stage required a more minute and diligent investigation of the church, which I had the pleasure of performing in the presence and with the aid of Mr. Prichard, the architect of the restoration.

The result of our inquiries was to bring to light much that explained previously existing difficulties, much also that did little more than start new ones, to some of which I fear I have not yet found the key. The subject growing upon me, as the speech developed into a paper, so the paper developed into a book; and a casual visitor to Llandaff has gradually found himself in a position only too like that of the historian of its Cathedral.

My paper, as communicated to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, was at once imperfect, and to a certain extent controversial. It consisted chiefly of remarks on points which had not been noticed, or on which I found myself differing from other speakers at the Meeting. The form which it assumed, as was natural under the circumstances, was that of remarks, chiefly on the *history* of the fabric, addressed to persons already acquainted with its appearance; it consequently contained no direct description of the building at all. But when a separate publication of the paper was thought of, in common with several others which had appeared in the same Journal, it struck me that an opportunity had occurred for supplying a desideratum in architectural literature. Instead of a mere reprint of a magazine-paper, I thought, if anything on Llandaff Cathedral were published at all, it should be something that might

make some pretensions to the character of a descriptive and historical account of the building, a work which, as far as I am aware, has not previously been attempted in our times. A second sojourn at Llandaff, undertaken for the purpose, has enabled me to produce, in the present volume, an attempt to supply the deficiency. I have worked in all the critical and historical remarks contained in my paper in the Journal, which form a great part of the second Chapter; but much the greater portion of the work, and all the illustrations but one, now appear for the first time.

I have not however ventured to call my conjectures, for they are often little more, as to the several dates of the building by the ambitious name of an "Architectural History." Besides an unwillingness to enter so directly into competition with the elaborate productions of Professor Willis, it of itself hardly merits the title, as it is not the fruit of any documentary inquiries at all. I was informed by the Dean that little or nothing was contained in the Cathedral archives at all bearing on the history of the fabric. And I have had the less scruple in making my own work exclusively architectural, as all documentary and topographical questions cannot be left in better hands than those of the accomplished antiquary who now fills the office of Chancellor of the Church of

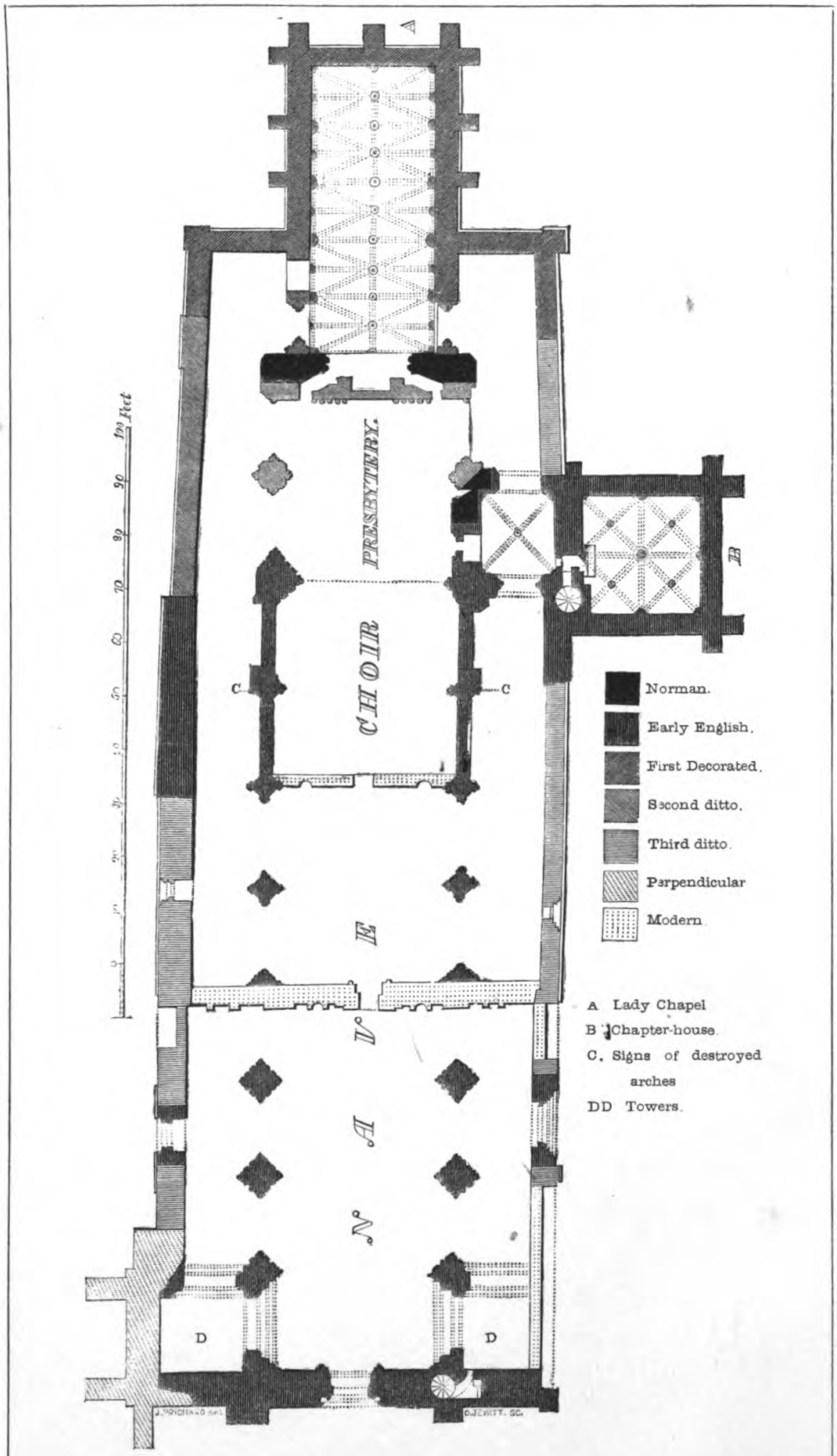
Llandaff, and from whom we may perhaps yet hope to see a complete History of Glamorganshire.

I may however mention that I am at present engaged, in conjunction with my friend the Rev. W. B. Jones, on a far more extensive portion of the highly important and comparatively unexamined antiquities of South Wales; namely, a complete History of St. David's. Here we hope not only to describe and conjecture, but to give a truly historical account, grounded on documentary evidence, of the Cathedral and its appurtenances, as well as of the Bishopric, Chapter, and City. And I cannot but recommend the wide field of Welsh antiquities to all whose tastes lead them to such pursuits. Even in the respect in which the Principality is generally thought most deficient, remains of ecclesiastical architecture, its southern counties—for of North Wales I can say but little from personal examination—contain very much more than is often suspected. Besides a few really grand structures scattered here and there, among which Brecon Priory may almost dispute the second place with Llandaff, the village churches of Pembrokeshire and Glamorganshire will afford no small amount of interest to any who can dispense with the presence of much actual detail. The immense importance of South Wales to the military antiquary it is superfluous to mention.

In conclusion, I have to return my best thanks to the Dean of Llandaff, the Rev. Chancellor Traherne, and the Rev. Richard Prichard, B.D., Senior Vicar, for much courtesy and hospitality received during my researches at Llandaff. I have peculiar pleasure in connecting my work more immediately with the distinguished name of the Dean, on account of the numerous points connected with the history of the church, in which I have the misfortune to entertain a view different from his. And I have still more special obligations to acknowledge to John Prichard, Esq., the architect of the restoration, for the zeal and interest with which he entered into all my investigations, and for the extreme kindness and liberality displayed by him in furnishing gratuitously the original drawings of all the wood-engravings.

OAKLANDS, DURSLEY,
JUNE 1, 1850.

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



GROUND-PLAN.

J Prichard, del

O. Jewitt, sc.

Llandaff Cathedral.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH.

Llandaff Cathedral is a building which, in many respects, both of its history and architecture, stands quite alone among English churches. To one who had never visited St. David's, it would probably appear, in all its circumstances, nearly the most striking of their number. Elsewhere we are accustomed to find our greater churches, those especially of cathedral rank, sometimes in the densest parts of our great cities, but at all events in towns of considerable size, rising as a witness above the din and bustle of busy life. But the founders of the Welsh cathedrals would seem, as indeed is directly recorded of the greatest among them, almost to have fled from the presence of men, and to have fixed their dwellings in places adapted rather for retired contemplation than for any active government of the church, in sites suited rather for Cistercian abbeys than for cathedral churches. The English sees have been in

several instances, after their original seats had fallen into decay, removed to cities of greater importance; while the Welsh remain to this day in the small places where they were originally founded. For there is no reason to suppose that the "cities" of St. David's and Llandaff were at any time of greater intrinsic importance than at present. A somewhat greater amount of population and industry was doubtless induced in past ages by the presence of a greater number of resident ecclesiastics; but there could hardly have been anything beyond what was thus factitiously introduced. No military or commercial consequence ever belonged to them.

This air of desolation and remoteness from man is however much less strongly felt at Llandaff than at St. David's. The greater size of the latter cathedral, the immense extent of surrounding ruins, the character of the country around, produce an effect infinitely more striking than that of Llandaff. The richer country around the latter, and the near neighbourhood of a large town, take away much from its solitary character; and the peculiar outline of the building helps to diminish the effect. St. David's is eminently a cathedral in the wilderness: Llandaff might almost pass for a village church of unparalleled size. With no cathedral character in any part of its exterior except the west front, with all traces of collegiate buildings demolished, there is nothing whatever to mark its peculiar purpose; while the unparalleled neglect which, till lately, had overwhelmed alike the fabric and its services, has reduced the whole

to a state into which St. David's, with all its deficiencies, has never fallen.

In fact, the nearest parallel to Llandaff which I know, is a building not of cathedral rank at all, at least not for nearly eight centuries; the Abbey Church of Dorchester in Oxfordshire. They are the two greatest village churches, existing and used as such, that I have seen; and several points of resemblance may be found both in their architecture and their history. Both exhibit the same vast length, unbroken by tower or transept, so unusual in churches of their scale and rank. In both an originally small church, by enlargement in different directions, has swelled into a vast pile, but without acquiring, either within or without, many of the distinctive features of a large church.[1] Llandaff, however, has acquired far more of those distinctive features. The individual parts, the nave, choir, &c., are quite cathedral or abbatial in their character, though the general effect is not; at Dorchester even the parts taken singly exhibit only an exaggeration of the parochial type. Both—though Llandaff more completely and more disgracefully—have fallen into utter neglect and decay; both have come in for their share of the happy spirit of restoration which does so much honour to our own day.

Llandaff Cathedral on the whole stands well. The finest part of the building, the beautiful west front, is

[1] At the present moment the resemblance between Llandaff and Dorchester in a distant view is, from an incidental cause, extremely striking. The towers rise pretty much the same height above the main building, and the small portion of roof raised at the east end produces a most singular effect in both cases.

indeed concealed from any distant view; but this deficiency is quite counterbalanced by the singular and striking approach from the "city;" the steep descent coming down almost immediately upon the grand western portal. The rest of the church stands open, and very good views from the south, both nearer and at some distance, may be obtained in a walk across the fields from Cardiff. I know of no cathedral, from which the subordinate buildings have been so completely removed, in which their loss is so little felt; probably because, as the character of the building does not so distinctly proclaim its rank, the deficiency is not so painfully forced upon the eye. The castellated gateway of the old episcopal palace is a fine object, and comes well into the grouping from several points; but it has no particular reference to the cathedral. The palaces at Wells and St. David's, especially the latter, magnificent in its ruins, could be mistaken for nothing but what they are; they are parts of a whole, the largest and most splendid portion of the collegiate buildings; but the remains at Llandaff have nothing distinctively episcopal about them; they might as well have been the stronghold of any Norman robber, the lair of the wolf of the flock, rather than the dwelling of its shepherd.

§ I.—Outline and Ground Plan.

The first aspect of the cathedral is not a little perplexing, and it requires considerable familiarity with the building both within and without, fully to grasp the

principle of its arrangement, and to recognize its component parts. Looking down on the church from the rising ground to the south, the best point for obtaining a view of its whole extent, the aspect is confusing indeed; the appearance of the building resembles a perfect chaos. A deserted ruin at the extreme west; the eastern portions fresh from recent restoration; the centre reduced to the likeness of a conventicle or a third-rate town-hall—perhaps no more incongruous assemblance of discordant elements was ever brought together.

But it is not merely to these accidental circumstances that the difficulties alluded to are owing. A thorough restoration would diminish, but it would by no means entirely remove them; they are inherent in the design of the fabric. Its ground-plan, outline, and arrangement are altogether unique. It consists—speaking of the appearance which it presented when complete, and which we may fairly hope it will, before many years, present again—of a long unbroken body, comprising under an uninterrupted roof, nave, choir and presbytery, with a large Lady chapel projecting from the east end at a somewhat lower elevation. Aisles extend along the whole length of the main body and along one bay of the Lady chapel; the west end is flanked by low towers terminating the aisles; a square building, forming the chapter-house, projects from the south aisle of the presbytery, having somewhat the air of a low transept.

All this is widely different from the ordinary design of an English cathedral. The first and most marked peculiarity is the absence, in a church of so great a size,

not only of a central tower, the usual crown of our large churches, but of transepts in any form. In this respect it is unique among the cathedrals of South Britain, and has but few parallels among churches of equal size, even when not designed as episcopal sees, as the present Cathedral of Manchester, Dorchester Abbey, Boston, and St. Michael's, Coventry. And even among these, the distinction of the several parts of the church is generally more strongly marked than at Llandaff, where there is no constructive difference whatever between nave and choir, the only perceptible external change in the main body of the fabric being between the choir and the presbytery, and that consisting only in the different arrangements of the clerestory.

The plan and arrangement of the church is altogether singular; there can be no doubt but that the constructive nave included both the true nave and the ritual choir, the only *architectural* mark of distinction being a slight change of detail, and that confined, as far as we can judge, to the interior. What would ordinarily be called the choir is really the presbytery. This is not very uncommon; the grand peculiarity is the absence of transepts, which usually divide either the nave from the choir,[1] as in most of our large churches, or else, as at Westminster, the choir from the presbytery; or again (where there are two pair of transepts) discharge both functions in the same building. Thus, from the extreme west to the east end of the presbytery, the only break of

[1] With these we must reckon *architecturally* the churches where the ritual choir is beneath a central tower.

any importance—there not being so much as a porch—is that produced on the south side by the position of the chapter-house. The general external appearance of the church, viewed especially from the east, can never have been really beautiful, though highly interesting from its unique character. The entire want of any central point to produce harmony and pyramidal effect, the long unbroken line of roof, running between the two low western towers, and the want of buttresses and general plainness of design, must have always produced a great appearance of heaviness and flatness. The want of a central tower and transepts hinders all external cathedral effect from any point but the direct western view; the general notion suggested is that of a large parish church of extraordinary length, an idea strengthened by the large and beautiful Lady chapel, which, projecting, as it does, at a slightly lower elevation than the main body, has quite the appearance of a parochial chancel. Yet, viewing it as a parish church, we miss the predominant western tower, which is precluded by the only really cathedral feature of the exterior, the superb west front. In short, its general appearance is a mixture of two altogether different types, neither of which is allowed to appear in any degree of perfection.

Comparison with other Buildings.—Such then is the wonderful and altogether unique appearance of this remarkable, but, as a whole, certainly not beautiful, church. It presents the strange phænomenon of a

church of cathedral dignity, of a size fully entitling it to a place among minsters of the second class, with Southwell, Romsey, and St. David's, and still more with its internal architectural composition quite corresponding to its size, but which yet exhibits in its exterior only a single cathedral feature. The only approach to a parallel that I am aware of, as I have already observed, is Dorchester. But the case of Llandaff is less strong than the latter, which in its absence of a clerestory and in its distinct high gables, not only lacks all abbatial character, but reproduces the smallest type of village churches. Christ Church in Hampshire might be considered as presenting a slight approximation in its lack of a central tower and the very slight importance of its transepts; but there is reason to believe that these peculiarities do not form part of the original design; and even at present, though the two churches agree in the long extent of building thus presented to the eye, yet they differ in a most important respect. *The* peculiarity of Llandaff is its *unbrokenness;* nave, choir, and presbytery, as I before said, are externally one. The grand characteristic of Christ Church is that its parts, with great beauty each in itself, are utterly incoherent. A nave, choir, and Lady chapel, each magnificent when taken alone, are brought together without any mutual connexion, or any attempt to fuse them into a consistent whole.

But though we may vainly search through English churches of equal size and dignity for an exact parallel to the anomalies of Llandaff Cathedral, I am inclined to think that it is only the grandest and most important

instance of a tendency busily at work throughout Wales, and indeed not unknown to England also. Every architectural student must have observed that, of the two types of a church, the parish church and the minster, it is far more common to find a church entitled by conventual or collegiate rank to the latter, reduced to the parochial type, than for the distinctive arrangements of the cathedral and the abbey to be reproduced even in the vastest parish churches. The contrary I conceive to be the case on the continent. But in England, wherever a collegiate or monastic church was also parochial, the latter character often swallows up the former. Collegiate churches especially, which were generally parochial, do not, as a class, even when the present fabric is not older than the foundation, differ much from common parish churches; even so large a building as Manchester does but exaggerate the parochial type; Beverley and Southwell are quite exceptions to the rule; Wimborne Minster, but for its towers, would differ in nothing from many a large parish church. Cathedral and conventual churches were less commonly parochial; yet there are a good many instances, and one can hardly fail to attribute the peculiar character of Dorchester, in some degree at least, to its twofold character in this respect.

In Wales the case is still stronger; of the four cathedrals, three at least are also parochial, and St. David's alone presents the cathedral type in its fulness. And in several conventual churches which I saw in South Wales I was struck with the absence of conventual character. Excluding the very first-rate remains, like

Strata Florida, I saw a type of large cross churches without aisles, of which Llanbadarn-fawr is a grand specimen; but it has nothing conventual about it. Such also, as far as can be judged in their present ruined state, was St. Dogmael's near Cardigan, and the Priory at Haverfordwest; though the former does appear to have had some part at least vaulted. Of the same type in many respects is the admirable conventual church of Leonard Stanley in Gloucestershire.[1] Brecon Priory may on the whole be referred to the same type, though it has aisles, and rather more conventual character. But I saw other conventual churches at Cardigan, Kidwelly, and Llangennith in Gower, quite like common parochial structures, not even really cruciform—Kidwelly alone having transepts, but no central tower. Monkton Priory, near Pembroke, is an example of the same use on a much larger scale. And so is the collegiate church at Brecon, notwithstanding the extreme beauty of its choir. I may be generalizing from insufficient premises, but it struck me that the peculiarities of Llandaff Cathedral were little more than a more extensive development of this same tendency.

How much the cathedral loses by all this in external majesty hardly needs to be insisted on. One of the greatest distinctive merits of English architecture is the complete cruciform shape of our great Gothic churches, marked in all its fulness by the predominant central tower. No other outline makes a church so thoroughly a whole,

[1] See Mr. Petit's Description in the *Archæological Journal* for March, 1849, p. 44.

and at the same time gives so much liberty in designing the several limbs of the cross. The cruciform shape is alike adapted to every scale above the very meanest, and to every proportion; the other hardly bears to be employed in a church of more than very moderate size. And all these faults will be more conspicuous when the cathedral is restored to perfection than they are at present; now, in its chaotic state, the design is hardly intelligible; but let any observer continue in imagination the roof of the presbytery to the extreme west end, and he will speedily perceive that the church, viewed from any point but the direct west, will be little better than a shapeless mass of wall and roof.[1] To illustrate these remarks the more strongly by contrast, I may refer to such churches as Stafford, Yatton, and Melton Mowbray; the western views of the two latter are among the

[1] To illustrate this more fully, I have given, rather than a general view of the church in its present chaotic state, one representing it as restored. In this I have drawn as little as possible on my imagination, nowhere indeed, except in the south-west tower, and the principal features of that are taken from an old drawing of the cathedral in possession of the Cambrian Archæological Association. The rest represents the building as it stands at present, introducing only the perfectly certain continuation of the nave and aisles, the upper windows in the east wall of the chapter-house, and the battlement of the north-west tower, which I have copied from that at Cardiff, which it is always said to have resembled. I have even given the chapter-house its present low roof, and the aisle its present unsightly battlement. I have thought this, on the whole, the best course, as no otherwise could the peculiar outline of the building, so well worthy the most attentive study, be so distinctly laid before the reader; while the most important features of the church, as they originally stood, can be given with absolute certainty; and the present view, confused and unmeaning as it is, is really hardly worth preserving.

finest to be found in any parochial buildings. All three are much smaller than Llandaff, and not to be compared to it within, yet the effect of the bold transepts and central steeples gives them, in their general aspect, far more of the external character of cathedral or abbey churches than can be claimed by their really more splendid competitor.

I will now proceed to a somewhat more minute description of the cathedral, as it appears at present, reserving for future consideration those points which bear more directly upon its architectural history. And we shall find that the awkwardness of its general outline does not preclude very great beauty and merit in individual portions, while the internal effect must, when the building was perfect, have been among the very finest of its own style and size.

§ II.—The West Front.

We will begin with the west end, by far the most beautiful feature of the church, consisting originally of the gable of the nave between two flanking towers, but of these the northern one alone remains entire. The end of the nave is pure Early English, and is one of the very best examples we have of an arrangement of lancet windows. In fact this façade stands almost by itself among English cathedrals—Ripon being, I believe, the only other exception—as an example at this date of the simple and beautiful arrangement so delighted in by the architects of the previous æra. We have here no mask-

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.

WEST FRONT

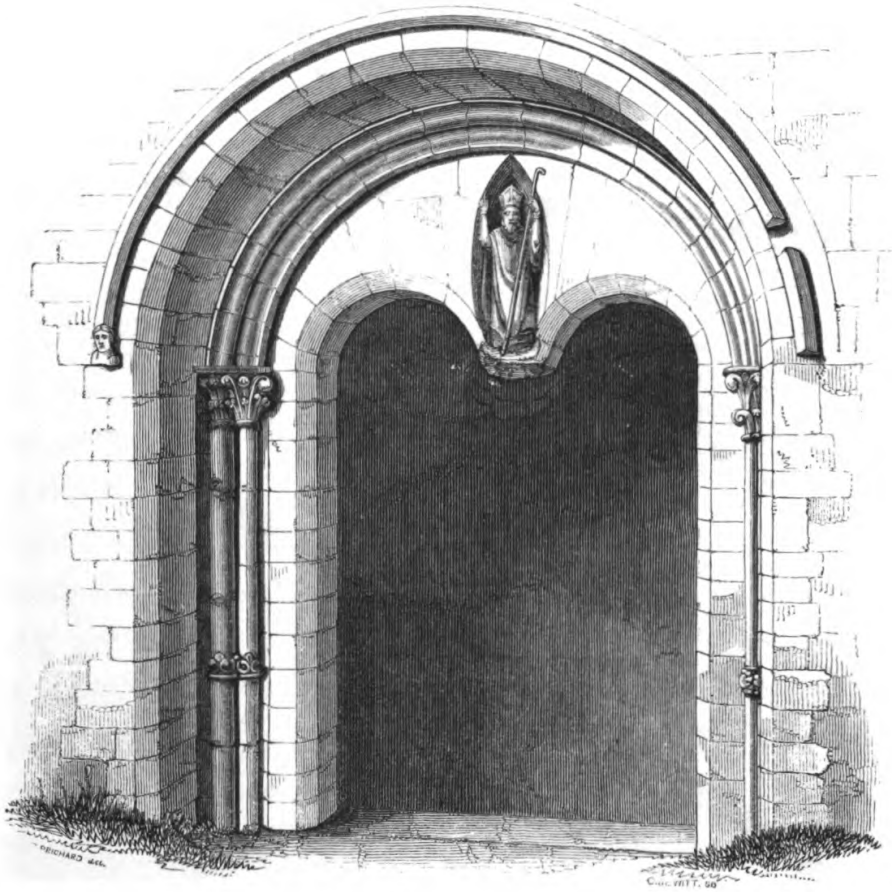
ing of the real construction by unnatural and ugly pieces of wall, as at Lincoln, Salisbury, and Wells; nothing frittered away on unmeaning arcades, as in the two first of those examples; no sacrifice of the queen art to one of its subordinates, as in the third; the architectural construction is not disguised, but ornamented, and ornamented in the most tasteful and judicious manner. The nave gable and the towers rise simply and unpretendingly from the ground; the original portion exhibits the most perfect unity of design, and even the later reconstruction of the tower is harmonized therewith in a manner displaying no mean effort of art and judgment.

West End of Nave.—The west end of the nave is divided into three horizontal stages, the lower containing the great western doorway, the central the west window, the upper one the gable-light, to air the roof above the ceiling. The first of these is perfectly plain, containing nothing on each side the doorway, which is one of the most remarkable, though hardly among the most beautiful, features of the church. It is in reality pure Early English, but while its round arch gives it the general effect of an earlier style, some of its details suggest a later, so that it has rather the air of an inconsistent compound. The round arch, it is needless at this time of the day to observe, throws no doubt upon the date of this front as a matter of history, though it detracts from the ideal purity of the style. Yet for the position in which it is actually placed, the round head gives a more suitable proportion than a pointed one. The shafts on

which it rests are detached, clustered, and banded, though now somewhat mutilated; the capitals are remarkable for their extraordinary height, and are richly ornamented with representations both of animal and vegetable life. The mouldings are singularly arranged, but plain and not pleasing, consisting chiefly of two large filleted rolls placed near together, without a hollow between. The effect is heavy, and a good deal resembles a coarse form of the double ogee of a later style. The doorway has a tympanum—if that term be correctly applied to a composition of many stones—whose lower portion forms two round arches, looking like a mutilated double doorway; but there is no reason to suppose that there ever was a central shaft, and indeed the construction of the masonry forbids the idea; but there may probably have been some kind of boss, as it is now cut off in a very abrupt manner. In the head is a vesica containing an episcopal figure.

The second horizontal stage contains the west window, a fine triplet and most judiciously arranged, its lights being scattered over the whole front, instead of being, as in some instances, gathered close together. The whole stage is thus brought together into one design, instead of the triplet appearing like something merely cut through the wall. The central light is somewhat taller and higher than the others, and the space between each is filled with a narrower and very acute blank arch; the masonry within each of these curves outwards in a curious manner. All these arches spring from shafts doubly banded. Over the side lancets is a range of six small roses, three

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



WEST DOORWAY.

J Prichard del

O. Jewitt sc.

on each side the central light. The whole composition is extremely effective, and fills up the space admirably.

The upper, or gable, stage is, perhaps, not quite so well managed, but still is very beautiful.[1] A single large central window, whose arch is round or very nearly so, has rather the effect of dividing the composition into two parts. On each side are three imperfect round-headed trefoil arches, adapted to the slope of the gable, so that a cusp of each is lost on the side nearest the central window. Over this last is a single arch of the complete trefoil form containing another episcopal statue; the whole is crowned by a mutilated cross. The original gable was nearly equilateral, but it has been a little reduced in pitch, without diminishing its positive height, by a slight increase in elevation given at the shoulder, probably when the north tower was rebuilt.

From the end of the nave we turn to the towers terminating the aisles, where we find Llandaff differing from most English cathedrals, though agreeing with many foreign ones, in possessing two unequal and dissimilar towers. But while in many French examples this unpleasant peculiarity[2] is clearly the result of design, at

[1] If we may trust the drawing of the cathedral referred to in a former note, in which, though the rest of the building is not very exactly given, the details of the west front appear scrupulously copied, though in a very distorted proportion—this arch was filled in, as I had indeed previously suspected from its width, with a two-light composition of geometrical tracery. The drawing however seems to represent it as blank, which can hardly have been the case, unless it were subsequently blocked.

[2] I have seen it somewhere stated, but I cannot lay my hand on my authority, nor am I certain how far the statement is correct, that

Llandaff, as in the analogous case of Canterbury before the late repair, it is simply owing to a subsequent rebuilding of one of them. Certainly, from the small traces left, the details of the two do not appear to have been precisely identical, but we should require some further evidence to make us believe that they violated the ordinary English rule of being perfectly similar in proportion and general design.

South Tower.—The southern tower was Early English, contemporary with the front, but all that remains is the square staircase-turret adjoining the nave, panelled with a tall arch, with the curve in the masonry already mentioned, a small portion of the west wall, containing an elegant lancet window, and a tall fragment —whose preservation is remarkable—at the south-east angle. It was somewhat lower than its fellow, the heights being given at 89 and 105 feet respectively; its upper portion was unbuttressed, with single belfry-windows, and a parapet and pinnacles, which seem to have been a Perpendicular addition, though not at all of the same richness as that of the north tower. To judge from the drawing, neither in outline nor in detail can it have been worthy of the front of which it formed a part, rising but little above the apex of the gable, and having altogether a bald and meagre appearance.

North Tower.—The north tower is a fair Perpen-

in France a special rule confined the use of a pair of equal towers to archiepiscopal churches and royal abbeys.

dicular structure. Some portions of the original tower remain within, together with the lower part of the stair-turret at the south-east angle, which, it will be seen, is not quite identical with that on the other side. This tower seems to be borrowed from the Somersetshire type, but plainer, and, as is adapted[1] to its position, of more massive proportions. It may be in some respects compared with its neighbour St. John's at Cardiff, and the two well exemplify the difference in treatment between a tower forming a portion of a front, and one at the end of the building. But the comparison is hardly fair, as the Llandaff example is much better in its own kind than that at Cardiff. The latter is well-proportioned, but belongs to the inferior[2] type of the Somersetshire towers, which consist of a mere aggregation of stages, not, like Wrington and Glastonbury, of one harmonious design throughout. But, while this is very conspicuous at Cardiff, it is not so at Llandaff, on account of its more massive proportions; indeed the gorgeous mass of panelling presented by the other two examples could hardly have been tolerable except in a tower which had a much greater portion of its height free than this has. The low belfry-stage could only have presented a travestie of the soaring ones so magnificent in the other cases. As it is, it is quite satisfactory, and the three-light belfry-window fills up the space, while the long single two-light one at Cardiff

[1] That is considered simply as a member of a façade. For the effect of the whole church, next to a central tower, a pair of lofty western ones, with tall spires, would have been most desirable.

[2] See the author's "History of Architecture," p. 386.

has a meagre effect. These belfry-windows possess some of the best instances of that beautiful enrichment usual in the west of England, the ornamental stone-work between the mullions instead of the common luffer-boards.

But both towers, Llandaff and Cardiff, share, or rather have shared, one great fault; a want of connexion between the parapet and the lower part of the tower. The original one at Llandaff has been destroyed; but it is easy to supply it from its neighbour. In the best Somersetshire towers there is a gradual increase of ornament from the bottom; each stage is richer than that below it, and the gorgeous open parapet crowns the whole. The pinnacles at the angles are the continuation of the buttresses, and if there are smaller ones between, they rise in a similar manner from between the belfry-windows. But at Cardiff a parapet of extreme gorgeousness is added, without connexion or preparation, to a tower whose whole height is equally plain. And, except at the north-east angle, where the octagonal staircase-turret is very skilfully treated, the parapet is actually top-heavy; and, though the pinnacles are very large, and assume the form of open turrets, yet they have no connexion whatever with the buttresses, which finish, with small decorative pinnacles of their own, just below the cornice. This last fault must have been still more conspicuous at Llandaff than at Cardiff; in the latter, the buttresses being diagonal, the eye may possibly be carried, though not by a very uninterrupted course, up *their* pinnacles to the small ones (connected with the open turrets by

diminutive flying buttresses[1]) which stand, external to the parapet, on the extreme edge of the cornice. But at Llandaff the buttresses, though crowned with the same small pinnacles as at Cardiff, are double, and placed at some little distance from the angles; consequently there is no attempt at connexion whatever. These buttresses offend also, not so much perhaps by their great projection, as by the extraordinary multiplicity of small stages into which their height is divided. Yet this same arrangement has an admirable effect in the tower of St. Sepulchre's, Northampton. But there the buttresses are diagonal, which would not have suited this position.

In fact I think this elaborate parapet at Llandaff was altogether *a mistake;* more so even than at Cardiff, because the low[2] and massy character of the tower renders it still more inappropriate. A good plain moulded battlement, without pinnacles, such as is seen in many a parish tower, would be far more in keeping; but one could hardly presume to recommend to the present restorers of the cathedral so wide a departure from the original design. I may venture to mention that, till I saw the church, and perceived the modern and meagre character of the existing battlements, I had always, in contemplating the building from engravings, applauded the supposed discretion of the architect in not introducing

[1] These are found in several very fine towers, but I can never quite reconcile myself to them. They are surely carrying the *textilis aura* notion too far for *external stone-work.*

[2] As regards the whole bulk of the church; as a detached campanile, or western tower to a smaller church, it would not be remarkably massy.

anything more elaborate. My facts were wrong, but I have seen no reason to change my opinion.

Like Cardiff, this tower has an octagonal staircase-turret, though at the opposite angle; it is ingeniously introduced on the base of the old square one, and appears to have terminated in a rich open spire. There is no doorway in either tower, the west windows of the aisles being placed very low; that in the north tower is externally a Perpendicular opening, but it has lost its tracery. Perhaps three western doorways would have been more than so small a building could have required, either for use or appearance.

§ III.—Nave and Choir.

Present Appearance.—The main body of the fabric, as seen at present, appears one mass of hopeless confusion; the hideous structure of the last century which acts as the choir rising in strange contrast to the venerable ruins to the west of it. This latter portion of the church is not simply unroofed, but both the external walls and the arcades are very much mutilated. The former, by dint of patching, present a continuous circuit, though not to their full height; within the piers and arches are perfect, except the arches nearest to the present west front (!) which have been apparently mutilated to make way for that precious monument of the taste of a century back. Of the clerestory only a small fragment remains in a single bay, but fortunately enough to reconstruct its design.

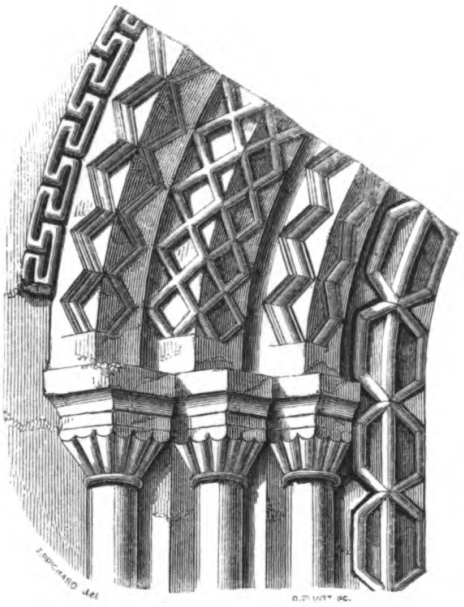
Along the modern choir the aisles have been preserved untouched, except by the addition or substitution of an unspeakably wretched battlement, far worse than that of the tower. Over these rises the present clerestory, with four round-headed windows of the meanest kind, and meagre vases at the corners. A wall built across the nave forms the west front alluded to in the last paragraph. The barbarism of this cannot possibly be surpassed. The structure considered simply on its own merits, is one of the most wretched of its own wretched class, presenting nothing in the way of columns, rich cornices, or any of the other ornamental features of the style. And the incongruity of its position is quite unparalleled; the contrast between the stuccoed baldness of the new front, and the grey and ivied ruin close to it; the grotesque absurdity of the clerestory rising above the old aisles, so that the precious building loses whatever chance it might have had from its natural proportions and arrangements; the further contrast now produced by the stately high roof recently added to the presbytery; all unite to stifle every feeling of compunction; even the two or three architects who still continue to echo the rapturous exclamation of Mr. Eustace—"How superior are pilasters to buttresses and colonnades to arcades!" could not refuse to lend a helping hand in the removal of a structure which does not meet even their requirements. Yet between the Taylor buildings and the choir of Llandaff who may decide?

Original Design.—Exterior.—Enough however re-

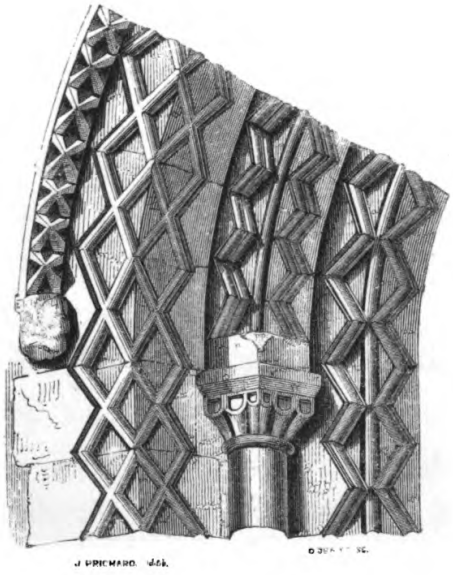
mains to enable us fully to realize its appearance previous to the commencement of this work of devastation. The choir and nave formed architecturally one piece, and the long range of the clerestory—seven bays, exclusive of those concealed by the towers—must have been extremely effective. The arrangement consisted of two distinct lancets in each bay, the bays being divided by flat pilasters running into a corbel-table; a treatment of Romanesque origin, but often retained in Lancet work, and with extreme propriety in instances like this, where the style is exhibited in an early and somewhat severe form.

The character of the aisles is very inferior; being entirely without buttresses, the effect is bare and meagre in the extreme; and the range of three-light ogee-headed windows—their tracery being a bad specimen of the monotonous Reticulated form—presents no relief or satisfaction to the eye. There is no porch, but ample means of entrance are provided by two doorways on each side. The western and larger pair are late Norman, and of very considerable richness. "The former of these" [the southern] says the present Dean, "is by far the most rich and remarkable in its decorations; its outer moulding is of a pattern closely resembling the ordinary Etruscan scroll—a circumstance, I believe, without any other example in our Norman ornaments; the other features consist of three common Norman shafts, supporting arches moulded in the usual style of that æra, the central member bearing a double lozenge moulding, and the inner and outer zone each ornamented with double lines of the common zig-zag mouldings; within this series of

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



IMPOST AND PORTION OF ARCH OF SOUTH DOORWAY IN NAVE.



NORTH DOORWAY IN NAVE.

J. Prichard del

O Jewitt sc.

receding shafts and their arches, the side-jambs of the doorway and the arch above have a moulding of angles united by straight lines. The corresponding doorway on the north is much simpler, but it is surmounted by a dog-tooth moulding, although this feature is generally characteristic of a style later than the true Norman; beneath this occurs a series of receding mouldings, alternately lozenge and zig-zag; these are supported only by a single shaft."[1]

The smaller pair of doorways more to the east are less remarkable, being Decorated, contemporary with the windows, and having merely moulded jambs, without shafts or other enrichments. Over the southern one is a curious niche of the vesica form; the bracket for the image still remains, but the image itself is gone.

Interior.—The internal view of the nave and choir must have been, beyond all comparison, the most beautiful and attractive feature of the cathedral. Its effect, when perfect, when the eye could gaze uninterruptedly down its whole length, must of course be, for the present, left to the imagination, but it is one which may very easily be imagined; and, even now, the appearance of the ruined nave is one of the most striking to be found among the remains of ancient architecture. Its roofless condition supplies the incidental advantage of a rare and beautiful combination; the arcades and the interior of the west front being seen in close juxtaposition with the tower as an external object. And in no ruined ecclesi-

[1] *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Vol. I., (New Series,) pp. 29, 30.

astical building is less subject of offence given; the roofless portion being still sedulously preserved as a portion of the church, and guarded from all injury or disrespect. And, viewed architecturally, the merits of this part of the building are very great; though neither large nor richly adorned, it may claim a high place on many grounds among buildings of its own date and style. The character of the Early English work is singularly good; besides its excellent proportions, it combines, in a most remarkable degree, a great lack of ornament, with not only the utmost excellence of detail, but a considerable effect of richness. This is probably owing to the finish of execution, which is most conspicuous, taking away all notion of rudeness, and to the presence of floriated capitals, which certainly impart a much greater character of enrichment than any other individual member. The internal treatment of the west end is especially excellent, and deserves the more attention, as the mean internal appearance of a western portal is often a marked blot upon churches of great magnificence.

With regard more immediately to the doorway, this is chiefly the result of bringing down some of the jamb-shafts of the windows to the ground on each side of it, which at once has the effect of making the latter a real portion of the design, and not a mere necessary evil. But, far beyond this, the western triplet, viewed internally, is most admirable; even the external beauty of the west front in no way prepares the spectator for the marvellous display of art which it presents within. The fall of the ground allows a great increase of height

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.

THE NAVE.

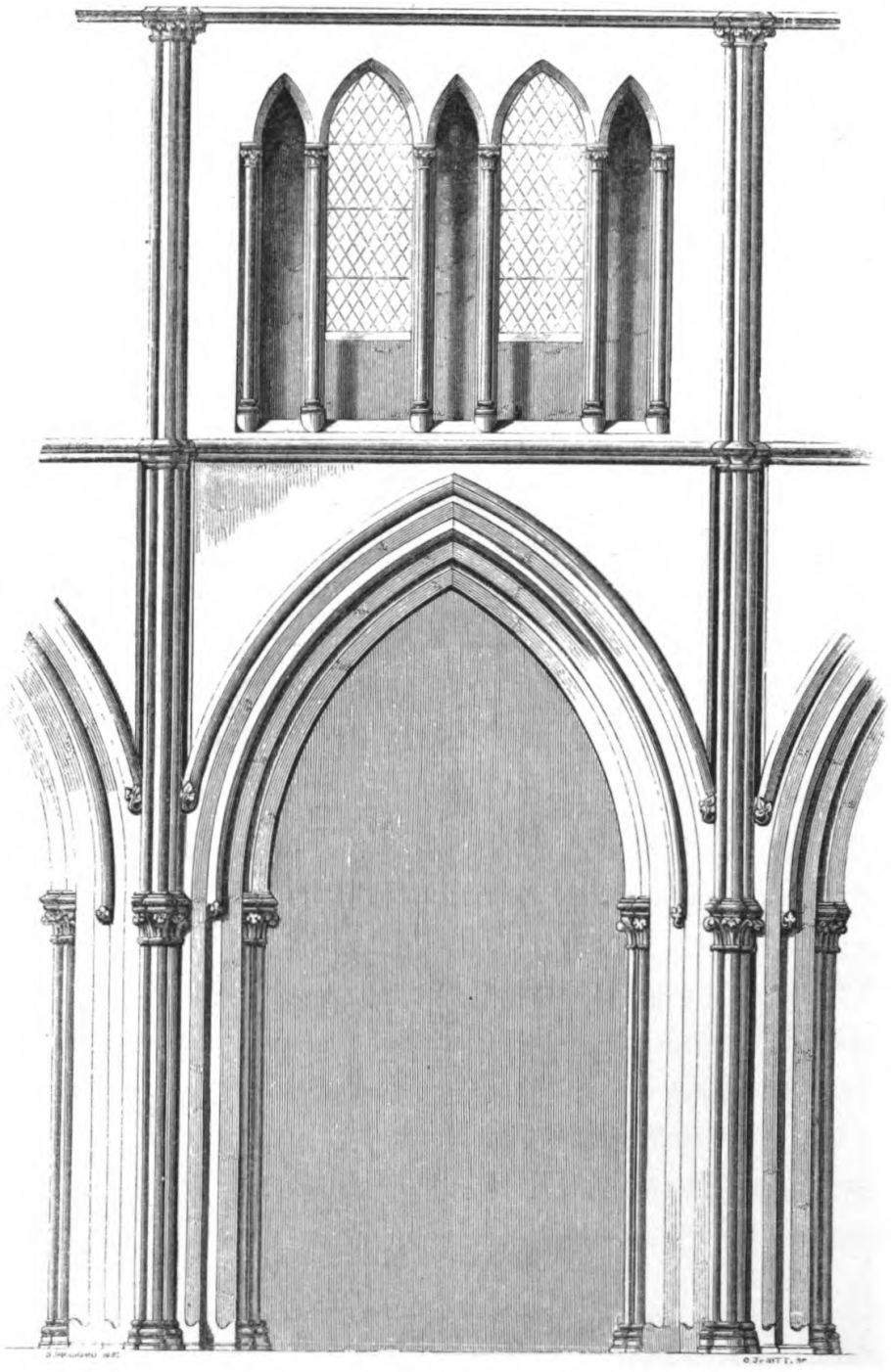
beyond that of the external façade—there being a descent of several steps into the nave from the west door—of course greatly to the improvement of the general effect. This allows much greater height to be given to the central stage containing the window, without encroaching on that below; the space occupied without by the tympanum of the doorway being taken into the former, while the loss is made up to the latter by the space gained below the external basement. The height thus gained allows the triplet itself, with a rich array of arch-mouldings and jamb-shafts, to occupy the whole width of the church, (the narrower intermediate arches of the exterior not appearing within,) without the width of each lancet being made disproportionate. The internal jamb comes, of course, considerably lower than the real cill of the lancets. The skill with which the internal and external arrangements, each the better suited for its own position, are adapted to each other, deserves our best study and admiration. Too often the west front, being a mere excresence without, contributes nothing to the internal effect; here the discretion of the architect, in his simple and natural treatment of the exterior, has had its reward also within. Instead of a mere mask without, and a bare wall within, we have the same feature of consummate beauty in both; only that of the exterior is but the shell of the far higher loveliness within.

Division of Nave and Choir.—In the interior a little attention will readily discover, what a consideration of the exterior will not reveal, namely the respective limits of

the ritual nave and choir. The part of the church we are now examining, namely the constructive nave of eight bays, contains, as I mentioned before, both the true nave and the ritual choir. The limits of the two may readily be ascertained, especially as the old arrangements of the choir appear to have been retained after the changes of the last century. The stalls occupy the same position now as they did in Browne Willis' time, namely the two eastern bays of the constructive nave; these are distinguished by a solid screen between the pillars, which is contemporary with the arcades, as is shown by the stilting of the bases, and by the insertion of an Early English sepulchral niche in the western bay on the south side. The third arch from the east may well have been filled by the rood-loft, and the remaining five have remained as the real nave. This is distinguished from the ritual choir, not by any constructive feature, but by a change in the architectural detail, precisely as is the case in Westminster Abbey, where the same arrangement is followed. The piers in the ritual choir are of a different section from those in the nave, being composed of fewer members, and having recessed instead of projecting roof-shafts.[1] The width of the ritual choir from pier to pier is thus made somewhat greater than in the real nave, probably to gain more room for the woodwork required

[1] Similarly there are, in the nave, shafts towards the aisle supporting no part of the arch, which are absent in the choir. We may perhaps infer that the nave aisles were designed for vaulting, and the choir aisles not, but this is not absolutely conclusive, as there are similar shafts in the choir aisles at St. David's, where no contemporary vaulting could have existed.

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



INTERIOR ELEVATION OF ONE BAY OF THE NAVE

Scale, one-eighth of an inch to a foot

J. Prichard, del

O Jewitt, sc.

for the former, without trenching more than was absolutely necessary upon the open central space.

Arcades.—The lateral elevations of this church well deserve attentive study. They consist simply of a pier-range and clerestory, there being no architectural triforium, but merely a passage in the clerestory. This again displays the judgment of the architect; the positive height is small, not too small for the complete triple division, had the style been Romanesque; but the insertion of a triforium worth inserting, one of any dignity, and really forming a distinct feature in the composition,[1] would have allowed less space to the pier-range than was required by the spirit of the Gothic style and pointed arch. The result is a pier and arch of very excellent proportion, combining sufficient grace and lightness with great solidity.

We may not inappropriately contrast the arcades of Llandaff with those of Southwell Minster, of much the same scale and style. Here also the height did not admit of an architectural triforium; but the arrangement is very different from that of Llandaff. At Southwell no height is gained to the pier-range, but the triforium is taken into the clerestory. That is, there is not, as at Llandaff, a mere passage in front of the window, but a considerable blank space below the window-cill belongs to what is architecturally treated as the clerestory-range. The consequence is a much more massive pier-range, of a proportion more resembling those of churches with a

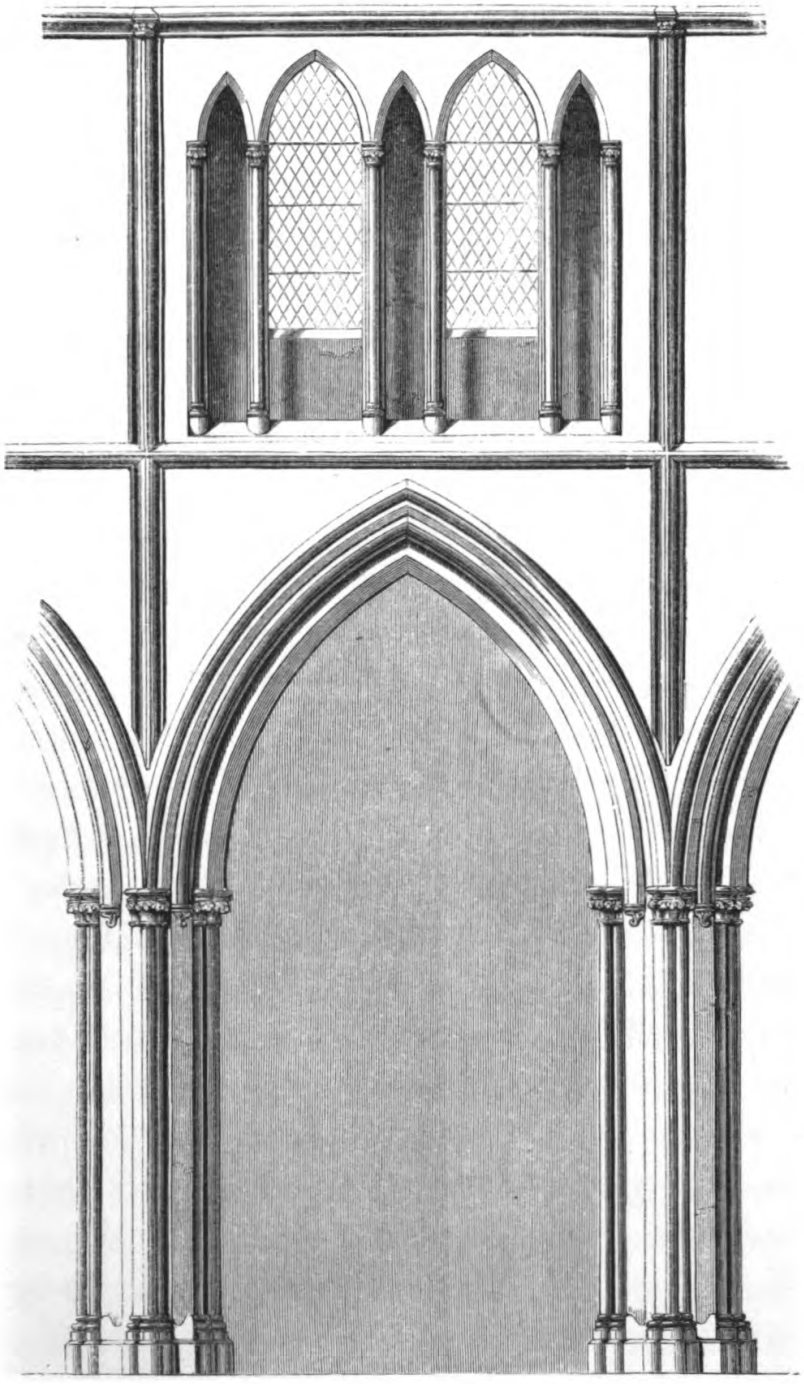
[1] See "History of Architecture," pp. 364–66.

large triforium. as Romsey and Ely; the piers are lower, the arches less bold and soaring. Hence also a different treatment of the pier-range in point of detail; that at Llandaff, being light and Gothic in itself, requires but little aid from ornament, and is left comparatively plain; at Southwell, the range, having a proportion rather Romanesque than Gothic, seeks, and most effectually finds, relief from its massiveness in a much greater elaboration of mouldings in the architrave, and of clustered shafts in the pier. Both arrangements are excellently managed; and both, I venture to say, are greatly superior to the—in this style—extravagant lightness of the arcades in the nave of Lincoln, which seem suited only to churches like Dorchester or Stafford, where there is little superincumbent mass.

The difference between the piers in the nave and choir will be best studied in a section; it will be observed that in neither is there any great freedom of clustering. The pier is neither an aggregate of small shafts, nor yet an assemblage of such around a larger central one, but consists of an angular mass with a cluster of three shafts attached to the principal faces. The shafts have the same keel form as those at St. David's, and one or two share the peculiarity of the absence of the neck-moulding.[1] The arch is without any moulding, strictly so called, but besides an outer label of the keel form terminating in foliage, another similar one is inserted in an angle of the

[1] I have been struck by the general resemblance of the Early English work at St. David's, Llandaff, Cheriton in Gower, and Slymbridge in Gloucestershire.

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



INTERIOR ELEVATION OF ONE BAY OF THE CHOIR

Scale, one-eighth of an inch to a foot.

J Prichard. del

O Jewitt. sc

pier; an arrangement of which I do not know another instance. The eastern arch of the choir, on each side, is blank, a smaller one being open under it, a singularity whose meaning we shall have hereafter to explain. This pair of arches, and that next to it, forming the extent of the ritual choir, have been already mentioned as being filled up between the piers with a solid wall. This is in fact a screen to form a backing for stalls, and is not unusual in choirs, as at Romsey, St. Cross, and Rothwell in Northamptonshire.

The clerestory appears to have consisted of the two windows in each bay, each with a smaller arch on each side. The bays are divided by shafts running up the whole height of the wall; in the choir, as was before said, these are let into the wall; the arrangements of the clerestory here are utterly destroyed. In the nave, a smaller cluster of three with a base rests on the capital of the inner cluster of the pier. This is not a very common arrangement, being in fact something intermediate between the common Early vaulting-shaft corbelled off above the pier, as at Ely and other instances, and the Continuous vaulting-shaft rising uninterruptedly from the ground. It is an attempt to combine the general effect and magnificent vertical expression of the latter arrangement, with the distinct existence of the pier characteristic of the Early Gothic. It is something intermediate between the merely horizontal division of the Early English portions of St. Alban's, and the almost premature verticality of the nave of Lichfield.

Roof.—But these shafts are most important as revealing to us the original covering of the nave and choir. There can be little doubt but that this part of the cathedral was originally[1] intended to be covered by a flat ceiling, a feature more common in Romanesque and Early Gothic churches than is usually supposed. This is shown by the roof-shafts, which are continued up to the summit of the masonry, instead of being terminated much lower down, as they must have done, had vaulting of the ordinary kind been intended.[2] And that these shafts were designed to carry a flat ceiling, and not an open or canted timber roof, or a barrel vault, appears from the internal view of the west end, where the ledge for the ceiling to rest upon is distinctly visible, and while the masonry below is of ashlar, that above, which would have been concealed by the ceiling is of rubble. This arrangement we cannot conceive coexisting with any other form of internal covering.

I shall probably stand almost alone in thinking not only that such was the historical fact, but that the architect judged rightly in adopting this form, provided the natural and more appropriate finish was, for any reason, out of the question, and in regretting that, supposing any

[1] It may have been only contemplated, and never actually erected, just like so much vaulting at St. David's and other places, but I see no reason why it should not.

[2] This proof is of course conclusive, but we may remark that the arrangement of the clerestory is adapted only to a horizontal finish of the wall. The two distant lancets are evidently designed to fill up the whole parallelogram; vaulting, unless sexpartite, would interfere with the whole design. Compare the clerestory at St. Alban's, which is also flat-roofed.

impediment precluded there also the addition of a vault, the precedent has not been followed in the new roof of the presbytery. I have so largely argued out this question elsewhere,[1] that I will now only repeat my unchanged opinion that the carrying out of verticality by contrast so conspicuous in this mode of roofing produces a much greater effect of height, and is a better development of the Gothic principle than the high-pitched timber roof added to the walls without any æsthetical connexion with them.

§ IV.—Presbytery, Chapter-house, and Lady Chapel.

Exterior of Presbytery.—This part of the building is the constructive choir, if we may so speak when there is only one degree more architectural difference made between the ritual choir and the presbytery than exists between the nave and the former. Within there is indeed an arch,[2] but externally the whole fabric seems to have been continued with the same width and elevation; the only distinction being in the arrangements of the clerestory. The present clerestory of the presbytery is entirely new, its predecessor having been entirely de-

[1] "History of Architecture," p. 347. The general argument tells equally, whether the flat internal covering be a ceiling beneath an external roof, (which may be of any pitch,) as in all the Early and many of the later examples, or whether the roof itself be made flat or nearly so, as in most Perpendicular examples. Yet the effect of the two arrangements is by no means identical.

[2] At present a new one, but bases were found, proving that one anciently existed.

stroyed. The aisles, also, though untouched in their mass, had received greater alterations than those of the choir, as the windows were substitutions in the style of the choir clerestory. Happily however the jambs were left sufficiently perfect to admit of a certain restoration, the tracery alone being left to conjecture; and we shall see hereafter that these jambs are not among our least important guides in tracing out the history of the building. They are Decorated, of an earlier character than those of the nave and choir. The presbytery itself consists only of two bays, but the aisles consist of three, being continued a little way along the Lady chapel. On the north side the aisle presents a continuous range from the west to the east end, with a regular succession of windows, broken only by several interruptions in the masonry, and by the very irregular direction of the wall, consequent probably on the numerous patchings and alterations which it has sustained. And it must be confessed, that the prospect of this long extent of unbuttressed wall, at once monotonous and irregular, is one of the least pleasing to be found among our greater churches. On the south side the projecting and quasi-transeptal chapter-house provides the only break in the whole church. This occupies the western bay of the south aisle of the presbytery. The remainder of the aisle also is less uniform than its fellow. It is lighted by two windows, but irregularly placed, and of altogether different designs. The western one is a large flat-headed Decorated window of five lights; the mere occurrence of a flat head in this style is of course nothing remarkable,

being common enough in small churches, especially in Northamptonshire, but it is not very usual to find it either on so large a scale, or in so great a church.[1] The reason is obvious; in the low wall of the aisle or clerestory of a parish church it is often desirable to make a window of greater width than the space would allow, if a pointed arch were employed.[2] Hence the square-headed and segmental-arched windows of the Decorated style, and the four-centered arch of the Perpendicular; forms meeting the practical requirements of the position, and not inconsistent with the horizontal cornice of the timber roof above. But as the form can but seldom be necessary in the prominent positions of a small church—the large window at Northborough is clearly an individual freak—so it is still less in harmony with the regular arrangements, the tall narrow bays, and pointed vaulting cells of a cathedral aisle. It is only the vaultless aisles and semi-parochial character of Llandaff that could have admitted of such a whim; even here no necessity or advantage called for it.

The other window is an ordinary pointed one; in both the present tracery is conjectural, but the jambs original, or at least completed from fragments remaining of the original work. An ugly modern door between them is a great eyesore. The windows at the east end of the aisles have Perpendicular tracery inserted in the Early Decorated jambs. At this point we arrive for the first

[1] Those in the aisles at Peterborough, Early Decorated, are a remarkable exception.

[2] See "History of Architecture," p. 350.

time at the consolatory presence of a buttress. Those at the angles of the aisles are pedimented, but low, not rising above the cill of the windows. A rich open parapet has been added during the present restoration to the part of the south aisle east of the chapter-house, the effect of which is extremely good.

Interior of the Presbytery.—The internal view of this part of the church presents a remarkable contrast to that of its western portions. There the prevailing style was not only beautiful in itself, but was perfectly and harmoniously carried out, the Decorated rebuilding of the aisle walls in no way interfering with the general effect of the Early English arcades. But in the presbytery the greater proportion of the work is at once of a very inferior character in itself, and is strangely and awkwardly introduced into an earlier design. Decorated arches are cut through Norman walls, and on the south side in a very singular manner. Here we have, as every visitor to the cathedral must have observed, the remains of two Norman windows cut through by the present Decorated pier-arches. On the north there are two complete pier-arches, entirely obliterating all such traces. Fragments of a Norman string were, however, discovered during the restoration. On the south we have only one complete arch, with the head of a Norman window appearing above it, and the beginning of another, which cuts into another Norman window, and stops suddenly, leaving the western jamb of the latter quite perfect. It is clear, then, from this and

from other reasons, that this Decorated arch never could have been intended to be completed, and it is difficult to understand why it was ever commenced. To the west of this is a solid wall, perforated only by a modern doorway, leading into the south aisle.

The comparison between this Decorated presbytery and the Early English parts is, as is so often the case when those two styles are brought into close juxtaposition, extremely painful. I am not clear that the section of the piers is not an imitation of the older one, but the beauty of proportion is lost, and the poor moulded capitals at once strike the eye by their inferiority to the beautiful foliage of the earlier portions; one wonders that some of the approximations—distant indeed—which the Decorated style could supply to the consummate loveliness of its predecessor, such as we see in Bishop Gower's work at St. David's, were not called in to avoid so humiliating a contrast. Still the general effect of the presbytery, though spoiled by its contiguity to such a rival, is by no means to be despised. Not a little of its merit indeed is derived from the new clerestory, the appearance of which is highly satisfactory, and harmonizes very well with the arches below. The idea of the latter has been caught, namely a Decorated version of the nave, there being no distinct triforium, but a mere passage in the clerestory range. The open roof too, though a feature quite out of place in a cathedral, has perhaps as good an effect as one of the kind can have.

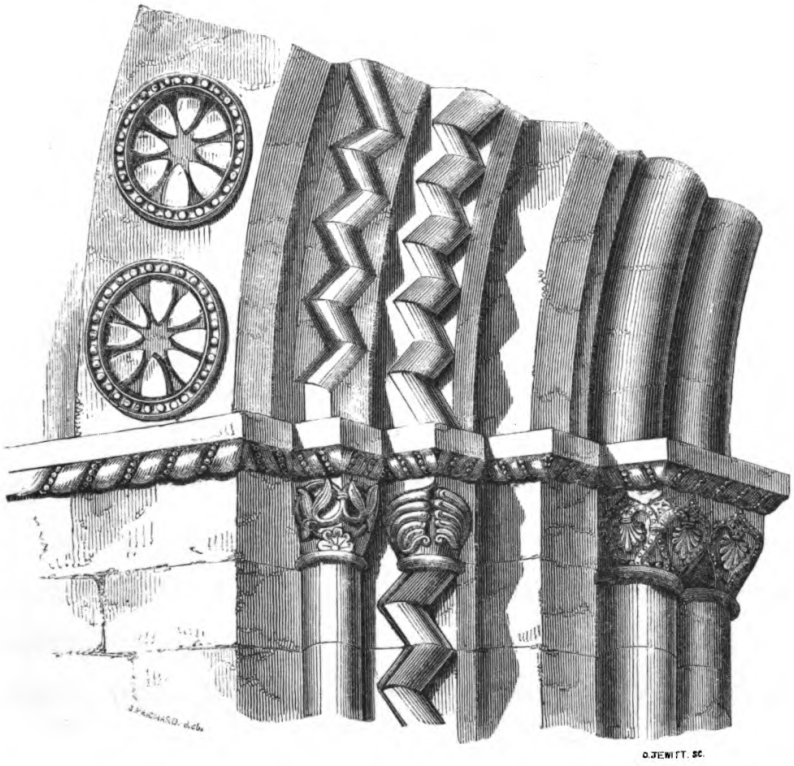
The presbytery is connected with the Lady chapel by a large and wide Norman arch, like a chancel arch, and,

as is usual in arches of that kind, with the western face much the more enriched of the two. Unfortunately being now filled with a partition of boards separating the part of the church at present used for divine service from that still undergoing repair, a good view either of its general effect, or of many of its details, cannot be obtained. But, besides the rich studded moulding, figured in the "Glossary," and commented on by the Dean,[1] there is much in this arch worth notice. It is needlessly and awkwardly stilted; and we may especially remark the two shafts side by side continued in heavy rolls along the soffit; a feature characteristic of *Early* Norman work, and in fact most probably the retention of an Anglo-Saxon usage.

In the aisles of the presbytery we have chiefly to remark the western bay on the south side, which forms a vestibule to the chapter-house, and is made quite distinct from the rest of the church, opening into the aisles by not very lofty arches, and into the chapter-house and the presbytery itself by mere small doorways. This bay is vaulted—being the only portion of the cathedral west of the Lady chapel that is so—in a Transitional or incipient Early English style, less advanced in character than that of the choir, though, as we shall see, not impossibly of the same date. The vaulting is pointed, but the ribs, and two of the capitals of the vaulting-shafts must rather be called Romanesque, while the other two capitals are good Early English.

[1] *Archæologia Cambrensis*, ut supra, p. 28.

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



IMPOST AND PORTION OF ARCH, BETWEEN PRESBYTERY AND LADY CHAPEL.

J Prichard, del

O. Jewitt sc

THE LADY-CHAPEL.—The beautiful chapel which completes the design to the extreme east is one of the most pleasing features of the church. Viewed externally, there is nothing to be at all compared to it, except the west front, and within, its beauty, though of a very different kind, is fully equal to that of the nave and choir. It is moreover remarkably contrasted with the rest of the building; without, by its tall buttresses and long narrow windows; within, by its beautiful stone vaulting. I have already remarked that, standing as it does, it suggests the notion of a parochial chancel, magnificent in itself, though somewhat small for the general proportions of the building. Taken alone, it would form an excellent model for a collegiate or palatial chapel.

The style is transitional from Early English to Decorated, having Early Geometrical tracery in the windows, and some of the foliage being rather of a Decorated character, but in other respects it hardly departs from the purity of the Early English style. The effect of the external range of buttresses and windows along three regularly designed bays is very characteristic. The buttresses are of three stages, the lowest being pedimented at the window-cill, ranging with the buttresses at the east end of the aisles. The upper stage is carried up unusually high for buttresses not terminating in pinnacles, the set-off being in the parapet, which is remarkably deep. The buttresses are doubled at the angles, and there is a small pedimented one beneath the cill of the east window.

The tall windows are of two trefoil lights with a plain

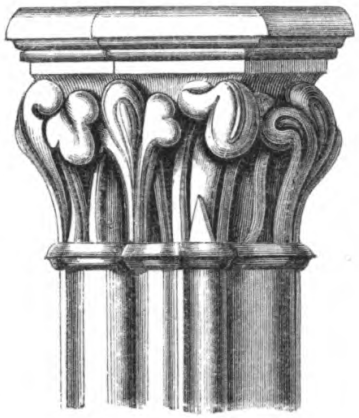
circle in the head. The jambs are plain without, but within the rear-arch is deeply moulded, and the jamb adorned with that exquisite ornament, the detached shaft of Purbeck marble. The eastern window, like so many others, having received a substitute in the style of Mr. Wood, has authentic jambs, but conjectural tracery. There are five bays of good simple vaulting, rising from Purbeck shafts, and with bosses at the intersections. The whole effect of the internal view is probably surpassed by no building of its own class—though, as it differs so widely from most Lady chapels, that class is a small one; it would be hard to find an arrangement, or even a detail, open to reasonable censure. Externally it cannot so well be considered separately, and can only be regarded as part of an ill-proportioned whole; yet, so far as it can be taken distinctly, it is singularly beautiful. It cries however for a high roof, and will do so still more loudly, when that over the rest of the church is completed.

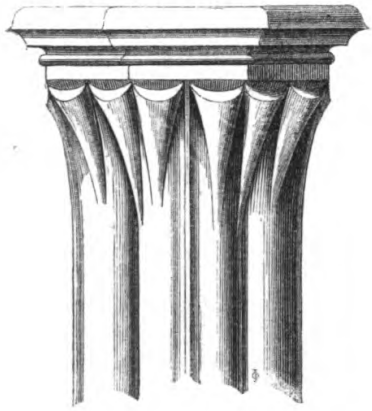
The aisles being prolonged along two bays[1] of the Lady chapel, there are necessarily arches between them; their character is somewhat singular, as the bases are Early English, the floriated capitals certainly so, if clear of all Norman traces, while the abaci are Decorated.

The Chapter-house.—The Cathedral is completed by the quasi-transeptal chapter-house, projecting, as we have seen, from the south aisle of the presbytery. Its

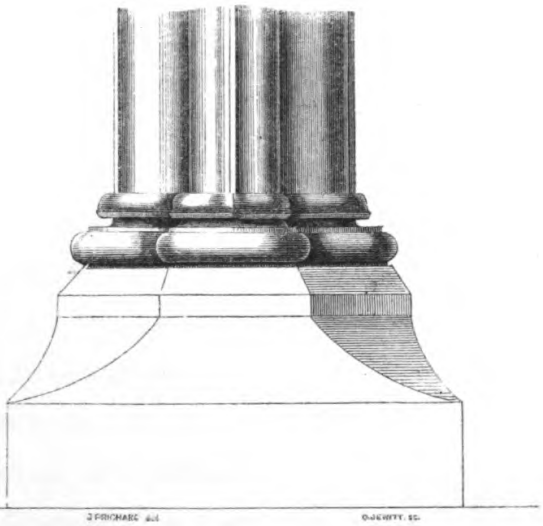
[1] Two bays of the vaulting of the Lady chapel, though lighted by only one window in each aisle.

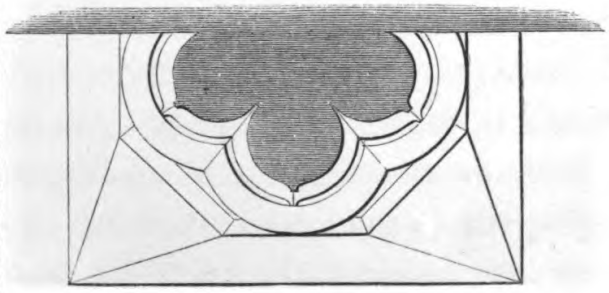
LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



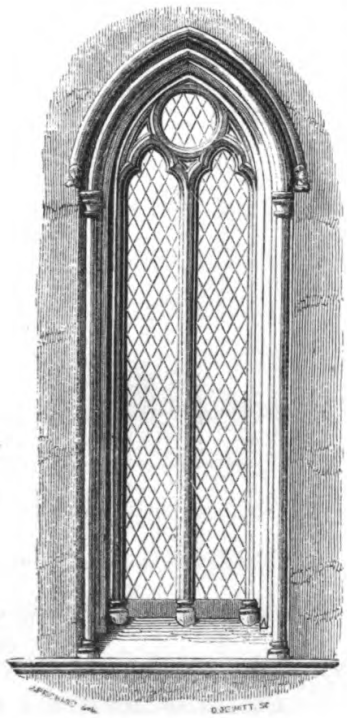


CAPITAL, NORTH AISLE
Scale, one inch to a foot





CAPITAL, BASE, AND PLAN OF THE ARCH BETWEEN LADY CHAPEL AND SOUTH AISLE.
Scale, one inch to a foot



INTERIOR ELEVATION OF SIDE WINDOW OF LADY CHAPEL

Scale, half an inch to a foot

J. Prichard, del

O. Jewitt. sc

description will form a good winding up of our survey of the present state of Llandaff; as we started with a front unrivalled among those of its own date and scale, we conclude with a portion of the fabric, which, if less remarkable for beauty, claims a place second to none on the score of singularity. For this chapter-house is, among English cathedrals at least, absolutely unique. There are two normal forms, the earliest and latest being simple oblong rooms, while the intermediate period produced the polygonal form, which, with the two exceptions of York and Southwell, is vaulted from a central pillar. But at Llandaff we have a square building with a central pillar; the effect is not pleasing, being that of a square playing at a polygon, just as the sexpartite vaulting over the eastern bay of the choir of St. Cross, and of the south aisle of Dorchester, give their flat east ends the appearance of playing at apses; but, viewed historically, there can be little doubt but that we have there not a confusion of the two types, but a genuine example of transition between them. The architect evidently preferred a vault of a greater number of bays to the heaviness of one vast square bay over the whole apartment, or even to two oblong bays. He designed his roof of four bays, which consequently required a central pillar to support it; it is exactly the same arrangement as in the great staircase at Christ Church, though that, perhaps from its greater size and different use, does not in the same way suggest the polygonal form. The central pillar is a plain round one, and there is no great amount of detail in the building.

Externally, the chapter-house, though of better execution than the Decorated aisles, is not altogether satisfactory. The fault seems to be that it in nowise proclaims its own use; it breaks the monotony of the outline, but breaks it as an excresence, not as an integral part of the fabric. It is sufficiently like a transept to make the lack of the cruciform shape still more apparent; sufficiently unlike to do nothing towards supplying its place. And it is not by any architectural propriety, but simply by a sort of process of exhaustion, that its real nature could be conjectured. Yet regarded without reference to its own end, or to the general grouping of the church, it offers much that is attractive. It has what at Llandaff must be considered the honourable distinction of buttresses, and the windows, trefoiled lancets, with a deeper external splay than usual, are extremely graceful.

The upper part of this chapter-house has been much mutilated, and it is at present covered with a very mean roof. It is not easy to say what would be the appropiate finish; a flat roof and parapet would hardly be in character either with the style of the chapter-house itself, or with the general appearance of the cathedral; and the lofty cone so admirably suited to a round or polygonal structure, is perhaps not so well adapted to its square form. There would appear to have been an upper story, more than a mere space above the vaulting, as the jambs of two mutilated lancets remain, an ugly modern window having been inserted between them, and a piece of a Decorated shaft—I know not from what part of the

building—worked into the wall. There is no trace of similar lancets ever having existed on the south side, where however their presence might have been an improvement, as the extent of blank wall over the lower pair, which are placed low, has a somewhat meagre effect.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF THE FABRIC.

HAVING in the previous Chapter endeavoured to describe the original design and present appearance of this extraordinary building, and fairly to weigh in the balance of architectural criticism the merits and defects of its singular position, its unique outline, the remarkable beauty of several individual portions, it now follows to trace out, as far as may be, the history of the fabric; to assign the several portions to their respective dates, and to ascertain the plan on which the authors of each successive change conducted their proceedings, how much of each scheme of restoration was accomplished, how much existed only in the designs of its projectors, and how much of the former still exists, how much has been sacrificed to still later changes. For an architectural history can hardly be considered complete, unless it strives not only to assign its date and author to each existing portion, but to reproduce, whenever practicable, the appearance of the building after each successive epoch of change; and it frequently happens that some small fragment of detail, some apparently insignificant change of masonry, may reveal the fact of important and extensive

alterations, of which little or no trace is to be found in the appearance of the fabric at the present. This is conspicuously the case with the subject of our present inquiry; we shall presently see that there is good reason to believe that Llandaff Cathedral once presented, or was at least designed to present, an appearance, not only in detail, but in the grandest features of its external outline, as far removed from the conceptions of its original builders, as it is from any notion that could be derived from the condition to which the church has finally been brought. Outline, ground-plan, ritual arrangement, have been completely altered more than once; a small building has been gradually developed into a large one, and nearly all of this has occurred, apparently without any chronicler to record some of the strangest transmutations in architectural history. As the present work of chronicling the destiny of Llandaff has not fallen upon a Willis, neither has any Gervase been found to clear the way where his assistance was so much more needed.

And, besides this, the church has been subjected to such a number of alterations following so closely upon one another that it is often almost impossible to ascertain their exact extent; and, moreover, additional difficulties are produced by the most important reparations having been so gradually carried on, as to allow of considerable changes of style during their continuance; some of them, too, have produced such strange and unaccountable patching; in a word, the whole character of the building, and of the changes which it has undergone,

is so thoroughly anomalous, that to unravel its history is one of the hardest tasks that the architectural inquirer could have undertaken.

In arranging the history of the cathedral, we shall find, observing the caution given in the last paragraph, that its existing features may be referred to three main heads. I.—The original Romanesque fabric of Bishop Urban, the earliest building on the site, of which any portion remains. II.—Larger Early English additions, which prolonged the church to its present extent westward. III.—A systematic Decorated repair, remodelling the Norman portions left under No. II., and rebuilding nearly the whole of the external walls. Under this head I reckon the Lady chapel, though rather Early English than Decorated, because it has no connexion with the earlier Lancet work, while it can hardly be separated from Decorated repairs apparently carried on uninterruptedly from its completion. Finally, we have Jasper Tudor's Perpendicular tower; but this, as an incidental rebuilding of an individual feature, does not affect the general history of the building.

§ I.—The Romanesque Church.

British Period.—Llandaff is usually regarded as the most ancient episcopal see now existing in Great Britain; that is, I imagine, that no other of equal antiquity remains in its original site. And it so happens that the early history of the establishment is better known than the later, the celebrated *Liber Landavensis* unfortunately

terminating just at the point where for the purposes of the present inquiry it should have commenced. I am not acquainted, either from personal observation or authentic report, with any ecclesiastical structures in Wales which can be certainly referred to a date earlier than the Norman invasion; certainly nothing of this kind is to be found in the two cathedrals which are the greatest architectural ornaments of the Principality; we know how complete was the destruction even in England of the greater ecclesiastical buildings; much more would it naturally be looked for among the smaller and ruder structures of Wales. And how little the primæval Cathedral of Llandaff deserved to be excepted from this class is clear from the minute description which is fortunately preserved of its most important dimensions.

"However," says the present Dean, "critical considerations may shake our full confidence in our monastic historian, [the compiler of the *Liber*] still his simple description of the humble scale of the architectural relics of that earlier age which his own eyes had inspected bears the full stamp of exact accuracy. He informs us that when Urban, the earliest bishop after the Norman conquest of this district, was preparing to translate to his own cathedral the relics of its canonised Prot-Episcopus from the Isle of Bardsey, where he had been first buried, having retired thither to religious solitude on the resignation of his ecclestical dignities, he found the primitive cathedral, founded by the saint, far too humble to afford a suitable receptacle for his remains, for it consisted rather of a small chapel than a church, its length

being only twenty-eight feet, its breath fifteen, and height twenty. Two small aisles, however, are also mentioned, (which, I suppose, should be added to these dimensions,) as also a circular porch, (by which a semi-circular apse is probably meant,) having a radius of twelve feet; this would, therefore extend the entire length to forty feet. This account will present an exact analogy to those ecclesiological antiquaries who are acquainted with the small dimensions of the earliest churches of Ireland, ascribed to the age of St. Patrick, and his immediate successors, who also flourished in the fifth century, and who are said, like our Dubritius, to have enjoyed the patronage of St. Germanus. We may therefore conclude that these earliest founders of Christian churches throughout the British Isles were contented with edifices of the most humble pretensions."[1]

Such were the small beginnings of Llandaff; but this humble fabric may in one respect have equalled the most gorgeous structures of succeeding ages; it was doubtless the best offering its founders could make. Equal in the eye of piety, however inferior in that of art, to national feeling it must have spoken in a manner which its successor could never rival. It is a strange and not altogether pleasant thought, and one in which Celt and Saxon may singularly unite, that the greatest advances

[1] *Archæologia Cambrensis*, No. I., (New Series,) p. 25. In one respect this little cathedral differed from its Irish fellows. The latter do not employ the apse, though their arrangements are ritually identical with the apsidal one. This, as Dr. Petrie has shown, points to their derivation from ante-basilican models, from the earliest Christian Churches of the days of persecution.

in architectural skill and splendour in both countries alike were the result of a foreign occupation, that not only the castle, but the minster itself, were in fact, badges of national misery and humiliation. And to no structure of Wales does this remark more fully apply than to the Cathedral of Llandaff.

But our only concern at present with the ante-Norman days of Llandaff is to discover whether any traces were left, or whether the subsequent design was at all influenced by the arrangements or proportions of the small British church which Bishop Urban, the original founder of the present structure, found standing in 1120. The Dean of Llandaff has expressed his opinion that he built his cathedral westward of it, leaving it to serve as a Lady chapel, and that the great Norman arch at the east end of the presbytery was made to open into it. If so, we have a fair chance of some part of its masonry still existing around and above that arch. But in the first place, it seems much more in accordance with the general proceedings of the Norman builders, even when they came into contact with structures of much greater pretensions than this primæval Cathedral of Llandaff, to suppose that they would entirely destroy so small a building, and carry out their own designs without reference to it. Secondly, the existing arch appears far too large to have ever opened into so small a structure as the British Cathedral is said to have been; even if it could have been contained within its limits, it would most assuredly have violated all proportion. If, then, it did not lead into the British

church retained as a Lady chapel, did it lead into an original Norman Lady chapel? or may not Bishop Urban's choir have occupied the site of the present Lady chapel, and consequently this arch have really been the chancel-arch of his edifice? This view was originally[1] suggested to me by the eminent authority of Dr. Petrie, and, though involving some difficulties, seems probable on two grounds. First, a Lady chapel of the size and prominence which such an arch seems to imply, is by no means a common feature even in Norman churches of very great size, much less in such small fabrics as Bishop Urban's cathedral must, on any view, have been—one far too small to have required a Lady chapel at all as a distinct architectural feature. Secondly, one great arch of this size, embracing the whole width of the church, by no means resembles the ordinary approach to a Lady chapel of any date; we generally find the entrance made by a greater number of smaller arches. On the other hand, it has altogether the character and appearance of a chancel arch. On the whole, then, the probability seems to be in favour of the belief that Bishop Urban's choir, of which no trace remains, occupied the site of the present Lady chapel, and that the fragments of Early Norman work, retained in the present presbytery, are portions of his nave.

Extent of the Norman Church.—The original Nor-

[1] Nothing however beyond this general notion was communicated to me by the learned Doctor; I may claim entire originality in working out the details of the theory.

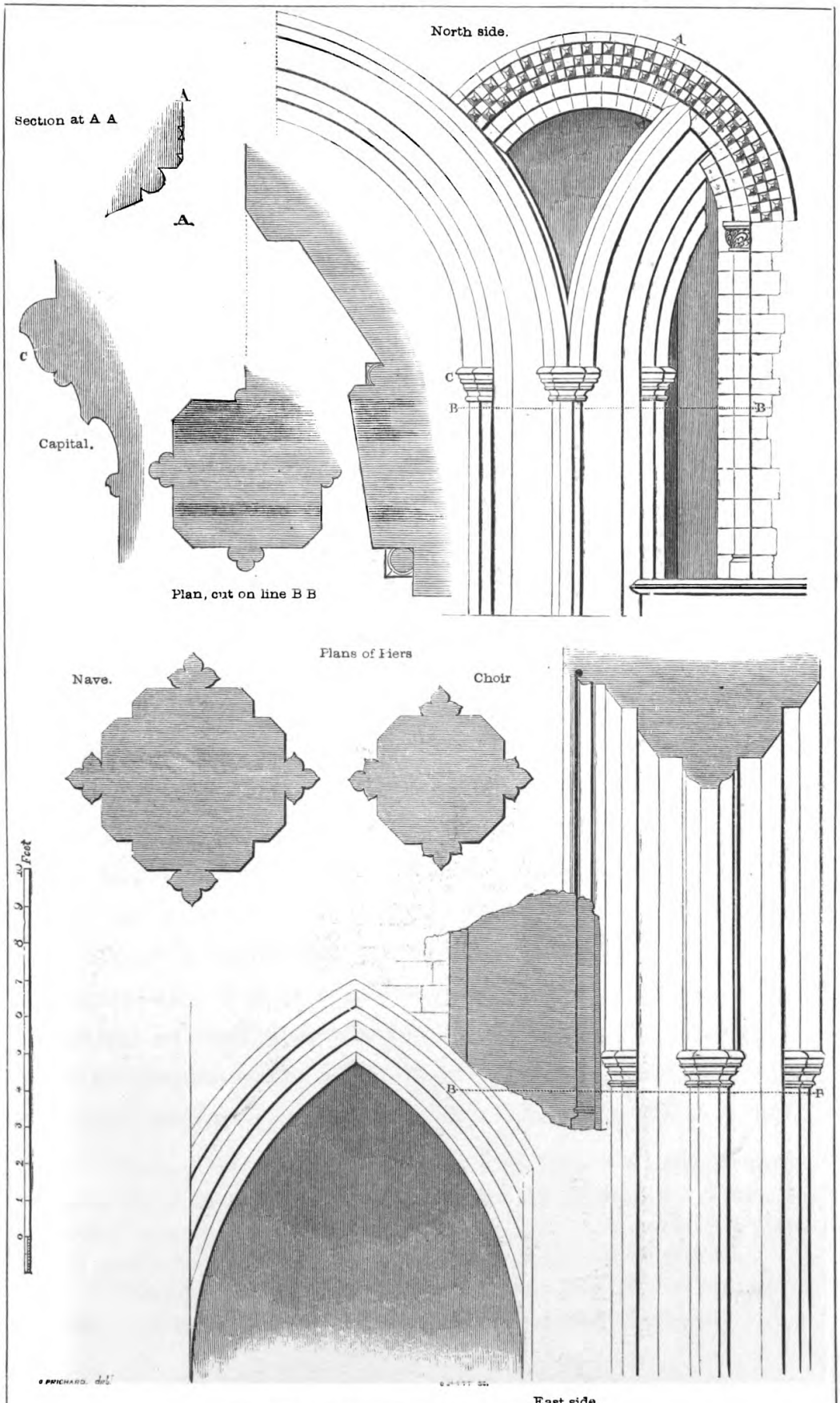
man cathedral, then, must have been a structure of comparatively small size, though, as its remains attest, of a very considerable degree of ornament. Its extent, east and west, could probably not be ascertained without an examination of the foundations. It is almost unnecessary to state that the *late* Norman doorways in the present nave, which will come in for consideration hereafter, throw no light on the extent of the *early* Norman church of Urban. No one can imagine that his building extended so far west; while it is almost as difficult to suppose that his nave was confined within the limits of the present presbytery.

Urban's church probably consisted only of a nave and choir, as we can hardly suppose that a tower or transepts existed eastward of the present presbytery; they would surely have left some signs. It had probably no aisles. Our evidence on this subject is derived from the appearance of the south wall of the presbytery—Urban's nave. The extraordinary manner in which the Norman windows have been cut through by the Decorated pier-arches has already been mentioned in the description of the fabric. But there are some further questions arising out of this portion of the building, which require to be discussed at some length.

Tower-Porch?—If there had been nothing connected with these windows beyond what is visible from the present presbytery we should have only inferred from it that Urban's nave had no aisles, and remarked the strange and unaccountable freak of the Decorated

architect in his treatment of his predecessor's window. A singular phænomenon remains behind. The vaulted bay, forming the vestibule of the chapter-house, opens into the part of the aisle eastward of it by a rather low arch, of which more anon. Over this, on the east side, I remarked a seam in the masonry with a chamfer of ashlar, as of the southern jamb of some opening, which was not readily intelligible, though I ought to mention that Mr. Prichard at once suggested that it was a squint to the window in question. On removing the masonry with which it was blocked, a long splay presented itself, which finally led to the outer shaft of the window imbedded in the wall, and revealing the original section. The first inference would be that the vaulted bay, whose existing features are Early English, or Transitional, was added to the Norman work, and the masonry splayed off to prevent the necessity of interfering with the window. But the ashlar of the splay is part of the same stones as the Norman shaft; consequently this building, however much disguised, is an integral portion of Urban's work. It has been vaulted, as I before said, in Early English, but its walls, at this point at least, must be essentially Norman. I conclude that, at the Early English repair, the greater part of this bay was internally cased with ashlar, as all the decorative features are evidently of a piece with the ashlar surface. A small extent of rubble in the north wall may be a bit of Urban's work peeping through. In the ground plan I have not marked Norman work, except in the north-eastern mass, as the only part where we can be quite certain of its existence. The

LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.



NORMAN WINDOW AND DECORATED ARCH

J. Prichard, del

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core of the other walls is very probably of the same date, but we cannot be quite sure, and all the visible features are later.

If, then, we have here a further portion of Urban's building, what was this structure, so curiously, I may say, so awkwardly, attached to his nave? To decide this we are left to conjecture; but the most probable conjecture is that it was a tower, whose lowest story served as a porch.[1] And, if so, considering the general position of side doorways, we may make a good guess at the extent of Urban's nave, namely, that it extended one bay westward of this porch, *i.e.*, of the present arch into the presbytery. Whether such a tower was ever completed seems very doubtful. Yet a small circumstance occurs which at least seems to show that we have not the full height of the Norman masonry in the east wall of the vaulted bay. The ashlar of the splayed jamb terminates suddenly, as if the wall had been altered at that point. Either the Norman work was left unfinished in this part, or else whatever was above it has been rebuilt. In either case, we have not the full height of the building as first designed. But as the masonry above seemed part and parcel of that with which the opening was blocked, we must incline to the latter belief, and conclude that some upper part was destroyed,[2] and a small portion rebuilt,

[1] The bases of the jambs of a Norman doorway were found where a new Early English one now opens into the presbytery. They may have been original, or they may have been no earlier than the Early English or Transitional casing. I have not seen the fragments.

[2] This later masonry cuts across the upper part of the window, as may be seen by ascending the staircase of the chapter-house.

when the window was blocked, though of course it may only have been a small piece of wall, and not a completed tower. It is clear that this blocking took place when the Decorated arches were made; it joins with their masonry, and fragments of the shafts and moulded stones of the other side of the window, which could hardly have been available except when they were removed to make way for the pier-arch, were used up among the rubble with which the opening is blocked.[1]

If this was a tower, it is not improbable that its upper stages were, or were intended to be, of an irregular octagonal form, and that the splay we have been examining was part of one of the smaller sides. There is, indeed, no such appearance at the south-east corner, but at that point there was no reason for bringing the chamfer down so low, as was supplied by the window at the north-east.

It is difficult to believe the aperture of whose opening an account has just been given, and the other Norman arch to the east of it, to have been anything else than original external windows. Yet it must not be concealed that there appears no way by which the former can ever have been glazed; not only is the usual groove not to be found, but there is no space left for it; all is splay. Still it is easier to believe that the windows were glazed,

[1] It is, however, an extraordinary fact that on the piece of wall thus brought to light were manifest signs of *whitewash*, a state of things certainly repugnant to our ordinary notions of mediæval proceedings. Perhaps as the use of whitewash in Wales is now more extensive than elsewhere, it may also have been of earlier introduction. I have somewhere read of a Spanish church whitewashed about 1480.

or otherwise filled up, in some unusual manner, than that they served any other purpose. It is almost impossible to imagine that Bishop Urban's nave had aisles divided from it by a wall perforated in this manner. *Choirs*, indeed, are occasionally surrounded by a wall, continuous, or nearly so, but even they do not present such appearances as these. At the same time, even this view would only be the greater of two not inconsiderable difficulties; for we shall soon find reason to believe that, if this was not its original condition, it is one to which it was actually brought by a subsequent alteration.

Supposed Clerestory.—And there is another question, to which I should not myself have attached much importance, had it not been supported by the opinion of the Dean[1] and Mr. Prichard. Both of them infer from the plate in Dugdale, supported by the circumstance of many fragments of shafts and other Norman fragments having been found imbedded in the walls, that there was an upper—a quasi-clerestorial—range of windows, if not a regular triforium and clerestory. The plate does certainly represent an upper range of round-headed windows; and though no one would, under ordinary circumstances, build anything on the authority of representations in which to represent pointed arches—especially if at all obtuse or four-centred[2]—under the garb of round ones,

[1] The Dean seems to take the existence of *some sort* of clerestory for granted, without remarking on the singularity of the double range of windows.

[2] Sometimes indeed when they are quite the reverse; any one who was left to form his notion of the central tower at Hereford from

is almost the general rule, yet in the present case they do derive something like trustworthiness from having represented the lancet windows in the nave clerestory with tolerable accuracy.[1] Still I must confess that I should require some much more unsuspected witness to convince me of any point—especially one of so minute a character as this—against which there rested any important *à priori* objection. Now this view requires us to admit one of two things, both so unusual and anomalous that I can hardly believe either, unless it were supported by some direct and trustworthy evidence. If the openings in the south wall of Urban's nave were genuine windows—however glazed or otherwise closed—we then have two ranges of windows over each other in the sides of the aisleless Norman nave—a thing certainly not impossible, as it is common in transepts, but hardly to be credited without some stronger testimony than this. The other alternative—that is, if we conceive the apertures to have been *originally* blind windows into a quasi aisle[2]—is that of the ordinary double or triple elevation, with the pier-range assuming the form of such a series of fenestriform perforations looking into the aisle. Surely to accept either of these alternatives we require some stronger evidence than an old and inaccurate engraving.

Dugdale's engraving would conceive it to be a specimen of rather plain Romanesque.

[1] Yet the same plate adds a row of buttresses to the aisle of the presbytery, which one can hardly conceive having been destroyed.

[2] If this *was* the case, I should be half inclined to accept the upper range of windows, as otherwise Urban's nave would have had no direct lateral light at all.

And one of these we must admit on the south side; on the north, as the traces of Norman windows do not appear, there *may* have been an aisle, with an ordinary pier-range. But one certainly would not expect Urban's church to have been thus lopsided, and as there is some Norman masonry in the north wall—which is proved by the fragments of the string discovered there—the Decorated arches must have been substituted for Norman ones under a Norman clerestory,[1] a possible process, but one not to be lightly imagined. Further, if there were such an upper range, the masonry of the walls must have been nearly or quite as high as at present, so that either the difference in height between the nave and the choir must have been much greater than was usual in Norman churches, or if we suppose Urban's choir to have been higher than the present Lady chapel—no very probable supposition—we should have an unusually enormous blank space over the chancel-arch.[2] And as for the fragments of Norman detail found in the walls, even on

[1] Pier-arches cut through blank walls, as at Cuddesden, Oxon, and Iver, Bucks, are common enough—though it is *not* common to find, as in the latter case, Norman arches cut through a Saxon wall—but I do not at this moment remember an instance of pier-arches thus substituted for earlier ones. There may, however, be such, as piers inserted under earlier arches certainly occur, as in the choir of St. Cross, and in Burton Latimer Church, Northamptonshire.

[2] I believe, if we came to examine, we should find that the very great blank space over Norman chancel arches of any width—I do not mean such apertures as those in Gower—is usually to be attributed to a subsequent increase of height, either actually, by raising the walls, as where a later clerestory has been added, or as far as internal effect is concerned, by the removal of the original flat Norman ceiling.

our view, the original west front, the original choir, the windows in the north wall, would furnish a very good supply of such.

We have thus made a fair guess at the general plan of the first Norman Cathedral of Llandaff, a building which, small as it was, perhaps as much surpassed its British predecessor, as it is itself surpassed by the stately fabric into which successive ages have developed it. If our view of its plan and dimensions be correct, it must have been altogether different from every other English Cathedral; however appearances may be explained, it can hardly fail to have been unique in some point. And yet, according to the notion of it already drawn out, it might not, except in its diminutive size, have deviated wider from the ordinary type than does its successor. And I am persuaded that it is to the small size of Bishop Urban's church that much of the singularity of the present building is owing. For since his time, the church has never been entirely rebuilt from the ground; subsequent changes, exactly as in the case of Dorchester already alluded to, have consisted entirely in additions made in every direction to the original diminutive fabric; Urban's cathedral was lengthened, widened, heightened, but it still remained the germ and nucleus, around which all the creations of later ages gradually arose. Under these circumstances it was hardly possible for the church to acquire the true cathedral outline. That can hardly be obtained except by a direct design, embracing it from the first, and such a general design for the whole church has never been drawn out at Llandaff since the days of Urban.

I remarked above that, while a great analogy exists between Llandaff and Dorchester, the former approached much more nearly to the genuine type of a minster; that though the cathedral outline is wanting to the general effect of the whole pile, the several parts taken alone are conceived on much the same notion as those of other great churches, while at Dorchester this is far from being the case. The key to this diversity will, if I mistake not be found in an important difference in the manner in which the enlargements were effected in the two cases. At Dorchester there is no reason to suppose that the original arrangements of the Norman church have ever been disturbed; the nave has received the addition of a single aisle, the choir that of one on each side, as well as a great accession of length; yet the nave still remained the nave, and the choir the choir. But at Llandaff we have reason to suppose the case to have been in this respect altogether different; the most reasonable way of explaining the appearances presented by the cathedral is to consider that Urban's church was indeed preserved, but not retained for its original use; that his nave and choir remained as the presbytery and Lady chapel respectively of the new building, while the main body of the fabric, the nave and choir, were built independently of it to the west. This extension westward is precisely similar to what is usually supposed to have taken place at Exeter; where the present nave is built westward of the Romanesque[1] building which occupied the site of the

[1] The Romanesque church at Exeter can hardly fail to have been something well nigh, if not quite, as unique as Llandaff itself. I shall

present choir. It may also perhaps account for the singular position of the west front with regard to the steep descent reaching almost to its portal. Striking as the effect is, it is one which is more likely to have been developed incidentally than to have been intentionally sought for by an architect; and if the church has been lengthened, if the original west front was therefore much farther from the bottom of the hill, the former would have been the case.

If then the early English nave and choir were built independently, preserving Urban's church nearly intact to the east of them, it is clear that nothing would hinder the architect from producing a nave and choir, taken alone, of genuine cathedral character; while the presence of the original small design, even as a mere appendage, could hardly fail to have somewhat hampered his design, and produced a confusion of ideas hardly compatible with the production of a structure recalling, in its general ground-plan and outline, the fulness of the usual cathedral pattern. We thus understand the omission of the transepts; had they existed, they must have been placed either between the nave and the choir, or between the choir and presbytery, that is, either across the centre of the Early English work, or between it and the original church. Now the length of the nave and choir is not sufficiently great to have been crossed by a transept,

have presently to remark the—on any explanation—unusual position of the towers forming the present quasi-transepts; it is hard to conceive that a complete cross church with a third central tower ever existed to the east of them.

even without a central tower; with the present height it would have been almost ridiculous. Nor could the transepts have occupied the more eastern position with much better effect. In that case Urban's church would have formed the eastern limb, and it is clear that so diminutive a structure would have had a much worse appearance when thrust into a position of such unlooked for prominence, than when retained simply as an adjunct at the one end of an oblong structure. In the former case its retention could only have been temporary, until a more proportionate eastern limb—whether choir or presbytery—could have been provided; yet everything argues at all times, much more at this period, an intention of retaining it permanently, so far at least as not to involve a complete rebuilding from the ground.

I venture then to propose this theory as one which, though it may sound somewhat startling at first, will I trust, be found on the whole to explain the difficulties and singularities of the cathedral more completely and consistently than any other. If any one will suppose that a Romanesque church ever existed, or was designed to exist, occupying the full extent of the present nave and choir, he has still to account for a presbytery and something beyond it—to the east namely of the great Romanesque arch—fully as unique as anything which is involved in the view which I have just drawn out. For, besides the question as to the fenestriform apertures in the south wall of the presbytery, which is an equal difficulty upon any view of the subject, this view would suppose a Romanesque church of a

very extraordinary kind. On my view of Bishop Urban's church, the only difficulty is the erection of a cathedral church on a parochial type and scale. But if the present presbytery were the presbytery of a Romanesque building—whether ever completed or not is of little consequence—that building must have been of a considerable size; one can only conceive it to have been designed as the eastern limb of a cross church, following the common Norman arrangement with the choir under the central tower. If so we should naturally have expected the presbytery to terminate in an apse, instead of which we have a large arch, like a chancel arch, and something beyond, an arrangement of which I am not aware of any instance early in the twelfth century. The apsidal arrangement, we all know, was the prevailing one in large churches even a good half century after Urban's time, and the exceptional cases—all, be it observed, much later than the present—as St. Cross, Oxford Cathedral, &c., give us simply a presbytery with a flat end instead of an apse; or, as at Romsey, a retrochoir of utterly different character, and far less importance than that which, on this supposition, we must imagine at Llandaff.

I believe then that Urban built only a small, though highly enriched church, consisting only of a nave and chancel, with possibly a polygonal tower on one side; and that his nave survives in the present presbytery, while the Lady chapel occupies the site of his chancel.

§ II.—Early English Additions.

Bishop Urban died in 1133,[1] leaving, as I conceive, a small edifice completed; as appears to the Dean, a large one unfinished. "We may conclude then," he continues, "that the presbytery had been completed before the middle of the twelfth century—but this alone; for no other trace of so early a date appears throughout our whole fabric. The remainder of the choir and nave would naturally have been the next portions taken in hand." We agree then in holding that no structure earlier than the present nave and choir ever occupied their site; the difference is whether they were a continuation—allowing for change of style—of Urban's church, or were erected altogether independently of it, treating the latter much as the Dean supposes Urban to have treated the original British building.

Date of the Nave. — If then Bishop Urban's Cathedral was the small structure which there is every reason to suppose it to have been, the changes by which the church was brought to its present state could not have commenced very long after its completion. The enlargement of the building began while Romanesque architecture was still not quite extinct, and was concluded (for a time) in the earliest days of the pure Lancet style. The west front, in which this style appears in its perfection, the Dean attributes to "the episcopate of William Saltmarsh, from 1185 to

[1] Godwin.

1193, and the interior of the nave and the chapter-house to his successor, Henry, elevated to the see from the priorate of Abergavenny, and holding it till 1219." Mr. Rees, in a note to his history of Abbey Cwmhir,[1] seems inclined to place it still earlier, if indeed he does not conceive it to be the genuine work of Bishop Urban. But leaving this last view, which can be paralleled with nothing except the notion that Coutances Cathedral was built in the eleventh century, even the more reasonable date assigned by the Dean is hardly consistent with the facts of architectural history. No recorded building of so early a date is anything like so advanced as the west front of Llandaff. The Dean refers to Canterbury choir; but that structure, commenced by a foreigner, William of Sens, is, not unnaturally, far more advanced than any contemporary building in England. And even this bears no resemblance to Llandaff; Canterbury is the most decided possible case of Transition or intermixture; its Corinthianizing columns, and ornaments half Romanesque, half Gothic, have not the slightest similarity to the clustered piers and pure Early English details of Llandaff. No English building of 1180, or even 1190, can rank higher than the Transition; many are still decidedly Romanesque, late, indeed, in character as well as date, but yet not Gothic, or even Transition, but still Romanesque. Our finest naves in that style, Peterborough and Ely, were actually in progress at the time that we are told that a pure Lancet structure was being executed at Llandaff.

[1] *Archæologia Cambrensis,* Vol. IV., p. 247.

The earliest genuine Lancet work known is certainly to be found in the low eastern aisles at Winchester, commenced about 1202 by Bishop de Lucy. And even these are in advance of their age, as much later work is often not clear of Romanesque. The nave of Wells, completed in 1239,[1] is Early English, but by no means free from traces of the preceding style. And to come nearer home, and to an example less advanced than Wells, the choir and transepts of St. David's Cathedral, which appear to have been rebuilt after the fall of the tower in 1220,[2] though they agree in some points with the work at Llandaff, and have shafts of the very same keel form to which the Dean has called attention, are yet decidedly far less advanced, and from the Romanesque details still employed in their capitals and arch mouldings, can only be considered as Transitional. And though nothing is more common than to find architectural forms in use at a period *later* than their ordinary date, as the work at St. David's just mentioned, yet to assign them to one *earlier* ought not to be done without most cogent demonstration. To suppose the former is only to suppose an old-fashioned taste in a particular architect, while the latter involves a revolution in the received ideas of the history of architecture. And though the fact that work of any particular kind in Wales is usually, from the length of time which innovations took to find their way

[1] Mr. Rees, in the article on "Cwmhir Abbey," antedates this nearly a century, assigning it to "Bishop Robert, who held the see from 1139 to 1166." Cwmhir itself may have been *founded* in 1143, but the arches he describes must be nearly a hundred years later.

[2] Some parts are as late as 1248.

into so remote a country, considerably later than similar work in England, would not apply in its full force to cathedral churches, still Llandaff is not exactly the place in which one would look for architectural developments so far outstripping those of all contemporary buildings.

We may then most probably attribute the Lancet work of the nave and choir, both the west front and the arcades, to a date not earlier than 1220, which seems to agree very well with its character, which exhibits the style when it has just worked itself free from Romanesque elements, and yet has not attained the same fulness and freedom which we see at Ely, or in St. Mary's at Haverfordwest.

External Walls.—Our next question, then, is as to the two doorways, north and south of the nave, which would appear to point to operations going on at some period intermediate between the time of Bishop Urban and the date just fixed. These are quite late Norman; the southern one, indeed, contains no detail actually inconsistent with the purity of that style; but even a slight comparison of it with the early Norman work in the eastern parts will show that architecture had made no inconsiderable advance in the interval between the two. On the north side the case is yet far stronger; there we have in the label the genuine tooth-moulding of the Early English, though certainly not in at all an advanced form. Yet a doorway containing such a feature must be called at least Transitional, and there seems no reason to doubt but that this doorway and its fellow are

of the same date. Now we must remember how very long the use of the Romanesque doorway, not only with the round arch, but often with actual Norman detail, prevailed, especially in some districts,[1] even when in other respects the Early English style was fully confirmed. Now I must confess that, from my experience of not a few similar examples, I should not think it altogether monstrous, if the evidence looked at all that way, to regard these doorways as actually part and parcel of the Lancet work. Still one would not suppose this without some cogent reason, and in the present case the evidence is at least doubtful. For the doorway, which is certainly part of the Lancet work, namely the portal in the west front, though it retains the round arch, has quite cast off all Romanesque detail. We may therefore fairly suppose these doorways to be a little earlier than that. Not that we need imagine any erection to have taken place in this part of the church after Bishop Urban, which was destroyed to make room for the Early English nave; all that we need suppose is, that the aisle walls were built before the arcades, and the stoppages which often took place, or even the mere slowness with which such great works were carried on, will allow us ample time to account for the slight advance of style between them.

In the eastern part of the church we have a small portion of work which is probably contemporary with

[1] Especially in Northamptonshire, a county several of whose localisms, characteristic, though, of course, not absolutely distinctive, have, somehow or other, found their way to Llandaff. I may refer to a paper in the *Ecclesiologist*, No. LXXXVI., p. 289, and to my "History of Architecture," p. 324.

these doorways; this is the vaulted bay leading to the chapter-house, already mentioned as being probably originally the base of a Norman tower. The work here, both in the vaulting-ribs and two of the capitals, (two being pure Early English,) retains a considerable Romanesque tinge, and is clearly earlier[1] than the Early English of the nave. One can hardly doubt but that it assumed this form with intention to be made the entrance to the chapter-house, though that building, as it now stands, probably followed the erection of the other Lancet work in the church.

The arrangements of the church were thus completed, as to the interior of the fabric, much as they still remain, the nave and choir being added to the west of Bishop Urban's work, (except probably one bay of the latter taken into the choir,) while his nave became a presbytery, and his choir a Lady chapel.

Eastern Towers.—One very remarkable circumstance connected with this extension remains to be noticed, which, if my view be correct, shows that its designers contemplated a very different external outline of the

[1] On further inspection, I am less clear of this. The western arch of the vaulted bay is, in its masonry, clearly of a piece with the vaulting, while, in its architecture, it does not differ from that of the choir and nave. I must again remark that it is safer to attribute the Transitional work to an unusually late period than the pure Lancet to an unusually early one, and it is no great marvel to find contemporary work, even in the same building, widely differing in character, especially about this period. But this need not affect the doorways; that part of the aisle walls may well have been commenced before this bay was vaulted and cased.

cathedral from what at present exists. I allude to some singular appearances in the eastern bay of the aisle on each side of the ritual choir. This pair of arches are continued of the same height as the other members of the arcades, but a considerable portion of their height is blocked, and a much smaller arch, but of the same date, formed beneath. In the choir itself no reason appears for this deviation from the general design, but on entering the aisle the cause is conspicuous enough; the intent was, by strengthening the piers, to find abutment for a large arch thrown across each aisle from this point. The arches themselves do not exist, but their spring may be very clearly seen against the flat inner surface of the piers at the points marked c in the ground plan. Unfortunately no traces are visible against the aisle walls, as these have been rebuilt from the window-cill at a later period; and, as the arch died into the wall, nothing can be looked for in the way of bases of shafts. In fact there can be little doubt but that the arches were destroyed when the reconstruction of the walls took place.

But what was the end and object of these arches? I strongly incline to believe that they are the western arches of a pair of towers, the original Romanesque tower-porch, if such it really was, being destroyed or left unfinished, and its base converted into a passage to the chapter-house. On the south side the eastern arch also is distinctly visible, a strong arch of construction thrown over the lower one leading into the vaulted bay. On the north side the springing of the eastern arch cannot be traced in the same manner as in the other

places; but there is an extreme roughness of masonry at the point whence it would have risen, so that it may be merely that it has been more effectually destroyed than its fellows. The Early English design then embraced two steeples flanking the choir, while two larger ones flanked the west front. Regarding the choir as, what architecturally it is, a portion of the nave, and the presbytery as the architectural choir, the position of these towers would have been exactly similar to those at Exeter, except that the latter have the aisle between them and the main body of the church, while these at Llandaff must have risen out of the aisles. The difference, in fact, is just analogous to the different treatment of west fronts; the Llandaff arrangement answers to the common west front with towers terminating the aisles, while that of Exeter recalls the fronts of Rouen and Wells, where the towers are built beyond the line of the aisles.[1]

The towers thus placed must have served very much to break up the flat and heavy outline of the church, and must have imparted a good deal of German character to it. But on any circumstances of shape, design, or finish, it is in vain to hazard conjectures; it is indeed very doubtful whether they were ever finished at all, and, if so, they were doomed to destruction in the course of the century after that in which they arose.[2]

[1] Not only recalls, but is actually the same, if it be true that the Exeter towers are the western ones of a Romanesque church which has been extended westward.

[2] It has been suggested to me that these arches were intended to

South Aisle of Presbytery.—To return to the aisles, there seems reason to believe that some alteration took place in the eastern part at some stage of this extensive repair, of which hardly any traces remain. It is by no means impossible but that aisles were added to the presbytery, as suggested above, but at present without disturbing the original Romanesque walls. The evidence on which this supposition rests is the fact that the eastern arch of the vaulted bay is clearly part of the Early English work, and as it must have opened into something, some building must have been added to its eastern face at this, or an earlier period. But no trace of it remains, and its outer walls must have been completely rebuilt afterwards, as the rubble wall of the aisle immediately adjoining has no connexion with the excellent ashlar from which the arch springs,

lead, not into towers, but into short transepts. This is hardly possible; one might imagine transepts the full height of the choir and yet not projecting beyond the aisles, as at St. John's Church, Coventry, or again transepts no higher than the aisles, but projecting beyond them, as in very many parish churches. But here the arcade shows that they were not the full height of the choir, and the chapter-house that they did not project beyond the aisles; for in that case the south transept would have left some traces against its southern wall. But a transept which exceeds the aisle neither in ground plan nor in elevation is no transept at all; it is at best what is sometimes called a false transept. But even in this case, one cannot account for the arches between the choir and these bays being lower than the rest; if anything, one would naturally have expected them to be higher; whereas this means of providing a more massive pier by diminishing the span of the arch is just what we continually find in the case of engaged towers, as indeed we find in a smaller degree in the western tower of this very church.

and is divided from it by the widest fissure in the whole building.[1]

If then we are to assign a conjectural date to this extensive enlargement and remodelling of the building, I should consider that Bishop Urban's church remained undisturbed for about sixty years after his decease; and that the nave and choir were commenced by Bishop Henry of Abergavenny. As he is stated by Godwin to have founded fourteen prebends in his church, we may reasonably assign to his personal liberality, and to the zeal[2] with which we may hope his new foundation entered upon their duties, a benefaction to the material fabric whose architectural character corresponds very well with their date. The outer walls, as fixed by the doorways, would suit the date of 1193 very well; and the remainder of the nave and choir may easily have

[1] A point of some difficulty is to be found in the existence of a *pointed* arch, blocked, immediately above the western face of this arch, looking at first sight exactly like that of a window destroyed when the arch was made. A *round* arch would be intelligible enough, but it is hard to conceive any Pointed work being destroyed to make way for this, which itself is not clear of Romanesque. The arch does not go through the wall, and has no splay; from this latter circumstance Mr. Prichard inclines to the belief—which, curious as it is, is by far the lesser crux of the two—that it was merely an arch of construction. If so, its insertion over the excellent piece of masonry below looks as if it had some greater weight to support than at present, and as if its designers had found, and perhaps even intended to preserve, Bishop Urban's tower complete. If so, however, the design must have changed very soon, as its retention would hardly be consistent with the existence of the eastern pair of towers.

[2] Why should not this new foundation in the twelfth or thirteenth century have had results similar and as fortunate as those consequent on the re-establishment of the Deanery in the nineteenth?

been continued through the latest years of his own episcopate and through that of his successor, William, Prior of Gouldcliffe, who died in 1229.

CHAPTER-HOUSE.—Very soon after the completion of the nave and choir, the chapter-house must have been added; its architecture may be considered a little more advanced, as its Lancet windows have foliated heads. We thus have the cathedral temporarily finished a second time, about a century after its first completion by Bishop Urban.

§ III.—DECORATED REPAIRS.

THE LADY CHAPEL.—The whole interior of the church, from the west doorway to the chancel-arch, was thus brought to its present condition, saving the alterations effected by the Bath reformer of the last century. Of the external walls of the aisles we cannot speak with certainty, as hardly any trace of their original state remains, but the whole internal elevation remains unaltered, with the important exception just made. But all this time Bishop Urban's church existed to the east of the splendid fabric which had supplanted it, its nave serving as a presbytery, and its choir as a Lady chapel. The next great work was the rebuilding of the latter part of the church in a more stately form, to which we owe the present very beautiful specimen of early Geometrical architecture, whose character agrees very well with the supposition that Bishop de Bruce was its founder. This

prelate, who is buried in the Lady chapel, filled the throne of Llandaff from 1265 to 1287. His building was a complete erection from the ground, and retains no trace of Romanesque work, except the grand arch opening into it from the presbytery, which shows that the wall between Urban's nave and choir was preserved intact, while the latter was completely destroyed to make room for the present chapel. It has also been subjected to no alteration in any subsequent style.

We thus have architectural works going on in this cathedral almost uninterruptedly through the whole of the thirteenth century; and we consequently find an excellent study of the Early English style, as traced, in a series of pure though plain examples, from its first development out of Romanesque, as seen in the passage to the chapter-house, to its gradual sinking into Decorated, as exhibited in the chapel we are now considering.

Aisles.—Immediately on the completion of the Lady chapel appears to have commenced that extensive repair which has brought the presbytery to its present form, and reconstructed the aisles throughout the church. This appears to have been done from one uniform design, commencing eastward, but so slowly carried out as to present great changes of detail in different parts. We shall see that some parts of the aisles were now built from the ground, while some contain portions of earlier work; but throughout it practically amounts to an entire reconstruction, as no architectural feature of the earlier building has been allowed to remain, except the two

Romanesque doorways in the nave aisles. The general appearance is that of complete Decorated aisles; only, as the lower part of the walls is in some parts original, we may conclude that in the great flatness and want of buttresses which disfigures all this part of the cathedral, the Decorated architect did but reproduce the errors of his predecessor. Internally, as I before said, we owe to this reconstruction of the aisle walls their absence of any testimony as to the appearances which I have supposed to indicate the bases of towers. If these were ever completed, they must have been destroyed at this time.

Aisles of Presbytery.—The reparation which we are at present considering began at the extreme east end of the aisles, and followed so immediately on the completion of the Lady chapel that its earliest portions are actually part and parcel of the same work. The east wall of the aisles is continued from that of the chapel, the buttresses at the south and north-east angles are of similar design, and the same Early English string runs along the east end of both aisles, and, on the south side at least, under the most eastward of its windows.[1] The extent of this first portion of the Decorated work is probably marked on the north side by a singular break in the wall, like an enormously wide pilaster sloping backwards and dying into the wall. As this is in a line with the piers

[1] The string here is modern, but a restoration of the original one; to the north there is at present a *Decorated* string, but I believe conjectural, the old one not having been preserved. I feel sure that an Early English one would have been the true restoration.

of Bishop Urban's chancel arch, we may probably conclude, though the wall there does not appear to afford any evidence, that it extended to the same point of the south aisle also, taking in one bay, namely that attached to the two western bays of the Lady chapel.

The details of this first portion are by no means clear of Early English; besides the strings, we have Early English corbels in the corners of the north aisle; and the window-jambs, though under Decorated labels, belong rather to the earlier style. In the south aisle they have a shaft with a broach above the abacus, in the north a continuous roll with a shaft, but no capital. It will be remembered that the arches into the Lady chapel on each side partake of the same mixed character.

The next portion embraces the two bays forming the north aisle of the presbytery; here the architecture is decidedly Decorated; the two window-jambs are merely moulded without shafts. In the south aisle we have no work of this portion, probably because of the building added to the vaulted bay being still preserved. The only window here is later.

Presbytery.—But contemporary with these two bays, we have a still more important change, no other than the transformation of Urban's Romanesque nave, which up to this point must have remained, internally at least, without any alteration of importance, into the present Decorated Presbytery. The existing arches were now cut through the Norman walls. On the north side, as we have already stated, this was effectually done, two

arches being completely formed, and no trace of the older work, beyond the portion of a string already mentioned, allowed to remain. On the south side we find the extraordinary appearances which have been already commented upon at length.

Again to attempt a conjectural date, which indeed is little more than to write down the name of a Bishop, I should conclude that the Lady chapel and these two earlier portions of the aisles were carried on, slowly probably, but without much actual interruption, during the episcopates of William de Bruce already mentioned, and of his successor John de Monmouth, who occupied the see from 1296 to 1323; there being, if Godwin's computation be correct, an interval of eleven years between the death of Bruce and the consecration of Monmouth.

Aisles of Choir and Nave.—The third period of the Decorated repair brought with it the remodelling of the aisles of the Early English choir and nave in harmony with the recently erected aisles of the presbytery. Throughout the greater portion of their extent the walls were, as has been already hinted, rebuilt from the ground; but there are the following exceptions: First, The doorways in the nave. Secondly, A small piece of masonry continued from that of the vaulted bay in the south-east angle of the south choir aisle; we have here the basement of the south-east tower; the wall being naturally somewhat thicker. But the wall, except a very small portion immediately adjoining the arch into the vaulted bay, has

been rebuilt at least from the cill. Thirdly, On the north side the two eastern bays were probably only rebuilt from the cill, as there is a break in the masonry just east of the small north door, and a marked difference in the basement. I may remark that this north wall, thus built at three or four different periods, presents much irregularity in its direction; at the point of junction between the choir and presbytery it is especially remarkable.

Something was also effected about this time in the south aisle of the presbytery, as is proved by the existing window, which has beneath it a Decorated string. But it is not clear whether the whole wall was built at the first repair, and this window only inserted in it, or whether the western part of the wall was built now. At all events the present wall, as the great seam shows, belongs to some period of the Decorated repair.

With the exception of this window, all the others of this date are uniform; the jambs have octagonal shafts and capitals, and the tracery consists of the monotonous Reticulated form under ogee heads. These are a localism of Northamptonshire, and we find a third assimilation, whether they be accidental or otherwise, to the architecture of the same distant county, in the single exception, the broad window with a flat head.

"The reredos behind the high altar, consisting of a double row of arched panels, flanked by two elegant side arches of entrance to the space behind, of which the cuspidated moulding is singularly light, being so much undercut as slightly to detach it from the upper mould-

ings with which it is connected, appear, from the general character of their execution, to belong rather to the Later Decorated than to the Perpendicular style, though by Browne Willis (in whose time it was surmounted by a third tier of niches) referred to Bishop Marshall, in the reign of Henry VII. His grounds for this opinion were the occurrence of roses, the devices of the Tudor family, emblazoned on the panels; but it is easy to suppose that these, and other decorations, may have been added by that prelate to an earlier structure, as we have it on record that he had been engaged in the general embellishment of the choir."[1]

Perpendicular.—The North-west Tower.—These changes brought the whole church, within and without, in all its most important particulars, to its present condition, or at least to its condition previous to the exploits of Mr. Wood. All the peculiarities in plan and outline, which render it so remarkable, had now been brought to perfection. The Perpendicular period, though introducing one of the most beautiful individual features of the building, was not marked by any alteration at all affecting its general character and proportion. Besides the insignificant insertion of tracery in the eastern windows of the aisles, all that remains, all probably that ever existed, of Perpendicular architecture in Llandaff Cathedral is the very fine north-west tower. This however

[1] Dean Conybeare in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, ut supra, p. 35. Bishop Marshall was consecrated in 1479, translated to London in 1489, and died 1493.

was not built from the ground, as in the lower part, both inside and out, considerable traces of its Early English predecessor exist. It still rests upon the original arches both to the east and the south; in the former Perpendicular corbels have been inserted in a singular manner. Part of the west wall, as indeed we have already seen, including a large portion of the internal jamb of the aisle window, is a relic of the earlier tower.

This tower may be regarded as an exception to the statement made above that the architectural splendours of the two great Welsh cathedrals are to be regarded as something exotic, and not calculated to excite any distinctively Cambrian patriotism. For it has always been attributed to one who was not only a native Welshman, but in whom and whose family the blood of the ancient British princes—if that lofty extraction be a real genealogical reality—was brought into close alliance with the royal houses of England and France, with the blood of Alfred and St. Lewis. It was erected by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards Duke of Bedford, a son of the romantic marriage between Queen Catharine of France, the widow of Henry V., and the simple Welsh gentleman Owen Tudor, and consequently paternal uncle to Henry VII.

This addition, or rather reconstruction, as being the simple re-building, as far as difference of style allowed, on the same plan, of a previously existing feature of the church, must be regarded in itself rather as an incident than as a prominent event in the architectural history of Llandaff. Yet, as the last event till within the last few

years, which can be contemplated with any degree of satisfaction, being the last change in the fabric made during the prosperous days of English architecture, and coming immediately before those storms, real and figurative, which were destined, in the three following centuries, to beat with such violence upon the hapless church of Llandaff, the historian may turn with regret from this conclusion of the most interesting, as well as the most difficult portion of his undertaking.

§ IV.—Decay and Restoration of the Cathedral.

It will not be at all required by my design to enter into any minute history of the steps by which the church which thus took between three and four centuries to bring to its final completion, was gradually abandoned to a state of, in England at least and even in Wales, unparalleled neglect and ruin. It forms no necessary part of an architectural history, and is rendered unnecessary by the copious account given by the Dean, to which I could add no further information. Yet a few remarks on some of the more striking points suggested by it, as well as on the great work on which that venerable dignitary is himself so zealously engaged, will form an appropriate conclusion to our present inquiry.

Of the sixty-third prelate of Llandaff, his successor Godwin gives the following account, his feelings, one would think, being heightened by a prophetic perception that he was himself one day to suffer by the corruption

he records.[1] "Anthony Kitchen, *alias* Dunstan, doctor of Divinity, and sometimes Abbot of Eynesham, was consecrated May 3. 1545. and enduring all the tempestuous changes that happened in the meane time, continued till the 5. yeere of her Maiestie that now reigneth; viz. the yeere 1563. and then died, hauing first so impouerished the Bishopricke by unreasonable demises, of whatsoever was demisable, as there was no great cause he should be so loth to leave it." He was the only prelate who consented to take the oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth, and one wonders that it was not he, but Owen Oglethorpe of Carlisle, who had the honour of placing the crown on the head of the "Maiden Queen."

But though Bishop Kitchen certainly exhibits the famous Vicar of Bray magnified to episcopal proportions, I am not sure whether somewhat hard measure has not been dealt him when he is arraigned as "the great first cause of these evils."[2] We must remember that from his age dates the severance of bishops from their cathedral churches; henceforth whatever is done or left undone, whatever is preserved, destroyed, or repaired, it is frequently the exclusive work of the chapter, and it is very seldom that a post-Reformation Bishop has stepped forward, like Hacket of Lichfield, in the character of Poore or Wykeham, as the prime mover in a work of

[1] At the time when he published the "Catalogue of English Bishops," Godwin, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff and finally of Hereford, describes himself on the title-page as "Subdeane of Exceter," and it appears from many passages in his work that he was also a member of the church of Wells.

[2] *Archæologia Cambrensis*, ut supra, p. 36.

this kind. It does not appear that Kitchen directly contributed anything to the actual destruction of the cathedral, and the revenues which he alienated, rapaciously and sacrilegiously indeed, would probably have no longer been, in any case, regarded as a fund for its perpetual reparation. Moreover in these alienations, he did no more, though he probably carried the work to a greater extent, than many bishops who have come down to posterity with much better reputation. In adapting himself to the times he only followed the course of many both of the clergy and laity, including among the latter some of the most munificent of Oxford's later benefactors. As to the oath of supremacy, our only wonder is that so many prelates and others[1] refused it under Elizabeth, who had submitted to the more extensive claims of her father. And it may have been owing to some vestiges of conscience that Bishop Kitchen neither crowned Elizabeth, nor took any part in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, although he was twice named in a commission for that purpose, and on the second occasion was actually the only bishop in the kingdom in regular possession of a see.[2]

In fact the desolation of Llandaff is simply the greatest

[1] The explanation is doubtless to be found in a personal feeling. It was known that Elizabeth was prepared to exercise her ecclesiastical supremacy in a manner which Henry had not done; while there can be little doubt that the system represented by him and Bishop Gardiner, a church namely strictly papal in doctrine and ceremony, yet entirely independent of Rome, had, till the cruelties of Mary's reign disgusted the nation with all approximation to the old religion, a decided majority among the people.

[2] See Lingard, "History of England," vi., 668.

instance of what befell nearly all our cathedral and other churches in a greater or less degree. Every cathedral suffered more or less; the Welsh more than the English; Llandaff more than the other Welsh ones. And, if we take in churches not strictly cathedral, Llandaff at once ceases to be the worst example, as the collegiate church at Brecon still remains in a yet more desolate condition; there divine service has been discontinued altogether, while Llandaff has, I believe, always retained the ordinary portion of a parish church. Many circumstances, as we all know, concurred to produce that general apathy with regard to our ecclesiastical structures which contrasts so strangely and painfully with the feelings of preceding times. Most of them are obvious enough; the change in religious belief took away many of the motives which had led to the erection and decoration of churches; the extraordinary revulsion of taste in matters of art greatly diminished the admiration with which the existing buildings were regarded; people were less likely to preserve, repair, or embellish structures which they were taught to look upon as barbarous and void of artistic merit. Proceedings, partly of legitimate policy, partly of wanton sacrilege, had greatly diminished the revenues available for such purposes; while the permission of marriage to the clergy suggested quite different ways of employing what remained. And, in the case of the cathedrals, I am inclined to think that the severance between them and their bishops, already alluded to, gave the finishing stroke to their neglect. A corporation cannot be so easily moved as an individual, its many members cannot

feel the point of honour so acutely; differences of opinion may unavoidably lead to compromises and half-measures. Hence, while the mere *vis inertiæ* makes the worst corporation better—as far as preservation at least—than the worst man, not only is the best man far better than the best corporation, but I am inclined to think the average is better than the average. A resident bishop, really recognized as the head of the cathedral, and feeling his honour at stake in its condition, must in the nature of things have been a better guardian and preserver than a body, open to the general defects of corporations, and besides consisting chiefly of persons only resident for short intervals, and in most cases not recognizing the cathedral as their home, but having the interests most closely touching them elsewhere. And to the peculiar circumstances of Llandaff all this would apply with increased force; elsewhere there were generally many external influences; in most places the cathedral was at least prized by the people, it was the pride and ornament of the city, and the inhabitants of both the city and county felt their honour concerned in its preservation. But in the remote situation of Llandaff—as of St. David's also—its chapter could hardly have been more amenable to influences of this sort than the rector of any country village. And possibly the peculiar constitution of the chapter may have produced an additional unfavourable influence; the absence of a head must ever have been bad; the dean of a cathedral has a direct personal stake and responsibility which he cannot so readily divide with others; a really resident dean fills to a great extent, as far as the fabric is

concerned, the position of a mediæval bishop. We may surely venture to infer how much Llandaff lost from the cessation of the decanal office from what it has gained by its restoration. Much doubtless is always owing to personal qualifications, and I need not say how fortunate this church has been in both the deans who have hitherto presided over it; I only mean that a resident personal head, if a man of any honour and conscience at all, could not but feel a sense of responsibility, which would have been much fainter, if scattered over the consciences of eleven colleagues. Numbers may be a useful check, but it is personal energy which must supply the motive power. Then the constitution of the body of prebendaries was singular, and, as I should apprehend, not conducive to united action. There does not appear to have been the distinction usual in all the elder foundations, between residentiary canons and simple prebendaries. Twelve canons, with equal obligations to residence, would, according to the ordinary system of only one resident at a time, give only a month's annual residence to each, a period not sufficient to create any real interest in the place in a mind the least disposed to neglect its duties. What wonder then, if, with no public opinion to bear upon them, and with bishops even more completely severed from the cathedral than elsewhere, so short a term of residence shrunk into no residence at all, if all care and interest in the place ceased, and the cathedral sank into a worse condition than an ordinary parish church, inasmuch as the only resident persons connected with it, the only ones who could be reasonably expected to feel any love for the

place or the building, were invested with no sort of authority to do aught to arrest its destruction?[1]

Under all these influences, residence ceased, the choral service was intermitted, the fabric was suffered to fall to ruin, piece by piece, without any attempt to arrest or to remedy the progress of destruction. Then came the æra of Mr. Wood of Bath, the æra of plaster, whitewash, urns, and conventicle windows. By his agency, about the middle of the last century, the cathedral was finally reduced to that state from which it is now just beginning to revive. The greater part of the nave—by that time probably the discovery had been made that a nave was a useless appendage to a great church—appears to have been now finally unroofed and forsaken; the choir was "beautified" in the taste of the times, while a small portion,[2] a sort of ante-chapel, was reserved, formed by the eastern bay of the nave, and the site of the rood-loft; this was separated from the part of the church abandoned

[1] Much of what has been here said of Llandaff applies equally to Brecon, with its nominal dean, and body of prebendaries not dissimilarly constituted to those of Llandaff. But it is clear that at Llandaff its position as the only church in the parish must always have prevented a total cessation of divine service; while at Brecon the collegiate church is not the only one in the town. Somewhat similarly all residence and most other features of a collegiate body died out, though very gradually, at Wolverhampton, while its position as the parish church of a large town insured the preservation of the fabric and service.

[2] Somewhat similarly, in Bristol Cathedral, where the real nave has been destroyed, and in Merton College Chapel, where it has never been completed, a sort of ante-chapel or quasi-nave is formed by the crossing, and one or two of the western bays of the choir, the screen being thrust eastward of its natural position.

to entire ruin by the *new west front*. The choir was completely boxed in and plastered, the arches on each side being filled up, while those in what may be called the ante-chapel were spared that degradation; though at the same time the opposition between the arches themselves and the clerestory they supported must have been thereby rendered still more conspicuous. If one can imagine any notion of arrangement or precedent entering the minds of the perpetrators of such destruction, one might almost fancy they intended to recall the appearance of such college chapels as New College, All Souls, and Magdalen. The beautiful range of lancets in the old clerestory gave way to the substitutes which still remain, for no long time we may trust, and numerous other windows of the same character were inserted in the ancient jambs in other parts of the church.

In these changes we have the crowning instance of the utter lack of architectural taste which was so characteristic of the last century. It is sufficiently strange that Italian architecture should ever have been preferred to Gothic; a style utterly confused and inconsistent as a mere work of art to one which is the very perfection of mechanical and æsthetical science; a style alien to our national and religious associations to one which is the chosen offspring of our own creed and our own race. Yet the preference of one style to another is after all intelligible, and we must allow much to that sound maxim, *De gustibus nil disputandum*. One can understand well enough that architects who were capable of designing such structures as St. Paul's Cathedral and

Queen's College Hall and Chapel should have preferred following out their own ideas to imitating the buildings previously occupying their site; the new buildings had so much real merit that a little allowance for fashion and self-satisfaction might well make them appear actually superior to the old. And these were no cases of patching, there was no room for incongruity; the previous buildings were completely destroyed, so that the ground was practically as new for them as for the grandest of all English Italian designs, the Radcliffe Library. Even when Inigo Jones attached his portico to old St. Paul's, though he is open to the charge not only of preferring the worse style of art to the better, but of neglecting the just respect due to an existing building;[1] still he produced an erection not altogether devoid of architectural merit in itself, however incongruous and out of place. To understand the lowest depth, to see what art and taste could come to, it is necessary to undertake a journey to Llandaff. Mr. Wood's performance was not a preference of one style to another, but the deliberate substitution of ugliness for beauty, yet more, the ostentatious rearing on high of ugliness in the midst of beauty. Really the modern choir of Llandaff is in no style at all; to call it Italian is a compliment almost as undeserved as to call it Grecian; it is simply hideous and unmeaning, without reference to any principles of art whatever. A

[1] This charge depends on the question whether the portico was only the first instalment of a general reconstruction of the whole church, or was designed to remain attached to the old building. In the former case the general presumption was greater, but the particular accusation of incongruity of course does not apply.

well proportioned range, even of engaged columns, is after all, no contemptible object, and how grand interiors may be made in the Italian style the structures already referred to may testify. But at Llandaff there is nothing of the kind, there is no architecture at all; it must rank not with St. Paul's and Queen's College, not with Whitehall or the Clarendon, but with the meanest forms of the dwelling-house and the conventicle. The sides are utter bareness, the west front has just enough pretence to render its vulgar display still more glaring. How this *could* be; how such a structure could ever have been preferred, actually and seriously as a matter of artistic taste, to the glorious fabric lying in ruins at its side, is something which I must leave to the moral philosopher to explain; the architectural historian must resign the attempt as beyond his powers. And it is clear from the statement of the Dean that such was the case, and that it was really preferred as a matter of taste; that its hideousness was not the result of niggardliness or want of funds is shown by the large sum—£7000, and that doubtless representing a considerably larger nominal amount now —expended on these alterations. And I cannot forbear repeating from the Dean's paper the judgment of the "Rev. A. Davis," whose name deserves handing down to posterity as its author:—"The church, in the inside, as far as it is ceiled and plastered, *looks exceeding fine;* and when finished, it will, in the judgment of most people who have seen it, be *a very neat and elegant church.*" After this, let no one speak of "churchwardenism" as the acme of bad taste and destructiveness.

And now, in conclusion, for some notice of the great work of restoration now in progress. One would have thought that so noble a design could have been hailed by no one with any other feelings than those of unmixed satisfaction, and that it could have stood in need of no apology on any ground whether religious or artistic. Yet it does seem necessary for a historian of Llandaff to go about to rescue its present chapter from being remanded to the same class of "destroyers" with their predecessors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The architectural world has been recently told, in no measured terms, by an authority which, in one of the kindred arts, is said to be no slight one, that "restoration" is the most complete destruction which can overtake an ancient building. The doctrine that it is the duty of the guardians of an ecclesiastical edifice to leave the church entrusted to them in a state of ruin would doubtless have been acceptable enough to the chapter of Llandaff two hundred years back, but in the present day Mr. Ruskin may be left to enjoy this opinion by himself, as well as to look on the tower of St. Ouen's as being, in his own peculiar phraseology, "one of the *basest* pieces of Gothic in Europe." That the sober warning with which Mr. Petit concludes his volume on Tewkesbury is needed to the letter no one acquainted with the present state of ecclesiastical architecture will deny; no destruction is so complete as that involved in a *bad* restoration; and how very bad a large proportion of the restorations still perpetrated are, every antiquary and ecclesiologist knows but too well. Even where a restoration is good and

accurate, and the building is faithfully brought back to its ancient and legitimate condition, it is too much the custom to repair and furbish up every stone that is in the least decayed, even though the stability and beauty of the building be not the least affected, and so to destroy that air of antiquity which is ever a charm to the eye and to the mind, and is by no means devoid of use in producing devotional feeling. But to protest against restoration in the abstract, to involve the noble works carried on at Llandaff and Ely and Hereford and Stafford and Dorchester, in the same sweeping condemnation with the barbarisms which have made the name of restoration a bye-word, betokens a forgetfulness of the fact that "an old church is not merely to be looked upon as a record of past ages, *but as a valuable bequest for the use of the present;* and therefore such restorations as are necessary to ensure stability, or propriety of appearance, must be fearlessly undertaken."[1]

The force of the argument lies mainly in the words I have given in *italics*. We must always remember that ancient buildings consist of two distinct classes, to be treated on entirely different principles. There are, first, those which are simply *monuments, merely* relics of the past, and incapable of being applied to modern uses; secondly, those which, while equally relics of the past, are also a trust for the present, being employed, or capable of being employed, for their original purposes at the present day. The former class comprises Roman and Druidical remains, and the military structures of

[1] Petit's Tewkesbury, p. 49.

the middle ages. The great majority of these last are now actually in ruins, and the few which are retained as dwellings only prove that the two uses are inconsistent. A castle cannot be employed as a modern house, without spoiling it as a castle, and making an uncomfortable house into the bargain. The second class includes churches, of whatever kind, and those secular erections of the middle ages—chiefly those of a public nature—which are capable of being applied for modern uses. The former class is typified by Stonehenge and Caerphilly, the latter by Westminster Abbey and Hall. From this distinction it follows that the first class are objects of mere *preservation*, the latter of *restoration*. In a structure belonging *wholly* to the past, no modern alteration, or even reparation, should be allowed; in a mere relic of antiquity, simply valuable as such, *any* modern work is out of place; its presence at once destroys the only value of the monument; all we have to do is to preserve, to hinder further dilapidation, we may prop, but we must never rebuild. But in a building belonging *both* to the past and the present, no rational objection can be brought against the introduction of any extent of modern work simply as being modern. It is only against *bad* modern work, or the *unnecessary* destruction, obliteration, or alteration, of ancient work, that we can fairly object. When a structure is still in possession of the existing generation, and is actually employed for present uses, we have two claims upon us, the memory of the past, and the use of the present; in adjusting the exact limits of which the difficulties of the restorer consist.

He has not simply to preserve what he finds; he must continually alter from the present, occasionally even from the original state of the building entrusted to him. He must show the greatest possible respect to the memory of the past that may be consistent with the use of the present, and consult the use of the present as far as is consistent with due respect to the past.

The original error then is looking at a church[1] or a court of justice, a hall or college gateway, as if it were a castle or a cromlech. To this Mr. Ruskin adds the doctrine that when a building is utterly beyond hope, when it is dangerous, or otherwise impossible to be allowed to stand as it is, the best course is to pull it down, and, I presume, if necessary, build a new one. Yet I must humbly conceive that a chapter, or other body entrusted with the guardianship of an ancient building, especially an ecclesiastical one, is not only bound to maintain some

[1] I am not now taking the religious view of the subject; the remarks made above apply equally to all ancient buildings retained for modern uses, whether those uses be sacred or profane; to the Royal Halls of Westminster and Winchester—may the former be preserved to us untouched!—as well as to their respective Minsters. For the same *artistic rules* apply in both cases; in a church restoration we are simply supplied with higher and stronger *motives;* to antiquarian, local, or national feelings, to love of art and beauty, a principle of religious duty is added. But religion simply teaches us that we ought to "repair and keep clean" our churches; taking for granted certain grand principles of arrangement, it leaves to art to tell us how it is to be done. So that when we have reached this point, we may consider the artistic restoration of sacred and civil buildings under one head. I may mention that the body in whose researches the present work originated, the Cambrian Archæological Association, has always been most honourably distinguished by great zeal for legitimate restorations, and correct views on the subject.

fabric for the purpose required, but, under all ordinary circumstances, to maintain, and therefore, when occasion occurs, to restore, that very fabric which they received as a trust. It is not enough that the Dean and Chapter of Llandaff should keep up *some church or other* for the enthronement of the bishop and the devotions of his flock; it is surely their duty, simply as a matter of trust, to say nothing of associations of every kind, to maintain *that very church* which Bishop Urban commenced, and his successors enlarged; even though at last the identity—one amply sufficient for all religious, and most artistic purposes—should be only of the nature of that which existed between the ship whose departure delayed the fate of Socrates and that whose return precipitated that of Ægeus. And this duty they are discharging effectually and nobly.

The work of restoration, commenced under the auspices of the late dean, and continued with no less zeal and energy by his successor, is now gradually advancing from the east end, under the superintendence of Mr. Prichard of Llandaff, the work thus enjoying the great advantage of an architect resident on the spot. The Lady chapel is now completed, and, during the continuance of the repairs, is necessarily the only part of the church employed for divine service. At present the works are actively proceeding in the presbytery. It is the sound principle set forth by the Dean first to complete the whole of that part of the church which is at present roofed, and, so to speak, habitable, leaving, if necessary, to another generation the more difficult and

doubtful task of "the further restoration, or rather reconstruction, of the western ruins."

It is very remarkable that in the restoration of a church which has undergone greater and more barbarous transmutations than perhaps any other on record, there should be so little call for original design on the part of the architect. Enough remains to point out nearly all the most important features; even the destroyed south-western tower may be rebuilt with tolerable accuracy as far as its outline and proportion is concerned. The only important exception is the part just now completed, the clerestory of the presbytery; this was necessarily original: of that of the nave it will be remembered that, by some happy accident, a single fragment exists, just sufficient to indicate its original character. In the rest of the church, we have seen that, even where the windows have given way to Mr. Wood's insertions, enough remained to replace the jambs with perfect accuracy; the tracery alone required to be entirely new. The whole restoration is being conducted, as, in this case there can be no doubt that it ought to be, on the most strictly conservative principle; not the slightest intentional change from the ancient form of any part is to be apprehended, and those portions of the building which are unavoidably conjectural are designed in strict harmony with that part of the ancient work with which they are most closely connected. The execution throughout is extremely good, and the design of the original portions is also everywhere good of its own sort, though in some places I could wish that a design altogether different had been adopted.

The Lady chapel has been most thoroughly and effectually restored; it is only to be regretted that its arrangements—necessary for the time at least—as a parish church take off somewhat from the general effect of its internal architecture. A building, essentially of the type of a chancel or a college chapel, is closely packed with benches like a parochial nave, with hardly any open space even at its east end.[1] In this part of the church all that was to be done was strict and accurate repair, with the single exception of the tracery of the east window; the former has been done most faithfully, and the latter supplied in an appropriate manner from the examples of like style and date in York chapter-house. Externally I must most strongly regret the absence of a high roof; and I am indeed at a loss to conjecture on what ground a low[2] one has been adopted in a structure where, as a mere matter of precedent, it is all but a solecism,[3] and where, what is of more importance, the general effect of the whole build-

[1] I am not sure that all the existing arrangements of this chapel would be approved, even under the pressure of its very peculiar circumstances, by my friends of the Ecclesiological Society, but I purposely abstain from everything which can in the least degree tend to anything like ritual controversy. The conventional proprieties of such points are not to be despised, but it is not always desirable to mix them up with purely architectural considerations.

[2] I believe I may do more than hope that the high gable standing free at the east end may shortly be removed. Anything is better than unreality.

[3] I apprehend that, in England, the high roof was quite universal, except under peculiar circumstances, until quite the later days of the Decorated style. Warmington and Barnwell St. Andrew's are early instances of the low roof, but there the special reason is plain, having not to interfere with the belfry windows.

ing imperatively demands it. Even at present, with the high roof of the main fabric confined to the narrow limits of the presbytery, the contrast begins to be painful; and much more will it be so when the low-roofed Lady chapel forms the termination to the long line of steep roof stretching along the whole nave and choir. Its effect, which may be judged of from the ideal representation which I have given, will be a most thorough *break-down*. A high roof would doubtless have blocked the new east window of the presbytery; but the latter I cannot consider as of anything like the same importance in the general estimate of the church, and might still have remained, if thought desirable, as an internal ornament. And we must remember that the clerestory of the prebystery is conjectural; we do not know for certain what the old one was; to justify so important a deviation alike from beauty and precedent we ought at least to have it demonstratively proved that there was a Decorated east window to the presbytery and that the roof of the Lady chapel was lowered to make room for it—I shall never believe but that it had a high roof originally; and even in that case I am not quite sure that we should imitate such a proceeding, and ruin the effect of the whole chapel—I might almost add of the whole cathedral —for the sake of a single not very prominent window.

This clerestory of the presbytery I have already mentioned as the only part of the church where any great extent of absolutely original work was required; and I have also, in an earlier part of the volume alluded to its excellent effect, and to the happy manner in which

the general type of the earlier work to the west of it has been translated into a later style. There can be no doubt that the course pursued has been the right one in selecting the Decorated style for this portion. Though its predecessor, whatever it was, had been entirely destroyed, it is certainly most natural to conclude that a clerestory would be added when the Decorated arches were cut through, if none previously existed; and we have seen the difficulties attending the belief that there ever was a Romanesque clerestory; nor is it probable that the Early English one of the choir would be continued into the presbytery, which seems not to have been at all affected by that enlargement. At any rate, none now existing, it was clearly advisable to adapt the clerestory to the now mainly Decorated character of the presbytery; and the result internally is exceedingly good. Externally it is less pleasing; the contrast between its two independent windows and the range of couplets and pilasters in the nave and choir—a contrast internally precluded by the arch between the choir and presbytery—will be found unsatisfactory, but was, of course, unavoidable. Still there is a bareness in the parapet which need not have been, and which contrasts unpleasantly with the beautiful open-work which now fringes the aisle below.

But the greatest fault is the roof, an open timber roof, instead of a vault. I do not see how this can be justified even by the peculiar quasi-parochial appearance of this cathedral.

The selection of the tracery is very judicious, being just on the turning-point between the Geometrical of the

Lady chapel and the Flowing of the western aisles. That in the large flat-headed window is, with equal propriety, of a later type than any other in the church.

The arch between the choir and the presbytery—the chancel arch as it would be with the ordinary ritual arrangement—is also new; it has a very good effect, but I greatly fear that it is carried so high as to interfere with the vaulting of the presbytery, and the flat ceiling of the nave and choir. So strongly do I feel on those points that I should like to see it reconstructed at a lower level.

In the choir itself the arches blocked by Mr. Wood have been opened, but the clerestory and roof have yet to be reconstructed, and new fittings are required throughout, the existing screen and stalls, though evidently retaining the old arrangements untouched, being of the most miserable character possible. The execution of this repair would complete the restoration of the habitable part of the church, leaving, as was above-mentioned, that of the ruined nave to a future generation. If funds are not available for the whole, this is clearly the right course. Yet, if a sum sufficient for so great a work could be forthcoming in these days, the nave and choir are so strict an architectural unity, and the building is brought to so lame and impotent a conclusion by Mr. Wood's west front, that it would be far preferable for the whole of the Early English work to be executed at once. At present the cathedral will have nothing worthy of the name of a nave, only a sort of diminutive ante-chapel; while could the whole be restored

at once, the long vista from the arch into the presbytery to the unrivalled western triplet, would be surpassed by no church whatever of its own scale and style. And I would again put in a word in favour of the flat ceiling, so clearly intended in the original design, and which, in the full length of the restored nave, would have far more justice done to its general effect—one, I imagine, greatly depending upon length—than in the confined space of the present choir and ante-chapel.

The restoration of the nave will be a great trial of constructive skill. Except in the south-west tower, the whole design, both in composition and detail, can be recovered with absolute certainty. But how far the shattered and broken fragments of the arcades will admit of sustaining any weight, and of being again employed in connexion with the necessary modern work, is altogether another question. The course clearly is to preserve whatever is sound, and to reconstruct the rest, even should it involve, what I should hardly conceive would be requisite, a complete rebuilding from the ground. Ordinarily to patch up a ruin, to do anything more than preserve it from further dilapidation, is a barbarous absurdity. This remark of course applies most fully to all military structures, and is also equally applicable to most ecclesiastical ruins. The cases in which a positively ruined church, as opposed to one merely disused or desecrated, can be a legitimate object of modern restoration are quite exceptional ones. To repair any church is a good work, but the great majority of ruined churches are in such positions that their resto-

ration to sacred uses had at least better be postponed till we have erected all the new churches at present required, and restored all the old ones still in use to a sound and seemly condition. And even in the few cases where the restoration of a ruined church would be desirable on the ground of church accommodation, the ruin is often in such a state that the erection of a distinct new church would usually be the wiser course.[1] But the ruined nave of Llandaff is altogether an exceptional case; it is no forsaken abbey, for whose preservation no one is responsible, and on which no congregation depends for religious worship; it is an integral part of an existing temple, the cathedral church of a diocese, the parish church of a parish, which, while it remains in its present condition, is at once architecturally and ecclesiastically incomplete. If church restoration be in any case a good work; if art and religion alike require that Llandaff Cathedral should again exist as a whole, perfect and beautiful, we must not be afraid of meddling with the lovely, but still melancholy—and to a past generation disgraceful—appearance of the nave in its present state. Even should entire rebuilding be necessary, it must be dared at all hazards. No picturesque or antiquarian feeling must

[1] I should imagine the Friary Church at Reading might be an exception. It is not simply ruined, but more foully desecrated than any church I ever saw, and probably has few parallels in England. Yet the nave appears to want little more than to be cleared and new-roofed to be again used as a church. I should suppose an additional church at Reading would not be undesirable, and surely some more convenient place—to put it on the lowest ground—might be found for the town gaol.

be allowed to interfere with the thorough carrying out of the great work so happily commenced. Happily there is no fear that any such will be allowed to interfere, but in the present unsettled state of the great question of restoration in general, a vindication of the only right and necessary course can hardly be deemed out of place.

THE END.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 44, line 9, *for* "Larger," *read* "Large."

„ 45, „ 4 from bottom, *for* "ecclestical," *read* "ecclesiastical."

„ 63, „ 1, The expression here is too strong, as I believe the Early English choir at Lincoln bears date a few years earlier than 1200. But, as this stands quite alone, it hardly affects the general argument.

„ 74, „ 17, *dele* "two."

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