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IN EARLY ENGLAND

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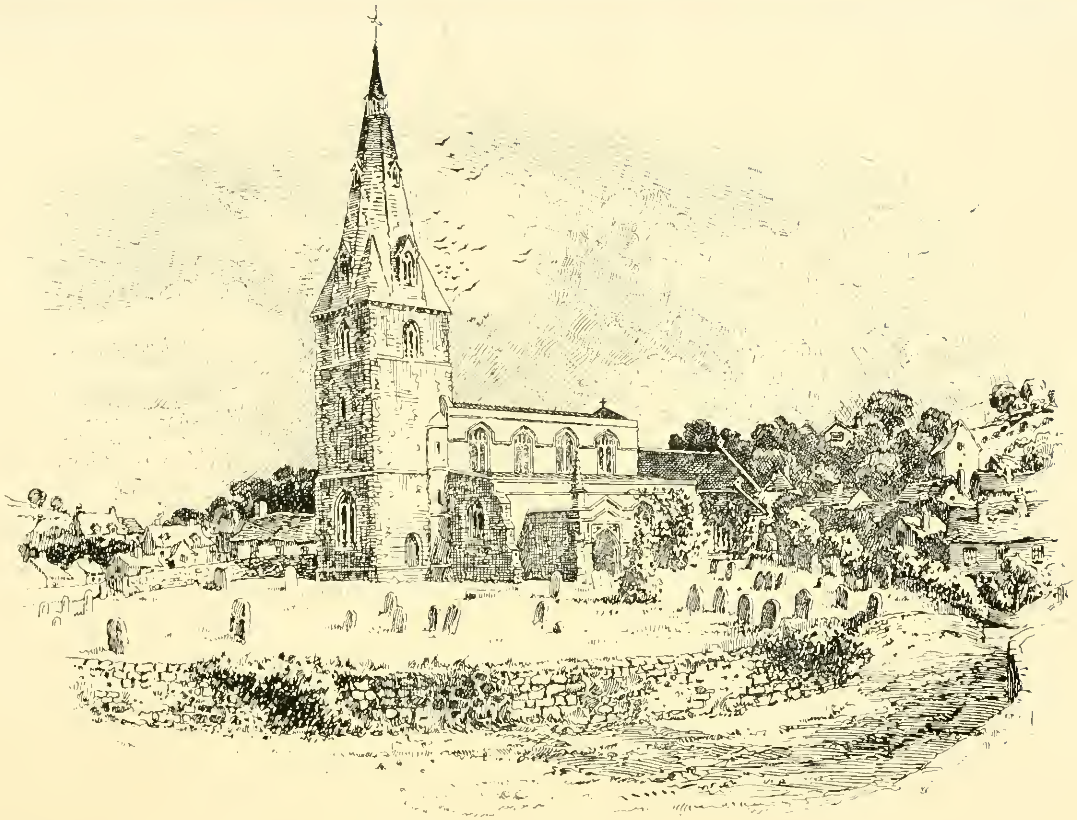

Ropsley Church and Village, Lincolnshire.

The nave of the church is in part of Saxon date.

THE ARTS
IN EARLY ENGLAND

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THE LIFE OF SAXON ENGLAND
IN ITS RELATION TO THE ARTS

LONDON
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DEDICATED
TO MY MOTHER

Prefatory Note

The following chapters deal with some of the facts of religious and social life that underlie the early history of English art. Since it is impossible to write about pre-Conquest churches, or other monuments of the Anglo-Saxon period, without introducing names of ecclesiastics and statesmen and referring to epochs and schools and provinces, it seemed convenient to place the necessary historical notices of these in a connected form before the reader, prior to any technical dissertations on buildings or works of art. The discussions in this volume are intended to assist those who interrogate the monuments of the past concerning their arrangements, their history, and their surroundings. For the immediate purpose in hand the treatment of some of the themes may seem to be carried needlessly far, but in these days many who study with the most lively interest the localities and the monuments of the mother country have not grown up in familiarity with our cathedral establishments, our ancient boroughs, or our country villages, and such may be glad to possess in brief and readable form a connected account of the origin and working of these characteristically English institutions.

The kindness of some who have assisted me with criticism and information has been acknowledged in notes to the text, and thanks are here offered to the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for permission to reproduce plans of Silchester and Skellig Michael. This prefatory note would not be complete without an acknowledgment of the kind consideration always received from Mr. Hallam Murray, as well as of the zeal and taste of my friend Mr. Robert MacLehose, by which the book has greatly profited in its passage through the press.

Most of the illustrations to this and the succeeding volume are from drawings executed by my wife with a loving care for which I cannot be sufficiently grateful. Some of the general views of churches are from the pen of Mr. Percy Wadham.

EDINBURGH, *January*, 1903.

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The Life of Saxon England in its Relation to the Arts

CHAPTER I

THE CHARACTER OF MEDIAEVAL ART

THE interest of artistic history in the Middle Ages centres in the work of the architect, and this was chiefly connected with three great structures, or groups of structures, the Church, the Monastery, and the Castle. These grew to vast and complex monuments that were not only the most characteristic expression of their age, but rank in the history of mankind at large as among the most glorious of human achievements. To fit them for the functions they were designed to serve employed all the energies of craftsmen in stone and wood and metal, while the quaintest fancy, the most judicious tact, guided the fingers of the ornamentalist as he decked them out in their lavish and beautiful adornment in form and colour.

In each of these structures or groups there is attraction both for the student of history and for the lover of art. The one will see in the arrangement and general form of the buildings evidence of the religious and social institutions of which they were the outward expression; the other will analyse with ever-increasing delight the divisions and grouping, the details, the decoration, through which the material masses are made things of life and beauty. On the one side it will be noted how the gradual evolution, from the ages of persecution downwards, of the complicated fabric of the Christian temple is conditioned at every stage by ecclesiastical ideas and customs; how the arrangement of monastic buildings corresponds to the varied needs of a self-supporting community islanded in the midst of barbarism, and follows in detail the special organization of this or that rule or order of coenobites; how the military chief and his band, watched ever by vigilant foes, have worked their arms and defences into accord with all the surrounding circumstances of foray and siege. The material structures have grown around the living societies, as the shell about the living creature, in exact agreement with every part and function, so that it is only by understanding the life that we can comprehend the outward dress in which it was clothed.

On the other side it is equally clear that this substantial vesture of the mediaeval communities was not only a thing of use. In almost every part of it the lover of art finds an interest that is quite independent of any question of utility. The point of departure has been some practical demand for housing or defence, and this has prescribed a certain general form and arrangement of structures and their parts. When this form is imposing and beautiful and this arrangement one of artistic balance, when the various parts are picturesquely grouped and the whole is enriched by significant and lovely ornament, then the thing of use has become a thing of beauty, and it is noteworthy that this transformation is often accomplished without any special artistic intent. The simple structure, that has grown by a sort of happy accident into beauty, has often an attractiveness that we miss in the deliberate composition. What a charm is there for example in the tiny mediaeval fortified town, within the line of a wall that clings anxiously to the sinuous ridge, and multiplies on every face its projections and corners and points of outlook! What picturesqueness in the little houses that huddle together along its winding streets, what variety in the broken masses, the pointed gables, the contrasting lines of the timber work;

in the bold relief on knob and bracket, in the hinge or grille of roughly hammered iron ! Here the touch of the craftsman who was making no special effort after beauty has produced results in their own way as charming as any that the professed designer could conceive.

It will be convenient to devote this introductory chapter to the subject of Mediaeval Art in its most general aspects, with the object of illustrating, as far as may be, the principles underlying this phase of art as a whole, principles that are in a sense as well exhibited in the quaint fancies on the minute and rudely executed Saxon coins of the seventh century, as in the romantic beauty of the vast and elaborate Gothic fane.

That the Middle Ages in Western Europe should have become one of the great artistic epochs of the world is, in itself, not a little paradoxical. The time was not one of wealth and luxury, nor even one of reflection or leisure. Society was continually disturbed, the population as a whole impoverished and ignorant. Two absorbing occupations filled up the lives of all the more energetic characters—the occupations of religion and war—and these were both so imperiously practical that their influence on the output of the arts might have seemed of sinister promise. The mediaeval was an artistic epoch, first, because it inherited the practice of the arts as part of the normal activities of life, and, secondly, because the predominant occupations just referred to, far from repressing the energy of the craftsman, were his most fruitful source of inspiration and guidance. The art of the middle ages was not a new creation of the Christian world, but was the heir of earlier arts that had flourished from time immemorial in classical and barbarian lands. When we call early mediaeval architecture 'Romanesque' we recognize its direct descent from the architecture of Rome, and in all the decorative crafts there is a continuance of tradition partly classical —with a slight oriental infusion—and partly Celto-Teutonic. However much the influence of Christianity may have affected the spirit of these arts, technical processes at any rate—and these are the foundations of artistic activity—remained the same, and mediaeval handbooks and workshop recipes, such as those contained in the technical treatise of Theophilus, are useful aids for elucidating the processes in use in the older days of Greece and Rome.

To explain the extraordinary copiousness with which the productions of mediaeval art were spread abroad on every side, we must attend to its close connection with the prevailing pursuits and interests of the age. When once the fervour of religion had been breathed into the ancient craftsmanship, the activity of the worker knew no bounds, and with enthusiasm ever freshly fed he clothed his world in a vesture of beauty, of which, alas, but a few faded shreds have escaped the corroding touch of time. The great architectural monuments we still possess, sufficient in numbers and preservation for study, but we can form little idea, from their present denuded condition, of the wealth of decoration once lavished in multitudinous forms on their adornment. The walls are there, but the population of statues that filled their niches has grown meagre, the colour and gilding have peeled from the stonework, the glowing windows were long ago shattered. The sacristry, or the museum to which it has rendered up its treasures, preserves only a few isolated remnants of the golden and jewelled reliquaries and censers, of the cups and the book-covers, which once blazed within the sanctuary. Some forms of enrichment have disappeared so completely that we seldom, even in fancy, restore them to our stately minster aisles. Only through the literary records of the time do we even know of their former existence. How little do we realize for example the very large employment in the ancient churches of richly woven and embroidered hangings! The most sumptuous of these may have been the products of oriental looms, but the fingers of mediaeval dames, especially in our own country, were generally busy upon vestment or pall or curtain that should clothe the ministering priest, drape the shrine or tomb, or, stretched between the pillars, partition conveniently the vast and windy interiors. Of the church built by Duke Richard of Normandy at Fécamp in the last years of the tenth century, no fragments of which are now visible, we read that it was plastered without, but painted within with sacred stories, its altars were adorned with gold and gems and carried golden crosses and cups, while gilded candelabra stood before the sanctuary and costly censers were waved within. The hangings were oriental, 'carded by the Phrygian comb and of threads twice dipped in Tyrian purple,' and there were vestments stiff with golden embroidery and jewels, of linen snowy white, of crimson, gold enwrought, or of marvellous 'feathered work' on silken fabrics.[1]

The question of the religious value of this costly fitting and adornment of the Christian meeting-house is one that has given no little trouble to many earnest minds in the Church. There was ample Scriptural authority for display to be found in the Old Testament, where, as a twelfth century writer puts it, God had made known through the mouth of David that He takes pleasure in the splendour of His temple, but in these matters the New Testament writers seemed rather to preach a doctrine of extreme simplicity, if not of ascetic rigour. Hence even some of the Early Christian writers, such as Tertullian, were averse to the cultivation of the arts, while the first champions of the monastic ideal opposed by precept and example all elaboration in the outward apparatus of worship. The rule of Benedict of Nursia prescribed indeed work as part of the religious life, but not necessarily labour on the costly non-essentials of art, while later monastic reformers, such as Benedict of Aniane and Bernard, favoured the attitude that was afterwards adopted still more defiantly by the Puritans. The views thus expressed were however exceptional, and in spite of the existence and periodical re-assertion of the severer ascetic principles, the arts held throughout the middle ages an honoured place among the consecrated activities of men.

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[1] Dudo de St. Quentin, apud Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script. Ant.* Paris, 1619, p. 153.

Both Benedictine and Celtic monks, the former in the classical, the latter in the barbarian world, offered to the arts a refuge in the one safe and peaceful habitation known at the time, the cloister or the monastic cell, and making art in this way a part of their life they gave to it a devotional turn. How much a matter of course it seemed to them, is shown by the remarkable apology for artistic activity as an element in the religious life, that we owe to the German Benedictine of the twelfth century who writes under the appellation of Theophilus. Art in his view is not only a part of human nature, but part of the law of the Universe at large. 'Look around you,' he says in effect to his reader, 'and survey the fabric of creation. It is the work of an artist, of the Supreme Artist who has made all things beautiful in their season. He has gifted you too with a portion of His own nature and has formed you an artist, and you are bound in service to Him to exercise your creative gift and make the most of your affinity with what is beautiful. In the name of religion take up the brush and tongs and mallet, and spare not cost or labour till the House of God that you build and adorn shall shine like the very fields of Paradise.'[1] It was under an avowed religious inspiration, the motive of which is so well expressed by Theophilus, that the enthusiastic monk accomplished such miracles of delicate and ingenious craftsmanship as the metal work and illuminations of the Irish school, or the jewelled book-covers of the Rhineland or Saxony. The adornment was lavished on the holy thing because the toil, the costly material, the taste, the skill, were each in turn a testimony to its intrinsic preciousness. Thus was art transformed into a distinctly devotional act. To the monkish scribe and illuminator the engrossed and emblazoned page was a prayer, and the holy work as it grew would shorten his destined years of purgatory. As Alcuin of York wrote for his Scriptorium at Tours :

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[1] Theophilus, *Schedula Diversarum Artium*, ed. Ilg, Wien, 1874, Lib. i, Praefatio; Lib. iii, Prologus.

> ' Worthy the task each sacred page to fill,
> For favouring grace rewards the writer's skill.
> Better to trace the script than tend the vine,
> The last an earthly work, the first divine ! '[1]

The Church moreover claimed the service of art in a more secular spirit as an educational agency, and developed it in her militant capacity as the instrument of an imposing display. The ecclesiastic, like the warrior, dressed for his part, and when Augustine devised his effective pageants for the meeting with Æthelberht and the entry into Canterbury, he put in the forefront of the procession the standard of a silver cross with a painted image of the Crucified displayed upon a board.[2] The gorgeous ceremonials within the sumptuously adorned and furnished minster had all their place in the Church's scheme of mundane policy, just as in her educational work, in a non-literary age, she relied largely on the pictured panel and on the symbolic suggestion conveyed in carving or metal work.

Nor was war less prolific in commissions to the artist. Imperiously practical, as it has just been called, war demanded of all its impedimenta active service and not show, but the conditions that made the mediaeval an artistic epoch so wrought here, that display became one of the most effective agents for the work in hand. It was not for mere show, but for added efficiency in the camp and in the mêlée, that the sun was made to glint on the warrior's surcoat of crimson silk and gold, on the ridge and hollow of the fluted mail, on the embossed leather and the Damascene filigree in the iron of the horse trappings. The helm which kept safe his head within its walls of steel marked at the same time with crest and plume his progress through the ranks, while the sword with which he hewed his way had won by service its right to the gold and gems and costly fancies of the craftsman lavished on its hilt. A whole minute and sumptuous art, that of heraldry, was brought into being to exalt his personal distinction and pride of race, and he confronted the foe with the insignia of his person and line emblazoned on his shield ; all the arts of the time vied with each other to give to his tomb a glory that should be record and praise in one.

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[1] *Alcuini Opera*, Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.* ser. Lat. ci, p. 745.

[2] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, i, 25, in *Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1896.

The work of the mediaeval artist in western Europe centres, it has been said, in certain monumental structures. It is true that there were forms of art not directly connected with architecture. The carved stone cross or other memorial of the dead, though the work perhaps of the same mason that reared the chancel arch, was not a piece of construction, while the craft of the potter, save in tile-making, is independent of building. The coin and the illuminated manuscript are non-architectural forms of art, and the same may be said of the numberless examples of the craft of the goldsmith and enameller that come under the heading of objects of personal adornment. These all have abundant artistic charm, and even the most utilitarian of them, the coin, exhibits in many of the earliest designs a liveliness of fancy with which we should hardly have credited our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. If we view mediaeval art however as a whole, there is no question that architecture is clearly marked out as the predominant craft of the epoch, and so many forms of decorative art are directly connected with it, that the position accorded in the following treatment needs no further justification.

In the design and enrichment of his buildings the mediaeval artist has achieved results that take their place by the side of all the greatest productions of the art. The French cathedral of the thirteenth century shares with the Greek temple the distinction of representing the highest development of which architecture has shown itself capable. The two buildings are indeed complementary to each other, each possessing characteristic qualities that the other lacks, and the contrasts they exhibit have formed the theme of innumerable aesthetic disquisitions. These last are generally based on the recognition in each case of a predominant character, through which the building becomes expressive of a certain special range of ideas. To refuse to see such expression in an architectural monument is mere pedantry. The Doric shrine, the Gothic cathedral, carry the mind back to the ideals of the ages in which they had their origin. These ideals the buildings in any case adumbrate, if they do not give them articulate expression, and the effect is powerful in virtue of its very vagueness. The pedestalled isolation of the classical fane, the clear-cut precision of its parts, where every ratio of size and place is studied, every profile matured with fastidious attention, are characteristically Hellenic, and by their own language these architectural features convey the central idea which in the moral life, in society, and in the state, the best of the Greeks were for ever striving to realize. Against this Hellenic definiteness and lucidity may be set the comparatively mystical temper of the middle ages, and the cluster of multitudinous details, that in picturesque illusive outlines enfold the thirteenth-century cathedral, are creations just as characteristic of the romance and enthusiasm of the North.

The French Gothic cathedral exhibits in its extreme form this contrast between mediaeval and classical sentiment. The Romanesque churches of an earlier period, with which we are more particularly concerned, occupy a middle position. In some of their aspects reflecting the romantic rather than the classical temper, in others they still betray their descent from the antique. Monuments like our own Durham, or like the majestic round-arched churches of Burgundy or the Rhineland, present as their prevailing characteristic a massive dignity that suggests at once the continued influence of Rome. These round-arched buildings of the central mediaeval period are classical in their solidity and in the predominance of horizontal lines. They exhibit however elements opposed to these, and as a result we obtain compositions more lively and stimulating than those of the buildings of Egypt, Greece or Rome. The chief of these elements is the tower. The growth and influence of the tower is the determining fact in the development of early mediaeval architecture. Later on, the part played by the tower is taken by the vault, which is the key to the evolution of Gothic construction in the France of the latter half of the twelfth century. The earlier Romanesque minster was not necessarily vaulted at all, and when it received a stone roof this was of a form already established in Roman work, so that the addition did not involve any transformation of the general lines of the fabric. The tower is a new, non-classical feature, and in its pronounced verticality it prepares the way for the change in the disposition of the architectural masses which was perfected in thirteenth-century Gothic. English and German Romanesque depends for general architectural effect largely upon the composition of towers in connection with the masses of the fabric, and the highly developed Rhineland minsters of the twelfth century were, as the mediaeval phrase has it, 'girdled round,' 'praebalteata,' with these expressive and beautiful features.

Next to the towers in effectiveness come the divisions of the mass according to the scheme of nave and aisles, transept and eastern apse, with the further modifications due to projecting chapels and porches and western vestibules or 'Galilees.' These represent an advance in complexity of composition from the simpler forms of the Early Christian basilica. The cruciform arrangement, effective in itself and advantageous as leading on to the central pavilion or tower, was only gradually worked out from the ninth century onwards, and the beautiful composition of an eastern end with radiating chapels probably belongs to a somewhat later period. In the relative size and the distribution of these features, the mediaeval architect showed that he had grasped the fundamental principles of his art. Mass, and the due subdivision of mass, the essentials of architectural effect, were to him the primary objects, and so satisfying are these in the exterior view of buildings like Durham or Fontevrault, that the impression of a great work of art is received before we go on to examine either construction or detail. A nearer view results in the strengthening of this impression. The larger details, the openings, the arcades, the piers, are simple and purposeful, and by the continued repetition of the one semicircular form contribute to the general effect of breadth and repose. Yet this classical definition is not carried so far as to eliminate that suggestion of mystery, on which depends so much of the impressiveness of mediaeval buildings. The interior of the Romanesque minster is amplified in effect by a disposition of the masses and the voids, which offers a 'something beyond' in whatever direction we turn our eyes. Professor Freeman has remarked about the Gothic church, in which this characteristic is still more pronounced, 'Place yourself where you will, the view is boundless, nothing occurs to force a limit on the eye in any direction ; interminable rows of columns branch away to every point, arch is seen through arch, every feature suggests something beyond itself . . . even the apertures of the triforium, and the narrow passages of the highest range, give a hint of something yet further, of interminable mazes leading you know not whither.'[1]

Through this characteristic, mediaeval buildings appeal to the imagination to an extent unparalleled in the more severely bounded classical structures, and they derive from this their special hold on our sympathies. Robert Louis Stevenson said somewhere that he liked a great Cathedral, it was the form of mountain scenery that pleased him best. This is a whimsical way of putting the important aesthetic truth that the forms of architecture have not a little in common with the grander aspects of natural scenery.

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[1] *History of Architecture*, Lond. 1849, p. 128.

The effects of mass, of height, of vastness; the charm of complex detail, the mystery of light and shade, we find on the one hand among the hills and forests, and on the other amid the towers and the aisles of our great mediaeval monuments. In both cases the aesthetic impression is largely due to varying effects of lighting. Shadow, which by its suggestion of the unseen increases apparent magnitude, is a potent element in the sublime effect of the masses of both nature and art. We are accustomed to study our great churches in the broad light of day, which fills their empty spaces and pitilessly exhibits to our view the fragmentary monument, the bare altar slab, the ruined shrine. Those who have been fortunate enough to visit some of these immense interiors in the gloaming, or at night when they are only partially illumined, know how they gain in the half-light both in added vastness and in the suggestion of complex beauty in details which we cannot fully explore.

It is at such times that we can reproduce to ourselves the aspect that the church wore in mediaeval days better than in the full light of morning, or while the simplified modern rites are being performed at the rifled altar. We can fancy in the gathering darkness that there are altars and shrines along every aisle, and that every altar has a carved and painted canopy, each monument its screen of cut marble or of gilded iron. We see in imagination the last rays of the fading daylight enter subdued but enriched through the glowing windows, every pane of which is blue or sanguine or green or gold. Anon the silver lamps and the iron cressetts will be lit up, and we watch the faint radiance as it steals along the aisles, kisses the clustered pillars, and dies away into darkness below the fretted vault. Next, the voices of the singers, and the mellow notes of the wooden organ-pipes peal out for evening prayers, and then still later, when all are gone, silence and gloom settle down upon the measureless spaces of the interior. But it is not wholly dark nor all untenanted. There at the extreme eastern end a light is set within the window niche, that through the night its rays may make dimly visible to the watchers the costly treasures piled around some venerated tomb. In their chamber hard by sit the guardians of the shrine, and now and again the footsteps of other vigilant custodians of relic or of treasure wake the echoes of a distant chapel as they tend a lamp or make fast a door. The hours pass away, and there is a stir among these ghost-like denizens of the mysterious shadow-land, and soon from the central tower the deep notes of a muffled bell sound forth the nightly summons to prayer. Pendant lamps are lighted above the altar. One or two ministrants enter the church and pass on into the Revestry to robe. Then along the vaulted aisle or from the southern transept, perhaps still half asleep or moving as if in dream, glide the dark-frocked monks or white-stoled canons to their office of vigil or of matin. The voices rise in the psalm, and echo along the dim and cavern-like nave.

Like the Greek temple, the mediaeval church is artistically complete even without its graceful adornment in carving and in colour. We have dealt with it thus far wholly as a monument of architecture, relying only on the simple elements of effect open to that most austere of the formative arts. Buildings which cover a poverty of constructive design under a surface dressing of expressive detail do not concern us here, for there is no truth more vital in the theory of the arts than that of the essential independence of architecture in relation to all such adventitious aids. In structures which, as we know them, are bare of all enrichment, like the great Doric temple at Paestum or St Front at Périgueux, Greek and mediaeval art make a complete and adequate appeal. The full capabilities of the craft of the master builder are as well expressed in these severely tectonic compositions as on the carved and painted Erechtheium, or beneath the golden domes upborne by jasper walls in San Marco at Venice.

The decorative enrichment of mediaeval buildings, though not essential to their effect as architecture, has at the same time extreme importance. It has been already noticed how manifold were its forms, with what a lavish expenditure of material and skill the vast interiors were made glorious with paint and fretting and the glance of polished metal. The artistic principles involved in this work must now have a word.

As is the case in all epochs when architecture is the predominant art, the place of the carver and colourist was one of subordination. Sculpture and painting, as so-styled 'fine' or 'noble' arts—to borrow phrases not older than the Renaissance—did not exist in the middle ages proper. The chisel and the brush were wielded in the service of the master builder, or at any rate in conscious accordance with the general scheme he had mapped out ; no carver dreamed of setting his sculptured saint on a pedestal as an independent creation, no limner would wrench his storied panel from the altar front to frame it on a wall apart. We must not therefore look to this epoch to supply us with independent achievements in those popular arts, that may rival the masterpieces of other famous artistic periods ; but if this seem to limit on the one side the interest of the art under notice, on the other there is ample compensation. We may be content to forego the statue and the picture of the Greek or Florentine master, for the sake of certain excellencies which characterize the decorative crafts when pursued in the unambitious spirit of the mediaeval craftsman. The absence of the more highly developed manifestations of the arts in question was indeed favourable to the general maintenance in mediaeval work of a very high level of merit, especially in the most important matter of the just adaptation of artistic means to artistic ends.

Hence, though mediaeval carving and painting are limited in expressiveness, and in abstract purity and refinement of form are not equal to those of the classical schools, yet in their general decorative effect they are nearly always right. Subordinate as it is to the larger whole of which it is a part, mediaeval ornament seems to have grown out of the structure to which it clings. It is not, like the enrichment 'applied' by the modern craftsman, an addition, an afterthought, but is as inevitable as the processes of nature, in as intimate relation to the fabric as the flower is to the plant. This is of course specially noteworthy in architectural enrichment, where the supremacy of the structure is always apparent, but the same character runs through mediaeval decorative work in general. It was as if the ornamentalist had schooled himself by architectural work into so thorough a knowledge of the principles of decoration that he applied these instinctively to whatever work came under his hand. His treatment of an arcaded front or storied tympanum, his hewn and painted caps, his spandrel fillings, were not more perfect in their ingenuity and self-restraint than the carvings and coloured medallions on the wooden altar-back, the iron scroll-work spreading from the hinges of the sacristy door, the vast dragon-footed candelabrum of molten bronze, the pierced leafage of the censer-lid.

Moreover, where there was no question of architecture at all, we find the same happy subordination of ornament to a general scheme. The early illuminated manuscript is a case in point. Here, though there is no structure, there is guidance in the form and character of the text upon the severely bounded leaf, and the docile ornamentalist, working from within outwards, has clothed the words in beauty, and so displayed them on the dazzling and sumptuous page that they are as clear in the midst of their elaborate setting as if the clerk had but newly writ them on the vacant folio. This is ornament discreet, well chosen, aptly fitted to its place and function. How different is the artistic effect of these really fine mediaeval manuscripts of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries from that of the later productions of the Flemish and Italian schools, when the naturalistic tendencies of the art of the Renaissance had perverted the decorative instinct, and substituted the too-elaborate miniature picture for the old happily conceived scrolls and flourishes, in themselves quite unpretending, and deriving their value from the justness of their relation to their surroundings! The mediaeval art of Germany, France, and these islands is in many respects a far better subject of study for the modern designer than the more showy and popular productions of the Italian cities, displayed as they are so lavishly, as originals or reproductions, in our Museums of Industrial Art.

The middle ages were accordingly, as we have now seen, the theatre of an artistic activity at once varied and widely diffused, that was carried on by traditional methods handed down from the older classical and barbarian worlds. Except in architecture no single works of transcendent merit were produced, but the general level of excellence was high. The work was all frankly decorative, not aspiring to independent expression, but the laws which should govern this class of productions were so well observed, so busy was the fancy, so just the taste of the craftsman, that, take it all in all, the period was for the arts of ornament one of the most flourishing that the world has ever seen. Lastly, it has been noted how this artistic productiveness was intensified through its ministry to the dominant passions of the time. Art in the service of religious devotion, of ecclesiastical statecraft, of missionary zeal, of ambition, of noble pride, became mixed up with all the feelings and movements of society ; the energies of the producer were thereby quickened, and his imagination in device received stimulus and direction.

To a reader who loves with an intimate personal affection the mediaeval world of art, the foregoing analysis will seem to have left on one side just those features of it which make it most dear to him. The truth is that we may pass over all that is professedly artistic in mediaevalism, may ignore productions like the great architectural monument with its symbolical enrichment, and forget all that art accomplished deliberately for the imposing parade, the display that taught or warned, and we shall still find that, independent of any client's commission or craftsman's conscious effort, in everything that was wrought for human service there mingled a certain aesthetic element that possesses for us a curious fascination. To repeat a sentence already used, there is a special attractiveness in *the simple structure that has grown by a sort of happy accident into beauty*; and it is worth while inquiring how this comes about.

The student of old work knows well that some of the most felicitous results in tectonic composition have come as it were of themselves, in the configuration of structures planned only for the patron's use and put together in the cheapest and most convenient way. In the same manner in the mediaeval workshop the transformation of the thing of use into a thing of beauty proceeded without observation or comment. Some quaintness or elegance of shape, some elaboration of detail, some freak of enrichment, has touched the simple production of industry with an artistic charm. The art of the piece in all probability was neither asked for nor rewarded, but made its appearance because the craftsman would have found a real difficulty in keeping this element out of his work. William Morris has spoken of the constant presence in the industrial products of old time of an element of beauty and interest, on which neither buyer nor seller set any special store, but which regularly made its appearance as if by some natural law. The phenomenon is not specially mediaeval, but it is very distinctively non-modern. That is to say, all through the history of the human race from remote pre-historic epochs, and in every kind of social environment barbarian or civilized, the words just referred to apply, while in the present day it is a constant source of complaint that the whole spirit, and with it the output, of craftsmanship has changed. So completely has this old tradition died out in an industrial world dominated by the factory, that it needs an effort of the imagination to picture a state of society in which this element of beauty and interest was almost inseparable from the objects of use that formed the furniture of daily life. The attraction we feel towards mediaeval work is largely due to the contrast it presents to similar productions turned out in the present day by the agency of the machine, and the difference is one worthy of a brief analysis.

We are speaking here of those qualities in antique work that are to a great extent independent of deliberate artistic intent and of the use of ornament. They consist partly in accidental, or, at any rate, undesigned relations of parts in a complex structure, and partly in a surface texture that follows naturally from old-fashioned methods of manipulation. The charm residing in the first is due to the variety and unexpectedness of the forms that result from the way the mason or carpenter of old time put together his fortress or his cottage, his settle, or his implement of labour or of fighting ; that of the latter to local varieties of light and shade that give play and interest to a surface. Machinery in both respects acts as a solvent of the spell, and this for reasons that a moment's consideration will make clear.

The work of the machine is necessarily both monotonous and smooth, for it can only be employed with economic result when a very large number of exactly similar objects are required. To produce by machinery one single object of a particular kind involves comparatively enormous expenditure. A copy of a single issue of a daily journal could be made by hand in manuscript for infinitely less than it would cost to cast type and set up machinery for printing the same single copy. It is when the copies are multiplied by hundreds and thousands that the cost of each becomes infinitesimal. Hence whatever is turned out of the factory must be produced in great quantities in order to pay, and this involves a predominant look of sameness, a tedious and dispiriting repetition of similar forms. Again, a machine that cuts, or smoothes, or turns, or rolls, must cover large surfaces with an even sweep, and must repeat every operation with exact accuracy. It has a big unsensitive hand, and lays it heavily and evenly over all it reaches. Its operations are incompatible with local variations on different parts of a plane, with that waving and dimpling on the face of wood or metal which give to it life and expression.

It is in contrast to this dull uniformity that we find so refreshing an effect in the broken masses and varied features of mediaeval work, with all the lively play of light and shade due to irregularities of surface texture. These qualities follow just as naturally from the conditions under which the work was carried on, as do the flatness and insipidity of modern articles from the methods of factory production. Whereas household things are now turned out after a single pattern by mechanical means, they were formerly fashioned one by one by individual workers for clients who would take them into personal use. In other words, a certain human interest belongs to the mediaeval product. It was made for a man by a man and not by a machine for a unit of population. Though the objects in question accord with certain well-marked types, yet at the same time no two specimens exactly agree, and there is always room for a touch of the individuality of owner or of maker in arrangement or in fittings. Moreover the constitution, both mental and physical, of the human worker precludes exact repetition and evenness. He cannot, if he would, make two things exactly alike. The strokes of his tool are limited in range and, however nicely guided, can never attain the accuracy of tool-strokes directed by the stays and slots of a machine. A word of caution may here be advisable.

Those unfamiliar with the processes of craftsmanship may need to be reminded that the play of surface, which is so charming in old work, is something very different from the results of unskilful handling or carelessness and neglect in execution. Old work is admired because it is hand-work, and the mark of the tool is there upon it like the autograph of its originator. The implement has however been directed with the most definite intent, and with that ease which comes of perfect certainty as to what needs to be done and how to do it. Just as there is all the difference in the world between the mechanical smoothness, with the consequent deadness of surface, produced by the machine, and the beautiful texture of a fine piece of mediaeval wood-carving or hammered metal work, so there is a difference equally great on the other side between the 'handwriting' of the master craftsman on the stone or silver he has manipulated, and the aimless scribbling of the bungler or the amateur. Finish, as has often been explained, is achieved when the artist has fully carried out his intention in his work, and is not an affair of mere smoothness of surface. Conversely, the texture of finely executed work is not secured by mere roughness and neglect.

This characteristic of the work under notice is well illustrated in many of the varied structures and appliances connected with warfare. We have already seen that war gave to the artist of this period a large amount of effective encouragement, and have noticed some of his professed efforts in monument-making, equipment, and heraldry. Here we think only of products that were made for no end but that of use, and we have already had occasion to point to the small mediaeval fortress as an illustration of the matter at issue. This was simply a work of need that grew up at the bidding of circumstance without any formal design—a nest perched on a rock just big enough to enfold a chieftain and his band, with a ring wall to keep the foe at a distance, and a path of access cunningly laid and barred, all following the natural ups and downs and angles of the site, all wrought in size and shape to match the going and coming, the on-rush, the lying-in-wait, of active and vigilant men-at-arms. It is nature that has made the rampart so flexible in its multitudinous curves. As the wall winds along, there appear from point to point the towers that project to flank an accessible sweep. The arrow-slits streak the surface now here and now there, as the plane of the curtain offers or refuses a range. The machicolations, so like a row of angry teeth, have only a reason where the nature of the site gives an access to the foot of the wall. Note, too, how all the divisions and details of the structures accord with the fashions of attack and defence. They have shot up, or overhang, or part, or recede, or sharply project, because they are not a mere brute mass of barrier that blocks the way, but fellow-workers with the alert defenders—things so resourceful that we could credit them with a sort of human cunning and prevision. For the assailants are protean in device, and every move their restless wit may plan must be countervailed, while material must be at hand to meet by the contrivance of the moment any fresh invention of the enemy. All is brought back to the individual. The personal assailant and defender employing their own limbs and weapons have been provided for at every point, and there is no wonder that the mediaeval Castle bristled with projecting angles and towers, with brattice-work and battlements, and with the shadowed patches of embrasure or loop-hole, and that these various features were on the small scale adapted to the proportions of the human form, but numerous and diversified to correspond with the exacting and manifold duties of the garrison.

How different are the conditions of attack and defence in the modern fortress, which has practically only to resist the reiterated pounding of an unintelligent mass of iron hurled from an engine a mile or two away! There is none of the play and variety of circumstance that obtain when man meets man face to face in keen rivalry of skill and strength, and hence all the material apparatus is machine-like in its monotony.

A typical result of the employment of the machine is the row of workmen's cottages set up in the country where mines or works of any kind are started. There may be a dozen or a hundred of them, but they are exactly alike, because the pieces of which they are composed were turned out in quantities by the machine and must always be joined in the same parts and same direction. Hence the long flat line of front with its unrelieved sequence of doors and windows, the roof unbroken by gables, the plain recurrent chimney-stacks. Turn from this to the old-fashioned half-timber tenement, which, though perhaps not above a couple of centuries old, is yet essentially mediaeval in type and execution. It will be instructive to analyse the qualities of this, as it forms another excellent illustration of the points with which we are dealing.

Wherein resides the charm of these domestic structures? It is to be sought in the first place in the directness with which the buildings express the simple purposes they were meant, in their various parts, to serve. Glance for a moment at the little antique one-storied Surrey cottage, whose four low walls support a steep hipped or gabled roof. At one end there is built out from the timber and plaster wall a projecting part in brick, forming in the interior an ample recess for the fireplace with cosy seats and a tiny window, and narrowing above into a chimney that makes a bold and picturesque external feature. The two portions of the structure are well contrasted; there are composition and effect; and yet, except in the chimney-top, bare utility has been everywhere the motive. Look also at some surviving house of greater pretension, which has preserved the old arrangement of the fifteenth century. There is here a long central façade, broken at one end by an oriel window and crowned by a high pitched roof with projecting eaves, while at each extremity of the building the wall rises higher and is crowned with gables facing to the front.

The composition corresponds exactly to the distribution of the spaces within. The long central part encloses the hall, the oriel window marks the dais, each gabled end betokens private rooms or offices flanking the hall at either extremity.

In the next place we may notice a certain picturesqueness due to methods of construction, the effect of which is at times extremely pleasing. It would of course be going too far to contend that all old-fashioned buildings are beautiful. The question is a good deal one of material. There are parts of the country in which in our search for the homely picturesque we can never go wrong—there is a charm wherever we turn. There are other parts where beauty seems to refuse her aid to the craftsman. Speaking broadly, over the whole of the southern and midland region of England, save in Wales and the extreme south-west, the country village is a thing of delight, but as we pass on through the north or into Wales the charm is lost. In these stony districts of west and north the cottages are of rough stone or rubble and plaster, and are often slated, while in some part of Scotland their grim plainness is in no way relieved by their grouping and environment. Sir Walter Scott, in *The Heart of Midlothian*,[1] uses words which seem to contrast to the disadvantage of his own country the typical village of the English Midlands with those of the Lowlands of Scotland. He is said to have had in his mind a village a little north of Grantham, in Lincolnshire, that is only of quite average picturesqueness, but he uses it effectively as an illustration of 'one of those beautiful scenes which are so often found in merry England, where the cottages, instead of being built in two direct lines on each side of a dusty highroad, stand in detached groups, interspersed not only with large oaks and elms, but with fruit trees.'

It must be noted however on the other hand, that we find in Scotland what we miss in the north of England and in Wales, some extremely picturesque and essentially national features belonging to the cottage or small house in the village or little town. The multiplied narrow gables, often with a carved finial, the outside stairs, the occasional projecting round stair-turret, the dormer windows, the characteristic coping with the 'corbie-steps,' are often seen in quite modest little buildings, and have a distinct artistic charm.

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[1] Chapter xxx.

In England a distinction may be made between the brick and timber districts, which cover most of the southern and midland region noticed above, and the stone district that follows the line of the oolite beds which cross diagonally over the centre of England from Somerset to Northamptonshire. On the line of this geological formation, especially in Gloucestershire and parts of Northants, village architecture has a deservedly high reputation. William Morris, who lived not far from Fairford in Gloucestershire, thought that villages in that county were the most beautiful in England, and among these may be singled out Bibury. Apart from the halls of more ambitious architectural structure, the manor-houses, granges, and better class village dwellings of this oolite district furnish an inexhaustible treasure of picturesque motives and details. Their most distinctive features are the sharp-pointed gables, combining into varied groups that are accented by the moulded stone chimneys on the apex of the composition. The stone-mullioned windows, which are often thrown out as oriels, are familiar on a small scale in the village streets. Parts of Northamptonshire, such as Oundle and its vicinity, offer similar attractions to the student of domestic architecture.

The conditions of domestic work in these districts are, however, not quite so simple as in other less favoured regions. The good building material led here to considerable elaboration in church architecture, more especially in Northamptonshire, and hence the establishment of a tradition in the matter of mouldings and details. These, which were perfected in monumental work, came down to be employed afterwards on a

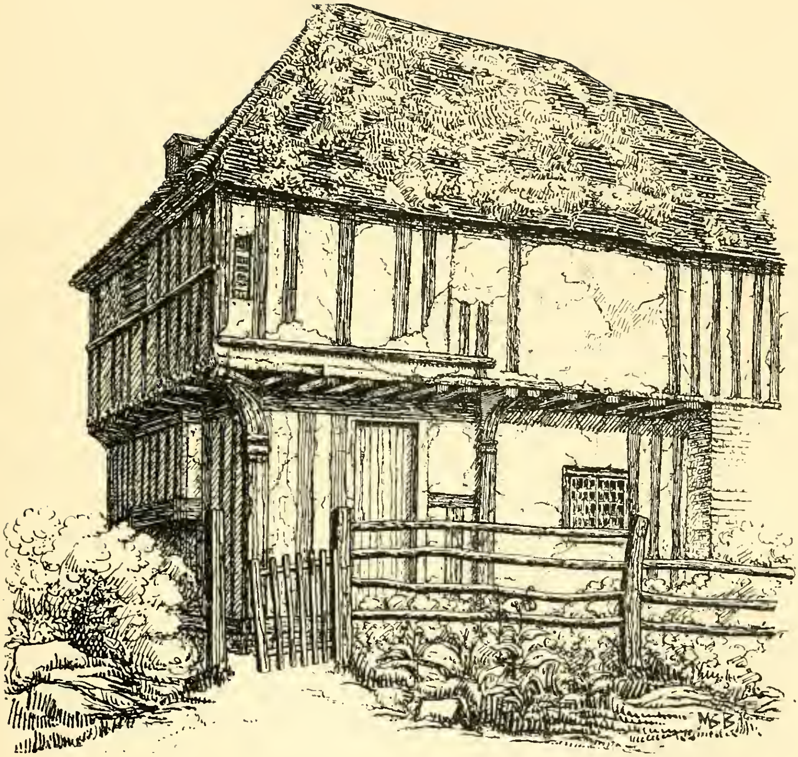

Fig. 1.—Old half-timber Cottage at Stanford, Kent. General view.

(To face p. 24.)

humble scale in household structures. The features of these are not always therefore of wholly domestic origin.

There is a more purely unsophisticated charm in the domestic work of the other districts of this southern and midland region, where the clay-pit and the forest have furnished the local builder with all he needs. The materials here are brick and tiling, to which age lends lovely hue and texture, and more especially timber, whose decided forms, with the alternation of lines due to the methods of jointing, can hardly fail to produce a good effect. Moreover wood, like wrought-metal, is easily worked and responsive to the touch. As the whole structure in its divisions and arrangement is a human statement, so in the smaller details and even the outer integument we see the impress of the man.

As an illustration of the aesthetic charm which may be found in homely construction and hand-wrought materials, it will be worth while to examine somewhat closely a specimen of the so-called half-timber cottage which has been already adduced as a characteristic mediaeval product. Certain truths about ornament that have been hinted at on a previous page will at the same time find here their elucidation.

The cottage illustrated in Figs. 1 and 2 is of a simple village type, and though sadly out-at-elbows, it is quite unmodernized, though it has been repaired and altered in days gone by.[1] The half-timber work in the southern counties, of which this is a specimen, is less ornate than that of the Midlands, and is for that reason more suitable for the present purpose. The structure explains itself at first sight as a framework of wooden beams joined together at right angles, with some other material used to fill up the interspaces. Upon this use of two distinct materials depends a large part of the picturesque charm of the structure, and it is to be noted that this is not a matter of artistic choice but of economy. Where timber is plentiful a solid block construction is the most natural one to adopt. The Swiss hay-chalet up among the pines, or the Canadian block-house, is constructed of tree-trunks or logs placed closely together either in a horizontal or vertical position, the one material being alone employed. The only actual example of Saxon timber construction on an important scale that survives in this country, the little wooden church of Greenstead in Essex, is built in this way of split oak trunks, set vertically side by side. It is when timber becomes scarce that the economical plan is evolved of using it only as a framing to be filled in with a cheaper material. We see moreover the further working of this same economic cause to aesthetic result in the later development of half-timber work. As time goes on the uprights get further and further apart, the comparative closeness of them being reckoned a criterion of early date. A framing, of which the pieces are widely spaced, tends to lose lateral stiffness, and this has now to be secured by the insertion of diagonal struts. Hence the use of oblique or curved pieces between the uprights, so familiar and so charming an element in the effect of advanced half-timber work. Again, the plaster panels become larger as less and less timber is employed, and this suggests a new artistic development. The blank spaces become diversified by stamped designs and other decoration, and the fancy of the craftsman receives a new stimulus to creativeness.

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[1] Since this description was written the cottage has been demolished. It is to be hoped that in the new museum buildings at South Kensington room will be found for specimens of small mediaeval structures of the kind, the number of which necessarily decreases in our modern villages.

Let us examine now the construction of the specimen before us. We see in Fig. 2 that the lowest stage of all consists in a sort of sill of rough stonework, intended to prevent ground-damp affecting the wood. Above this comes a horizontal beam of oak, on which are erected a series of uprights that are joined together at the top by being mortised into a second horizontal member. Above this upper

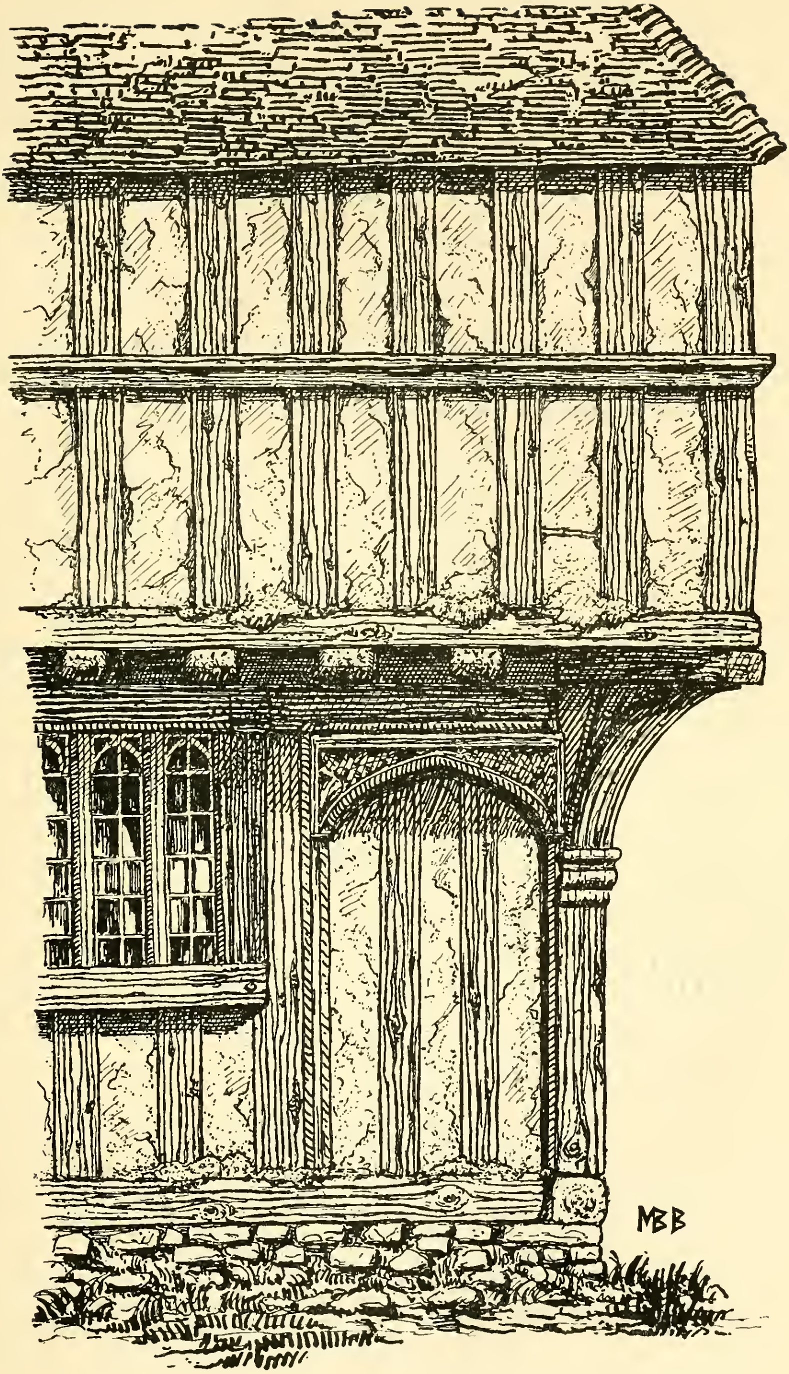

Fig. 2.—Elevation of half-timber Cottage, Stanford, Kent.

(To face p. 26.)

horizontal are laid the joists that support the flooring of the second story, and we come here to one of the special features of the work. These joists, it will be seen, project a couple of feet beyond the line of the beam on which they rest, and on their extreme outer ends they support another horizontal, from which starts a second range of uprights forming, with the necessary filling, the wall of the upper part of the cottage. It is this projection of one story over another that gives the quaint look to these old-time buildings, and enlivens them with light and shade. More than one explanation has been given of the system, but it is worthy of note that the construction is scientific. In ordinary cases the weight of furniture and inhabitants in a room would tend to cause the floor joists to yield to the pressure and sink in the middle or 'sag.' When however these rest not on their extremities but on a point some distance within them, and when the actual extremities are heavily weighted by having to carry the outer wall of the story and the roof, then the principle of the lever is brought into action and the tendency to sink in the middle is counteracted. The diagram, Fig. 3, will explain this better than words. It represents the corner of the cottage in skeleton, the framing only being shown.

The treatment of the corner of the fabric is another point of interest. The upright here is stouter than the others, and it is so contrived as to branch outwards in the upper part and form a sort of corbel to support the projecting angle of the upper story. The corresponding joist has a diagonal direction bisecting the rectangle of the house, and the beams nearest the corner on each face are mortised into it. These corner posts are sometimes made of the lower part of an oak tree set up the reverse way, so that the branching of a root can be cut into the required form for the corbel. For the filling of the interspaces wattle-work is introduced between the timbers, and this is daubed over with clay kneaded up with shredded straw, above which comes a coating of white plaster, brought up to a smooth surface flush with the timbers. In the cottage before us the plastering has been repaired with rough-cast, and this has been daubed over the old woodwork in those parts where it had decayed away. The original doorway, now blocked, is seen close to the corner in Fig. 2, while the window, divided by upright mullions into a series of narrow lights, projects a little from the face of the wall in such a way as to provide inside a broad and convenient window ledge.

No one can pass a cottage of this kind without stopping to examine and praise it. Independent of the added charm in colour and surface which it owes to time, it possesses in its boldly divided mass, its light and shadow, its contrasts of shape and line and texture between stone, timber, and plaster, all the essentials of pleasing architectural effect upon a small scale. This effect, moreover, is due wholly to structure and material, and is in no way dependent on distinctly artistic intent either in design or decoration. The use of the two contrasted materials, as we have just seen, has a purely economic reason, and it is an excellent illustration of the curious charm of unexpectedness in mediaeval work, to find this constraint, this penury, turned by a happy chance to aesthetic advantage. The effect arrived at in this natural way is so good that there is no need of any special enrichment, and none such appears on many quaint and charming bits of old half-timber work in different parts of the country. Some ornamentation is however very commonly present, and will be found sparingly used in the cottage before us, while it is often employed with some lavishness in districts like the western Midlands, where the style has chiefly flourished.

The genesis of this ornament is very interesting to trace. In its simpler forms it is a spontaneous growth out of the structure, or, perhaps, at times is scarcely other than the

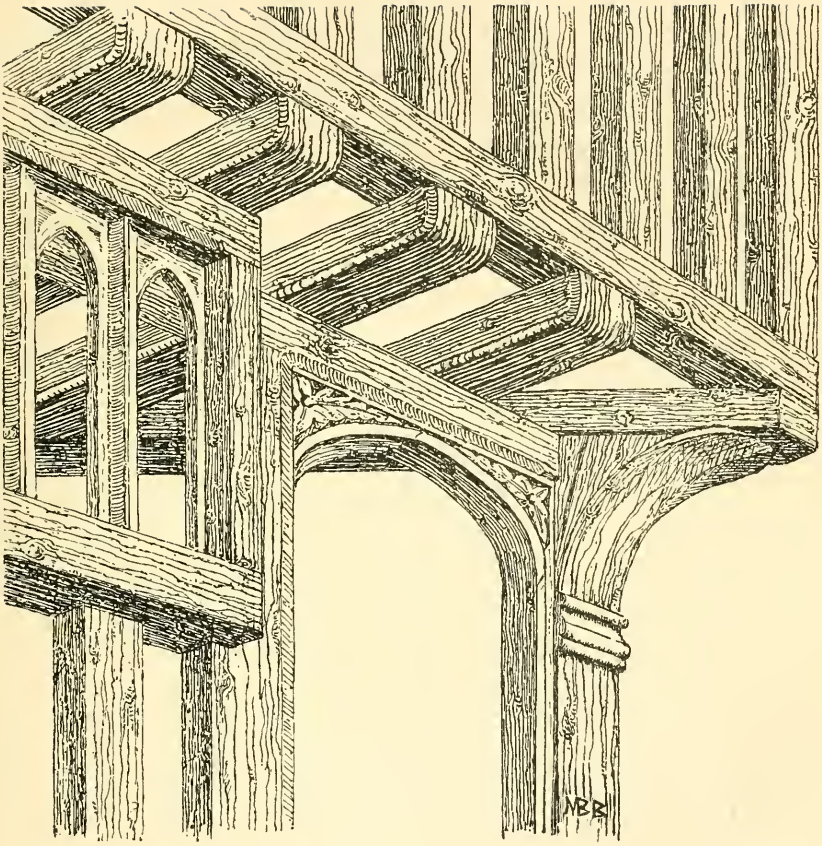

Fig. 3.—Diagram of structure of half-timber Cottage.

(To face p. 28.)

natural marks of manipulation on a material, rendered a little more emphatic and regular. The craftsman was not influenced by any doctrine about the artistic value of adornment, but he had certain natural instincts that led him to supplement in this way the piecing together of his fabric. To take some obvious instances of this, we may see that every projecting end struck him as a thing not to be cut off and left raw and plain, but to be hewn into some shape that would give pleasure to the eye; every change of direction in a surface seemed to him to need some added feature that should act as a 'stop' and accentuate the point of divergence; every large unbroken surface suggested the introduction of some diversifying details in form and colour. What the shape of feature or detail should be, depended on the amount of time or fancy the craftsman was able or willing to give to it. In the example before us we find the corners of the joists not left sharp and square, but worked into a hollow chamfer, while the projecting ends are rounded beneath (Fig. 3). This is the simplest possible enrichment for a projection of the kind, but, as may be easily understood, when once the tool has got to work at a place where it finds so ready a welcome, it does not easily leave it. Such ends are turned, or hewn into quaint shapes, or carved into an animal or human head, which may vary from the rudest essay to a finished and graceful effigy.

Next, to keep still to our Kentish cottage, we note that on the corner post the part that comes forward, though its general shape is a necessity of construction, is tastefully wrought into distinct and graceful curves, while, to emphasise the moment of its divergence from the main stem, we find one of these 'stops' in the form of a suite of mouldings girding the post like a collar. In cottages the parts are not of sufficient size to present any big empty spaces that need diversifying detail. In large and more elaborate town houses however, the horizontal timbers may be enriched with sunk quatrefoils or continuous arabesques, while the panels of plaster may have their own adornment by reliefs or incisions. The desire for variety has been present in our example in the case of the window, the mullions of which are not mere upright poles but are daintily moulded, while the openings between are each topped in the interior by a Gothic arch with pierced spandrels. The old doorway is the most elaborate part of the structure. The frame is edged with a hollow chamfer and the head is formed of a flat arch, the spandrels of which are filled in with conventional leaf ornament.

Enough has now been said on the special point for which the old half-timber cottage has served as an illustration. We are shown by it how a building may have artistic charm independent of set architectural design, and how ornament in its simplest forms is a finish to construction, rounding off asperities or adding an accent here, a touch of variety there, as the fabric seems to demand. The subject of mediaeval decoration is so large, and possesses so many points of interest, that the elementary fact just noticed might easily escape attention. We are familiar with ornament in the settled forms that, varying from age to age, are a key to differences of style and period, but we are apt to forget that the primary idea of a moulding or a cap or a finial or a spandrel filling, is prior to the particular shape these assumed in the Norman or any other period. The original suggestion is of incalculable importance, as this determines the place and general character of the feature, and this suggestion is often to be referred back to rustic craftsmanship. Throughout the mediaeval period the craftsman and the designer were acting and reacting upon each other. Ornament was being newly born every hour at the carpenter's bench, on the anvil of the smith, under the mallet of the sheet-metal worker, but it was also being elaborated into highly refined shapes and employed of set purpose in a decorative composition by the master artist. The forms thus worked out became normal and were borrowed and reproduced on every side. The cottage doorway just illustrated is a case in point. Its shape has not been suggested by the construction, for the arch is not characteristic of work in wood so much as of work in stone. Such a door-head with its spandrel ornament is indeed a copy from stone buildings of the time, and is so well established a feature that by its aid and that of the window tracery we can guess for the cottage a date not far from the year 1500. The mouldings forming the collar round the corner post and the section of the window mullions are also borrowed from structures of more pretension.

A good example of ornamental treatment of a more elaborate kind, that has yet the genuine charm of the old unsophisticated hand-work, is to be found in some carved oaken pews of late mediaeval date, that still accommodate part of the congregation in the beautiful church of Beeston-next-Mileham, Norfolk (Fig. 4). They are fairly comfortable benches, even from the standpoint of modern requirements, with sloping backs of a sufficient height, and a ledge in front for the prayer book, while the bold handling of the pierced quatrefoils and the cresting is extremely effective. As was the case in the domestic work of the stone-building Midlands, so here also, monumental art gives aid and direction to handicraft, though the latter will in its turn be continually supplying fresh suggestions to the more formal worker.

The student of mediaeval art will accordingly have before him decorative work of two kinds, both of which are illustrated in the examples just analysed. There is, first of all, the natural growth of beauty, in forms, manipulation, and ornament, out of the utilitarian operations of the mason and smith and carpenter; and next, there is the employment of pre-existing or traditional motives, that the craftsman uses but does not invent, and that are not the natural outcome of material and process. Such motives may be borrowed from one class of work for another, as from a stone church for a timber cottage or oaken pew, or may be accepted as part of a stock of established forms handed down from the ages of the past. With regard to the use of these last a word may be said.

No people is in the matter of craftsmanship absolutely independent of its neighbours, no age is without its relations to the past, and no individual starts afresh for himself without instruction. The different artistic forms and methods with which we shall have to deal have their descent and affinities, to determine which is often a complicated and difficult task. Such a task belongs to the archaeological side of artistic study. The artistic principle involved is, however, independent of archaeological lore. From the purely aesthetic standpoint it does not matter whence the various motives were derived: the question is, In what spirit and to what artistic result did the craftsmen employ them? The answer here is that the mediaeval artificer used the forms with which the past had supplied him with considerable freedom. Where the motives were derived from classical art they naturally tended to degenerate under his hand. This was inevitably the case in the treatment of the human figure, but on the other hand certain suggestions in the matter of ornament originally due to Roman art were taken up and developed into a copious artistic vocabulary, in which the mediaeval craftsman expresses himself with remarkable freshness and vigour. In motives which are more specially his own he shows inexhaustible ingenuity in his variations upon traditional themes. He exhibits, in a word, almost as much spontaneity when he is handling well-worn ornamental motives, as when he reveals himself a creator of beauty in the free manipulation of materials to an artistic end.

In the period with which we are dealing we shall find illustrations of the artistic principles that have now been passed in

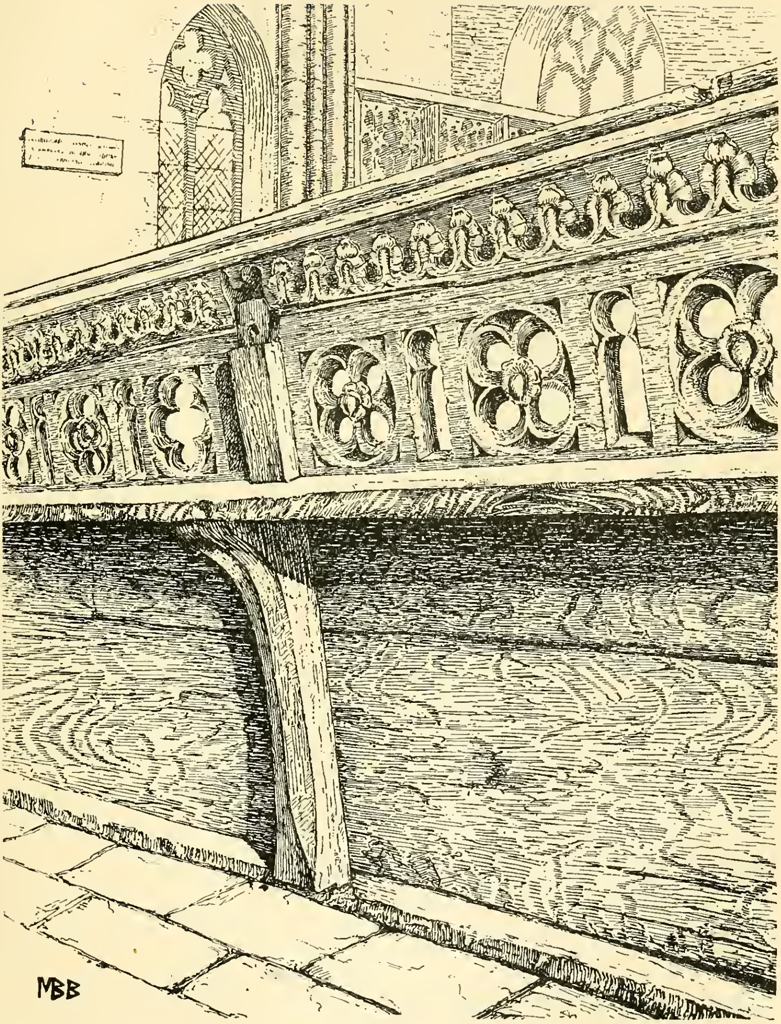

FIG. 4.—Carved Oaken Pews in the Church of Beeston-next-Mileham, Norfolk.

(To face p. 32.)

review. It is true that the higher manifestations of mediaeval art, in sublime architectural monuments adorned with elaborate richness in form and colour, belong, so far as actual remains are concerned, to a later date. The existing fragments of pre-Conquest architecture are curious rather than beautiful, and their directly aesthetic importance is small. They are however of extreme historical interest, because they form for us an effective visible link with the religion and social life of Saxon England. In most cases they are the remains of village churches, and were the centres of the early life of those rural communities with which the history of the land is so closely bound up. They are also of importance from an ecclesiological standpoint, in that they exhibit plans and features which are not a little curious, and supply material for what may almost be called a new chapter of church architecture. Hence it is hoped that the reader will not find the space devoted to them in the succeeding volume unduly long.

If the existing remnants of pre-Conquest churches give us no very high idea of the Saxon craftsman as artist, we derive a different and a higher impression of his powers from the smaller objects in which he exhibits his decorative taste and skill. The chief classes of these objects were mentioned on an earlier page. The oldest in point of date are the weapons, implements, and objects of personal adornment, found in Anglo-Saxon graves.[1] Enough of these have come to light to stock rich sections in public and private museums, and though the taste and workmanship thus evidenced do not perhaps fully reach the standard of Scandinavia or Ireland, there are sword hilts and brooches in bronze and silver and gold with engraved enrichments and incrustations of coloured pastes and garnets, ornamented combs and cups of cunningly manipulated glass, wooden implements metal-mounted, and a store of miscellaneous objects, many of which afford profitable material for study to the decorative artist of to-day. In dealing with these in a subsequent volume the interests of the practical worker will be kept in view, and an endeavour made to bring out the lessons which the modern craftsman may learn from his far away forerunner of early Saxon days.

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[1] Some of these objects, especially those of glass, may be imported and not of native manufacture.

The work in question, if not belonging in every case to the pagan period, is in the main of native growth and secular character.

Secular also, but belonging in date to Christian times, are the Saxon and Anglian coins, the curious devices on which are so important for the comparative study of ornament ; while of distinctively Christian origin and use may be mentioned artistic objects in metal for the service of the altar, illuminated manuscripts, ecclesiastical needlework, and carved stone crosses and other sepulchral monuments. We are not so rich in Great Britain as are our Irish neighbours in beautiful examples of early ecclesiastical metal work, or in the more purely native forms of manuscript illumination. In the latter field however, our own scribes have endowed us with a monument of unique importance in the so-called Gospels of Lindisfarne, a manuscript adorned in a style characteristically Irish, but wrought in England and by Saxon hands. The special interest of the work is that it is dated almost to a year, and it becomes at once of the utmost value as helping to fix the chronology of the equally elaborate productions of the same kind in Ireland, and incidentally, the chronology of other ornamented monuments of our still un-Romanized art. Later on, manuscript illuminations exhibit a compromise between native and classical elements, and the latter of course ultimately prevail.

Ecclesiastical embroidery, and the decoration of churchyard and other crosses, are artistic functions in which the needleworkers and the stone carvers of these islands have won a European fame. If in the decoration of manuscripts our scribes and illuminators just hold their own, and in metal work the choicest Irish masterpieces equal the best that was done on the Continent, English embroidery in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries enjoyed abroad an especially high reputation, and the tradition of the work goes back to Saxon times—Durham Cathedral Library treasures exquisite specimens from the beginning of the tenth century—while the carved ornamentation of stone crosses is a branch of work that we had in early times practically to ourselves. These crosses, the finest of which, with the exception of one or two Anglian examples, are in Ireland, occur also in Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and the Isle of Man, in the north of England, and more sporadically in other parts of the country. The motives upon them are in part figure motives and in part purely decorative. If the figure work be classical in its origin much of the ornament is characteristically northern, and, like the manuscript illumination, shows us how the Church set to new tasks the artistic craftsmanship developed through long centuries of paganism. There are of course other objects that will claim attention, but in those just mentioned all the qualities of Saxon decorative art can be seen exemplified. There is evidence there that the Old English craftsman was endowed with his full share of those characteristics which we have noted in the case of the mediaeval artist in general. How he dealt with his motives we shall see when we arrive at the study of examples, and this introductory chapter may be concluded with some general remarks on the sources of the artistic traditions which influenced him in the various departments of his work.

The history of the Arts in Britain during the early mediaeval period is conditioned by the position of the country partly within and partly without the Roman Empire. Romanized Britain, broadly corresponding to the England of to-day, was continued to the north and west by lands traversed but not held by the legions, while across the occidental sea Ierne remained untouched by the conqueror.

Throughout the Romanized West a barbarian culture underlay the Latin civilization of the dominant people, while beyond the limits of the Provinces it had preserved almost unbroken its independent traditions. In the case of regions partly Romanized and partly barbarian, it is necessary to inquire how far at different periods these native traditions were operative, how far they had been modified or superseded by Roman fashions. Another important element that must be reckoned with is Christianity. Elsewhere in the west Christianity was closely associated with Roman culture, but in parts of these islands it showed that it could flourish freely without any Romanized institutions at its back. In either case the new religion involved fresh demands for the work of the builder and ornamentalist, while at the same time it directed the worker by supplying examples and patterns suited to Christian needs.

For the sake of convenience, a distinction may be made between the constructive arts and those of ornament. In regard to the former, the peoples of the north-west of Europe had from time immemorial reared structures in the three materials, earth, stone, and wood. Earthworks, generally for purposes of defence, occur of every date from prehistoric times to the twelfth century, when they were generally superseded by walls of stone. The prehistoric period lies outside the limits of our survey, but there are Saxon and Norman earthworks that will engage our attention in their place, and it must not be forgotten that authorities for the life of St. Patrick speak of early churches made by the first Irish Christians of earth or sods.

The familiar Rude Stone Monuments, of a remote though unascertained antiquity, that were probably in most cases of a sepulchral nature, do not come within the scope of our subject, except in so far as their form and technique may seem to survive in later structures. It is no doubt fanciful to see such survival in some features of Saxon masonry where the use of very large stones gives a quasi-megalithic look to the fabric, but in certain parts of the west of Britain, and more especially in Ireland, the survival is undoubted. There is the clearest evidence here of a continuity of building tradition from fairly remote pre-Christian days down to at least the twelfth century. As the Irish kings of Meath in the first millenium B.C. constructed their sepulchral chambers within their mighty tumuli beside the Boyne, so did the first Irish Christians construct their primitive churches and their monkish cells. If the forms of these soon became modified in accordance with continental fashions, certain traditional features of construction of a purely native type survived throughout the middle ages, and Irish architecture holds a unique position in Europe through its non-Roman character due to this adherence to primitive methods.

The influence exercised on the tectonic arts in mediaeval Britain by the survival of early traditions of timber construction is hard to determine. Except on the western sea-board of the islands, where the exigencies of the climate led to that use of stone which had such remarkable results on Irish architecture, timber building, in the forms of solid block-work or of wattle-and-daub, was normally employed for domestic purposes. The same material and technique sufficed in very many cases for the earliest churches. In many of the districts of Britain churches of stone or brick were erected before the eighth century, and as some of these have survived in part at any rate to this day, they are of the utmost importance in our eyes. In point of number however, they were probably at least equalled, if not far exceeded, by the churches of wood. Indeed as wood is the cheaper material, the presumption is that for small and unimportant edifices it would take precedence of masonry. The wooden church already noticed that has come down to us from Saxon times, with other evidence, enables us to form some idea of the method of construction and the general aspect of the houses and other structures of timber in oldest England. Whether this traditional timber technique affected pre-Conquest stone construction is a question familiar to all who have studied this period of our national architecture. It may be said here that observation tends on the whole to negative the idea that such influence was to any appreciable extent exercised.

With the exceptions now noticed the constructive arts in the Britain of our period followed Roman lines. The Romans were in all these arts so superexcellent that they not only established their own forms and methods wherever they settled, but influenced practice beyond the 'limites.' Wherever Christianity penetrated, it carried with it at any rate some general knowledge of the shape and equipment of churches in Romanized lands. Hence the ecclesiastical architecture, even of unconquered Ireland, is only partly native, and conforms in several respects to continental patterns. Saxon ecclesiastical buildings were reared in lands where, in spite of time and ravage, there still remained visible the Roman 'cities, light-house-towers, bridges, and paved roads,' of which Bede tells us in the exordium to his history. Though influenced by native traditions, they conformed, to a still greater extent than those of Erin, to Roman patterns.

Though Rome was the undisputed mistress of Europe in all that concerns the arts of building, this was not the case in the domain of ornament and decoration. In the decorative arts barbarism is least barbaric, that is to say, the connotation of 'rude' or 'clumsy' which clings to the adjective does not apply when the reference is to a piece of gold work or painted enrichment. Such a thing wrought by Saxon smith or Irish monk may be as tasteful and delicate as if it had been worked at Byzantium itself. It is barbaric only in the sense that it is non-classical. When the countrymen of Polybius or Caesar noted the shape and enrichment of the arms of the Gallic warrior and his taste in the adornment of his person or his steed, they had before them evidence of an artistic skill that, within certain well-defined limits, equalled that of the Greek or Roman craftsman. The often-quoted passage, in which a late Greek writer speaks of the non-classical art of enamelling as practised by the barbarians who dwell beside the ocean, shows that the Mediterranean peoples recognized the independence of the crafts of their northern neighbours ; and we cannot doubt that if Augustus and his fellow connoisseurs had given critical attention to such specimens of barbaric gold work as adorn the museum of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, or even the Faussett collection at Liverpool, they would have collected them with as much zeal as they showed for archaic Greek reliefs or Corinthian bronzes.

The opening of innumerable sepulchres of Celt and Teuton and Scandinavian has enabled archaeologists to recover sufficient remains of this pre-Roman decorative art of central and north-western Europe to show that in the main its productions possess a family likeness, and may, as a mass, be opposed to those of classical peoples. If this barbaric art of non-Romanized Europe were our especial concern, we should need to discriminate between the forms and processes in use in the various countries from Dacia to Ireland, but for the present purpose we may treat it broadly as a whole. As a whole it is opposed to classical art in its essentially decorative character. In the art of the Mediterranean nations the chief part is played by the imitation and conventionalizing of natural forms. The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Italians, alike excelled in the truthful rendering of nature, and in the knack of teaching the shapes of plants and animate creatures to conform, without too much sacrifice of truth, to a decorative purpose. In the barbaric art, on the contrary, the faithful representation of nature plays no part at all, and the aim of the designer is not so much to start with nature and make nature serve a decorative purpose, as to obtain a decorative effect by the most immediate means available. If these means included a use of natural forms this was an accident, and the forms in question were generally conventionalized to such an extent that they can hardly be considered 'natural' at all. To diversify a surface is the first instinct of the barbaric artist, to turn nature to an artistic purpose that of the classical.

This contrast is brought into prominence when we investigate the influence of classical upon northern art in pre-Roman days. In historical times, but before the Roman eagles had crossed the Alps, the culture of the Mediterranean world had penetrated the mass of Celto-Teutonic tribes. The *Commentaries* of Caesar bear testimony to the activity of 'mercatores,' whom he represents as going in and out among these tribes, effecting exchanges of produce and forming a medium of intercourse between distant peoples. These merchants had for centuries travelled along well-established tracks answering to the caravan routes of the East. From the Mediterranean basin, the Etruscans had sent their wares along these routes to the Baltic in return for amber, and the Phoenicians had trafficked through central and western France for the tin of Spain. A little later a still more extensive commerce with these regions centred in the Greek Massilia. Here, where the modern denizen of the North comes down to set his sail eastwards and southwards on the Mediterranean bosom, the antique merchant made his start in a reverse direction landwards for a journey to the regions beneath the seven stars. Massilia was the gate of the barbarian world of the North-West.

The intercourse thus carried on along various routes has been established by discoveries of Etruscan bronzes in Central Europe,[1] but its most striking result is in the sphere of numismatics. A coinage of gold pieces based on Greek patterns was in use among the Gallic and British tribes long before the Roman period, and is a proof of their openness to Mediterranean influence. The characteristic tendencies of barbaric art show themselves here in the gradual degeneration of the type in successive issues, till all resemblance to nature is lost, and what was once on the Greek coin a horseman or a helmeted head becomes on that of Gaul or Britain a mere decorative play of lines. It would seem natural to explain in a similar way some extremely common motives of ornament that appear in the industrial products of almost all the northern peoples. These are the motives which seem to the hasty observer to consist in some purely decorative composition of masses bounded by curved lines, but which on inspection reveal an unmistakeable affinity to animal torms. Are these, it may be asked, motives originally drawn from nature and gradually degenerating like the motives on the coins, or are they in their essence purely ornamental, only catching at natural features because these seemed to offer some pleasing diversion and novelty ? It is not the purpose of this introduction to enter upon obscure questions of such a kind, but it may be said in passing that any full treatment of the decorative art of our early Saxon forefathers should involve a discussion of its relation to the decorative art of all the kindred nations of the North. The resemblance between the different manifestations of this barbaric art, among Scandinavians, Teutons, Gauls, or Irish, has already been referred to, but this does not preclude the existence of differences that open up questions, no less difficult than interesting, about the early intercourse of these peoples and their reciprocal influence in the sphere of culture. In the present state of knowledge these questions can hardly be satisfactorily settled, but even if they be left open, Saxon decorative art can still be discussed upon its merits, independent of the problems about its origin and affinities.

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[1] Sophus Müller, *Nordische Alterthumskunde*, Deutsche Ausgabe, Strassburg, 1897, I, 382 f.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY AND THE TOWN A THOUSAND YEARS AGO

In the early mediaeval period in Britain the arts were connected with the ordinary apparatus of social and religious life. It must now be our endeavour to reproduce before our minds some of the surroundings of this life, and to restore in imagination the conditions under which the buildings and objects in question were made and used. The general phenomena of 'The Past in the Present' were dealt with some years ago in a luminous work under this title by an antiquary of northern Britain,[1] and in more recent days the study of survivals has been recognized as an effective aid to history. In the following attempt to recover some features of the Past in the present familiar aspects of town and country, no systematic treatment is aimed at. It is not the object of this chapter to sketch, in however summary a fashion, the life of our Old English forefathers in its various aspects political and social, but only to single out here and there some points of contact, that may help the imagination to travel back into the scenes where our field of study will be laid.

Taking Britain as a whole, and excluding of course from consideration the large modern towns and the mining and manufacturing districts, we may claim that the general life of bygone times is preserved to us in something more than a mere memory, so that from existing indications as well as from records, it is possible to argue back with some reasonable assurance to the features of the earlier epoch. There have been in places considerable shiftings of population, due to changes in the agricultural system and to other causes for which allowance must be made, but as a broad fact it is probably true that the distribution of villages over the country, and the general relations of the elements of rural existence, have remained substantially the same through the whole course of the national history. And as the factors of the old village life endure, so too abides the charm that centuries of their harmonious working have woven about the place; around church and hall and cottage, over copse and field and orchard, there broods a restful ease, a sentiment of long-ago, that will become all the dearer as life in the great centres of population beats more feveredly every day. The social and economic future of these rural districts is a question that is causing much searching of heart, and in view of changes that the next generation may witness, time is well spent that is given to the old monuments of the country side, while they still hold a place in the daily activities of the rustic community.

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[1] *The Past in the Present: What is Civilization?* By Sir Arthur Mitchell. Edin. 1880.

The method of this preliminary survey will be to work back, as far as is practicable, from the features of the England of to-day to the condition of the country a millenium ago, when the monuments with which we are to deal represented the living institutions of the society of the time.[1]

The old social order, of which we still can feel ourselves a part, suffered natural changes from age to age, but in many important respects remained through all the centuries essentially the same till the dawn of the new era in which we now live. Modern life even yet has not wholly overlaid the past, however startling be the contrasts which it may present of new and old. The auto-car vibrates along the straight unpeopled Roman road, where on the 'low' or tumulus of a Saxon chieftain a cycling party sits at picnic. As we enter a still mediaeval church at a service for missions in Central Africa, we pass the carved sepulchral cross that marks an early triumph of Anglian Christianity. The certificated schoolmistress has her home under the thatch of the half-timber cottage, and in her work she is only carrying on what was done by a chantry priest in the church porch or aisle, five hundred years before. The railway line bridges the stream below the water-wheel, on the site where Saxon villeins, sorely grumbling, brought their corn to be ground by the millstones of the lord. We count the Gothic spires of the city to which we are whirled in the Pullman car, and in the hotel coffee-room we read by the electric light of the Black Friars and the White and the Grey in the prosaic Directory of its streets. In a sense, the alterations of the last century are greater than all those the country has seen since its Teutonic conquerors settled down upon its fields, but even these transformations have not yet obliterated the time-worn landmarks, the significance of which the student of antiquity will train himself to seize.

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[1] The writer desires to express his thanks for valuable information and suggestions, on some of the matters touched on in the present and following chapter, to Canon Greenwell, Professor Earle, Mrs. Armitage, Mr. John Bilson, M. C. Enlart, Mr. T. J. George, and Mr. J. H. Round, who was good enough to read in proof what follows about the 'ing' theory.

And first of the social landmarks. It must not be supposed that in Saxon England people roamed at large like Mr. Hewlett's 'Forest Lovers.' Society was based on order, and each member of each class in it had his place and work, and even his money value, forfeited by anyone whom it befell to slay him.[1] The sanctions of this order were different from those we are accustomed to, and in practice it was continually being broken. In theory however the country was fully surveyed and civilized, and the main social divisions were just what we find in the agricultural Britain of to-day. Save where the country towns have introduced a small professional and mercantile element into rural society, this still consists in the same two classes of 'gentle' and 'simple' that we meet with in the pages of Bede, two classes friendly and mutually dependent both in work and in play, but revolving in quite different orbits. The older families have not all seen their ancestral manor-houses pass into the hands of the new lords of commerce, and not every labourer has abandoned his cottage for the more stirring and lucrative life of the larger towns. In Saxon days however, rural society was permeated by an important influence with which we have not in our own day to reckon, the immanence and prerogatives of the King. The documents of the Saxon period exhibit to us the kings not as absolute sovereigns, but as very extensive landed proprietors, and holders of rights and dues of various kinds, which made the Crown a working factor in the general life of the community. Next to the king came a large class that we can call by the general name 'noble,' though its constitution and subdivisions are still matters of discussion. A great number of different names both in Latin and Old English are applied to it, but with what exact distinctions of meaning we cannot tell. The kinsfolk of the sovereign were no doubt among its most important constituents, and there may also have been an hereditary aristocracy of birth. Early Saxon laws mention 'eorles tun,' 'ceorles mundbyrd,' and use similar phrases, in such a way as to imply by the terms 'earl' and 'churl' a fixed division of classes.[1]

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[1] Laws of Æthelberht of Kent (about 600 A.D.) 30. 'Gif man mannan ofslea, . . . gelde,' 'If man slay man, let him pay,' etc., Liebermann, *die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1898, 1, 5.

There existed also, or at any rate could be summoned into being at the king's will, what may be called by a modern term a 'new nobility.' The king, as the fountain of honour, gathered about his person a 'comitatus' of magnates who had their places around him in the hall at council or at feast, as on the occasion of the debate on Christianity in the hall of King Edwin, recorded in the most famous passage of our earliest literature.[1] In most cases, if not in all, the members of the noble class were at the same time seised of landed estates. Oswin of Northumbria betook himself for refuge 'to Hunwaldes ham his gesiðes'[2] that is the home of Hunwald, his companion. Indeed, the possession of such an estate might confer a sort of right of entry to the noble class, for an old Saxon memorandum, known as the 'Law of Promotion,' states that 'the ceorl who had five hides of his own land, a church and a kitchen, and a place in the king's hall, would win to the right of a thegn.'[3]

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[1] Liebermann, loc. cit. p. 4.

These territorial magnates, with their families, occupied the same kind of social position held now by the 'quality' in an old-fashioned English county. On and about their estates was housed an agricultural population, evidently on different grades of freedom or serfhood, but all to be included under the general term peasantry, which applies to their descendants or successors on similar holdings at the present day. It is true, of course, that the theoretical position of those whom in old time law or prescription 'bound to the soil' differed greatly from that of the denizen of the modern village, whose personal freedom is unhampered. In practice however these modern villagers, till at any rate quite recently, have been as much a stay-at-home people as if they had kept the status of feudal villeinage.

It is then no paradox to claim that the gentry and the common folk of our own rural society answer in the main to similar classes in Saxon England, but it would be hazardous to go on to dogmatize about the early relations of these classes or

[1] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ii, 13, in *Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1896.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 14, Old English version, Early English Text Society, Lond. 1890. Cf. *H.E.* v, 4 and 5.

[3] *English Historical Review*, 1897, p. 489.

the history of either one of them. The fundamental problem of Saxon society, the question whether it began in this country with the freedom or the serfhood of the mass of the population, is still unsettled. Writers on history and economics interpret the self-same records with strikingly different results. Those who regard the great landholder as the prior element, and have claimed for him the position of an old Roman proprietor cultivating the estate around his country villa by means of a body of serfs,[1] are confronted by the question, Where was there a place in a community thus constituted for the free men of Teutonic race who had presumably achieved the conquest of the land ?[2] Again, while in Domesday and in documents of the succeeding period the utmost is made of the position of the lord, whom we should credit, if we had no other information, with owning a sort of freehold of the whole countryside, it has been claimed by Vinogradoff[3] and other writers, that the actual and the legal position of the peasantry on the estates in feudal times pre-suppose an element of freedom which in earlier days was much greater than it became after the Conquest. There remains also a fact, for which those who pin their faith on the lord and his serfs find it hard to account, that in Domesday some of the aggregates are returned as self-governing, not under a lord at all. Professor Maitland goes so far as to treat 'the free, the lordless, village,' as 'one of the normal phenomena which existed in the year of grace 1066.'[4] At the present juncture (1901) the current seems to be setting again in the direction of a theory of primitive serfdom, and Professor Ashley's *Surveys* have decidedly this tendency, though even he admits the possibility of 'groups of free proprietors living together in villages.'[5]

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[1] Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, 3rd ed., Lond. 1884, p. 415 f.

[2] Earle, *Land Charters*, etc., Oxford, 1888, Introduction p. lx.

[3] *Villainage in England*, Oxford, 1892, p. 196 and passim.

[4] *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Camb. 1897, p. 141.

[5] *Surveys Historic and Economic*, Lond. 1900, p. 73.

In some of these discussions the Saxon country folk seem to be played-with like pieces in a game, and moved helplessly backwards and forwards between the white squares of freedom and the black of serfhood. In regarding them mainly as archaeological puzzles one is apt to forget that they were once living men of bone and sinew whose fathers had conquered Britain, and some of whose blood is running in the veins of modern Englishmen. When we come into vital contact with them on the pages of Bede or in other notices, they strike us as forming a natural and intelligible social unity, and not the strange agglomeration conceived of by some modern writers.

Though we have no direct early records of how the Saxons who won the realm of England were organized, yet enough can be made out to form at any rate a plausible working hypothesis. The theory that is taken as the groundwork of the following discussion is, in brief, that the chief leader of a large expedition founded a royal line in the region which he conquered, while the lesser chieftains became territorial lords, and the rank and file of the freemen of the host formed the peasantry. The theory is based on the following considerations.

Bede tells us that the Old or Continental Saxons, with whom his own countrymen recognized their kinship, had in his time no king, but a number of equal chieftains, who, in case of war, chose out one of their number by lot to serve as leader, all becoming equal again when the campaign was finished.[1] Again, when the later sea-rovers, who afterwards became the Normans, invaded France, as we learn from an often-quoted passage in Dudo de St. Quentin,[2] the envoys of the king of the Franks ask Rollo's crew 'What is the title of your chief?' 'He has none,' cry out with one accord the Vikings, 'for we are all of equal authority.' It accords with the impression left on the mind by these two passages to note in the *Anglo-Saxon*

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[1] *H.E.* v, 10.

[2] Apud Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script. Ant.*, Paris, 1619, p. 76.

Chronicle that some of the chief leaders of the bands who settled in Britain took the title of king only after the conquest was achieved.[1] If this were the case, the royal prerogative, so extensive in the time of Bede, must have been of gradual growth, while the representatives of the other captains were differentiated into an aristocracy, distinct from the royal house which originally had only been 'prima inter pares.' In this way the 'gentle' class may have been constituted, while with regard to the 'simple' we have a choice of two hypotheses, both assuming an original freedom, and both supported by classical notices about the Germans. The rank and file of each of the invading crews may have formed a fortuitous aggregate, a band of free companions gathering as Caesar describes round a popular chief;[2] or a natural one formed of members of a clan or sept, who in theory at any rate were united by ties of blood, for Tacitus tells us that the German fighting array was not a chance agglomeration but was formed on the basis of family and kinship.[3] When the invaders were settled in the land the process of differentiation may have gone on, and many of the descendants of the rank and file have sunk in status till they approached that of the original inhabitants of the land now reduced to slavery. Of course the facts *may* have been quite otherwise. Each keel may have been manned by one or two chiefs with a body of followers in serfdom under them, and the chiefs may have appropriated the villas of the Romanized cultivators, and set their serfs to till the lands in place of, or side by side with, the Romanized 'coloni.' Of the two opposing theories the one adopted above seems most in accordance both with natural likelihood and with the evidence of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

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[1] e.g. *A.-S. Chronicle*, Rolls Series, No. 23, ad ann. 519; cf. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1894, i, 66.

[2] Ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit, 'se ducem fore; qui sequi velint, profiteantur,' consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, etc., *de Bello Gallico*, vi, 23.

[3] Non casus, nec fortuita conglobatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates, *Germania*, § vii.

The men and women of the common folk move over the pages of Bede quite independently of their social superiors, and many of their proceedings seem very like those of country people of to-day. Saxon society should not be regarded too exclusively from the agrarian standpoint. If the common folk had nothing else to do but to cultivate the land, they could have done this equally well in a state of slavery as of freedom. But there were promptings to independent action from the side of the Church that could hardly have been followed by men bound as serfs to the soil. Who peopled the numerous monasteries of which Bede or Eddius tells us? They were not manned only by members of the land-owning class, for Bede tells us of a certain 'faber' (smith) in a monastery he knew;[1] nor on the other hand by the servile class, for we cannot imagine the territorial lords allowing the Church to filch from them in this way the serfs who were their property. The historian tells us that in the seventh century there was a great influx into Ireland of Angles who desired either to study or to pursue the religious life, and uses the words 'multi nobilium simul et mediocrium,' 'many of noble and also of common rank.'[2] Bede brings us into touch with a test-case for the question at issue. There was one Drycthelm, a 'pater-familias' of Cunningham in Bernicia, who was led by a vision to embrace the religious life. When he formed his resolve he betook himself to the little village church and spent part of the night there in prayer. In the morning he divided his property into three parts, one for his wife, a second for his children, and the third, his own share, for the poor, and went his way to the monastery of Old Melrose by the Tweed, where he ended his days.[3] There is nothing in this account to suggest that he was a noble, for the historian is quick to note any case of the entry into the ascetic life of the great ones of the earth.

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[1] *H.E.* v, 14.

[2] ibid. iii, 27.

[3] ibid. v, 12.

Drycthelm was probably a yeoman of independent means, one of the 'mediocres' mentioned in the passage just quoted from Bede, and if we take him as a representative of a class, we have every right to assume that there was a substantial element of independence in the rural population of early Saxon times, which puts it on a social level with the denizens of our own hamlets.

How this population was settled we shall note as we proceed, for over the whole face of Teutonized England these settlements are still to be seen and studied.

Passing now from the social to the material landmarks, we find that these also are not so greatly altered. Certain conspicuous features of our present surroundings must first of all be eliminated in thought. We must obliterate from the face of country and town, not only the factory chimney, but the railroads and all that they have brought in their suite. This is not on the ground that the latter are necessarily ugly, for many railway structures have a character and a grandeur of their own, but on the ground that in many parts of the country they have altered the whole system of communication. The line may take a different course from the older roads, and villages that lie off it give us the impression of being isolated, though they may really be traversed by highways which formed in old times the frequented routes of intercourse. In towns, the rails and the station have dislocated still more the local topography and have led to the growth of new and populous railway quarters.

Next, we must increase greatly in thought the area of forest, waste, and marshland. Even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth it has been calculated that about one-third of England was waste.[1] Only half Dorset was in cultivation at the time of the Norman Conquest.[2] The so-called weald of Surrey and Sussex was in Saxon days a vast forest—saltus 'qui dicitur Andred,' as it is called in a charter of the year 791,[1] and this still survives in many a sylvan wilderness of that enchanted land. In the country north of London, Epping forest is only a remnant of a wooded region, so impervious that to get from London to Lincoln the Romans of the time of the Antonine Itinerary seem to have had to go round either by Colchester and Cambridge on the east, or Towcester and Leicester on the west. Warwickshire north of the Avon was even till Elizabeth's day to a great extent forest land, the 'Arden' of Shakespeare, and Camden tells us of the nascent iron-works that now blacken the country, and have long ago involved the gradual clearance of the wood for the sake of fuel. This region, he says, was 'tota nemoribus insessa, nec tamen sine pascuis, arvis, et variis ferri venis.'[2] The fen and marshland districts at the mouths of rivers, as between East Anglia and the Lincolnshire wolds, or inland from Bridgewater in Somerset, were far more extensive than at present. The rivers themselves were wider and deeper, and formed frequented water-ways from the ocean right to the heart of the land.

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[1] Elton, *Origins of English History*, Lond. 1890, p. 218.

[2] Eyton, *Domesday Book of Dorset*, Lond. 1878, p. 35.

Another difference has been made by the growth of towns. All records seem to show that in early Saxon times towns counted for very little in the life of the people, and the question at once arises, What of the Roman cities? Though, as Mommsen has remarked, the great urban centres were more weakly developed in Britain than in Gaul,[3] yet at the time of the Teutonic conquest Britain was supplied with Romanized cities that numbered, according to Gildas, twenty-eight,[4] and it

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[1] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, English Historical Society, Lond. 1839, etc., No. MXIV. An inspection of the Domesday map of Sussex prefixed to the edition of the Sussex Domesday published at Lewes in 1886 will show hardly any inhabited places marked within this great district of the old Andredesweald.

[2] *Britannia*, Lond. 1586, p. 317.

[3] *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. Trans., Lond. 1886, I, 193.

[4] *Historia Gildae*, c. i, in Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.*, ser. Lat. LXIX, 333; there were also divers 'castella.' Ptolemy and Nennius give longer lists.

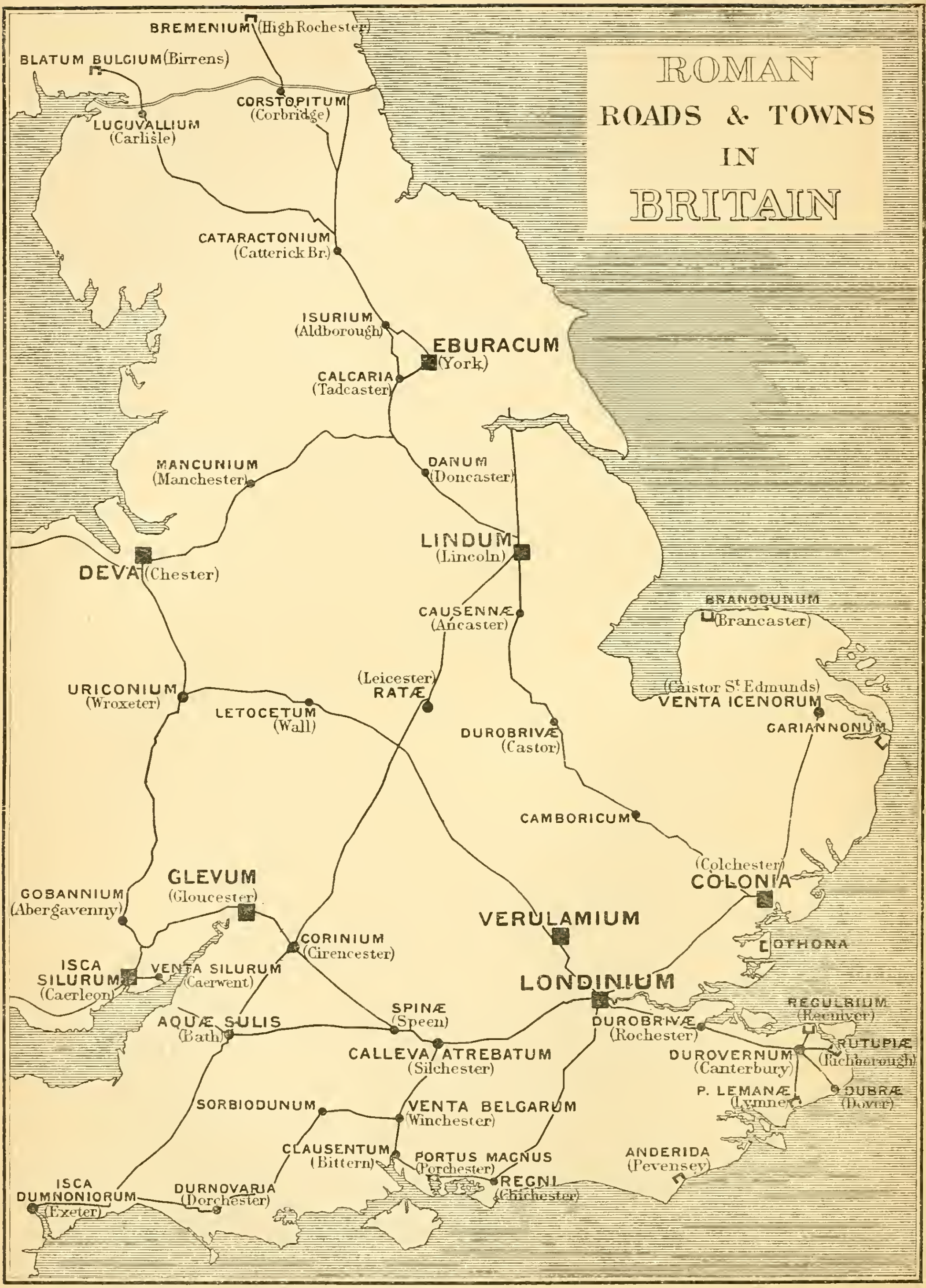
ROMAN ROADS & TOWNS IN BRITAIN
BREMENIUM (High Rochester)
BLATUM BULGIUM (Birrens)
CORSTOPITUM (Corbridge)
LUGUVALLIUM (Carlisle)
CATARACTONIUM (Catterick Br.)
ISURIUM (Aldborough)
EBURACUM (York)
CALCARIA (Tadcaster)
MANCUNIUM (Manchester)
DANUM (Doncaster)
LINDUM (Lincoln)
DEVA (Chester)
CAUSENNÆ (Ancaster)
BRANODUNUM (Brancaster)
(Leicester) RATÆ
(Caistor St. Edmunds) VENTA ICENORUM
URICONIUM (Wroxeter)
LETOCETUM (Wall)
DUROBRIVÆ (Castor)
CARIANNONUM
CAMBORICUM
(Colchester) COLONIA
GOBANNIUM (Abergavenny)
GLEVUM (Gloucester)
VERULAMIUM
OTHONA
CORINIUM (Cirencester)
ISCA SILURUM (Caerleon)
VENTA SILURUM (Caerwent)
LONDINIUM
REGULBIUM (Reculver)
SPINÆ (Speen)
AQUÆ SULIS (Bath)
DUROBRIVÆ (Rochester)
RUTUPIÆ (Richborough)
CALLEVA ATREBATUM (Silchester)
DUROVERNUM (Canterbury)
P. LEMANÆ (Lymne)
DUBRÆ (Dover)
SORBIODUNUM
VENTA BELGARUM (Winchester)
CLAUSENTUM (Bittern)
PORTUS MAGNUS (Porchester)
ANDERIDA (Pevensey)
REGNI (Chichester)
ISCA DUMNONIORUM (Exeter)
DURNOVARIA (Dorchester)

FIG. 5.—Roman Roads and Towns in Britain.

o face p. 53.)

The towns of known official rank, with the important Londinium, Deva, and Isca Silurum, are marked by squares. In the case of the other towns some indication of their probable relative importance is given by the lettering, but our information on this point is insufficient. The forts are indicated by open squares. Some of the main roads are shown on the map.

is a matter of importance for our subject to know how these fared under their new lords. The question of the survival into Saxon times of Roman buildings and public works is of such moment for the monumental history of the country that a brief digression on the fate of Roman towns may here be allowed. It may be said generally that the Teutonic invaders made little account either of the Roman towns as places of habitation or the Roman roads as routes of intercourse, and the country would have been settled in just the same manner had these not been in existence at all. As in Britain, so in the Gallic Provinces, the Teutonic invaders of the Empire, whether Goths or Saxons or Franks, cared little for the life of the Romanized cities ; the distinction is that on the Continent the cities themselves were, as a rule, left in peace ; and, though under varying fortunes, they formed always, as they form to-day, the constituent elements of the political or at any rate the ecclesiastical map. The history of the French towns between the seventh century and the eleventh is obscure, but ecclesiastical annals show them in common use as the seats of Church Councils which were frequently held during that period.[1]

In Britain the case was different, but not altogether so different as some historical writers have assumed. Here so many of the Roman towns were at the conquest wiped off the map altogether, that an impression may easily be formed that everything Roman was attacked and destroyed by the invaders. When however we consider these Roman towns, the more important of which, together with some of secondary rank and with a selection of the castella, are indicated on the map, Fig. 5, we find that their fortunes varied. Some did actually perish at once or slowly, and have never revived, while others exist to this day. Among the most important of the former cases are the following: Silchester is now deserted, and seems to have been gradually abandoned after its capture by the Saxons;[1] Verulamium, an old cantonal capital and Roman 'municipium,' is now for the most part an expanse of meadow and cornland. We do not know under what circumstances it fell, but it seems to have been inhabited after the legions were withdrawn. The excavations made at Uriconium (Wroxeter), the ramparts of which are three miles in circuit, show that the town was ravaged and burned;[2] Isca Silurum (Caerleon-on-Usk) is represented by a heap of ruins; the site of Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum) has lost all apparent vestiges of Roman occupation; Anderida (Pevensey), a much smaller place, is an empty enceinte, and at its capture by the Teutons it is stated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that every inhabitant in the place was put to the sword.[3]

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[1] English synods at the same epoch were often held in camps. See Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. xlvi, in *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71/1, p. 65 ; also Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., Oxford, 1889, etc., III, 439.

On the other hand, London, York, Lincoln, Colchester, Chester, with many less important centres, still exist as prominent cities with a continuous history from mediaeval times, though it is an open question whether, in many or in any cases, the continuity goes back to the days of Rome. These places were captured by the same heathen warriors who set Uriconium on a blaze and massacred the population of Anderida, and some antiquaries regard the mediaeval city on each of these sites as a mere revival, after a period when the old Roman town lay abandoned and in ruins. A notice of Chester in the *Chronicle*[4] speaks of it as at that time deserted, 'weste'; but in the cases of London,

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[1] G. F. Fox, in *Archaeological Journal*, LIV, 171.

[2] 'Our excavations have proved beyond a doubt that the town was taken by force, that a frightful massacre of the inhabitants followed, and that it was then plundered and burned.'—T. Wright, *Uriconium*, Lond. 1872, p. 68.

[3] Ad ann. 491. Henry of Huntingdon, who in characteristic fashion has enlarged this brief but significant notice, tells us, ad ann. 490, that the desolate site was in his day still pointed out to travellers.

[4] Ad ann. 894.

York, and Lincoln, as we shall see, as well as those of Canterbury, Winchester, and other towns of less note, there are ecclesiastical facts recorded by Bede which make it clear that in the seventh century these cities retained their individuality, and that Saxon citizens of London, at any rate, had already at that time a corporate will of their own.[1] Moreover, as bearing on Roman survivals, it must not be forgotten that some of the flourishing Roman towns of the West, such as Exeter and Gloucester, passed into the hands of the Saxons at a late period of the conquest, after the invaders had already embraced Christianity and had considerably mitigated their pristine savagery, so that the chances are very much against such places having been wantonly destroyed, or even emptied of their inhabitants.

This question of the fate of Roman centres in different parts of England is of interest from two points of view. It bears, as we shall see later on, upon the organization of the Christian Church, but it is also of importance from an artistic standpoint. We cannot deal properly with the architecture of the Saxon conquerors without endeavouring to form an idea of the extent to which they, or time, had allowed Roman examples to survive. There has already been quoted a remark by Bede, who, writing early in the eighth century, speaks of the 'cities, lighthouse-towers, bridges, and paved roads' of the Romans as conspicuous in his day. He even gives us archaeological conjectures about the Roman walls in the North.[2] Bede was specially well situated in the valley of the Tyne for becoming acquainted with classical monuments, but there is no doubt that these remained in very substantial abundance in all the Romanized parts of the country. A monk of St. Albans in the twelfth century has left us a weird description of an infernal theatre seen in a vision, wherein tormented souls played over again their evil acts for the delectation of demons, and what he tells us of the rings of seats and other arrangements seems drawn from the then exposed ruins of the old Roman theatre at Verulamium.[1] The Roman buildings of Verulamium have now disappeared, but in late Saxon times enough still remained visible above the ground to furnish building materials for the great church of St. Alban. In fact, even at this day, when we compare English cities that were once Roman and have remained urban centres to this day with similar towns on the Continent, we find that, as a rule, our own have, in proportion to their size, nearly as many Roman features to show as are to be found abroad. Some exceptional mainland cities, like Turin, may have preserved with curious exactness the classical arrangement of their streets, while in others, such as Trier or Arles, colossal fragments of Roman masonry may still dominate the scene, yet there are many great provincial capitals of the Romanized West, as for example Cologne or Milan or Toulouse, that are to-day in their superficial aspect not more Roman than York or London.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 6 : Mellitum vero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt.

[2] *H.E.* i, 5 and 12. Bede had no doubt seen the Wall in his own neighbourhood. The view, Fig. 6, shows a stretch of it between Hexham and Haltwhistle.

In the majority of cases, it will be found that the urban topography, though it may be recognized as Roman in general plan, has been a good deal altered in the intervening centuries. In England, though Durovernum (Canterbury) was situated in the most Roman part of the country, its mediaeval and modern topography do not correspond to that of its classical epoch, while it completely lost its Roman name.[2]

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[1] M. Paris, *Chron. Maj.* Rolls Series, No. 57/2, p. 503. Cf. *Archaeologia*, xxxiii, 264.

[2] This last fact, it may be observed, has been quoted as proof that the Roman town practically passed out of existence. It is only however an instance, rare in England, of what was common in Gaul—the dropping of an artificial Roman name and the substitution for it of one formed from the tribal appellation of the pre-Roman inhabitants. So Paris remains the city of the

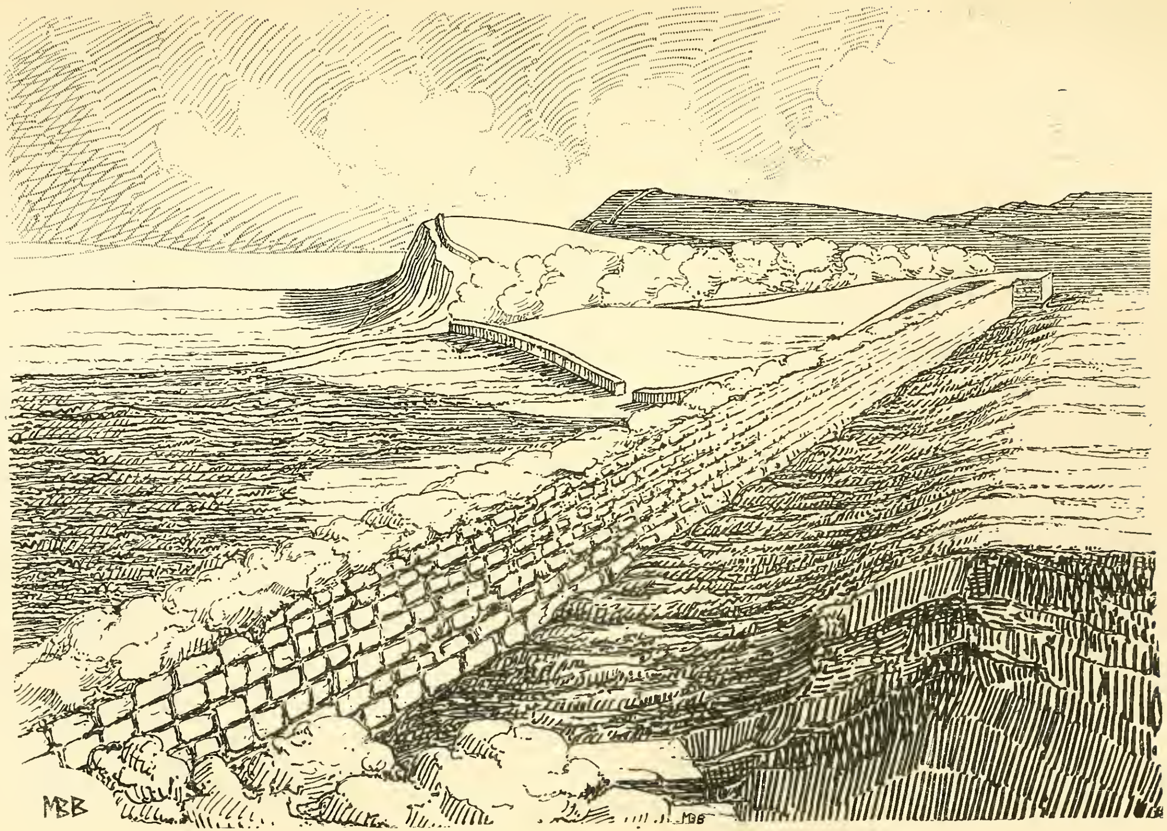

Fig. 6.—The Roman Wall between Hexham and Haltwhistle, looking east.

(To face p. 56.)

In Colchester the principal Roman gate, though it still exists on the London side of the town, has no street leading to it; while at Leicester the Saxon church of St. Nicholas is built right across the access to what seems to be the western portal of the Roman city, known as the Jewry Wall.[1] At Exeter and elsewhere it has been proved that the four streets that meet in the centre of such towns do not always lie on the lines of the old Roman thoroughfares,[2] while the Roman gates of London that correspond to Newgate and Bishopsgate have been found to lie some little distance away from the actual line of the mediaeval and modern outlets.[3] On the other hand, the four streets just mentioned, conspicuous at Chester, Gloucester, Chichester, and other places, though they may not all be actually on the line of the Roman thoroughfares, are yet distinctly Roman survivals—they would not be there had not the 'agrimensores' planned out upon the site a 'cardo' and 'decumanus' for colony or camp. At Gloucester, even, these streets are said to correspond accurately to the Roman ones.[4] Though at Canterbury the main Roman thoroughfare, still called Watling Street, ends now abruptly on the western side of the town at the river bank, while the line of the present High Street is mediaeval, at Lincoln the ancient main street of the

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Parisii, Bourges of the Bituriges, and Canterbury, of the men of Cantium, the names Lutetia, Avaricum, and Durovernum having dropped out of use. There is no reason to suppose that Canterbury ever ceased to be a town. At the end of the sixth century it was the capital of the powerful Æthelberht of Kent.

[1] G. E. Fox, in *Archaeological Journal*, XLVI, 46.

[2] Thomas Kerslake, in *Archaeological Journal*, XXX, 211.

[3] Loftie, *London*, Historic Towns Series, Lond. 1887, p. 19. The mediaeval Aldersgate, on the contrary, is stated by Mr. Fox (*Archaeologia*, LII, 615) to have occupied much the same site as the Roman one.

[4] *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 1890-1, p. 135. Mr. John Bellows in *Associated Societies Reports*, 1894, p. lxxxv, stated that 'Gloucester city may be said to be the least changed of any in England, the streets being the same in width, position, etc., as they were when it was a Roman camp.'

upper city still lies pretty evenly between the existing Roman north gate and the fragments of that on the south, though the corresponding street east and west can hardly be recognized. This so-called 'Newport' arch at Lincoln, under which the citizens pass and repass continuously, is perhaps the most striking of the Roman survivals in our modern English cities.

The whole question of the Roman towns in Britain may be briefly summarized as follows. (1) Some of the more prominent perished at the conquest or at any rate passed out of importance if not actually out of existence. (2) This destruction was not systematic over the whole country, but sporadic and conditioned probably by local circumstances of campaign or foray. (3) The towns which have endured exhibit on the whole, in proportion to their size and wealth, about as many Roman survivals in topography and monuments as similar cities on the Continent. (4) This shows that in architecture and the decorative arts classical models were accessible in abundance to the Teutonic settlers though they may not have cared to employ them. (5) In spite of these survivals, the conquerors de-Romanized the country to a far greater extent than was the case abroad, so that the towns of Roman origin were not, as such, factors of any moment in the general life of the country in early Saxon times.

The English town proper, which might or might not have Roman traditions at its back, only came gradually into existence as a fresh element in the national polity in the period between the descent of the Danes and the Norman Conquest, and did not affect the general distribution of the population, which was practically independent of urban influences. For the moment then we can entirely ignore the towns, whether Roman or of native growth, and deal with the distribution of the settlers over what was to all intents and purposes a townless land.

The manner of this distribution is brought strikingly before us in connection with another great institution of pre-

Teutonic Britain, the Roman road. From the Newport arch at Lincoln, the still open ancient portal of the old Lindum Colonia, there shoots in a straight flight towards the Humber the most characteristic and imposing Roman high road in England, commonly called the Ermine Street, and this introduces us to a class of monuments worthy, like the towns, of a short digression. If Roman cities did not really affect the settlement of the country, the same may be said about the Roman roads. To justify this statement in the case of the roads is easier than in that of the towns, for, as we have already seen, the rural districts have survived to our own era far less changed than the urban centres. As the country was settled in the days of the Anglian and the later Danish conquests so it has remained, in outward features substantially the same, to the present time, and the relation of the centres of population to the pre-existing Roman roads is a fact of some historical moment.

The roads in question can be traced in almost all regions of England, and penetrate into Wales and Scotland. They were not the first thoroughfares in the country, for they are superinduced upon an earlier network of British trackways, some of which are still to be traced as independent lines, while others have been taken into the Roman system. This system has never been completely surveyed, but there is a partial indication of the ancient course of the roads in the Roman document known as the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, which gives fifteen routes, with stations and distances, through different parts of the country. There are roads however of which the *Itinerary* takes no account, but which can be established by Roman 'finds' along their course, or by their business-like progression from one known Roman settlement to another. Has the reader ridden or walked or cycled along a characteristic track of the kind? It offers a document for our study of no little interest and value, and there are few of our ancient monuments that touch the historical imagination with a stimulus so keen. It will carry us along on a good wheel-track perhaps for a dozen miles, on the edge of some breezy upland where there is hardly a house to be seen, but only the spires of the village churches a mile or two away among their elms, and will bring us up suddenly at a gate where the present roadway turns, while the ancient track can be traced faintly onwards over the ridge and furrow of what is now pasture land. Anon, if we take pains to follow these indications, it will suddenly again become a road, or perhaps only a grass-grown track between the hedgerows, and tempt us to another long stretch of solitary trudge or wheeling. Here, as we breast the hill or cut the lonely heath or woodland, we can invoke for companionship the ghost of the Roman legionary, or may commune with the humbler shade of the Saxon chapman, who, as he once trode the still unruined causeway, may in his own dull brain have wondered at the mysterious past of the land.

For the chief characteristic of the Roman roads in England is their loneliness—their aloofness from the settlements and the lines of local traffic actually in existence and use. Lincolnshire is traversed from end to end by a very characteristic specimen. If we leave the present Great North Road a little to the north of Colsterworth between Stamford and Grantham, we find ourselves on a track which, save for a space of a league by Lincoln, can be followed without a break for sixty miles from the southern limit of the county past Lincoln to the Humber, and yet on its whole course, through fairly well-peopled agricultural districts, it only traverses two centres of population, and both of these, Ancaster and Lincoln, are Roman. To east and west of the line there are within two miles of it about forty, within three miles about sixty, villages, all with Saxon or, in a few cases, Danish names, ten of which have partly Saxon churches, and not one of these lies upon the road, nor, save in one case, even touches it with its outlying cottages.

In the latitude of Grantham the road, known there as High Dyke, runs along the ridge overlooking the valley traversed by the Great Northern Railway; then dips down and bisects Ancaster, which proclaims at once by its relation to the road its Roman origin. Ascending the hill to the north it runs a mile or so from the edge of the well-known 'cliff,' passing at a little distance the isolated villages, Navenby, Harmston, and the rest, which crown so picturesquely the steep slope that rises from the Witham valley. Along all its course it is more often than not a mere grass-track, deeply scored with the wheels of heavy wains, but broad and straight and well-hedged, and provided with sign-posts,[1] with a width in parts of a hundred feet, and a steady set towards the towering minster on the hill of Lincoln.

When Lincoln is traversed the corresponding track passes out at the Newport arch, and speeds northward along the table-land in a straight white ribbon that the eye can follow for a dozen miles or more from Lincoln towers. Just beyond the town the present thoroughfare has been shifted to the west from the original line of the Roman causeway, and for the first fifteen miles it shows in parts certain sinuous deviations which indicate that in past generations farmers have rectified at its expense the boundaries of their fields. When however it reaches the wilder uplands beyond Kirton-in-Lindsey, its course, till it is interrupted at Broughton, is so direct and unwavering that its grass-grown surface must cover the ancient track. Broughton, whither a partly Saxon church must later on attract us, is the only village which even touches it on all its northern course of thirty miles to the Humber, though on a line a mile or two on either side lie nestling in hollows under the slopes of the table-land the isolated self-centred little hamlets, where rural life may have gone on unbroken for some fourteen hundred years. The road ended at the river, across which there must have been a ferry to the vicinity of Brough on the Yorkshire coast, where there are traces of Roman occupation.

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[1] It is a matter of some little importance to the country that these still open though often unused Roman tracks should be preserved, and nothing will serve this end better than the maintenance by the local authorities of direction posts. Where the roads are interrupted there has been some piece of unauthorized 'land-grabbing' in times past, and anything of the kind should be guarded against in the future with the most jealous care

This same phenomenon, that the Teutonic villages avoid the Roman roads, is commonly, though not universally, to be observed in other parts of the country.

The so-called Stone Street from Portus Lemanis (Lymne) to Canterbury is a very characteristic example, though the main road from Canterbury to London, as well as the East Anglian roads in general, do not seem to have been so much avoided by the settlers. It is obvious that for through travelling, as distinct from local traffic, some of the Roman roads must always have remained in use. For example, the so-called Watling Street—the name has never been satisfactorily explained—which runs from Canterbury to Wroxeter (Uriconium) has always been a recognized route. From the neighbourhood of London, where Edgeware Road marks pretty accurately its course, to near Lichfield it runs parallel to the greatest railway trunk-line in the kingdom, and like others of the through Roman tracks it is at this day largely used for road-telegraph wires. Its ancient importance is attested by the fact that for a long distance it forms the boundary of the county of Warwickshire, and was in part the line of demarcation between Danish territory and Wessex drawn at the peace of Wedmore. Like most of the Roman roads, it has little connection with the villages, but a curious testimony to its importance as a highway is to be found where it passes near Redbourne, a few miles north of St. Albans. Redbourne, a characteristic old English village, is built along the skirts of a large green or common, described by Roger of Wendover,[1] in words that are just as true to-day, as 'a plain which had lain for ages uncultivated near the high road, with a level surface that furnished an agreeable pasturage for cattle and resting place for weary travellers, at a village called Redburn.' The primitive settlement with the church is the best part of a mile from Watling Street, but the 'high road' itself is lined for a considerable distance by a double row of houses, showing where in old time booths of chapmen and victuallers had been erected along the highway to catch the custom of passing wayfarers.

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[1] Ad ann. 1178, Rolls Series No. 84/1, p. 110.

The most striking object lesson on Roman roads is to be gained by opening a large-scale map of the centre of England, where the great Fosse Way, which can be more or less clearly followed from the borders of Devon to Leicester and Lincoln, is seen sweeping across the country in but little connection with the present life of its inhabitants. In its comparative isolation this immensely extended track is very significant of the mental attitude of the Saxon settlers towards these monuments of the unifying influence of the Roman rule.[1]

To sum up therefore, the Teutonic settlements, it is evident, were independent self-centred little communities, and did not regard as a matter of primary importance the means of intercourse with their neighbours. We are reminded of the words of Tacitus about the Germans, that they avoided cities and even contiguous habitations, settling down in detached bodies apart from each other, just as spring or field or grove offered attractions.[2] All over the country the existing Roman roads pass through certain villages and towns that had their origin in military stations, but as a rule the seats of the Teutonic communities will be found a mile or two away on either side.

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[1] Some French writers state that the population in Gaul gathered first of all about the Roman roads, beside which the first rural churches were built; but that in later periods of disorder and danger the settlements were moved from the vicinity of the thoroughfares. See note on p. 39 of J. Flach's *Origine Historique de l'Habitation . . . en France*, and É. Mabille in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. XXVII, p. 337. It needs hardly to be said that there is little or no evidence of such mutation of domicile in England.

[2] Colunt discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus, ut nemus placuit, *Germania*, § xvi.

We return now to our main theme.

The Saxon conquerors of Britain settled neither in the Roman towns nor along the Roman lines of communication, but in scattered localities where to all appearance their descendants have ever since remained. We may speak with confidence of these communities as Teutonic in virtue of their names. What further we may learn from the names of our English villages we will inquire later on, but this much is certain, that the names of them are Anglo-Saxon, and this fact is a very cogent argument against those who imagine that our forefathers settled down on the sites of Roman villas, or hamlets of the Britons.[1] A distinguished authority on English place-names writes on this point as follows:—'If our villages are merely the representatives of Roman *coloniae* we should expect them to bear British or Latin names—the Franks did not to any extent substitute Frankish names for the Gaulish local names . . . when, therefore, we find that our village names are so overwhelmingly English, that a British name is almost as rare as a British word in our language, we are, I think, driven to the conclusion that these names record an enormous displacement of the native population, and the formation of village communities upon lines and sites entirely independent of the Roman *coloniae* or of the British villages.'[2]

To obtain such knowledge as is practicable of these settlements, we may select for observation a few square miles of characteristic agricultural country including a typical English town, and see what it can teach us of the England of a millennium or more ago. The district selected is one of special interest to students of Saxon architecture, for it embraces two of the most important monuments of this style in the whole country, and it offers in the main a fair average of the features that have significance for the object in view. It is the part of Northamptonshire lying north and east of the county town, bounded on the south by the river Nene, and on the west by a tributary stream that joins this at Northampton from the north, and it forms a square of about seven miles a side. (Fig. 7, facing page 84.) The river, which once bore the invading keels first of Angles and then of Danes into the midland shires, now flows a narrow stream through water-meadows that were in old time marshy and unfit for habitation. The modern route of communication, the railway, follows the river, but the older lines of roadway keep to the high ground, where at the top of the slopes above the valley, a mile or two on either side of rail and river, the villages offer to the railway traveller a glimpse of the towers and spires of their churches. Some seven miles to the east of Northampton and the same distance to the north, we find respectively Earls Barton and Brixworth, famous the one for a Late-Saxon church tower that is the finest existing specimen of pre-Conquest building, the other for a church of the Roman basilican pattern, that, dating originally from the seventh century, was ruined by the Danes and restored and added to in the later Saxon period, so that it forms on the whole the most instructive monument in the early history of our national architecture.

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[1] For possible British survivals in the Teutonic settlements, see G. L. Gomme, *The Village Community*, Lond. 1890.

[2] W. H. Stevenson, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April 1889, p. 357.

The country between these points is dotted over with separate villages, on an average some two or three miles apart, and is seamed by a network of local by-ways. There are several of the large parks and mansions for which Camden tells us the county was celebrated.[1] Every one of the villages has its church the centre of a parish, its school an offshoot from the church, a parsonage, and cottages closely packed or scattered, while many of them have also a hall or manor house, as well as a village inn. There are water-mills at intervals along the streams and wind-mills on the higher ground. However small the hamlet, it will generally have its smithy as well as its post office, and these represent in its most primitive and most modern forms the small element of trade and commerce that mingles with the interests, almost wholly agricultural sporting and religious, of the community.

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[1] Campestris, habitatissima et nobilium villis excultissima est regio. *Britannia*, p. 284.

It is a fact in itself of no small interest, that practically all the villages marked on the map before us are mentioned by the same or almost the same names in Domesday. That is to say, at all periods since the Teutonic settlement of the land, whether it were under Anglian or Danish or Norman or English rule, there have existed social aggregates called Brixworth or Barton or Hannington or Billing, that may have varied in the number and daily occupations of their members, may have administered their own affairs or looked up to manorial lords, may have been distinct or formed parts of larger aggregates, but still all the time have been the Brixworth and Billing that we know and that were known to the Commissioners of Domesday. The Survey mentions these units under their several names, but exhibits them as parcels of great landed possessions that had passed from Saxon to Norman hands at the Conquest. With these larger artificial areas we have nothing to do, our interest is only in the units—say the unit Brixworth, that had a church built for it in the seventh century, in which its inhabitants have worshipped ever since. At the time of the Conquest all the places in question formed the centres of estates in the greater number of which, though not necessarily in all, part of the arable land formed the domain of a chief proprietor, who may be called by a later term 'lord of the manor,' while another part was cultivated to a great extent in common by a body of peasants on different grades of status, who lived together in a hamlet or village. There were churches, or at any rate, resident priests, who were also, as we shall see later on, schoolmasters, and whose presence implies fixed places of worship,[1] and finally water-mills, which, as representing wealth, are carefully registered in the Survey. Each estate possessed pasturage, and on its outskirts tracts of woodland and waste utilized for the feeding of swine. Between the different settlements there might intervene stretches of unappropriated land.

We have seen already that the conditions under which these aggregates were formed and the relations between their different elements, are still matters of dispute. We have however found reason for assuming a large measure of original social equality and of freedom on the part of their members. Kemble, the 'altmeister' of Anglo-Saxon lore, made so much of the theory of consanguinity and freedom that he elevated the original community into a little independent republic, in which there was no place at all for a lord, who is yet an important factor to be explained and reckoned with. Though no one now maintains in its entirety Kemble's view of the 'Teutonic-mark,' yet it is still forcibly argued that the aggregates did form what is termed 'village communities' with a certain amount of free and independent corporate life, and that this was to some extent founded on real or assumed kinship. Professor Maitland supports the idea of such a village community, remarking that 'originally the men who settle down in a village are likely to be kinsmen,'[2] and Dr. Cunningham believes too that ties of blood kept together the members of the rural communities.[1]

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[1] It has been denied that the mention in Domesday of a priest at a place implies the existence there of a church, but we may safely assume it in the case of these small villages.

[2] *Domesday Book*, etc., p. 349.

Evidence in favour of this has been found in a common form of English place-names, which often end either with the syllable 'ing,' or in 'ing' with a suffix such as 'ham,' 'ton,' or 'borough.' We have the direct testimony of Bede that the syllable 'ing,' or 'inga,' may imply derivation such as that of descendants from an ancestor, for he has passages, which read, 'Oisc, a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare,' and again, 'Uuffa, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum Uuffingas appellant,'[2] and mean that the descendants of Oisc and Uuffa were called 'Oiscings' and 'Uuffings.' An indication of the same usage we find too in *Beowulf*, where the supposed descendants of one Scyld, that is the family or sept of which he was the eponymous hero, are called habitually 'Scyldings.' According to a generally received theory, into the sufficiency of which we must presently inquire, wherever we can be assured that the Saxon name of a place had this form, we may assume that a sept or a part of one had settled there, so that it was called 'the place of the children of so-and-so.' Canon Isaac Taylor gives a couple of pages of names of families or clans 'celebrated in legendary or historic records of the Teutonic races,' traces of which, including the Scyldings, are to be found in English place-names, and it is with a glow of patriotic pride that we note among these no fewer than five royal races as well as 'the noblest race of the Goths'![3]

Kemble promulgated the fascinating theory that a place the name of which ended simply with 'ing' or 'inga' was an original settlement of the sept, whereas, when we find the same name with 'ham' or 'ton' after 'ing,' it implies a colony or offshoot from the original seat. Thus in the district before us, Great and Little Billing in the Nene valley would on the above hypothesis represent an original settlement in England of the 'Billings,' while the compounded names such as Billingham, Billingborough, Billinghurst, which occur more than a dozen times in different parts of the country, would represent offshoots. For this to have been the case, the 'Billings,' if such a people existed, must have swarmed often and sent their colonies far afield among both Anglian and Saxon tribes, for the name occurs in localities as far apart as Norfolk and Shropshire, Durham and Sussex. This would imply a restlessness and freedom of movement on the part of small bodies of recent immigrants that may have existed, but for which we have no other evidence. An endeavour has been made however, to explain the wide diffusion of 'Billings,' 'Cyllings,' 'Gillings,' 'Willings,' and the rest, on the supposition that before the various northern tribes descended upon our shores, certain clans or septs were already widely diffused among them, so that there might be Jutish Gillings who settled at Gillingham in Kent, while other Gillings sailed in Anglian keels to their better-known Yorkshire seats. The Billings of Bernicia may in this way have had nothing directly to do with their kinsmen of Billinghurst among the South Saxons.

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[1] *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Camb. 1890, p. 43.

[2] *H.E.* ii, 5 and 15.

[3] *Words and Places*, 3rd ed., Lond. 1873, p. 84.

It is clear that in the present state of our knowledge, arguments from local nomenclature must be used with caution, and the particular case before us involves for its adequate treatment an equipment in philology and ethnographical lore, to which the present writer can lay no claim. If it is touched on in this place, it is because this so-called 'ing' theory is one of such great importance that it cannot be passed over. If the theory could be established, it would mean a death-blow to the hypothesis, already referred to, of an original serfdom of the mass of the Teutonic population. If modern scholars could agree that the place-names of English villages imply a free community of real or supposed kinsfolk, what a basis would be at once secured for the historical treatment of that community in all its acts and relations! Its religious life, to take one point, acquires a new interest if it can be in any way linked on to assumed 'sacra gentilicia' belonging to the community in pre-Christian times. For the purpose of these chapters, the establishment of the 'ing' theory would be of so much value that on that very ground it must be handled here with all due reserve. Taking our most widely read historical literature as a whole, the theory is so generally accepted that it passes for self-evident, but it needs hardly to be pointed out that it is exactly self-evident theories of this kind for which the scientific critic of the day is inclined to go. For the sake of clearness it may be said here that the orthodox theory just outlined seems to the present writer more than dubious, and that the reader will be asked to substitute for it one which is much simpler, if at the same time less dignified. The subject is worth a moment's close attention.

Mr. J. H. Round has recently criticized the 'ing' theory in a suggestive paper that shows amongst other things the amount of statistical work that will fall to be done before the lore of English place-names can be put on a satisfactory footing.[1] We may accept the obvious caution which he gives us, that there are place-names in which the 'ing' is not genuine, but is merely a corruption. E. A. Freeman admitted this and gave some instances, but Mr. Round points out, and no doubt rightly, that the cases are far more prevalent than has been believed. On the other hand, in these days of six-inch scale Ordnance maps there are far more 'ings' as a whole than earlier writers had any idea of. Kemble's appetite for 'ings' was omnivorous, but Canon Isaac Taylor says that his list of 1329 could be much enlarged, and estimates the full total of 'ing' place-names reckoned on Kemble's system at about 2200.[2] Out of this number a great many may be surrendered without the situation being greatly altered. Mr. Round is disposed to rate very highly Domesday spelling as a test whether or not 'ing' should really form part of a particular place-name. 'Domesday nomenclature,' he even says, 'is thoroughly deserving of trust.'[1] It is obvious, however, that the 'g' had in many cases merely dropped out of the local pronunciation on which the Domesday scribes depended, just as 'g's' are dropped in the present day. The village called now Arlington in Sussex, notable for its fine Saxon church, appears in Domesday as 'Herlintone,' but the modern spelling is quite as likely to be right as the earlier one. When in two consecutive folios of the record we find what is clearly the same place written 'Stalingeburg' and 'Stalinburg,'[2] our faith, if it exists, in the accuracy of Domesday orthography is liable to be somewhat shaken. It must not be forgotten also that there are cases in which a place-name possesses an 'ing' in Saxon documents, but has dropped it in modern times. Thus the 'Netelingtone' of No. 933 in Mr. Birch's *Cartularium*[3] is now 'Nettleton.' 'Beddingaburn' of No. 1025, Bedingeborne in Domesday, 1, 39, b, is now Bangbourne. The 'Godmunddingaham' of Bede ii, 13, has been reduced to Goodmanham. These would have to be set against the cases in which the existing 'ing' is not attested by ancient authority.

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[1] *The Commune of London, and other Studies*, Lond. 1899, p. 1 f.

[2] *Words and Places*, p. 82, note.

Apart from this particular point, of which every modern investigator must take account, there are two counter-hypotheses to be considered. One is a suggestion by Mr. Round, that 'ing' or 'inga' may often have a topographical sense, and imply not descent from a common ancestor, but rather residence in a certain place. It is certain that the termination may at times have this sense, and this is admitted by such an uncompromising supporter of the orthodox theory as Canon Isaac Taylor.[4] The 'Angmeringas' of Sussex may be 'those who dwelt at Angmer,' the 'Ceastertuninga gemaerie' of No. 909 in the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, may be the boundaries of the men of Chesterton, but how far is the suggestion to be carried?

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[1] *Commune of London*, p. 24.

[2] *D.B.* 1, 339, b, and 340, a.

[3] *Cartularium Saxonicum*, Lond. 1885, etc.

[4] *Words*, etc., p. 84, note.

When on the Bayeux Tapestry William's soldiers are bid delve a fort 'At Hestenga Ceastra,' does 'Hestenga' mean the dwellers at a supposed place called 'Hast' or 'Hasta,' and are Billing, Goring, Tarring, and the rest, the people living at localities with names such as 'Billa' or 'Gor' or 'Tara'? Before accepting such an explanation, we should need to find some real names of places of the kind to furnish the ground of an argument from analogy. If used for the explanation of any large number of 'ing' names, the hypothesis would oblige us to suppose the existence of a whole mass of early place-names never suspected before, from which the settlers took their appellations. These names must have had an origin. They cannot well have been Latin or British, for there is hardly a trace of those languages in our place-names; and if Saxon, they can only be formed from natural features, or from prevailing trees, etc. Now names thus formed of course exist, but they are easily recognizable, and form but a small part of the whole. Again there is this difficulty in giving a topographical sense to 'ing,' that the Anglo-Saxons had a recognized form for expressing this relation of locality in the suffix 'ware.' The people of Meon in Hants are not 'Meoninga' but 'Meonware,' those of Thanet Tenetware, of the Isle of Wight Wihtware, of Kent Cantware, etc.[1]

Far more attractive is the other counter-hypothesis advanced to explain the 'ings' on some other than the 'clan' theory. Mr. Round, as an alternative to the topographical explanation, suggests that 'ing' may be a mere possessive, meaning 'of or belonging to' a certain person, and this appears to be the view also of Mr. W. H. Stevenson, who gave it as his opinion some time ago that if the main constituent in the 'ing' words is a personal name it is that of a single proprietor rather than of a clan. Holding the names to be personal, he thinks that

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[1] Thomas Miller, *Place Names in the English Bede*, Strassburg, 1896, gives a number of these forms.

'these villages must record the name of the first English owner, the lineal ancestor of the lord of the Manor.'[1] This contention is favoured when it is pointed out by Mr. Round that many existing 'ing' names are not now appellations of villages but of isolated houses or farms which look like the settlements of single households rather than of larger communities of kinsfolk. To the examples he gives of 'ing' names in the south-eastern counties that are only now names of farms, may be added the Dydylingetune and Uddingc of No. 958 in the *Cartularium*, which Mr. Birch says, on the authority of Hutchins, are now farms in the parish of Chalbury, Dorset, while any study of the sheets of the six-inch scale Ordnance map, say of Hampshire, will reveal many instances of the kind. It may however be urged against this on the other side that substantial villages have sometimes dwindled away almost to nothing, a notable instance being Semperingham in Lincolnshire. This appears in Domesday as 'Sepingeham,' as a place with 'socmen' cultivating land, like any other of the Lincolnshire villages such as the neighbouring 'Aslachebi,' now Aslackby. It was the home later on of that Gilbert of Semperingham who founded the Gilbertine order for the two sexes.

Here on the site to-day is a Norman church, but though this substantial part of the Semperingham of history is left, there is absolutely nothing else. There is no village, no house, no cottage even, within half a mile of the place, and the church stands in the fields without even a road or track to it, so that a late rector, who was an invalid, had to drive his pony carriage thither over the grass. A case like this blunts the edge of the particular argument under notice, because it shows that a place which looks now like the settlement of a single family may once have homed a community. There is no doubt however that such cases are exceptional. The Northamptonshire district now under review may perhaps show an example of continuity rather above the average—though it was not selected on this account—but it represents the average of the whole country immeasurably nearer than does a case like Semperingham. We may take, as a general rule, Once a village Always a village, but the instances brought forward in Mr. Round's paper suggest the possibility of a continuity more remarkable still, in the survival of single Saxon-named homesteads through all the thousand years of the present survey. The point, however, does not affect the main subject before us, which is the general hypothesis that 'ing' means the settlement of an individual and not the settlement of a body of kinsfolk.

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[1] *English Historical Review*, 1889, p. 356.

It cannot be denied that this explanation has many arguments in its favour. One of the most cogent, though it is not noticed by Mr. Round, is the fact that Bede, who must have known the usage of his own people, seems to think it the most natural arrangement for places to be called after individual owners. It is true that the derivations of place-names he is fond of offering are not all now accepted. An etymological guess is not necessarily right because it was made a long time ago, and Bede's Rochester = 'Hrofaescaestrae,' from a chief named Hrof, is looked on now with as much suspicion as the once universally accepted Edinburgh as 'Edwin's Burh.' Though Bede, as we have seen, establishes for us 'ing' as a patronymic, he gives no hint of the orthodox 'ing' theory of place-names, and in one case furnishes its opponents with a valuable weapon against it. The place now known as Coldingham in Berwickshire appears in his pages as 'Coludi urbs,' O.E. version 'Coludis byrig,'[1] to which we must suppose a later Coludingham = Coldingham corresponded. A parallel instance no doubt will be the Æthelwoldingtune of No. 909 in the *Cartularium*. We cannot explain this otherwise than as the tun of Æthelwold. Werburging wic, quoted in Professor Earle's *Land Charters*, page 453, is clearly the village of St. Werburg.

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[1] *H.E.* iv, 19. Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. xxxix, gives it as Colodaesburg.

It is quite conceivable that we have here the key to the supposed two thousand 'ing' names all over England. The explanation would do away with the difference which has always been made between Saxon place-names and those 'bys' which are accepted as indicating the settlements of the Danes. It has, of course, always been recognized that *some* of the places with purely Saxon names, mentioned in the documents, were called from individuals, and there are instances that are obvious at a glance. Hibbaldestowe,[1] Eadrichestone,[2] Brihthelmstone, now Brighton,[3] Swithbrihteswealde[4] or Sibbertswold now corrupted into Shepherd's Well, near Dover, Alvricestone,[5] the modern Alfriston in Sussex, are cases in point, but these have been generally regarded as exceptional among names the vast majority of which denoted settlements of kinsfolk, whereas the Danish place-names are as a rule from individuals.[6] If we took our stand at the church of Semperingham just referred to, we should have within view on the left hand the Saxon-sounding Billingborough and in the distance to the right the Danish Haconby. Behind us over the hill is Aslackby, perpetuating a personal name that occurs seven times in the Domesday of this part of England, but not far out of sight are the spires of Threckingham and Falkingham, which on Kemble's view mean seats of Saxon 'Threcgingas' and 'Fealcingas.' It would be simpler to believe that the three Saxon places are merely called after their first lords, say 'Billa,' 'Threca' and 'Falca,' just as the Danish ones carry us back to Hacon and Aslack. When we meet with the place-name 'Godmundes leas' in a Saxon document,[7] and remember the Godmunddingaham of Bede, it is impossible not to see the advantage of a theory that makes both of them the places of Godmund, without troubling us with a hypothetical tribe of 'Godmundingas.'

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[1] *Cod. Dipl.* *DCCCCLXXXIV.

[2] ibid. *LXII.

[3] *Domesday Book in relation to the County of Sussex*, Lewes, 1886, p. 125.

[4] *Cart. Sax.* No. 755.

[5] *D.B.* 1, 21, b, 2.

[6] Precentor Venables on Place-Names in Lincolnshire, *Associated Societies Reports*, 1882, p. 151.

[7] *Cod. Dipl.* CXX.

We may inquire how many historical personal names of Saxons are known that would serve to form the existing 'ing' names, and an experimental comparison of the 'ing' names in Domesday with the personal names in Mr. Birch's *Index Saxonicus*[1] shows that about twenty per cent. of the Domesday 'ing' names can be readily formed from actual personal names in the *Cartularium.* Names such as Lulla, Cotta, Babba, Acha, Alda, Benna, Cola, Mund, Wald, Uuale, Uuitta, could easily account for names like Lullington, Aldingham, Mundingham, Wittingham, Cottingham, etc., which exist or are in the documents. The chief difficulty here is that we cannot readily see why the syllable 'ing' should be introduced at all, when the simpler forms 'Billestune' or Billetone (both in Domesday), would have sufficed. Is it possible, we may ask, that after all 'ing' may have a sense nearer to that patronymic signification which we know from Bede may sometimes attach to it? 'Billington' may not be merely the 'tun of Billa,' but rather the 'tun of Billa's people,' of his followers who settled down with him in the estate. In this case 'ing' would still express a certain idea of affiliation, which usage both in Bede and in the genealogies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* seems to claim for it, but the affiliation would not be that of descent from a mythical progenitor of a clan, but of clientship to an historical Saxon leader. It must of course be a sad descent in honour for the Billings, 'the royal race of the Varini,'[2] to shrink to disconnected bodies of retainers of some score of homely Saxon landholders named Billa, no one of whom had distinction enough to get his name into the *Cartularium.* These, however, are just the surprises that one must be prepared for in a scientific age.

It is a consequence of what has now been said that we can no longer use the orthodox 'ing' theory as a piece of un-questioned historical evidence, but it does not follow that in surrendering it we are committed to any doctrine of original serfdom. The new view, indeed, by bringing the Saxon settlements more into line with the later ones of the Danes, furnishes incidentally an argument in the opposite direction. It is known that the statistics of Domesday exhibit a far larger proportionate population of free men in the Danish districts than in the rest of the country, which seems to show that the Viking chiefs brought with them free retainers rather than slaves. The earlier Saxon invaders may be presumed to have done the same, and Billa's people, though not a race of 'Rois en Exil,' may have formed an assemblage composed to a large extent of free men, who constituted something better than a mere accidental aggregate. They may, as we have seen,[1] have been kinsfolk, though they did not give their own patronymic name, but only the name of their leader, to the place of settlement.

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[1] Vol. IV. of the *Cartularium Saxonicum.*

[2] *Words and Places*, p. 85.

On the whole we are not called upon yet to abandon the conviction that the corporate village life, which in the later middle ages grew so fruitfully active around the church, came down to us as an inheritance from the remote past of Teutonic England. Regarded lightly in fiscal documents like Domesday, and almost suppressed by the manorial system of the feudal age, it may yet have been from the first a substantial fact to which we can still hold, though we may not treat it with the assurance with which it was handled by Kemble, or even by E. A. Freeman and his school. It is in this light, then, that we regard the Domesday communities, the names and situations of which are still before us on the Ordnance map of to-day. They were not fortuitous aggregates, and not mere ghostly survivals of effete systems like that of the Roman slave-worked estate, which, after ruining the Romans' own territory and beginning to ruin the provinces,[2] can hardly have been the basis of a new and vigorous Teutonic polity. Vinogradoff speaks of the village community as the constitutive cell of society, equally characteristic of the middle ages as the town community or civitas was of ancient polity,[1] and it is as village communities that we must treat the social aggregates that at different periods have corresponded to the Anglian tuns,[2] the 'villae' of the Latin charters, the manors of Domesday, the parishes of the more modern period. From whatever point of view Barton or Billing be regarded, the feature of common life, and, what is for us the most important thing, of common religious and artistic activity, may be ascribed to it from the beginning, and in this setting was planted and reared the institution of the village church.

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[1] Ante, p. 67.

[2] Latifundia perdidere Italiam, jam vero et provincias. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, xviii, § 35.

But the country thus settled and the units themselves must have varied in outward aspect and in population since the Domesday epoch. In our Northamptonshire district, save in the case of Overstone, which is however mentioned in a later 'Survey' of the twelfth century,[3] all the places on the map are in Domesday, so in this respect there has been no change, but the fact that Domesday gives information of certain relations between places, as well as a return in each of the population of the peasant class, affords material for some further inquiry. One of the Northants settlements, Holcot, is noted as an appanage to the 'royal manor' of Brixworth, and this suggests that some of the smaller and remoter villages may have been offshoots from the others. Such a process would naturally follow on the growth of population, which it seems was considerable between Domesday and the compilation of the 'Hundred Rolls' of 1274.[4] A contingent might hive off from the original settlement, and in this way we can explain cases like 'Great' and 'Little' Billing, where the second may have been a sort of colony from the first. Domesday does not distinguish the two Billings by any epithets,[1] but uses the adjectives elsewhere, as in the case of 'Magna Pantone' and 'Parva Pantone'[2] (Great and Little Ponton, near Grantham, Lincolnshire). 'East' and 'west,' 'north' and 'south' may imply something of the same relation, and these distinctions occur in land charters older than the Conquest.[3]

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[1] *Villainage*, etc., p. 37.

[2] The convenient and often-used word 'township' must apparently now be given up, as it seems to mean the people of a 'tun' rather than the place itself. See Ashley's *Surveys*, p. 61.

[3] Quoted in the first Northamptonshire volume of the *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, Lond. 1902, p. 381.

[4] Cunningham, loc. cit. p. 170.

Again, the occurrence of small isolated hamlets and single farm-steadings at a little distance from the main villages has been explained by an origin in huts or dairies used for shelter and for work by swineherds and pasture-men, whose business kept them beyond the arable land that lay nearest to the tun. The term 'wick' is used for such outlying settlements (compare Hampton and Hampton Wick on the Thames), and in our map the place 'Hardwick,' Domesday 'Herdewiche,' may have been, as its name implies, the 'vicus' or 'viculus' of the herdsmen who tended cattle on the outskirts of one of the earlier settlements.

Population however did not only increase. The tremendous visitation of the Black Death in the middle of the fourteenth century swept away nearly half the inhabitants of the country. Owing partly to this, there came about in many places a change from agriculture to sheep farming, which involved the turning of much arable land to pasture and the employment of far fewer hands. Cottages and tenements fell into bad repair and disappeared, and in the case of one Warwickshire village that suffered in this way, we learn that the church even had shared the same fate. A certain landowner in 1494, we are told, 'enclosed DCXL acres of land more, whereby 12 mess: and 4 cottages fell to ruine; and 80 persons there inhabiting, being employed about tillage and husbandry, were constrained to depart thence and live miserably. By means whereof, the Church grew to such ruine, that it was of no other use than for the shelter of Cattle, being, with the Churchyard, wretchedly prophaned.' The place was Stretton-Baskerville.[1] It would be a great mistake however to imagine this sort of thing general. The parish churches are proof that no such vital blow had been struck at the resources of the rural districts, for the fifteenth century was a specially prolific period in church building and church fitting, and the monuments of the Perpendicular period testify through the length and breadth of the country to the unimpaired activity of the village communities, both in religion and in art. Later enclosure-acts made a difference in many places in the population. Little Billing is said to have dwindled from this cause since 1600,[2] and the enclosures led also to the division of the open fields by hedges, a change for our purpose of no great significance, though it has added a characteristic beauty to the country scenes, which look more homelike for the trim limitations on the once bare expanse of the common fields.

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[1] Billing Magna and Billing Parva are distinct in the later 'Survey.' See note [3], page 78.

[2] *D.B.* 1, 366, b, 2.

[3] e.g. Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 281, 'beorgan stede' and 'north beorgan stede.'

As regards population, Domesday gives the number of heads of families of the simple class, including the serfs 'servi' in each place, to which we may add a lord or his representative. Multiplication by five, a procedure justified incidentally by the Warwickshire quotation given just above, may bring us somewhere near to the population at the time of the Survey. Of the places under notice, the once independent Abington and the royal manor of Kingsthorpe have been practically absorbed by the growth of the county town, while Earls Barton has increased greatly owing to the spread thereto of the local industry of shoemaking, which goes on merrily now in the cottages. Putting these with Little Billing aside, we find that among the rest only one, Moulton, has greatly altered its status in the matter of population in relation to the others. Moulton has increased considerably, and its Domesday record of 85 had been swelled in 1891 to 1382. Brixworth has also outgrown its neighbours, while Holcot and Hannington, both small places in Domesday, have caught up the rest. The majority however, Great Billing, Boughton, Mears Ashby, Ecton, Sywell, Hardwick, Pitsford, are all somewhere between two and four times as populous as they were at the Survey. They have progressed side by side, that is, in the general upward course which the population of the country has been taking, and are as stable in this as in the other features already noticed.

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[1] Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, Lond. 1656, p. 34.

[2] Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire*, Oxford, 1791, I, 408.

For communication between these little isolated centres there were the river, the roads, and the by-tracks. Though in the first settlement isolation, not inter-communication, was the motto, and though the village communities remained through the middle ages singularly self-contained, yet people travelled freely enough up and down the country, and care was taken to keep the lines of communication open. That the villages were reached by recognized tracks is proved by the 28th law of Wihtræd of Kent, to the effect that if a stranger approach a village in any other manner than by the road ('go out of the road,' 'buton wege gange'), he had to shout or blow a horn, or would be reckoned a thief and summarily dealt with.[1] Some travelling tinkers got into serious trouble near Bath because they took up a stone for some purpose of their own from the paved highway leading to the town.[2] Another proof of the care taken of roads is to be found in the great stress laid in Saxon legal documents on the maintenance of bridges. It was a burden on land mentioned in all the charters of the period of the Danish wars, and occasionally earlier, that its holder should repair bridges, as well as provide service in the local militia and look after military earthworks.[1] The system of assessment for this purpose may be illustrated from a Saxon document apportioning the repairs of the important bridge over the Medway at Rochester among a large number of neighbouring estates.[2] What now were the history and character of these routes of communication ?

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[1] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 14.

[2] Goscelin, *Miracula S. Augustini*, in Mab. *Act. Sanct.* I, 549.

The Roman thoroughfares were of course better roads than any the country has possessed till quite our own time, and where they ran in the required direction and were kept up, as must have been the case near Bath, they supplied all that was needed. None of the roads on our map are known to be Roman, but an important thoroughfare crosses it between Moulton and Overstone. This connects Lincoln and Stamford with Northampton and with the South, and must have been formed as a commercial route in the Danish period when the first named towns were of special importance. It was by this route that the body of Queen Eleanor was conveyed from Lincoln to the South in 1290. Of somewhat different character are the highways that run by Kingsthorpe and Earls Barton. The former was evidently a very early road, for several tumuli indicating sites of (presumably) pagan Saxon burial lay along its course, one of which near Pitsford is shown on the map. It had certainly become an important through-route in the fourteenth century, as it is one of the main roads marked on an interesting map of that period preserved in the Bodleian, and published in reduced facsimile by the Ordnance Survey. In their origin no doubt these highways are examples of what have been called

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[1] This is the so-called 'Trinoda Necessitas.'

[2] Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, No. 1321. The repairs were to be in timber work, and the document ends as follows :—'et sciendum est quod omnes illae sulivae quae in ponte illo ponentur tantae grossitudinis debent esse · ut bene possint sustinere omnia gravia pondera superjacentium plancarum · et omnia desuper pertranseuntium rerum.'

'natural' roads,[1] from their following the physical features of the country. In this case they skirt the edge of the tableland above the river valleys, where people who had no boats must always have walked, and connect the settlements that were planted there so early. Roads of these kinds became the coaching routes of the last two centuries, and are now the main arteries of communication laid down in the road-books of cycle and automobile clubs. They only correspond accidentally and in parts with the earlier Roman highways. That they are posterior to the settlements can be seen by their behaviour when they have to get across a country town. Every wheelman or motorist knows how often he hesitates here amidst the devious windings of the streets. A road which has been running in a fairly direct course all the way from the last town will here become narrow and turn at the most unexpected angles, as if the course of it had been quite ignored when the streets were formed. This phenomenon is not specially marked at Northampton, but the roads do not really *traverse* the town. As can be seen on the map, they plunge into the congeries of houses and find their way ultimately to the market place, whence again they radiate in other directions. The town is evidently of independent growth, and only came to link itself later on for convenience with neighbouring centres of population. It is not a station on a pre-existing thoroughfare, which in that case would sweep proudly through it like the Roman Watling Street through Dunstable.

The principal Saxon and Danish roads were treated in pre-Conquest days just like those Roman ones that remained in active use. They were 'king's highways,'[2] and the law provided for their upkeep, and for the preservation on them of the public peace. A Canterbury document quoted by Professor Maitland[3] notes that the streets that run right through the town with an entrance and exit, i.e. the main roads, were under the king's jurisdiction (sunt de consuetudine Regis). A law of Edward the Confessor notes that the 'king's peace' obtains on the 'IIII chimini,' that is four chief Roman or Britanno-Roman thoroughfares, named as 'Watlingestrete, Fosse, Hikenildestrete, Ermingestrete.'[1] Again in a curious document referring to the great suit about lands in Kent, between Archbishop Lanfranc and Odo of Bayeux soon after the Conquest, there are mentioned 'the ancient roads that run from city to city, and from market to market,' of which the former would probably be Roman the latter Saxon.[2]

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[1] Prof. Flinders Petrie discussed the Natural History of Roads in the *Archaeological Journal*, xxxv, 169.

[2] 'Cyniges heiweg' occurs in a charter of 859 A.D. Earle, p. 130.

[3] *Domesday Book*, etc., p. 184, note.

Distinct from these highways, and certainly not supplied with bridges, were the by-tracks, which have now come to form a network of narrow and winding lanes connecting the villages and hamlets. The Saxon word 'road' seems to mean 'clearing' and to be connected with the colloquial Scottish expression to 'red up,' in the sense of cleaning and putting to rights, and these tracks would at first be clearings through the woodland and waste in which the separate settlements were islanded.

This intervening territory between the settlements, about which, under such names as 'folkland,'[3] 'ager publicus,' 'terra regis,' a good deal has been written, must necessarily have varied in extent and character in different parts of the country. We have some indirect notices of it in a very interesting class of Saxon documents, the 'boundaries' appended to the land charters. The estates we are dealing with, or rather, perhaps, certain rights over the estates, form the subject

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[1] Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, etc. Lond. 1840, p. 192.

[2] 'Antiquas vias quae vadunt de civitate ad civitatem et de mercato ad mercatum.' The document is given by Birch, *Domesday Book, a Popular Account*, Lond. 1887, p. 295.

[3] Vinogradoff in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 1893, p. 1, shows that 'folkland' is not 'ager publicus,' but rather land held as a family possession by customary law. In this sense the term was understood by our older scholars.

Fig. 7.

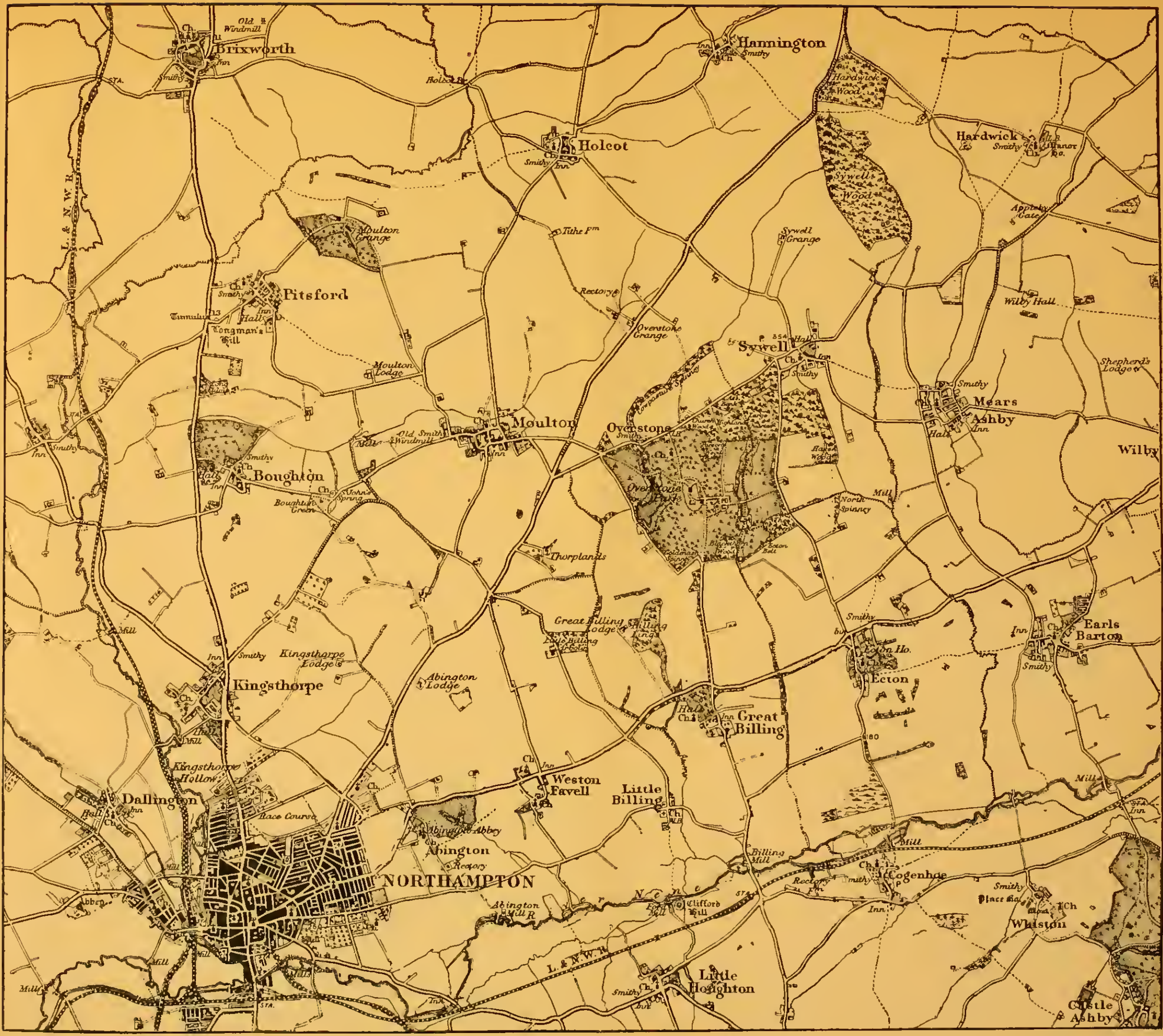
Old Windmill
Ch.
Brixworth
Inn
Smithy
STA.
Holcot
Inn
Hannington
Ch
Smithy
Hardwick Wood
Holcot
Smithy
Ch.
Inn
Sywell Wood
Hardwick
Smithy
Manor Ho.
Appleby Gate
L. & N. W. R.
Moulton Grange
Tithe Fm
Sywell Grange
Smithy
Pitsford
Inn
Hall
Tumulus
Longman's Hill
Rectory
Overstone Grange
Wilby Hall
Sywell
354
Hall
Ch.
Inn
Smithy
Shepherd's Lodge
Moulton Lodge
Smithy
Mears Ashby
Hall
Inn
Old Smith Windmill
Moulton
Inn
Overstone
Smithy
Overstone Park
Wilby
Smithy
Inn
Smithy
Boughton
Hall
Inn
Ch.
John's Spring
Boughton Green
North Spinney
Mill
Thorplands
Great Billing Lodge
Little Billing Lodge
Billing Ling
Mill
Smithy
Earls Barton
Inn
Ch.
Smithy
Ecton Ho.
Ecton
Inn
Smithy
Kingsthorpe Lodge
Kingsthorpe
Ch.
Abington Lodge
Hall
Ch.
Inn
Great Billing
180
Mill
Kingsthorpe Hollow
Dallington
Hall
Ch.
Inn
Race Course
Ch.
Inn
Weston Favell
Little Billing
Ch.
Mill
Inn
Abington Abbey
Abington
Rectory
Billing Mill
Mill
Ch.
Smithy
Cogenhoe
Rectory
NORTHAMPTON
Abington Mill
Nene
Clifford Hill
Mill
Smithy
Place Ho.
Ch
Whiston
Inn
Mill
Mill
Mill
STA.
L. & N. W. R.
Smithy
Ch.
Little Houghton
Castle Ashby

Fig. 7.—Portion of Northamptonshire, from the Ordnance Survey.

(To face p. 84.)

of grants the record of which was in each case embodied in a legal document. It was customary to indicate the extent of the estate, or the part of it granted, by mentioning its boundaries, and whereas the body of the deed is nearly always in Latin, the boundaries are given in the vernacular.[1] Kemble wrote of these local indications with an enthusiasm which has been generally shared by those who delight to bring themselves into touch with the remote past of their land. 'I have more than once,' he says, 'walked, ridden or rowed, as land and stream required, round the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon estates, and have learnt with astonishment that the names recorded in my charter were those still used by the wood-cutter or the shepherd of the neighbourhood.' 'Many a manor may even at this day be described with the utmost accuracy by means of the boundaries given in a grant of Alfred or Edgar.'[2]

'In general,' he remarks, 'certain well-defined natural objects, as a hill, a stream, or a remarkable tree, furnished the points by which the boundary line was directed; when these were wanting, a hedge, a ditch, a pit or well, or the mound of an ancient warrior, served the purpose; even posts of wood and stone appear to have been common.'[3] Of these latter artificial objects he speaks as if they were associated with the daily work and interests of the peasantry, but this is not exactly the point of view from which to regard them. It is not that they 'enable us to glance at the private life of the people; to argue upon their mode of culture, their enclosures, hedges, weirs, barns, houses, mills, mines, quarries, etc.,'[4] but rather that they enable us to turn away from the homestead and its every day objects (about which we have other sources of information), and to peer out, as it were, beyond the small oasis of civilization, into the encircling waste where memorials endure of an earlier race and of Teutonic paganism.

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[1] The Old English descriptions of the estates are not all quite so genuine as they seem, and a useful critical note upon them will be found in the Introduction to Professor Earle's *Land Charters*, p. xxvi. f.

[2] Kemble, *Horae Ferales*, Lond. 1863, p. 107 f.

[3] *Cod. Dipl.* III, Pref. p. viii.

[4] ibid. p. xv.

The commonest boundary mark here as everywhere was a stream or watercourse, and this under various names and with due note of its pools,[1] its otterholes,[2] its weirs[3] and fords[2] and bridges,[1] is of constant occurrence. Another was a dyke or ditch[4] or the 'hedge of a field,'[5] indicating that the cultivated land of a township was as a whole artificially enclosed. The Roman street very often did duty as a boundary, and as this was generally at some distance from the settlement it lent itself readily to this purpose. The chief Roman roads, such as the Watling Street[6] and the Fosse Way,[6] are repeatedly mentioned by name, and there exists a grant of woodland at Claybrooke at the junction of Watling Street and Fosse Way, i.e. at what is now known as High Cross, near Lutterworth in Leicestershire.[6] Roads and ways other than Roman are also common, and bear out what has already been said about means of communication. They have their gates and stiles,[7] and their varieties are distinguished by attributes. We read of the broad way, the narrow way,[7] the old road,[7] the well way,[7] the green way,[7] the white way,[8] the red way,[9] the salt street,[10] the 'port-street'[7] or town road, the hollow path;[11] and constantly of the 'herepath' (German 'Heer') or military road often qualified as 'broad,' which implies a fixed through-route though not necessarily always one of Roman origin. What is now Edgeware Road is referred to as 'the wide here street' in a tenth century grant of land at Tyburn.[12]

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[1] *Cod. Dipl.* CCCCLXI.

[2] ibid. DXLIII.

[3] ibid. CCCCVIII.

[4] ibid. *passim.*

[5] ibid. DXLIX.

[6] ibid. *e.g.* CCCCII, CCCCXXVI. Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 1096.

[7] Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici*, Lond. 1865, pp. 146, 186, 395, 291, 149.

[8] *Cod. Dipl.* CCCLXXXVI.

[9] ibid. DL.

[10] ibid. DLIV.

[11] ibid. *DLXX.

[12] *Cart. Sax.* No. 1048.

Boundaries were regarded as so important that objects serving to indicate them received the prefix 'mark,' and we read of the 'mark' or 'boundary'—hill, hollow, ridge, stream, way, etc.[1] Trees, especially the thorn, are constantly pressed into service. That the land beyond the settlement preserved remembrances of paganism is shown by the names of Woden and other Teutonic deities met with from time to time. There are traces too of demonology, as in the 'devil's lea.'[2] The mention of the burial mounds of the heathen is very interesting. They are on the outskirts of the settlements, and Kemble says they are mentioned 150 times in the *Codex*.[3] One may imagine Christianity, after its establishment in the church in the heart of the tun, going out into the waste to contend with the heathen powers, for the cross, whether of stone or wood, or the shaft thereof, is so commonly mentioned that 'the Holy Rood must have been as frequent as it is now in Brittany or in a Catholic canton of Switzerland.'[4] A puzzling word 'stapol' may possibly indicate the steps or platform of such a cross, which might be used as a place of meeting, especially for traffic or the exchange of wares, in which case it would be equivalent to our word 'staple.'[5] Meetings of the kind would take place suitably at a point between two settlements, perhaps on the common boundary of each, for the tuns were certainly sometimes conterminous, as in the instance of Bromley and Chislehurst.[6] The following is a short example of these boundary clauses. The reference is to some land near Wilton supposed to be granted to the nuns there by King Edgar in 968. 'These are the boundaries of the land of two hides that Blither had before. First from the otter-hole to the ford; from the ford to Wotan's ridge; then up along the arable land to the old dyke; along the dyke to the staple; from the staple upward to Attendene; from the dene towards the

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[1] See *Cod. Dipl.* VI, Index, for references.

[2] *Cod. Dipl.* CXVIII.

[3] *Horae Ferales*, p. 109.

[4] Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 471.

[5] ibid. p. 466.

[6] Thorpe, *Diplom.* p. 217.

Avon to the great bank; then to the death-pool; from the death-pool to the broad army-road; then along the narrow way towards the arable land; then to the great thoroughfare to the chalkpit; from the pit along the dyke by the elder stump; from the stump to the (river) Wily. One church and one mill, and the share of the common meadow sixteen acres.'[1]

To the ultimate purpose of these chapters the boundaries contribute more than the mere mention of monuments such as the bridge and the cross. They have a broader value in that they bring us in a sense into more intimate touch with our Saxon forefathers than any other fragments of our oldest literature. Calling as we do the things of the field by the same names that the Saxons used a thousand years ago, we can walk with them, as it were, along their ridges, under the eaves of their woods by the line of old root stumps,[2] or beside their streams, and feel ourselves at one with them in our common interest in the familiar English land. We should find that they had sharper eyes for local details than we sophisticated moderns can boast, for the terminology of the perambulations is curiously rich in its distinctions, as in the case of the various paths and ways already noticed. The men of that day had keenness of sight and an intelligent outlook on their surroundings. The personal interest attaching to the documents comes out still more when we note the number of proper names that occur in them attached to the various boundary marks. Some of these may be of mythological import, but the majority probably belong to men of the locality whose personality had been strong enough to impress itself, perhaps from generations back, on field or spring or tree or bridge or burial mound. Who they were we know not, but there is no reason to suppose them all of the gentle class, and the prominence in this way obtained by local worthies is another piece of evidence in favour of the free village community for which we have been arguing. The stone of Ægelnoth in Kemble's No. DCCLVI is doubtless sepulchral, and it is to be noted again that we do not hear of the house or barn or mill of such persons, just as we do not meet with the church or the hall in the perambulation of the estate.[1] It is the outlying places and objects with which we come in contact, and a grave of the kind referred to would not be in the churchyard but, as a survival of older customs, in a burial field away upon the heath.

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[1] *Cod. Dipl.* DXLIII. This boundary is not in the true vernacular of the age of Edgar, but has come down to us in a later form. It is full however of picturesque details.

[2] *Land Charters*, p. 462.

We are able thus, with a fair amount of confidence, to reproduce in thought the early surroundings of the mediaeval monuments of which the country village is the home. There is sufficient continuity here for us to discern the social aggregate of Domesday in the present aspect of the village, that preserves with but little change its name, situation and work. When we turn from the country to the town the case is different. A town like Northampton, energetic in output and surrounded with rapidly growing suburbs, seems a different world from the quiet country hamlets that sleep in the upland hollows within sight of its factory roofs. A thousand years ago however the difference was hardly noticeable, for the town itself was little more than a country village. 'A very large proportion of our towns,' writes Dr. Cunningham, 'were originally agricultural villages,'[2] and in connection with Northampton one of the recent editors of its Borough Records notices that 'in any study of municipal life or offices, the student is almost invariably brought back to the fact that the town commonalty was originally a village community,' and that the annals of Northampton remarkably verify the rule.[1] Down to quite modern times its citizens had common fields on which they had the right of pasturage for their beasts, and the old thoroughfare called Cow Lane 'was the route by which the burgesses drove their stall-fed cows, at certain periods of the year, for pasturage in the Old Cow Meadow to the south of the town.'[2] This agricultural parentage of our towns, which also applies to the re-founding of originally Roman cities like Leicester, Colchester or Manchester, accounts for the fact noted by E. A. Freeman that after all, in spite of recent urban developments, the distinction between town and country is less marked in England than on the Continent, where the Roman cities are so much more in evidence.[3]

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[1] There are rare mentions of churches in boundaries, as in *Cart. Sax.* No. 1036.

[2] *Growth of English Industry*, etc. p. 91.

The secret of the growth of the rural community into the urban is the introduction of the element of traffic. Agriculture may be the natural mother of the town, but the nascent community is nursed into municipal increase by commerce. There is a law of King Ine of Wessex in the seventh century to the effect that chapmen were only to traffic before witnesses,[4] and the provision is the key to the early history of towns. It was the coming together of people to exchange their own commodities and watch their neighbours doing the same that is the real beginning of our characteristically English boroughs, though other causes acting almost from the outset may have greatly aided the urban development. We read often enough in early English history of the 'founding' of towns, but this meant really giving a fresh status and character to existing settlements, for it was very seldom that a completely new start was made. The case of New Winchelsea, built on an unoccupied site by Edward I, is quite exceptional, and it is worth noting that here the town was laid out on a formal scheme, the plan being the old rectilinear one, used by the Romans, and traditional from the oldest times to the present day in parts of the East. As a rule towns owe their scheme and arrangement to natural causes, that is, in the beginning they form themselves, though they may soon be taken up and shaped for military or administrative purposes. Two influences were specially at work in the mid-Saxon period in favour of the development of towns, one was military and administrative, the other was social, and was exercised by great institutions which were an attraction to new settlers. A word follows on the working of each of these influences.

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[1] *The Records of the Borough of Northampton* (published by order of the Corporation), Lond. Stock, 1898, II, p. 215.

[2] ibid. p. 518.

[3] *Norman Conquest*, v, 473.

[4] Ine 25; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 100. 'Gif ceapmon uppe on folce ceapige, do þæt beforan gewitnesse.' This was not to secure the purchaser from being cheated, but to protect him if he were accused of having stolen or resetted the newly-acquired chattel.

Many of the towns of the Midlands, if they did not originate, yet became of importance, as bases of operations or as fortresses used by the one side and the other in the wars against the invading Danes waged by Alfred the Great and his successors. Northampton is mentioned more than once in the *Chronicle* as serving in this capacity for the Danes.

The Danish wars were indeed epoch-making in the history of English towns. We have seen already that it is an open question to what extent the municipal life of Roman towns continued after the Saxon conquest. This life was in any case either revived or re-created on a pretty large scale in the Danish period, and this restoration of Roman towns went hand in hand with the founding, or at any rate the organizing and fortifying, of new ones. Extensive military works were carried out in this period, chiefly by the energetic ‘par nobile,’ Edward the Elder and his sister Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians. Towns were then fortified and citadels constructed as part of a scheme for the systematic re-conquest of England from the Danes. The repair of fortifications on some of the old Roman sites came first. This was done at

Worcester,[1] London,[2] Chester,[3] Towcester,[4] Colchester,[5] Exeter,[6] and other Roman towns. From this restoration dates the continuous mediaeval history of these places, for the restored walls had to be manned by the burghers, 'those men that held the burhs,' to quote a phrase of the time of Alfred,[7] and this meant the organization of municipal life.

Besides the Roman towns, others of Teutonic origin were fortified with a similar view, and their citizens put in charge of the defences. Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Witham, Maldon, Huntingdon, Nottingham, with many others, were so treated by Æthelflæd or Edward.[8] These fortifications were not on unoccupied sites, but the population which had gathered together, perhaps for purposes of market, was now constituted a body of burghers, charged with the maintenance of works of national military importance. In dealing with the obscure question of the rise of the English boroughs, Professor Maitland suggests that we have in this set of circumstances the explanation of the county town of the midland districts homonymous with its shire, like Stafford, Warwick, Huntingdon, some one town central to its shire being selected and fortified as the military foyer of its district.[9] With such towns the king, as the head of the national defence, entered into particularly close relations. After the same fashion Taunton at an earlier, Shrewsbury and Carlisle (a Roman site) at a later date, were armed as bulwarks against Britons, Welsh, and men of Strathclyde; but though these towns, like the head-towns of the midland shires, may have been official creations with a military object, we shall be safe in assuming that the germ of urban life was already in existence. In all cases the town had been started before, generally from a commercial impulse, and, growing up as circumstances directed, it has a monumental history that is fairly easy to read.

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[1] *Cart. Sax.* No. 579.

[2] *A.-S. Chronicle*, ad ann. 886.

[3] ibid. 907.

[4] ibid. 921.

[5] ibid. 921.

[6] W. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ad ann. 926.

[7] *A.-S. C.* ad ann. 894.

[8] Between 914 and 921, see *A.-S.C.* ad annos.

[9] *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 172 f.

Towns might begin to form themselves for some business of a specially local kind, as Yarmouth is said to have sprung up around the herring fair, and as seaports generally have grown. Much interest attaches to towns that began with the settlement of a nucleus of population about the gates of a castle or abbey. Edinburgh and Stirling, Windsor and Ludlow, are good examples of the former, St. Edmundsbury, Evesham, and Westminster of the latter.

One of the most interesting examples that the country affords of a town which owed its existence to a great institution is to be found at Durham. Here the institution was at once ecclesiastical and military, and comprised a monastery with a cathedral church, and a bishop's palace and castle, all forming a single great complexus of buildings.

The stranger who issues from the precincts of the railway station at Durham has before his eyes what is incomparably the finest urban view in England, a view surpassed, if at all in these islands, at Edinburgh alone. The mediaeval buildings of Durham are worthy of their singularly effective site, and form one of the noblest architectural groups in Europe, but the whole surroundings should be studied in combination with the central mass. Now, though the traveller may regard with gratitude the railway that has transported him hither in a few hours from London, he can never understand what ancient Durham was like until he has abolished in thought the railway and all that it has attracted about it, and has realized the old position of the town in relation to monastery and castle, and the course of the old lines of communication with the world beyond. A comparison of the ancient iconography of Durham in 1595 with a modern plan reveals some instructive differences. (Figs. 8 and 9.) The features of the site remain the same. The cathedral occupies the highest portion of a wooded promontory, three sides of which are embraced in an ample sweep of the river Wear. Across the river on these three sides the banks are high, but on the fourth, between the two reaches of the river, the ground is comparatively level. The great church is not alone, but is flanked on the south by the buildings of a monastery, on the north by those of the bishop's palace that was at the same time his castle. These last are now devoted to the purposes of the University. The whole is shown in Fig. 8 as enclosed in a fortified enceinte with one gate of access from between the streams to the north and a postern on the south. There little has been changed, though the arched portal shown in the old plan no longer spans the so-called Bailey by which we climb the hill. The tower above this gateway was a fine mediaeval structure used as the prison of the Palatinate. It was only removed about the year 1820. The site was protected by its natural features on all sides save towards the low ground to the north-east, and here a ditch seems to have been formed across the isthmus between the streams as an artificial defence. The line of this ditch is still preserved in a narrow lane called significantly 'Moat-side Lane,' which crosses the isthmus just below the castle's northern wall, and some years ago, in connection with some modern works, the ancient moat was cut through, and was found partly filled with scraps of leather from the sadlers, who gave their name to the existing Sadler Street.[1] Here, outside the fortress, lay the town with its market place and its own church of St. Nicholas, where, as we are told, early in the last century the corporation had their seats and attended service every Sunday. For communication with the world outside, the river was crossed as it is now by two stone bridges, which the town originally owed to two of the twelfth century bishops. The mediaeval town extended itself across the stream to the east into a suburb called Elvet, and through this there entered the road from Darlington and the south, descending the hill in face of the cathedral and castle from the point marked by the ancient church of St. Oswald. The coach road through Durham has its full allowance of the awkward turns, the significance of which has been already noted. Framwellgate, by which it left the town, is shown on the left of the plan.

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[1] This information has been kindly furnished by Canon Greenwell.

Down in Elvet and in the Bailey are or were the old hostelries dating from coaching days, when they were at the main entrance to the town. The traveller of to-day who finds his hotel a long way from the railway station must not complain, because he has no business to enter the city from that side at all. We note on the old plan that the whole of the site on the west, now covered by an extensive new town that has grown up about the railway station, was in old time almost bare of houses, and mediaeval Durham looked quite the other way. A church at St. Oswald was in existence before the foundation of Durham in the tenth century, and probably represents a country hamlet, now, as is so often the case, embraced in an extended town. The position of the church of St. Giles (S. Egidius), away on the outskirts on the Sunderland road, is significant. This saint was the patron of the maimed and halt, and his shrines, as at Oxford and Cambridge, were often at the entrances of towns. There mendicants coming inland from the seaport would find a place in which to supplicate good fortune in the town. The crosses in the market place and in the roads should not be passed over. If, as has been said, we think away railway and railway quarter, mediaeval Durham still lies before us, and with a little help from the older iconography we can read its history, as on an open page. A better example could not be found of the great and securely guarded establishment, religious and administrative in one, with the town nestling under the citadel and extending itself continuously into suburbs on the side where it was most in touch with the outer world.

Peterborough is another example of the town dependent for its birth and nurture on the attraction exercised by a great institution. So completely was it an appanage of the abbey that the bailiff of the city was, till the nineteenth century, appointed by the Dean and Chapter, who had succeeded to the abbatial jurisdiction.[1] The town exactly illustrates in its conformation the importance of commerce in originating towns of the kind, for its broad market place stretches in front of the main gate of the abbey precincts, showing where the chapmen came of old to display their wares.[2] Bridges tells us indeed that the old market stead was much larger before the dissolution of the abbey, and that streets have been built on parts of it.

We see this process of growth beginning in the case of Malling Abbey, near Maidstone in Kent. Gundulf, the second Norman bishop of Rochester, founded there a nunnery, and we learn in his Life that, seeing how the place was of old time quite rural and thinly inhabited, by favour of King Henry I he turned it into a very large village suitable for merchants, who came thither for the convenience of the nuns and settled down in large numbers.[3] When the Abbey of Holy Cross at Waltham was originally founded, the first inhabitants of the future town were sixty-six persons cured by the relic. Previously there had been nothing at the place but a poor homestead.[4]

There is a class of towns whose creation, so far as we know, was not determined by any such special reason, but which seem

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[1] Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire*, II, 538.

[2] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ad ann. 963, incorporates a supposed charter of King Edgar, decreeing that Peterborough should have a market, and that there should be no other between Stamford and Huntingdon. This shows at any rate the mediaeval importance of Peterborough market.

[3] Migne, CLIX, 814 f. He turned it, we learn, from a *villa* to a *vicus*, and the expression is significant of the relation between these much discussed terms.

[4] *De Inventione Crucis*, etc. ed. Stubbs, Lond. 1861, p. 9.

FIG. 8.

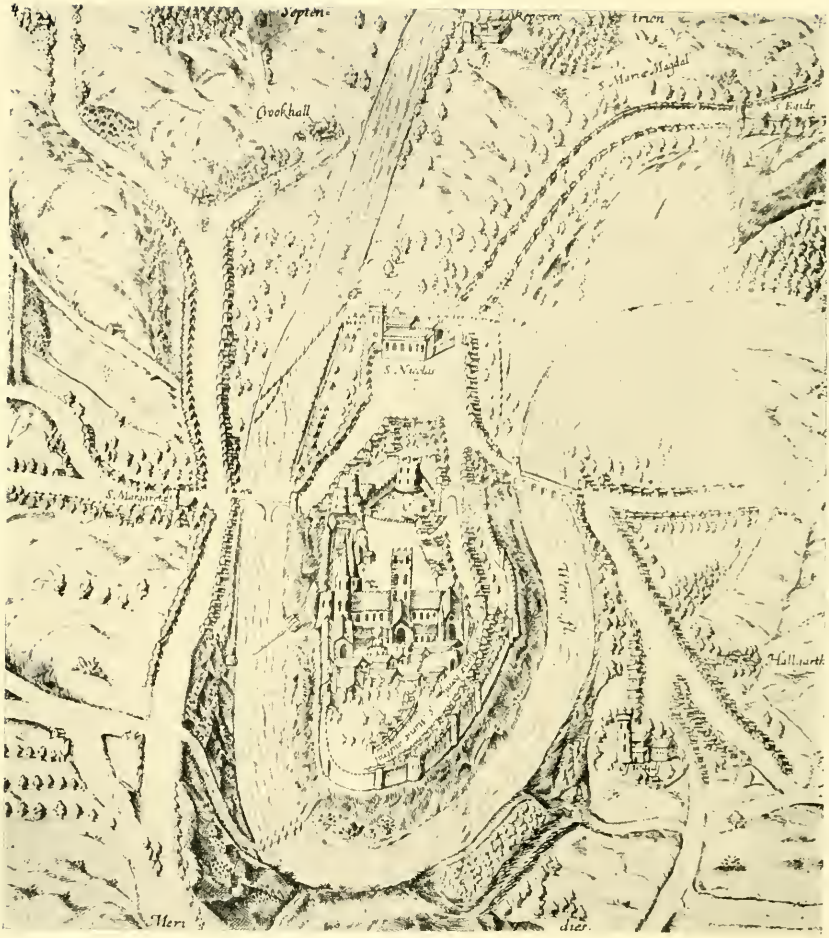
Septen-
trion
Crookhall
S. Marie Magdal
S. Eadr
S. Nicolas
S. Margarets
Weare fl.
Hallgarth
Meri
dies

FIG. 8.—Plan of Durham in the year 1595 from an engraved map in the British Museum.

(To face p. 96.)

Fig. 9.

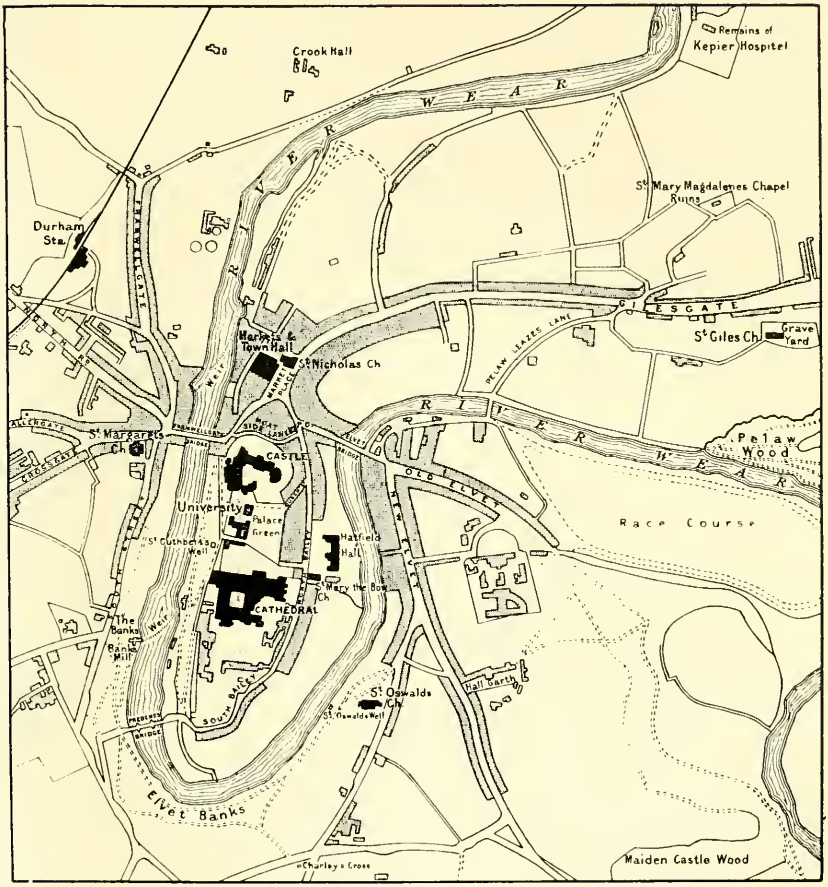
Crook Hall
Remains of Kepier Hospital
RIVER WEAR
St Mary Magdalenes Chapel Ruins
Durham Sta.
FRAMWELLGATE
NORTH RD
Markets & Town Hall
St Nicholas Ch
MARKET PLACE
GILESGATE
PELAW LEAZES LANE
St Giles Ch
Grave Yard
ALLERGATE
CROSSGATE
St Margarets Ch
FRAMWELLGATE BRIDGE
Weir
SILVER ST
FLESHER SIDE LANE
ELVET BRIDGE
OLD ELVET
CASTLE
University
Palace Green
St Cuthbert's Well
Hatfield Hall
St Mary the Bow Ch
CATHEDRAL
NEW ELVET
Pelaw Wood
Race Course
The Banks
Banks Mill
Weir
SOUTH BAILEY
PREBENDS BRIDGE
Hall Garth
St Oswalds Ch
St Oswalds Well
Elvet Banks
Charley's Cross
Maiden Castle Wood

Fig. 9.—Plan of Durham in the year 1895.

to have originated in meetings for the exchange of commodities and to have developed round a natural, rather than a forced, market. A glimpse at what may have been the first nucleus of a possible town we have already obtained in the 'stapol' (staple) of the Saxon charters. If 'the boundary stone was the predecessor of the market-cross, and the neutral area round it, the market-place,'[1] towns might begin wherever people conveniently came together, so as to provide, in addition to buyers and sellers, the necessary witnesses to transactions. The village of Staple, in Kent, may be a case of arrested development, while Dunstaple became a town owing to the exceptional character of the site at the crossing of two great Roman or British roads. It is probable at any rate that the most famous of all European cities had no other beginning, for the Forum of Rome, the nucleus of its urban life, was just the natural meeting-place of the denizens of the hill settlements all around. Northampton is a good example. It has little recorded history before the Conquest, but if the reader will refer back to the map he will notice that the chief roads entering the town converge on the market place in the southern part of it, abutting on which is the chief town-church of All Saints. These roads communicate with many places of early importance, (1) Peterborough, (2) Bedford, (3) Stoney Stratford and the South,[2] (4) Coventry, (5) Leicester, (6) Stamford and Lincoln; while a once navigable stream flows by the spot, and as late as 1252 there were regular tolls on boat loads of commodities as well as on loads on waggons or pack-horses.[3]

A writer of remarkable perspicacity, the late Thomas Kerslake, in a paper entitled 'What is a Town,'[4] remarks that the meeting of *two* people or sets of people may be at any point, but when *three* have to meet, the point where two paths fall into one is the natural place of forgathering. Where there are *two* buyers to *one* seller, or *two* sellers to *one* buyer, there we have the principle of the market. 'These triangular spots,' he says, 'are the first cradle of that giant (commerce) whom we now see with his seven-leagued boots—ships and railways—striding across oceans and continents,' and he proceeds to describe the development of the town from the market. The market cross gives a religious sanction to the transactions, the market house shelter and privacy, while close at hand would be pitched the refreshment booth, afterwards to become the more permanent inn. There would appear the smithy and the store, where would be obtainable necessaries, such as salt and iron, which the village communities could not procure for themselves.[1] Where population was gathering, the church would not be long absent. The instances quoted by the writer are Nottingham, built around its vast triangular market place; Birmingham with its so-called Bull-Ring commanded by the mediaeval church of St. Martin; Kidderminster, Shrewsbury, Faversham, Tiverton, etc.

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[1] Cunningham, *Growth of Eng. Ind.* p. 76.

[2] ante, p. 82.

[3] *Northampton Borough Records*, I, 41.

[4] *Archaeological Journal*, XXXIV, 200.

To this commercial class we can add Northampton, where roads meet in the central forum, an open spot for traffic fronted by the church, in and around which was held in Saxon and early Norman times a fair.[2] After the Conquest Northampton grew rapidly into importance, first as a favourite royal centre of administration, and then as a powerful and privileged municipality. Its corresponding religious vogue is evidenced by the fact that, apart from its churches, it possessed within its circuit a Cluniac priory and establishments of all the four orders of Friars—Black, Grey, White, and Augustinian. After declining in the later mediaeval period, it has entered in our own time on a new course of industrial activity, but throughout its history the all-importance of its early market has been testified to by the names of its streets and open places. In the plan of old Northampton annexed to the volumes of its Records, it can be seen that there were appointed separate sites near the central market square, called the Chequer, for the sale of horses, mares, sheep, and hogs; as well as stalls for the dealers in flesh and fish, in corn and malt, in fuel and drapery; while the woolmongers, the gold- and silver-smiths, and the farriers had also their own established quarters. That this distribution of the trades, which has everywhere left its traces in the older urban nomenclature, was known in Saxon days, is proved by a charter of the end of the tenth century about Winchester, which mentions the 'fleshmonger street,' the 'shieldwright street,' and the 'cheap' or market street.[1]

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[1] The 'salt streets' of the boundaries are the roads by which this most indispensable of outland commodities was brought to the various localities.

[2] *Associated Societies Reports*, 1881, p. 73.

We have nothing here to do with the historical questions of the constitution of early towns and the relation of their burghers to the king or noble or prelate on whose domain they were located. Market rights and market dues in their legal and social aspects we are not concerned with, but only with the market place and surroundings as part of the monumental history of the land. It is enough if we have been able to discern in the examples chosen the early beginnings of what became in time a rich and varied municipal life, expressing itself ultimately in great edifices and divers forms of art.

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[1] Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 364.

CHAPTER III

THE CASTLE, THE CHURCH, AND THE MONASTERY

We may group early mediaeval monuments under these three headings, but each has many subdivisions. Within the term Castle may be embraced many different forms of mansion and palace, open or fortified, varying from the single hall used for all purposes of social life to the vast complexus of Windsor or Westminster.

Still more varied in its significance is the word Church. This covers the Cathedral where the bishop had his seat ; the Conventual Church belonging to the monastic or canonical community; the Parish Church of town or country, that might be a large City Church with municipal associations or a Rural Shrine where the country folk were baptized and buried. Such churches might have a special constitution which made them Collegiate, and this was especially the case with the large town churches of later mediaeval times. Then there were Chapels of Ease that usually stood in a filial relation to the parish churches of the country districts and lacked their privileges of font and graveyard ; and Proprietory Chapels which were specially common in towns, and which, in modern times, play a good part in religious life without even the formality of consecration. Finally may be named Private Chapels attached to royal palaces, to colleges, hospitals, or other corporate institutions, or embraced in the castle of the noble or the commoner's mansion.

Monastic and Canonical establishments were also of various kinds, and the distinctions among them are suggested by the numerous familiar designations of the Orders and their branches. As these orders were formed to embrace diverse sections of the community and to carry out varying ideals of life, they required in each case their own special arrangements in church or domicile. We will aim first at gaining a general idea of these diverse monuments, without at the moment dealing with either their history or their actual structure.

The Old English settlement has been already discussed as the unit of the social life of rural Britain before the Norman Conquest. We have seen that it had the same position and appellation as the corresponding country village of to-day, and that we have grounds for assuming, within ample limits, a general likeness in configuration. Let us imagine ourselves approaching such a settlement.

We should find its principal structures nearly the same in kind that a similar village shows to-day. The ecclesiastical group then consisted only of church and parsonage, for the so-called 'church-house' of later mediaeval times which answered to the modern 'parish-room,' and the separate school-house were not yet in existence. The hall or manor house of the chief proprietor or squire would be conspicuous, and with it must be mentioned the lord's water-mill, which in older England was a common sight along all the streams. A third group would represent the villagers, and among their huts and shanties might emerge then, as now, one or two structures of greater pretension. At the present day one of these would be the village inn. This is in some places still a mediaeval building,[1] and the surviving hostelry of the fifteenth century may represent a still earlier house of entertainment. Saxon documents relating to land show that estates were sometimes charged with the burden of providing 'pastus' and 'refectio' for kings and officials with their retainers, and it has been suggested that the village inn, in places where there was no market, may have developed from that house in the early settlement to which was allotted the provision of entertainment for officers on the public service as well as for the ordinary wayfarer.[1] In one of his miracle stories, so valuable for their local touches, Bede speaks of a traveller going to such an inn, 'hospitium,' and in another of a wayfarer who comes to a village, 'ad vicum quendam,' and is received in a house with a large room where the neighbours gather for an evening's jollification, exactly as it might be at a country hostelry of the present day.[2] Mr. Andrews suggests that this was a manor house of a lord.[3] The idea seems pleasantly democratic, but it would not accord with English village customs, in which the social separation between 'quality' and the more homely elements of the population is never lost sight of; and the house was no doubt not even an inn, but only the domicile of a leading villager, perhaps of the standing of Drycthelm, who took in chapmen[4] and carried out the exhortation to hospitality which we find in an ecclesiastical document of pre-Conquest date.[5] This can really be proved. In law 12 of Hlothære and Eadric, men are represented as drinking together at a 'flet' and, as Thorpe pointed out, law 39 of Alfred indicates that such a 'flet' was the dwelling of a 'ceorl' or man of the 'simple' class. These notices are interesting as showing that villagers' houses of the kind might be more than mere shanties, and there is no reason to doubt that in many cases some quaintness of detail, with that rude but natural enrichment of timber structures of which something has already been said,[1] gave them the interest of art.

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[1] 'The Crown' at Chiddingfold, Surrey, is a well-known example.

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[1] . . . liberabo a pastu regis et principum . . . et a difficultate illa quam nos saxonice faestingmenn dicimus, is a phrase occurring in a charter of the ninth century, given in Earle, *Land Charters*, etc., Oxford, 1888, p. 111. Professor Earle, Introduction, p. lxxxvi, suggests this as a possible origin for inns.

[2] *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 9 and 10.

[3] *The Old English Manor*, Baltimore, 1892, p. 109.

[4] Hl. and Ea. 15. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1898, i. 11.

[5] Wilkins, *Concilia Magn. Brit.* etc. Lond. 1737, i, 273.

The mansion of the lord was a far more pretentious structure than the house of Bede's anecdote, and what has just been said applies here with more force. We know from inventories and records that there was considerable expenditure on its decoration and fittings, and though only of wood it may have attained to architectural dignity in its proportions and the massive strength of its beams. Its equipment gave occasion for art in the figured wall-hanging, and in carved and gilded woodwork in furniture and utensil. Other forms of secular art in armour and accoutrements, such as the golden jewel that clasped the cunningly woven or embroidered robe, the studded belt with its enamelled buckle, or the mead-bucket and the horn and the goblet, connect themselves with the life of the Saxon aristocracy, passed for a large portion of every year in the ancestral tun.

This is not the place for any discussion of the lord's dwelling as an architectural monument, but a word upon it is necessary in order to fix its general character and affinities. Various Old English terms implying structure and residence are used for its designation, but they are mostly too vague to convey any architectural sense. 'Bold' or 'botl,' 'hus,' 'tun,' 'ham,' 'hamsteal,' 'hamstede,' are words of this kind, and to these correspond the Latin 'domus,' 'villa,' 'curtis,' 'domicilium.' On the other hand, the often-used Latin term 'aula' and the Anglo-Saxon 'heall,' though their significance may not be rigidly fixed, do yet convey a distinct sense, and one that is expressed by our word 'hall.'[2] An aula is described in a document a little later than Saxon times as erected by some tenants of the Bishop of Durham in view of his great hunting expeditions.[1] It is a structure of timber sixty feet long and sixteen feet wide between the posts, and has as adjuncts a buttery, a steward's room, a chamber and a garderobe, and also a chapel, the whole being surrounded with a palisade or other form of enclosure.

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[1] ante, p. 28.

[2] The word 'aula' never lost its sense of openness, which it possessed in its first meaning of the forecourt of the Homeric house. It is probably connected with 'ἄω,' 'breathe,' and is hence the 'airy place.' (Curtius, *Gk. Etym.* Lond., 1886, 1, 470). 'Hall' has no connection with 'aula,' and

Though only a temporary structure, this may be regarded as typical. A single large apartment, that can be used for all the purposes of life, forms the most important part of the house or even the entire house, among so many peoples, that we should not be surprised to find it also amidst our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Mr. Andrews gives this ſorm and character to the old English manor-house, of which he draws an interesting picture.[2] The Bayeux Tapestry presents us with a view of the whole, or the chief part, of Harold's manor house at Bosham in Sussex, where he carouses before his fateful expedition across the Channel. As seen on the right hand in Fig. 10, it is a single large apartment, probably built of wood, on an upper story above an arched undercroft that must have been of stone, and is approached by a flight of outside steps. In aspect, though probably not in material, it resembles the Norman guest hall called 'Nova Aula,' of which the contemporary outer staircase still survives, that stood just within the gate of the precincts at Canterbury.[3]

Such an aula with its subsidiary structures and its outbuildings would form a country seat partly residence and partly

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indeed will have an opposite etymological significance, if it really mean 'covered' (cf. Germ. 'Hüllen' to cloak); but Murray (*Eng. Dict.*) thus explains it, 'a large place covered by a roof; in early times applied to any spacious roofed place,' and the sense of 'spaciousness' has always belonged to the word.

[1] *The Boldon Book*, a survey of the estates belonging to the see of Durham in 1183, printed in vol. IV of the official publication of Domesday, p. 575.

[2] *The Old English Manor*, p. 108 f.

[3] Willis, *Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury*, Lond. 1869, p. 144 f.

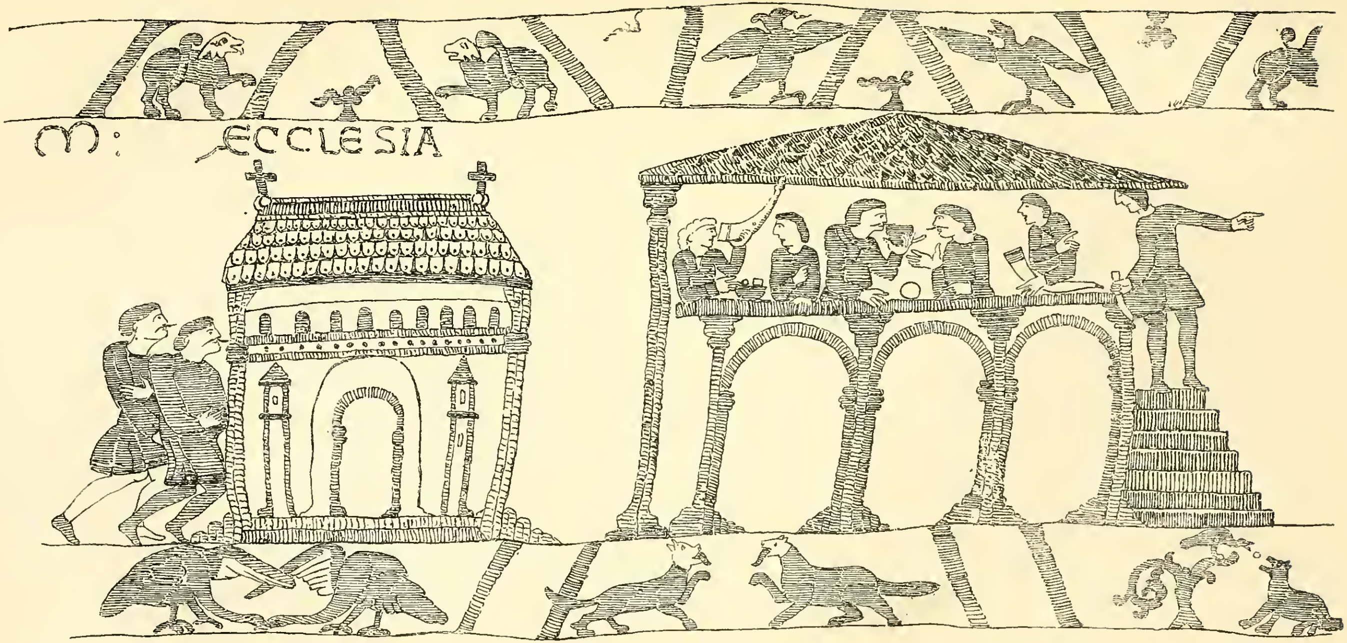

FIG. 10.—Bosham Church with the Hall of Harold's Manor House at Bosham, Sussex, from the Bayeux Tapestry.

(To face p. 104.)

farm, of a kind brought before us in Sir Walter Scott's description of Rotherwood in Ivanhoe, which gives a good general idea of a similar building and its surroundings. It might be encircled by a palisade or a hedge—we read of a hedge, 'hege,' round the royal residence at Winchester[1]—and could be made more or less defensible, for just after the death of Alfred his nephew Æthelwald threw himself into the ham at Wimborne and 'obstructed all the ways in to him' 'he hæfde ealle þa gatu forworhte in to him'[2]—but it was not in the strict sense fortified, and certainly could not be described as a 'Castle.' There are no passages in Anglo-Saxon literature which give us any real ground for believing that the lord's house, or even that of the king, was normally a stronghold. Of the various royal residences mentioned in Bede Bamborough is the only one that gives us this impression, and all that we know about the manor house of the thegn bears out the idea of its open and domestic character. Notwithstanding these facts it is very commonly represented as a castle, or at any rate has been brought into connection with certain existing English monuments of a castellated kind, with which in reality it can have had nothing to do.

The monuments in question represent a very primitive form of the private stronghold or castle. They are called 'moated mounds,' and consist of artificial hillocks of earth surrounded by a trench and connected with a system of outer defences in the form of earthen ramparts of enceinte and ditches, while the fortress was originally completed by wooden palisades and buildings of the same material on the ramparts and mound, as well as in the outer court (base court) or bailey, no masonry being anywhere employed. The plan of one of them is shown in Fig. 11. These earthworks are not infrequent features of the country landscape and more than one occurs in the Northamptonshire district selected for illustration.

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[1] Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 630.

[2] *A.-S. Chron.* ad ann. 901.

The chief authority on these moated mounds, the late G. T. Clark, author of *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*,[1] believed them to be of Saxon date, and thought that many of them were military works of a national kind carried out during the period of the Danish wars, while others were the private dwellings of Saxon thegns. If we consider however for a moment how these wars were conducted, and how the Saxon landholders lived, it will be seen that neither explanation is admissible.

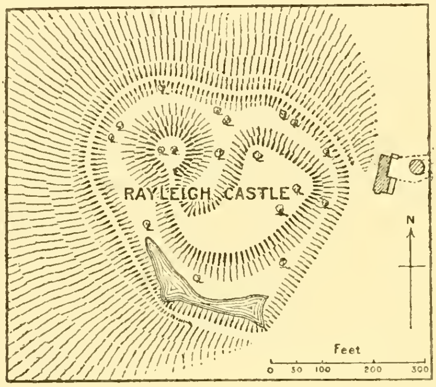

Fig. 11.—Plan of moated mound and base court, Rayleigh, Essex.

It has been noticed, on a previous page, in dealing with the Danish period, that the strategic works of Edward and Æthelflæd largely consisted in the fortifying of towns.[2] Many cities had still their Roman walls and these, we are distinctly told, were repaired. In the case of towns that had no Roman walls new lines would be constructed, but these would probably follow Roman models. Wareham in Dorset is spoken of in Alfred's time as a fortress of the West Saxons,[3] though we are not told that he constructed it. The earthen ramparts on a rectangular plan that now enfold Wareham may be regarded as an instance of this Saxon imitation of Roman earthworks. Such town enceintes represent, of course, quite a different kind of work from the moated mound, which has the character of an isolated fort. It must be admitted, however, that a certain class of the military works of the Danish period consisted in fortresses out of relation to towns, like that constructed by Alfred in 878 when he 'with a little band wrought a fortress at Athelney and from that work warred on' the Danish foe,[1] or works that did not form an urban enceinte but rather covered or threatened a town. Of such a kind were the forts or 'burhs' wrought by Edward the Elder not *round* but *at* or *before* places like Hertford, Buckingham or Bedford.[2]

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[1] London, 1884, 2 vols.

[2] ante, p. 91.

[3] *A.-S. Chron.* ad ann. 876.

We seem here to have examples of single fortified posts, that might, as at the two former places, be duplicated, and in the nature of things it is quite conceivable that they should have taken the mound form. Two mounds which William the Conqueror threw up, one on each side of the river, at York still remain, and the 'two works on the two sides of the river' Lea that Alfred made in 896[3] could very well have been of this kind. There is however no evidence of this on the respective sites where these isolated burhs or works are said to have been wrought,[4] and against the possibility that they were of the mound type we have to set the substantial fact that one of these non-urban fortresses of the period has come down to us almost intact, and it is of a type quite distinct from that of the moated mound. This is the fastness constructed by Æthelflæd in 914 at Edisbury in Cheshire.[5] The lines here (Fig. 12) enclose a permanent camp or station of sufficient size to accommodate a considerable body of troops,[6] strongly placed on the flat summit of a hill that falls away on each side. On the north-west there is a farm and the works are there obliterated, but on the long sides of the oval plateau, that measures some quarter of a mile in length by about a furlong in width, the ditch and bank are fairly preserved. At the south-east extremity the hill rises in a rocky knoll that may have served as a natural keep. The masonry to be seen in this part is of later date.

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[1] *A.-S. Chron.* ad. ann. 878. [2] ibid. 913, 915, 919. [3] *A.-S. Chron.* ad ann.

[4] See the paper by Mrs. Armitage presently to be noticed.

[5] *A.-S. Chron.* ad ann. 913.

[6] In Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, Lond. 1882, ii, 3, the extent is given as close upon twelve acres.

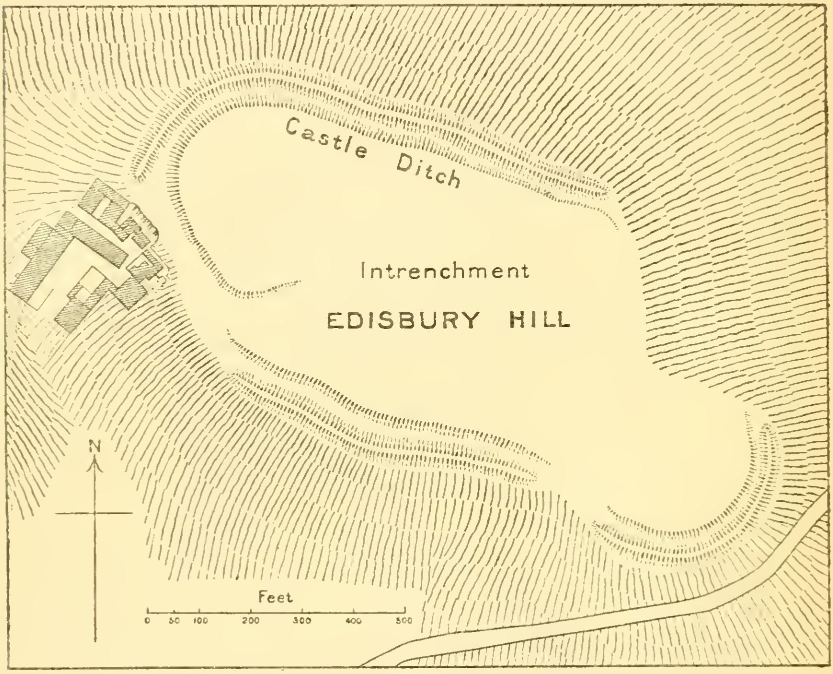

Fig. 12.—Plan of Saxon intrenchment at Edisbury, Cheshire.

From the accounts in the *A.-S. Chronicle*, as well as from the nature of the historical situation, it is clear that as a general rule the national military works of the Danish period consisted either in urban enceintes, like that of Wareham, or in lines of intrenchment such as remain at Edisbury, enclosing or extending along considerable spaces and designed to harbour, or assist the operations of, an army. These are the works mentioned in a law of Æthelstan, which enacts that all 'burhs' are to be repaired in the fortnight following the Rogation Days,[1] that is, at a season when in spring-time the earth would be soft and manageable, and it is the upkeep of burhs like these that is enjoined upon all holders of land by the so-called Trinoda Necessitas. Moated mounds are works of a different order altogether. If used at all these last would only have served as isolated posts for temporary purposes, and the occasions for their employment do not appear from the accounts to have been frequent. The English counties however bristle with these mounds, and they are not only very numerous but are widely distributed over areas that were not the theatre of the Danish struggle. Even if there were no other hypothesis to account for their appearance, we should hesitate greatly before connecting them with the Mercian wars. As a fact however there is a very satisfactory explanation of them to be drawn from a different source altogether. The questions of the true origin and history of these curious monuments, which have been touched upon by Mr. J. H. Round and others, were fully discussed in a paper by Mrs. Armitage read before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1900, and from the conclusions to which she has arrived there seems no escape.[1]

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[1] Æthelstan 13, Liebermann, 1, 157 .

The statistical and documentary evidence collected in that paper demonstrates what every traveller in the rural districts of Normandy will be prepared to hear, that the moated mound is almost certainly a Norman monument that can hardly have been introduced into this country until the Norman period. Moated mounds at any rate are abundant in the Duchy. De Caumont knew more than a hundred of them.[2] They have exactly the same character as the English examples, and are in all probability the private castles which, as Norman historians tell us, were erected by the Barons during the minority of William the Bastard.[3] One of the finest of them, Vieux Conches, in the forest of Conches near Évreux, can be dated some time before 1040.[1] A very well preserved example is above the interesting early church of Vieux-Pont-en-Auge near Mézidon. Now though there is nothing to show that Saxon thegns either needed or possessed fortifications of the kind, it is obvious that immediately after the Conquest the new Norman lords of England would absolutely require protection, and an entrenched mound of earth with a wooden fort at the top, such as they were familiar with in their own country, would provide this in the simplest and readiest fashion. The appearance of these moated mounds outside England proper just in those parts of Wales, Scotland and Ireland where the Normans first planted themselves, is another cogent argument in favour of the origin here suggested.

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[1] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. xxxiv, 1900, p 260.

[2] *Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales*, Paris, 1830, etc., v, 108.

[3] W. of Jumièges, vii, 1. Normannorum plurimi . . . plura per loca aggeres erexerunt.

The Bayeux Tapestry, in which several such forts are figured as in Normandy or Brittany, actually shows us a mound fortress being constructed in these very circumstances in England, where William's soldiers soon after the landing are bidden delve a castle at Hastings. The authorship of one existing English example is distinctly ascribed in Domesday to a Norman landholder.[2] At Rayleigh in Essex, where we find the moated mound and base court figured on a previous page (Fig. 11), Domesday tells us 'in hoc manerio fecit Suenus suum castellum.[3] This Suen, though his name sounds Danish, was a Norman, son of Robert the Staller, who was one of Edward the Confessor's Norman protégés and high in honour at his court.[4] The castellum Suen constructed on his Essex manor is just a type of the fortified residence which his countrymen soon after 1066 were bidding delve on their newly acquired lands.[1] Though a fine example of its kind it has not one-fourth the capacity of Edisbury camp.

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[1] de Caumont, loc. cit. p. 105.

[2] Domesday mentions several other examples of castle-building by Norman holders of English estates, but the example at Rayleigh is of especial value, as there are no later structures on the site. The original earthworks have never been transformed into a castle of a later type.

[3] *Domesday Book* ii, 43 b.

[4] Robert the Staller is noticed in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*

The Northamptonshire district already referred to is typical in that it possesses examples of these interesting monuments. There is one at Earls Barton partly in the churchyard, and this is commonly pointed to as the abode of the Saxon thegn who built the magnificent church tower hard by. It is more probably the site of the dwelling of the representative of his feudal successors, the Earls of Huntingdon, from whom the name Earls Barton is derived. Near Little Billing, on the bank of the river Nene, close beside Ford Mill, there rises another of these mounds, the situation of which is instructive. It is marked on the map as Clifford Hill. It is nearly a mile away from any village, and in its marshy surroundings it is a very unlikely place for the habitation of a Saxon landowner, but it is just on a site where a Norman feoffee would find useful a strong post to defend the passage of the river and to safeguard his mill. There are no apparent signs about it of a base court, but there seems to be an outwork along the river bank which agrees with the suggestion just made.

The moated mound represents accordingly not the first but the second form of the manorial residence with which we are dealing, and it is worthy of note that the country manor house after passing through many vicissitudes has now come back to something like its original character. The Saxon aula was succeeded first by the early Norman wooden domicile on its moated mound of earth, and next by the later Norman fortress of stone, in which the general plan of the mound and outer enceinte is retained, but the palisades are replaced by stone walls and the central structure becomes the famous Norman keep of stone. The territorial seat reached this matured form in the twelfth century, and in succeeding epochs it passed through various modifications in the course of which it was sometimes essentially a fortress and at other times resembled a palace, till it finally lost under the Tudors its defensible character, and became again, as it was at first, the open manor house that it has since remained. In more modern days the manor house proper no longer differs in aspect from the numberless private residences of members of the gentle class that dot the country side, many of which are shown on the Northamptonshire map, at page 84. Its distinction is due to its history, and, when it has not been moved, to its location, and it is from these points of view that in its later forms it is embraced within this survey.

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[1] There are many other lines of argument all pointing to the conclusion in the text. For these the reader is referred to Mrs Armitage's paper noticed above.

In connection with the manor house we come into contact with the simplest of all the forms which the great institution of the Church assumed in mediaeval days. This is the private chapel in the mansion or palace of noble or king. In its origin, as we shall see later on, the village church might often be as much the special oratory of the lord as the place of prayer for the villagers at large, and no other domestic shrine would under these conditions be needed. At a later period however, especially when the aula had become in the Normans' hands a fortified castle, separate oratories were constructed for the use of the inmates quite apart from the church of the tun. There is a small Norman chapel called by the name of St. Margaret in Edinburgh Castle, and the Norman stone keeps generally contain such oratories, the finest example of the kind being the chapel of St. John in the White Tower at London. They form parts of the greater mansions and palaces in all the later mediaeval period and the largest and most architecturally pretentious is no doubt St. George's chapel at Windsor.

Some points of interest regarding the construction and history of such private oratories will be dealt with in the sequel, but the institution is not a Saxon one. The Saxon dwelling as we have seen, if on an extensive scale, would consist in a group of separate structures contiguous but not united, and one of these might be a chapel. A chapel was to be attached to the temporary aula of the bishop of Durham in the Boldon Book,[1] and in the Law of Promotion quoted on a previous page[2] the ceorl who wins by a property franchise to thegnhood must possess 'a church and a kitchen'—no doubt as subsidiary buildings attached to his aula. Such a church however would not be, like the chapel in the Norman keep, a mere domestic office accessible only to the privileged inmates, but would be frequented freely by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It would be to all intents and purposes, as we shall see later on, a village or parish church, and an institution of this kind, though it might serve as the lord's chapel, has its chief importance for us in its relation to the humbler members of the community.

In this connection the Village Church is at all periods and from every point of view an institution of the highest interest, and no time is wasted that can be spent upon it. We are only concerned at the moment with its most general aspects. It is in the first place from the aesthetic side an epitome of mediaeval art. In connection with it we find brought home to our minds with the utmost vividness those artistic qualities at which we have already glanced. We wonder at the lavish abundance with which these fine architectural monuments were multiplied in the land, their size and costliness which seem out of all proportion to the needs of the humble communities, the air of style which gives them consistency and rational character, the waywardness of fancy which carried builder and ornamentalist into ever newer and more ingenious flights. The number of them, counting only those that are of real antiquity and interest, is immense, and not only are no two of them alike, but there is hardly one that has not some feature of plan and arrangement, some detail or fitting, that is in its way unique.

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[1] ante, p. 104.

[2] ante, p. 46.

The differing circumstances of various districts and the unequal distribution of building materials are among the reasons that brought about the evolution of provincial types, so that we can group together the churches, say, of Somerset, or of the Nene valley in Northants, or the fen districts of East Anglia, in virtue of certain general resemblances, which leave however to each separate example its own individuality. It is this constant variation, this element of unexpectedness, that is the secret of the inexhaustible charm of the art of the middle ages. The monuments fall under groups and types, because the artist was providing for normal and ever recurring needs, and employed his materials according to traditional forms and methods, so that, while ample scope was found for the element of variety, the limits of the conventions which in a general way presided over the different kinds of work were not exceeded. On the one side there was the factor of law, on the other that of spontaneous impulse, and the mind rests in the contemplation of the broad masses of the serviceable structures, so strong so well proportioned so full of intention in every part, while it is for ever stimulated to fresh delight in following the intricacies of the quaint and piquant detail.

The soil of Britain owns indeed no spot where the sons and daughters of the Anglo-Saxon race may more fitly love to stand than beside an English country church. They may themselves have no personal or family associations with the locality or even with the land, but the blood of the race flows more warmly in the veins of one who reflects that some thirty generations of the kindred stock have come and gone since the first Christian fabric cast its shadow on the grassy enclosure, and that the life of each of these was closely associated with the church path and precinct and porch, with the benches, the altar, the shrine, the tomb. And how many of these generations have left upon or about the building some yet discernible trace, if not some conspicuous memorial! The history, not indeed of the land at large—for this involves also

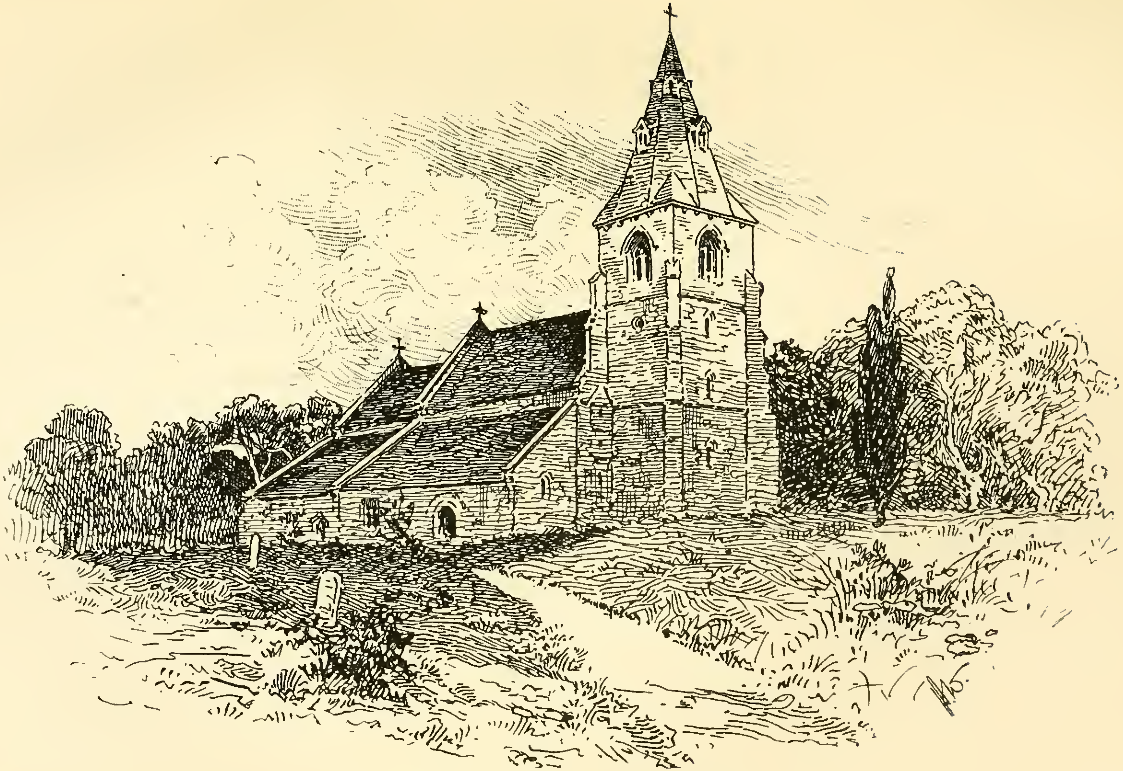

FIG. 13.—An English Country Church.

(To face p. 114.)

the annals of court and camp—but of the general mass of the people in their domestic and social surroundings, is written on these homely monuments. As we read the story of the structure and its surroundings, we follow backwards a long series of changes through which they have come to assume their present aspect. The latest change is the work of the modern restorer, who has obliterated something of the charm of age while at the same time he has made the shaken fabric firm and serviceable for generations to come. Where his hand has not yet been laid upon the building it is still full of curious encumbrances, dating mostly from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the form of gigantic pews and desks and galleries in which may be found set some jewels of Jacobean wood-carving. The arrangements of the sanctuary bear the stamp of the Puritan reaction from the sacerdotal theory,[1] but this crusade against mediaevalism, though frightfully destructive in its effects on decorative work and moveable fittings, did not go so far as to alter the fabric, which in its general expression and the distribution of its parts remains still a pre-Reformation product.

When the encumbrances just mentioned are removed by the restorer and so much of the mediaeval aspect brought back as fits the religious habits of to-day, the old village church is seen to be in the main the work of the centuries from the thirteenth to the fifteenth, while it commonly bears also traces of older handiwork. Whether these traces be apparent or not, it may be stated pretty confidently that the great majority of our old parochial churches, whatever the date of the existing fabrics, stand on the site of structures dedicated to religion before the Norman Conquest. Before the Perpendicular, before the Early English, church, there was one built by Norman or by Saxon workmen, the associations of which carry us back to the earliest periods of our national history. Churches which are still substantially or in part Norman are common in many districts of the country, but the reader may be surprised to learn that there are nearly two hundred examples which exhibit clear remains of masonry of Saxon character, while the existence of a Saxon stone church commonly presupposes that of an earlier oratory of wood—a memorial of the first Christianizing of the locality by some Aidan or Chad or Wilfrid of the seventh century. A few of our existing churches have even been claimed as monumental relics of Roman Christianity.

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[1] The churches at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, and Liddington in Rutland, still exhibit the communion table moved from the east wall and placed in the midst of the chancel where it is surrounded with rails or seats.

The cumulative operations of addition or rebuilding, which have brought the fabric into the condition in which we now find it, have all their social as well as their artistic interest. The development of the structure followed a certain normal order from age to age, but this was modified by local circumstances in such a way as to give to each edifice its own individual stamp. Successive building epochs are represented, let us say, by an old Saxon quoin of characteristic masonry that has somehow survived, and by a richly moulded Norman doorway preserved when the structure was rebuilt in the chaste and severe Early English style, which has left its mark in the pointed arcades, the lancet windows, the buttresses and moulded string-courses. The soaring spire, with its crocketted outline and its flanking angle-turrets, is Decorated, while the broad low Tudor-arched windows in the light and spacious clearstory show that this was an addition of the Perpendicular period. At these successive epochs, unless some wealthy monastery had acquired the patronage of the church, a certain share in the work of enlargement or rebuilding would be in the hands of the territorial lord, whose Saxon predecessor had erected the first unpretending shrine on his manorial estate. And he who had wrought for the splendour of the fane was himself glorified by it when laid there at last to rest within the screen of gilded ironwork, in a carved and painted tomb on which the light fell from the heraldically emblazoned window. In modern England where the link, unbroken for centuries, between a family and its ancestral home, is yielding gradually to new social conditions, a pathetic interest attaches to these ruined memorials of patron and patroness, who after playing their part in camps and courts far afield in their own land and the stranger's came back at last to lay their bones in the kindred earth of their native village. Of such the old churches of the country have much to tell. The so-called chantry chapels, spaces enclosed within the main area or built out as additions to the fabric, were their private churches within the church, served by their own priests at an altar dedicated to their patron saint, and forming a temenos for the family tomb. We may find their cognizance woven into the ornamental embellishment of the shrine, their place of honour still indicated in the chancel that perhaps for generations has not echoed the tread of any member of their house; their armoured effigies cunningly graven in plates of brass are beneath our feet as we ascend the aisles.

But the church after all belonged not so much to knight and lady as to the nameless many, who generation after generation trod the surrounding fields, never far out of sight of the cross upon the gable or beyond the hearing of the mellow chimes. It was their building, not the building of their lords; theirs not for prayer and shriving only but for whatever lessons of secular lore it was their lot to acquire; theirs too for many purposes of business, of justice, of recreation, that we do not readily associate with the sanctuary. To this day in the English village the church door is the recognized place for the display of notices relating to the local administration, and this is only a belated survival of the customs that made the church or its porch or its graveyard the scene of every public transaction in the community.

In these churches ministered a succession of village priests, whose names are preserved in episcopal registers, and on whose peaceful labours a pleasant light is thrown by some notices in mediaeval literature. When the old order was changing at the

Reformation and chantry priests were being reported on to Edward VI with a view to their suppression, an official record tells of one that 'the sayd Incumbent is a vereye honeste poore man and hathe none other lyvinge but only this Chuntre and is a man ryght able to serve a cure, and hath alwayes occupyed hymselfe in teachynge of children there.'[1] These 'Incumbents,' whether of chantries in churches or of the churches themselves, were in no way exceptional. Neither as men nor as clerics had they any cause to be better or worse than their fellows in church or world, yet they were singled out by some very good judges of what is in man, as representing the Christian ideal of life and ministry far more perfectly than monk or prelate. The sympathetic sketch that Chaucer drew of the 'poor persoun of a tun' (a village priest) coming as it does in the midst of so much keen satire on other ecclesiastical personages, forms one of the most beautiful passages of our early literature,[2] while the same testimony was enshrined in another form of art by Hans Holbein. In the series of his woodcuts known as the 'Dance of Death' the grinning skeleton mocks at the Pope, insults the Cardinal, wrests from the Abbot his crozier and tears the cowl from the head of the begging Monk (Fig. 14), but in the plate of the Parish Priest (Pfarrherr), Fig. 15, we see Death transformed to a friend and ministrant, who with lantern and bell in hand attends the priest as acolyte when he bears the sacrament to the sick through the streets at early dawn.

The differences of grade among village churches depend upon the facts of their origin and early history and will be dealt with on a subsequent page. We go on to notice next in order the Church of the Town in so far as it differs from that of the rural community. As a rule this difference, as we know already, will not be great, because the majority of English towns, even when they had Roman traditions at their back,

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[1] *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, II, 129.

[2] *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, v. 479 ff.

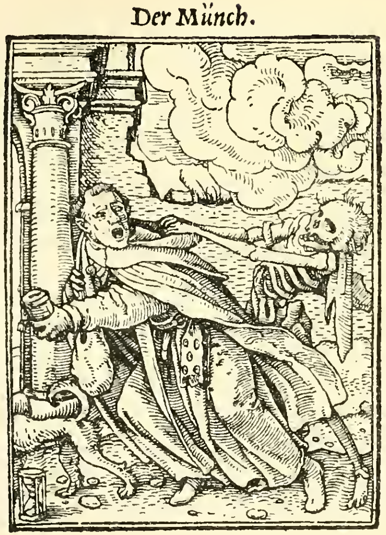

Fig. 14.—The Monk.

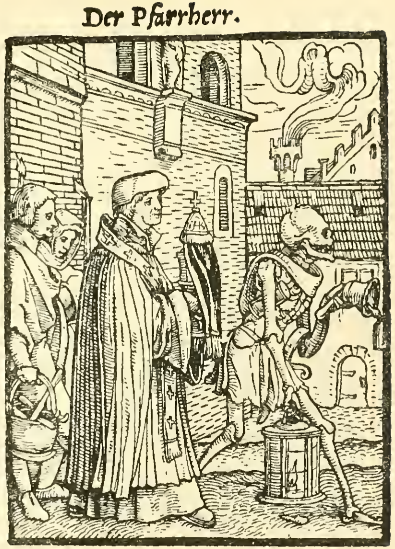
Der Pfarrherr.

Fig. 15.—The Parish Priest.

From Holbein's 'Dance of Death.'

(To face p. 118.)

grew up gradually under essentially rural conditions. In the Saxon and Norman periods town churches hardly need to be placed in a separate class, and it is not till about the fourteenth century that the town and the town church become of importance in the history of the arts. Municipal life was then organized and required an outward dress and apparatus of its own. A good deal of art connects itself at once with civic officialdom, and the Town Hall with its characteristic fittings comes to take its place as one of the architectural monuments of the land. The gilds or companies of merchants and craftsmen, which may have had their origin long before, only now become of real importance. When these equip themselves with insignia and banners, maintain their own altars in the churches, and organize their own pageants and processions, they come to figure in the history of the decorative arts, while at the same epoch the distinctively town church makes its appearance, and soon acquires a special character through its association with municipal bodies and with the gilds, for the accommodation of which suitable arrangements have to be provided.

It is a fact worthy of notice that many of our older towns, mostly but not exclusively those of Roman origin, have or had a very large number of early ecclesiastical foundations. We learn from Domesday that the burghers of Norwich possessed forty-three chapels,[1] and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of the time of Henry VIII mentions about as many churches, most of which still survive. In 1222 the number at Exeter is fixed at nineteen, but there were evidently before this a good many more.[2] Pre-Reformation Lincoln boasted forty-nine churches,[3] York nearly as many,[4] while the evidence of the *Valor* gives London about a hundred. It may interest some readers to know that the ground now occupied by the Bank of England was the parish of one of these churches, that was called St. Christopher-le-Stocks, because these instruments of justice stood just opposite by the site of the present Mansion House. 'The pretty garden in the centre of the building is the churchyard of St. Christopher. The courtyard of the Bank . . . is the courtyard of the house of the parish squire,' and the Walbrook, of which the name still survives, flowed by it in a series of tinkling cascades.[1]

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[1] *D. B.*, II, 116.

[2] Freeman, *Exeter*, Historic Towns Series, p. 62.

[3] *Associated Societies Reports*, 1888, p. 326.

[4] 'There were 41 Parish churches in York in the reign of Henry V.' *York*, by Canon Raine, Historic Towns Series, Lond. 1893, p. 183.

In contrast to this multiplication of parishes, we find the normal town that grew up as we have seen from a country village of the later Saxon period, in possession of a single church that is often a monument of extreme beauty and interest. Some of the largest towns that at present exist in the country, such as Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield and Birmingham, are, or were till lately, so far as parish arrangements go, in the same category as the small country towns like Aylesbury, Witney or Uppingham. In each of them there was at the time of the Reformation a single parochial foundation, which has remained its one parish church till quite modern days. In the case of the big towns, their great increase of population is of recent date and this has been met by the establishment of a number of 'quoad sacra' parishes,[2] but historically speaking they are single-parish towns.

It is in some of the towns of comparatively late foundation that we find the best examples of the distinctively town church. Those of Hull and Boston and Yarmouth are good examples, so too is St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol, and on a smaller scale St. Thomas at Salisbury; St. Cuthbert, Wells; St. Peter Mancroft at Norwich, and St. Nicholas, Durham. In the last four cases a large church of civic use exists close to the cathedral, and this juxtaposition brings us in contact with another English peculiarity, the historical basis of which we shall understand as we proceed.

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[1] *Archaeologia*, XLV, 58.

[2] A 'quoad sacra parish' is a convenient Scottish expression for an ecclesiastical district carved out of a larger original parish, which still remains for legal purposes intact.

In the normal state of things in western Christendom it is the cathedral itself that should be the town church par excellence, and the fact that in England cathedral and town church often stood side by side in a certain antagonism, is one that will need some explanation. For the moment we have only to pursue this brief preliminary survey of the different kinds of church, which has now brought us to the most important form of all.

The Cathedral is so called because it is the church in which the bishop has set up his 'cathedra' or chair, the church of his 'sedes,' seat, or see. In the parts of the West with which we are chiefly concerned, Christianity, introduced perhaps at first into the towns without observation and by private agency, was confirmed and extended by the efforts of missionary bishops, and the first church which each of these erected was his seat of authority, from which he directed further operations against the paganism around. It was thus the mother church of its district, and the priests whom the bishop had with him were the clergy that served the region round about. When other churches were built and clerics distributed among them, the bishop's church or cathedral always kept its position of primacy, and ecclesiastical law still envisages the cathedral as the parish church of its diocese.[1] On the religious side episcopal status carried with it important ritual prerogatives, giving to the bishop the exclusive use of certain formulae of consecration.

This monopoly was, humanly speaking, the secret of his power. Only the bishop could admit the infant scion of

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[1] This fact was recognized in mediaeval times by the payment of a small tribute called 'Cathedraticum' from the parochial churches to the bishop's establishment. Phillimore, *Ecclesiastical Law*, Lond. 1895, I, 134. In mediaeval wills, bequests are sometimes made to the cathedral of a testator's diocese as well as to his parish church.

Christian parents or the adult convert to full communion with the Church, or at the end of their mortal race could supply the consecrated chrism which would consummate for them the Church's work on earth. Only he could seal the newly dedicated chapel or altar with the sign of the cross that set it apart as sacred, or commission the priest to perform therein the saving sacrifice of the mass. Only by his agency was service or sacrament possible, and as this supreme privilege of consecration was in practice never seriously questioned, it made him an absolutely indispensable factor in ecclesiastical life. In some provinces of the Early Church, as in Ireland, the chief importance of the bishop was derived from this source. In the work of the Church as it affected society and the state he was officially as bishop a nonentity, but his services were retained for the sole ministry of consecration. In the Romanized West in general, on the other hand, his most prominent function was that of administrator. Here, the bishop was not only missionary but organizer. When the Church had triumphed over paganism he remained her chief executive officer, and combined functions purely religious with those of a more secular kind. Head of the spiritual hierarchy he belonged in a sense also to the practical sphere, and it was his function and aim to maintain and exalt the spiritual order in face of the worldly powers.

The position of the bishop was often one of great dignity and influence, based on social status and wealth, as well as on saintliness and sagacity. He was surrounded and served by a numerous body of clergy who composed what is known as his 'familia.' That they formed in very early times a common household may be judged from a glimpse we obtain of an Early Christian clergy house of the time of the Diocletian persecution, in a document recording the official visit thereto of the Roman magistrate of the town of Cirta in Africa, in quest of sacred writings which had been confiscated by imperial edict. On the occasion were assembled together with the bishop sundry priests, deacons, subdeacons and members of the lower clergy.[1] In the church the same company would make an imposing appearance. At Rome and Ravenna the Early Christian basilicas are arranged for a chief and his satellites. In the centre of the apse behind the altar is the seat of the bishop, while the stone bench, which on each side follows the semicircular wall of the apse, is for the assistant clergy. The aspect of their array we can judge from the Early Christian mosaic, the first and the finest of all, in the church of Sta. Pudentiana at Rome, where the actual daily arrangement is represented in an ideal form in the semi-dome of the apse, in the centre of which we see Christ enthroned as teacher, while the Apostles sit in a half-circle on either side.

The church and the residence of the bishop were the foci of the life of the Christian community not only as a spiritual body, but also as an organism, and the distinction or poverty of their aspect gave a clue to the support the new faith was receiving from its secular entourage. With such a character it will be readily understood that the bishop's church was, as a rule, the most imposing and richly adorned building that the resources of the community could furnish, and though in the central or Romanesque period of the middle ages the greater abbey churches surpassed those of episcopal rank, the Gothic cathedral again vindicates for this type of church the pre-eminence it has ever since maintained.

The cathedral is thus at once the earliest in point of time, and, in its ultimate form, the largest and most splendid of all the ecclesiastical monuments of the country. It came also to possess, in common with many of the greater churches of non-episcopal character, a special constitution indicated by the word 'collegiate.' The essential nature of a collegiate church can be understood from the meaning of a 'collegium,' an institution matured by the Romans and handed on by them to the mediaeval world.

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[1] The document is given in the Appendix to tom. IX of the works of St. Augustine, Migne, XLIII, 794.

A collegium is a corporate body consisting of several members whose community of work and interest is so close that the body forms a single personality distinct from the personalities of the individual members. The body as a whole can hold property, and the members may have their share of this as well as their part in the common work fixed by a regularly drawn constitution. Such associations could be formed for many different purposes, and it so happens that those whose object was the furtherance of study and education assumed such prominence in later times that the word 'college' has taken on itself a scholastic significance. A college however has nothing to do with education or religion or any other special aim. Strictly speaking it is only a corporation; the purposes for which it is formed, provided these are legitimate, have nothing to do with its legal character, and its objects may be purely secular or partly or wholly religious. Colleges for a religious purpose were common in ancient Rome, and corporate bodies charged with the maintenance of religious services were very natural and very common phenomena of the middle ages. In the infancy of the Church the bishop, as we have just seen, had about him a subordinate body of clergy, but all the property and authority were vested in his own person. Such a body was not collegiate, but might become so when the property and the duties were parcelled out among different members on a scheme that would remain always in force however individuals might come and go.

A constitution of this kind made the body a corporation, and this is the origin of the Cathedral Chapter, which is composed of the clergy attached to the episcopal church, but in practice distinct from the bishop, whose interests and sphere of work have often in later times been quite apart from those of the clerics that were originally his own familia.[1] It appears that at the time of Domesday the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury, forming the cathedral chapter, had their own property distinct from that of the archbishop, and the two sets of holdings are separately entered in the Survey.[1] The constitution and the names and duties of the officers and members composing the cathedral chapter vary in different cases, and these matters only concern us in so far as they have led to outward arrangements in the cathedral building and its surroundings. Within the bishop's church there has always remained the bishop's seat or throne, and one, or more than one, of these seats has come down to us from Saxon times. Places are also provided for all the functionaries of the establishment, of which the chief is the Dean; and Precentor, Archdeacons, Canons, and the rest, still occupy their stalls within the modern cathedral choir, the structure and fittings of which have been modified for their accommodation.

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[1] This change is described in Hatch, *The Growth of Church Institutions*, Lond. 1888, ch. x. The curious severance which the last few centuries had brought about between the bishop and the chapter is illustrated in Archbishop

The cathedral chapter represents the most venerable religious collegium in the land, but a body of clergy in a non-episcopal church could also be constituted a collegium, and as a fact, in common parlance the term 'collegiate church' is generally applied to certain churches of the larger and more important kind that were not bishop's churches but had officials and forms resembling those of a cathedral. The institution was a common one before the Reformation, when Scotland alone possessed some forty examples, and the choirs of such churches often show, in the stalls appointed for the officials, surviving traces of their former character. Many of the larger English town churches already referred to were collegiate. The non-episcopal collegiate church has now however almost passed out of existence. Southwell, Manchester, Ripon were of this order till in the course of the nineteenth century they became cathedrals. St.

Benson's little book entitled *The Cathedral*, London, 1878. Recently matters have greatly changed for the better.

[1] *D.B.* 1, 3, a, 1, Terra Archiepiscopi; 1, 4, b, 2, Terra Monachorum Archiepiscopi.

George's Chapel at Windsor, and Westminster[1] are the only ones which now exist. Other collegia, as foundations partly religious, with charitable or educational purposes distinct from the upkeep of church services, are however in full and beneficent operation in our midst.

It involved a further change when the clergy of a collegiate church adopted a formal rule, called generally a 'canonical' rule, for the religious life. The members of a clerical body living together and constituting a collegium were commonly known as 'canonici' 'canons,' a term the exact meaning and etymology of which are uncertain. Of many explanations that have been offered two seem to divide the suffrages of scholars. (1) Canonici might be those whose names are inscribed upon the κανών, or roll of membership called also by the Latin term 'matricula,' and in this case the word would merely imply membership of a college; or (2) canonici might be those whose lives were regulated according to a κανών or rule (the Greek word admits of either interpretation).[2] In this latter case canons would be more than mere members of a college. They would not only have a share in the corporate property and a part in the common work, but would have to conform in all their acts to a settled and more or less ascetic scheme of life.

It was a feature of Church life in the early middle ages, due to the influence of monasticism, that attempts were made from time to time to impose these ascetic rules for life in common upon the members of collegiate churches. One such code of rules drawn up in the eighth century by a bishop of Metz in Lorraine became firmly established abroad, and foundations of 'Lotharingian canons' according to the rule of Chrodegang of Metz were established in some of the greater churches of the Continent. In our own country however before the Norman Conquest, the collegiate clergy, whether of bishop's or of non-episcopal churches, as a general rule resisted this self-denying ordinance and lived in separate dwellings upon their own apportioned shares of the corporate funds, just as Fellows of Oxford and Cambridge Colleges or the canons of modern cathedrals live at present. They held and could bequeath private property, and were very often married. In the eleventh century a stricter canonical rule came into vogue called the Augustinian, supposed to be derived from the writings of S. Augustine of Hippo, and this became popular in our own country from the twelfth century onwards. The Augustinians were celibates, and had neither private property nor separate lodgings, but lived at a common table from corporate funds that were not allowed to be subdivided. Another still stricter order of canons was the Premonstratensian.

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[1] Westminster has had a chequered history. To quote a note in Makower, *die Verfassung der Kirche von England*, Berlin, 1894, p. 292, it was turned from a Benedictine monastery into a collegiate church at the Dissolution; in 1540 it was made a cathedral, in 1550 again a collegiate church; from 1556 to 1560 once more a monastery, it was finally settled as collegiate in 1560. Windsor was collegiate before the Reformation. There is a good notice of collegiate foundations in England in the Introduction to A. F. Leach's *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster*, Camden Soc. 1891.

[2] See Ducange sub voc. κανών in the *Glossarium . . . Graecitatis.*

It is advisable to note the different ways of life adopted by the clergy in order to understand the arrangement of their churches and domiciles. In the early days of the Church the clergy, whatever their grade, lived much as the modern Protestant bishop and canon and parish clergyman live at present. Bishops could marry, and their consorts took their share in diocesan work, for Gregory of Tours narrates how the wife of a bishop of Clermont, in the last half of the fifth century, directed the operations of a company of painters who were frescoing the walls of a church.[1] In Saxon England a married clergy was rather the rule than the exception. So far as their manner of life was concerned the incorporation of a body of such clergymen into a college made no difference, but the establishment among them of an ascetic rule of life made a very effective difference. This difference is expressed by the terms 'secular,' as applied to the clergy who lived freely in the 'seculum' or world, and 'regular' as given to those obeying a 'regula' or rule. Whether or not in strictness the name 'canon' should be used for the members of a clerical college not under a rule is doubtful, and a mediaeval writer quoted in Ducange protests that a 'secular canon' is a contradiction in terms, as the substantive implies regularity of life. This question depends on the true significance of the word 'canon,' which we have just seen to be uncertain.

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[1] *Hist. Franc*, II, 17.

The canonical rules were all ultimately derived from monastic patterns, and the stricter canons, in their vows and their way of living came to resemble very closely the monks. Their houses are called 'monasteries' and 'abbeys,' and a notice of them is included in Dugdale's *Monasticon*. To regard them as monks however is unhistorical. The monks are in common parlance included with the canons under the term 'regular clergy.' The monks were however not clergy at all. There is an essential difference between the canon, whatever his mode of life, and the monk, in that the former was a clergyman while the latter was not, or need not be, in ecclesiastical orders. The early monks turned their backs quite as much on the Church as they did upon the world. It is true that the Church annexed the monks, and that they became her most effective servants, but in its essence the monastic system, though an outcome of religion, was not in strictness an ecclesiastical institution. Women were just as eligible for the monastic life as men, yet were incapable of entering the ranks of the clergy. The rule of St. Benedict does not contemplate the monastic votaries taking orders, except in so far that it was advisable that some members of each community should be priests, just as others had to be skilled in farm-work or in brewing. It is only in the sixty-second of the seventy three chapters of the rule that we find the rescript that if any abbot seek (from the bishop of the diocese) ordination for a priest or deacon for his community he shall choose from his flock one worthy of the sacerdotal office.[1] On the other hand the Augustinian statutes edited by J. Willis Clark contemplate holy orders as a matter of course for each professed member of a community. The candidates for the Augustinian novitiate had to be examined inter alia, 'if they are fit to take orders,'[2] but there is nothing said about this in the chapter 'de disciplina suscipiendorum fratrum' of the Benedictine rule.[3] After the year of probation the Augustinian canon entered the ranks of the regular clergy, but the monk only did so if some reason for the step existed over and above his monkhood. Although in practice, as has been said, the regular canons were to all intents and purposes monks, yet the distinction here drawn out is one of fundamental principle, and should always be borne in mind. A work like Dr. Hatch's *Growth of Church Institutions* deals with all the grades and orders of clergy, including the stricter canons, but takes no account of the monks.

In Christendom at large it was the normal order of things for the bishop and the ecclesiastical officers that surrounded him to belong to the ordinary clergy though they might live under canonical rule, but it happened that in England the bishops were, for reasons that will afterwards appear, not uncommonly monks while members of a conventual body formed their familia.[4] English cathedrals were for this reason in many instances abbey churches and their surroundings assumed a monastic character. This fact is the explanation of some of the most striking external features of our native cathedrals. We can hardly think of these apart from their park-like closes, where the graceful elms cast changing shadows on the greensward or frame between them the grey façade or spire. This Cathedral Close is not an artistic fancy or an accident, but a piece of history, and one dependent on the peculiarity just mentioned. To account for it we must study on a later page the conditions under which English cathedral establishments grew up, and these will bring us into touch with interesting points of contrast between our own country and the Continent. The monastic character of so many English cathedrals explains also the fact, already noticed, that they were not town churches, and that the religious life of the burghers had to find other centres of its own.

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[1] *Reg. S. Bened.* cap. lxii, Migne, LXVI, 863.

[2] *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory . . . at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, J. Willis Clark, Camb., 1897, p. 121.

[3] Migne, loc. cit. p. 803.

[4] In such a case there would be an obvious reason for the monks taking orders, without which they could not serve the churches.

Of all the institutions with which we are concerned, that which has perhaps the greatest importance for our subject is the one which belongs most completely to the past. This is the Monastery. The great conventual establishments, that concentrated within themselves so large a part of the general life as well as of the artistic productiveness of the middle ages, are represented now only by fragments, and of these the examples that present themselves most readily before the mind are of secondary historical importance. When we think of an old English monastery there arises before us a picture of some Netley or Rievaulx or Furness where grey ruins rise amidst the exquisite verdure of a well-watered vale. These familiar sites are, as a rule, sites of comparatively late Cistercian abbeys that were not founded before the twelfth century. These are still, as they were at first, settlements in the country, the only change in their surroundings being a softening of the landscape due to the progress of that field culture their inmates did so much to encourage. Apart from these later foundations, there are monasteries of at least three other classes that must come under our view. There are first the older abbeys, many of which originated in early Saxon times but had to be refounded after the Danish desolation; these were either established in or near cities, like St. Augustine at Canterbury, or, set down originally in the waste, were centres round which, in the era of the growth of towns, agglomerations of population were formed. Such was the fact at Peterborough, St. Albans, St. Edmundsbury, Durham. In cases like these the relics of the monastic buildings have often, as at Westminster, to be sought in the midst of modern houses, and most people would be surprised to learn that the monastic buildings within the precincts of the last-named abbey are preserved almost as extensively as in the case of any other monastery in the country.[1] The 'Charterhouses' of which the London example is the most familiar, are Carthusian monasteries, houses arranged in a special and rather interesting fashion.

These older abbeys, at any rate from the time of their re-foundation after the Danish ruin, were under the Benedictine rule, which by that time had attained to almost universal sway in western Christendom. There existed however very numerous rules both in East and West prior to, or independent of, the Benedictine. In these islands, as in Christendom generally, the monastic life had its votaries before the first Italian foundation at Canterbury, and communities lived regular lives according to codes of their own, or rules that they had adopted from the practice of this or that famous monastery or group of monasteries in other lands. Thus there was a Columban rule of Irish origin quite distinct from that of Benedict of Nursia. Both in Scotland and in Ireland there still exist fairly extensive fragments of early Celtic establishments, and sites if not buildings consecrated once to this form of monasticism exist south of the Tweed. Hence a notice of these non-Benedictine monasteries must be included in any treatment of the conventual system in England.

Lastly, there are the Friars' houses, belonging to the Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites, that are still later in date than the Cistercian abbeys, but differ from them in being founded not in the waste but in the vicinity of seats of population. As they were established after the towns were pretty well formed, they occupied as a rule sites in the suburbs, often on a bit of marshy or otherwise useless land suited to their theoretically humble aspirations. Parts of these buildings exist in many places,[1] but their remembrance is chiefly preserved in local nomenclature, and in many of our older cities the familiar designations 'Greyfriars,' 'Blackfriars' and 'Whitefriars' fix the sites of old Franciscan, Dominican and Carmelite houses.

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[1] *Archaeological Journal*, XXXIII, 15 f.

The most striking example of survival in the outward institutions of monasticism, as has just been observed, is to be found in some of our present cathedral cities. At the Reformation several churches belonging to the greater abbeys like Gloucester and Peterborough were made the cathedral churches of newly formed sees, and the cloister buildings, at these and at other monasteries that had been all along cathedrals, were used for the housing of the chapter. Hence it has come about that at Canterbury, Durham, Gloucester, Winchester, and other places, as well as in some of our colleges, the outward fashion of the old life of the monastery, shut in within its walls and only accessible through guarded gates, seems still in a measure to survive, and in this sense the monastery, viewed as a collection of buildings, is yet in evidence in our midst.

How hard it is however, at Celtic Iona or Lindisfarne, at Roman St. Augustine, or by the ruined shrine in the West where the glamour of still older memories plays around Glastonbury—how hard it is to realize the extent and variety of the forms of life, of which in their early and vigorous prime they were the centres! The mediaeval monastery is one of the paradoxes of human civilization, for its working and history seem directly to belie the central conception on which it was founded. It was designed to be a place apart, but how often did a flourishing town grow up about a convent planted in the waste! The enclosing fence was jealously drawn around it, but through the barriers came and went the country folk for shriving or alms, brethren would pass out on errands of business, charity and art, or a worldly troop ride clattering in bent on some mission of policy. We might have entered it impressed with the pure ascetic ideal—withdrawal from the world, the denudation of human nature from all outward vanities, its chastening in vision and in striving towards the mystic goal—and we should truly have found in the heart of the vast establishment, in the cell of the Irish votary or in the Roman cloistered court, a spot retired and holy enough for the nurture of this ideal, while all the time around us in the outer enclosure the hum of an active and complex life was in the air. For even if the convent could have shut itself up from mundane influences, it had its own world within, and its occupations, intellectual, artistic, agricultural, made it one of the busiest scenes in the land. If on the one hand it proved attractive as a place of security and leisure to contemplative spirits, it offered on the other to the most ardent souls the fascination of a career of infinite self-devotion. The life of the cloister invited to the extreme of ascetic rigour and of heavenly striving, and a Columba or a Cuthbert, an Oswald, an Anselm, could indulge therein his aspirations towards a life more pure, more intense than that of his fellows. Anon, partly through a natural reaction of the mind, and still more because demands from the secular sphere had forced an entry past all conventual safeguards, the recluse would burst from his cell, and as statesman, reformer or judge stand forth as the most energetic actor in the affairs of the hour.

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[1] A fragment of a friars' establishment at Canterbury, built right over one of the branches of the river Stour, used to form as picturesque a bit of ruin as could be found in southern England.

It was in the centuries from the sixth to the eighth and again from the tenth to the twelfth that the monastery played its part most effectually in the development of European society. It was then one of the fundamental factors in western civilization, and one that explains, as will be seen, a large part of the artistic phenomena with which we shall have to deal. Long before they actually fell, the monasteries of our own country had achieved all the really beneficial work that was open to them, and the activity of which they had been the home was capable of being carried on more effectively outside their walls. Although however, by the sixteenth century, their social and religious importance had declined, they still remained seised of vast property in lands and buildings, and were treasure houses of a quite unimaginable wealth of artistic products, the inheritance of their strenuous prime. If these resources and possessions had been made national property and employed for public purposes such as education, the English Reformation could be surveyed by moderns without either shame or anger. The colossal iniquity of the appropriation of the great bulk of these resources for private aggrandisement, and the destruction of the heaped-up stores of long centuries

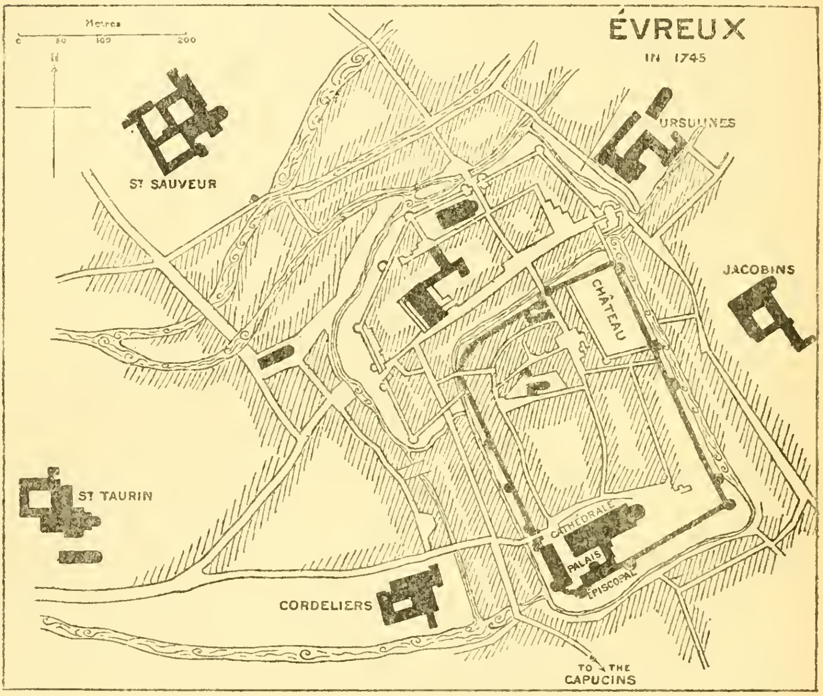
Metres
0
50
100
200
N
ÉVREUX
IN 1745
ST SAUVEUR
URSULINES
JACOBINS
CHÂTEAU
ST TAURIN
CATHÉDRALE
PALAIS
ÉPISCOPAL
CORDELIERS
TO THE
CAPUCINS

Fig. 16.—Plan of Évreux in the eighteenth century.

of devotion and skill, have made these years of desolation and waste among the darkest in our national annals.

This chapter may suitably conclude with a glance at a characteristic city plan, which exhibits the distribution in an urban centre of population of some of the institutions with which we have been dealing. The plan (Fig. 16) represents Évreux in Normandy in the middle of the eighteenth century. We see the Gallo-Roman enceinte marked in black lines. Within this, the nucleus of the later town, stands the cathedral or town church with the palace of the bishop close beside it. At the opposite corner of the enceinte (which was enlarged on that side in later times) is the emplacement of the mediaeval château which played its part in the civic history of the middle ages. Outside the fortified enclosure and in the 'fauxbourgs,' we see the various conventual establishments, each forming a separate and sometimes enclosed group of buildings. These were set down not *in* but *near* the town, though they have come now to be embraced in the extended limits of the modern city. Their obvious distinction from the cathedral and the bishop's establishment is significant, and will furnish matter for subsequent reflections.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANITY IN ROMAN AND IN UNROMANIZED LANDS: THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND

To UNDERSTAND how the English cathedrals and abbeys and village churches came to exist, and to be located where we now find them, we must glance at the early ecclesiastical history of the land. Though the period covered by this book begins with the settlement of the Saxons in Britain we must trace this history from a point a little further back, when Britain was, in part at least, a portion of the Roman Empire.

Christianity, which was probably introduced into Gaul from Greek-speaking lands in the wake of Massiliote or Narbonnese commerce, spread from thence into the isles of Britain at a time and by agencies that cannot be clearly determined. It found in what is now England a country not so fully Romanized as Gaul or Spain, but so far resembling them in its institutions that we may assume as an hypothesis that Christianity would take much the same form in the one country as in the others. Now if we compare a map of Gaul under the later Roman Empire with one of the same country showing the ecclesiastical divisions as they existed before the French Revolution, we find a remarkable correspondence. The most complete authority for the former is the document known as the 'Notitia' or as we might say 'Gazetteer,' of the provinces and states of the Empire drawn up in the days of Honorius at the beginning of the fifth century. At that time the units of the Roman provincial administration in Gaul were the so-called 'civitates,' that is to say tribal districts or cantons, each with a town that formed its local capital. Later on the word civitas came to be applied more particularly to the urban centre, so that the existing 'cities' of Bayeux, Tours and Sens represent what the Notitia calls 'Civitas Baiocassium,' 'Civitas Turonum' and 'Civitas Senonum.' M. Longnon in his *Géographie de la Gaule au VIme Siècle*[1] remarks that 'At the close of the Roman Empire Christianity, taking upon itself a territorial organization, adopted for its dioceses the partitions of the civil administration, and the Civitas became at the same time a civil and an ecclesiastical division.' The civitates were made the seats of bishoprics, while when certain sees were elevated in authority above the rest they were fixed at the civitates that had already metropolitan rank as the seats of the Roman 'Præsides.' M. Longnon's statement is well illustrated if we compare modern Normandy with the Roman province of Lugdunensis Secunda which corresponded closely to it (Fig. 17). Here according to the Notitia there was a 'metropolis,' the civitas now called Rouen, and subsidiary seats of Roman administration at civitates corresponding to Bayeux, Avranches, Évreux, Séez, Lisieux and Coutances. Up to almost our own time the same arrangement, transferred to the ecclesiastical sphere, prevailed, and there has been an archbishopric of Rouen and bishops' sees at each of the other cities mentioned, though the sees of Avranches and Lisieux are now suppressed; while on the other hand other Norman towns such as the seaports, or Caen, which from the eleventh century (till the modern rise of Havre) has been only second to Rouen, were not Roman civitates, and have never been the seats of bishoprics.

It must not be supposed that this arrangement was constituted at a stroke, or that when established it was never subject to vicissitudes. The following appear to be the facts of the case.

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[1] Paris, 1878, p. 2.

We find the beginnings of such a territorial episcopate in Gaul at an early date, for in 177 A.D. on the occasion of the persecution set on foot by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, an aged Greek-speaking bishop Pothinus was established at Lyons, the capital under Augustus of the three Gallic provinces, in a position which at a later date would have been that of Patriarch or Metropolitan.[1] It was only gradually however, as the Church advanced, that the civitates generally obtained their bishops. M. Duchesne believes that in the regions with which we are concerned the progress was much slower than has usually been supposed.[2] While in Africa and in southern Italy organized Christian communities were so abundant that soon after 250 Cyprian of Carthage had ninety and Cornelius of Rome sixty suffragans, most of the bishoprics in north Italy and in Gaul date only from the fourth century. From the fourth century onwards the territorial arrangement became normal, but it was in practice much interfered with in the disorders of the Merovingian epoch. Charles the Great restored it so far as the bishops were concerned, but did not place the different provinces under territorial metropolitans. He allowed himself, indeed, a personal liberty in the choice and location of the latter that reminds us of biblical days when Saul and David dealt at will with their chief priests in Palestine,[3] and Charles's procedure was followed in our own country by Offa of Mercia when in 786 he set up a Mercian archbishop of his own at Lichfield. The Early Christian system was however finally restored, and metropolitans were re-established in the chief Gallic cities as the heads of the territorial suffragans in the minor civitates. The system has endured to our own day, and its long continuance

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[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* v, 1.

[2] L'Origine des Diocèses Épiscopaux, in *Mémoires de la Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*, 5me Serie, Tom. x, 1889.

[3] Man sieht, Karl übertrug einzelnen Männern, zu welchen er Vertrauen hatte, die erzbischöfliche Stellung. Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Leipzig, 1887 etc. ii, 190.

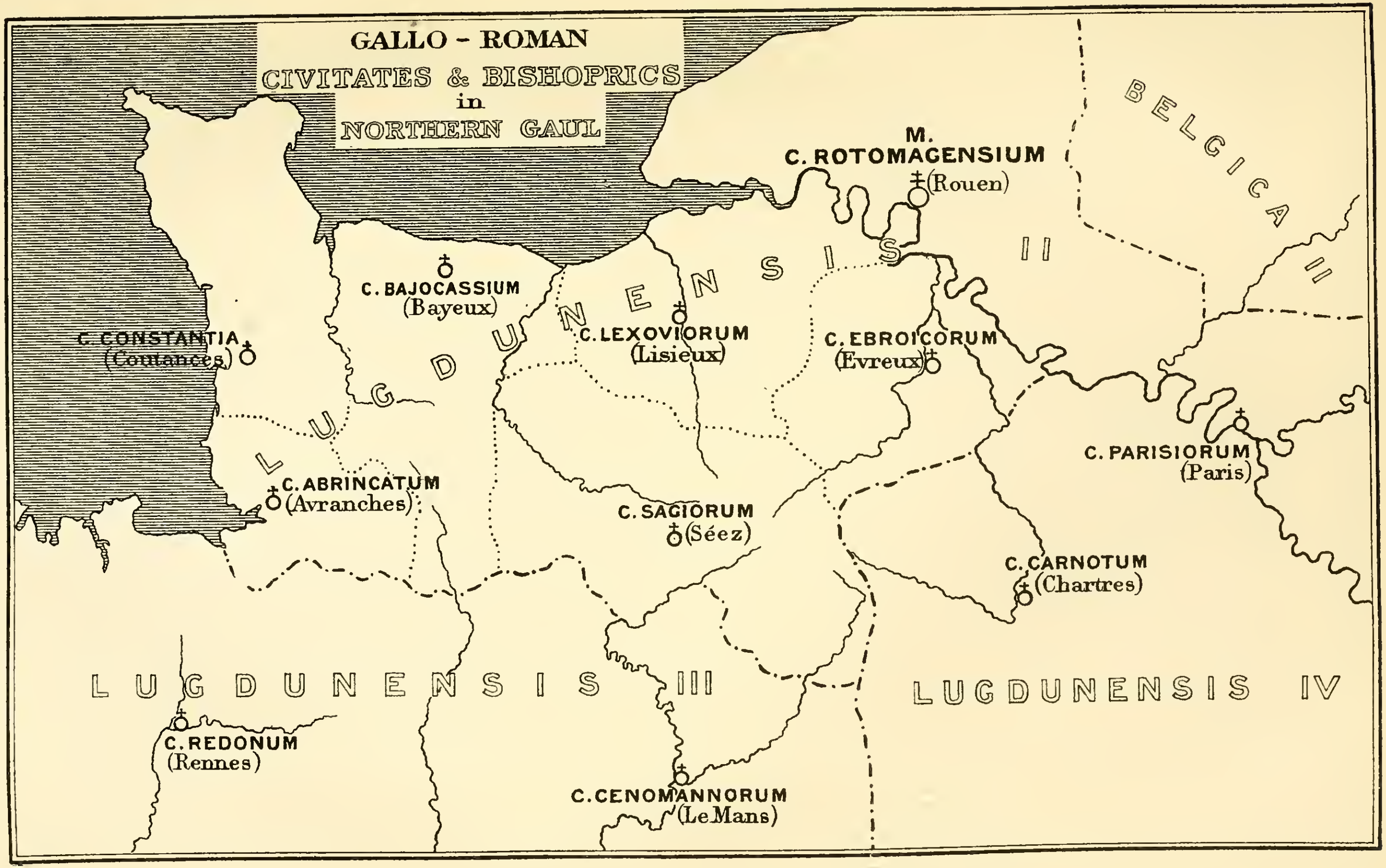
GALLO - ROMAN
CIVITATES & BISHOPRICS
in
NORTHERN GAUL
BELGICA II
LUGDUNENSIS II
M.
C. ROTOMAGENSIUM
(Rouen)
C. BAJOCASSIUM
(Bayeux)
C. CONSTANTIA
(Coutances)
C. LEXOVIORUM
(Lisieux)
C. EBROICORUM
(Evreux)
C. PARISIORUM
(Paris)
C. ABRINCATUM
(Avranches)
C. SAGIORUM
(Séez)
C. CARNOTUM
(Chartres)
LUGDUNENSIS III
LUGDUNENSIS IV
C. REDONUM
(Rennes)
C. CENOMANNORUM
(Le Mans)

FIG. 17.—Relation of Cities and Bishoprics in Northern Gaul.

(To face p. 138.)

shows that the coincidence of the Roman and the ecclestiastical divisions was a deep-lying principle of Church order in the lands that had formed part of the Empire.[1] In modern times, the popular notion that there is some mysterious connection between a bishop and a 'city' as distinguished from a town, is a confused reminiscence of the fact that, in the Romanized provinces, it was the towns which ranked as civitates, and such towns only, that were fixed upon by the Church as episcopal sees.

This establishment of the Christian bishop in the Roman civitas carried with it arrangements of the utmost importance for architectural history. In the centre of these episcopal cities of northern Gaul a Gallo-Roman enceinte (small and of a late period) can generally still be traced, and within this enceinte stand the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace, occupying as a rule a position not quite central but near the enclosing wall. In what circumstances these came first to be built, and how they were related to the civil and religious structures of the Romans we cannot exactly tell. It was a tradition of the Church at Bourges that the first Christian basilica there had been made out of the house of a certain senator,[2] and a similar story is told in the cases of Rouen and Tours. When we remember the references in apostolical writings to Christian assemblies in the houses of individual members of the body, as well as the legendary origin of many of the oldest churches at Rome, this does not seem unlikely. We cannot suppose that a new site could at once be cleared and made available for Christian purposes so near the middle of a flourishing Romanized city, but a leading inhabitant, domiciled in a central position, might easily set apart a room in his house for the celebration of

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[1] M. Longnon, *Géographie*, p. 187, says that, after various changes in the organization of ecclesiastical districts due to the disorders of Merovingian times, there came about 'un retour complet à la *Notitia provinciarum et civitatum Galliae* que tous les hommes éclairés de la renaissance qui signala le début de l'époque Carlovingienne semblent avoir considérée, avec raison, comme la base fondamentale de l'organisation diocésaine de l'Église gauloise.'

[2] Greg. Tur, *Hist. Franc.*, i, 29.

Christian rites. This apartment would grow in time into a regular church, while the bishop, at first lodged in another part of the same house, would, with his familia, come to have his separate dwelling close beside his oratory.

The position of the Christian bishop in the Gallo-Roman civitas is made clear to us in writings like the *Letters* of Sidonius Apollinaris and the *History* of Gregory of Tours. The former lived through the transition from Roman to barbarian rule. As bishop of Clermont he was one of the foremost men in the Auvergnian province, the last territory west of the Rhone that remained to the Empire, and he tells us how his people watched from the 'Roman ramparts' of the city on snowy nights of winter for the approach of the dreaded Gothic chivalry.[1] On the surrender of Auvergne Sidonius was subject to control by the 'Comes' or representative of the Gothic king, but, like the bishops generally, continued in office and in influence. As the invaders of the Empire were notoriously averse to the life of towns, these were allowed to preserve their own institutions without much interference, and within their walls the bishop was the leader of the citizens, the benefactor of the poor, the bounteous distributor of wealth for public objects. Although as we see from the narrative of Gregory of Tours, the bishops might from time to time have their difficulties with king[2] or comes,[3] yet on the whole they more than held their own, and the historian records certain indignant outbursts on the part of the Merovingian king Chilperic against the bishops, to the effect that the royal treasury was denuded and all the public wealth transferred to the churches; there were no longer any kings but the bishops; the royal authority was no more and had been given over to the bishops of the cities![4]

In agreement with this condition of affairs, we can easily realize how from generation to generation within the Gallo-

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[1] *Ep.* iii, 7.

[2] *Hist. Franc.* iv, 26.

[3] ibid. v, 49 f.

[4] ibid. vi, 46.

Roman wall the classical buildings gradually decayed and their ruins were buried under increasing heaps of rubbish, till now they must be sought for many feet underground, while the church and the episcopal residence, frequently rebuilt and enlarged, became more and more prominent landmarks in the town. To-day, in the cities of this type, the Roman walls and buildings are only traceable by the archaeologist, but the cathedral and bishop's palace still occupy central positions, often in the focus of the modern life of the town, and in any case seldom far from the chief places of popular resort. This arrangement is normal in continental towns, though the development of new quarters may in some cases have shifted the centre of business away from the old Gallo-Roman nucleus. The accompanying block plans of some cities of northern France (Fig. 18) will illustrate what is meant.[1] In most cases the bishop's palace is shown beside the cathedral and both are within or on the late Roman enceinte, which in nearly every case is still the nucleus of the existing city.

There is no pleasanter sight in Europe than the central square of a French or Italian town dominated by the vast mass of the cathedral, through whose open doors pass in and out the market men and women for the few moments of prayer to which the open democratic foreign churches offer invitation. The buildings are there, we feel, for the use of the townsfolk at large. They are the traditional centres of all that large part of the civic life of old time with which religion was connected. We realize this all the more when we remember in contrast the air of aristocratic seclusion which hangs about our English fanes. The English cathedral, so retired and quiet, hardly prepares the traveller to the Continent for the coming and going, the constant services, the small processions, which make a French or Spanish or Italian church at all times of the day, and often even at night, a scene of picturesque and busy life.

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[1] The plans are for the most part from data furnished by de Caumont in the *Bulletin Monumental.* There is no pretence in them to accuracy of scale.

There is a reason for this difference, quite independent of Protestantism, and into this we must enter with sufficient fullness to bring into clear relief the special character of our own ecclesiastical institutions.

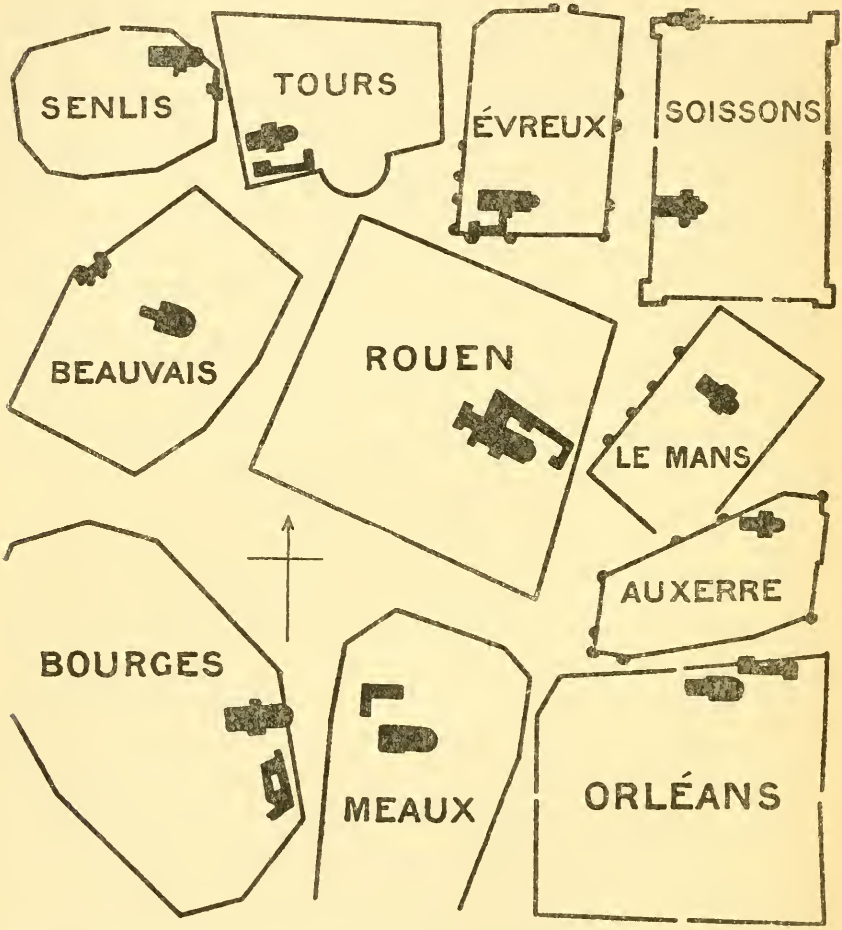
SENLIS
TOURS
ÉVREUX
SOISSONS
BEAUVAIS
ROUEN
LE MANS
AUXERRE
BOURGES
MEAUX
ORLÉANS

Fig. 18.—Block plans of the Gallo-Roman enceintes of cities in Gaul, showing the position of the cathedrals and bishop's palaces.

That this special character really attaches to them will hardly be doubted. St. Paul of London is about the only English cathedral that belongs to a great modern centre of population, and that occupies therein a conspicuous position which proclaims it as a constituent element in the common urban life. Until Manchester became in the middle of the nineteenth century a bishop's seat, the big modern English towns were normally non-episcopal, while a surprising number of towns, such as Bristol, Northampton, Colchester, Oxford, important in the national history though not always sharing in modern developments, have never been cathedral cities, or only became such at the Reformation. The normal cathedral city, as we know it, not a busy centre of population but a place apart from the rushing currents of the national life, is characteristically English. Lichfield, Wells, Chichester, Ely, are places which exhibit this character unchanged to this day, and the comparative quiet of the city itself is as marked as is the retirement in relation to the city of the actual cathedral, which generally stands as we have seen a little apart, embosomed in the verdure of its close. The English cathedral in the impression it produces as a work of art owes its special charm to these circumstances of situation and surroundings, while the effective architectural arrangement of the main building and its adjuncts is the result of the constitution of the ecclesiastical body that owned and used them. All these, situation, surroundings, arrangements, were determined by events that happened more than twelve centuries ago, and these events, though they are matters of general history rather than of the history of the arts, must here be briefly indicated.

We have seen that the Gaul of the Notitia handed on its organization to the ecclesiastical Gaul of later ages. Was the organization of Britain in the Roman period of a similar kind, and was the Church prepared as in Gaul to adopt it as the basis of its own system? Our information on the subject is scanty, but there are indications that there was in Britain an urban organization of the church. Whether this Christianity of the towns was the only Christianity in the land, is another question to which we shall have presently to return, for just as we do not know how far the whole of Britain, town and country alike, independent of the Roman centres of administration, was Romanized, so we do not know how far Christianity had spread from the Roman centres, whither it must first have been brought, to the country districts. Keeping however for the moment only to the towns, we know that certain British bishops were present at the Council of Arles in 314, and in the record of the proceedings they are numbered among the bishops of Gaul. This fact implies a close connection of the Churches on the two sides of the Channel, from which may be inferred their similarity in organization. It agrees with this to find that the prelates in question represented some of the principal Roman cities of Britain, and came from York and London and from another city that must have been either Lincoln or Caerleon-on-Usk. Further, when Gregory the Great in sending Augustine to Kent sketched a scheme for the episcopate of Saxon England, he marked out London and York as metropolitan sees, each with twelve diocesans; and in connection with this we may note that Bede, in his Epistle to Ecgbert, refers to this arrangement of an archbishop with twelve diocesans as a natural and proper one for the northern province.[1] The scheme would imply the existence, according to Gregory's information, of two cities worthy of metropolitan rank, which would naturally be York, the military, and London, the commercial capital of the country, and at least twenty-four others of the rank of the episcopal civitates of the Romanized West. It should be remembered in this connection that Gildas gives twenty-eight as the number of the cities of Roman Britain.[2] When we find that of the hundred and twelve cities of the Gaul of the Notitia all but four are known to have been the seats of Christian bishoprics,[3] we may fairly conjecture that the same would have been true in the main of the Romano-British civitates. It is easily conceivable that there existed at Rome some knowledge of the constitution of the British Church before the Teutonic invasion. In the middle of the fifth century the Roman bishop Leo I has been pictured as 'standing in a watch-tower, his eye on every part of the Christian world,'[1] and the interest felt in the Roman 'secretarium' concerning Britain probably then took form in the Lucius-Eleutherus legend to be presently noticed. What Leo and his contemporaries knew was certainly handed down to the time of Gregory, and that shrewd administrator may have wished to re-establish something resembling the old arrangement, though it is quite another question how far these same cities were actually surviving in the Teutonized England to which he dispatched Augustine.

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[1] *Op. Hist.* ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1896, I, 412.

[2] ante, p. 52.

[3] Longnon, *Géographie*, p. 2.

Much instruction on the point before us is to be gained from a glance at Silchester in Hants, where the spade has recently been so busily at work.[2] Silchester was apparently a civitas of the Gallic type, an old cantonal capital—Calleva of the Atrebates. It was however thoroughly Romanized, and presents to us the most complete picture that has been recovered in England of the organized urban life that was so characteristically Roman. The circuit of its walls measures a mile and a half, and it was fully equipped with a basilica and public offices flanking its open forum. In close proximity to this, and nearly therefore in the centre of the whole city, there were found a few years ago the remains of a small building which from its form and its orientation may be pretty confidently pronounced an Early Christian church. (See the block plan, Fig. 19.) It may have been erected within a century of the first introduction of Christianity into the district, and it is already not a mere room in a private house but an independent structure that, although small, is fully in evidence, and holds its place boldly by the side of the recognized urban edifices of the municipality. Had Calleva Atrebatum been a Gallic civitas that had passed, when the Empire fell, under the power of the Goths or Franks instead of that of the wilder heathen sea-rovers, it would have remained a populous and influential city, and the little oratory would gradually have grown into the town church, probably of cathedral rank. The forum might have become the market place, and the bishop's residence have reared its head beside the town hall and other civic offices. That Silchester perished and that the primitive church never had the chance to grow into the statelier forms of later mediaeval periods, is due to causes that operated in England and not in the rest of Europe.

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[1] *Dict. of Christian Biography*, Art. Leo I.

[2] The results of these explorations are contained in *Archaeologia*, vols. LII f.

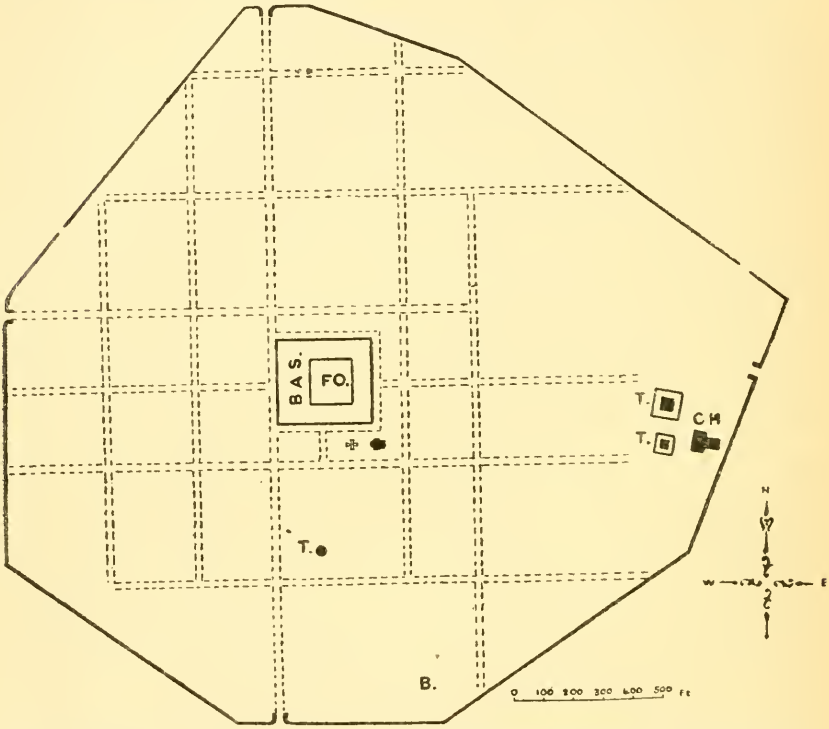

Fig. 19.—Block plan of the Roman city at Silchester, showing the site of the supposed Early Christian Church marked by a cross.

FO.	Forum.	**T.T.**	Temples.
BAS.	Basilica.	**CH.**	Mediaeval Church.
B.	Baths.		

Through the agency of these causes it came about that whereas, before the Teutonic conquest, a list of the chief Roman towns in Britain and of the British bishoprics would to a greater or less extent have corresponded, the location of the seats of the early Saxon bishops introduces us to an entirely different order of things. The contrast here referred to is made apparent in the accompanying map, which must be compared with that exhibiting the principal Roman cities of Britain, given previously opposite page 53. The present map, Fig. 20, shows the English sees as they existed before the Norman Conquest on a system arranged by Archbishop Theodore about 680 and somewhat modified in subsequent centuries. Whereas in Gaul, to borrow a phrase of M. Desjardins,[1] 'the dioceses answer to the ancient civitates and each episcopal seat to the chief place of the civitas,' in England a wholly distinct arrangement prevails. It will be seen that there were Saxon bishops located at London and York but at none of the other most important Roman cities, such as Camolodunum (Colchester), Verulamium (by St. Albans), Lindum (Lincoln), Deva (Chester), Isca Silurum (Carleon-on-Usk), Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester), Glevum (Gloucester), Uriconium (Wroxoter). There were bishops established in many Roman cities of the second class like Durovernum (Canterbury), Durobriva (Rochester), Venta Belgarum (Winchester), Ratae (Leicester), Worcester and Dorchester by Oxford, while other sees, and amongst them some of the most important, were not in cities but at insignificant places like Hexham, Crediton, Ramsbury, Selsey, or sites that had no urban character at all such as Lindisfarne or Abercorn. Whatever the Saxons did or did not do to the Roman towns, they put them out of relation to the ecclesiastical system. Gildas in his rhetorical account of the desolation wrought at the Saxon conquest, makes much of the rout of the bishops and priests along with the rest of the people, and pictures the holy altars cumbering the streets of the ruined cities together with the fragments of walls and towers. This was no doubt the case in those towns that met the fate of Uriconium or Anderida, but even where the conquest was milder or was achieved by already Christianized tribes, the continuity of Church life must have been equally sharply sundered.

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[1] *Géographie de la Gaule Romaine*, Paris, 1876 etc., III, 417.

The case of Exeter and other western towns suggests some comment. Exeter, which as the bulwark of Roman power in the south-west must have been an important Romano-British city, probably passed as we have seen comparatively peacefully into the hands of the Saxons. It is a place where the existence of a British bishopric would have been natural, and we may ask Why were not the church and the see preserved by the Christianized conquerors? From the fact that Exeter was not a Saxon see, Professor Freeman argued that there had been no British bishopric at the place.[1] So strong however was the antagonism between Briton and Saxon, even when both were Christian, that the native Church may have retired before the Saxon advance. Bede tells us that in his time the Britons treated the Christian Angles as pagans, and held their faith and practice as of no account, and a century earlier we have the spectacle of the Christian British king Cadwalla uniting with the heathen Penda of Mercia in relentless warfare against the Christian Edwin of Northumbria.[2] Hence we can easily understand that the representatives of the British Church in places like Exeter, Caerleon or Gloucester might evacuate the Roman city and refuse to carry on their organization under Saxon lordship. As a fact, though there are some more or less disputed instances of the survival of Romano-British churches not of cathedral rank, one only among English cathedrals, that of Canterbury, is known to stand on the site of, and so to perpetuate, a church of Roman times that may have been in charge of a British bishop. There were Saxon bishops at York, but their church, now represented by the mediaeval minster, can hardly be on the same site as that of their British predecessor, for York Minster stands right across the line of one of the two principal streets of the Roman city.[1] It is only a conjecture that the noble site, which from the 7th century has sustained St. Paul of London, had been hallowed by an earlier consecration, or that King Coinualch of Wessex built the first Saxon church at Winchester on the site of a British sanctuary, for the ancient and possibly Roman well in the middle of the Norman crypt need not have had anything to do with the early Romano-British church.

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[1] *Exeter*, Historic Towns Series, p. 8.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 20.

From the present point of view we must regard Teutonic England as in many respects reduced to the same state as those parts of the island that had been always outside the Roman Empire, and into Teutonic England Christianity was re-introduced under conditions similar to those which ruled in the original conversion of Ireland or Strathclyde. This re-conversion introduced new and important elements into the life of the Church. It introduced, side by side with the normal Christianity of the Romanized West, a Christianity of Celtic origin and of a more emotional type, with a correspondingly loose Church organization in which the bishop had a more restricted office and a totally different social position. It introduced the important institution of Monasticism that had grown up in Christendom subsequently to the establishment in the provinces of the new religion. During the all-important seventh century an enthralling interest is lent to the story of English Christianity by the existence of these varied and sometimes conflicting elements.

The Christianity of the British Isles in independence of Roman civilization offers a fascinating field of study. We have assumed that Romano-British Christianity, following the normal course, would be primarily an affair of the towns, but have posed the question whether or not it had extended beyond these to the country districts. The recent historian of the church in Germany, Dr. Albert Hauck,[1] in dealing with the spread of Christianity in Gaul, points out the difficulties the new religion would encounter when once outside the walls of the Romanized cities, and decides that the conditions in the Gallic provinces were unfavourable to such an extension. There seems no reason why the conditions in Britain should have been more promising than those in Gaul, yet there are some notices and some monumental remains which indicate that in Britain Christianity had actually spread beyond the towns before the legions were withdrawn. These must be considered later on, but attention may be called in this place to the striking fact that British Christianity, so far from being killed by the loss of the Roman organization, seemed to acquire at this very juncture a fresh lease of life. The Romano-British Church is sometimes depreciated on account of its supposed dependence on the urban system, as if it had no hold on any of the people save the lower class of Roman provincials. We find it however before long both rooted and flourishing in those very parts of the island where no Roman organization had ever existed. The Church in Wales was this very Romano-British Church driven outside the Roman bounds by the invading heathen, and how thoroughly popular an institution it there became is sufficiently indicated by the local nomenclature of the Principality. Christianity, transported, violently or through force of racial sympathy, from the Romanized cities to the hills and forests of Wales, did not seem to be cut off from its source of strength but rather to be inspired with new and perhaps more purely Christian fervour.

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[1] Raine, *York*, Historic Towns Series, Lond. 1893, p. 5.

This important truth, that the new religion could flourish in Britain without any help from Roman institutions, is strikingly illustrated by the facts of Irish Christianity. The early Irish Church, though independent of everything Roman, was one of the most prolific centres of Christian activity. Irish Christianity had a direct influence upon England in the period with which

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[1] *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* I^2, 11 f.

FIG. 20.

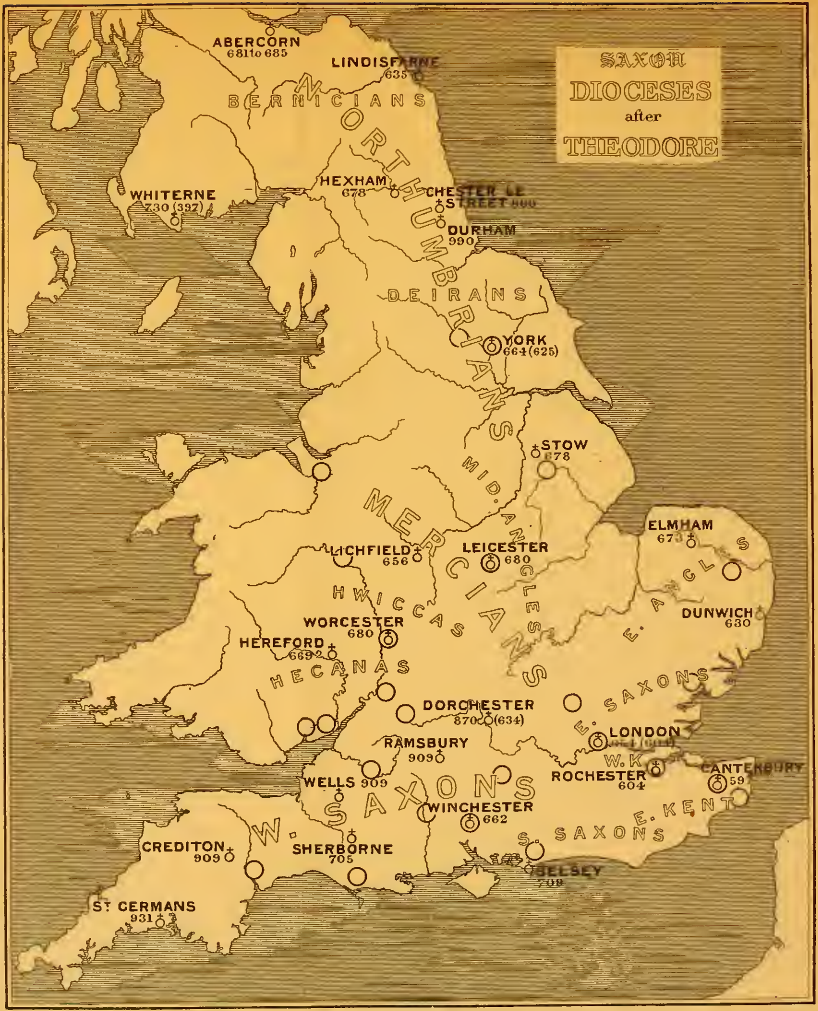
SAXON DIOCESES after THEODORE
ABERCORN 681 to 685
LINDISFARNE 635
BERNICIANS
NORTHUMBRIANS
HEXHAM 678
CHESTER LE STREET
WHITERNE 730 (397)
DURHAM 990
DEIRANS
YORK 664 (625)
STOW 678
MID. ANGLES
MERCIANS
ELMHAM 673
E. ANGLES
LICHFIELD 656
LEICESTER 680
HWICCAS
WORCESTER 680
HEREFORD 669?
DUNWICH 630
HECANAS
DORCHESTER 870 (634)
E. SAXONS
LONDON
W. K
ROCHESTER 604
CANTERBURY 597
RAMSBURY 909
WELLS 909
W. SAXONS
WINCHESTER 662
E. KENT
S. SAXONS
SELSEY 709
CREDITON 909
SHERBORNE 705
ST GERMANS 931

FIG. 20.—Relation of Cities and Bishoprics in Anglo-Saxon England.

The large circles indicate Roman towns, the small circles surmounted by a cross the bishoprics. The names in open lettering are those of the peoples and tribes whose territories formed the dioceses. The dates are those of the foundation of the sees. When in brackets they denote an earlier foundation.

(To face p. 150.)

we shall have to deal, and we may take this opportunity of forming some idea of its character and institutions. To understand these we must travel in thought beyond the ancient domain of the Roman Empire where an ecclesiastical system had formed itself as a feature of civilized municipal life, where bishops were men of station and wealth, administrators within well-defined territorial limits, and where the nascent influence of the Roman see was the germ of a larger system that should embrace in one all these once independent or locally organized centres. We must transport ourselves to regions where Roman towns, Roman institutions, and the rescripts of the Roman bishops were alike unknown, and where religious authority was exercised rather in virtue of personal gifts than of position in a hierarchy.

To trace the power of Celtic religion to its source we must not only cross the Irish sea but penetrate to the very remotest regions of Hibernia. Will the reader imagine for a moment that he has traversed that land from the rising to the setting sun and that from one of its extreme south-western promontories he puts off still westward a ten-mile cast into the ocean, till his boat rocks on the Atlantic swell in the shadow of a great island crag, that rises cliff over cliff some seven hundred feet out of the sea. It is Skellig Michael, off Kerry, one of many isolated rocks round northern coasts dedicated to religion under the patronage of the chief of the Archangels. We look upwards, and there high up in a hollow below the topmost point can be distinguished by its even surface a line of wall, towards which an ascent of steps runs in zig-zag lines in the hollow of a gully (Fig. 21). We land and climb the crag, noting on this side and on that crosses of stone and stations of prayer that show the rock has been for centuries a place of catholic pilgrimage. Arrived at the platform sheltered under the lee of one of its two summits we find within a stone wall of enceinte a collection of small huts of a circular or oval plan with sundry rectangular cells, all alike put together of unhewn and uncemented stones, that by an ingenious system of construction serve for walls and roof (Fig. 22). The huts were the dwellings of Irish ascetics, who in the Early Christian centuries established themselves on this remote almost inaccessible aërie, the cells were oratories, where they ministered at the altar and wrestled in their orisons against the prince of the power of the air. The high antiquity of this settlement is proved by the fact that the structures exhibit a close resemblance in technique to pagan work—a sure test of age—while it was important enough in 823 to attract the hostile notice of the Vikings.[1] It is mentioned here as only the most romantically situated of the many similar settlements that swarm on the capes and islands of the indented coast of Erin

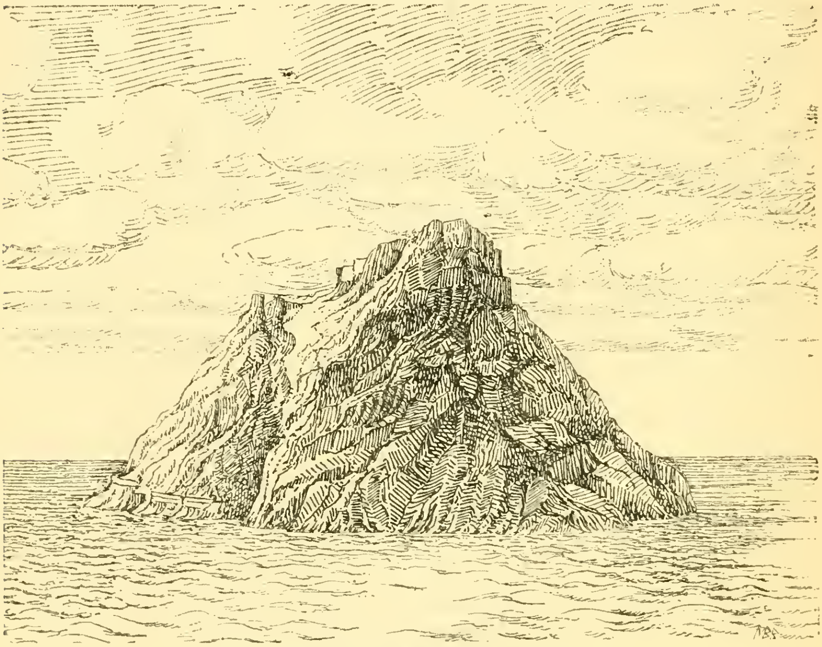

FIG. 21.—Skellig Michael from the sea.

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[1] There is a description of Skellig Michael in Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, Lond. 1875 etc., vol. I.

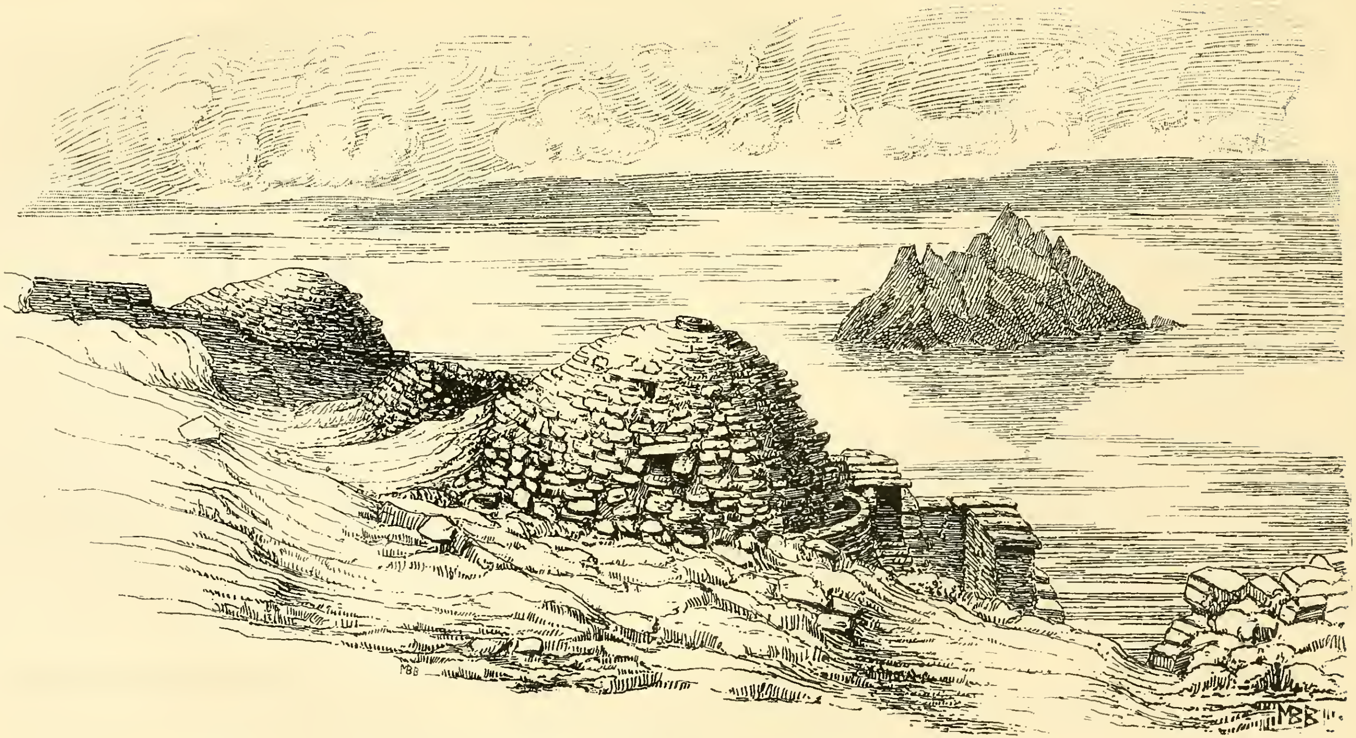

Fig. 22.—Early Monastic Settlement on the rock of Skellig Michael, Kerry, Ireland.

(To face p. 152.)

and of her inland lakes. These were the nursing-places of Celtic Christianity, places as fit to attract the pilgrim feet of the English-speaking protestant as of the Irish devotee, for it was from these that the impulse came that turned the larger part of Teutonic England to Christianity. In penetrating to these remote fastnesses we do not banish from our thoughts the busy arena in which the drama of English civilization was wrought out, we are seeking for the source of one great influence that set the actors on that stage in movement. For that passion for solitude which one would deem the Amphion's spell that drew the stones of these cells together in their cunning order, was only one of the tendencies in Celtic religion, and is balanced by the quite opposite passion for wandering and for missionary enterprise. The Irish monks were no mere hermits whose energies stagnated in such isolation as the oriental ascetic made the law of his existence. They were not self-absorbed devotees whose only reck was of their own private salvation, but men of force and initiative, ready when occasion came to lay down their own lives to win the souls of others to Christ. The most profound and heart-searching introspection alternated in the habit of their lives with outbursts of missionary fervour, that carried them through infinite dangers and hardships to far-off goals.

The striking early mediaeval romance, known as the voyage of St. Brendan, may be taken an representing a poetic embellishment of real incidents.[1] St. Brendan's countrymen extended their missionary voyages certainly to Iceland, if not to regions much further west. On the Continent of Europe they became the most indefatigable of missionaries and are represented centrally there by Columbanus of Luxeuil and Bobbio, while their work in Great Britain forms one of the most interesting episodes in our ecclesiastical history. Lindisfarne was the mother of the most enthusiastic and effective missionaries to our forefathers, and Lindisfarne was a daughter of that Iona which represented a great crusading movement of the Irish against the heathenism of northern Britain. It is true that the work of the Celtic missionaries was, so far as could be, obliterated by the ecclesiastical statesmen who ultimately won for Rome the supremacy of the West. The cause of Rome was the victorious cause, and Celtic Christianity ceased even in the seventh century to have any corporate existence in England, though it kept up a quasi-independence longer in more remote parts of the islands. It was however in its time a potent factor in the life of the early Saxon Church, and it left monumental traces of itself of which it will be necessary to take account.

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[1] See an article by Sheriff Æneas Mackay in *Blackwood*, July, 1897.

The peculiar features of Celtic Christianity are largly due to the working of these two opposed tendencies, towards proselytizing activity and towards retirement. For these it needed a base of operations and an environment, and it found the one in the court of the tribal chieftain, the other in the hermit's cell. At court or in a cell it would be equally at home, and the Church would value each of these in proportion as it afforded material aid or spiritual force for her evangelizing work. A Patrick or a Columbanus, penetrating with his companions for the first time a pagan region, would endeavour if possible to obtain a favourable reception at the hands of the local sovereign or princeling. If such a one embraced the new religion, the conversion of the members of his household and of the leading men of the tribe followed as a matter of course, and the way was then open for missionary efforts directed towards the people at large. To build and dedicate churches in the rural districts, and to consecrate priests for ministry therein, were necessary parts of the evangelist's work, and as these functions could only be performed by one in episcopal orders he would as a rule be himself a bishop. At the chieftain's court such a bishop might hold a place of influence in matters secular as well as religious, and this would give him a certain worldly status corresponding in its way to that of the continental prelate in the Roman cities. Such was the position of Kentigern at the court of Rhydderch king of Strathclyde, where too he was as much in the confidence of the queen as of her royal spouse.[1] The sphere of labour of the missionary bishop would naturally be conterminous with that of the political authority of the chief, whose clan or tribe would form his flock, while the tribal domains would constitute for him a sort of diocese. His authority was not however territorial, but rather personal. There was no pre-existing Roman civitas which would localize his influence, nor were he and his brethren in other districts organized under the leadership of any administrator of higher rank, like a patriarch or metropolitan. He was indeed free to go and come as the exigencies of his work required, and if a political revolution should deprive him of his position of honour at a chieftain's court he would take up his staff and journey forth till he found a new base and a fresh sphere of labour.

It was this mobility of the leading officials of the Celtic Church, and their reliance on personal influence rather than on local status, that made them so supremely successful in missionary work. To carry on this work aright they required, however, to submit themselves periodically to certain influences which should act on their inner nature, and charge them as it were with that electric force that radiated with irresistible potency when they journeyed forth as evangelists. Of Cuthbert, a typical missioner of this order though probably an Anglian by birth, Bede tells us that he had such power of speech and persuasion, 'such a light beamed from his angelic face,' that all men to whom he came opened their souls to him and made confession of all they had done.[2] This spiritual power was nurtured in retirement, and the anchorite's cave or the cell in the monastic community was as necessary to the preachers as the supplies and the countenance they owed to their secular patron. Cuthbert himself even when bishop at Lindisfarne had a retreat on one of the outlying Farne islands, where he had contrived for himself a lair surrounded by a high rampart on every side, so that when he couched him down for a spell of silent meditation he could see nothing but the sky above his head.[1] It was in places of solitude and retirement such as Skellig Michael, that the missionary fire was kindled and fanned, till it burst, ever fresh in its renewal, into the fervour of a Columba, an Aidan or a Cuthbert. We breathe on the peaks of this 'high and stupendous rock' the free air of sky and sea, but not less exhilarating is the mental impression that we are here at the source of a stream of Christian influence that flowed with beneficial effect over all the land of Britain and beyond. While British Christianity endures, the deserted cells of these island retreats will hold for us their pious memories.

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[1] The great bishop with the king and queen is now fittingly displayed in a mural painting on a wall of the municipal buildings at Glasgow, while his contemporary Columba of Iona is represented as preaching to the Picts in one of Mr. Hole's wall pictures in the National Portrait Gallery at Edinburgh.

[2] *H.E.* iv, 27.

Monasticism was accordingly the natural form in which the common life of the British and Irish clergy clothed itself. The conventual establishments of Wales were as frequent and populous as those of Ireland itself. The monastery of Bangor near Chester possessed in the seventh century more than two thousand inmates.[2] In Ireland, where ruined shrines and cells and towers and walls of enceinte are still eloquent to us of an heroic past, the monastery was so important that its head, though not in episcopal orders, was greater than the bishop, and this led to the curious difference already noticed[3] between Celtic Church organization and that of the normal western type. In such an establishment the bishop was a mere functionary, whose presence was necessary for the due performance of rites of consecration, but who exercised these functions at the bidding of an abbot, as at Iona an Irish offshoot, or even of an abbess, as at Brigid's famous convent

[1] *H.E.* iv, 28. [2] ibid. ii, 2. [3] ante, p. 122.

at Kildare in Erin.[1] In its outward constitution and arrangement the Celtic monastery differed markedly from the Benedictine, and this distinction we must study as we proceed.

With this glance at some of the prominent outward features of the religious life of Celtic lands, we may go on to deal with the circumstances attending the establishment of Christianity in different parts of the country from the beginning of the fifth century onwards. The Christianity of Roman Britain has already been glanced at. It was established and played its part, but was swept by the Teutonic invasion not indeed out of existence but away from its ancient seats, leaving in these only small relics which will be noticed in their place. The story we have now to tell in outline is a more complicated one, because the peculiar features of Celtic Christianity make their appearance side by side with the more normal religious institutions of the Romanized West. The whole subject before us bristles indeed with points of controversy. Ecclesiastical storms that raged in the seventh century have not yet wholly spent their force, and the names of Gregory and Augustine, of Columba and of Aidan have still some of the potency of rallying cries. To this day a north-countryman will naturally take a different view of the conversion of England from that held by a churchman of the southern province. In what follows only such an amount of history will be placed before the reader as is necessary for a proper understanding of the monuments which are our chief concern. There is no space for any controversial discussion, and the writer merely expresses as succinctly as possible the views he has formed on an independent study of the available evidence.

The principal missionary enterprises that affected different parts of the British Isles are summarized in the chronological table at the end of the chapter. Under the rubric 'base of operations' controversy might arise owing to the absence of any mention of Rome in connection with British missions till the time of Gregory the Great and Augustine. Students of Church history will know that the view indicated in the table is no new one, and it is one that commends itself more and more strongly in proportion as one tries to understand the real history of the see of Rome during the early centuries.

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[1] Todd, *St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1864, Introduction, p. 13 f.

It may perhaps occur to the reader that it matters comparatively little for the purpose in view whence these various missionaries came. It is their work in Britain that we are concerned with, it may be said, not their previous history or the circumstances of their training and commission. A moment's reflection will however show that these questions of provenance are of vital importance. The first missionaries were the first builders of churches, and the fashions they set in plan and details naturally exercised an influence on the development of our Christian monuments. It is of essential moment for us to learn how far we might expect these missionary builders to be independent of previous traditions of tectonics and decoration, how far influenced by what they had grown to know in other lands. If they came from Rome it may be presumed that they would bring Italian fashions, if from Gaul Franko-Roman ; while if they inherited the traditions of Ireland they were familiar with methods and forms unknown in classical lands. We cannot criticize their work without some reference to the probable sources from which it was derived, and this is involved in a knowledge of their base of operations. Hence it is a practical necessity for our purpose to touch however briefly on these historical questions. With respect to Rome the following will suffice.

The position of Rome as the fountain and centre of Church life for all the lands of the West was in the later mediaeval period so firmly established that it takes some effort of thought to realize that this position was only slowly won for her by the tact and tenacity of purpose of her successive rulers.[1] In every step that the bishops of Rome took to extend and consolidate their power they were aided by the loyal adulation of literary churchmen. To use a modern figure, we might say that the growth of the ecclesiastical power of Rome presented itself as a great drama, of which the whole western world was the stage, and every scene and situation in it was accentuated by professional applauders. These writers are perfectly sincere in their devotion, but they express what is rather a pious wish or forecast than a record of fact. When in the middle of the fifth century a typical writer of this order, Prosper of Aquitaine, calls Rome the 'head of pastoral authority for the world'[1] he was stating what was certainly not true for that age nor for some considerable time to come. Hence the student of any Early Christian institution or phase of life has to guard himself from the first against a too ready acceptance of what he is told about Rome and her influence even by writers as early and as honest as Bede.

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[1] The real facts of early Church history are greatly obscured by the popular use of the term 'Pope' as applied to the Roman bishops of the first few

The tendency in question to throw back, or throw in, everything to Rome is specially marked in connection with missionary enterprise. It came to be an accepted dogma that the Roman bishop had a natural initiative in the conversion of the heathen. Hence the work, which in actual fact was probably first set on foot by Gregory the Great in the expedition of Augustine, was as it were prefigured by various earlier undertakings ascribed to his predecessors. In this as in other spheres, real personages and events outside the circle of the Romish Church were reflected, so to say, in a Roman mirror, and the image was declared to be the substance with a confidence that has impressed all

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centuries. 'Pope' 'papa' 'father' was a term applied to all bishops alike and indeed to other members of the clerical order, and the title only became restricted to the Roman bishop when he was attaining to practical sovereignty in the western Church. It is a mistake to employ it in reference to the earlier period of growth and struggle when this sovereignty was still only a fond desire, and the Roman bishop was still only one 'papa' amongst many or at most only *primus inter pares.*

[1] *Carmen de Ingratis*, 40, Migne, LI, 97.

subsequent generations. The supposed Roman episcopate of St. Peter may be only a reflection of the kind from the actual historical sojourn at Rome of St. Paul. Patrick, who *pace* the recent editor of Bede is quite as historical a personage as either Boniface of Germany or Kentigern, neither of whom is mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical History*, was a real and successful early missionary to Ireland of the independent type, but Prosper of Aquitaine tells us that a year or two before we find Patrick in Ireland a missionary called Palladius was sent thither by the bishop of Rome. Those who have endeavoured in vain to find anything historical behind the name of Palladius, to whom there is not even a single Irish dedication, will be prepared for the omission of it from the table. The following facts are most instructive.

We are told by Bede,[1] on the authority of an official Roman document, about the conversion of a certain Lucius king of Britain by a mission specially sent from Rome for the purpose by bishop Eleutherus before the end of the second century. This statement we are able to control. It is unknown to the primary authority for our early Church history, Gildas, and is hopelessly discredited by the fact that it is found first in a later recension (about 530) of the Roman document in question in the earlier form of which (about 350) it has no place.[2] The same thing occurs again and again. Statements are repeatedly made associating Roman bishops with early missionary movements with which they had probably nothing to do, and we are able to check a sufficient number of these to make it tolerably easy for us to put down most of the rest, like that about Palladius, as due to Romanizing tendencies in ecclesiastical writers.

Apart from these statements, our accounts of these early missionaries to different parts of Britain present them to us not as formal ambassadors from the Roman see, but in a far more natural and more attractive light as ardent evangelists inspired with a personal zeal for their adventurous tasks, though relying for instructions, Orders, and support on some neighbouring base of operations, such as the Church of Gaul or of Ireland. Before the Romans withdrew their forces, we know of one successful worker on the outer fringe of their territory in the north-west. This was the Briton Ninian who had been educated at Rome but was a disciple of St. Martin, on whose Church establishment at Tours he probably rested. Ninian, whom Bede describes as a missionary to the southern Picts,[1] founded a church at Whiterne in Galloway, the fabric of which has disappeared though the establishment endured, but in the same somewhat remote region—one of the most interesting localities in the kingdom—he has left monumental evidence of his presence in the form of a cave on the sea shore to which legend says he used to retire and on the sides of which are inscribed crosses of early form.[2] Memorial stones with crosses of a classical type showing the so-called Chi-Rho monogram familiar in the Roman Catacombs, exist at Whiterne and at Kirkmadrine on the neighbouring peninsula to the west, and may fairly be claimed as monumental relics of the labours of this earliest Christian missionary in rural Britain of whom we know the name and sphere of work. How deeply moreover this proto-evangelist of northern Britain impressed his personality on the region is shown in local nomenclature. His footsteps are to be traced in the Cumberland district opposite the Galloway peninsula, and the following note is from a paper by the late Henry Whitehead, Vicar of Lanercost. Close to the churchyard of the old church at Brampton in Cumberland there is, or was, a well mentioned in 1704 as the 'Well or fountain called the *Nine wells* alias Priest-well.' Now, St. Ninian's Church at Brougham in Westmoreland is traditionally known as 'Nine Kirks.' The equation Ninian's Church = Nine Kirks, would give us Nine Wells = Ninian's Well. Close to the well at Brampton stood a tree called St. Martin's Oak (shown as such on a map at Naworth Castle dated 1603), while the parish church of Brampton is dedicated to the same saint, whose cultus Ninian introduced into the North.[1]

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[1] *H.E.* i, 4.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, etc., Oxford, 1889, etc., i, 25.

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[1] *H.E.* iii, 4.

[2] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1884-5, p. 82.

The mission from Gaul of Germanus and Lupus occurred in the interval between the departure of the Romans and the settlement of the Teutons, and was concerned more with ecclesiastical controversy than with the work of conversion. Our accounts of it contain some curious incidental notices of the arts of construction which justify the mention of it in this place, and it must be observed that the missioners are said to have preached 'per trivia per rura per devia' 'in the lanes and fields and wilds,' which is one piece of evidence that British Christianity was not confined to the Romanized towns.[2]

According to the authorities here followed, Gaul was the place of study of Patrick and the source of his orders, but his own *Confession* represents him to us as an independent preacher who 'came over to help' the heathen Irish he had learned to know as a lad in his captivity, just as St. Paul came over to Macedonia; one whose zeal for his apostleship was single-hearted and keen, and who was free from all ecclesiastical narrowness. Kentigern was the type and pattern of the genuine missionary of this stamp. In the last half of the sixth century he carried on a successful work in Strathclyde and Wales, and was in communion not with the Church of Gaul but with that of Ireland, from a bishop of which he received his consecration. Our main authority for Kentigern is his Life by Joceline of Furness, written in the twelfth century but from older materials of considerable value, and from this Life and from the evidence of church dedications we can picture to ourselves his regular work in his headquarters at what is now Glasgow, and even follow with some small confidence his footsteps, as we follow those of Ninian, in missionary expeditions into the wilds. On the journey from Strathclyde to Wales, undertaken in consequence of a political revolution, Joceline tells us how he preached to the people who inhabited the mountainous region near Carlisle, and how he set up in a certain tangled place a cross, 'where now,' the twelfth century writer goes on, 'there has been reared in the name of the saint a stately church.'[1] This is claimed to be the site of the well-known church of St. Kentigern at Crosthwaite by Derwentwater, and in any case, independent of any such identification, the incident is of importance for our subject as it exhibits the use of the cross as marking a preaching place, and conceivably a place of burial, before the actual construction of a church. Joceline tells us that the saint had a habit of erecting 'the triumphant standard of the cross' in places where he had dwelt for any length of time, or had won marked success in conversion, and instances an example at Glasgow.[2] Such notices are of importance in connection with the whole subject of stone crosses, which will occupy us on a later occasion. The study of British churchyard crosses must indeed start from these passages in the life of Kentigern.

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[1] *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. x, p. 169.

[2] Constantius, *Vita S. Germani*, in *Acta Sanct.* Jul. VII, 224.

We come now in chronological sequence to missions directed towards the Christianizing of the pagan conquerors of Britain. This re-conversion of England proper was accomplished in the main by missionaries of the same class as those just referred to. Had the Church of Gaul been true to its older traditions it would have taken the lead. An excellent opportunity was afforded at the end of the sixth century by the marriage of the Christian princess Bertha of Gaul to the powerful Æthelberht of Kent, but nothing was at the time attempted from this quarter, though Gallic preachers took a certain share in the work of the English missions in their later stages.

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[1] *Life of Kentigern*, ch. xxiii, in *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v.

[2] ibid. ch. xli.

This apparent lethargy of the Frankish bishop, Liudhard, who, no doubt with other Christians, had accompanied Bertha to our shores, gave an opening to the statesmanlike Gregory of Rome to set on foot a scheme for the conversion of England that he appears to have formed some years previously.

The story of the Roman mission of Augustine is too well known to be repeated, but it is worth noting again how thoroughly Gregory's scheme corresponded with the normal state of things in the western Church, but how little in accord it was with the special circumstances of Teutonized England. Viewed from the stand-point of actual facts the scheme was not a happy one, nor was the selection of an agent creditable to Gregory's sagacity, for Augustine presents a sorry appearance by the side of really practical and successful missionaries who laboured after him in the English field. There was, however, one important permanent result of the mission, and this was Canterbury. Canterbury was of immense moment for the future as keeping a gate open for the stream of Roman influence which from this time set strongly towards this outlying but wealthy province of the Church. Canterbury was however an accident. The seat of the southern metropolitan, according to Gregory's design, should have been London, not Canterbury, and the reason why the Augustinian mission retained its headquarters at the Kentish capital gives a key to the whole position of the Church in early Teutonic England.

Augustine remained at Canterbury because he depended on the protection of Æthelberht, to the neighbourhood of whose residence it was natural for him to adhere. It happened that Canterbury was a Roman city which from its situation must have had some importance, but this need not imply that it was the habit of the Saxon kings to plant themselves down in Roman civitates. Kent was the most thoroughly Romanized part of the country. Just as before Caesar's time its proximity to Gaul had made it the most civilized region of Britain[1] so in the Roman period its situation kept it intimately in touch with classical culture, and the Teutonic settlers who took possession of Kent may well have been softened by contact with Roman civilization to an extent unparalleled among the other tribes. Hence it is not surprising to find Æthelberht installed in the old Durovernum as his metropolis, and to learn of the survival there of some of the older monuments. We read at any rate in Bede of a relic of Romano-British times in the form of a church built in honour of St. Martin that stood outside the city to the east, and had been restored as an oratory for the Christian Queen Bertha. The *restoration* as well as the construction of churches is mentioned by the same authority as the work of the Roman mission [1] and as a fact, putting aside the Early Christian church at Silchester, the only remains that may claim to be those of Romano-British ecclesiastical structures are to be found in Kent. Among these survivals was a church within the city bounds that Augustine took as his episcopal seat [2] and this was the origin of the famous cathedral of Canterbury. There is nothing to show that this older church had been a bishop's seat, but in any case the fact gives to Christ Church Canterbury a longer religious history than is possessed by any other cathedral in the kingdom.

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[1] *de Bello Gallico*, v, 14.

If Christ Church is the oldest cathedral foundation of the Saxon Church, the most ancient of Saxon monasteries was also established at Canterbury. This institution has been known to mediaeval and modern times as 'St. Augustine's,' and after playing an important part in the monastic history of the land has been in our own days restored as a missionary college, so that the tradition of conventual life seems still to haunt the ancient courts and gateway. The circumstances of the foundation of this monastery are worth a moment's attention.

It was in accordance with continental fashions that Augustine fixed his episcopal seat at a church within the city of Canterbury,[3] and it was also in obedience to the common rule that he established a monastic house at a little distance outside the gates. The plan of Évreux, given already on page 134, shows the normal relation between the urban cathedral and the suburban monastery, and Christ Church and St. Augustine fall under the same general rule of the Romanized West. But the latter establishment was more than a residential monastery. The church of it was a sepulchral church, of a type worthy of a moment's attention.

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[1] *H.E.* i, 26.

[2] ibid. i, 33.

[3] Not, it is true, within the actual line of the old Roman walls, but still no doubt within the urban limits of the Canterbury of Æthelberht.

It was the universal custom in Romanized lands to bury outside the walls of cities, and to arrange the cemeteries along the roads which issued from their gates. The custom was well maintained in the Roman cities of Gaul and this fact is appealed to in a canon of the Spanish Council of Braga in 563.[1] Following this classical fashion Augustine persuaded the king to erect in connection with his suburban monastery a church dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul, with the intent, Bede tells us, that in it 'both his own body and the bodies of all his episcopal successors, and at the same time of the kings of Kent might be laid.'[2] This is an example of a type of church of some importance in the history of architecture. The sepulchral church was often dedicated to the apostles, or specially to Peter and Paul, and had commonly, though not universally, a cruciform plan. The dedication was probably due to the importance that had been attained at an early date by the churches erected over the supposed tombs of the two chief apostles near Rome,[3] while the form is no doubt an inheritance from the tombs of pagan Rome, for which sometimes a cruciform scheme was adopted. It would be interesting if we could know whether the church planned by St. Augustine was of this form. At any rate the foundation was a notable one, and will be referred to in the sequel under its later and more familiar name, though at first it was not known as St. Augustine, but as the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul.

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[1] Concil. Bracar. II. c. 18. Firmissimum hoc privilegium usque nunc retinent Galliae civitates, ut nullo modo intra ambitus murorum civitatum cujuslibet defuncti corpus sit humatum.

[2] *H.E.* i, 33.

[3] As early as about the year 200 these churches, or structures that preceded regular churches, were spoken of as memorials, 'trophaea' of the martyrdom of the two apostles. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 25.

From Canterbury Augustine colonized Rochester, a Roman station commanding the passage of the Medway, and a step was made at the same time towards the accomplishment of Gregory's scheme by the founding of a see at London. London occupied a somewhat anomalous position on the frontiers of several Saxon kingdoms but not the natural centre of any. Bede tells us that it was the metropolis of the East Saxons, or men of Essex, and that it was 'a mart of many peoples that gathered to it by land and sea.'[1] The Londoners seem even thus early to have exhibited that independence of spirit which was to mark them in later history. After the death of Æthelberht a pagan reaction drove the Roman clergy from every hold but Canterbury, and when later on an attempt was made to recover the lost ground, the Londoners shut their gates in the face of their bishop Mellitus who had sought for restoration to his see.[2] The Roman mission succeeded better, but only for a time, in the North. Thither went Paulinus, who had much more of the true stuff of the missionary in him than any other leader of the Roman band. Paulinus was commissioned to develop Gregory's plan still further by restoring Christianity at York, and the chapters in which Bede records his proceedings in the North have something of the tone and interest of an Old Testament narrative. Some points of importance for the history of the arts of construction emerge in the course of them. Here it is enough to record at this time (627 A.D.) the first foundation of the church at York, erected first of wood and then of stone, and we may note in this connection that the powerful and civilized

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[1] Multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium, *H.E.* ii, 3.

[2] ante, p. 55.

Northumbrian monarch Edwin, who was baptized therein, though he affected a sort of Roman state, did not inhabit York as his capital but seems to have resided at country seats in different parts of his dominions. York kept its fortifications[1] and enough of population and municipal life to make it a suitable site for the bishop's church of the province, but it was not in the ordinary sense the capital of Edwin's Northumbria.

Certain proceedings at Lincoln are of more interest still for monumental history. They are quite in accordance with orthodox western practice. Lincoln at the time was under a 'prefect' named Blaecca whose position answered to that of the 'comes' of the cities of Gaul. This 'gerefa' (reeve), as the Saxons would call him, was converted by Paulinus with all his house, and there was erected forthwith in the city a fine church of stone. It happens that nearly in the centre of the Roman enceinte of Lincoln, at the crossing of the main streets that corresponded to its four gates, there exists a church of St. Paul with a history going back to mediaeval times. A dedication to St. Paul alone is one of the rarest among all English dedications, and there are cases in which old references to churches thus dedicated prove that St. Paul should really be St. Paulinus. This is the case at St. Pauls Cray, Kent, which in Bacon's *Liber Regis* p. 852 is called St. Paulinus Cray, and is so named also in a will of 1454.[2] This fact gives strong colour to the suggestion first made by the antiquary Stukely[3] and supported by the late Precentor Venables[4] that St. Paul at Lincoln was really dedicated to St. Paulinus, and if this be the case it may very well represent the original Christian church erected there after the conversion of Blaecca.

A church built in these circumstances near the centre of an important Roman city would on the Continent have become a cathedral and have grown in size and beauty from architectural age to age. The fortunes of Lincoln and of the church of Paulinus were very different. The present Paul-Paulinus church stands on part of the area of the most important Roman building in the place, the so-called 'Basilica' and, assuming this to be the site of Blaecca's edifice, this fact would show that the monuments of Lindum Colonia were already, in the seventh century, in ruins. Lincoln remained a place of some importance, for in the Danish period it was one of the Five Boroughs ; it was not however the seat of a bishopric till after the Norman Conquest, and Blaecca's church, wherever it stood, was in Bede's time roofless and desolate.[1] Within a few years of its erection a wave of paganism swept over Northumbria, and when it had subsided almost all apparent results of the northern mission of Paulinus had disappeared, and the permanent Christianizing of the region was reserved for other agents.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 1.

[2] St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, *Transactions*, III, 263.

[3] Quoted in Gough's *Camden*, II, 263.

[4] *Ass. Soc. Reports*, 1888, p. 342.

About the same time that Paulinus was in the North, successful missionary enterprises were being carried on in East Anglia and among the West Saxons by workers who may be claimed partly by Gaul and partly by Ireland. Felix, whose name is preserved in the modern Felixstow—'the place of Felix'—in Suffolk, was born and received his orders in Burgundy[2] and he may have had some connection with the Burgundian settlement of Columbanus, whose missionary fervour may have influenced his after career. Passing over to England about the year 630 he is said to have offered his services to the Augustinian Archbishop at Canterbury, Honorius, who sent him to East Anglia, where he successfully laboured in the work not only of preaching but also of education.[3] The first apostle to the West Saxons was named Birinus. Bede knows little of him, and William of Malmesbury at a later date confesses that he cannot tell whence he came.[4] According to Bede he came by the advice or suggestion (cum consilio) of bishop Honorius of Rome who gave him a roving commission to preach and baptize in the yet pagan parts of the country. There is something here that we cannot easily understand. Such an action on the part of Honorius of Rome would imply a thorough ignoring of the Roman establishment at Canterbury and of its responsibility for the administration of the southern province. We find him however, at this very same epoch, about 634, writing to the archbishop of Canterbury a letter in which he refers to and supports the constitution framed for the English Church by his predecessor Gregory.[1] This letter makes it almost certain that any missionaries coming to England at this time with the cognizance of the Roman see would have been placed at the disposal of the head of the Roman mission at Canterbury. Bede tells us that Birinus received episcopal consecration through Asterius, who was at the time archbishop of Milan.[2] Remembering the historical rivalry between Milan and Rome, we may give some weight to the suggestion which has been made that Birinus represents an independent move on the part of the north Italian church, without connection with Rome. His successor at any rate in Wessex had nothing Roman about him, for he was one Agilbert, born in Gaul but formed for the religious life through a long course of study in Ireland.[3] This is a significant fact as it now brings Ireland upon the scene as a recognized school of the religious life for foreign students or devotees.

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[1] *H.E.* ii, 16.

[2] ibid. ii, 15.

[3] ibid. iv, 18.

[4] Dubium unde oriundus, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, No. 52, p. 157.

The Ireland of this epoch was not only highly charged with devotional enthusiasm but was equally great in learning and discipline, and we may add, in art. She not only acted with force beyond her own borders but drew in to her own nursing bosom the souls of strangers that hungered for spiritual food. A little later, when Irish Christianity had given proof of its zeal in the great Anglian conversion, we have the picture in Bede of gentle and simple flocking from Britain to Erin—as another writer says 'like a swarm of bees,'[4] for the sake either of learning or of the devotional life, and he bears testimony to 'the noble liberality'[1] with which the Irish responded by free gifts of bodily and mental sustenance. It was a learned Church, an organized Church, and not a Church of mere enthusiasts, that now filled the sails of its missionary barks with a new breath of living air that wafted them to the Northumbrian shore.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 18.

[2] *H.E.* iii, 7, and Plummer's note on the passage.

[3] ibid. iii, 7.

[4] Aldhelm, *Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 94.

There are no chapters of our ecclesiastical history of which we should be more proud than those in which Bede describes the evangelization of England north of the Thames by Aidan and his companions. They were invited from Iona by the Northumbrian King Oswald, who had lived among them in earlier life in exile, and had received from them baptism.

The circumstances and the procedure of the mission were characteristically Celtic. The settlement, the bishop's seat of Aidan, was on the island of Lindisfarne, where a monastic community of the Irish type was formed, and where the locality offered opportunities for temporary retirement of a still more absolute kind. The royal residence was not far off on the impregnable rock of Bamborough, and Aidan was a welcome guest at the table of the king, who would in turn accompany him on his preaching expeditions, and from his knowledge of Celtic speech acquired in his exile interpret to the Northumbrian folk the message of salvation. The earlier preaching of Paulinus, who had penetrated to the extreme north of the present Northumberland, had been followed by wholesale conversion and baptism[2] and these by an apostasy as general.[3] The progress of the Celtic missionaries was more gradual, but their message reached the hearts of the people and abode there. Their numbers rapidly increased[4] and they spread themselves little by little over so vast an extent of the country that we may say in the words of the late Bishop Lightfoot that 'not Augustine, but Aidan, is the true apostle of England.'[5] The tide of Irish missionary enthusiasm had now risen to the flood. Even before the advent of Aidan the meteoric figure of Fursa had moved across Britain. Fursa, of the noblest blood of the Irish, a preacher, a visionary, now immersed in solitary musing, now roaming forth a pilgrim—the man who had walked, an earlier Dante, amidst the glories and terrors of the unseen world—Fursa had passed from Ireland to Britain, from Britain to Gaul where he found his grave, a type of his fervent, romantic race. He had remained for a while in East Anglia where he built a monastic settlement within the deserted walls of a Roman coast fortress, probably Burgh Castle in Suffolk, and brought an Irish element into the Christianizing of that region.[1] When Aidan settled at Lindisfarne and was at work on the conversion of Northumbria, he attracted around him a body of youthful disciples of Anglian as well as Celtic race, and trained in this way evangelists to carry on his work. Of these Cedd and Diuma, an Anglian and a Celt, became the missionaries and first bishops of the East Saxons and of a large part of the Midlands, while Cedd's brother Chad after working for a while in Wessex settled down to the charge of the vast Mercian district, with the bishop's seat where it has ever since remained, at Lichfield. In the north, Coldingham and Old Melrose were daughter monasteries of Lindisfarne, and from the latter, a romantic spot two miles from the present abbey, the famous Cuthbert used to penetrate on foot the wild districts of the Lammermoors and Moorfoot and Pentland hills, and as he traversed the Lothians he exercised over the country folk that personal magic which has invested his name and career with so exceptional an interest.

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[1] Plummer's *Bede* II, 145.

[2] *H.E.* ii, 14 and 16.

[3] Cf. Plummer's note on *H.E.* ii, 14.

[4] *H.E.* iii, 3.

[5] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, Lond. 1890, p. 9.

How far afield this Celtic Christianity had been borne by individual wanderers, who were not like Aidan or Chad carrying on as bishops a systematic work, we cannot say. We learn, however, that just as Fursa built his monastic cells on the Yare in the extreme east of the country, so in the west of

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 19.

Saxon England an Irish monk formed at a later time a little settlement that was the beginning of the great abbey of Malmesbury, and William of Malmesbury who gives us this information[1] states that when the monastery at Evesham was founded about 701, there was a small ancient church already there, perhaps of British workmanship,[2] while an Irish origin was traditionally claimed also for Abingdon.[3] A still more remote region had by the middle of the century been reached. The South Saxons, in what is now Sussex, remained in their native heathenism longer than any of the Teutonic tribes. For this the great forest, the Andredesweald, was responsible, by cutting off the sea-ward portions of South Saxon land from the other parts of the country. When the South Saxons were at last reached about 681, an Irish monk was discovered with five or six brethren holding a small settlement at Bosham, like a little fort in the midst of a paganism they were apparently powerless to influence.[4] Whether or not these few known instances of the independent work of the wandering Irish ascetic were all that existed we do not know. They may be merely typical of a larger number the existence of which would show that the land was more profoundly penetrated by the influence of the Irish Church than has been generally supposed.

The formal conversion of the South Saxons was the work of the famous Wilfrid, whose figure introduces us to a new type of churchmanship which in its militant forwardness offers a striking contrast to the mild spirituality of an Aidan or a Chad. Wilfrid was an Anglian of noble race and large possessions and influence, who had been one of Aidan's pupils at Lindisfarne. Though an alumnus of the Celtic mission, he was in all his after life the most powerful supporter of everything Roman to be found in Britain. We see illustrated in his person the extraordinary influence exercised at this time on the imagination of English churchmen by the idea of Rome. 'The English who are always so closely associated with the apostolic see' was said of them by a Carolingian writer,[1] and it is curious to contrast the indifferent attitude of the Franks towards Rome, as illustrated in Gregory of Tours, with the fervour with which Wilfrid and ecclesiastics of his school were prepared to lay their own Church at the feet of the Roman bishop. Wilfrid was a high-spirited chivalrous man, and it is not easy to see how he could bring himself to turn against the ways of his master, especially when that master was an Aidan. It was not of course any mere acquiesence in pious legends about St. Peter, great as was the part these played at the Synod of Whitby, that turned a Wilfrid and an Aldhelm into votaries of the Roman idea. They may have had some prophetic discernment of the part Rome was destined to play in the future of western Church history, but it was more likely that they acted from a sense of the practical need for some corrective to the weakness of the Celtic Church in organization. In Gaul organization was supplied by the framework of Roman municipal institutions, over which as we have seen those of the Church were fitted. In England there existed no framework of the kind, and Wilfrid may have honestly thought that the desired element of order could be supplied freshly, and as it were at first-hand, from the ecclesiastical Rome of his own day.[2]

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[1] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 333.

[2] Ecclesiolam ab antiquo habentem ex opere forsitan Britannorum ibid, 296.

[3] *Chronicon Mon. de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, No. 2/1, p. 2.

[4] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 13.

He was in any case a man of abounding energy, and in the vicissitudes of a long and stormy career, he brought his activity to bear upon many different parts of the country while his name occurs repeatedly in the monumental history of the period. The earliest extant structures of Saxon Christianity of which we know for certain the authorship and the date are the two crypts built by him at Ripon and at Hexham, and the church he erected at the latter place, though known to us only by descriptions, is the most important monument of the seventh century. The fact that Wilfred had this enthusiasm for what was Roman adds greatly to the artistic interest attaching to his works. William of Malmesbury tells us, on what authority we know not, that he actually brought stonemasons at great expense from Rome,[1] and his own choirmaster and biographer Eddius records the fact that he travelled on episcopal business about the country with builders and craftsmen skilled in almost every art, 'cum . . . caementariis, omnisque paene artis institoribus.'[2] Wilfrid's Roman leanings, which were shared by his Anglian friend and contemporary Benedict Biscop, some of whose work also in all probability remains, are naturally of importance for the history of early Saxon ecclesiastical art. In the decorative carving on crosses and slabs as well as in buildings we have to look at this juncture for traces of Italian influence.

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[1] Quoted by Hauck, *Kircheng. Deutschlands*, 1^2 441.

[2] It was unfortunate that when this order was actually being established in England by the agency of archbishop Theodore, Wilfrid himself should have been the first to disturb it by resistance to the division of his own immense Northumbrian diocese. His conduct, opposed by both Theodore and Hild, and implicitly condemned by Bede, leaves on the mind an unpleasant impression.

See Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, in *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71/1, pp. 35-80.

The vigorous personality of Wilfrid accomplished at a stroke the work that the Canterbury mission had still after two generations left undone—he brought the whole of the country into practical submission to Rome. The Synod of Whitby held in 664 decided that in certain outward matters that formed a sort of pledge of the independence of the Celtic Church, the traditional native practice should be given up in favour of that which had come to prevail in the rest of the Romanized West. Wilfrid was at the time young and only just ordained priest, but he seems to have been the ruling spirit on this occasion, and we may conjecture that he had something to do with the appearance on the scene of his friend bishop Agilbert from Gaul, mentioned above, who, with the deacon

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[1] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 255.

[2] *Vita Wilfridi*, p. 28.

Jacobus, a survivor of the mission of Paulinus, represented the Roman party at the conference. The fainéant archbishops at Canterbury had little to do with the matter, though Canterbury reaped the fruits of Wilfred's action so soon as its see was filled by an administrator of real sagacity and vigour.

Such an one was archbishop Theodore, a Greek ecclesiastic who came to England with a commission from the Roman see soon after the Synod of Whitby. Bede says he was the first archbishop whom all the Church of the Angles obeyed,[1] and we might almost make the phrase read *any* of the Angles, for save for their Kentish clientèle the successors of Augustine had won no lasting authority in the land. Theodore, however, made his influence permanently felt throughout the country, which he traversed in every part not in the capacity of missionary, but in the equally important one of organizer. His pontificate marks indeed the end of the missionary period of the old English Church, and the opening of the era of organized religious life. He gave the Church a constitution ratified by Councils after the continental fashion, and acting with an energy served by unfailing tact and good feeling he made the whole of England for the first time an ecclesiastical unity. The value of this achievement, as preparing the way for the ultimate political union of the land cannot be over-estimated.

[1] *H.E.* iv, 2.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES IN BRITAIN BEYOND THE ROMAN PALE AND IN ENGLAND UNDER PAGAN RULE.

(To face p. 176.)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Date.	Name.	Nationality.	Base of Operations.	Work.
c. 400	Ninian,	British,	Probably, from Ninian's connection with St. Martin, the Church at Tours,	Building of a church (Candida Casa) at Whiterne in Galloway. Mission among southern Picts and in Strathclyde.
429 and 447	Germanus and Lupus,	Gallo-Roman,	Commissioned by a synod of the Gallic Church,	Opposed Pelagianism in Britain.
c. 430	Patrick,	British,	The Church of southern Gaul (Provence),	Mission to Ireland.
c. 550	Kentigern,	British of Strathclyde,	Received episcopal consecration from Ireland,	See of Glasgow founded. Mission work in Strathclyde and Wales.
c. 565	Columba,	Irish,	Irish Church,	Founded Iona. Mission to the northern Picts.
After 589 ?	Liudhard,	Frankish,	Gallic Church,	Chaplain to Queen Bertha at Canterbury. No missionary activity.
597	Augustine and companions ; especially,	Roman,	Sent by Gregory the Great, bishop of Rome,	Foundation of see of Canterbury. Conversion of Britain attempted. English Church connected through Canterbury with Rome.
625	Paulinus,	Roman,	Canterbury,	Conversion of Northumbria and Lindsey. First Saxon churches at York and Lincoln. A pagan reaction swept away most of his results, but a follower, Jacobus, remained at work in Yorkshire.
630	Felix,	Burgundian,	Gallic Church (or the Irish Mission of Columbanus in Burgundy ?)	Conversion of East Anglia.
c. 630	Fursa,	Irish,	Ireland,	Mission work in East Anglia.
634	Birinus,	Unknown,	Possibly the Church of Milan, whence he obtained episcopal consecration,	First Apostle of the West Saxons.
	Agilbert,	Frankish,	Trained in Ireland,	Carry on the work of Birinus. See of Winchester established.
	Wini,	Saxon,	Ordained in Gaul,	
635	Aidan, his companions and successors especially,	Irish,	Iona and Ireland,	Effective conversion from Lindisfarne of northern England.
	Cedd,	Saxon,	Lindisfarne,	Mission work among East Saxons.
	Chad,	Saxon,	Lindisfarne,	Mission work in Mercia. See of Lichfield founded.
c. 662	Cuthbert,	Saxon,	Old Melrose, an offshoot of Lindisfarne,	Preaches in the Lothians.
681	Wilfrid,	Saxon,	Pupil of Aidan at Lindisfarne, but a leader of Romanizing party,	Conversion of South Saxons.

664 . . . Synod of Whitby closes the independent work of the Celtic missionaries.

c. 670 . . . Archbishop Theodore organizes the English Church in Communion with Rome.

CHAPTER V

THE ENGLISH MISSIONARY BISHOP AND HIS MONASTIC SEAT

At the time of the advent of Theodore, the personnel of the English episcopate had been reduced to very narrow dimensions, and it was his first task to consecrate fresh bishops and to distribute them in convenient localities so as to render all parts accessible to episcopal superintendence. As an alumnus of the Church of the East, Theodore was accustomed to a civic episcopate, an institution which prevailed there more strictly even than in the West. His companion and adviser, Hadrian, who became abbot of St. Augustine and head of its school of learning, was an African who had been brought up in the same municipal traditions; while the views of the Roman secretariate[1] may be judged from a later letter of Pope Zachary about the German mission of Boniface, in which he refers to the sacred canons as forbidding the ordination of bishops in small places[2] lest the name of bishop suffer dishonour.[3] In spite of all this however, Theodore made no attempt to establish in this country a civic episcopate, and this fact proves that the difference in the matter of ecclesiastical organization between England and Romanized Christendom went tolerably deep. The new archbishop was content to perpetuate with some modifications the existing custom of tribal bishoprics and of sees administered from the anchorite's cell rather than from well-peopled towns. These sees however he re-distributed according to the scheme shown in the map, Fig. 20, facing page 150, a scheme that endured with slight changes till the Norman Conquest.

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[1] The bureaux, by which in mediaeval and modern times the multitudinous business of the Papacy has been carried on, are generally indicated by the phrase 'the Roman Curia.' From what we read in Eddius' *Vita Wilfridi*, c. xxix, the term used in the seventh century was 'secretarium.'

[2] Modicæ civitates.

[3] Ne vilescat nomen episcopi. The letter is published in Migne, *Patrol. Curs. Compl.* LXXXIX, 918.

The attitude of the Normans towards the English episcopate brings into clear light the abnormal character of this arrangement of sees. The Norman ecclesiastics were scandalized at the insignificance of so many of the places from which the English dioceses were worked, and the Council of London held in 1075 decreed the removal of bishoprics from villages to towns.[1] William of Malmesbury in his work on the doings of the bishops gives us notices of the various sees in which he suffers his continental predilections to emerge. According to him the Irish missionaries were responsible for these insular peculiarities, for they 'preferred to bury themselves ingloriously in marshes than to dwell in lofty cities.'[2] Thus Aidan 'contemned the pride of the crowded city of York and sought for solitude and holy poverty in the retirement of Lindisfarne.'[3] Lichfield, the ecclesiastical metropolis of the Mercian region that had under Offa even attained for a time to archiepiscopal rank, is described by William of Malmesbury as 'a small village in the county of Stafford far away from crowded cities . . . a place not fit for bishops of our epoch (twelfth century) and not correspondent with episcopal dignity.'[4] The East Anglian see was formerly at Elmham which Malmesbury describes as 'villa non adeo magna,' and he tells us that it was transferred to Norwich 'a town conspicuous for its trade and for the concourse of those frequenting it.'[1] So too Dorchester is compared with Lincoln. The former was made a bishop's seat at the time of the first conversion of Wessex and, after some changes and suspensions, it was again a see at the date of the Conquest, though it was 'a small and sparsely-peopled village.'[2] The Council of London moved the bishop's seat to Lincoln, which William describes, in words borrowed from Bede's phrase about London, as 'one of the most populous places in England, the mart of men who came thither by sea and land.'[3] Sherborne, Crediton, and Selsey, the seats of bishoprics of the West and South Saxons, are mentioned slightingly, and the migration thence to Old Sarum, Exeter, and Chicester referred to with approval.[4]

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia* 1, 363 f.

[2] *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, Rolls Series, No. 52, p. 135.

[3] ibid. p. 266.

[4] ibid. p. 307.

The removal of the western bishopric from Crediton to Exeter was accomplished under Edward the Confessor, and is an example occurring before the Conquest of a process which the Normans carried out more thoroughly. These changes established bishops in some of the greater cities, such as Exeter, Lincoln, and Norwich, that had previously been non-episcopal, but they still left English arrangements abnormal. Ely was added to the number of bishops' seats at the end of the eleventh century and Carlisle in 1133, but no further change was made after this till the Reformation, when five new sees were added,[5] those of Peterborough, Oxford, Gloucester, Bristol and Chester, thus completing the scheme of the English episcopate as it existed until the nineteenth century, when new sees have been founded with the distribution of which we have no concern. Just as in the case of urban topography we must consider the towns apart from their railways and station-quarters, so we must ignore the modern developments in English ecclesiastical affairs and confine our attention to the traditional system as it came down to us from the middle ages. The map, Fig. 23, facing page 182 gives a view of this.

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[1] *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 148, 151.

[2] ibid. p. 311.

[3] ibid. p. 312.

[4] ibid. pp. 175, 200, 204.

[5] Strictly speaking the number was six, but the see of Westminster only endured for a few years, and it is omitted in Stubbs's *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*. See note, ante, p. 126.

The abnormal character of this system is due partly to the distribution of the sees and partly to the monastic and semi-monastic character of the episcopal establishments. It has been already hinted that the reason of this was their comparatively late foundation. At the epoch of the conversion of England the Celtic Church was intensely monastic; while the other strong and ultimately prevailing Church influence, brought to bear on it from the opposite quarter, came also heavily charged with the monastic spirit. Aidan and his companions were monks but so also were Augustine and most of the other members of the Roman expedition, while Gregory who sent them forth was himself a votary of the ascetic life, and when he became bishop of Rome he lifted monasticism into an exalted position in western Christendom. Almost all the various missioners to different parts of Britain, enumerated in the chronological table following page 176 were vowed to one form or another of the monastic life, and they naturally stamped this character on their places of settlement. In the words of Bishop Stubbs, 'for the first century of the conversion every monastery was a mission station and every mission station a monastery.'[1] That a monastic episcopate, like a village see, was abnormal in the West is indicated by another writer of the Norman period, Ordericus Vitalis, who remarks that 'Augustine and Laurentius and the other early preachers to the Angles were monks, and in their episcopal seats they religiously established monks instead of canons—a thing which in other lands is scarcely to be found.'[2] As a fact almost the only parallels to the English system were to be met with in parts of Germany, the further regions of which were, like

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[1] *Epist. Cantuar*, Rolls Series, No. 38/2, Introd. p. xv.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 6.

England, converted at a comparatively late period and by monastic missioners.

These monasteries from which so many of the English dioceses were worked, whether their surroundings were rural or urban, were always small self-centred communities, little worlds within themselves generally proclaiming their exclusiveness by their walls and guarded gates. Municipal life might be in full play beside or around them, but they were strictly secluded from all participation therein. Throughout all the centuries the English monastic cathedral has preserved this character, and, what is more remarkable, it has permanently impressed its own peculiarities on the cathedrals served by secular priests. In England some of the earliest sees, such as Rochester and London, were from the first worked by a secular clergy, and at the Norman Conquest ten of them, York, London, Hereford, Selsey, Wells, Exeter, Rochester, Lichfield, Dorchester and Thetford, were of this type. A good deal of ecclesiastical history intervenes of course between the conversion of England and its conquest by the Normans, and many chapters of this are occupied with endeavours to establish strict canonical rules among the secular clergy, and with contests between representatives of the monastic and collegiate systems, in the course of which a cathedral might be served at one time by monks and at another by canons. As a fact a certain monastic character has clung to almost all our establishments however they were served.

This impression is conveyed not only by their whole position and surroundings but especially by two marked features, the cloister-court and the wall of enceinte. Both of these are characteristic of the convent but neither of them is originally or exclusively monastic. The latter is the most conspicuous feature of the two in that it creates the much-admired Close, that beautiful park-like precinct that is the delight of every stranger who visits the English cathedral city. It is characteristic of the convent, because for the proper carrying on of monastic life some barrier between the inmates and the outer world was a primary necessity. This separation seems however at times to have been sufficiently provided by the internal arrangement of the buildings, which made it possible to confine the monks to the central portion around the cloister-court. For purely monastic purposes it was not always considered necessary to have an outer wall of enceinte as well as this internal security. A notice about the English monastery of Abingdon informs us that in the early days of the community there was no cloister-court, but a high wall of enclosure all round which answered the same purpose, words which imply that one or the other was considered sufficient.[1] At Oundle, one of Wilfrid's monasteries founded in the seventh century, there was no wall but a big thorn-hedge—'sepes magna spinea, quae totum monasterium circumcingebat.'[2] The outer wall was sometimes added rather to keep marauders out than merely to secure the inmates from a temptation to truancy. This was certainly the case in Germany where some of the chief monasteries were unwalled till the time of the Magyar invasions. There is no indication of a wall of enceinte on the Plan of St. Gall dating about 820 and St. Gall itself was unwalled when the Hungarians attacked it early in the tenth century.[3] Such a complete wall of enceinte however is shown in an ancient Norman plan of Christ Church, Canterbury, dating from the twelfth century,[4] and it may be taken as a normal feature of the fully equipped Benedictine house. Secular

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[1] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, No. 2/2, p. 272, 'nec habebant claustrum sicut nunc habent, sed erant circumdati muro alto qui erat eis pro claustro.' On the meaning of the word claustrum, see postea, p. 184.

[2] Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. lxvi, in *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71/1, p. 101.

[3] Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* Script. II, 105.

[4] Published with a commentary in the valuable treatise by Professor Willis, *History of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury*, Lond. 1869.

FIG. 23.

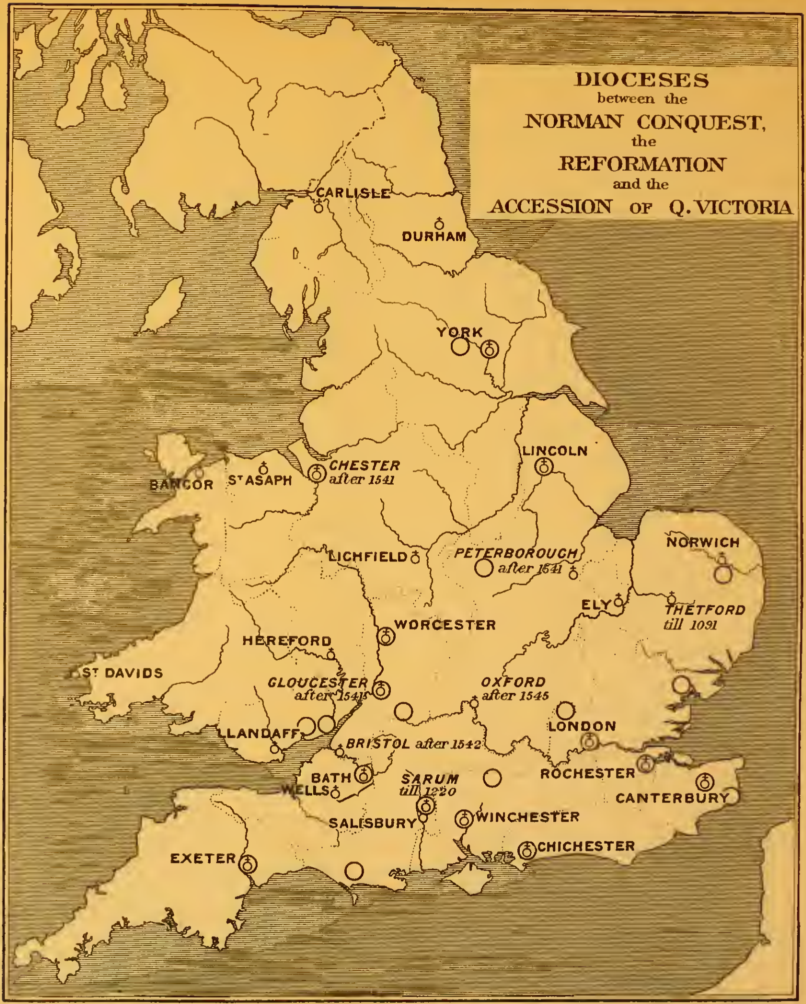
DIOCESES
between the
NORMAN CONQUEST,
the
REFORMATION
and the
ACCESSION OF Q. VICTORIA
CARLISLE
DURHAM
YORK
LINCOLN
CHESTER after 1541
ST ASAPH
BANGOR
LICHFIELD
PETERBOROUGH after 1541
NORWICH
ELY
THETFORD till 1091
WORCESTER
HEREFORD
ST DAVIDS
GLOUCESTER after 1541
OXFORD after 1545
LONDON
LLANDAFF
BRISTOL after 1542
ROCHESTER
BATH
WELLS
SARUM till 1220
CANTERBURY
SALISBURY
WINCHESTER
CHICHESTER
EXETER

FIG. 23.—English Dioceses after the Norman Conquest.

(To face p. 182.)

clergy or canons on the other hand had no reason in the nature of things to fence themselves in. There were however considerations of convenience and good order that might operate in the matter, and it is due to these that many canonical houses obtained the same outer rampart that was common in the case of the monastery. At Exeter for example, the church was originally monastic, but when the see was transferred thither from Crediton it was served by secular clergy. Till the end of the thirteenth century it was apparently not enclosed, but the church was surrounded by a burial ground. This cemetery became after nightfall the resort of bad characters and on this account Edward I gave the capitular body leave to enclose it with a stone wall, the gates in which were to be open all day but closed at night.[1] The wall round the close at Salisbury was built in consequence of a permission granted in the first year of Edward III, but no reason is assigned in the grant.[2] The minster yard at Lincoln, and the houses of the bishop and canons at Lichfield, were surrounded with walls in the reign of Edward I.[3] The permissions in each case are granted by the Crown and are merely instances of what are known as 'licenses to crenellate,' that were issued by the Plantagenet Kings to corporations or private persons who desired to have a gate in which to speak with their enemies.[4] The same causes which operated in England may have been at work abroad, for, as a fact, not a few foreign cathedrals of secular foundation were in late mediaeval times girt round with barriers. Evidence of this can be derived from the old town-plans and views, which are sufficiently abundant from the end of the sixteenth century downwards. In these we sometimes see represented a complete or partial enclosure round the cathedral and its connected structures, that reminds us of what is in England the rule.

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[1] Oliver, *History of Exeter*, Exeter, 1861, p. 65 note.

[2] Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, VI, 82 and 745.

[3] Turner, *Domestic Architecture in England*, Oxford, 1851, etc, III, 409 and 404.

[4] These are printed in Turner, loc. cit. p. 402 f.

For reasons which need not be examined here, the enclosures that may once have existed round the cathedrals in continental cities have now disappeared. The foreign cathedral came down to our own time, as a rule, much encumbered round about with small houses, from the midst of which it reared up its giant bulk. About these surroundings there was a good deal of picturesque old-world charm that is retained in drawings of the last generation of the school of Prout and Roberts, but they have now for the most part been swept away, and the cathedrals stand out isolated except on the side where they touch the palace of the archbishop or suffragan. In our own country the close, sometimes still walled, and always a little apart from the city, is a constant and characteristic feature which modern changes have left untouched. It is not universal, but the cathedrals which, like St Paul of London, stand free from these semi-monastic surroundings are so exceptional that they bring out into still clearer light the normal English arrangement. The reason of the retention among ourselves of this feature is a question to which we may return, after a consideration of the other apparent relic of monasticism mentioned above, the cloister-court.

The word 'cloister' is derived from the Latin 'claustrum,' a term that simply means 'enclosure.' 'Cloister' to our ears suggests the special architectural form of an open court surrounded by covered walks, in the back walls of which doors open to various apartments. Such a court became a normal feature of the Benedictine house, but it does not follow, that when the word claustrum occurs in mediaeval documents we are to think at once of an open court of the kind. Boniface in his letter to the Abbess Eadburga about a certain vision of the unseen world, writes of 'durissima inferorum claustra'[1]

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[1] Migne, LXXXIX, 719.

'the direful enclosures of Hades,' and claustrum or 'claustra monasterii,' as used for instance in the canons of the English Council of Cloveshoe of 747,[1] need mean nothing more than the monastic precincts. On the other hand when we find 'columnas claustri' mentioned at Ramsey in the tenth century[2] or read in William of Jumièges that at Bec in the middle of the eleventh century there was constructed a 'claustrum columnis ex ligneis'[3] we know that a court surrounded with galleries is in the writer's mind.

This point is of some importance in connection with the architectural form of the early Saxon monasteries, which will be discussed on a subsequent page. It has been shown recently in a valuable little work by Julius Schlosser[4] that the cloister-court was not a feature of the earliest monastic houses, and the date of its introduction into general use, especially in our own country, is a matter for inquiry. This we may leave for the present and deal merely with the origin of the feature and the significance of its appearance in connection with our English cathedrals.

In tracing the natural history of the cloister-court, we start with the fact that the open space surrounded with colonnades is the chief constituent element in ancient classical planning both for public and for domestic building-groups. The agora or forum of the Greco-Roman city was arranged in this fashion with the public buildings, such as temples, libraries, basilicas, disposed about it. In the private mansions of the better class the apartments for domestic use and for reception were grouped in the same fashion about the peristyle or columned court. The columned court comes into Christian architecture in the form of the so-called atrium or forecourt in front of the Early Christian basilica, examples of which still remain at

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[1] c. 20. Wilkins, *Concilia* 1, 97.

[2] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, Rolls Series, No. 83, p. 122.

[3] W. Jum. vi, 9.

[4] *Die abendländische Klosteranlage des früheren Mittelalters*, Wien, 1889.

Sta. Caecilia in Trastevere at Rome and Sant' Ambrogio, Milan, and which received a monumental development at a later day in Bernini's colonnades before St. Peter. Such forecourts had other buildings opening out of them besides the church, and these were used for residences of the clergy as well as for schools, libraries, treasuries and offices of all kinds. Thus the Vatican palace opens out of the columned fore-court of St. Peter.

When now we come to inquire into the history of this Early Christian forecourt or atrium itself we are conducted to the domestic peristyle as its most probable origin. It is derived either from this source or else from the public forum. But the first regular Christian churches were probably erected during the last half of the third century, when persecution was still in the air, and save perhaps in some rare instances it is not likely that they would take for their first model the public temple or exchange abutting on the chief open place of the city. It is much more probable that the meetings in private houses of the wealthier members of the brotherhood furnished the fashion of the earliest churches, when they came somewhat timidly forth for the first time before the face of the public. If we think for the moment not of the church alone but of the church with its staff of officers and their various duties that demand space and accommodation, we can realize how suitable a private house, especially the house of the bishop himself, would be for the accommodation of such a familia as is brought before us in the instance of Cirta in Africa noticed on a previous page.[1] The church itself, close at hand, may have been as we are so often told 'made out of the house' itself, that is to say created by the enlargement or rebuilding of one of the halls of reception which we know opened out of the peristyles of later classical mansions. As time goes on the natural process of evolution results in the exaltation of the church, which becomes far larger and more conspicuous than in the ages of persecution. The peristyle remains, but has taken upon itself more of the character of the public forum, while opening out of this court are numerous apartments employed for the purposes already suggested.

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[1] ante, p. 122.

Of the existence of establishments of this kind there is ample evidence both monumental and literary. The abundant Early Christian churches, of which the ruins or foundations have been surveyed by French archaeologists in the old Roman Province of Africa, often exhibit traces of other buildings grouped about their forecourts or atria, and in some of these we can see the residence and offices of the numerous bishops of that Province with their familiae.

At the ancient Theveste, now Tébessa, the basilica stood in a small enceinte of its own accessible by a flight of steps from a larger court in the direction of the town, on each side of which were traces of constructions now razed to the level of the ground.[1] At the recently explored site of the ancient Rusguniae in Algeria, on the south side of a large basilica there are traces of 'a collection of constructions resembling a monastery or a series of dwellings abutting on the church.'[2] There are similar indications connected with the group of Early Christian churches in Central Syria described by de Vogüé.[3]

In Gaul we find ample literary evidence of the same state of things. There are many notices, in Gregory of Tours and other writers, of episcopal dwellings and administrative buildings grouped about the courts which fronted the great churches of the Roman towns. At Toulouse a bishop entertains one of the Merovingian princes at a banquet in the church-house (in domo ecclesiae).[4] Gregory himself had a house at Orleans near the basilica of St. Avitus where he feasted the king.[1] On another occasion after such a banquet the chief persons are represented as walking up and down 'through the court of the house of the basilica' (of St. Martin at Tours). This same court with its porticoes and various apartments (singula loca) become presently the scene of horrid riot and bloodshed, too frequent in Merovingian Gaul, in the course of which mention is made of the private lodging of the bishop, the cell of the abbot, and quarters for almsmen and other dependents of the church, all being apparently within one enclosure.[2] Nicetius, bishop of Lyons, who died in 573, was head of an establishment of this kind, and his successor added to its height and appearance. He resolved we are told 'ædificium domus ecclesiasticae exaltari.' This residence is expressly called 'house of the bishop' (domus episcopi) and this is probably always synonymous with 'house of the church' (domus ecclesiae).[3]

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[1] *Revue Africaine*, 1886.

[2] *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1900.

[3] *Syrie Centrale, Architecture civile et réligieuse du Ire au VIIme Siècle*, Paris, 1865, etc.

[4] Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* vii, 27.

A 'domus' of this kind would naturally be the seat of a regulated life, and in a letter of the year 562 there is mention of a 'rector domus ecclesiae.'[4] Nicetius made a rule that no woman was to enter the church-house, and this indicates a stict code of conduct for the inmates. From this to the regular canonical establishment would be a step readily taken, but equally easy would be the formation out of the same elements of a house of monks. The atrium of a developed Christian establishment could be turned to monastic just as well as to canonical purposes, and we learn from the life of Gregory the Great that he established the monastery of St. Andrew in his own palatial mansion on the Caelian Hill at Rome,[5] and find him writing in one of his letters about a certain Reader (Lector) attached to a bishop's church who wished to construct a monastery in his own house.[1] The normal Benedictine monastery seems indeed just a copy of the arrangements of the classical house, the peristyle having become the cloister-court, and the church, refectory and dormitory taking the place of the halls of reception and living rooms of the earlier mansions.

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[1] *Hist. Franc.* viii, 2.

[2] ibid. vii, 29.

[3] ibid. iv, 36.

[4] *Mon. Germ. Hist.* Epist. III, 134.

[5] Joh. Diaconus, *S. Greg. Papae Vita*, c. vi, inter Romanae urbis maenia sub honore sancti Andreae apostoli, . . . ad clivium Scauri monasterium in proprio domate fabricavit.

In this way both monks-houses and canons-houses would be evolved naturally out of what was once but a private Christian dwelling where friends of like persuasion were invited to assemble for worship. So far as the outward arrangements of the buildings is concerned the canonical house described in the rule of Chrodegang is just like a normal Benedictine monastery. There are to be provided therein dormitories, refectories, infirmaries, cellarers' departments, and all other habitations needful for brethren who are to live in common. These are to form a claustrum and to be surrounded with strong walls on every side so that there shall be no way in or out save through the door, which is to be in charge of a trusty porter who shall lock it at night and give the key in charge of the head of the establishment. From this precinct lay-folk and women are as far as possible to be excluded.[2] The claustrum contemplated may or may not have been a court surrounded with covered walks such as we understand by cloister. A cloister-court certainly existed in the establishment at Metz for which this rule was originally drawn up, but it need not have been as early as the time of Chrodegang.[3]

We now come to a point of some interest in connection with Christian architecture, and even at the risk of making this digression unduly long some attention must be paid to it. According to the view here maintained, what was at first a domestic court of communication with many buildings about it, became, as an atrium, a court of approach to a single imposing structure, but with the development of the domus ecclesiae into a canonical or a monastic house it again became more important as the centre of a group of dwellings than as the court of access. Now ensued the important change that the court was moved from the front or entrance end of the church and put on one side, generally in the angle between the nave and one of the transepts, but sometimes as at Metz and at a later time at Paderborn, at the eastern end. As such a court after classical fashion would serve for a common living room, it was convenient to place it when in southern climes on the north or shady side of the church, as at S. Vincenzo alle Tre Fontane by Rome; when north of the Alps on the south where advantage could be taken of the sunshine.[1]

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[1] *Ep.* xi, 25.

[2] *S. Chrodegangi Met. Ep. Regula Canonicorum.* Migne, LXXXIX, 1064-5.

[3] Lenoir, *Architecture Monastique*, II, 468.

In the case of secular churches such as the cathedrals of the Continent, the atrium or forecourt at the entrance end was either transferred to another part as the cloister-court for the canonical residence, or dropped out of use altogether, so as to leave the entrance end of the building open. Architecturally speaking this was pregnant with consequences of moment, for it prepared the way for the imposing artistic treatment of the façade which culminated in the west fronts of the great French cathedrals of the Gothic epoch. In monastic establishments however, a forecourt of some kind before the entrance to the church was often retained even when in another part there was a cloister-court. The church was very commonly, at any rate in early times, frequented by the outside population, to which it served the purpose of a parish church. On the Plan of St. Gall this arrangement is indicated. There the great church is not only for the use of the inmates. Its doors are to be opened at service time to all the dwellers on the country-side and there is an inscription on the Plan to the west of the church which runs :

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[1] There are plenty of exceptions to this arrangement, *e.g.* Monte Cassino under Desiderius in the eleventh century had its cloister on the south, while at our English Canterbury it is on the north.

> 'Here is the way for all to the sacred shrine, hither
> they come and hence return with joy.'

In view of the feeling of exclusiveness that grew up later in some monastic circles and led to the barring of the laity altogether from the conventual church, it is worth noting that these words prefixed to the church on the Plan of St. Gall are almost the same as those applied by Sidonius Apollinaris to the atrium of the secular cathedral at Lyons,

> 'Behold the place that all must seek,
> For here is the way that leads all men to salvation.'[1]

Aldhelm's monastic church at Malmesbury was similarly open to public use. His biographer tells us in an interesting story how he gathered the laity (saeculares) into his church, where they heard mass before attending to their huckstering.[2]

In general all the early missionary churches, though forming part of a monastic establishment, would be accessible to the laity, as otherwise their primary purpose would be defeated. The church of the monastery was accordingly so placed as to be accessible from the outside, and a forecourt between the outer gate and the west end of the church was a convenient arrangement to enable the people to assemble and yet to prevent their access to the claustral precincts proper. On the Plan of St. Gall there is a court of the kind of a semicircular form that we meet with also in a far-off region in front of the great church at Carthage excavated a few years ago.[3] A rectangular forecourt independent of the cloister-court was adopted by Desiderius at Monte Cassino,[4] and such features occur in the case of some early monastic churches north of the

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[1] *Ep.* ii, 10.

[2] *Aldelmi Opera*, ed. Giles, Oxford, 1845, p. 360.

[3] Delattre, *La Basilique de Damous el Karita à Carthage*, Constantine, 1892.

[4] See the plan at the end of Dr. Schlosser's *Klosteranlage.*

Alps, the most interesting example being at Lorsch between Worms and the Odenwald in Germany. Here we have remaining the extremely interesting gate-house dating about 774[1] and a little distance within it a portion of the monastic church. Between the two was a rectangular court about fifty yards deep by twenty wide quite independent of the monastic buildings and intended for those who visited the church from outside. A similar forecourt existed in front of the basilica erected by Eginhard at Steinbach (Michelstadt) in the Odenwald, which was intended at first to be monastic. At Essen there is still existing a fine early columned forecourt of the kind.

This court of access, the revival of the Early Christian atrium, is an architectural form of which account must be taken in connection with the plans of some existing Saxon churches, as well as with the descriptions we possess of the Saxon monastic cathedral at Winchester. This important building, as re-constructed by Bishop Æthelwold towards the end of the tenth century, possessed ‘atria’ with colonnades north and south, out of which opened a whole complexus of buildings, consecrated or merely official, all of which had to be passed before the entrance porch of the great church was gained. They were evidently not the claustral buildings, because the visitor is represented as wandering through them and admiring what he sees in a perfectly free and open manner. The whole description seems to bring before us an extensive domus ecclesiae like those referred to by Gregory of Tours.[2]

It is time to return from this digression on the architectural surroundings of the Christian church to the special arrangements of the English cathedrals with which we are more immediately concerned. The cloister-court was as we have seen a natural centre for a domus ecclesiae frequented by the members of a bishop's familia, just as it was a natural centre for a monastic establishment that had really grown from the same origin. We are not therefore surprised to know that some of the great cathedrals of the continent which had no monastic associations yet possessed at one time cloister-courts. This was the case for example at Rheims, where there existed such an adjunct, to which access was formerly gained through the beautiful round-arched doorway with its polychromatic sculpture at the end of the north transept, a solitary fragment from an older building scheme. Hence the mere fact that English secular cathedrals, as well as the monastic ones, in many though not in all cases possessed cloisters, is not surprising, what is abnormal is their retention of these to modern times, and this is no doubt due to the strong monastic element in early English cathedral life in general. The existence of so many monastic cathedrals established a traditional form for the complexus of buildings, and the wall of enceinte and the cloister-court, when once made the custom, were retained in use even after the Reformation. The Reformation indeed had the effect of further consolidating the tradition, for of the five new sees then founded four were in monastic churches attached to cloistered houses, while the fifth, Bristol, a house of Augustinian canons, possessed also a cloister-court. In the period between the Reformation and our own time, especially since the Restoration, this semi-monastic seclusion corresponded to the exclusiveness and comparative inertia which up to half a century ago had for long been characteristic of the Anglican establishment. Now that these have given place to a strenuous democratic activity, the outward aspect of our cathedrals somewhat belies the spirit in which these great and still living institutions are being so effectively worked.

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[1] Adamy, *die fränkische Thorhalle . . . zu Lorsch*, Darmstadt, 1891.

[2] Professor Willis, in the ‘Winchester’ volume of the Archaeological Institute, London, 1846, gives the passage with a commentary.

However we may explain the retention, the fact remains that not only the cathedrals that were once monastic have closes and cloister-courts, but these are at the present day attached to the secular foundations at Lincoln, Hereford, Chichester, Wells, Exeter and Salisbury. In the case of the last, a new foundation of the thirteenth century on a site where there were no local monastic traditions, the fact is not a little remarkable. The exceptions are York and London. The former (though as a matter of strict historical truth it appears to have been in the time of Bede monastic),[1] is an example of a secular foundation that is not known to have ever possessed a cloister-court, and owns only in a very modified sense a close.[2] St. Paul resembles many of the great bishop's churches of the Continent that were also in an effective sense town churches, in that it possessed at one time a cloister and wall of enceinte, but like these it surrendered all semi-monastic features, and

> 'Here, in streaming London's central roar'

it stands, like Notre Dame or St. Mary of the Flower, not in an ecclesiastical suburb but in the full tide of urban life.

We may leave this subject with a glance at two contrasted cities, Salisbury and Florence—neither of great antiquity and each setting mighty store by its cathedral fane. In the Italian city the town church was the centre of municipal activity, the common possession and pride of all the citizens alike. The English cathedral, which in a sense made the town, did not as might have been expected attract the town around it but stood distinctly apart, and it had not been in existence a century before its crenellated wall began to bar the access to it of the townsfolk, and to impart to it that air of aristocratic aloofness which makes it so characteristically English. It is one of the glories of Italian municipal history that the cities clasped their great churches in an embrace so intimate, while there is something of what a foreigner would explain as insular reserve in the privacy which the surroundings of our own cathedrals have secured for them. It must again be noticed however, that from the artistic point of view the churches in question have gained no small advantage from their quiet and beautiful setting.

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[1] Bede, *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, § 1, *Op. Hist.* 1, 405.

[2] Till lately however there was a wall round the minster precincts at York. Raine's *York* in Historic Towns Series, 1893, p. 156.

The English cathedrals represent in historical tradition, if not always in the matter of site, the earliest churches belonging to the missionary bishops who accomplished the conversion of our Saxon forefathers. As such they naturally take precedence of the other ecclesiastical structures of the land, and enough has now been said about them to connect their present aspect and surroundings with mediaeval times. As we have just seen they were in most cases not only bishops' churches but monastic churches, and formed parts of those religious establishments into which gathered the clergy of the first generation of the conversion. Starting, therefore, from those particular monasteries which formed the seats of bishops we will go on to consider the subject of the early Saxon monastery in general. This may be examined first in its general form and arrangement, and next in its influence on learning and on art.

The form of monastery represented to us in such ruins as Fountains or Tintern or Dryburgh is so familiar that we are apt to look upon it as the only possible shape in which western monachism could clothe itself. We can hardly imagine a monastery without its cloistered court, its common dormitory, its refectory, its chapter-house and the other well-known structures. As a fact however, other types of the convent existed before this orthodox arrangement was established in the West, and it is with these types that we must first become acquainted. In England proper almost all monumental remains of these earlier establishments have disappeared, but such still survive both in Scotland and, especially, in Ireland, where at Skellig Michael we have already had before us a characteristic specimen.

Monasteries of this type are often termed 'Celtic,' and it was observed long ago that they bear a remarkable resemblance to the older conventual settlements of the East. The resemblance is not however due to direct borrowing. The truth is that Irish customs in building and ritual, though they exhibit specially Celtic traits, are more often than not survivals in that remote locality of what was once customary throughout Christendom. The kind of monastery in question originated undoubtedly, like the ascetic idea itself, in the East, and spread from thence over western lands, but at a later period there was substituted for it the type familiar to us, one that was western and Roman and that was superinduced on almost all the old monastic sites save those in outlying regions such as the western sea-boards of the British Isles. The two forms of monastery answer to the ideas contained in the two words 'monk' and 'cenobite.' We are accustomed to employ these terms indifferently, but as a fact they are mutually exclusive. The monk, μοναχός, is the man who lives μόνος, alone; the cenobite, from κοινός, common, and βίος, life, is one who lives in company with his fellows. Monasticism began in the idea of the solitary retired life, but was developed in the direction of life in common. The earliest monks were hermits who had retired from the world to a life of prayer and meditation, but when many such were collected in one place, which happened even in Egypt the first home of the institution, there was necessarily formed a sort of community. St. Jerome in the fourth century writes of Egyptian monks that they live by themselves but in contiguous habitations.[1] This description would exactly apply to the more primitive Irish monasteries, of which remains have come down to us, wherein we see no arrangements for common meetings, but only a collection of tiny cells and oratories.

'The primitive Celtic monastery,' writes Dr. Skene, 'was a very simple affair, and more resembled a rude village of wooden huts.'[2] These huts on exposed litoral sites were of stone. The ground plan of the small structures at Skellig Michael is given in Fig. 24. They consist of half-a-dozen small round stone cells of curious fabrication, and three structures of about the same size, but of oblong plan, some of which show unmistakeable signs that they have been used as oratories. The actual date of these remains may not be exceptionally early, but they represent a most primitive type both of residence and of oratory, and from this point of view we shall return to them again. Now it is noteworthy that there is one structure in the group that by its technique is proved to be of later date, and this is a church of sufficient size to accommodate at one time all the members of the minute community. This indicates a distinct advance towards the later idea of a life in common. Even in these Irish monasteries therefore, places of this kind for periodical meeting were provided. There is a frequently quoted passage in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick in which are given certain directions for the monastic settlements which he is represented as founding. The passage, the exact date of which is uncertain, but which seems to rest on a genuine early tradition, mentions a common kitchen, an oratory, and a 'great house' or refectory, where the inmates could assemble, though they would no doubt live and sleep in separate cells.[1] One feature implied in this passage seems to have been general in these early Irish settlements and this is the wall of enceinte. Their massive ramparts of dry stone work are among the most striking monuments of the land, and such walls even enclosed the clusters of bee-hive cells on the barely accessible crags and islets of the rocky sea-board. In some cases existing older enclosures of a military kind were utilized as safe and convenient sites for a monastic settlement.

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[1] *Ep.* 22, ad Eustochium, quoted in Jul. Schlosser's valuable little work already referred to. See ante, p. 185 note.

[2] *Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1886, etc. II, 57.

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[1] *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, Rolls Series, No. 89/1, p. 237. 'In this wise then Patrick measured the *Ferta*, namely seven score feet in the enclosure, and seven and twenty feet in the great house, and seventeen feet in the kitchen, seven feet in the oratory, and in that wise it was that he used to found the cloister always.'

As Julius Schlosser has shown, this compromise between the principles of isolation and community was the rule at first in every part of Christendom, and it was only gradually superseded by establishments framed like the Benedictine exclusively for a life in common. It was not till the seventh or eighth century, he believes, that the cloistered monastery which became almost universal in the West began to take the place of the older and looser arrangements. Up to that time what we call the Celtic type was in general use. Of an early establishment in Palestine we learn that the anchorites lived alone all the week in separate cells but on Sundays came together to the church for united service which was followed by a common meal.[1] A similar picture is drawn of an establishment of the eighth century at Novalese in Piedmont,[2] while a third example brings us to the region with which we are specially concerned. A description has fortunately been preserved of the arrangement of the early Saxon monastery at Abingdon in Berkshire at the end of the seventh century. There was here a common church of considerable size, but round about it were twelve cells and an equal number of small oratories. The former were used by that number of monks for eating drinking and sleeping, but on Sundays and the principal feasts the inmates came together to service in the church and to a common meal.[3]

It is probable that to this type conformed most of the early monasteries which were so numerous in Saxon England of the seventh century, as well as the more important establishments in Gaul, such as those in the isle of Lérins off the Provençal coast, the great Marmoutier founded by St Martin at Tours, or the Brie, Chelles and Andeley to which in the early part of the seventh century so many Saxons resorted for instruction in the religious life.[4] Bede mentions a large number of early foundations, and gives incidental notices from

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[1] Schlosser, *Klosteranlage*, p. 2

[2] ibid. p. 5.

[3] *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, No. 2/2, p. 272.

[4] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 8.

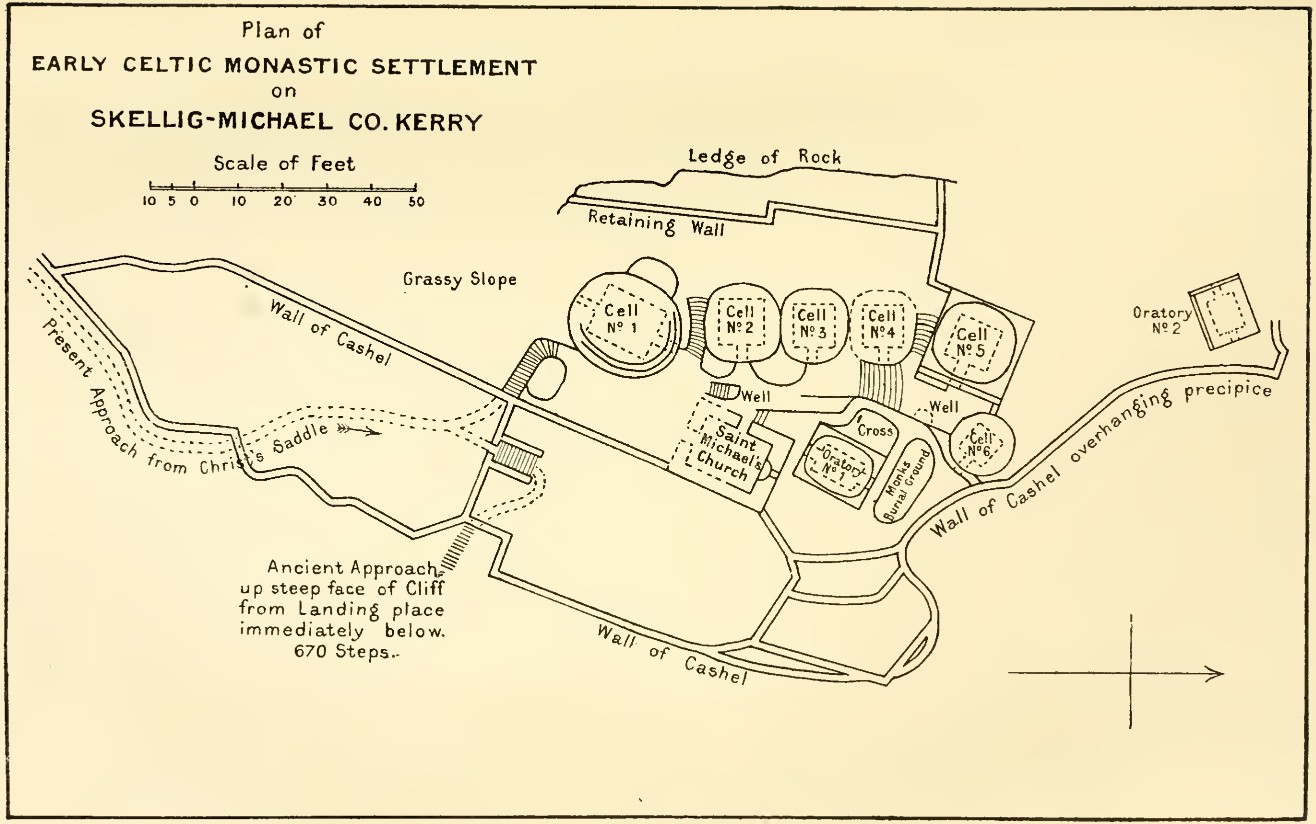
Plan of
EARLY CELTIC MONASTIC SETTLEMENT
on
SKELLIG-MICHAEL CO. KERRY
Scale of Feet
10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50
Ledge of Rock
Retaining Wall
Grassy Slope
Wall of Cashel
Present Approach from Christ's Saddle
Cell Nº 1
Cell Nº 2
Cell Nº 3
Cell Nº 4
Cell Nº 5
Cell Nº 6
Oratory Nº 2
Well
Well
Saint Michael's Church
Cross
Oratory Nº 1
Monks Burial Ground
Wall of Cashel overhanging precipice
Ancient Approach up steep face of Cliff from Landing place immediately below. 670 Steps.
Wall of Cashel

FIG. 24.—Plan of Early Monastic Settlement on Skellig Michael.

(To face p. 198.)

which we can form some idea of their arrangement. The British and Welsh settlements would naturally illustrate the 'Celtic' plan. Of these Glastonbury became the most important and we are told of it, though not by Bede, that the earliest monks had lived in separate huts as anchorites in different parts of the island, as it then was, though they would gather together for service in the most ancient of the little group of churches that existed on the site. In the eighth century there were four of these separate oratories.[1] The settlement of Bangor near Chester, of which Bede tells us,[2] held about two thousand monks, and William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century[3] as well as the antiquary Leland in the sixteenth[4] write respectively of the 'ruins' and of the 'foundations' of numerous buildings to be seen in their time on the spot. As the latter however adds 'and Romayne money is founde there' it is probable that the remains were really those of some Roman station.

The Saxon monasteries founded in the century after the conversion fall naturally, from our present point of view, into two groups, those of Celtic origin and those instituted by the Roman or the Romanizing ecclesiastics. In the latter as compared with the former we should expect to find special emphasis laid on arrangements for life in common, but as will be seen there is but slight direct evidence of such a distinction. Taking first the purely Celtic foundations, Lindisfarne followed the fashion of the mother settlement at Iona. At this day the pilgrim to these justly hallowed sites finds ruins that conform to the ordinary cloistered plan, but this is a result of comparatively late rebuilding. In the Iona of Columba's day, as in the Lindisfarne of Aidan's, or in the Inchcolm of the period of the still existing Celtic oratory, we must picture to ourselves the various structures needed by the community scattered loosely over the site though possibly within a wall of enclosure. When the Irish withdrew from Lindisfarne there was on it a church of timber but the other structures were few and poor.[1] There were, however, special quarters for guests.[2] Two daughter settlements are mentioned in Bede, Coldingham and Old Melrose. Of the former we read that when seen from a distance the buildings seemed lofty and conspicuous. No doubt there was a church surrounded by a group of low huts, which we know were close together and of wood, because the whole settlement was consumed a little later by fire. The inmates evidently occupied distinct habitations and the structures were divided into public and private. The story in which these details about the monastery occur mentions 'singulorum casas ac lectos' and 'domunculae, quae ad orandum vel legendum factae erant' that is, separate sleeping chambers and small oratories and cells of study.[3] In contrast to this description we note that at Hackness, an appanage of the convent at Whitby, there was a common dormitory where all the sisters slept together, and the same arrangement is indicated at Whitby itself.[4]

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[1] See Willis's *Glastonbury*, Camb. 1866.

[2] *H.E.* ii, 2.

[3] *Gesta Regum*, i, § 47.

[4] *Itinerary*, v, 30.

At Old Melrose, which was in a different situation from that of the present well-known abbey, there is nothing to be seen but the site, and this is one of singular beauty and impressiveness. At this point, about half way between the present Melrose and Dryburgh, the river Tweed makes some sharp bends enclosing on three sides a bold promontory that descends abruptly on every face but the south-west to the stream. The opposite banks rise with equal steepness from the water and beneath the copses that clothe them the grey river flows with a pensive murmur that alone breaks the silence of the scene. The spot seems marked out by nature for a monastic settlement. The ridge connecting the promontory with the land needed only to be crossed by a rampart of earth and stones to secure the inmates from intrusion, and between this outer wall and the river there was ample space for the monastic cells and chapels, as well as for more private lairs such as the 'dygle ancorstowe'[1] or retired place of solitude assigned by the abbot of the place to the votary Drycthelm.[2] This was close to the bank of the Tweed, and he was often to be observed standing up to his middle or his neck in the water to recite his psalms and prayers. This used to go on in winter when the floating ice was bobbing up against his shoulders, and after he came out he never changed his clothes but let them dry as best they could upon him. Bede says that in this way he 'subdued his aged body.'[3]

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 26.

[2] ibid. iv, 31.

[3] ibid. iv, 25.

[4] ibid. iv, 23.

An early Celtic settlement, contemporary with or even prior to Lindisfarne, was that of Fursa in East Anglia,[4] and we note that he followed an Irish fashion in that he selected the existing enclosure of a Roman camp, generally identified with Burgh Castle in Suffolk, within which to build his cells and oratories. Cedd adopted the same plan for one of his East Saxon monasteries which he placed at, and probably within the enclosure of, the old Roman fortress of Othona, then called Ithancaster,[5] where is now the puzzling but possibly very ancient church of St Peter-on-the-Wall near Bradwell, Essex. Another Roman fort thus utilized was that of Reculver, the ancient Regulbium, where the Canterbury ecclesiastics had a site granted by the king in 669 A.D.[6]

A very characteristic foundation was that at Lastingham on the North Riding moors in Yorkshire, where a fine Early Norman crypt and later Norman church preserve the sacred tradition of the place. The site was purposely selected 'among distant and rugged hills fitter for the haunts of robbers and dens of wild beasts than for human dwelling-places,' and was consecrated by a curious rite of incubation. The monastery, we are especially told, was organized after the model of Lindisfarne.[1] Cedd's brother Chad had his bishop's seat at Lichfield in a settlement of Celtic type to which was annexed, like Farne islet to Lindisfarne,[2] a little cell and oratory some distance away, called in the Old English version of Bede a 'sundorwic' or separate habitation, where he spent a good deal of his time in retirement.[3] The present church of St. Chad a few furlongs from the cathedral at Lichfield, near which is St. Chad's well, is supposed to mark the spot. Among other Celtic foundations of which there is nothing special to be said, were Abercorn a bishop's seat,[4] Bosham,[5] Tilbury on the Thames,[6] 'at Barve' in Lindsey,[7] Hartlepool,[8] and twelve monasteries founded by King Oswy in pursuance of a vow made before the great battle on the Winwæd which crushed the heathen opposition to Saxon Christianity.[9] Abingdon, it should be remembered, the primitive form of which was so characteristically Celtic, was traditionally ascribed to an Irish origin.[10] Malmesbury was at first Celtic but was re-founded under Roman influences,[11] and so too was Ripon.[12]

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* v, 12, O.E. Version.

[2] ante, p. 50.

[3] *H.E.* v, 12, ad fin.

[4] ibid. iii, 19.

[5] ibid. iii, 22.

[6] *A.-S. Chronicle*, ad ann. 669.

In these notices we find some indications of churches for general use as well as groups of small oratories, and while separate cells for sleeping and eating seem to have been the rule, the instances of Whitby and its dependency Hackness exhibit the common dormitory. It may be remarked however, that the abbess Hild, the foundress of Whitby and of Hackness, was a convert of Paulinus though a protégée later on of Aidan, and may have imbibed from her first teacher the idea of a common dormitory, which is Roman rather than Celtic. In this case the houses last mentioned might be transferred to the list of those founded under Roman influences to which we must now turn our attention. Among these, if we exclude Whitby and Hackness, we find in Bede one mention of a common dormitory and one apparent indication of separate cells, so there is little direct evidence to support the natural conjecture that in these houses life in common would be insisted on. This could however hardly be otherwise, for the principle was the very foundation of the Benedictine rule, and though this rule, promulgated about the middle of the sixth century, was only gradually winning its way among a crowd of competitors, it would have had at this time authority, if anywhere, within the entourage of Augustine. Augustine and some of his companions came from Gregory's own monastery of St. Andrew on the Caelian Hill at Rome, and if they were not technically Benedictines they certainly represented the form of monasticism that was ultimately crystallized under that name.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 23.
[2] ante, p. 156.
[3] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 3.
[4] ibid. iv, 26.
[5] ibid. iv, 13.
[6] ibid. iii, 22.
[7] ibid. iv, 3.
[8] ibid. iii, 24.
[9] ibid. loc. cit.
[10] ante, p. 173.
[11] ante, p. 173.
[12] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 25.

The facts of the introduction of the Benedictine system into England have been a matter of controversy. William of Malmesbury tells us that Wilfrid when in power in the North introduced the rule of St. Benedict as well as the proper observation of Easter.[1] This is borne out by the contemporary testimony of Eddius, who puts into Wilfrid's own mouth the boast that he had established the monastic life in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict which no one had previously introduced.[2] On the other hand the two northern foundations of Wilfrid's friend Benedict Biscop, at Wearmouth and at Jarrow, were not strictly of this character, for Bede ascribes to Biscop an address to his own monks at Wearmouth in which, though he quotes the rule of his great namesake, he declares at the same time that his own ordinances were compiled from the practice of seventeen monasteries that he had visited in the course of his travels.[3] We must imagine, therefore, for the monasteries founded from the Roman side, a modified Benedictinism or a compromise between the separate and the cenobitic principles. The multiplication of small co-ordinate churches which is against the Benedictine plan seems to have prevailed,[1] while the common dormitory would, on the other hand, be generally found. 'If it can be arranged all should sleep in one apartment' is the provision of c. xxii. of Benedict's rule. As bearing on this question of the introduction of the Benedictine system into England, it may be noted that the rule, admirable as are its provisions, is not intended for a missionary establishment. The ideal Benedictine monastery, as it is brought before us in the rule, is to be self-supporting and self-centred, producing all it needs 'so that there may be no necessity for the monks to wander abroad, for this is to the hurt of their souls.'[2] It was, however, for this very purpose of 'wandering abroad' that the monks were settled at St. Augustine, just as they were settled at Lindisfarne or Iona, and for establishments the whole object of which was external activity in preaching and serving local shrines Benedictinism pure and simple was not fitted.

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[1] *Gest. Pont.* p. 236.

[2] *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71/1, p. 68.

[3] Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, c. 11, *Op. Hist.* i, 374.

Taking some of the examples noticed in Bede or in Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, we find at Benedict Biscop's monastery at Wearmouth a church of St. Mary besides the main church of St. Peter part of which is probably still standing, as well as an 'oratory of St. Laurence in the dormitory of the brethren.'[3] These slept and took their meals in common. There was a more retired place for the sick and necessary buildings for carrying on the utilitarian work of the place.[4] At the sister establishment of Jarrow-on-Tyne we have actual monumental evidence of two contiguous churches of the first period. In connection with Aldhelm's monastery at Malmesbury, re-constituted by him after experience gained by residence at St. Augustine and by a journey to Rome, there was a fine church of Peter and Paul and besides this two others dedicated to St. Mary and St. Michael.[1] At Ripon the crypt of Wilfrid's monastic church still remains but we do not hear much about the arrangements of the settlement, which may have retained some Celtic features. Hexham was Wilfrid's from the first, as also were Oundle[2] and Selsey.[3] In the case of Oundle, where Wilfrid died in 709 A.D., Eddius gives us the idea of a group of wooden buildings all surrounded by the hedge of thorns.[4] Among other foundations in the country in which the clergy of the Roman party seem to have been exclusively active may be mentioned the two settlements of Earconwald, bishop in London, at Chertsey and Barking,[5] Medeshamstede (Peterborough),[6] probably Ely,[7] and Reculver.[8] In the case of all these, noting what William of Malmesbury says about Wilfrid's foundations and the facts known about Wearmouth, we may assume that the common dormitory and refectory were constant features. This would necessitate buildings larger than mere huts or cells, but these would still be of a slight order and of wood. There are references at a later date to stone dormitories and refectories which imply that the introduction of these was only gradual. Abingdon, not in its earliest form but at any rate as early as the invasions of the Danes, had a refectory, in which these unwelcome visitors feasted. It was of stone.[9]

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[1] It must be remembered of course that one or two subsidiary chapels besides the great church were features in any large Benedictine establishment. On the Plan of St. Gall there are two of these, one for the novices at the school and the other for convalescent patients. The infirmary chapel was a normal feature in all the later monasteries.

[2] *Regula S. Bened.* c. lxvi. [3] Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, c. 17. [4] ibid. c. 8

[1] W. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* pp. 345 and 361.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* v, 19. Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, p. 97.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 13.

[4] ante, p. 182.

[5] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 6.

[6] *A.-S. Chronicle*, ad ann. 667.

[7] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 19.

[8] ibid. v, 8.

[9] *Chronicon Mon. de Abingdon*, Rolls Series, 2/1, p. 48.

In a charter of the beginning of the tenth century there is mention of the 'stone dormitory' at Winchester.[1]

The early Saxon monastic system possessed one feature of great interest, not found in later times, that necessarily affected the arrangement of the conventual buildings. This is the association of monks and nuns in one establishment of which the head seems always to have been an abbess. The institution comes prominently before us first in Ireland, where at the beginning of the sixth century the famous Brigid presided over a great community of both sexes at Kildare, as well as over various daughter establishments of the same kind. Here again we probably find in Ireland only a developed and persistent form of an institution that may be traced all over Christendom. There are so many provisions of early synods against a mixture of the sexes in the ascetic life[2] that such a union seems to have been in many places informally essayed. The Irish regulated the system and passed it on with others of their institutions to their Saxon converts. We also find the joint system in existence in the first half of the seventh century in Gaul, where the monasteries of Brie and perhaps Chelles and Andeley, seem to have been of this pattern. These may represent the same sort of survival as the Irish houses, or may be directly affiliated to these. Mr. Plummer thinks that it was from Gaul that the fashion spread to our own country,[3] but the fact that Coldingham, a daughter of the exclusively Celtic Lindisfarne, was of this type makes an Irish derivation equally probable. Mr. Plummer's note gives the known Saxon examples, Whitby, Coldingham, Bardney, Wenloch, Repton, Ely, Wimborne, Barking ; and of these, while the second at any rate was purely Celtic, two of the last three were Roman, so that both sections of the early Saxon church admitted the system. It was not however approved of by the authorities on whom the Roman section relied, for Gregory the Great writes against it in one of his letters, in which he expresses himself as hostile to the foundation of a monastery for men on a site where it would be close to an establishment of nuns. He wished to avoid 'the snares of the ancient enemy.'[1] Theodore expresses disapproval of it, though with his usual sound sense he refrains from disturbing 'what is a custom in this country.[2] The system was obviously open to abuses and a conspicuous instance is Coldingham, for the story to which reference has already been made recounts the disorders of the place.[3] The Irish seem to have discovered that human nature was not far enough sublimated to admit of the successful working of communities like those of Rabelais' Abbey of Theleme, and while in an ancient often-quoted document we are told that in the first age of the Irish Church 'the saints rejected not the services and society of women,' in the later ages 'they refused the society of women separating them from the monasteries.'[4] The extraordinary austerity with respect to women that prevailed in some sections of the Church, and is represented in this country especially by Cuthbert, may be due to a reaction against the earlier condition of a freedom that too often degenerated into laxity.

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[1] Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, p. 156.

[2] *E.g.* Concil. Carth. 348 A.D. cc. 3 and 4 ; Conc. Tolet. 400 A.D. cc. 6-9 ; Conc. Nic. II, 787 A.D. c. 20.

[3] Plummer's *Bede*, II, 150. Mr. Plummer's note on the subject is a valuable one.

In houses of this type special arrangements were of course needful. At Wimborne the sexes were severely kept apart and the nuns had their own oratories. The abbess when she had to attend to outside affairs spoke through a window.[5] One of Bede's incidental miracle stories affords us a glimpse into the interior of Bardney where affairs seem to have gone on in easier fashion. On one occasion here a male guest was seized at night with convulsions, and the abbess was aroused and informed. She left her own quarters in company with one of her nuns and went to the men's side to summon a priest who attended her to the bedside of the sufferer.[1] At Barking there were separate churches, a special infirmary, a secluded house for novices, and apparently the anomalous feature of separate sleeping chambers instead of a common dormitory for each section of the community.[2]

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[1] *Ep.* xi, 25, also iv, 42.

[2] Theodore's *Penetential*, in Haddan and Stubbs, III, 195.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 25 ; ante, p. 200.

[4] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II, 12.

[5] *Acta Sanct.* Sept. VII, p. 711.

It may appear pedantic to insist on these details of arrangement in the houses of the primitive period of English monasticism, but the fact is that this seventh century, to which the details refer, was an heroic age of English Christianity, and it has for us in all its features far more of living interest than many more recent and better-known epochs, when the current of religious life was flowing less freely. As we are passing now from the external arrangements of the monastic houses to the spirit which animated their inmates, this chapter may here fittingly conclude.

[1] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 11.

[2] ibid. iv, 7 f.

CHAPTER VI

THE SAXON MONASTERY IN ITS RELATION TO LEARNING AND ART

To the generous mind of Bishop Lightfoot, the most distant epoch of the Christianity of his diocese gleamed like a 'golden age of saintliness, such as England would never see again,' and he calls it 'the most attractive, and in a spiritual aspect the most splendid in the annals of his Church.[1] Of the times of an Aidan and a Hild, or we may add of an Aldhelm or a Lioba, it is indeed hardly possible to write without some sympathetic glow of feeling. It was an age of saints and scholars who were above the general level reached by the men and women of their race. Over the sites where they dwelt, upon the buildings they may have seen and used, there shines a light of romance like that which in Bede's miracle stories broods over the bones of the holy dead.

Jarrow, where Saxon and Norman walls of blackening stone still rise in the open fields, though within a narrowing circle of factories and workmen's dwellings, is sacred as the home of Bede, and the house within which the *Ecclesiastical History* was conceived and written may well have sheltered more than one generation of men of holy life and strenuous zeal. At Lindisfarne we think away the Roman cloister-court, and restore the few slight Irish huts where Aidan expounded and Wilfrid sat to learn. At Malmesbury we can still hear Aldhelm chanting his Saxon lays to his harp upon the bridge till, Orpheus-like, he leads his spell-bound hearers within the abbey church for prayer. On the height of Old Melrose, in the murmurs of the rippling Tweed we may catch what fancy frames into dreamlike echoes of Celtic psalmody, and on Whitby Hill, under the graceful lancets of the ruined Gothic fane we conjure up in thought the shingled roofs of Streanæshalch, where statesmen and prelates owned the intellectual sway of Hild, and amidst the lowly cattle-byres Cædmon sang.

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[1] *Leaders in the Northern Church*, Lond. 1890, pp. 14 and 9.

The history of monasticism, whether in England or on the Continent, provides shadows enough to throw up into clearer relief the noble and beautiful lives of the men and women who represented the system at its best, both in the England of the pre-Danish epoch and at the revival in the time of Dunstan. In the Introduction to Mr. Plummer's edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the writer draws in sympathetic touches a picture of the monastic life as exemplified in Bede. In him was embodied the piety as well as the learning of the age. The stories we possess about him, whether facts of his own career like the immortal death-scene, or pious tributes to his memory, are inspired by the same temper that pervades his own writings, and we can say nothing better in their praise than that they remind us of fine passages in the Old Testament. What reader of the Book of Kings has not been thrilled, at any rate in youthful days, when the eyes of the prophet's servant were opened and the mountain was full of chariots of fire and of horses of fire round about Elisha! There is something of this in a later mythical anecdote about Bede, which tells how on one occasion, when he was well stricken in years and almost blind, some triflers called to him in sport 'Behold, master, the people are gathered together to hear the word of God, arise and preach to them.' But there were no people there and they thought to jest with him. So Bede rose up and preached in the church that those triflers thought empty save for their silly selves. But angels in an invisible choir had thronged the church and when the voice of the preacher ceased, from all its spaces celestial voices sang 'Amen.'[1]

Bede was not only one of the best men that ever lived, but was one of the chief fountain-heads of English, one might also say of European, learning. In the words of Bishop Stubbs, 'Having centred in himself and in his writings nearly all the knowledge of the day, he was enabled before his death, by promoting the foundation of the school of York, to kindle the flame of learning in the West at the moment that it seemed both in Ireland and in France to be expiring. The school of York transmitted to Alcuin the learning of Bede, and opened the way for culture on the Continent, when England under the terrors of the Danes was relapsing into barbarism.[2]

Irish learning had been implanted at Lindisfarne and other Celtic mission-centres some decades before Bede was born, and during the latter part of the seventh century there was a stream of Saxon students, gentle and simple alike, setting to Ireland for the drinking of that learning at the fountain head. Bede tells us that 'all these were most liberally received by the Irish, who were careful to supply them with daily food without any payment, and gave them books to use and instruction, all as a free gift.'[3] As an alumnus of the Northumbrian schools Bede would have had access to the stores of Irish learning, and he expressly tells us that one of his instructors was the Anglian Trumhere who had been taught and ordained by the Irish.[4] To this he added the teaching of the schools of Rome, for the founder of his own monastery of Wearmouth-Jarrow and his first instructor, Benedict Biscop, was one of the leading representatives of this learning in the England of the time, and had been for a while abbot of St. Augustine at Canterbury in which it centred. The two sources of knowledge were thus united in Bede, and he transmitted the whole to his friend, and perhaps pupil, Ecgbert of York.

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[1] Pertz, *M.G.H.*, Script. xxiv, 180.

[2] *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* art. 'Beda.'

[3] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 27. It is the latest work of the enlightened private munificence of the twentieth century, in a land of educational renown, to free for the natives of that land the avenue to the higher education. The Irish educationalists of the seventh century, in their own small way, treated with equal or greater liberality the foreigner from over-sea.

[4] *H.E.* iv, 3, and iii, 24.

In this combination of Irish and Roman learning Bede had been preceded by his older contemporary, Aldhelm of Malmesbury and Sherborne. He was first educated by the Irish teacher Mailduf, the original founder of the former famous abbey, and he had also studied at Canterbury under the abbot Hadrian, the companion of archbishop Theodore. A school was there formed by the ecclesiastics just named where both Latin and Greek were successfully taught,[1] and special attention was paid to church music, to prosody in which Aldhelm was an expert, to astronomy and to ecclesiastical computation. To judge from some obscure hints, the learning of the Celtic scholars was in a more philosophic and mystical vein than the Roman, and that there was a real or fancied opposition between the two appears from a letter by Aldhelm, in which he exhibits Theodore as routing his Irish foes with syllogisms as a wild boar disperses the dogs.[2] Aldhelm possessed neither the profound learning of Bede nor his grace of simple and clear expression, and, as in this obscure letter, writes in a style rendered turgid by Latinized Greek words and rhetorical conceits, of which Heinrich Hahn suggests he caught the vicious trick from the African Hadrian.[3]

The West Saxon however possessed what is for us an endowment of greater value—one that he shared with Bede,—the gift of vernacular song, and lays attributed to him were known to King Alfred, who is said to have rated them higher than all other efforts of English poetry.[4]

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 2.

[2] *Opera*, ed. Giles, Oxford, 1845, p. 94.

[3] *Bonifaz und Lul, ihre angelsächsischen Korrespondenten*, Leip. 1883, p. 14.

[4] W. of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, No. 52, p. 336.

Faricius, who compiled a life of him in the eleventh century, and says that music was always in his mind and was his daily practice, gives us the picture of Aldhelm standing on the bridge by Malmesbury to meet the country folk who were streaming in to a Sunday market. He so charmed them by his eloquence —William of Malmesbury says that he sang to them—that they all went to service in the church before setting to their business.[1]

To all but specialists it matters comparatively little what was the exact form of instruction given by Irish or Roman teachers to the contemporaries of Aldhelm and Bede, but it is of moment that the intellectual life of the people was then breaking into native song. As Mr. Plummer rightly says 'How willingly would we surrender the whole of Aldhelm's stilted Latin to recover one of his native poems'![2] just as we would gladly forgo some parts of the surviving Hebrew literature in exchange for the popular songs of the lost book of Jasher. The thought transports us to Whitby, where one worthy to make a third with Bede and Aldhelm, the abbess Hild, displayed piety, learning, and strength of character in the person of one of the many noble Anglo-Saxon women of the age. The spiritual warmth of that convent, where bishops were educated and where kings and princes came for counsel,[3] radiated to the humblest dependent of the community, and among the stalls and sheds, where the farm work of the convent was carried on, arose from Cædmon's lips the first recorded strains of English song.

Hild was the most distinguished of a notable company of English ladies of high and often of royal birth, who, embracing the religious life, founded or became directresses of nunneries, or of those joint establishments for men and women which seem to have been always under feminine rule. We come most near to these stately dames in some of the writings of Aldhelm, and more especially in the series of letters which passed between some of them and Winfrid, called Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon apostle in Germany. These letters are of varied content and deal with both theology and secular affairs, but their most interesting portions are those that contain expressions of personal feeling and the record of individual experience intense or tender. One of his correspondents Boniface invited to Germany to help him in his work. She was a lady of his own kindred, some five-and-twenty years his junior, and was an alumna of the double monastery at Wimborne in Dorset. Truthgeba was her baptismal name but this had been changed to Lioba,[1] and a play on this word made it equivalent to 'dilecta' 'beloved.'

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[1] See *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 360.

[2] *Bædæ Op. Hist.* II, 309.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 23.

No more sunny personality can ever have graced our Saxon England. Of high lineage, 'fair as an angel,' she was in voice and manner irresistibly winning, and a smile was ever hovering about her lips.[2] Though trained at Wimborne under a severe rule her genial nature resisted all temptation to extremes. In vigils and in the practice of other virtues, her biographer tells us, she kept the mean, and insisted for herself and others on a due measure of sleep, without which, she said, the apprehension is dulled for reading and study; but at the common board her wine-cup was the smallest of all, and the sisters gave it a pet-name, 'dilectae parvus,' 'the little one of the beloved.' The biographer notices alike her cheerful kindliness, her strength of character and steadfast devotion to the appointed task, and her intellectual activity which put her in possession of a large amount of the learning of the times. At the beginning of her intercourse with Boniface she recalls herself to his remembrance in a charming note, in which she tells her elder kinsman that she trusts him as no one else, and she appends thereto a copy of Latin verses which she has writttten in due reverence for the laws of prosody and which she hopes he will be good enough to correct for her. They are not very good verses but have become famous ones.

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[1] Lioba's Life, from contemporary sources, is in *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. VII.

[2] Omnibus se affabilem ac benevolam exhibuit. . . . Erat aspectu angelica, sermone jucunda, ingenio clara. . . . Cum laetam semper faciem praeferret nunquam hilaritate nimia resoluta est in risum, loc. cit. p. 713.

To Boniface, when she joined him in Germany and took the headship of his communities of nuns, she was 'very dear and very efficient in the work.'[1] Her relations with him were of the tenderest. With the shadow of his coming death upon him he summoned her for a visit of farewell, and told her as his last wish that his bones and hers should be laid in the same grave, so that together they might wait the ascension day. The monks of Fulda did not carry out the wish, but they allowed her, alone of her sex, to enter and pray at the tomb of her martyred kinsman and master. For she was at Boniface's death a great lady in the land. All the Carolingian princes of her time did her honour. The ruler of western Christendom received her at Aachen and gave her presents, while Charles' queen Hildegard 'loved her as her own soul.'

Lioba was only one among many of the men and women of her country, who at this epoch crossed for mission work to Germany, and cemented an already formed connection between the lands on the two sides of the North Sea. We are only concerned at the moment with this connection because of its testimony to the expansive force existing at the time in Saxon monasticism. It became however of the utmost importance in the artistic sphere. When we come to study the churches of the later Saxon period we shall be struck by the resemblance of many of their features to features common in Germany, and it seems reasonable to explain the likeness through the close religious and political relations of the two regions. The present chapters deal only with the religious and social facts which underlie the phenomena of the arts, and the action at this period, in the religious sphere, of England upon Germany is a fact of this kind that must not be passed over.

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[1] Mihi cara magnopere atque gnara in opere. See Hahn, *Bonifaz*, etc., p. 134 f.

The visit Wilfrid unwittingly paid to Frisia in 678 was the beginning, and many other Anglo-Saxon (and also Irish) missionaries to this region, of whom the most notable was Willebrord,[1] prepared the way for the thirty years of labour, from about 720 onwards, devoted by Boniface to Christian work among the peoples beyond the Rhine. Boniface, as we have just seen, invited the aid of his compatriots, of whom one of his biographers says, 'he made many come,'[2] and we may note among these the names of Bynnan, Denehard, Wietberht abbot of Fritzlar, Burchard Bishop of Wurzburg, and especially Lul, who succeeded Boniface as archbishop of Mainz.[3] The last named kept up a close intercourse with the mother country, and the letters that passed to-and-fro between England and Germany are evidence of the practical interest taken in the German mission by those at home who could only help with gifts and prayers. Until his death in 786 Lul corresponded with the heads of the churches of Winchester and Canterbury, as well as with other English ecclesiastical and royal personages.

If the first age of English monasticism can be judged from the life and work of the best men and women whom the institution nurtured, we can truly regard it as a golden age of practical and intellectual effort, and of devotion to large ideals of the Church's mission to mankind. Like every other such age it passed away, and it was succeeded by a period of comparative obscurity and disorder. The latter part of the eighth with the ninth century was a period when owing both to internal and external causes Church life was greatly shaken, and its strongest institution, the monastery, seemed as if it might pass out of existence altogether. That the monastery in the tenth and following centuries not only recovered all that it had lost but became a far greater power in the Church than it had been before, is a striking fact the importance of which we shall best realize when we have followed its fortunes through the period of eclipse.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* v, 19 f, gives an interesting account of this movement in its early stages.

[2] Othloh, *Vita Bonifatii*, Migne, LXXXIX, 646.

[3] Hahn, loc. cit. gives notices of these.

The economic position of these early Saxon monasteries was weak because they depended too much on the personal patronage of king or noble. They were, as we have seen, in most cases royal foundations in that the king, who with his council seems to have had at disposal a vast amount of the soil of the realm, granted land for the settlement. With the pure desire for the furtherance of the religious life, which on the part of good kings we may suppose primarily operative, there seems to have mingled soon a certain element of calculation. The feeling might be natural and worthy, as in the case of Lastingham, which the king desired Cedd to found as a peaceful haven to which he could himself resort and where he would one day make his grave, 'for he believed he should himself be much aided by the daily prayers of those who served God in that place.'[1] It degenerated however into the notion that just as a king or noble had serfs upon his lands to till them, or companies of craftsmen by whose labours he profited, so a body of monks might be set to cultivate for their lord the fields of Paradise, and erect for him there an eternal mansion through the agency of prayer. This notion of vicarious piety and of a sort of manufacture of salvation, carried on by specialists in the name of those who were busy with worldly occupations, meets us in the early records with which we are dealing.

Such views on the part of outside patrons did not necessarily affect for ill the inner life of the monastery itself. It was a worse evil when men began to exploit the monastic idea for the sake of direct worldly advantage, and to use religion as a cloak for self-interest. It was of course the constant desire of the mediaeval ecclesiastic to secure for Church property a freedom from secular burdens, and for the persons of those in ecclesiastical office immunity from military and other public service. A letter which Bede wrote near the close of his life in 734 to bishop Ecgbert of York,[1] contains a remarkable description of pseudo-monasteries and of monks and nuns in name only, that constituted in his opinion a real danger both to Church and State. Secular persons secured, often by unworthy means, from King and Witan grants of land on which they set up monasteries, that were filled by a motley crew of their own dependents over whom, though in no way vowed to the religious life, they assumed the position of abbots, while their wives did the same with houses of nuns. Vast tracts of the available land of the country were thus rendered sterile of all good fruits secular or religious. Neither leaders nor men nor means, for the national defence against the dangerous Pictish enemies of the North, did they provide, and Bede would have much preferred seeing the estates in the hands of soldiers and servants of the state than in the hands of these fainéant show-religionists.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 23. It will be noted that Lastingham church was in this way a sepulchral church, and may be compared with that erected by Æthelberht in connection with Augustine's monastery outside Canterbury ; *H.E.* i, 33.

This effort, to make landed estates with the population they nourished taboo to the secular authorities, was contrary to public policy, and it was exactly this which was guarded against by the so-called 'trinoda necessitas.' Had the provision of this been definitely enforced from the first, all these estates, whether or not there were upon them monasteries true or feigned, would have been rated for the public service; but we have already seen some reason for believing that the obligation in its stringent form, in which it appears in the majority of the land-charters, belongs to the later Saxon period. At that epoch the national danger from the Danes made it imperative to exact full service from all the sections of the community, and the pseudo-monastery would not have secured for its holder the exemption he enjoyed in the time of Bede.

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[1] *Op. Hist.* I, 405.

The abuses just described may be regarded as only one symptom of disorders which in the eighth and ninth centuries were seriously affecting the religious life of the country. In view of these, at the epoch of which Bede writes, efforts were being made, both at home and abroad, to counteract disintegrating tendencies by stricter organization. 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty' is a saying of power, and when this spirit dwelt in a community there was less need for strict rules, or, as the seer of the vision of Theleme would have put it, no need for any rules at all. Now that the tone of monasticism was lowered, recourse was had by reformers to rules, and we find the Carolingian Synod of 742 endeavouring to force the Benedictine code, the embodiment of rational order, on all the communities of Gaul, while the English Council of Cloveshoe in 747 passed enactments which have the same intent. In this country however a comparative laxity in organization and behaviour seems still to have prevailed, with a reluctance to carry out to the full the system of a regulated common life.

We obtain a glimpse in the beginning of the ninth century at what ought to have been one of the best ordered, most truly Benedictine, communities in the land, the monks of the cathedral monastery at Canterbury. In 813 Wulfred, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, who had just renewed and restored the buildings of the monastery, makes a sort of bargain with his familia that, if they become more diligent in their religious duties and still frequent the common refectory and dormitory, they shall be allowed to retain, and even bequeath at their death to any of their fellow inmates, the houses, 'domus' which they have built for themselves. These private cells, 'propriae cellulae,' are not however to be used for feasting or passing the night.[1] Another charter of the same archbishop mentions the residence, 'curtis,' that Dodda the monk possessed in the monastery, which shows that these houses were within the precincts.[1]

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[1] *Cod. Dipl.* cc ; Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 92.

Such holding of property and enjoyment of life in cosy private quarters, are opposed both to the letter and spirit of monasticism, and in a time of religious decline they meant a practical secularization of the institution. The monastery opened its doors to the world, and the world came in and took up there its abode. This process of secularization affected every department of the Church, and became one of the most prominent facts of the ecclesiastical life of the times. The mundane element invaded not only the abbeys but the episcopal seats and the country parishes, till Christendom grew familiar not only with the lay abbot[2] and abbess, but with the lay bishop, the lay arch-priest, and the lay incumbent. Curiously enough, one of these anomalies still flourishes in the specially English institution of the lay rector, a survival that we shall meet with in a succeeding chapter.

There were two sides to this process of secularization, though Church writers, very few of whom were as large-minded as Bede, could only see the one. About the time of Bede's letter to Ecgbert, Boniface was writing from Germany to King Æthelbald of Mercia to complain that he had robbed many cloisters of privileges and property, and that his officers and nobles were laying heavier burdens on monks and priests than any king had hitherto permitted;[3] while in writing to Pope Zachary at Rome he makes a similar accusation against Charles Martel, who had lately died (741), on the ground that throughout the cities of his dominions he had to a great extent handed over the episcopal seats to laymen.[4] When we come to deal with the history of the country churches, we shall see how lay lords encroached on the original possessions of these, in the same way in which Charles Martel invaded the bishoprics, or Æthelbald the monasteries, of their respective domains.

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[1] *Cod. Dipl.* ccxxv.

[2] The famous Eginhard, who was a man of affairs and married, was abbot not of one only but of several of the greatest abbeys of the Frankish realm, including Blandinium by Ghent, and Fontenelle by Rouen.

[3] Hahn, *Bonifaz und Lul*, p. 172 f.

[4] *Bonifatii Ep.* No. 49, Migne, LXXXIX, 745.

This was often enough no doubt mere spoliation, but it had another side when it meant the economy of resources for national defence. The seizure by Charles Martel of the revenues of the bishoprics is not out of all connection with the military organization against which the invading flood of Islamism broke between Tours and Poitiers ; and ecclesiastical writers before consigning him, as a spoiler of the Church, to hell, might have remembered that he sustained both Willebrord and Boniface in their missionary labours by which this very Church was so mightily enriched.[1]

Before the problem which had been thus created could work itself out to a solution, the whole situation was transformed by the descent on the European coasts of the Viking fleets. This again is one of the facts which underlie the phenomena of artistic history, and we must pause to understand what this descent implied, and what consequences it brought in its train.

These inroads of Danes and Norsemen may have begun in the mere lust of adventure and greed of spoil, or there may have been at their back a reaction of paganism against a militant Christianity that had lately forced its way through stubborn Saxondom to the Elbe.[2] In any case the monasteries became the prey of the heathen. They were strongholds of Christianity, and at the same time the chief treasure houses of ecclesiastical wealth, and for two centuries in every part of Europe they were exposed to the perils of plunder or destruction.

Here is what happened in our own country. The first actual blow was struck in 793 at Lindisfarne, where a startled Christendom saw, in Alcuin's words, 'the church of St. Cuthbert drenched with the blood of the priests of God and reft of all its treasures ; the noblest spot in all Britain given over as a prey to the heathen.'[1] One of the last was struck in 1011, when at Canterbury 'the people were slain, the city burnt, and the church profaned, searched, and despoiled.'[2]

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[1] Hauck, *K.G.D.* 1^2, 500.

[2] Keary, *The Vikings in Western Christendom*, London, 1891, pp. 147, 175. Charles the Great imposed Christianity on the (Continental) Saxons at the sword's point, and the assault of the still heathen Danes on the Empire may have been an indirect consequence of this.

The two centuries and more that intervene are seamed with the tracks of Viking raids. During more than a generation after the destruction of Lindisfarne (followed in the next year by that of Jarrow) the attention of the Northmen was chiefly devoted to Ireland, though in 802 and 806 Iona was ravaged and the monks to the number of sixty-eight were all massacred,[3] while Kentish and Mercian charters of 811 speak of the 'heathen' foe as if they were even then busy in those parts.[4] For nearly a century however, from 832 when the Saxon Chronicle notes them as ravaging Sheppey, where was a famous nunnery, to the Peace of Wedmore in 878, the raids succeeded each other with ever increasing frequency and fierceness, while from the coast or up the rivers or across the land, 'plundering, murdering, slaying not cattle alone but priests and Levites, and the companies of monks and nuns,'[5] the Vikings sought out every corner of the country, and can hardly have left a single religious house unscathed.

Statements that are very definite and consistent describe the destruction of those in the North as complete, and Simeon of Durham tells us that the heathen wasted the churches with fire and sword and laid the monasteries in ashes, so that Christianity itself almost perished, while no religious houses were restored for two hundred years.[6] The desolation did not stop the succession of the bishops of York, and left the community of St. Cuthbert still in existence though harassed and wandering, but it was more thorough than in the Midlands or the South. From York where the 'Great Army' of the Vikings wintered in 869, they ravaged the North.[1] Roger of Wendover mentions as destroyed, or re-destroyed, at this time Lindisfarne, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Tynemouth and Whitby, and pictures the Danes on their course through Yorkshire burning churches, cities, and villages and massacring the people.[2] In 870, the most terrible of all the years of ravage, the abbeys and cathedrals of the fen-lands were destroyed. Bardney in Lincolnshire was plundered and burnt and all its community of monks were slain. Croyland and Huntingdon fell. At Medeshamstede (Peterborough) the Saxon Chronicle says 'they burned and broke, slew the abbot, and the monks, and all that they found there,' reducing the place to nothingness, so that a hundred years after there was nought there but 'old walls and wild woods.'[3] Thorney, Ramsey, Ely, shared the same fate,[4] and meanwhile another section of the same Great Army with its base at Thetford was subduing the land of the East Angles and 'destroying all the monasteries which they came to.'[5]

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[1] *Alc. Ep.* Migne, c, 161.

[2] Notice quoted in Willis, *Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, p. 7.

[3] Keary, loc. cit. p. 130.

[4] Earle, *Land Charters*, pp. 83, 88.

[5] Simeon Dunelm. *Historia Regum*, ad ann. 793, Surtees Society, 1868, p. 32.

[6] ibid. p. 94.

A little later the western side of the north of England was the subject of the same attentions. Repton, with its glorious memories of early Mercian Christianity, was ruined in 874, and the Danish chieftain Halfdan took up his quarters as master in Northumbria, harrying both the Picts and the Britons of Strathclyde, and ravaging inland monasteries such as Hexham.[6]

While all this destruction was going on in the North, there were transpiring in the South those stirring events that gave

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[1] Sim. Dunelm. *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* Rolls Series, No. 75/1, p. 55.

[2] ad ann. 870.

[3] *A.-S. Chron.* ad ann. 870, 963.

[4] Roger of Wendover, loc. cit.

[5] *A.-S.C.* 870.

[6] Sim. Dunelm. Surtees Soc. p. xv, Roger of Wendover, ad ann. 875, 882.

Alfred his title to the name of Great, and rescued Anglo-Saxon nationality from the danger of being overwhelmed under the flood of heathen invasion. The South and West had already been visited more than once by the hostile fleets. London and Rochester were attacked probably in 842.[1] In 851 'came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames, and landed and took Canterbury and London by storm,' but the raid was checked by the great English victory at Ockley, under Leith Hill, in Surrey. In 860 'there came a great naval force to land and took Winchester by storm,' and in 865 Kent was ravaged.[2] Wales was attacked in 876,[3] and the West Saxon domains were harried all through the campaigns that ended in 878 with the Peace of Wedmore, when the land was divided between West Saxons and Danes by a line marked along part of its course by the old Roman Watling Street.

These early Viking ravages in the British Isles were intimately connected with the still more extensive operations on the Continent, undertaken against all the vulnerable points of the Empire of the Carlings.[4] The Elbe, the Rhine, the Moselle, the Schelde, the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, were ascended into the hearts of Germany and Gaul, until Toulouse, Bordeaux, Nantes, Angers, Tours, Rouen, Paris, Rheims, Ghent, Utrecht, Dorstad had been once or repeatedly taken and plundered, while a year or two later than the Peace of Wedmore, a great pirate fleet, after ravaging the Lower Rhenish Provinces, swept up the river unopposed to Cologne and Bonn, reducing the churches and religious houses in both cities to ruins; while Charles' imperial capital at Aachen was itself taken and plundered. Threatening, but without actually reaching, Mainz, the seat of the German archbishopric founded by

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[1] Keary, *Vikings*, p. 272.

[2] *A.-S.C.* ad annos.

[3] Keary, loc. cit. p. 356.

[4] The fleet which attacked Paris in 885 was said to number seven hundred ships with a multitude of smaller craft, and to be manned or accompanied along the banks by an army of thirty or forty thousand men. Keary, loc. cit. p. 421.

Boniface, they turned at Coblenz up the Moselle and laid in ashes a good part of the once proud Roman provincial capital of Trier.[1]

If to these deadly blows at the very heart of the Carolingian state we add the pressure inwards from the south and west exercised by the Moors, and also the desolating invasions of the Magyars, at a little later date, from the east of Europe, we cannot wonder that 'at this juncture men were seriously disquieted by the fear of a complete heathen conquest of the Empire, German and French, north of the Alps.'[2] The petition 'Deliver us from the fury of the Northmen' arose in the churches, and so deeply was the awful terror of the times driven into men's souls that in some of these churches, the petition continued, it is said, to form part of the litany till quite modern times![3] Roger of Wendover exclaims that in Aquitaine 'there was not a town or village or city or castle that did not fall by the barbarous rage of the pagans,'[4] and a writer of the times, quoted by Keary, asserts that in western France 'scarcely a town scarcely a monastery remained untouched.'[5]

In the history of the Danish wars in England the Peace of Wedmore only marked an interlude, for these were not to cease for many decades to come, and there was to be more burning of churches, more wasting of the already impoverished land. As concerns the religious side of the struggle however, it was a decisive turning point. With the conversion of the Danish leader, which was one of the conditions of the Peace, the ultimate victory of Christianity in England was secured, while on the Continent also, the close of the ninth century ends for the Church its real period of trial. Greater political triumphs were in store, in both regions, for the Northmen, but though England and a part of France were actually conquered, yet both Cnut and Rolf ruled as Christians. The period just surveyed is accordingly that in which the institutions of the Church, and primarily the religious houses, underwent the severest external visitation, and this, combined with the internal causes of weakness already discussed, made the ninth century on the whole the darkest epoch of monastic history.

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[1] Keary, loc. cit. p. 403 f. gives the details.

[2] ibid. p. 412.

[3] ibid. p. 294.

[4] ad ann. 887.

[5] Keary, loc. cit. p. 287.

There is an often quoted passage in Asser's Life of Alfred,[1] which indicates, that when the king set himself after the Peace of Wedmore to restore order in his realm, the monastic life was almost extinct, and very few of the religious could still be found living according to rule. The phenomenon was not exclusively English, for with some modification the words would apply to a great part of western Christendom. The most famous monastic seats of Gaul, such as St. Martin and Marmoutier by Tours, or Fontanelle, St. Denis, St. Germain des Prés, on the Seine, suffered like our own abbeys of East Anglia, while the Saracens plundered those of the Italian and Provençal coasts. A visitation of St. Gall a little later than this time, at the hands of the Magyars, is vividly described by the picturesque pen of Ekkehart IV. The monastery was not fortified, and the monks who had armed themselves in extempore wise, took refuge with their treasures in a fort on a hill covered with dense woods. The Magyar horde did what mischief it could in the abandoned buildings, and two of the warriors clambered to the top of the bell-house in quest of the glittering weather-cock, for being at St. Gall the heathen opined that this same 'Gallus' so highly exalted must be a golden image of the local deity. Reaching out too far with his spear to push down the idol one of the adventurers fell and was killed.[2]

As every student of architectural history knows, it is very difficult to give always the right meaning to the words 'ruined,' 'burned,' 'destroyed,' in mediaeval annals. The woodwork of a church might be consumed but the walls remain, so that refitting would be easy; or again the walls might be shattered, but within a few years the whole might be restored as good as new. Some of the monasteries that went down in the early Viking raids did not recover for a considerable time or never emerged again. Medeshamstede seems to have remained deserted for a century. Repton was never restored.[1] In the case of Jarrow, one of the most famous though by no means one of the most lordly foundations in Europe, and that of its sister Wearmouth, Simeon of Durham is positive in his statement that in 1075, two hundred and ten years after the churches of Northumbria had been overthrown and the monasteries wrecked and burned, only half-ruined walls cumbered within with trees and thorn bushes remained to mark the sacred spots.[2] On the other hand the church at Hexham seems to have survived. Monastic life of a kind lived on at Canterbury through all the troubles.

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[1] ad ann. 888.

[2] Pertz, *M.G.H.* Script. II, 105. The vane was of course in the form of a cock, Latin, 'Gallus.'

Even where buildings were spared however, or but lightly injured, we can commiserate the economic condition of a monastery when its farm buildings were burned, its stock driven off, its crops reaped and carried away. To such poverty were some communities reduced that their members hired themselves out as day-labourers to the farmers round about.[3] In these circumstances the neighbouring landowners easily came to acquire that power in or over the religious houses which we have already noted as a feature of the times. Military protection might be afforded, and for this a price would have to be paid. The resources of the house might be drawn upon for the purposes of the common defence, and if this involved a kind of secularization, it was one rendered almost obligatory by the pressure of the times. The assertion of the secular power over Church property took a third and much less legitimate form, when local proprietors or men in state-employ settled themselves down in the actual monasteries, and with family and household made these their homes. For the monks who remained under such conditions, the religious life in anything like its strictness was impossible, and the demoralization naturally spread to communities where this particular abuse did not exist.

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[1] Repton Priory, founded on the site in the middle of the twelfth century, is quite a distinct institution. See Hipkins, *Repton and its Neighbourhood*, 2nd ed., Repton, 1899.

[2] *Hist. Dunelm. Eccl.* iii, 21 and 22.

[3] Ernst Sackur, *die Cluniacenser*, Halle, 1892, I, 25.

Existence in these secularized monasteries is described in a good passage in Ernst Sackur's work on the Cluniac revival of the tenth century, where he gives references for all the details.[1] Where means permitted it, a luxurious court life, such as was common among the nobles of the time, unfolded itself. There was on the one side the clash of arms or the baying of hounds kept for the chase, on the other the hum of the women's spinning wheel or the giddy laughter of the tire-maidens. Abbot and monks had their families like their secular guests, and there was little chance of quiet study nor aught but the most perfunctory performance of religious rites.

The result of all this was, that on the Continent as in England, the monastic institution had well nigh passed out of existence, and early in the tenth century, Odo, the future hero of the Cluniac revival, could hardly find a cloister fit for him to enter.[2] In the second half of the century there was no abbey with a higher repute for learning and godliness than Fleury on the Loire, called from its claim to possess the bones of St. Benedict, St. Benoit-sur-Loire. With Blandinium by Ghent it became the model for the reformed English monasteries of the days of Dunstan and Æthelwold, and its representative, Abbo, came over himself to our shores to restore among us the old monastic ideals. Yet Fleury at the beginning of the tenth century had fallen as low as any settlement that could be named. Under pressure of the Northern terror its inmates had acted exactly like the monks of St. Cuthbert when driven out of Lindisfarne. They had taken up their body of St. Benedict and bore it about with them as they fled from before the foe[1] just as their Northumbrian brethren had wandered with the sacred relics of their father Cuthbert. Their outlying possessions had been filched from them by the local lords. The Count of the district seems to have been their secular abbot. They had divided up their common good and were so wholly secularized that when about the year 930 the movement of reform embodied in Odo of Cluny reached their gates, they shut these in his face, and were fain to defend their walls by force of arms against the proposed restorers of discipline.[2] It is well to see that the low condition of English monachism in Alfred's day was no special discredit to our own land, but was a symptom of the common disease which affected the institution in all the lands of the West.

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[1] *Die Cluniacenser*, I, 26.

[2] 'Das Resultat . . . war der fast gänzliche Untergang des Mönchtums.' ibid.

Upon this condition of affairs was super-induced, in the early part of the tenth century, the Cluniac reform.[3] The Cluniacs, who appear now upon the scene, were the first in point of time of several sub-orders of the Benedictines, whose special features and mutual relations, not always very friendly, make up a good part of later monastic history. The Cluniacs had their own rules and customs, and a distinct influence has been claimed for them on architecture.[4] With all this we are not here concerned. The importance for the present purpose of the Cluniac movement resides in its effect upon Church life in general, and especially on the monastic institution. The Cluniacs represented reform in the direction of a stiffening of the religious conscience and a restoration of ascetic discipline.

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[1] Roger of Wendover, ad ann. 881.

[2] Sackur, I, 89.

[3] Cluny in Burgundy, the church of which in the eleventh century was the grandest Romanesque monument in Europe, was founded in 910. The destruction of this church early in the nineteenth century was a deed at which even Henry VIII would have blushed.

[4] The views on Cluniac Architecture of Dehio und v. Bezold (*die Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Leipzig, 1888, etc.), are criticized by Sackur, II, ch. xii.

A strengthening and intensifying of Church life (not necessarily the same thing as pure religion) began from this time, and led on in the eleventh century to the administration of Hildebrand. Monasticism was not only rescued from extinction but was raised to a position of influence it had never before occupied.

This notable fact, the complete revival to a life fuller and richer than before of a moribund institution, leads us to ask whether it be possible to form a just opinion as to the nature of its service to mankind. The revival seems to show that western monachism was not merely the sprout of a day that shot up under the forcing heat of the first enthusiasm of conversion, but had some deeper roots in the permanent needs of the middle ages. What were these roots and how deep did they strike, and is the growth from them to be bound up at the final harvest with the wheat or with the tares ?

No student of the history of the modern world can avoid asking himself these questions, but a satisfactory answer thereto is not easy to obtain. Original records furnish an almost endless series of facts which may be used on the one side to exalt and on the other to belittle the institution, but it is difficult to decide in each case whether the fact is exceptional or normal, and to place the average level of the life these facts illustrate on the proper side of the line between good and bad. On the whole the tendency now is to credit the mediaeval monk and nun with more liberality, good judgment in affairs, and commonsense, than heretofore, and they have received a favourable treatment at the hands of the British scholars who in a dispassionate temper have edited mediaeval records for the invaluable Rolls Series.

There are two outstanding facts about the monastery. First, if we take its Celtic as well as its Benedictine type, it was a place where religious sentiment could be nurtured to an intensity not otherwise attainable. This might at times be a morbid intensity, but without the spiritual warmth thus engendered and shed abroad, we may doubt whether the mediaeval world would have maintained that standard of practical devotion and self-sacrifice on which the success of Christianity has depended.

The other fact is the dominance in the monastery of the principles of order and of system. These were elements of inestimable value in the perplexed and tempest-tossed society of the middle ages, and they were mainly the gift of Benedictinism. The rule of St. Benedict, when measured against the Celtic rule of Columbanus with which in western Europe it was brought into contact, is distinguished by its reasonableness. The Columban rule was autocratic and everything depended on the personal fiat of the head. In the Benedictine there was a constitutional element. It was pervaded by something of the old classical humanity, and exhibits an almost Roman tact in dealing with men. The Benedictine monk was under a rational system which took account of human nature and invoked on its side the practical good-sense of the votary. The existence all over Europe of communities thus organized, wherein existed peace and order, and where men and women had a clear view of what should be done or left undone, was a latent influence the working of which for good we can hardly overestimate.

It is an obvious objection to the monastic system that it withdrew able and vigorous men from the life of the work-a-day world and diminished by so much the resources of civilization. We cannot indeed help feeling a sense of unfitness and waste when Bede describes the officer of King Ecgfrid of Northumbria, Eosterwyni, a man youthful and strong and healthy-minded, turning his back on the responsibilities of the public service, and as abbot of Wearmouth busying himself with the petty details of the inner economy of the house.[1] The later history of the institution however shows that a born statesman and counsellor, like the famous abbot Suger of St. Denis, could combine with the observance of his vows a very active participation in state affairs. The withdrawal here was rather in name than in fact, and the state did not really lose, through the cloister, the service of those skilled in counsel.

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[1] It was, too, at a crisis in his country's history that he turned from affairs, for the military power of Northumbria was already prompting the ὕβρις of the impious attack on Ireland, and of the fatal expedition against the Picts which ended at Nectansmere. Bede, *H.E.* iv, 26.

Moreover, for one half of the population at any rate, the cloister opened rather than closed an administrative career. A recent historian of the nunnery has pointed out that 'the career open to the inmates of convents both in England and on the continent was greater than any other ever thrown open to women in the course of modern European history.'[1] This was conspicuously true of the abbess, whose position and work we have already come to know, but it applies also to the ordinary inmate who had in the convent opportunities for study, for the practice of art, and for the development of her higher nature, that she would have sought for in vain outside. To say that all the knowledge of the time was in theory at any rate open to women is to say much, but the statement can be justified. 'The contribution of nuns to literature as well as incidental remarks show that the curriculum of study in the nunnery was as liberal as that accepted by monks, and embraced all available writing, whether by Christian or profane authors.'[2] The only part of woman's natural work in the world prohibited to the nun was maternity. Other people's children she could be busy with, for the sisters at Barking had to look after an infant votary of the age of three,[3] and growing girls were sent to convents to be educated.[4] As the friend and adviser of good men she was recognized and revered. Nursing and leechcraft she could freely exercise. The nun Hildegard of Bingen, in the twelfth century, compiled two medical treatises.[1]

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[1] Lina Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, Camb. 1896, p. 478.

[2] ibid. p. 479.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 8.

[4] *E.g.* in Lioba's convent at Bischofsheim in Germany. Eckenstein, loc. cit. p. 137.

It must not be concealed that there was considerable activity in dressmaking in the convents of women, especially in that 'golden age' when there were not too many rules. The Church Council of Clovesho in 747 passed a sumptuary law that nuns were to occupy themselves in reading and singing psalms rather than in weaving and embroidering in varied hues the empty glory of robes,[2] and the nuns of Coldingham came to ruin over this very temptation.[3] Aldhelm, in the work in praise of virginity that he dedicated to some cloistered ladies, draws as a warning a picture of a nun's attire, which seems to have consisted in a vest of fine linen of a violet colour, under a scarlet tunic with a hood, sleeves striped with silk and trimmed with red fur . . . and a white or coloured head-dress, with bows of ribbon sewn on, that streamed down to the ground.[4] Boniface complains in a letter to a home correspondent of similar laxity on the part of monks.[5] The fact is that in the seventh and eighth centuries both in Gaul and our own country there was much opulence in dress among the members of the gentle class, and the scions of royal and noble houses who entered the religious life were reluctant to change their personal habits. Later on the difficulty worked itself out, and under the stricter dispensation of the Cluniac period the dress of the religious was normalized, while the old sumptuousness was retained for the vestments of the ministrant and for the adornment of the shrine. The happy artistic result followed that nuns were still able for these purposes to be as busy with their weaving and embroidery as of yore.

In the same way with regard to the monk, the only part of the world's work in those times from which he was actually shut out was the bringing up of a family and fighting.[1] In the case however of the latter occupation, when the trinoda necessitas or its equivalent was properly enforced, monastic estates had to furnish for the field—though not from the actual ranks of the professed—a fitting contingent to the national host.[2]

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[1] ibid. p. 269. [2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 97. [3] Bede, *H.E.*, iv, 25.

[4] *Opera*, ed Giles, p. 77. The translation is that of Lina Eckenstein, *Woman*, etc. p. 115.

[5] Wilkins, loc. cit. p. 93.

Moreover, as the monks kept their land farmed up to its full value according to the methods of the time, they may be credited with adding to the national wealth. It may be true that they were churchmen first and patriots only in a secondary sense, and like all corporations, ancient and modern, kept a firm hold on their own property, but the services they rendered to agriculture and road-making, though primarily their own concern, were in a larger sense a gift to the country at large. It may be well to quote here what has been written by one of the Rolls Series editors on the dealings of the monks with practical affairs.

'As agriculturalists and judicious managers of property the monks of a Benedictine house had no equals. They were businesslike, exact, and prompt in their dealings. They required from their tenants and servants a just and faithful performance of their different services and tasks; but while they did so they were not hard or ungrateful masters. The constitutions and regulations contained in the Gloucester cartulary with regard to the management of their manors are remarkable for the minuteness with which the details of work are considered, and when viewed by persons of a candid and unbiassed mind they must furnish something of an answer to the charges of careless living, wasting of revenues, and general profligacy which are so broadly and so recklessly brought against the monasteries. They are, as I firmly believe, the production, not of a parcel of drunken and besotted monks, but of intelligent landlords and agriculturalists, who had a due care for the stewardship of things committed to their charge. Agriculture was one of the leading features of the Benedictine order, and in this art the monks achieved a great success.'[1]

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[1] The fighting monk was an exception and a scandal. The militant bishop had to be accepted, and we see on the Bayeux Tapestry how 'Odo Episcopus baculum tenens confortăt pueros.' Hauck, *K.G.D.* II, 653, mentions that between 886 and 908 ten German bishops fell in battle.

[2] A charter in favour of the monks of Abingdon (*Cod. Dipl.* CCXIV) stipulates that 'expeditionem cum xii vassallis et cum tantis scutis exerceant.'

Cosmo Innes, in his *Scotland in the Middle Ages*,[2] has a good word for the monks as sheep farmers. 'The Monasteries of Teviotdale had necessarily a great extent of pasture land; and the minute and careful arrangement of folds on their mountain pastures for sheep, and byres for cattle, and of lodges or temporary dwellings for their keepers and attendants, shows that they paid the greatest attention to this part of their extensive farming.' In king David's time he says that 'an enlightened attention and interest in agricultural affairs' seems to have 'spread from the monastery and reached the whole population.'

On the economic question involved in the management by the Cluniac monasteries of their often vast estates, Sackur has an interesting chapter in his second volume, but the whole subject is too large, and demands too much special knowledge for it to be more than mentioned here.

That the monks became agriculturalists was a direct consequence of their profession. According to the rule of St. Benedict, each monastery was to be sufficient to itself, the inmates providing, as far as possible, for the needs of the community. When the settlement was founded in the waste, fresh ground was brought under tillage, and in many places the desert was made to blossom as a rose, after a fashion that will be illustrated at the end of this chapter. Moreover pious benefactors, influenced no doubt by the mixed motives we have seen operating in the original foundation of monasteries, made donations of landed estates already under cultivation, with a peasant or serf population bound to the soil. The farm operations on these had to be carried on by their new owners under proper supervision, and in the case of a rich abbey this involved an extensive plant and the expenditure of much time and labour.

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[1] *Historia et Cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. H. Hart, Rolls Series, No. 33/3, Introduction, p. xciii.

[2] Edinburgh, 1860, p. 147.

It was in connection with these agricultural pursuits that the monks took part in road-making. Their estates, which came to them by the accidents of donation, were often widely scattered, and the possession of proper access to outlying farms must have led to a development of the system of secondary roads, so important for the opening up of the country. Main roads were equally serviceable to them for the conveyance of their produce to markets or to the sea-ports, and Thorold Rogers thinks that for the upkeep of these the country owes them a debt.[1] To take an illustration, 'the abbey of Kelso had a road for waggons, to Berwick on the one hand, and across the moorland to its cell of Lesmahagow in Clydesdale'[2] on the other.

Agriculture, and other operations that come under the head of domestic economy, involved a good deal of productive labour of various kinds. Both the Benedictine and the Celtic rules guarded against idleness, and it was a godsend to the managers of large communities of able-bodied men to be able to set them not only to plough and thresh, but to build sheds and even churches, make and mend farm implements, fabricate barrels and baskets, and ply the forge-hammer or the adze in smithy or carpenter's shop.[3] When architectural operations were in progress, even if these were directed by outside experts, the monks would do all the unskilled labour required. Skilled labour was, moreover, contemplated and encouraged. The rule of St. Benedict provided that when artizans entered the Order they were to be allowed to continue working at their crafts, though they were not to take any personal pride in their productions. In accordance with this, when early in the twelfth century one Bernard of Tiron was founding a new settlement near Chartres, he invited all who came to continue the practice of the arts to which they were accustomed. 'As a consequence there gathered about him freely craftsmen both in wood and iron, carvers and goldsmiths, painters and stonemasons, vinedressers and husbandmen, and others skilled in all manner of cunning work.'[1]

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[1] *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, Oxford, 1882, etc. iv, 217. 'There is reason to believe,' he writes, 'that the roads became worse in the latter part of the sixteenth century.' But see also I. S. Leadam, on Trade and Commerce in *Companion to English History*, Oxford 1902, p. 297 f.

[2] Cosmo Innes, loc. cit. p. 146.

[3] Bede, *Opera Hist.* i, 371 (about Eosterwyni) and *H.E.* v, 14 (about a zealous monastic carpenter).

In the case of the higher or more intellectual avocations, the surroundings of the cloisters were specially favourable. It is true of course that secular culture could thrive under suitable conditions at the courts of kings or of counts. In the circle of Charles the Great, the circle of Alfred, the circle of the Ottos of Saxony, such conditions were created and a non-monastic culture was the result. Charles, and in his more limited sphere Alfred, were the most modern men of the mediaeval epoch, and they both conceived of a social and intellectual order independent of, though permeated by, religion. The former indeed owes one of his chief titles to honour to his disinterested zeal in the cause of learning and education. But these circles, depending in each case upon the centre, were in the early middle ages exceptional phenomena, whereas the monasteries were everywhere. Save when the Northmen in their fury had shattered the public order, the cloister offered to the studious votary books and quiet and leisure, as well as a stimulus to composition which must have worked potently, for the body of mediaeval literature is large. The universal rule of listening to edifying lections during meal times, of which rule a monumental record remains in some beautiful refectory pulpits, must have had an important influence of a stimulating kind. The literary brother or sister could *publish* in this way any approved composition, and the hearers' expectation, and the tremulous pride that mixed with diffidence in the author, would send a thrill of human feeling through the ample hall. Attached to a sacred poem by the nun Hrotswitha, presently to be mentioned, is a metrical grace evidently intended to mark the close alike of the reading and of the meal it had enlivened.[1]

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[1] Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* viii, 27.

That the monastic libraries preserved the remains of antique literature is a well-known fact. To some extent these secular works were actually read and used, and they were certainly copied, by the monks. Abbot Baugulf of Fulda transcribed the *Bucolics* of Virgil with his own hand.[2] The library at York, whence Alcuin carried the seeds of culture to the Frankish realms, contained books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and included the works of Aristotle and Cicero.[3] One of Boniface's lady correspondents quotes Virgil to him,[4] and this poet was in constant use as a source of those laws of prosody over which Lioba knitted her brows. A copy of Horace was presented to the library of St. Gall in the tenth century.[5] The employment, in the circle of Charles the Great, of Vitruvius, a manuscript of which was preserved at Boniface's monastery of Fulda, is noteworthy; and there seems to be evidence of the existence of a copy of the *De Architectura* written in Anglo-Saxon characters of about the eighth century and used therefore in our own country.[6] The study, in the tenth century, of Terence as a model of style for dramas on Christian themes, by Hrotswitha, a nun of Gandersheim in Saxony, is the most remarkable of all the facts of the kind.

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[1] Eckenstein, *Woman under Monasticism*, p. 166.

[2] Hauck, *K.G.D.* II, 564.

[3] *Dict. Christ. Biog.* art. 'Alcuin.'

[4] Migne, LXXXIX, 752.

[5] Ekkehart IV, *Casus S. Galli*, c. 10.

[6] Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ed. Rose, Leip. 1867, p. vi.

Medicine was doubtless from time immemorial a profession in the East, but in the West the practice of it, though not confined to the monasteries, was there exercised most continuously and in the most favourable surroundings. These offered hygienic conditions—substantial buildings, regular diet, a good supply of pure water—that were greatly in the patient's favour. Abbot Faricius of Abingdon, an Italian, at the end of the eleventh century, was about the best physician in the country.[1] The actual practice would no doubt fluctuate between the two extremes of a sensible empiricism and Pliny's *Natural History.* Here are two precepts from the medical book of the nun Hildegard, which may be taken as illustrating the curiously mixed condition of knowledge and ideas in the middle ages. Pork is not to be given to the sick because it is indigestible, but raven's flesh must also be eschewed as it induces in the eater a propensity to thieve![2] In any case much care was always taken with the infirmary quarter of the monastery. The following are the arrangements in the Plan of St. Gall of about the year 820.

There is the big infirmary built round a court, with its chapel for the convalescents, but the doctor has a separate dwelling near at hand, and within this is accommodation for severe cases, which he can keep in this way under his own eye. Adjoining his domicile is shown his little garden of medicinal herbs with the name of each marked in the Plan on the bed wherein it is to be grown. A separate house was set apart for phlebotomy. Of the forty distinct buildings shown on the Plan as composing the complete monastic establishment four are bath-houses. Sanitation is quite up to date. Could any one whose natural bent was in the direction of healing have wished for a better post than that of physician in a monastic establishment of the kind? That the care of the sick might appeal to the tenderer side of human nature the following quotation will show. In the *Annals* of the monastery of

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[1] *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* art. 'Faricius.'

[2] Eckenstein, loc. cit. p. 269.

Novalese in Piedmont, of the eleventh century, it is noticed as the rule that 'any monk who showed signs of illness was taken to a dwelling apart (the infirmary) where he was so cherished that he could not feel the lack either of the luxuries of the cities or of a mother's love.'[1]

The place of art among the activities of the mediaeval monastery has already been noticed. We have seen that learning could flourish outside the convent though the convent was its normal home. This may be said also of art, with the difference that the secular artist was a far more common figure than the secular man of learning. In Anglo-Saxon England there existed a good tradition of decorative art long before Christianity had been heard of, and there is no reason to suppose that the fabrication of arms and ornaments by secular craftsmen came to an end at the bidding of the Church, or that the kings employed monks to stamp their coins, and the lords clerical workmen to build and adorn their halls. The following seems to be the truth of the matter. (1) Almost all forms of art were practised in the monasteries, some perhaps exclusively, others habitually, others again only occasionally. (2) The quality of monastic art was on the whole up to the highest standard in taste and execution of the times. (3) There existed outside the monastery trained craftsmen in almost all branches of work, who carried on their arts in independence of the monastery. (4) These last would sometimes work for or with the monks, more especially in any large architectural undertaking.

The Celtic and Anglo-Saxon monasteries of our own land, whether in the early period of loose organization or after the reform, took their normal share of the artistic work of the country,[1] but it is not proposed here to describe or illustrate this monastic art, as the subject is reserved for subsequent treatment. A word or two with a more general bearing may however find a place.

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[1] Chronicon Novaliciense, in *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, Scriptorum III, 49. Fovebatur ut nec delitias urbium nec matris quærere opus esset affectum. The Rev. D. C. Cranage has called the writer's attention to the fact that similar expressions occur elsewhere in monastic literature.

It has been shown in the previous pages that the mediaeval monastery afforded considerable scope for the development of human powers in administration, productive labour, learning, paideutics, and literature. In a community where the ideal of systematic labour—an ideal Celtic as well as Benedictine—was maintained, the average man or woman did some good work at any rate with the hands every day, while there were ample opportunities for the exercise of the powers of the man or the woman who was above the average. These opportunities were afforded by the cultivation in the cloister of literature and art. It was in the mood of artistic inventiveness, or in literary work where creative activity came into play, that the individual would win to the most complete freedom and inner delight, and this experience must often have made the convent walls disappear from around their inmate. We have already heard Theophilus invoke the very laws of the universe to sustain him in his position as an artist,[2] and though we have had many eloquent apologies for art in the last fifty years, there is a breadth and dignity about the thought of the twelfth-century monk that lift it above them all. With the same confidence of the artist, the literary nun of the tenth century, Hrotswitha of Gandersheim, claims the right, in her own words, 'to turn the power of mind given to me to the use of Him that gave it.' 'If any one' she says 'be pleased with my work I shall rejoice, but if . . . it please no one, what I have done remains a satisfaction to myself.'[1]

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[1] They may have touched this even on its most secular side, that of the coinage. In the time of Æthelstan the abbot of St Augustine, Canterbury, had a mint which he may have worked by his monks. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 159. Several monastic mints existed on the Continent. Hauck, *K.G.D.* III, 442.

[2] ante, p. 6.

We have come at this point a long way from the original rule laid down by St. Benedict that votaries should work—to provide necessities for the community and to avoid idleness; and that craftsmen who entered the convent should be allowed to practise their trades—but must eschew any feeling of personal satisfaction. The truth is that the monastery, like some other human institutions, is largely a paradox. This fact about it is the first which was noticed in the few words introducing the subject in an earlier chapter,[2] and it is the ultimate fact which we must carry with us in our minds as we turn away.

It is a paradox in its general theory, its whole position as a human institution; and it discloses too an inner paradox when we compare its actual working with its theoretical constitution. To take the inner paradox first, the monastery was founded with very definite and restricted ideals, and successive generations of reformers were for ever striving to bring it back to those original aims. There grew up however in certain circles, or rather perhaps in certain temperaments, a different ideal of the monastic life and one more human and less austere than that of the professed founders and reformers of the system. The ideal was never formulated, or never till Rabelais' marvellous dream of Theleme, but it was practically embodied from time to time both in communities and individuals. There is no reference here to laxity of organization or of life, as opposed to order and morality; but rather to differences within the one fold, comparable to those which in the Christendom of to-day are separating Broad Churchmen from Calvinists. All of these are equally in earnest and equally an honour to the Christian calling, but the difference between them is irreconcileable. So in the middle ages, Bernard of Clairvaulx, and Bernward of Hildesheim, the ascetic and the artist, were both saintly men who served nobly the Church and world of their generation, but they were no more alike than were John the Baptist and St. Paul.

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[1] There is an interesting account of Hrotswitha, with extracts from her Terentian dramas, in Lina Eckenstein's work already referred to. The writings of the literary nun consist in saintly legends in metrical form (suitable for refectory use), dramas, and metrical chronicles.

[2] ante, p. 132.

Among the European monasteries of outstanding importance, that of St. Gall seems to have been on the whole the ideal monastery of culture, and the accounts we have of its working and of its inmates, notably the portraits of that mighty craftsman Tutilo and his friends which we owe to the monkish chronicler known as Ekkehart IV, limn for us a picture of no little attractiveness.[1]

Among individuals few represent better this side of monasticism than the English Dunstan, who embodies the culture and humanity of the institution in the age of the Cluniac reform. A Cluniac himself he could not be, but he united the Cluniac gravity and sense of order and duty with a brightness of temper and an artistic and musical activity, which were outside the Cluniac circle of ideas. His portrait, etched in a few firm lines by Bishop Stubbs, 'Dunstan is a constructor not a destroyer, a consolidator not a pedantic theorist, a reformer not an innovator, a politician not a bigot, a statesman not a zealot,'[2] has been worked out by John Richard Green into one of the best of the personal delineations which delight us in the *Short History of the English People.* Dunstan is there brought so clearly before the English reader that nothing more needs here to be said either on his personality or on the freer more genial side of the conventual life which he represents.

We can readily justify the broader ideal of monasticism here spoken of, because the pursuit of it was proved to be perfectly compatible with a high type of saintliness, but we have still the more fundamental question of the relation of the institution as a whole to human life.

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[1] Pertz, *M.G.H.* Script. II, 78 f. Of the abbey Hauck writes: 'In St. Gall life under the rule did not exclude freedom of individual development and of personal behaviour,' *K.G.D.* III, 509.

[2] *Memorials of Saint Dunstan,* Rolls Series, No. 63, p. cviii.

Putting religion for the moment aside, it is something to know that it was possible within the convent to attain to much more than mere innocence or even healthy activity of a useful kind; that a large measure of spiritual freedom could be compassed; and that the individual could reach some of the higher levels of human life as well as dream of Paradise. It is something to know this, but it is not a complete apologia for the institution in general.

Though we need not credit the reports of Henry VIII's commissioners, the fact remains that at the time of their dissolution the English monasteries were not really popular. Had they been endeared to the nation Henry could hardly have acted as he did. This unpopularity it is true the monasteries only shared with the rest of the institutions of the Church that were dropped at the Reformation. A good many things in and connected with the cathedrals and the parish churches were treated at that time as unceremoniously as the monasteries. In the destruction of 'monuments of superstition,' as the church fittings were called, the behaviour of both officials and people was so unseemly as in time to scandalize the conscience of the country. Had the monasteries, we may ask, forfeited public favour merely as part of the rejected machinery of the Romanized Church, or was there another and a deeper cause for the popular mistrust?

The deeper cause will be found in the fact that, in spite of its glorious history, the monastic system offended some of the fundamental instincts of ordinary men and women of the robust British type. It was an artificial system, and, apart from the personal humility of its votaries, it could not fail to savour of pretentiousness. That from the first this might be felt if not expressed by the common folk, we can judge from the record of a curious incident in the early life of Cuthbert, when a crowd of bystanders, seeing some monks in danger in a boat, mocked at them as being rightly served, 'because they contemned the common laws of humanity and gave people new and strange rules to live by.'[1] It was probably in the main the position of the monastery as an anti-social institution, incompatible with family life and all the charities of home and kinship, which furnished the convincing argument to the minds of its sincere opponents, and it is not unlikely that this will determine the final judgment passed by humanity on the great mediaeval creation. The monastery was an abnormal product of a special condition of society and of the human mind, and its value was only for a time. For the needs of the time society first created it and then recalled it again to efficiency after its period of eclipse, and at these epochs it performed for society and for the individual a service which the impartial historian will ever record with praise.

This chapter may fitly conclude with a glance at the working of the institution in a concrete example. The following is a characteristic piece of monastic history that records the foundation and early fortunes of an English abbey of the age of the Cluniac revival. Several of the points which have been touched on in the preceding general remarks will find here illustration. The place is Ramsey in Huntingdonshire on the edge of the fen-country.

The account of the founding of Ramsey[2] opens with a contrast drawn between the appearance of the site when first chosen and its aspect after two centuries of cultivation at the hands of the monks. The site was in the midst of a marsh, only accessible on one side by an artificial causeway and surrounded with ash and alder woods, but when the account was written, two hundred years later, the land had been reclaimed and brought under the plough, and in autumn it was laughing with corn crops and with fruit. There were blooming gardens, and green pasture meadows bright in spring time with varied embroidery of flowers, while a few copses still afforded pleasant shade.

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[1] Quoted in Plummer's *Bede*, II, 194.

[2] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, Rolls Series, No. 83. The work was written in the middle of the reign of Henry II, and is among the earliest of monastic histories.

We are introduced to the Alderman Ailwyn, a local landowner, and to Bishop Oswald of Worcester, who had formerly studied at Fleury, and was fully imbued with the ideas and methods of the Cluniac reform. The latter is urging the former to erect a monastery upon his land for the assembling together of holy men, 'by whose prayers thy shortcomings may be made up and thy sins atoned for.' Ailwyn replies that this was in his mind already, and that he had put up a wooden oratory in a spot suitably retired at Ramsey, till better buildings could be supplied. There were already three worshippers, who were eagerly waiting to learn the proper rule of monastic sanctity if they could get any instructor. We see in this the all-importance of the local laird in a transaction of this kind. He founds the establishment and is a sort of father to the nascent community. How readily this position would pass into that of secular abbot can easily be realized.

Oswald and the alderman now pay a visit to the site, and the former promises to despatch at once from his own monastery of Worcester a skilled man who shall direct the building of a small refectory and dormitory, while twelve monks shall be sent from his diocese to occupy these and form the nucleus of the new community. Later on they would meet together again to consult about the extent and the form of a new basilica or abbey church.

The expert in monastery-building is one Ædnoth, a priest and steward, 'dispensator,' in Oswald's monastery,[1] and as soon as he arrives he brings together a body of workmen, enlarges the little chapel and erects the needful offices, while Oswald on his part makes a donation of books and ornaments suited for divine worship, and sends the twelve brothers from Westbury. Arrived they appoint two administrators for the community, a certain Germanus in internal affairs and Ædnoth in the more material department. Germanus has himself, like Oswald, studied for a time at Fleury. For the present till the land can be tilled, the alderman and the bishop appoint for the brethren a monthly provision for their larder.

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[1] *Vita Oswaldi* (about 1000 A.D.) in *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71/1, p. 430.

The whole of the next winter is spent in preparations for building the church, and this introduces us to technical details on which this is not the place to dwell.

After the church is finished and dedicated in the year 974 various endowments and gifts are offered for its maintenance. Ailwyn confirms by charter the lands he had set apart for his new community, king Edgar grants to it the church of Godmanchester (by Huntingdon) with three hides of land and further two bells valued at a price of twenty pounds. Oswald presents relics, and has enshrined them in two crosses of gold of the weight of one hundred and twenty marks. One Alfgar gives land and houses with the church of Burwell (near Ely). A certain lady gives land and a mill, with a mark of gold, half for general purposes, half for the larder, together with two cups of silver, of twelve marks by London weight, for the use of the brethren in their refectory, 'so that they may remember her while using them.'

Next follows a highly interesting technical description. The new church has hardly been dedicated, when the brethren on rising one morning see a huge crack in their central tower from top to bottom. In terror they send to their patron Ailwyn, who procures for them expert advice from builders[1] who tell them that the whole must come down and the foundations be relaid. The tower is then taken down, the foundations strengthened, and the whole rebuilt, the young monks supplying all the unskilled labour required. The restored church has once more to be dedicated, and Ailwyn adds to his former gift a jewelled altar-front of silver, and an organ with pipes of copper. To the sumptuous dedication feast provided by the patron there are gathered together the great men from five counties and the bishop of Dorchester with the abbots of four monasteries. The first abbot of Ramsey is now appointed and is confirmed in his post by the king with the proviso that he is to be subject to the bishop of Dorchester, in whose vast diocese Ramsey lay.

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[1] These are called caementarii, and were secular craftsmen.

Many details as to the life in a monastery of the kind can be derived from the Ramsey Chronicle but the following passage is of particular value. On the occasion of some dispute, the diocesan Æthelric, bishop of Dorchester, is represented as paying a surprise visit incognito to the monastery, to see for himself how life went on. The account of what he found may be a parable, but at any rate it gives us the ideal of the times for the conduct of such an establishment. The prelate comes to the gates at dawn in guise of a wayfarer, and asks leave to enter the church for prayer. He finds everything open to his inspection, and before anyone recognizes him he is able to satisfy himself that some of the monks are devoutly celebrating their daily masses at private altars, while others around the high altar are praying in memory of the saints. Outside the church there is rank upon rank of the brethren, all seated between the columns of the cloister-court, some of whom in religious silence are intent upon reading, while others are writing. All in a word have some honourable work in hand, with which they drive away the sluggish spirit of idleness.

CHAPTER VII

THE VILLAGE CHURCH: THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF ITS FOUNDATION

In the present day the building of new churches is one of the normal incidents of urban extension. As population covers new areas churches arise to meet the growing demand for the ordinances of religion. Means for the erection and endowment of these churches are provided in various well understood and somewhat prosaic fashions, and their dedications are commonly of the impersonal kind such as All Saints or Holy Trinity. It is exceptional when some personal interest is involved, as when a church is erected by a wealthy donor as a memorial or a thank-offering, or when a dedication appeals to ancient associations, like the recent Aidan dedications in Durham due to the influence of Bishop Lightfoot in his northern diocese.

The first churches built in England after the conversion of the Saxons had as their primary aim the same purpose that is served by the new churches of the present day. They were intended, that is, to meet the religious needs of the population in the district round about them. The difference is that whereas to-day the multiplication of churches merely carries on a tradition of Christian activity to which people have been accustomed from their childhood, for the first Saxon converts, who had grown up in their native paganism, the church and the missionary work which had preceded it inaugurated a wholly new order of things. The Christianity thus introduced was opposed to their native habits and beliefs, and exercised over their minds a constraining influence which they might not understand but had no power to resist. This influence often came to them embodied in some austere but benevolent being, invested with supernatural authority, but appealing still more potently to their hearts through his personal benignity.[1] When he withdrew from them for work in another region, the church or the simple apparatus he had constituted or used perpetuated the glamour of his name, and to this day the impression made by the first Christian missioner to outlying districts of Britain is sometimes still effective in the names of church or fountain or tree or natural feature.

It follows that there was a human interest often of an intense kind about the first Christian church in a district. It recalled perhaps a contest between the old faith and practice and the new; or some conspicuous victory of the latter followed by a moving scene of universal baptism. It might be fragrant with the memory of one who had seemed a scion of a superior race, or it might enshrine his actual donation in the form of holy objects reported to work wonders as awe-inspiring as they were beneficent. The church would in all such cases be something more than a convenient and sanctified place of assembly. It would have the sort of character expressed by the term 'memorial church,' and would embody human associations of repentance or loyalty or gratitude.

It is the purpose of the next few pages to illustrate the associations connected either with the paganism of the past or the first coming of the new religion, which centre in the earliest Christian church of a district. There is no intention of enlarging on the numerous topics of interest that here present themselves, and still less of embarking on the perilous sea of conjecture surrounding the small solid spots of knowledge which on many of these topics are all that we possess.

We may assume at the outset that, on the pagan side, the first Christian churches might conceivably have some relation to Saxon or Roman or British heathenism, or even to those older superstitions, which after the fashion of the Rude Stone Monuments survived, and indeed still survive, in popular customs with an almost indestructible vitality. On the Christian side, they could have behind them the preaching station or cross or graveyard of the first missionaries to the Saxons, or might even represent a revival of the long obscured Christianity of the Romano-British Church.

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[1] The picture Bede draws of Cuthbert's missionary activity in the Scottish Lothians gives a good idea of this; ante, p. 155.

The possibility of a revival of this latter kind is suggested by the indication given by Gildas that there were plenty of churches in Roman Britain.[1] He does not inform us whether these were confined to the Roman towns or scattered up and down the country, but in the account by Constantius of the mission of Germanus and Lupus to Britain early in the fifth century, we are told that these bishops preached not only in the churches but also in the by-ways and the fields,[2] and if these were places of Christian ministration they might have been provided at an early date with rustic shrines. That these had not passed entirely out of existence during the period of Saxon paganism, we know from the definite statement of Bede that in Kent at any rate there was an actual survival of churches that were restored by the first missioners to the Saxons.[3]

This proof of survival is direct. Evidence of a much more hypothetical kind has been extracted from the place-names of the country. The Saxons, like all other Teutonic peoples, spoke of the Christian meeting house and Christian society under some form of the word 'church' or 'kirk,' terms the etymology of which has never been quite satisfactorily settled, while the Roman peoples, and with them the Celts, used forms of the Greco-Latin 'ecclesia.' Certain English place-names appear to be compounded with 'ecclesia,' and it has been argued with some plausibility that this element in them cannot have been given by the Saxons, but must be an inheritance from pre-

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[1] *Hist.* § 24; Migne, LXIX, p. 346. [2] ante, p. 162. [3] *H.E.* i, 26 and 33.

Saxon times. Hence 'eccles' names, as they are called, would imply that at the places where they occur the Saxons found in existence at the time of their conquest a Romano-British church known in the speech of the inhabitants as 'ecclesia.'

Domesday supplies us with a dozen or so of names of places compounded in this fashion, such as 'Ecleston,' 'Eclesfelt,' and many exist to this day, but they are not found connected with any special tradition of pre-Saxon Christianity. In Kent, where such names would be specially looked for, the nearest approach to an 'eccles' name is the 'Ægelesthrep'[1] mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* at the year 455 as the place where the Teutonic invaders gained one of their earliest victories over the Britons. This is generally identified with the modern Aylesford near Maidstone, called in a later charter Æglesford.[2] The present church of Aylesford, which possesses a noble Early Norman tower but no pre-Conquest features, stands in an imposing situation on a height above the former ford of the Medway now replaced by a fine mediaeval bridge. Historians have argued that this is a very natural place for a battle in the circumstances indicated in the *Chronicle*, and imagination has reconstructed on the site of the existing church a country shrine, called in the tongue of the Romanized natives 'ecclesia,' that looked down upon the invaders as they forced the passage of the river on their first march to the conquest of their destined home.

This is all however based on the assumption that the 'Ægeles' or Ægles is another form of 'eccles.' We find it in the 'Æglesburh,' now Aylesbury, of the *Chronicle*, ad ann. 571, and the Æt Ægleswurthe, near Castor, Northants,[3] now Ailsworth; but on the other hand we find the same element in personal names, such as the Ægylwig and the Ægylsige who jointly sign Charter No. 929 in the *Cartularium*, or the Ægelweard and the Ægelnoth who appear in the *Diplomatarium* of Thorpe at page 336. Personal names are not likely to be compounded with 'ecclesia,' and the 'Ægel' both of the personal and the place names is plausibly connected by Canon Isaac Taylor and others with the name of a northern deity Eigil.[1]

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[1] 'Ægelesford' apparently in one now destroyed MS. of the *Chronicle.* See Thorpe, *A.-S. C.* ad ann.

[2] Thorpe, *Dipl.* p. 202.

[3] *Cart. Sax.* No. 1131.

When Aylesford and Aylesbury, both of which are mentioned early, are removed from consideration it is more easy to deal with the assured 'eccles' names. All through the Saxon period the word ecclesia was in such familiar use in Latin that its employment in a place-name need cause no surprise. The word 'monasterium' is just as much Greco-Latin as ecclesia, and this appears in English place-names, such as Axminster in Devon, Southminster in Essex. It is true that monasterium in the form 'minster' was taken into the Saxon vernacular, which was not the case with ecclesia, but the difference is not so great as to justify the loading of the 'eccles' element in our place-names with so much historical significance, while minster is taken as a matter of course. Eccles in Berwickshire is much more likely to have been named from the nunnery founded in the twelfth century than on account of a British survival.

In the *Life of Wilfrid* by Eddius there is a passage bearing on this subject of British survivals that has given rise to a good deal of discussion.

On the occasion of the dedication service of the church at Ripon about 675, Wilfrid addressed the assembly, enumerating first the donations in lands which the kings of the time had given him for his new foundation, and then mentioning 'those holy places in divers parts which the clergy of the Britons had deserted' when they fled from the hostile sword of the Saxons.[2] 'Loca sancta,' the expression used, must imply some substantial relics of British Christianity, but what these were is by no means clear. They can hardly have been merely churches or other buildings, for such would not be called 'loca,' nor lands or other property, as the term 'sancta' would hardly apply to mere endowments. The most probable interpretation is to understand by the holy places graveyards, with perhaps the remains of churches. These cemeteries would be ecclesiastical property, and Wilfrid might like to reckon them among the assets of his monastery. The expression 'locus sacer' with the sense of burial place occurs in a Latin inscription,[1] and 'halga stow,' 'holy place,' with the same meaning in a Saxon will given by Thorpe.[2] Furthermore we possess to this day at Whiterne and Kirkmadrine in Galloway sepulchral relics of British Christianity that survived through the era of Saxon paganism, and whether or not we regard the loca sancta as sepulchral, we have the distinct statement of the biographer of Kentigern that in the sixth century he recovered at Glasgow a cemetery formerly consecrated by Ninian.[3]

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[1] *Words and Places*, 3rd ed. Lond. 1873, page 222.

[2] Ea loca sancta in diversis regionibus, quae clerus Brytannus aciem gladii hostilis manu gentis nostrae fugiens deseruit. *Vita Wilfridi*, c. xvi, in *Historians*, etc., p. 25.

We may take it then as possible that the earliest village churches of the Saxons may in some isolated cases have been associated in the way of revival with the older Christianity of the land.

Next in order may be noticed those cases in which older monuments not of British, but of Saxon Christianity may have preceded the erection of a church. It must have very commonly happened that before the Saxon converts achieved an actual meeting house, they had instituted simpler tokens of the new religion in the form of crosses.

We have noticed how commonly crosses both of wood and stone are mentioned in Anglo-Saxon documents.[4] They varied in their significance. Sepulchres,[5] stations in a funeral procession,[1] boundaries,[2] the passage of a ford,[3] the parting of two ways,[4] perhaps already the place of meeting for traffic,[5] were all indicated by crosses, but the cross that marked the spot for Christian assembly is the only kind that at the moment concerns us, for this would be in most cases succeeded by a church. We learn from Bede that in the early part of the eighth century, at any rate in the wilder regions of Northumbria, before permanent stations with regular churches had been provided, priests went their rounds from village to village to preach, baptize, and shrive.[6] It is likely enough that in such cases a cross of timber would be set up as a public symbol of Christianity and a landmark whither the people would gather to hear the word. A case of the kind in Strathclyde has already come before us in the history of the Celtic missioner Kentigern.[7] An illustration of the same practice from the heart of Wessex is to be found in the life of the English Willibald, one of the fellow-helpers and the biographer of Boniface. An Anglo-Saxon nun, cloistered at Heidenheim in Germany, who was related to Willibald, wrote his life towards the end of the eighth century, and gives us the following interesting notice:—When Willibald, who was born in 699, was three years old, he was solemnly consecrated by his parents to the service of God at the foot of the cross which stood near their dwelling, in or about what is now Hampshire. For, the nun explains,

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[1] Orelli, No. 4499.

[2] *Diplomatarium* p. 522.

[3] *Life of Kentigern*, ch. ix, in *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v, p. 52.

[4] ante, p. 87.

[5] E.g. Acca's crosses at Hexham, Simeon Dunelm. *Hist. Reg.*, § 36.

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[1] W. Malm. *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, No. 52, p. 383.

[2] *Cod. Dipl.* ccxxxiii; Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 919.

[3] There is a place in Wiltshire now called 'Christian Malford.' In Domesday this appears as 'Christemeleforde,' or the 'ford of the memorial of Christ,' evidently a cross set up at the frequented, and perhaps also dangerous, spot.

[4] There is a Saxon cross now standing in a cottage garden in Longthorpe near Peterborough, which the late J. T. Irvine thought was still in its original position as a wayside cross. *Journal of Archaeological Association*, xliii, 372.

[5] Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 467.

[6] *Epistola ad Ecgbertum*, § 7. *H.E.* iii, 26; iv, 27.

[7] ante, p. 163.

'it is customary among the Saxon people, on the estates of nobles or gentry, to have for the use of those who make a point of attending daily prayers, not a church, but the sign of the Holy Cross, set up aloft and consecrated to the Lord.'[1]

It may be asked whether a Christian place of burial, as well as this Christian sign, might accompany or even precede the construction of a church. This opens up the whole question of the archaeology of Christian graveyards in our own country, and of their relation to other elements of the social life of the time. It is a question both intricate and difficult, and has never yet received adequate discussion. The following remarks are offered as merely provisional, but the subject is one that cannot well be passed over. As an element in the religious life of the country on its social side the churchyard is almost as important as the church itself, and as it imparts to the church no little of its artistic charm so it enshrines a substantial portion of its history. The object of these preliminary chapters is to trace downwards as far as possible the root-fibres of the institutions with which in their monumental aspect we shall have to deal, and the sepulchre is an institution that cannot be left out of account.

The subject before us is complicated by the fact that the Saxons at their conversion were already supplied with places of sepulture. In connection with those Teutonic settlements studied in a previous chapter there existed regularly constituted cemeteries, that had been used through all the generations of paganism for the burial of the folk. They are of the utmost importance for the study of the decorative and industrial arts of older Saxondom, for in the graves have come to light nearly all the specimens of arms, ornaments and the like mentioned at the conclusion of the first chapter. For the moment we are only concerned with the fact of the existence of these pagan cemeteries, and with the question of the relation between them and the Christian graveyards.

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[1] Quia sic mos est Saxonicae gentis, quod in nonnullis nobilium bonorumque hominum praediis, non ecclesiam, sed Sanctae Crucis signum Domino dicatum . . . in alto erectum, ad commodam diurnae orationis sedulitatem, solent habere. *Acta Sanctorum*, Jul. II, p. 502.

Kemble, whose feelings were very sympathetic towards the Anglo-Saxon of the unsophisticated heathen days, and who credits him with romantic sentiment of a rather modern kind, pictures him even after his nominal conversion as still loth to abandon traditional customs of sepulture. 'Accustomed,' so Kemble puts it, 'to a free life among the beautiful features of nature, he would not be separated from them in death. It was his wish that his bones should lie by the side of the stream, or on the summit of the rocks that overlooked the ocean which he had traversed; or he loved to lie in the shade of the deep forests, or on the glorious uplands that commanded the level country.'[1] 'If such burial-grounds,' he also writes, 'existed long before what we call churchyards were permitted to be established, which in this country was in the middle of the eighth century . . . I can readily imagine Christians still resorting with their dead to the old locality. Indeed they may often have been Christian enough to bury their dead' (instead of burning them) 'and yet heathen enough to wish them buried in places of ancient sanctity, and near the bones of their family and friends. And after all,' he goes on, 'it is very possible that in England the new churchyards were expressly and intentionally placed upon the site of the old cemeteries.'[2]

Some points which are here raised invite attention. It is Kemble's opinion, and the view has been very commonly accepted, that churchyards were a comparatively late institution,[3] while he also argues that even after their establishment they remained of small account. Against both these contentions there is a good deal to be said. There is the possibility that Christian cemeteries, or the traces of them, had survived in parts from the older Romano-British period, and it is quite certain that arrangements for Christian sepulture occupied from the first the attention of the Saxon Church in both its Roman and its Celtic branches. Whether these arrangements were sufficiently complete in the earliest times to preclude the continued use of pagan cemeteries, is a further question presently to be considered.

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[1] *Horae Ferales*, Lond. 1863, p. 109.

[2] ibid. p. 99.

[3] The fact that even in the eleventh century (Laws of Cnut, Liebermann, I. 282) *some* country churches were without graveyards has nothing to do with the general question. The explanation of the fact will be given in the sequel.

The truth is that in these islands as elsewhere the orthodox adherents of the Church in every section of it attached importance to the disposal of the dead in Christian surroundings. Augustine's sepulchral church by Canterbury has already been mentioned.[1] The Irish cemetery at Clonmacnois on the Shannon, or that of Iona, are spots as sacred and as full of associations with the more intimate life of the Church as are the Roman Catacombs. All the monastic settlements of the Celtic Church had their graveyards, and the tiny one on Skellig Michael is indicated on the plan, Fig. 24.[2]

In the west of Britain, we learn from the life of a certain St. Gwynllyw, obviously a Welshman, who lived at the end of the sixth century, that 'he marked out a graveyard and in the midst of it constructed a shrine of planks and wattle work.'[3] To judge from the evidence of Bede, every one of the Celto-Saxon monasteries in England noticed in Chapter V. was similarly equipped with its cemetery or 'lictun.'[4] Some seventy years ago a discovery of great interest brought one of these to light at Hartlepool, the site of a convent founded before the middle of the seventh century, by the first woman who professed the religious life in Northumbria.[5] Several skeletons apparently of females were discovered. Their heads were resting on small flat stones as upon pillows, and above them were sepulchral slabs marked with crosses and inscriptions containing in some instances personal names. The cemetery appears to have been some twenty yards long.[1]

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[1] ante, p. 166.

[2] ante, facing p. 198.

[3] Rees, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, p. 147.

[4] Bede, *H.E.* iv, 10; Old English Version.

[5] *H.E.* iv, 23.

Cemeteries of the kind were regarded with intense piety, and when one reads in Bede the notices of similar convent graveyards in England, how a light from heaven threw its radiance upon a spot divinely chosen in which the bodies of the servants of God were to rest in waiting for the day of resurrection ;[2] how celestial odours breathed from the place ; how the holy lives of the saints that were laid therein made it potent for the healing of bodily infirmities,[3] one realizes that Christian burial rites were of as much moment here as in other parts of the Church's domain.

It is true that the examples in England just noticed were cemeteries attached to monasteries and not to ordinary village or parish churches, but it does not follow that the interments within them were exclusively confined to the bodies of the professed. The monastic church, as we have seen in the case of Aldhelm's abbey at Malmesbury,[4] opened its doors to the country folk ; and so its graveyard, when there was not another at hand, might serve them for a last resting-place. The writer has not noted any direct evidence of this in early times in the case of the common people, but the head of king Oswald, who was not a monk, was interred 'in the cemetery of the church of Lindisfarne,' and his body in that of Bardney.[5] At a later period gifts to a religious house would secure burial within its cemetery, and an arrangement of the kind between a land owner and his wife on the one side and the monks of the old minster at Winchester on the other is detailed in a document of the eleventh century.[1] In the previous century, Dunstan had ordained that the monks of Westminster might arrange with any non-inmate to grant him burial at his death within their precincts.[2] What was allowed at the later period as a matter of bargain might well in the 'golden age of saintliness' have been at times imparted as a matter of free bounty by the missionary monks to their converts.

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[1] There is a notice of the cemetery with engravings of some of the slabs in a paper on the pre-Conquest churches of the district by C. C. Hodges, in *The Reliquary*, January, 1894.

[2] *H.E.* iv, 7. [3] ibid. iv, 10. [4] ante, p. 191. [5] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 12 and 11.

We can establish therefore for the rural districts of England in the seventh century a certain provision for Christian interment in the graveyards attached to the monastic settlements. Whatever amount of actual accommodation these afforded, they at any rate exert an influence in favour of Christian rites as opposed to the influence of tradition exercised so strongly, in Kemble's view, by the pagan cemeteries. The comparative strength of these influences must have varied in different localities, but the Christian would be everywhere growing steadily stronger while the other waned. In this connection reference must be made to an ordinance of Charles the Great that is often quoted, but as a rule with too wide a significance. In a Capitular given at Paderborn in 785, and dealing with the affairs of Saxony, Charles directs that the bodies of Christian Saxons are to be borne to the cemeteries of the church and not to the burial-mounds of the heathen.[3] This enactment must not be taken to imply that in the Carolingian realms in general churchyards were only then beginning to come into use, and that the burial of Christians in the 'tumuli' had been up to that time everywhere normal. It refers to the special circumstances of the particular district and people for which it was issued. It is not Christians at large, but Christian Saxons that are referred

[1] Thorpe, *Dipl.* p. 588. Similar cases are mentioned, ibid. pp. 470 and 565. The lay-folks cemetery was an institution at Canterbury.

[2] Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 1050.

[3] Cap. Paderbrunn. 22, in Pertz, *Mon. Ger. Hist.* Legum 1, 49. Jubemus ut corpora Christianorum Saxonorum ad cimiteria ecclesiae deferantur et non ad tumulos paganorum.

to, and the Christianity of these same Saxons had just been forced upon their reluctant souls at the sword's point. They were ready, as the history of the times showed, to hark back in a moment to unregenerate ways, and their continued use of their old burial places is only what was to be expected. At the beginning of the eleventh century the still almost heathen Wends, though they had their children baptized, yet buried like the Saxons in their ancestral tumuli.[1]

Taking the Carolingian domains as a whole, we are assured by a writer who has made a study of the records that churchyards were at the time universal.[2] It cannot be said that our native records enable us to apply the statement to our own country, for as a fact, apart from the monastic examples, there are no direct references in documents of the seventh and eighth centuries to graveyards as distinct from the churches. Neither Bede nor Eddius, nor Boniface in his letters, nor Aldhelm, tell us anything about the 'lictun' of the 'tunkirke' which becomes so important at a somewhat later period. Furthermore, documents like the early penitentials, or the canons of Councils which deal with the duties of the secular clergy, are scarcely less barren of information. For example, the ninth and following canons of the Council of Clovesho in 747 give a list of the duties of the secular priests, but omit all references to their functions with respect to the churchyards. They are to baptize, to teach, to visit, to conduct the services in the church, but the rites of burial and the supervision of the cemeteries are passed over without a word.[1]

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[1] Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, Leip. 1887, etc. III, 417.

[2] Imbart de la Tour, *de Ecclesiis Rusticanis Aetate Carolingica*, Burdegalae, 1890, p. 67. 'Unamquamque ecclesiam proprium habuisse locum quo defunctorum corpora sepelirentur, aetatis Carolingicae docent monumenta.' The wording of Charles' Capitular is a proof of this. Eigil, in his Life of Sturm, the abbot of Fulda, tells us that when Charles, congregato grandi exercitu . . . partim bellis, partim suasionibus, partim etiam muneribus, maxima ex parte gentem illam ad fidem Christi convertit, he constructed among them per regiones quasque singulas ecclesias. To these must have been attached the cemeteries mentioned. See *Mon. Ger. Hist.* Script. II, 376.

The evidence of monuments as apart from written records is tantalizing in its uncertainty. We have here on the one hand the countless objects found in the presumably pagan burial places of the Anglo-Saxons, many of which are in the tumulus form, and we have on the other hand the large number of sepulchral slabs and crosses of Christian origin and early date which are especially abundant in the ancient Northumbria. Unfortunately it is very difficult in the former case to say whether any, or any substantial proportion, of the objects which 'furnish' the tumuli, or other tombs of the same character, imply Christianity in their former owners; and it is equally hard in the latter case to decide whether the slabs and crosses were set up in secular or in monastic churchyards. The monasteries of the seventh century were for the most part as we have seen loosely organized, and were very numerous. When Wilfrid left his diocese of York, Eddius would have us believe that 'many thousands of his monks' witnessed his departure, while round his bier at Oundle the abbots of the monasteries he had founded 'gathered from all parts.'[2] It is quite possible that the numerous Northumbrian churches, where we find the sepulchral stones, were in their first form mission stations of the monks, but if they were secular churches from the first then these fragments may be taken to attest the existence at the spot of a Christian churchyard dating from the time of the foundation of the church.

The matter may be summarized as follows. (1) There is no evidence that graveyards were marked out at the time when the sign of the cross was set to hallow the earliest preaching stations; and before churches were built, in wild and remote parts such as those referred to by Bede in his often quoted letter to Ecgbert, the pagan tumuli may have remained still in use.[1] (2) Wherever the missionary monks set up a station there a Christian cemetery would be marked out, and the use of this may have been in some measure granted to converts. (3) It is almost certain that as soon as a secular church of the 'parish' order was erected in a village, the graveyard would be constituted as its natural adjunct. No church would be built without some sort of temenos or reserved ground round about it, for this arrangement is almost universal in the case of other religions, and such ground would be the most natural place for the disposal of the Christian dead.

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[1] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, 365.

[2] *Vita Wilfridi*, c. XXV, and LXV, *Hist.* etc. pp. 36 and 98.

We come here to the last point raised in the sentences previously quoted from Kemble's *Horae Ferales*.

In the third of his contentions noticed above,[2] the great pioneer in Anglo-Saxon lore is probably at fault. That the village graveyard was on the same site as the older pagan cemetery of the settlement, is intrinsically improbable and is contradicted by monumental evidence. Cases are known in which Saxon interments apparently pagan have been found in existing churchyards. There is a tumulus of the kind in the churchyard at Taplow, Berks,[3] and at the west end of the church of Wyre Piddle in Worcestershire some early Saxon interments came to light,[4] but these and other cases of the kind that no doubt exist must be regarded as exceptional coincidences. As a general rule, while the church with its graveyard round about it is central to the settlement, the older pagan cemetery is away at a little distance, commonly on high ground when the lie of the country allows it, and out of all local connection with the church, though within sight of its tower. The Christianized folk would respect the older cemeteries, for there was nothing in the associations of these inimical to Christianity, as was the case with pagan shrines or places of worship. The religion of the sepulchre is indeed far older than any cult of Woden or of Christ, and had passed under the protection of a universal toleration. The ancient burial mounds were suffered to remain on the outskirts of the settlements, and Kemble, as we have seen, counted a large number of references to them in the charters in his Codex, but both as regards its locality and its associations the Christian churchyard was an altogether distinct institution.

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[1] It may be worth noticing that in the eighth century the illegitimate offspring of corrupt nuns and others were buried in the 'tumuli.' H. and S. *Councils*, III, 354.

[2] See ante, p. 257.

[3] *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, XL, 61.

[4] *Associated Societies Reports*, 1888, p. 424.

It has just been said that the country churches, like the shrines of other religions, would assuredly have about them from the first, in each case, a certain space of ground to serve as a temenos, and that this would be the most natural place for the disposal of the Christian dead. The already quoted canon of the sixth-century Council of Bracara distinctly recognizes this. As a matter of fact however, people were not always satisfied with this natural and seemly arrangement, and conceived a desire to be interred after their death within the actual fabric of the church.

This use of the Christian church for purposes of burial has already come before us in the case of the sepulchral church erected for Augustine outside the walls of Canterbury. The fashion was a remarkable one, because it was entirely opposed to the customs of most other religions, especially that of the Jews. So abhorrent to the Hebrew mind was the idea of any profanation of a sanctuary by contact with the dead, that Ezekiel will not even let the burial ground of the kings abut on the outer wall of his temple courts. The Christians however, though modelling their religious forms in many ways so closely on those of the synagogue and temple, in this particular matter went entirely against Hebrew prejudices.

It was the accident of martyr-worship that turned Christian feeling into a direction so opposed to Jewish traditions. The religious ceremonials at the tombs of martyrs were no doubt a universal practice of early Christian life, but Rome has furnished us with most details, and we have definite statements which show that a sarcophagus containing the remains of a martyr might be used as a table or altar at a Eucharistic service. This led gradually to the substitution of the sarcophagus-form for the earlier table-form of the Christian altar, and to the conviction that no altar was properly hallowed unless it contained the body, or at any rate some relics, of a saint. From this sprang up, like a rank growth, the whole immense and widely-ramified mediaeval cultus of relics, the economic and social importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. There were not wanting those who protested alike against relic-worship and against what they held the defilement of the Christian altar and shrine by these pledges of corruption, but the general current of feeling that set in the direction of the cultus was irresistible.

The desire to be buried in proximity to the tombs or relics of the saints was a natural consequence of this cultus, and we find here the origin of the sepulchral church. It is to be noticed however that the privilege of interment in a church, the altar of which contained or was placed over the relics or the tomb of a saint, was claimed at first in a very modest manner, and only the porch or some adjunct of the church was employed for the purpose. So Constantine was buried in an adjunct of the sepulchral church of the Apostles he had built in his new capital, and the kings and archbishops in Kent were interred in a porch or side-chapel of Augustine's sepulchral church outside Canterbury. Later on the body of the church was appropriated, and in spite of protests from ecclesiastical authorities burials took place all over the sacred edifice.

At first it was special piety, then worldly distinction, and last of all mere money payment, that secured the privilege of intramural interment, and the nearer to the altar the more valuable was the lair. This unseemly crowding of the sacred edifice with interments went on all through the middle ages until nearly our own time, and the condition to which the ground under some of our older churches has in consequence been reduced beggars description. A satiric epitaph in a west-country church is worthy of quotation:

> 'Here lie I by the chancel door,
> Here lie I because I'm poor,
> The further in the more you pay,
> Here lie I, as warm as they.'

So far had this practice been carried even in the Carolingian age that Theodulf describes churches so full of interments that they became useless for the holding of Christian services. A piece of interesting archaeological information is conveyed when we are told that the bodies were laid under mounds, tumuli, the projections of which made the surface of the church floor too uneven to walk over. Remembering that the same word 'tumuli' was used at the time for the cemeteries of the heathen, we may conjecture that the custom of the burial mound had been taken over by the Christians from their pagan forefathers. Though, as we have seen, the Christian and the pagan cemeteries were on different sites, the manner of interment seems to have been much the same.

Large conical mounds which remain to this day as conspicuous features along some of our older roads, were probably the burial-places of distinguished personages. In the general cemeteries where the majority of the heathen folk were laid, the graves were marked by smaller mounds, not unlike those of our own churchyards.[1] Such a 'heap of gathered ground' represents no doubt orginally the earth displaced by the body laid below, but remembering the

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[1] J. Romilly Allen, *Monumental History of the Early British Church.* London, 1889, p. 204.

'tumuli' in the eighth-century churches we may regard the familiar oblong barrow of our country churchyards as a survival from the tumuli of pagan Saxondom, or, at any rate, as representing a continuity in burial practice which adds interest to the Christian churchyard without detracting from its sacredness.

The question of a possible connection between the village church and earlier *pagan* shrines or the sites and associations of these, is another matter that must receive a moment's attention. On the Continent such a connection is constantly brought before us. To break down a heathen fane and rear a Christian oratory upon the spot was a common proceeding. When bishop Gaugerich was appointed about 585 to the see of Cambray, he found there a heathen shrine which he destroyed, erecting in its place a Christian church.[1] In the same regions in the seventh century Amandus substituted monasteries or churches for pagan fanes.[2] When Charles the Great conquered the pagan Saxons beyond the Rhine the temples of the Gods were destroyed, the groves cut down and churches built.[3] Boniface cut down with his own hands a sacred oak of the heathen in Hesse, and proceeded forthwith to construct an oratory out of the very wood of the fallen tree.[4] The writers of the already quoted work on the missionary travels of St. Martin in Gaul mention many instances where a Christian foundation seems to mark the site of some triumph over local paganism. By the apse of the church of Lantilly near Semur, in the heart of one of St. Martin's mission fields, there is a fountain dedicated to the saint. Between this fountain and the church there were found in 1878 the fragments of a nude statue that possibly represented the original god of the fountain dispossessed by the saint, whose church hard by commemorates his victory.[1] Early in the sixth century there existed a pagan shrine on the top of Mount Phanus in the territory of Bayeux. This was destroyed on the order of the Frankish king Childebert and the whole people of the Baiocasses came together to clear away the ruins and erect on the site of them a Christian church.[2]

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[1] *Acta Sanct.* Aug. II, 664.

[2] Ubi fana destruebantur . . . Amandus statim monasteria aut ecclesias construebat. *Acta Sanct.* Feb. I, 861.

[3] Eigil, *Vit. Sturm.* 22, Pertz, *M.G.H.*, Script. II, 376.

[4] Pertz, loc. cit. Script. II, 344.

In our own country there were two layers so to say of paganism, with which Christian missioners had to reckon and which may have affected our early Christianity, but though there may have been survivals in religious habits and rites, we do not find much evidence of survival or connection in the case of monumental remains. Gildas utters a lamentable cry over the idols of his British fellow-countrymen which he says surpassed in number those of Egypt, and he depicts them mouldering within or beside the deserted temples.[3] Perhaps the Saxon invaders cleared these away, for as a fact, while in France numerous actual fragments of Gallo-Roman fanes and idols exist in proof of their former abundance, in the case of our own sites and museums Romano-British paganism is chiefly represented by inscriptions.

Nor are the relics of Anglo-Saxon paganism more abundant. It is true that Bede tells us of the destruction of idols by Erconbert of Kent,[4] but the reference to idols of wood and stone among the East Saxons[5] sounds rather like a rhetorical reference to Old Testament passages such as Psalm 115, 4 and Isaiah 40, 19, and his more general expression ‘the worship of idols’ may simply mean heathen ceremonials of every kind. No one can tell what the idols of the Anglo-Saxons were like or even if such things really existed. The ‘idola’ mentioned in a law of Cnut are explained as the sun and moon, fountains or stones, etc.[1] About the kinsfolk of our people on the Continent we have the puzzling information that the Old Saxons did not possess idols while on the other hand these aids to religion were in use among the Frisians.[2] Which set of their kinsfolk the Old English followed we cannot clearly tell, and there is the same uncertainty when we come to the question of Anglo-Saxon temples. The passage which seems to fit in best with the normal idea of a temple is that in which we are told that King Redwald of the East Saxons had a temple in which was an altar, 'altare,' to sacrifice to Christ and another small one 'arula' to offer victims to devils.[3] This shrine stood till the days of a contemporary of the historian but we are disappointed in having no indication of its structural character.

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[1] Bulliot et Thiollier, *Mission et Culte de St. Martin*, Paris, 1892, p. 64.

[2] *Acta Sanct.* Nov. 1, 302. Life of St. Viger.

[3] *Hist.* c. 2, Migne, LXIX, p. 335.

[4] *H.E.* iii, 8.

[5] ibid. iii, 22.

It is doubtful how far the Saxon shrines were of the solid architectural form of those of Greece and Rome. The evidence of language seems to show that they were more often sacred enclosures and groves of trees than covered structures. In the important passage in Bede relating to the desecration of the Northumbrian shrine by the priest Coifi at the time of the conversion of Edwin, and in that describing the return to heathenism of the lately converted East Saxons, the word 'fana' rendered in English 'temples' appears in the Old English version of Bede as 'heargas' which in Wright-Wülcker's Glossary is given as equivalent to 'lucus' 'groves.' It is true that destruction by fire is mentioned as the fate of Coifi's religious establishment, so that we must probably imagine it as consisting of an enclosure or temenos surrounded with a palisade and containing a sacred grove with open air altars and a wooden shrine of some kind[4] containing objects of mystical significance. Bede tells us that the scene of this dramatic incident was not far from York to the eastward beyond the river Derwent and was called in his time Godmunddingaham. It would be mere affectation to refuse to see in this place the modern Goodmanham near Market Weighton which lies in the situation indicated by the historian and has preserved the old name in a shortened form.

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[1] Gentilitas est, si quis idola colat, id est gentilium deos, solem aut lunam, ignem vel fluctus, aquas fontium, vel lapides, vel alicujus generis ligna. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 313.

[2] Hauck, *K.G.D.* II, 331.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* ii, 15.

[4] According to the Old English version of Bede *H.E.* ii, 13, Coifi's spear stuck in the shrine; hit sticode fæste on þæm herige.

The position and surroundings of the interesting church of Goodmanham (a Norman fabric with indications of earlier work) are such as to force upon the mind the idea that it stands on an important ancient site which may well have been the chief shrine of Edwin's Northumbrians. The site is on the first rise of the Yorkshire wolds and the eye commands a wide prospect from it over the valley of the Derwent. The ground slopes from it on all sides but the east, and on all sides, save that towards the plain below, it is encircled with the village homesteads that cluster beyond its ample churchyard garth. The old antiquary Stukely may well be right when he claims for the church that it replaced the heathen shrine, though we need not believe with him that Coifi was baptized in the very font now in use within the building. It is not to be lost sight of however that there is no indication in Bede that such a substitution was immediately made. Such may have been the order of proceeding here as it apparently was in St. Martin's day in Gaul, but we are left without any distinct information on the matter. The writer knows indeed of no instance in our own early literature in which a Christian church is described as replacing a heathen fane after a fashion so often signalized on the Continent.

This may be a fitting point at which to mention a circumstance that has excited some comment, the frequent appearance of an early mediaeval church within the deserted enceinte of a Roman camp or station. Has this circumstance any religious significance? We need only take note of cases where the churches stand alone, not of those where the church is merely a feature of a mediaeval or modern settlement, as is the case at Castor by Peterborough; Casterton in Rutland, etc. Examples of lonely churches in Roman enclosures are St. Mary's in the Castle, Dover; Richborough (now destroyed), Reculver, in Kent; St. Peter's-on-the-Wall (Othona) Essex; Caistor by Norwich; Porchester and Silchester, Hants; while we read of an early Saxon monastic settlement that was possibly in Burgh-Castle, Suffolk, but has now vanished.[1] In some cases protection may have been sought within the already formed ramparts, and this seems to have been of influence in the last case, for Fursa who was accustomed to the Irish cashel would have found himself there at home. On the other hand we know that the site at Reculver was granted by the king of Kent in regular fashion to Bassa the priest.[2]

It is to be noted on the other hand that there are also instances of mediaeval churches near to but *outside* Roman enceintes. This is the case at Castle Acre, Norfolk (if this be really Roman); Lymne (Portus Lemanis), Kent; Burgh-Castle, Suffolk; and most notably at Anderida, Sussex, where the Roman enceinte is deserted save for the relics of a mediaeval castle, but there are at the two ends of it, just outside, the early churches of Pevensey and West Ham. On the whole in our present state of knowledge there seems no reason to attach historical or religious significance to the presence of isolated churches in certain Roman enclosures. It does not appear to indicate any continuity of tradition or any special opposition of the new faith to the old. Of more importance in this respect would be any identity or proximity of site in the case of pagan Roman temples and Early Christian oratories.

Leicester presents us with what may possibly be a case in point. Under the site of the church of St. Martin there, the dedication of which suggests an early foundation, were found the remains of a Roman columned structure that would have

[1] ante, p. 172.

[2] *A.-S.C.* ad ann. 669.

been suitable for a temple, and with this the first Christian shrine can have had a connection.[1] At Silchester the present parish church of late twelfth century date, that stands just within the enceinte of the Romanized town, is close to the remains of two Roman shrines[2] of a type that exists in Gaul,[3] and its orientation corresponds so exactly with the orientation of one of these that the original church on the site may have had some relation to the pagan structures.

Endeavours have naturally been made to find in some of the most early-looking of our extant churches, especially in Kent, parts that may have been portions of Roman temples. Reculver and Stone-by-Faversham are instances of the kind. Neither here, however, nor at St. Pancras, Canterbury, in which a local tradition in the fifteenth century saw part of a once pagan shrine, has there been any satisfactory identification, and there is still less evidence that *Saxon* temples were worked up into Christian churches.

On the whole we must confess that our own country is singularly poor when compared to the Continent in direct literary or monumental evidence for a continuity between pagan and Christian sites of buildings. Neither in the case of graveyards nor of temples do we see the new faith directly supplanting the old, and the village churchyard and church, like the settlement itself, appears from the topographical point of view to represent a fresh start on a site that is hardly ever a repository of older traditions. On the other hand in religious habits and rites the continuity is far more marked. The ecclesiastical literature of the Saxon period supplies abundant proof of the survival among the people of heathen superstitions, but these seem for the most part connected rather with divination and witchcraft than with definite acts of worship.[4] This not very profitable discussion may be closed with a reference to a very important and interesting document bearing on this subject, in connection with which we do find some very distinct evidence of survival.

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[1] G. E. Fox on Roman Leicester, *Archaeological Journal*, XLVI, 46 f.

[2] *Archaeologia* LII, 747. See the plan, fig. 19, ante p. 146.

[3] *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1898, p. 306.

[4] An early Saxon law, Wihtræd 12, is curiously expressed 'gif ceorl buton

Bede has preserved a curious letter from Gregory the Great,[1] designed to be communicated to Augustine, that contains directions for dealing with the existing apparatus of paganism.

There are two points in the letter to be noticed. Gregory speaks first about 'well built temples' that were not to be destroyed but converted into Christian churches. The passage is not in the Old English version of Bede so we do not know what term in the vernacular would be equivalent to the 'fana' of the epistle. We might suspect here that Gregory had in his mind the circumstances of his own country, where temples were actually turned in this way into churches—Bede himself records the case of the Pantheon[2]—rather than those of England where it is doubtful if many well-built temples can ever have existed. The writer seems to be influenced by what we know to have been the case, that enlightened Roman emperors found it necessary to check by enactments the indiscriminate vandalism of some sections of the Early Christian Church. It was a successor of Gregory who secured the preservation through a Christian dedication of the Pantheon. Hence this part of Gregory's letter may have been rather an announcement of general policy than of special application to England. The subsequent part of the epistle seems much more to the point. The writer goes on to note that because the pagan English had been accustomed to slay many bullocks in sacrifice to demons, they must have some ceremony substituted for this.

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wifes wisdome deoflum gelde,' 'if a churl without the knowledge of his wife make an offering to devils.' What this service to devils without the knowledge of his consort implied in the Saxon churl we cannot tell. It may have been an Old English form of the modern 'going round to the club.'

[1] *H.E.* i, 30.

[2] ibid. ii, 4.

Thus on the anniversary of dedication or the birthday of the holy martyrs whose relics are deposited on the spot[1] they should make for themselves booths of boughs round about those churches that have been altered from heathen fanes, and celebrate the occasion with solemn feasting, no more slaying cattle to demons but glorifying God in the use of his creatures for meat. It is either a remarkable coincidence or a fact in social history of no little importance that this erection of booths and merrymaking round about the churches did actually take place. The Boldon Book, a document of the end of the twelfth century, makes mention of the Fairs of St. Cuthbert when every two villeins erect a booth,[2] while the holding of fairs in churchyards was a fairly common mediaeval custom, the construction of booths being a constant feature thereof.

Thus a fair was held on All Saints day in All Saints church and churchyard, Northampton.[3] At St. James, Bristol, an arrangement was made in 1374 by which the parish minister was to be supported by a moiety of the profits arising from the fixing of pales or anything else penetrating or occupying the soil of the churchyard at the fair annually held there at the feast of St. James.[4]

In the enormous churchyard attached to the chapel of St. John at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorkshire, we are informed by the antiquary Dodsworth that a fair was held on Midsummer day to which people came from far and near.[5]

The feast of St. John coincides with Midsummer day, and it is well known that pagan ceremonials connected with this particular crisis of the solar year became attached to the Christian festival. It is quite possible that this was the case at

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[1] Die dedicationis, vel natalicii sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur.

[2] ante, p. 104, cf. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, 3rd ed. Lond. 1884, p. 68.

[3] *Associated Societies Reports*, 1881, p. 73.

[4] W. Barrett, *History of Bristol*, Bristol, 1789, p. 386.

[5] Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, Lond. 1828, I, 288.

Laughton. The extensive village is situated on the top of a hill and its fine church spire, which rises from a partly Saxon church and stands close beside an early Norman 'burh' or moated mound, is a conspicuous object from all the country side. No more likely place of meeting for a common district festival could be found, and the big enclosure round the chapel on the outskirts of the village would offer just the accommodation required. An element of primaeval sun worship may well have entered into the ceremonials of this St. John's-day fair, the midsummer feast becoming a festival of St. John. From the point of view of the student of folk-lore there is nothing impossible in this. The present writer remembers the time when Jack-in-the-green was a familiar sight on May-day morning in the streets of Marylebone, and he has seen on the eve of good Saint John the bale fires lighted in the hamlets of northern France and the villagers leaping through the flames. Many of these popular rites, which are now dying out rapidly before our eyes, had their origin in customs of nature-worship far older than Christianity. It is true that arguments from comparative folk-lore, like those from local nomenclature and from topography, must always be employed with caution and reserve, but they are none the less important aids to the investigator into social history.

The foregoing is sufficient to give some idea of the extent to which we may assume in the case of England that same local connection of Christian with pagan sacra of which we have so much continental evidence.

Hitherto we have envisaged the earliest Christian church in a district in its purely religious aspects as a place for Christian assemblies and rites. We must now regard it also from the point of view of those personal or sentimental associations which we have in our minds when we call it a Memorial Church.

In connection with the memorial church we have to deal with the commemoration of some Christian event or person and in this aspect an important fact about a church is its dedication. The question of church dedications generally may have here a word. As St. Augustine takes occasion more than once to insist,[1] all churches were dedicated to the Deity and not to human beings however exalted. If all churches however had the same primary dedication, the employment of special names to distinguish one from another was a practical necessity. Such a name might be merely that of the person who had built the church. The great church now known as Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome was called originally Basilica Liberiana from bishop Liberius its founder, and St. John Lateran itself 'omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput,' was till the tenth century only 'the basilica of Constantine.' It was an old Celtic custom to call churches after the names of their founders, and in Wales the numerous churches dedicated to local persons elsewhere unknown were really founded by those persons.[2] It was naturally however an advantage for the specific name to carry with it religious associations. When the founder of the church became in popular estimation a saint, which was very commonly the case with the missionary bishop,[3] there was an additional reason for associating his name with it, and any special personal connection of a saint with the site where a church was afterwards built might suitably be commemorated in this fashion.

This is the aspect of church dedications that is of the greatest historical interest. A Christian hero imprinted his personality upon a spot where he had taught or worked wonders or overthrown idols or suffered for his faith, and a church erected in memory of the event was baptized by his name. Again, a connection, though one less vital, was established when the relics of some famous saint who may have had no place in local associations were brought to a site, and either enshrined in an existing church or made the reason for the erection of a new one. In both cases the extraordinary reverence paid to the saint or his relics gave these dedications an importance that tended to make people forget their secondary character. The universal consecration to the Deity was taken for granted and the name of the saint alone employed.

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[1] e.g. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii, c. 10.

[2] Rice Rees, *The Welsh Saints*, Lond. 1836, p. xiii., etc.

[3] Formal canonization as a piece of ecclesiastical machinery is a different matter.

This had a result that might not at first have been foreseen. The church became in popular estimation the property and the dwelling place of the saint. His personality dominated it, and in this way it almost became a living thing that could feel gratitude or wrath and give these sentiments outward effect. In an economic sense this greatly strengthened the position of the church. Any gift bestowed on it was a gift to some personal saint, a St. Cuthbert or a St. Thomas, and the recipient, who was always present on the spot in tomb or reliquary, registered the fact in a very retentive memory. Any subsequent interference with what had become his patrimony he might, if need were, resist by miraculous intervention, and the terrors of the unseen world were in this way invoked to protect the interests of the institution. It was something more than mere convenient brevity of speech when a gift is conveyed to St. Peter or St. Guthlac instead of to the abbey of Medeshamstede or Croyland, and when in Domesday St. Mary of Glastonbury or St. Edmund of Bury are put down as owners of estates side by side with the king and his counts and bishops. The element of a personal relation of giver and receiver was hereby introduced, and the grip of an individual holder was closed upon the property.

Dedications of churches furnish a considerable amount of historical material, but it is of a kind to be employed with special caution on account of the fact that such dedications are subject to change. When the late Bishop Lightfoot undertook his northern diocese he found to his surprise that there was not a single church within the bounds of Durham county dedicated to Aidan of Lindisfarne.[1] Aidan himself had built a little oratory on Holy Island which his successor renewed. This would almost certainly have been known by Aidan's honoured name, but we learn that after the departure of the Scottish missionaries Archbishop Theodore consecrated it under the Roman invocation of St. Peter. Most of the other Aidan churches, that must have been numerous enough in the north, were doubtless after the synod of Whitby treated in a similar manner. At a later date the Normans affected to despise the obscure Saxon and Danish saints in whose honour so many English churches had been built, and proceeded to carry out the same policy. St. Mary's abbey at York was originally dedicated to St. Olave and had as a dependence a St. Olave church in the city. The Norman lords of York altered the name of the abbey to its present designation, but left untouched the obscure chapel in the narrow streets. At the Reformation again there was a revolt against the minor local saints that were connected with pretended miracles and superstitious doings, and for their names were substituted ascriptions of a colourless kind such as Holy Trinity, Christ Church, St. Saviour, etc. The impersonal All Saints is one of the most popular modern dedications.

The moral of this is that dedications can only be used as historical material when their history is known. In Notts alone Precentor Venables found forty churches which have different dedications in Ecton's Thesaurus of 1742, from those which are found in pre-Reformation York wills.[2] Such wills carefully indicate the church where the testator wished to be buried and name the saint under whose protection he would lie. On the evidence found in these and in episcopal registers and official returns like the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, it is possible to establish the true early dedications of churches, and these when critically examined can be made to throw a welcome light on the ecclesiastical past of the land. Thus the gradual advance in vogue of any particular holy name serves as an index to the trend of religious feeling. The popularity of the name of St. Thomas after the canonization of Becket ; the appearance of dedications to the Holy Sepulchre, signalize historical events. The sudden apparition in a certain region of an exceptional dedication with far-off or foreign associations may retain the memory of some local transaction, or some influx of a new current from without, that might otherwise have been lost in oblivion. In Kent the Roman missioners reproduced the dedications to which they had been accustomed in that quarter of Rome, the slopes of the Caelian, where was Gregory's monastery of St. Andrew from which they had come. The cathedral at Rochester, the first suffragan see to be founded, was dedicated to St. Andrew, and at Canterbury itself they made a St. Pancras and a S.S. Quattro Coronati, to which was added later on a St. Gregory. The dedication to St. Andrew, with these Roman associations, has a curious after history. Wilfrid perpetuated it at his northern foundation at Hexham, and according to the late Dr. Skene it was from this centre, and by the agency of Wilfrid's successor bishop Acca, that the dedication spread to Scotland where it led to the establishment of St. Andrew as the patron saint of that whole country.[1]

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[1] Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, Lond. 1890, p. 49.

[2] *Ass. Soc. Reports*, 1883, p. 2.

One striking instance of the intrusive dedication is the occurrence of an ascription to St. Oswald at the delightful little early Norman church at Paddlesworth on the downs behind Sandgate in Kent—a well known place of pilgrimage for the visitors to the sea-side resorts in the vicinity. The saintly king Oswald, whose fame is in Bede, was a north-countryman and had no ostensible business in the South. Let us drop down however from his little shrine westwards over the grasslands to Lyminge. There by the fine parish church are the foundations of a far older apsidal chapel the remains of a convent founded for a

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[1] Notice of the early ecclesiastical settlements at St. Andrews, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iv, 1863, p. 300.

Kentish princess in the seventh century. This princess had been previously wedded to Edwin of Northumbria and in this way a connection was established with the north, of which this dedication is a reminder. A church in the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire bears the name of St. Pancras. At a time when this district was within the domains of Oswy king of Northumbria, bishop Vitalian of Rome sent him a letter accompanied by a gift of relics of various Roman saints amongst whom was St. Pancras.[1] We may conjecture that the original church on the spot referred to was erected by Oswy for the reception of these relics.

The most important historical service which dedications can perform for us is to act as our guides when we trace the footsteps of early missioners in their work of the conversion of heathen lands. The dedications could be of the kind which has been called by Bishop Stubbs 'proprietory' when the saint in question had actually built the church, or 'memorial' if converts had erected it in his honour. This form of dedication is especially connected with St. Martin. Innumerable St. Martin churches besides his own basilica at Tours mark in rural France the traces of his missionary journeys. Some he is said 'destructis delubris baptizatisque gentibus' to have erected himself,[2] while others enshrined his memory. It is important for our purpose to note that similar memorial dedications to the apostle of Gaul were introduced into our country, and we find early instances at the two extreme points of it. Close to Canterbury, as Bede informs us in words the exact form of which should be noted, there existed 'a church built of old time in honour of St. Martin while yet the Romans were in occupation of Britain' 'ecclesia in honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta, dum adhuc Romani Brittaniam incolerent.'[3] In the extreme north-west Ninian built at Whiterne in Galloway a similar church of St. Martin which he dedicated in the name of the saint on the occasion of his death.[1] That the St. Martin church at Brampton in Cumberland can also be connected with the labours of Ninian has been shown on a previous page.[2] Almost every one of the goodly company of preachers whose labours led to the conversion of Strathclyde and ultimately of Pictland, has left his name to the localities in which he laboured. Scotland is particularly fortunate in the fact that these dedications have been so largely preserved, because this part of the British Isles has to lament the grievous destruction of so very many of the mediaeval parish churches. These did not all perish at the Reformation or at the hands of the Covenanters, but passed out of existence from various causes that operated nearly to our own time, and they have been too often replaced by barn-like structures of no architectural character. A considerable amount of Scottish mediaeval work of course remains, and this has all been described and figured by Messrs. McGibbon and Ross with a patriotic care which cannot be too highly praised.[3] A vast amount has however perished, and the local conservatism which has retained the old dedications is a matter for which we should be all the more grateful.[4]

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* iii, 29.

[2] Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, x, 31, 3.

[3] *H.E.* i, 26.

There are examples of memorial churches that commemorate something more than the labours of a missionary saint or the presence of venerated relics. Of such a kind were the churches erected by Cnut on the battlefields where he won his kingdom. William of Malmesbury tells us that at Assandun, the site of his great conflict with Edmund Ironside, was the chief of these churches.[5] There is some doubt as to the identification of the site of the battle, but it is certain that the existing church at

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[1] Ailred of Rievaux, *Life of St. Ninian*, c. iii, *Historians of Scotland*, vol. v, p. 43.

[2] ante, p. 161.

[3] *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1896, etc.

[4] There is an account of these early missions in Scotland in Bishop Dowden's *Celtic Church in Scotland*, Lond. 1894.

[5] *Gesta Regum*, ii, 11.

Ashingdon in Essex, usually held to mark it, does not go back to the time of Cnut.

A memorial church of special interest to dwellers in the 'Northcountrie' is to be seen a few miles from Hexham close to the line of the Roman Wall. Bede tells us how the Christian hero-king Oswald, when about to engage in that battle against his heathen foes which secured by his victory the triumph of the new faith, planted a cross of wood with his own hands in the earth, and that this was the first Christian sign that had been set up in the whole kingdom of the then heathen Bernicia. The spot became later on a place of pilgrimage, and ultimately, the historian tells us, the monks of Hexham erected a church in memory of the event and dedicated it in the name of the sainted monarch. The present comparatively modern St. Oswald church above Chollerford, in all probability marks the site. A modern memorial cross with an inscription which must not be too closely criticized marks the supposed spot where Augustine and his companions landed in the Isle of Thanet in Kent, but there is as yet no Augustine church there, though one with this dedication by the Severn in Gloucestershire is said by tradition to mark the spot of the famous meeting between the Roman ecclesiastic and the bishops of the British Church.

Enough has now been said about those cases where some special circumstance prescribes or attends the foundation of a church, and we will go on to consider the normal outward conditions of church extension where the determining factor is merely the existence of a community in need of Christian ministrations. In the West generally the first sign of the extension of church building from the towns in which the bishop of the civitas had his seat, to the rural districts where the men of the country (pagani) and of the moors (Heiden or heathen) still waited for the faith, has been found in some canons of that Council of Arles in 314 A.D., notable as having been attended by British bishops. Throughout the fourth century the work progressed, and in Gaul it was carried forward with especial zeal by St. Martin at its close. By what agency were these churches built and what arrangements were made for their future administration? These questions are equally pertinent to the case of those special or memorial churches already dealt with. Whether or not there were any abnormal circumstances connected with the origin of a country church, some one had to supply the land on which it stood and the materials and labour for its erection. It had to be the scene of regular ministrations involving certain charges and the need of supervision. How was all this arranged and provided for?

This whole subject of the rural church under the conditions which existed in the Frankish empire has recently been dealt with in a valuable essay by M. Imbart de la Tour entitled *Les Paroisses Rurales du IV^e^ au XI^e^ Siècle*,[1] to which may be joined the same writer's earlier dissertation already referred to.[2]

In using these works, as well as Dr. Hatch's *Growth of Church Institutions*,[3] which is based largely on Carolingian cartularies, care must be taken not to assume too readily that all that went on in Gaul was reproduced in our own country. The conditions of the two lands were similar enough to enable us to invoke freely the evidence of one for instruction as to the other, but such evidence must in each instance be interrogated as to whether it really applies equally, or applies at the same epoch, on both sides of the Channel. For one general caution is necessary. Gaul and Britain may have passed through the same phases of ecclesiastical development, but they passed through them at different times. Church history started in both countries at about the same epoch, but whereas in Gaul that history was continuous, in Britain it was soon interrupted by the invasion of the heathen. When the thread was taken up again at the end of the sixth century, the Church in Gaul had already behind it a long history that had not been greatly affected by the transference of political power from Roman to Gothic and then to Frankish hands. The sixth century had been a sort of golden age of the Gallic church.[1] In the seventh the disorders of Merovingian rule were affecting it for ill and this went on till the beginning of the eighth. The first Carlings, especially Charles Martel, were not ecclesiastically inclined, but the son of the last-named, Carloman, opens an epoch during which the Carlings, under whatever title they managed affairs, gave constant and sagacious attention to the Church, in connection with which they issued a long series of rescripts that form the most important body of evidence for the ecclesiastical history of the times. Hence the last half of the eighth and part of the ninth centuries were times of prosperity and power for the Church, while later on, the break-up of the Carolingian empire and gradual formation of what has been called the feudal system led to important changes that were not for the benefit of the ecclesiastical body. Following on this epoch of depression comes the great Church revival beginning in the monastic sphere with the Cluniac reform of the tenth century and culminating in the eleventh with the administration of Hildebrand.

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[1] Paris, 1900. [2] ante, p. 261. [3] Lond. 1888.

Comparing these phases of western Church history in general with those of the Church history of England, we note that our heroic age of freshly kindled hope and zealous endeavour did not come till the seventh century, and that when Bede wrote his history in the second quarter of the eighth a decline in Church life had already set in which went on through the period when on the Continent the Carlings had re-established the age of gold. We have seen how the Danish invasions in the ninth century shook everywhere the life of the Church as they shook the life of the state. Partly through their agency, and partly through the decline just mentioned, the Church in England was reduced to a condition even lower than that of neighbouring Churches, at the time when the Cluniac movement of reform spread to our shores in the days of Edgar

[1] Hauck, *K.G.D.*, 1^2, 182 f.

and Dunstan. England however differed at this time from the Continent in that the feudal system was by no means so far developed. For the purpose in hand feudalism is chiefly important as representing the decline of central authority and the establishment everywhere of personal relations of dependence of weaker men upon stronger. Before the Norman Conquest this had advanced much further on the Continent than among ourselves, and herein resides, as we shall see, a difference of some importance. After the Conquest the distinctions both in Church and state between England and her neighbours are of course greatly lessened. The significance of these chronological and other distinctions we shall note as we proceed, and they must always be borne in mind when we are bringing continental evidence to bear on the phenomena of our own land.

According to the French writer just referred to, the earliest rural churches in Gaul were founded in one of two localities, either in villages, 'vici,' or on private estates. In the view of M. de la Tour, who is a pupil of M. Fustel de Coulanges and familiar with the recent speculation on the subject, the vicus was exactly what we should call the free village community, and he describes it as a centre of commerce and an aggregate of small proprietors and artizans.[1] Here perhaps, he suggests, were the first rural churches founded, and he pictures the united activity of the members of such an independent little community in the sacred work. The following passage is quoted at length because of the great importance and interest of the question involved, Was the building of the earliest country church the common act of a body of independent villagers?

'It would be interesting to know,' he writes, 'what part the free population of a vicus played in the construction of its church. In the Roman period, these 'vicani'—small proprietors, merchants, artizans—could possess a common chest and take measures to carry out matters of common interest. As this organization seems to have been still in existence in the fifth century, we may ask, Did these men construct and endow their own church? The authorities do not tell us this. Gregory of Tours and the Lives of Saints have left us the record of great personalities, but the work of the small people, the humble ones, has found no place in their memoirs. Nevertheless we find some hints that enable us to picture this work to our minds, when we see the part played by the people in the festivals, in the religious gatherings, even in the choice of the pastor of the flock. In one place the Christian temple has risen from the earth just to satisfy a religious need, to secure a sanctuary where men could assemble for prayer; elsewhere it has been the remembrance of a miracle or the visit of a saint that has touched the popular imagination and inspired the work. Every living belief translates itself into act. We cannot doubt that the construction of churches has been one of the most general of these acts. One may affirm that all classes of the population bore part in that transformation of Gaul into a Christian land.'[1]

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[1] *Les Paroisses Rurales*, p. 27.

In our own country there is no room for such a conception as this of a vicus where Roman traditions are still operative in a free village community partly commercial and partly agricultural. The corresponding English community must have been purely Teutonic and purely agricultural, and as we have seen already its character and the amount of its independent common life are still problematical. Some of those writers who postulate for these English villages a population of freemen have surmised, as M. de la Tour has done in Gaul, that their common action might well take the form of building and equipping a village church. Professor Maitland points to the evidence of Domesday as showing that at that time at any rate there existed in

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[1] *Les Paroisses Rurales*, p.32.

England independent villages where the land was held and worked by a body of freemen in common.[1] Thus at Goldentone in Bedfordshire the return indicates that the land was formerly held in common by the men of the place, and that they could sell it.[2] At Chenetone in Kent the Survey records that in the time of Edward the Confessor the estate was held in common by villeins.[3] Such a body of freemen may conceivably have built for themselves and maintained out of the common resources a church with its needful apparatus and ministrant. At the last-named place there was a church at the date of the Survey, and if this existed in the time of Edward the villani must have been its proprietors. The one other public building in the old English village besides the church was the mill, and there are mills mentioned in Domesday that are held by a number of men in common. On this Professor Maitland remarks 'sometimes the ownership of a mill is divided into so many shares that we are tempted to think that this mill has been erected at the cost of the vill,' and he suggests that a church may very well have been built and held in common in the same manner.[4]

It is worth noting also that the author of the recent *Church History of Germany*, Dr. Albert Hauck, puts forward the same supposition of a collaboration of the members of a free community in the establishment of the local church.[5] But though the supposition has so much a priori likelihood, it is the most difficult matter to find any direct documentary evidence that bears it out. To prove the state of things which, as we have just seen, he assumes as historically probable, M. Imbart de la Tour confesses that 'les textes nous font défaut,' and Professor Maitland, with the same predisposition, can get no nearer than to a mill held in common. As a fact among all the thousands of texts which relate to the founding or the proprietorship of rural churches it is almost impossible to find any that countenance this view. One example is, however, signalized by Dr. Hauck in the work just referred to. It occurs in Bavaria where in the latter part of the eighth century, during the reign of that Duke Tassilo who is known to art history by his connection with the famous Tassilo Chalice at Kremsmünster, there was great activity in church building in newly Christianized territory. In a collection of more than a thousand charters belonging to the see of Freising there occurs one to the effect that in the 31st year of Duke Tassilo (778 A.D.) Lautperht the priest hands over to the episcopal church at Freising, an oratory in the villa which is called Assling, and that in their piety the neighbouring inhabitants (vicini ejus fideles) have together with him determined that the church should pass into the possession of the see, and this by the resolve of the inhabitants themselves who were the founders of this same house of God (firmantibus ipsis vicinis, qui hanc ipsam condiderunt domum dei).[1]

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[1] *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 140.

[2] *D.B.* 1, 213 b.

[3] ibid. 1, 12 b.

[4] *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 144.

[5] *K.G.D.*, 1^2, 216, note.

This valuable record, the last clause of which is of satisfactory clearness, is just what is needed to remove from the domain of mere guess-work the view of the country church which regards it from the outset as a common possession of the people. The glance already directed at the institution[2] showed it to all appearance in the later middle ages a centre of the common social life of its village, intimately associated with the fortunes of the peasantry who tilled the surrounding fields. Often, not by any means always, as it stands abutting on the village green, it seems to form the natural centre of the cluster of farm-steadings and cottages of the agricultural population. The fine church of Ropsley in Lincolnshire, shown in the frontispiece, dominates its rustic surroundings like a cathedral. We are prepared by the whole aspect of the building and its entourage to learn from the evidence of mediaeval documents such as Saxon laws and wills, inscriptions, pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts, and testaments, that the people at large were busy about their church and made it their own possession. It does not follow that whenever the morphology of the village seems to claim the church as a possession, it was actually founded and maintained in common. This is a matter in which the utmost caution is necessary. The evidence of 'general impression' is not to be trusted too far, but it would be a mistake to deny to it any sort of value. The English cathedral when contrasted with the French bears now in its general aspect a true testimony to its history and constitution, though in time bygone that aspect and surroundings have passed through many vicissitudes. So too the general aspect of the village church is a real index to its character, though many of the actual facts of its origin and history may seem to belie this.

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[1] Meichelbeck, *Historia Frisingensis*, Aug. Vind. 1724, 1^2, p. 61.

[2] ante, p. 113 f.

A confirmation of the argument here put forward may be found when we turn from the country to the town. It is true that the town, from its very being, possessed a corporate life that was more definite and pronounced than would be the case in the village. The difference however between town and country was in the earliest times far less than it grew to be at a later date, and in Saxon days was not such as to preclude us from arguing from the one to the other. The numerous small churches in the older English towns[1] set closely in among the houses give the impression by their aspect that they are essentially civic institutions, owned by and serving the needs of the citizens at large. In the case of some of these we possess the documentary evidence, lacking in the case of the country church proper, that they were common civic property. The Domesday return for Norwich city[2] contains the words

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[1] ante, p. 119.

[2] *D.B.* ii, 117 a.

'in burgo tenent burgenses XLIII capellas,' 'in the borough the citizens hold forty-three chapels.' This was at the date of the Survey. We are also informed of the condition of affairs in the time of Edward the Confessor. One burgher then held two churches and the sixth part of a third; the church of the Holy Trinity was held by twelve burgesses, and besides these special instances 'the citizens held fifteen churches' 'burgenses tenebant xv.'

These phrases seem to imply tenure in common, not the individual possession by single citizens of single churches, and this interpretation is borne out by some later records. In the City of London in the year 1115 the burgesses of the ward of Portsoken hand over to the priory of Holy Trinity their lands and the church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, becoming themselves members of that religious brotherhood. The donors are called in the deed confirming the surrender 'the English gild of Knights,' 'Anglica Cnihttengilda,'[1] and in a paper published in the *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Mr. H. C. Coote unfolded their history.[2] He makes them a military gild founded in Saxon times and endowed with manorial rights over the land by Aldgate on condition of service for the city defence. The land, he argues, on which their church of St. Botolph was erected, lying just outside the city bounds must have part of its 'pomerium' and so the property of the collective citizens, who had granted it under this condition to a company of the civic guard. After the Conquest other measures of city defence were arranged, and the gild, with the church it owned and its other property, was absorbed by the neighbouring religious corporation.

City churches held in later times by the corporations or civic companies are familiar, and a very striking instance of this corporate possession of churches is to be found in the records of the small borough of Hedon in Holdernesse not far from Hull, which have been edited recently by Mr. J. R. Boyle. The affairs of the three churches of Hedon were administered by the burgesses who 'appointed the wardens of the churches at the same annual burgess court at which the merely civil officers of the town were elected. The wardens thus chosen were sworn into office, not in any ecclesiastical court, but before the mayor and bailiffs,' to whom when they demitted office their accounts were rendered. The most unequivocal act of ownership possible was exercised when, as the town declined, the mayor and burgesses sold the sites of two of the churches which had gone out of use, and conveyed the ground by a legal title to the purchaser.[1]

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[1] The deed which gave the sanction of the crown to the appropriation is printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. 1661, II, 81.

[2] The English Gild of Knights and their Socn. *Transactions*, etc. vol. v.

By piecing together these partial indications it may be shown that the founding and management of village churches as the act of a community is something more than a mere possibility, though it is not a fact that can be established and illustrated by any large body of evidence. So far as the mass of the existing evidence is concerned it is the individual of wealth and position that appears in the forefront of the transaction. It must be understood of course that the bishop was in any case the original moving spirit. He was the head of all the missionary agencies which carried on and organized the work of evangelization, and church extension would be in every case inspired and controlled by his agency.[2] In Gaul the bishops were as a rule men of large possessions. They had their own church in their city with their domus episcopi where they lived surrounded by a large body of their clergy. They also held lands without the walls, and it appears that, in Gaul at any rate, the first country churches were those built by the bishops on their own rural estates.[1] These country oratories would be served by the members of the bishop's own familia whom he would establish and maintain in them. That this was regarded as a sort of exile by the clergy of the Roman civitas may be gathered from the second canon of the Council of Arles in 314, which bids these officials remain wherever they are stationed. Gregory of Tours in an interesting passage describes the work of church extension in rural districts of Touraine in connection with the names of successive bishops,[2] but he does not tell us whether it was upon their own private estates that the oratories were erected. The position at any rate of St. Martin, so great a builder of churches, must have been more like that of an English monastic bishop than of a territorial prelate. Be this as it may, in England the bishops of the missionary epoch were not like most of their Gallic brethren wealthy landholders, but poor men dependent for worldly support on king or chieftain. Later on their position altered. Wilfrid seems to be the first bishop who had large private means of his own and used these in church extension, but episcopal estates soon became established institutions. We find Æthelric bishop of Durham digging at Chester-le-Street, which must have belonged to the see, in order to build a stone church on the site of the old wooden one,[3] and of Dunstan we are told that he erected churches on the archiepiscopal estates where he possessed granges.[4] At the outset however the missionary bishops must have depended largely on the kings or chief men for the actual work of building and maintaining the village shrines.

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[1] *The Early History of the Town and Port of Hedon.* Hull, 1895, pp. 89, 94.

[2] In all that follows the agency and supervision of the bishop must be understood as constant factors unseen or in evidence. The duties of the bishop in the matter are thus indicated in the report of the so-called 'legatine synod' held in England in 787, unus quisque Episcopus parochiam suam omni anno semel circumeat; diligenter conventicula per loca congrua constituendo, quo cuncti convenire possint ad audiendum verbum Dei. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, 449.

The evidence of Bede seems to make it clear that this was the normal order of procedure. It will be remembered how the first missionary bishop attaches himself to the local potentate within whose sphere of influence he founds a clergy-house or monastery as the starting point of his more extended efforts.[1] When he sets up a suffragan see, or pushes his out-posts garrisoned by monks further and further into the surrounding waste of paganism, the king seems generally to grant the land for the site and maintenance of the new establishments. The agency of the kings of Kent accounts for the cathedral at Canterbury and the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul (St. Augustine) outside its walls; for the suffragan cathedrals of Rochester and London; for the monastery at Reculver. Edwin of Northumbria erects the church for Paulinus at York, and royal grants underlie most of the early establishments such as Lindisfarne, Dorchester, Winchester, Ripon, etc.[2]

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[1] Numerous instances are given on pp. 20-31 of *Les Paroisses Rurales.*

[2] *Hist. Franc.* x, 31.

[3] Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* ii^3, 416 note.

[4] *Memorials of Saint Dunstan,* Rolls Series, No. 63, p. 204.

The king's example would naturally be followed by his courtiers and officials. If Edwin the king build Paulinus a church at York, Blaecca the king's reeve comes forward to perform the same good office for him at Lincoln.[3] We have seen reason to believe that the king's 'optimates,' 'gesiðas,' or 'aldermen' were as a rule members of a territorial aristocracy, each keeping up something of rustic state on his own domain,[4] and these would follow the example of the king in extending welcome and patronage to the missioners. We think of the famous scene described in Bede when Edwin of Northumbria takes counsel with his nobles about accepting the faith of Paulinus, and one of the elders compares the life of man to the swift flight of a sparrow through a lighted room. The council breaks up with the dramatic display on the part of the arch-priest Coifi, and after that 'the king with all the nobles of his people and a crowd of the common folk' receive baptism.[5] As the next step the nobles would encourage missionary visits to their villages, and would follow the king's example in entertaining the priests and in setting up a simple structure to contain a Christian altar. It was probably under such circumstances that Augustine and his companions 'built and repaired churches' in all places in Kent,[1] that 'churches were being built in divers parts' under the inspiration of Aidan,[2] that Cedd 'built and consecrated churches' among the East Saxons[3] and Chad in Mercia, that Birinus started in Wessex[4] the same work which was carried on by Aldhelm of Malmesbury and Sherborne in the eighth century,[5] and by Swithun of Winchester and Æthelwold of Winchester in the ninth and tenth.[6]

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[1] ante, p. 154.

[2] *H.E.* iii, 3, 7, 25.

[3] ibid. ii, 16.

[4] ante, p. 46.

[5] *H.E.* ii, 14.

Some of these churches may have been built by bishops on their own estates, others on royal lands, but the majority were probably erected at the expense of private land holders. The common agency of a body of villagers must not be forgotten as a possible source of the work, and one can fancy this to have been the case often enough in the more remote regions of the country. What were the practical results in church building, we may ask for example, of Cuthbert's month-long missionary journeys among the hills of the Lothians? Till the disastrous defeat of Ecgfrid of Northumbria by the Picts in 685 A.D. the country was Anglian up to the Forth, upon the shores of which was the Bernician monastic see of Abercorn, and local nomenclature with its 'ings' and 'hams,' as well as records, proves that what is termed in England the 'manorial system' prevailed here at any rate in the more agricultural parts of the country. Cuthbert however, like all the northern missioners from Ninian downwards, sought out the wilder and less accessible of the inhabited regions, and appealed there directly to the hearts of the common folk. The crosses which we have seen these saintly preachers setting up were replaced later on, though only gradually, by churches, and some of these among the inhospitable hills may have come into being without the intervention of a territorial lord, who would not choose such places for his domain. There was in the 13th century a St. Cuthbert Church at Hailes (Colinton) on the Pentland hills in Midlothian that may have had such an origin, while the present church of St. Cuthbert by the Castle at Edinburgh, mentioned by that name as early as the middle of the twelfth century,[1] may be the successor of a more primitive shrine erected as a memorial church to mark the site of a preaching station of the apostle of the Lothians. The local laird of the time probably lived on the castle rock and the position of the church does not suggest that he was the founder of it, for owing to the marshy bottom of the valley the site was not readily accessible from that side. The first church may conceivably have been a common work of the remote ancestors of the present body of heritors. It is possible on the other hand that this and other St. Cuthbert churches may be connected in their origin with the wanderings of the monks of St. Cuthbert with their master's body in the Danish period.

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[1] *H.E.* i, 26.
[2] ibid. iii, 3.
[3] ibid. iii, 22.
[4] ibid. iii, 7.
[5] W. Malm. *Gest. Pont.* p. 345 f.
[6] ibid. p. 161 f.

To what actual extent the building of village churches had been carried out in the days of Bede we cannot clearly tell. We have already accepted the evidence of sundry passages of his writings that in the remoter parts of Northumbria there was no resident priesthood and hence comparatively few churches, but on the other hand there are incidental notices which seem to represent the village oratory as a normal phenomenon. At any rate, in the interesting story of Dricthelm, the Northumbrian of Cunningham who saw the vision of the other world, we learn that on the occasion of his sudden conversion he repaired for the purpose of prayer 'ad villulae oratorium,' or as the Old English version gives it, to 'the church of the tun,' a mode of speech which seems to imply that, even in the first half of the eighth century, taking the country as a whole, villages commonly possessed such institutions.[2]

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[1] *Liber Cartarum S. Crucis*, Edin. 1840, pp. 47, 8.

[2] A passage from one of Bede's Commentaries quoted by Mr. Plummer in his Introduction, p. xiii, certainly gives this impression.

Returning to what we must still take to be the normal order of procedure, we may note two examples in Bede[1] of the construction of a village church by the local lord. Not far from the Yorkshire monastery of bishop John of Beverley was the 'villa' or estate of a certain thegn who was called Puch. This personage invited thither the man of God to the dedication of a church, and pressed him afterwards to enter his house for the dedication feast.[2] The same bishop John received a similar invitation at another time from a neighbouring lord named Addi to dedicate a church which is expressly called Addi's church 'ecclesia comitis.' So at a later date Dunstan was invited to take over and to dedicate a church that a certain great and powerful man had built on his own estate in honour of the Saviour.[3]

That a large proportion of our country churches had this quasi-aristocratic origin is suggested by the frequent local contiguity of church and manor house which must have struck all who have traversed English country districts. Just as some churches seem to belong to the community at large, so others seem markedly to appertain to the lord. A Saxon example is Bosham, Sussex, where on the Bayeux Tapestry the church which Harold is entering for the purpose of prayer is side by side with the hall, where he and his followers are shown quaffing their wine or mead (Fig. 10, facing p. 104). In the England of to-day the church is sometimes actually within the compass of the park of the squire. On the map of the typical district in Northamptonshire opposite p. 84, it will be seen that Overstone church is thus situated. Or it may stand close beside the manor house gates. Lambeth in

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[1] *H.E.* v, 4 and 5.

[2] Folcard, who wrote the life of Bishop John in the days of Edward the Confessor, states that this was the church of South Burton, two or three miles from Beverley, but we know no grounds for the identification, which may be a mere guess. See *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71/1, p. 249.

[3] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. 109.

London furnishes a good instance. What is now Lambeth Palace was formerly the aula of a country manor presented by the sister of Edward the Confessor to the see of Rochester, whence it passed in 1197 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom it has become the London residence.[1] Just at the gate of the palace stands Lambeth church, an edifice still in part mediaeval, the prototype of which was already in existence at the time of the first transfer, and was in the hands of the owner of the estate. On the other hand, the beautiful village of Bibury in Gloucestershire, one of the most perfect in all England, exhibits hall, mills, and village houses, surrounding a partly Saxon church, all nestling together by the stream in the hollow basin of the downs, and suggesting the harmonious working through long mediaeval and modern centuries of all the classes, gentle or simple, that make up the rural community.

The impression derived from the present local surroundings of a church is not however always to be trusted. It was to the interest of the lord and of his game to effect a clearance around his abode, and he might sometimes succeed in shifting a portion of the population that once dwelt beside the church, so as to leave the latter isolated and apparently dependent on his own domain. This was actually done at Great Billing, on our Northamptonshire map. Here the church has not a house save the squire's in its vicinity, and is tucked away behind the plantations of the hall so that the stranger can hardly find it unless attracted thither by the sound of its bells. As a fact there were once cottages all about it, but a former lord of the manor diverted a road and got rid of the cottagers so as to increase the quiet and amenity of his abode. The church of course remained where it was in the changed surroundings. In contrast to Billing, the neighbouring church of Earls Barton stands conspicuously on a projecting bluff that commands the road running up from the ford and the mill (and now the railway station) in the valley below. The road forks when it comes near it and with its bordering cottages sweeps by on either side leaving it to dominate the whole settlement. It is however a lord's church, for we see behind it the remains of an early Norman moated mound actually (in part) in the graveyard, so that the church must have been in its turn at one time dominated by the castle of the local chief or his representative.

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[1] Allen, *History of Lambeth*, Lond. 1827, p. 11.

There has just been mentioned the dedication feast to which the proprietor, who has now accomplished his pious task, invites the bishop when he comes to consecrate the newly-erected shrine. The consecration is itself an act which touches monumental history, for the painted or incised cross remains an abiding sign of the performance of the rite. This is recorded at times on an inscribed stone and there are some Saxon dedicatory inscriptions that are of ecclesiological interest as well as of chronological importance. The festival of the consecration brings together all those who are concerned in different ways in the building and use of the church. The villagers at large join in the dedication ceremonial just as they will join for all after time in the common festival that perpetuates its memory. The man of God, like Samuel of old, is however waited for to bless the sacrifice, before the assembled company shall fall to meat. The lord provides the entertainment as he has built the church, but bishop and people are all integral elements of the common celebration, while the Saint himself, like a deity at the old classical Lectisternia, may be supposed to be present in spirit also as an ideal guest. The assembling of all these together at the moment when the history of the church is about to begin, is a significant act from which may suitably be started a discussion of the arrangement and working of the social institution thus inaugurated.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VILLAGE CHURCH: ITS CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

We pass now from the circumstances and agents in the first establishment of the church, to the more complicated questions of its constitution and after history.

Hitherto the building under consideration has been spoken of as the 'village church,' a term equivalent to the 'tunkirke' of Anglo-Saxon documents. If there be substituted for this the more familiar term 'Parish Church,' a word has been introduced that carries with it a special meaning. In modern times nearly all the country is divided up into conterminous districts called parishes. In the Northamptonshire region already referred to,[1] each one of the places named on the map and mentioned in Domesday is the centre of such a parish, and these parishes together cover the whole district. Each parish throughout the land is, in theory at any rate, equipped with its church, under the charge of a ministrant whose appointment and maintenance are matters of fixed arrangement. The church supplies certain needs spiritual and civil of the inhabitants, or as they are called the 'parishioners.' In their parish church, and the graveyard that as a rule surrounds it, the parishioners have certain rights of access and use and a certain share in management which are matters of law and not of mere custom, while on the other hand they have the obligation of paying certain dues towards the expenses of the establishment. Other persons or bodies have however rights in the church of a far more extensive kind, and these limit each other according to arrangements that are now fixed but which have behind them a good deal of complicated and obscure history.

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[1] ante, p. 64 f.

The appointment of the ministrant in the church is one of these rights, and this is exercised in a somewhat abnormal fashion. In the nature of things we should expect the appointment to be regulated by the ecclesiastical authorities, and this obvious arrangement is almost universal in the other churches of Christendom. Except in a few cases like that of the Congregational body in England, ecclesiastical authorities, such as synods, presbyteries, or bishops, with or without some joint action on the part of parishioners, appoint the ministers of churches. The village churches of France for example have been since 1801 supplied with curés by the diocesan bishops. In the English Church the bishops have in practice a large number of such appointments in their hands, but they have acquired these at sundry times and in divers manners and hold them as accidents of their position and not as things which in the nature of the case belong to them as bishops. The majority of the appointments are not in the control of officials of the Church, nor are they on the other hand in the control of the parishioners, who, except in isolated cases that are the result of some modern arrangement or compromise, have but little to say in a matter that concerns them so nearly. The right in question is most usually exercised by secular officials, such as the Lord Chancellor representing the Crown, the Court of Common Council or similar bodies, and, especially, by individual laymen of wealth and position. This right of appointment is evidently by traditional repute a valuable one, for it is termed 'patronage.' The office to which it institutes is called a 'benefice' or 'living'; the holder is commonly known by the awkwardly chosen title of 'incumbent,' and he enjoys the revenue of certain property with which the church has been endowed.

The right of appointment by whomsoever exercised is limited in that when once the grant has been made it is not revocable. That is to say the ministrant when once instituted has rights that he can maintain against those by whose gift he obtained his position. The appointment again is not in itself valid without the intervention of the bishop in charge of the diocese. He can only however object on grounds of faith or morals, and his power in this respect continues, for he has throughout a nominal control over the religious ministrations for which the church is used, and in this way he may limit (or try to limit) the freedom of action of the ministrant as he has done that of the patron in the appointment. The bishop also has so much power over the fabric that he, or some diocesan functionary, practically the archdeacon, to whom this part of the bishop's business has been delegated, can prevent its being demolished or so altered as to render it or any part of it unfit for divine worship. The responsibility for repairs and alterations to the church, when these are called for, devolves in part on the holder of the benefice,[1] but it is in practice largely shared by the parishioners and the patron. Four bodies at least have accordingly in the church rights of property use or administration, the Patron, the Bishop, the Incumbent, and the Parishioners.

Such is in outline the familiar constitution of the English parish church. It is often said that this parish system is of comparatively recent growth. This is only true in so far as it is only in modern times that the whole country (with the exception of some isolated parcels) has been formally divided into conterminous parishes. As a fact, so soon as a country church was established anywhere in the early Saxon times it had a more or less distinctly marked out district and an organization which was in many essentials the same that it is to-day. The parish system, using the term in a broad sense, is as old as rural Christianity itself. When therefore we ask how these different rights in the institution came into existence, we shall find the answer by considering the records of its early history.

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[1] Or, as we shall see later, on the representative of those who held the benefice under other conditions in past ages.

The agency of king or noble or free community invoked by the earliest episcopal missionaries involved provision for the maintenance of a church, as well as a grant of the land which, with its temenos or its graveyard, it occupied. This might conceivably take two forms; either the royal or noble donor, acting as the land-holding bishop in Gaul, might charge himself with the upkeep of the establishment as part of the budget of the estate in general, or he might set apart a certain patrimony attached to the church as an independent endowment in perpetuity. It needs hardly to be pointed out that here the interests of the proprietor and the ecclesiastical authorities came into conflict. To the proprietor, the erection of a Christian oratory on his land, perhaps close to his house, perhaps, as appears to have been the case in towns, as a part of the mansion, was merely the continuance of the custom of household worship well nigh universal in all religions. The private chapel in mansion or palace does actually become a recognized Christian institution, and as such will occupy our attention at a future time. It would seem natural to the land-holder who had perhaps in his pagan days in his establishment some provision for private 'sacra,' or to the men of a free community who had exercised their 'sacra gentilicia' in common—that the provision for the upkeep of the new sacra should be left in their own hands. The Church however, as if she divined from afar the coming conflict between the secular and the ecclesiastical forces, sought for a definite and permanent provision not dependent from time to time on the good will of local authorities, and succeeded very early in establishing a rule that any one who erected a chapel on his estate should endow it with a sufficiency for the maintenance of the ministrant in charge.

The fourth council of Orleans in 541 A.D. decreed that if any one had or desired to have a religious establishment on his estate, he must first sufficiently endow it with lands.[1] Care was also taken that it should not have too exclusively a private character, but should be, so far as its religious use extended, subject to the control of the bishop. Provision was also made as we shall presently learn, that the ministrations of the priest in charge should be for the benefit of all the people of the district and not for the domestic household only of the lord. The parishioners, for we may call them already by this later name, were taught to look from the first to the chapel of the local proprietor as the place where all their religious needs would be attended to, and would be prepared in return to make the usual contributions which all religions have received from their adherents.

Now appears one of the most remarkable features in the constitution of the rural church. The proprietor who had built and endowed the oratory was allowed himself to appoint the priest who was to minister therein. This is the institution of lay patronage which has proved of so great import in later ecclesiastical history. If the proprietor had been a mere instrument in the bishop's hands, supplying means for the establishment of a church for the general needs of the district but not personally concerned in the work, the probable arrangement would have been for the bishop to have put in one of his own clergy, just as he did into the churches he erected himself as proprietor on his own lands. Of Cedd we are told that he built churches in several places ordaining priests and deacons to assist him in the work of faith and the ministry of baptizing.[2] The bishop's familia increased, that is, in proportion to the churches under his care, and the distribution of his clergy among these would have been the natural arrangement. The arrangement which actually prevailed in churches founded on private lands, was for the proprietor to appoint; and this seems to show that these were at first more like domestic chapels than parish churches, and perhaps perpetuated to all appearance earlier domestic sacra attended to by a serf or freedman of the lord.

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[1] Conc. Aurel. iv, c. 33. Si quis in agro suo aut habet aut postulat habere dioecesim primum et terras ei deputet sufficienter, et clericos qui ibidem sua officia impleant.

[2] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, 22, in *Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. Plummer, Oxford, 1896.

So remarkable has this institution of lay patronage appeared to some eyes that a German writer Dr. Stutz[1] has tried to find in it a specially Teutonic fashion founded on the strong sense of individuality possessed by men of leading among the Frankish or Saxon tribes. It is however an institution quite independent of Teutonism and is already recognized in the sixth century in the Romano-Byzantine legislation of Justinian, in whose Novella[2] it is distinctly laid down that a proprietor who had built an oratory and made provision for the maintenance of ministrants, might select these ministrants and present them for ordination to the bishop, who should give effect to the selection provided those presented were worthy. It is clear that at an early date the Church had agreed to a compromise according to which the proprietor should appoint, while the Church stipulated that the holder of the post should be a fit person and should have fixity of tenure even against the proprietor. On this basis the constitution was established the working of which, with the action and reaction of the forces held therein at balance, makes up the after history of the parish. This history can be followed almost step by step in the acts of Councils and kindred documents which exist in great abundance, though it must be remembered in using these, that England is in point of time far behind Gaul in ecclesiastical chronology. It will be well to supply the reader first of all with a few more of the documents on which the foregoing sketch has been based.

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[1] *Die Eigenkirche*, Berlin, 1895.

[2] Εἴ τις εὐκτήριον οἶκον κατασκευάσει, καὶ βουληθείη ἐν αὐτῷ κληρικοὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ οἱ τούτου κληρονόμοι, εἰ τὰς δαπάνας αὐτοὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς χορηγοῦσι και ἀξίους ὀνομάσουσι, τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας χειροτονεῖσθαι. *Nov.* 123, c. xviii.

Εἴ τις οἰκοδομήσας ἐκκλησίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλως χορηγῶν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ λειτουργοῦσι σιτήσεις βούλοιτό τινας κληρικοὺς ἐγκαθιστᾶν αὐτῇ, μὴ εἶναι αὐτῷ παρρησίαν μηδεμίαν οὓς βούλεται κατ' ἐξουσίαν προσάγειν τῇ σῇ θεοφιλίᾳ, ἐφ' ᾧτε χειροτονεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκρίτως καὶ ἀνεξετάστως, ἀλλα . . . *Nov.* 57, c. ii.

That the Church recognized the founding of oratories in private domains at the end of the fourth century is shown by the Theodosian Code which refers to 'churches which have been established as the custom is on the possessions of individuals.'[1] She also took care they were not mere domestic chapels out of episcopal control. The exclusive power of the bishop to consecrate persons and things to the legitimate service of the Church has already been referred to as a fundamental fact of ecclesiastical history. Had this exclusive right been seriously questioned the disorders of the Church might have led to its ruin, and the whole system which is only now slowly yielding to intellectual forces might have fallen to pieces in premature disaster. As it was, the principle was never questioned that the sacrifice of the mass could only be performed by a consecrated priest at a consecrated altar, and this was the key to the situation. In the so-called *Excerptions of Archbishop Ecgbert of York*, a collection of rules and maxims from the reports of Councils, the writings of the Fathers, etc., that must be of post-Carolingian date,[2] we read 'that no priest venture to celebrate masses in private houses or other places, but only in consecrated churches.'[3] In the directions to archdeacons given by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims in 877 he forbids these 'to permit anyone to have in his house a chapel without episcopal license or without such permission to have masses celebrated in his private residence.'[4]

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[1] *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 2, 33. . . . [ecclesiis] quae in possessionibus ut assolet diversorum . . . sunt constitutae.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III, 415.

[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 102, ut nullus sacerdos in domibus vel aliis locis, nisi in ecclesiis dedicatis, celebrare missas audeat.

[4] Migne, cxxv, 802, nemo vestrum capellam alicui in domo sua habere concedat sine mea licentia.

If the bishop in virtue of his power of consecration kept his hold on the places of Christian ministry he maintained by the same means his control over the ministrant. Though he had delegated to the latter some of this power, for example in baptism or extreme unction, the rite in order to be valid had to be performed with a certain kind of perfumed oil called chrism, which was only efficacious when dispensed by the bishop. This the priest had to fetch for himself, and he was brought in this way periodically into touch with the bishop. It was part of his duty too to attend episcopal synods, while the bishop on his side went his periodical rounds (mentioned in Bede's letter to Ecgbert)[1] and in this way kept his eye on what was going on in all the churches of his diocese.

The priest thus acting always under the inspection of the bishop had been examined before consecration, for the English Council of Cloveshoe of 747 A.D. decreed that 'bishops are to admit no one of their clergy nor any monk to the sacred office of the priesthood, unless first they shall make thorough inquisition into the course of his past life and into his present character and conduct as well as his knowledge of the faith';[2] and had been ordained to a definite post, for the Council of Calcedon decreed in 451 A.D. that no one should be ordained as priest at large but only with the designation of the place to which he was ordained.[3] The priest was expected to act in all things for the good of the flock. The ministry of the Church in baptism and other sacraments he had in theory to dispense without payment, and all such duties were enjoined on him as would be regarded as incumbent on an efficient pastor of to-day. Dr. Hatch makes the suggestive observation that in all these early enactments about the ecclesiastical head of a parish, 'the sacerdotal idea is almost always in the background. He is not so much the "sacerdos" as the "rector"; he is said "plebi praeesse"; he is sent—not to administer the sacraments, but "ad regendum"; so also when a parish presbyter resigns his office he is said "ab ordine et titulo et *regimine plebis* se exuere."'[1] As the responsible ruler of his flock he is devoted to the public interest. It is remarkable how completely in all ecclesiastical notices he is envisaged as the minister of a congregation not a private chaplain, and when we come to deal with the activity of the church in relation to the life of the people we shall be surprised at the extent and the liberal character of his occupations.

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[1] *Op. Hist.* ed. Plummer, I, 408.

[2] Wilkins, ibid. I, 95, ut episcopi nullum de clericis seu monachis ad sacrum presbyteri gradum ordinent nisi prius ejus vitam, qualis extiterit, vel tunc quae morum probitas, ac scientia fidei existat, manifeste perquirant.

[3] Labbé, *Concilia,* VII, 415, nemo ordinationem recipiat nisi declaretur ei locus et sedes ubi resideat.

He had fixity of tenure, and this was held to mean that he was to look on himself as settled in his charge for life. He could not be removed at the arbitrary will of a patron, and he was not allowed to follow the dictates of his own vagrant fancy and move from one charge to another. Further provisions exhibit a still closer local connection between priest and office. The future ministrant in a village church was to have been brought up in the locality which he was to serve, for the above quoted rescript of the Theodosian Code goes on to say that in the case of churches on private estates or in other parts 'the clergy to be ordained are not to be chosen from some other estate or village but from that one where is the church they are to serve.'[2]

This provision that the priest was to be a known man, and was to remain fixed where he was placed, seems at first to have had a fiscal origin, but the Church gave it a social significance, and we find Pope Celestin I. in the fifth century forbidding bishops to ordain strangers 'not known to the people.' The bishops favoured the arrangement as helping them to maintain their hold over their clergy. The supply was to be kept up by an arrangement according to which 'all priests who are established in parishes . . . shall have as many young unmarried students (readers) as they can to live with them in the houses where they abide, and shall provide for them spiritual food like good fathers with psalms and holy reading and instruction in the law of the Lord, so that they may at the same time provide for themselves worthy successors and may receive eternal rewards from on high.[2] We have here a picture of the priest in charge of a parish surrounding himself with a familia similar on a small scale to that of the bishop in the Roman town or the Celtic monastery. This can hardly have been common, but the institution may well have existed in connection with wealthy churches. The title Archpriest comes into use in the seventh century on the Continent (though not in England) and seems to mark not the authority of one priest over others of a district so much as a sort of honorary rank accorded to priests in charge of important churches where such a staff of clergy and probationers may have been collected. For the support of a familia of the kind considerable means must have been available, and this introduces the question of the revenues of a parish church; while at the same time the evidence thus afforded of the existence of certain establishments obviously exceptional in their importance and activity leads us to inquire into the differences of kind or grade which may have existed among rural churches.

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[1] *Dict. Christ. Ant.* Art. 'Parish,' ad fin. Charles the Great in his Capitulare Ecclesiasticum of 789 bids his bishops exercise care in sending priests to the parishes 'ad regendum et ad prædicandum' Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Leg. 1, 66.

[2] ante, p. 305, clerici non ex alia possessione vel vico, sed ex eo ubi ecclesiam esse constituit, eatenus ordinentur.

In the laws of Æthelred and of Cnut[3] there is a valuable note giving a fourfold division of churches, which, it is explained, are 'not all equally worthy of worldly honour although all may have the same ecclesiastical consecration.' The following

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[1] *Les Paroisses Rurales*, p. 64.

[2] Concil. Vasense, III, 529 A.D. C. I.

[3] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 264, 283.

are the names in the Latin version of the laws:—(1) Principalis or primaria ecclesia, (2) mediocris ecclesia, (3) ecclesia adhuc minor, ubi parvum est ministerium, et coemiterium tamen, (4) templum campestre, ubi coemiterium non est. In the version of Cnut's laws known as *Instituta Cnuti*, a Norman scribe of the twelfth century has explained 'principalis ecclesia' by the words, 'sicut episcopatus et abbatiae' and 'mediocris ecclesia' by 'ut abbatiae et canonicatus,' but Dr. Liebermann has had the kindness to inform the writer that the glosses are of no authority, and that, in his opinion, the division of churches was never really effective, and would not have been recognized in the courts. It is clear however that the last class, or perhaps the two last, would correspond to the terms 'capella' or 'ecclesiola' which are used in Domesday and elsewhere in contrast to the more important 'ecclesia' or 'basilica.'

We have no concern here with the monastic church as such. Just as the monks as such stand outside the hierarchy,[1] so this stands outside any scheme of the hierarchical division of churches, for, as before observed, the monastery was in its idea not an ecclesiastical institution at all. It is the bishop's church with which we have to begin. That in England the bishop's church was also monastic is as we know already a peculiarity of our own country. It is as a bishop's church not as a church of the monks that it must in this place be regarded.

In the same way the suffragan churches may in some cases have been attached to religious houses and worked by monks, but we have already seen reason to believe that they were open from the first to the inhabitants of the district, for whom they would serve as parish churches. After the Danish desolation, which was felt most severely by monastic institutions, a good many local churches that had originally been served by monks were rebuilt or refitted as ordinary parish churches.

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[1] ante, p. 128.

This was notably the case at Brixworth in our Northamptonshire district. This was originally connected with a monastic establishment subsidiary to Peterborough, and was an aisled basilican church of ample proportions,[1] but like most similar establishments it was dismantled by the heathen and the monastic life was never restored. In the tenth century the church, curtailed of its aisles, was refitted as a parish church which it has remained ever since. Nor, again, did the fact that a church, without being actually the church of an abbey, was yet owned and served by monks, make any essential difference in its constitution and work. As we shall see later on, many of the parish churches in England passed at one time or another under monastic control though they did not on that account change their character. Hence we may ignore monasticism as an element in that differentiation of churches which is at the moment under consideration.

We have seen how the first episcopal mother-church colonized the country districts. When the suffragan shrine became an independent establishment, especially when well-endowed and served by a body of clergy and probationers, the same process might be repeated on a smaller scale, and the church of the arch-priest become in her turn a colonizing agency. As a monument of her success in evangelizing the surrounding district she might arrange for the erection of a chapel (capella) in some outlying region the distance of which rendered attendance on the parish church inconvenient. Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims in the ninth century wrote a tract *Upon Churches and Chapels* from which we learn a good deal about the subject. A 'succursale' such as the one just noted he describes as follows:—'Such a chapel should have round it a hedge and so much of a fore-court as could be used for burial purposes by those who are too poor to carry their dead a long distance (to the parish church). There should be at the spot a little tenement (corticula) where the priest can alight and put up his horse, and where a pensioner (matricularius) can have his abode.'[1] It is evident he contemplated that a chapel of the kind would be served by one of the parish clergy who went his rounds to the outlying districts just as an incumbent of a large and scattered parish goes his rounds to-day, but of course at times what we should call a curate in charge might be put in for regular administration.

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[1] Brixworth is fully described and illustrated in the succeeding volume.

It is interesting to note that a Saxon capella with a small graveyard, distinct from the parish church, is still in existence at Heysham, on the shore of Morecambe Bay in Lancashire. Heysham parish church, also apparently in part Saxon, is close at hand, so in this respect it does not accord with the capella mentioned by Hincmar. The plan, Fig. 25, shows the ruined chapel, and a few yards to the west of it there are graves cut in the flat surface of the rock each of which had a stone or cross at the head the sockets for which are seen in the plan. The graves do not seem earlier than about the thirteenth century but it may have been a place of interment in far older days. The dedication of the chapel to St. Patrick carries us back to quite primitive times, though the fabric of the ruin may not be so early.

The abundance of these capellae in the country in late Saxon times is attested by the frequent mention of them in the charters and in Domesday. In the year 903 King Edward son of Alfred grants to the New Minster at Winchester fifteen estates, on five of which there are churches, on the sixth, Cranborne, a capella.[2] In Domesday, chapels are mentioned in many places, but as the notices are accompanied at times with interesting details as to their fiscal position and relation to the churches, we will take them later, after a glance at the question of finance.

[1] Quoted by Imbart de la Tour, loc. cit. p. 167 note.

[2] *Cod. Dipl.* CCCXXXVI.

For the subject of these ecclesiolae is more complicated than has yet appeared. There existed, at any rate on the Continent, a kind of capella that was not the auxiliary but rather the rival of the parish church, and in connection with this we meet again the old conflict of interests between the lay proprietor and the Church.

The country church as we have come to know it, whether founded by the lord or by independent villagers, was constituted and worked for the benefit of the community at large, but the old idea of domestic sacra, and of the domestic priest as member of the household, seems still to have dwelt in the minds of the territorial lords. We find them accordingly desiring to erect near or in their own houses private chapels which should serve for the religious exercises of themselves and their retainers. In Gaul where, if we trust M. de la Tour, the important and well-served churches spoken of on page 308 were churches of the 'vici' rather than of the villae (that is of village communities rather than of private estates), there was a distinct place for domestic oratories of the kind. In England where the majority of parish churches seem to have been at first private foundations, and hence convenient for the lord's own use, the ground was not so open for such an innovation.

It must be remembered however, that in the district, often at first a very wide one, served by a quasi-parish church there was room for more than one proprietor of the gentle class. Domesday gives evidence of this. At Billing in Northamptonshire two holders, Thor and Suain, are mentioned in the days of Edward, and under Norman rule several proprietors held portions of the surrounding land. Hence though the original or principal local proprietor, of whom perhaps Thor was the representative, might have built the first church in a spot handy for his own residence, this need not have seemed so convenient to the other squire, Suain, a mile or two away across the fields.

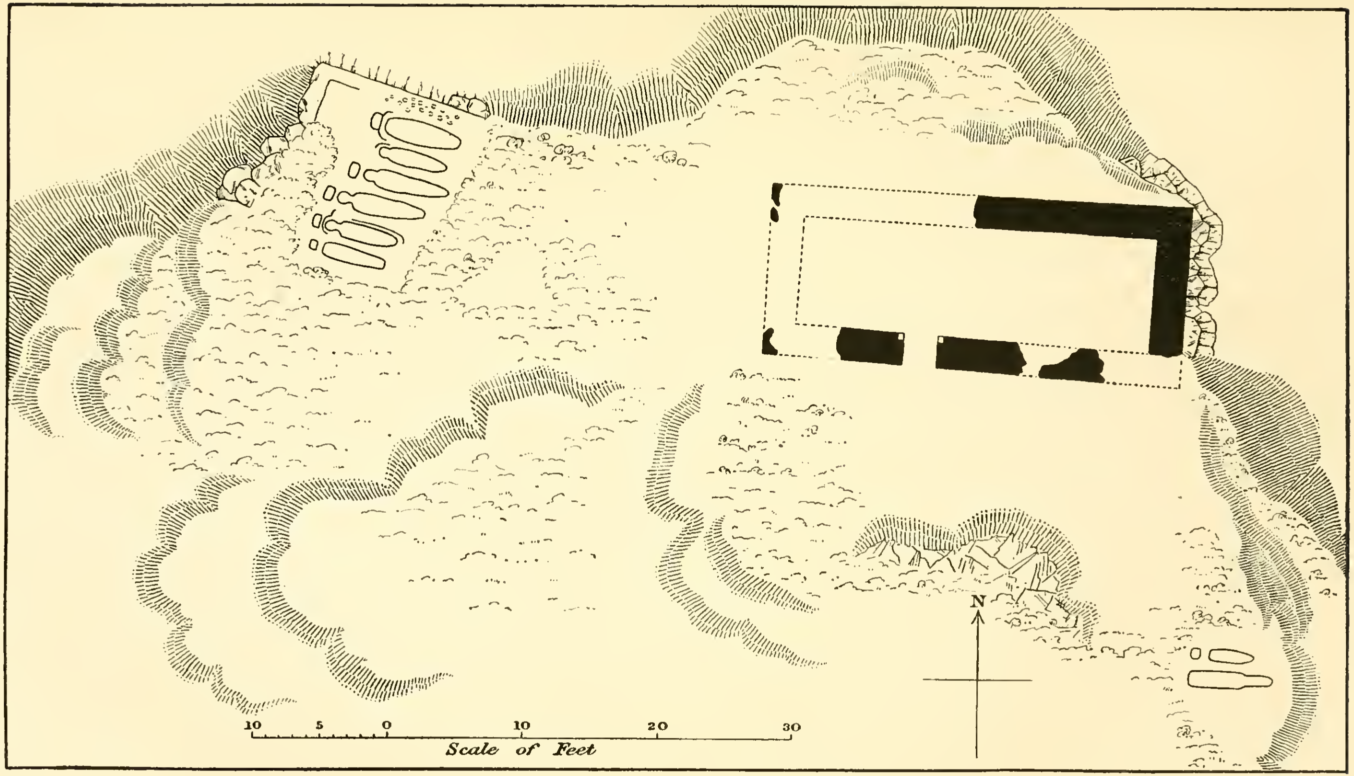
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FIG. 25.—Plan of Chapel and Graveyard at Heysham, Lancashire.

(To face p. 312.)

It would be natural therefore for the latter to wish for his own private oratory under the shadow of his own aula. This reason for erecting a private church was recognized at an early date by the Council of Agdé in 506. 'If any one outside the districts in which there is a regular meeting for service desire to have an oratory on his estate where he will have masses said, this we allow on the ground of saving fatigue to his family.'[1] Hence in England also the rival, as distinct from the merely subsidiary, chapel may have had a reason for its existence. We do as a fact find evidence in our records of a certain opposition between local churches, or churches and chapels, which may have originated in this fashion. So soon as a second chapel was built in the district of an existing church, either as a colony from that church or as a private oratory on an estate, the fiscal arrangements of the district or parish were in some measure modified, and we can only understand the situation when we regard it from the financial point of view. The following is in brief outline the early fiscal organization of the parish.

It has been noticed that when the territorial bishop at the first inception of the parish system built country churches on his own domains, he worked them from his centre in the civitas by the agency of the clergy already on his official staff; but when a local lord built an oratory on his private land he had to make a special provision for its upkeep. At first however the property thus secured to the church was held to be subject to the administration of the bishop of the civitas. This is expressly declared by the 2nd Council of Orleans in 511 A.D. 'Concerning those things which any of the faithful have offered to parishes, such as lands, vineyards, serfs or other property, let the provisions of the ancient canons be observed that all shall remain in the power of the bishop.'[2] The reference to ancient canons is more important than the prescription itself, for it is evidence that in early times the arrangement in question was general. In Bede's letter to Ecgbert, already so often referred to, he reminds his correspondent that though the people in the remoter districts of Northumbria were seldom honoured by an episcopal visitation, yet they had each and all of them to pay the bishop his pecuniary dues.[1] This business-like attention to revenue shows that there was already Church organization even in these remoter districts, and that the dues, which were probably what the Saxons called 'church-shot,' presently to be noticed, were at that time collected for the bishop and not for the local clergy. The bishop thus seised of the property had to keep it in trust for the particular church, and could not alienate it, though he might employ part of the revenue for general diocesan purposes. A suitable portion he assigned for the support of the priest and this received the name of 'beneficium,' a term which in the form 'benefice' is familiar to modern ears.

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[1] Conc. Agath. c. 21.

[2] *Concil. Aurel.* 1, 511 A.D., c. 15, de his quae parochiis in terris vineis mancipiis atque peculiis quicunque fideles obtulerint, antiquorum canonum statuta serventur, ut omnia in episcopi potestate consistant.

A very important change was now affected and seems to have come into force on the Continent by the end of the sixth century. The endowments ceased to belong to the bishop and became attached to the special church for which they had been originally granted. How this came about we do not clearly know. In 538 A.D. the third Council of Orleans, at the very place where not long before the proprietorship of the bishop had been so distinctly affirmed, expresses itself doubtfully, as if the two systems were contending for the mastery, 'Concerning the revenues of the parishes or churches in the country districts of the cities, let the custom of the several places be observed.'[2] On the reason for the change of policy, M. de la Tour shrewdly remarks that the generosity of donors would be exercised more freely if their gifts were appropriated to their own church, and to a saint who gave that church the interest of personality, than if they were merged in the general funds of the diocese.[1] Hence the local saint secured his patrimony, which in theory at any rate was from that time onward administered by the priest, as he administers it to-day, as his freehold.

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[1] *Op. Hist.* I, 410.

[2] *Concil. Aurel.* III, 538 A.D, c. 5, . . . singulorum locorum consuetudo servetur.

The property consisted first of all in a habitation which was not too remote from the church, 'bishops and priests are to have their habitations not far from the church,'[2] and next in lands with which might go their serf-cultivators. To the original donation could be added subsequent gifts of the same kind, including at times a 'dot' from the priest at his appointment, till the saint became a very large proprietor. Some of the inventories in donation charters convey this impression very strongly, though this may be due partly to the use of conventional high-sounding phrases. Thus in the days of Charles the Great a certain Bavarian priest makes a donation 'of an oratory together with its altars, and of residential buildings and their yards and outbuildings, with fields and woods, streams, mill-lades, and all moveable and immoveable appurtenances, together with slaves and handmaidens occupied there or serving in the house.'[3]

To this real property was added a considerable body of contributions from the side of the parishioners. Of these the tithe was the most important. This was really an enormous tax, and the fact that the payment of it has been all along resisted or evaded has made it a familiar subject of controversy. There is no mystery about tithe, which is a Jewish institution, adopted, like other Jewish institutions of doubtful benefit, by the Christian Church. The payment of tithes was apparently regarded at first as only a matter of pious duty, for Gregory of Tours tells us of a certain hermit of his day, the latter part of the sixth century, who announced evils impending for the sins of the times, amongst which he particularizes the non-payment of tithes—'non decimae dantur'[1]—and later as one of obligation. The tenth was supposed to be taken not only from all kinds of agricultural produce including the increase of cattle, but from the gains of commerce and trade, of the chase and the fishery, and even those of the workshop.[2] When we think what a war income-tax of a twentieth means to-day to a hard-working professional man, it is almost shocking to find a tenth of all the produce of human labour exacted in this way by the Church in addition to other dues ecclesiastical and secular. The Old Saxons, converted by Charles the Great, fiercely resisted the exaction of tithes, and Alcuin has some remarks on the subject which are worthy of attention.[3]

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[1] *Les par. rur.* p. 68.

[2] *Excerpt. Ecgb.* XXVI, Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 103.

[3] Meichelbeck, *Historia Frisingensis*, I^2, p. 83.

Next follow oblations of a regular kind on the altar in wine and bread and wax; those of a special order in the form of thankofferings, such as now survive in the shillings of poor women who come to be churched; and offerings of atonement. All these were in early days brought in kind. The church-shot mentioned above as probably the earliest of the dues levied on the people, consisted in first-fruits of the seed-harvest in the form of a sack of corn from every load, rendered at St. Martin's day, or Michaelmas.[4]

Somewhat different were the dues which became customary for the performance of rites and sacraments. In principle these were free. All parishioners had a right to gratuitous baptism and burial including a mass for the repose of the soul. In practice a thank-offering was proffered and was courteously accepted, and this became in time, in spite of some opposition from Councils, a matter of obligation.[5] Other more casual sources of revenue need not here be particularized.

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[1] *Historia Francorum*, vi, 6. See also references in Hauck, *K.G.D.* 1, 137.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, 1, 278.

[3] e.g *Ep.* 64, 67, 69.

[4] It is defined in Cnut's Declaration, 'in festivitate Sancti Martini primitiae seminum ad ecclesiam sub cujus parrochia quisque deget, quae Anglice ciricsceatt nominantur.' Liebermann, *Gesetze*, 1, 277.

[5] e.g. pecunia sepulchralis, 'soul-shot' was made obligatory by later Anglo-Saxon laws, e.g. of Æthelred and Cnut. ibid. 1, 265, 294.

The distribution of this revenue was a matter regulated by ecclesiastical law, and it was by no means all at the personal disposal of the priest. There were to begin with specific applications prescribed for certain funds, as when the revenue from a certain portion of land was to go for the lighting of the church, that from another for certain charitable purposes. In the disposition of the unappropriated income there appears in early times to have been no council of parishioners or representative of the patron to share responsibility with the incumbent, who seems to have made the required arrangements according to precedent or rule, to the satisfaction of the bishop or the archdeacon acting in his name. There were certain fixed regulations for division of revenue, but it is not quite certain how much of the total yield came up for partition. M. de la Tour thinks that the partition only applied to the regular offerings and the tithes; the revenue from the lands and the dues for sacraments, etc., with the first-fruits (church-shot) remaining the private income of the priest.[1] The scheme of division varied, the portions being sometimes three and sometimes four. Gregory the Great in a letter to Augustine speaks of a three-fold partition,[2] but Archbishop Agobard of Lyons, author of a tract on ecclesiastical administration dating early in the ninth century, states that the holy canons have prescribed as a charge on the revenues of the church the maintenance of the poor, the maintenance of the clergy, the maintenance of the church fabric, the maintenance of the bishop.[3] On this system a fourth of the tithes and offerings went to the bishop, the rest being expended for the benefit of the local church and its congregation.

All that large part of the Church revenue that came from periodical contributions such as tithes, or from baptismal and burial dues and the like, was paid in each case to some definite church, and the population that contributed to any particular church formed its parishioners. This justifies the statement already made that the parish is really of very ancient origin. Now if any considerable portion of these contributions were diverted to some other church or chapel the parish church suffered loss, and this was not a matter that its managers would let lightly pass.

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[1] *Les Paroisses Rurales*, p. 158.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* i. 27.

[3] *De Privil. et Jure Sacerd.* Migne, CIV, 240.

Here comes in the significance of the words in the above quoted law of Cnut about the possession by a subsidiary church of a graveyard,[1] as also of the common expression 'ecclesia baptismalis,' a church provided with a font. If baptism and burials took place in any other but the parish church, this last was deprived of the thank-offerings or dues given for the administration of the rite. This would not matter if the parish priest served in both places alike as would be the case in the remote chapel with its little graveyard described by Hincmar of Rheims, but it would make a difference when the oratory was separately served by a nominee of the proprietor who had built and endowed it. The proprietor himself and his own people would wish to make their contributions, especially in the form of tithes, to their special foundation and not to the church they had left, while they would prefer in the same way if practicable to have their children baptized and their dead laid to rest in the same locality. If this obtained, baptism and burial dues would go the same way as the tithe.

It needs hardly to be said that a subdivision of the originally large parish or district was inevitable, and this process must have been going on all through the Saxon period. A law ascribed to Edward the Confessor, comparing the country in the earliest Christian Saxon period with its condition in the middle of the eleventh century, notes that in many places there were then three or four churches where one had existed formerly.[2] Each necessary step in Church extension may have roused in some breasts the same sort of opposition as the division of the northern bishopric roused in the breast of Wilfrid.[1] When the step merely involved the winning of a new province for the faith, or the establishment of a daughter church in friendly union with the parent establishment, there was no real cause for jealousy, but this feeling was pardonable when the new church that took away part of the fees was a private foundation of a more or less rival kind. Echoes of these rivalries we trace in Anglo-Saxon laws, in Domesday and in other records of the epoch. For example a law of Edgar dating 959-962 lays it down that all tithes are to be paid to the mother church to which belongs the parish,[2] and early in the next century there is a prohibition in a law of Æthelred against transferring tithes or other possessions from the older churches to oratories newly constituted.[3] But on the other hand Edgar's laws go on to provide that a landowner who had a chapel with a graveyard on his estate might give a third of his tithes to this and two-thirds to the old church,[4] while if it have no graveyard he must give his full tithe to the old church and pay his own priest out of the other nine parts.[5] Some Domesday illustrations of the same state of things will be given later.

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[1] ante, p. 309.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, 1, 311. Multis enim in locis modo sunt tres vel quattuor ecclesiae ubi tunc temporis una tantum erat.

Putting the matter broadly, we may distinguish the two main classes, the ecclesiae and the capellae, and may subdivide the latter into the 'capella subjecta ecclesiae,' a formula of the records, in which case the ecclesia is sometimes qualified as 'mater,' and the capella or ecclesiola that was separately endowed and served. Either of these kinds of capella might have the privilege of a graveyard and font, and what was originally a capella or a capella subjecta might grow into a regularly constituted parish church. The relation between mother church and colony or subsidiary chapel is not confined to the early days of the Church. It is in fact a constant phenomenon in Church history down to our own time, when modern churches in large towns hive off in this manner to extend Christian operations among the masses. A good mediaeval example of the arrangement, that has survived to modern times, meets us in the case of the church of St. Kentigern at Crosthwaite by Derwentwater, which we have seen some reason to connect with the missionary labours of the saint in these mountain solitudes. Previous to the Reformation, this church, like so many others, was in monastic hands and belonged to Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, under which it was served by vicars appointed by the bishop of Carlisle.[1] It was then a sort of cathedral to the whole district, and was the mother church of several chapelries in the dales around. After the Reformation these chapels seem at first to have been served by 'dale readers,' answering to the mediaeval lectores, who were not in regular orders, and who lived from farm to farm and claimed 'whittle-gate and guse-gate'—that is a right to knife and fork, and geese on the common—but later on by priests who had each a vicarage situated in his charge. The churchyard at Crosthwaite was however the recognized place of sepulture for the dalesmen, so the chapels were not of a kind that provided for interments. The appointment to these chapels was in the hands of the vicar of Crosthwaite, and this piece of patronage in the case of some of them he still holds. Among them are Newlands, the dale leading from Derwentwater to Buttermere, Borrodale, Wythburn, and Thornthwaite. There are other instances of the same arrangement in this mountain district, and it is an interesting object lesson in that continuity of the institutions of the country upon which so much has already been said.[2]

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[1] ante, p. 174, note.

[2] Liebermann, *Gesetze* 1, 197.

[3] ibid. 1, 251.

[4] ibid. 1, 197.

[5] ibid. 1, 295.

The above may be taken as completing the sketch of the normal constitution of the Saxon parish, including the subsidiary ecclesiastical units dependent thereon. This constitution was not a mere matter of tacit agreement, but was, at any rate at times and on the Continent, the subject of a regular deed prepared and executed at the time of the dedication. In this would be set down the property and dues belonging to the church, the duties of the priest, and the prerogatives in the matter of the appointment belonging to the patron.

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[1] Introduction to the Lives of Kentigern, in *Historians of Scotland*, v. lxxxiv.

[2] Information kindly furnished by Canon Rawnsley, Vicar of Crosthwaite and Rural Dean of Keswick.

The best existing document of the kind, we learn from M. de la Tour, is one about a church at a place called Baltarga, in the Catalonian district of Spain, and dates from the year 890.[1] The church had originally been built by some local lord and he had made over some of his rights in it to a monastery. It appears in the act of dedication however as practically in the control of the parishioners. How this condition of affairs had come about we are not informed, but the record tells us that the bishop of the diocese was invited to the place by the parishioners (rogatus ab ipsis parochianis) with whom was acting the prior of the said monastery. He was requested to consecrate the church in honour of St. Andrew, and it was to be then and there handed over 'to the power of the said lord bishop and his see.' The parishioners, many of whose names are given, declare that they dedicate in perpetuity to the bishop's church at Baltarga (the newly consecrated church) land for a cemetery, the measurements of which are given. They endow the church with lands, fields, and vineyards, promise first-fruits, and two parts of the tithes, the third part going to the monastery, and add other gifts and oblations. The bishop on his part confirms to the church these gifts and marks out the limits of its territory or parish. Ardericus the priest is put in charge of the church and also of the church of St. Martin of Say to be under the rule of the church of St. Andrew of Baltarga, as a chapel in relation to its mother church. He had to take service at both, and it was afterwards arranged that he was to live half the year at Baltarga and the other half at St. Martin of Say, where there was evidently also a manse.

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[1] Acta Dedicationis Ecclesiae de Baltarga in Comitatu Ceritaniae. *Marca Hispanica*, Parisiis, 1688, p. 824.

We have now before us an institution that accords in the main with what we should deem fitting as the centre of Christian life for a rural community. The four persons or bodies that have a share in it possess rights and duties justly balanced and needing only moderation and unselfishness to secure their smooth and beneficial working, while the bias of all the regulations is in favour of the people. Perhaps no human institution fulfils in practice its highest aim, but allowing for inevitable drawbacks we may picture to ourselves in fairly pleasing colours the Christian life of rural England during the last portion of the seventh and greater part of the eighth century, when, as we have seen, it was not unmindful of learning and was ennobled by saintly careers.

The Danish invasions beginning in the last years of the eighth century broke in upon the paradisaical condition of rural Christianity. The blow was felt most severely by the monasteries, but the parish churches and indeed every institution of the Church shared in the common suffering, and in the laws of Æthelred there are regulations for special masses and collects to be used, apparently in conventual churches, 'contra paganos.'[1] Apart from the troubles with the Danes, it is a further question how far in England these churches were affected to their detriment by social movements that were at work on the Continent during the ninth and tenth centuries. The age which witnessed the breaking up of the Carolingian empire saw the substitution, for a strong central authority, of that system of personal relations between men of different grades of rank and power, known compendiously as feudalism. There was no organized government working from a centre, but in place of this everyone but the nominal sovereign owed allegiance to some superior from whom in return he expected protection. It was not a time when the small personage could maintain his independent status and property. Unless he were under the aegis of a powerful superior, he would fall an easy prey to turbulent and greedy neighbours. Now the position of the properly established and endowed parish priest was that of a small independent freeholder with his status and property secured to him by ecclesiastical and imperial laws. When these universal rescripts ceased to run effectively, the priest was driven by the force of circumstances to enter with his property into something like a feudal relation to a superior. Many churches with their endowments passed into the hands of monasteries. When the abbey of Ramsey was founded in the latter part of the tenth century one Gode a priest of Haliwelle assigned to it 'all the land which he held together with his church, after his own day,'[1] but this phase of church life, which became of greater importance at a later time, must be reserved for notice on another page. Not a few incumbents made their ecclesiastical position secure, though they forfeited independence, by commendation to a bishop.

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[1] Liebermann, I, 261.

A large amount of church patronage has all along been enjoyed by the bishops, and only a small amount of this belongs to them as the original founders and endowers of churches. The bishops were professionals in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and were always on the spot, so that any persons in control of churches who felt their position insecure, or whose secular business left them little leisure to look after churches, could hand these over once for all into the care of the bishop who was already their overseer. In England, as the bishop was so frequently the head of a community of monks, this often meant handing the church over to a monastery, but on the Continent this was not the case. Continental records of commendation to a bishop as head of the secular clergy of the diocese are abundant. The Bavarian document, already quoted as a proof that churches were sometimes built by parishioners in common,[2] is in form a charter of donation of the church to the bishop of Freising, and most of the other documents in the volume that contains it are of the same purport. In one, for instance, we learn that Tutilo, a priest and part-owner, with relatives, of a church which they had built on the family land, hands over the church to the see of Freising, after which 'I, Tutilo, received from the said bishop this same oratory for a benefice (in beneficium) for the days of my life.'[1]

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[1] *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, Rolls Series, No. 83, p. 85.

[2] ante, p. 288.

It was far more common however, for the priest to find his superior in the local lord. This is the most important phenomenon in the Church history of the later Carolingian time. The constitution of the village church already sketched was in this epoch broken up by the extension of the power of the lord over the church, its property, and its incumbent. It was natural enough that the lord, one of whose family had built and endowed the church and who, when the charge was vacant, still exercised the right of patronage, should have felt all along that the whole institution was still in a sense his property, and from the seventh century onwards we find the Councils contesting his claims at every point. The tendency of the times was however in his favour, and just as we have seen the lay-seigneur of a monastery appropriating the office of abbot, or Charles Martel's warriors invested with the name and appurtenances of bishops, so now we find the secular lord of a country parish assuming the title of priest or arch-priest and asserting in this most offensive fashion his practical supremacy.

As early as the Council of Paris in 615 it is forbidden to a priest 'to contemn his bishop and to betake himself to a prince or some of the great ones of the land,' or 'to choose for himself a patron,'[2] but in a Council supplementary to this one, while laymen are prohibited from assuming the office of arch-priest, the significant words are added 'save haply if there be such a one whom for his personal merits the bishop should deem necessary for the welfare of the church, in that without his protection the parishioners would not be able to maintain themselves.'[1] About half a century later this commendation of the priest to a secular lord appears to have received official sanction, though it was provided that it was only to take place with the consent of the bishop.[2] From this point the power of the lord grew unchecked, and under the later Carlings, with or without the consent of the bishop, he established with the church and its endowments the relation of feudal superior to dependent. This meant that the small local freeholder, for such the priest may be regarded, passed with his land under the control of the seigneur of the place, but was continued in his office as a sort of beneficium. The real property of the church which in some cases was very considerable was merged in the lord's own territory, and in the ninth and tenth centuries the latter went further and laid hands not only on the land, but on the tithe and the other dues and oblations to which the church had a claim.[3] A compromise was however effected, by which there was secured to the priest, so far as legislation could avail, one complete holding, a 'mansus integer' as it was termed, a sort of irreducible minimum or living wage, which the lord was to leave to him as his inalienable freehold, while a portion at any rate of tithes and other dues was similarly retained by the church. This mansus integer, which seems to have represented a fair holding, was first prescribed in an important Carolingian capitular of 818, and is frequently mentioned in later rescripts both in our own country and on the Continent. For the rest, the church and all belonging to it became the property of the lord, and was, with certain restrictions, dealt with as he would.

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[1] Meichelbeck, p. 81.

[2] Concil. Paris. v, c. 3.

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[1] Labbé, *Concilia*, x, 548.

[2] *Les Par. Rur.*, p. 194, note.

[3] Jonas, bishop of Orleans after 821 A.D., the successor of Theodulf the author of the *Ecclesiastical Constitutions*, in the second book of his treatise *de Institutione Laicali*, c. xix, discusses the abuses brought about by the assertion of lay power over churches.

M. Imbart de la Tour, who has brought together a mass of evidence to establish this state of things in late Carolingian times, draws a gloomy picture of the actual effect of this universal infeudation on the religious life and the institutions of the Church. 'One can then say in the eleventh century,' he writes, '*no church without its lord.* Like the bishopric, like the abbey, the parish now, once a community of pious souls, has become private property. As is the case with the land it can be sold, presented, exchanged, pledged, granted, feued out' (under various tenures), 'divided among several heirs,' while 'the superior, be it bishopric, abbey, or individual lord, has laid hands also on the patrimony and the revenues of the glebe and of the altar, on gifts, offerings, first-fruits, fees from the sacraments and from burial.' And again 'In this feudalized Church, the ancient ideas of equality, of common life, of fraternal relations, are greatly weakened. There is no longer a unity of the diocese. Like the country, like the kingdom, the primitive religious community has submitted to the general law that resolves society into fractional groups, into isolated atoms that ignore or contend with each other. If we examine all these churches of the eleventh century we find some in the hands of the bishop, others in those of a monastery, ruled at times by an archdeacon who is at any rate in orders, but at other times by a layman. The fabric itself no longer belongs to only one master. In this confusion of rights, this muddle of jurisdictions, one only thing survives, the common servitude, and the constant presence of an oppressive financial system that exploits religion, makes a profit of worship, and hands over the patrimony of God and of the poor to the greed of territorial lords.'[1]

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[1] *Les Paroisses Rurales*, pp. 349, 343.

In our own country before the Norman Conquest, though feudalism was not so far developed as on the Continent, yet the personal power of the great landowner supported by his private retainers was becoming an established phenomenon, and this suzerainty of the superior over the parish church is a fact to be reckoned with. It is worth while asking the question whether the passage just quoted agrees with what we have reason to believe was the state of things in England. Even for the Continent the picture may be drawn in too sombre colours, for it did not necessarily follow, because the church property was taken out of the control of the priest, that the church itself and the cultus of religion were neglected. It is obvious that the resources available for church purposes would remain the same whether they passed directly into the hands of the priest in charge or into those of the lord, and the latter was free to spend whatever portion of them he chose on the purposes for which they were designed. He might practically enslave the priest, and yet look after the substantial interests of the church itself. Agobard complains even in the Carolingian age of the indignities certain lords 'who fancied themselves to be somewhat' inflicted on the priests whom they had secured to serve their own private oratories.[1] When the central government broke up they extended as we have seen this sort of power over the parish priests, whose position had been once so independent, yet all the same these men were children of their time, and open to the powerful influences of religion which the Church could so well bring to bear on them. The Norman nobles in their own land bore an unenviable reputation for violence and rapacity, and a writer in the *Bulletin Monumental*[2] has collected a number of local surnames from records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries which have no very amiable sound.

Yet these very men were lavish in their religious foundations, and William of Jumièges writing of the Normandy of

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[1] Migne, CIV, 138.

[2] XVI, 375.

William's early rule notes that 'in those days . . . the servants of God were held by all men in the highest honour. Every one of the nobles vied with the others in building churches on his estate and endowing with his goods monks who should pray to God on his behalf.'[1] When these men came into the possession of their estates in England, though they may have kept the parish priests on short enough commons, yet they showed their interest in their churches by rebuilding them on an extensive scale throughout the length and breadth of the land. The earlier Norman churches at any rate must have been the work of the new lords of the soil ecclesiastical and lay. The architectural style of them is sufficient proof of this, and among these many notable ones such as Kippax near Leeds in Yorkshire, and Abinger in Surrey[2] were built on estates that were under lay proprietorship. The existing Norman churches of England are in themselves no small contribution to the outward apparatus of religion, and though the resources expended on them may originally have belonged to the parishes, the use of them for this purpose was a free-will act of the proprietors.

It must be remembered also that in the eleventh century, when this secular appropriation of Church property was at its height, the religious movement which was destined successfully to oppose it was already a power in western Europe. The famous Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII, represents the victorious reaction of the ecclesiastical against the secular power, but Gregory's work was prepared by the monastic reform which had begun in the tenth century under Cluny. All over the West the reform of the monastic houses led to a general quickening of the religious life in all its aspects, and though this may not have altered directly the economic position of the churches, it was inspiring the bounty of the great, and infusing new life into ecclesiastical ministrations.

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[1] Lib. VII, c. 22, in Duchesne, *Hist. Norm. Script.*, p. 278.

[2] *D.B.* I, 315 and I, 36.

In England the importation of the new ideas in the days of Edgar and Dunstan coincided with the cessation of the worst of the Danish troubles, and made the end of the tenth century a time of general religious revival which affected the country churches as well as the greater abbeys. The fact that by far the greater number, indeed almost all, of the surviving Saxon churches in England date from the period subsequent to this, may be taken as a tangible proof that the lords of Late Saxon as well as of Norman England had a care for the churches, of whose property in so many cases they stood seised.

For let us suppose a church the subject of a sale or a grant. So many of the Saxon charters in the great collections refer to such transactions that it is well to form as clear an idea as we can of what was really involved. The majority of the surviving documents of the kind are in favour of religious houses, but there was nothing to prevent one secular landowner conveying to another, in exchange or for some other consideration, an estate on which was an endowed and operative parish church. To adopt a convenient distinction familiar in Scotland, we may say that 'quoad temporalia' the church was dealt with like any other property, but 'quoad sacra' it remained after each transaction just what it was before. That is to say, the sacra or religious ministrations of which it was the scene were not themselves immediately affected by the change of ownership, though it made an important difference whether the new owners were secular persons or spiritual.

In the former case, when the new owners were laymen, the lord, though he might call himself arch-priest, could not perform any of the Christian mysteries, which still required the ministrations of a properly ordained cleric. Hence if the lord drove out the priest in charge, the ecclesiastical authorities could prevent his supplying himself with another, and could lay an embargo on those rites the value of which he could not ignore. Though he essayed to establish in his favour a power of dismissal as well as of appointment, the Church seems successfully to have resisted this encroachment. In the event of a change of masters, what the priest in office had chiefly to fear was a diminution of his mansus integer or that share of the tithes and oblations which still accrued to him. His ecclesiastical position would not as a rule be interfered with. After his day however, the existing lord would exercise his right of patronage, and there seems to have been a tendency, which the Church had carefully to watch, for the patron to put into vacant benefices freedmen or dependents of his own who would be completely subservient to his will. As far as the temporalities went, the sale or bequest would convey to the new owner all the old landed patrimony of the church, (over and above the priest's surviving mansus), and a considerable part of the tithes and other revenues. The latter would always remain in theory Church property though practically alienated, but it would be to the interest of the lord not to keep the landed property similarly ear-marked but to merge it in the rest of the domain. If he succeeded in this the alienation would be complete and permanent, but churchmen whose arms might be shortened had still long memories, and kept a note of the church's ancient patrimony, against a favourable moment for advancing a claim to its recovery. That land of the kind could still be known as Church property and could be identified and recovered we know from the evidence of a charter printed by Thorpe at page 442 of his *Diplomatarium.* Bishop Wulfstan, who held the see of Worcester both before and after the Conquest, records that certain land which belonged of right to the church at Westbury had been harassed and seized by laymen, but that he, by the aid of good men, had got back by legal process part of this land and had bought back part with his own money, till he had restored it all to the church.

In the latter case, when the new masters were spiritual persons, that is a bishop or monks, they seem equally with the lay-lord to have appropriated the major part of the old church patrimony and dues, but as they were capable themselves of carrying on the sacra of the establishment they would at times absorb also the remaining provision secured to the ministrant, and either work it by priests from their own familia or else put in a substitute who had to be content with what his superiors offered him. In the charter just quoted Wulfstan of Worcester arranges for the monastic house at Westbury which had been 'devastated by pirates' or as it is put elsewhere 'by evil men and vikings,' to get back its property, one item being the churches of Henbury and of Stoke, 'with all tithes, as well of land-produce as of cattle and flocks.' Properly speaking this tithe should have belonged to those parish churches, but the monastery now takes it all, the monks, or such of them as were in orders, no doubt attending to the services.

The condition of the parish is by this time of course greatly changed from the days when it represented a sort of imperium in imperio, sustaining itself with its constitution, its staff of officials, and its property, in independence of superiors ecclesiastical or lay. The position of the parish priest, as such, has in a worldly sense greatly declined, though, as we shall see, he is still at times a person of substance and position, and in any case a beneficent superior could be trusted to treat him becomingly.

The wills of Saxon nobles and ladies of which Thorpe published a selection in the *Diplomatarium* make frequent mention of priests in terms that imply a complete seigneural relation, but one involving kindliness and care for the material interests of the dependent. The term commonly used is 'mass-priest' implying a cleric in full orders such as would be in charge of a parish church. In 935 one Abba, a reeve, gives directions in his will that his heir shall distribute to every mass-priest within Kent a mancus of gold.[1] King Alfred leaves 50 pounds to mass-priests all over his realm.[2] In 970

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[1] *Diplomatarium*, p. 471.

[2] ibid. p. 490.

Ætherick leaves a hide of land at Bocking (in Essex) to the church for the priest who there serves God.[1] Æthelflæd, Queen of Eadmund I, in the first half of the tenth century, distributed legacies first to her kinsfolk, then to her reeve and her knight, and lastly 'to Alfwold my priest two hides in Donyland, to Æthelmær my priest two hides.'[2] Æthelstan Ætheling, son of Æthelred II, leaves abundant possessions, and among many other bequests we read 'and I give to Ælfwine, my mass-priest, the land at Harleston, and the cross-hilted sword that Wither owned; and my horse with my trappings,'[3] a bequest which implies in the recipient a gentle condition and some worldly means. Bishop Ælfric of Elmham gives 'to Ælfwig the priest the land at Roydon.'[4] In 1045 Leofgifu, a lady, makes gift 'to Godric, my reeve at Waldingfield, the thirty acres which I had before let to him, and to Ailric my household priest, and to Ailric, my knight, the land at Lalford . . . and let Ailric the priest have a hide at Forendale.'[5] One Thurstan at about the same date bequeaths land to more than one 'tunkirke' and gives 'to Alfwy the priest, and to Thurstan my household priest, and to Ordeh my household priest the possession' of certain lands.[6]

The expression 'household priest' need not, as we have seen, imply an oratory actually within a mansion, but it presupposes a very close relation between lord and cleric. On the whole therefore we may take it as probable that in the eleventh century the lay proprietors, who had possessed all along the patronage of churches, brought these churches more directly under their own control than they were before, and in many cases at any rate appropriated lands, tithes and other property that originally belonged to the churches, while other proprietors established domestic chapels under the lee of their own residences. At Deerhurst in Gloucestershire Earl Odda

[1] *Diplomatarium*, p. 517.
[2] ibid. p. 521.
[3] ibid. p. 560.
[4] ibid. p. 568.
[5] ibid. p. 571.
[6] ibid. p. 574.

built in 1054 a chapel which has actually come down to us.[1] It is of stone and for centuries past has formed part of a mediaeval grange. Did it originally stand in contiguity with a manor house of the Earl, or even form part of such a mansion? The Saxon house of the time was most probably of timber, but the capella may have stood close at hand and even within its grounds. One anecdote is often more effective in bringing a certain condition of affairs before the mind than pages of argument, and the following is instructive. Wulfstan of Worcester was going once to consecrate a church at a village by the Severn. He found that a certain nut-tree overshadowed the building and ordered it to be cut down. This was resisted by the patron on the ground that he was wont at times to feast or to play dice beneath its shade.[2] We may be pretty sure that the lord's house was in the immediate vicinity and that the cleric in charge of this oratory would answer to the title 'my household priest.'

What was, on the average, the worldly position of this disinherited village priest in the eleventh century? This is a question that has some architectural and a good deal of social interest, but it is not easy to answer. Here as heretofore it must be confessed, that to give the average in a matter of this kind requires more statistical knowledge than has at present been made available. All that can be said is that there were a certain number of priests who were men of substance. One instance is Gode of Haliwelle who in the tenth century held the advowson of his own church,[3] and the Domesday returns exhibit several cases of the kind which will presently be noticed, but we have no reason to regard them as representing the average. On the other hand there seem no grounds for supposing the clergy in general reduced to actual poverty.

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[1] The building is noticed in the succeeding volume.

[2] Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, etc., Rolls Series, No. 26/2, p. 71.

[3] ante, p. 323; 'advowson' is the right of presentation to a church.

The mansus integer if this were not a mere empty term, meant a proper provision for simple needs, though it seems a poor salvage from the fields and vineyards and orchards, the pasture and watercourses, the men-servants and maid-servants, which donation charters indicate as the original patrimony of well-endowed churches. Some of the country churches moreover were collegiate, served by a body of clerics and not merely by a single priest, and such institutions, which were more common in towns, must have disposed of comparatively large resources. The architectural question involved is the following. Many, perhaps most, of our surviving Saxon church towers possess on the first story an opening, more like a door than a window, looking into the church, and it has been suggested that the parish priest had his abode here, where he could watch over the safety of the holy things about the altar. It is far more likely that it was the sacrist who resided in the tower, and that the priest had his proper dwelling near to but not within the sacred edifice. He was not so far reduced as to retire into the church to find a place where he might lay his head.

All reference to Domesday evidence has been reserved to the last, as it will be interesting to see how far this bears out and illustrates the evidence that has been drawn from other sources. We have come to regard the village church of the eleventh century, whether it were an old parish church or a newer more domestic oratory, as the booty either of the local proprietor or of some religious house. The only other building of a public kind in the old village was, as we have seen, the mill. The mill brought in a regular average yearly revenue to its proprietor, and the mills which are constantly mentioned in the Survey, (there are a hundred and forty-eight in Sussex alone) have in nearly all counties their geldable value annexed to them. The mention of churches is on the other hand of the most casual kind, in some counties hundreds, in others only one or two, finding a place. The words 'ibi aecclesia' constitute in a large number of cases the sole notice, but sometimes an indication is given of geldable value. The exceptional number of two hundred and twenty-five churches in Norfolk have the amount of their glebe specified.[1] It is a curious fact that in this county the churches are valued and not the mills.

When a value is given to the churches the geldable property is as a rule small, but in the case of one church, Bosham in Sussex, which is still substantially to this day a Saxon edifice, the astonishing statement is made that in the days of King Edward it possessed a hundred and twelve hides of land. When one remembers that in the so-called 'Law of Promotion' five hides and a proper establishment were enough to give a man a claim to thegnhood,[2] this endowment for a parish church seems immense. It is significant however, that by the time of the Survey a good deal of this had been alienated, for it possessed then sixty-five hides only. Of the forty-seven hides which had disappeared we are informed that Hugh fitz Ranulph had appropriated thirty, while the other seventeen had gone to Ralph de Caisned.[3] The fact that a parish church could thus be deprived in summary fashion of real property bears out what has been said above of the loss by the churches of their original patrimony.

A glaring case of lay spoliation is given in connection with Horndon in Essex.[4] Some land here amounting to half a hide and thirty acres had been bestowed upon a certain church by one Aluric, a rich priest who held the manor in Saxon days, but Suen, no doubt the Norman whose castle not far off at Rayleigh we have already glanced at,[5] had taken it away from the church, 'Abstulit de ecclesia.'

Sir Henry Ellis thought that as the Survey concerned itself mainly with landed property, churches which had no land would be omitted,[6] and practically the same view is taken by the writers of two papers dealing with churches in Domesday, in the volumes entitled *Domesday Studies* published in connection with the Domesday celebrations of a few years ago.[1] Let us test this theory by the actual entries. It must be premised that Church land was as geldable as lay. A very large number of the Domesday estates, entered like all the rest from the standpoint of revenue, were in the hands of ecclesiastical bodies. In Dorset Mr. Eyton called attention to the fact that more land was held in that county by the Church than 'by all the barons and greater Feudalists combined,' her share with that of her vassals and dependents amounting to more than a third of the whole county.[2] In Wiltshire ecclesiastical bodies held fully two-thirds of the land.[3] This property, however, belonged to the sees and the greater abbeys both at home and abroad rather than to the parish churches. In the case of these last, we should expect to find those in possession of land entered like other holders of real property, and it is conceivable that the only churches of this order that still possessed relics of their landed patrimony are those mentioned in Domesday with their hidage or their values. The curiously unequal way in which the churches are distributed among the various counties seems, however, to preclude this explanation. Owing to the form of the entries, perfect exactitude in the enumeration of churches mentioned is not always possible, but the following is sufficiently instructive. Taking a few counties in alphabetical order, we find in Cambridgeshire 1 church, in Lincolnshire 222, in Middlesex 0, in Norfolk 243, in Northamptonshire 5, in Rutland 9, in Shropshire 4, in Suffolk 364,[4] in Warwickshire 1. It stands to reason that the property of churches cannot have varied to the extent these figures indicate in different counties, which like Suffolk and Cambridgeshire were sometimes contiguous, while the fact that so many churches are introduced in the phrase 'ibi aecclesia' without any reference to hides or acres seems to show that the theory under consideration is inadequate, and that it was not merely the possession of land that determined these entries. It does not seem to make any difference whether the respective places were at the time of the Survey in lay or ecclesiastical possession. Churches at the places are in each case mentioned or not mentioned in an apparently fortuitous manner.

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[1] Munford, *Domesday Book of Norfolk*, Lond. 1858, p. 91.

[2] ante, p. 46. [3] *D.B.* I, 17. [4] *D.B.* II, 42 b. [5] ante, p. 110.

[6] *Introduction to Domesday*, Lond. 1833, I, 239.

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[1] James Parker, M.A., on The Church in Domesday, *Domesday Studies*, Lond. 1888, II. 399, and Herbert J. Reid, F.S.A., on Parish Churches Omitted in the Survey, ibid. p. 432.

[2] *Analysis and Digest of the Dorset Survey*, Lond. 1878, p. 156.

[3] Herbert J. Reid, loc. cit. p. 435.

[4] Norfolk and Suffolk can hardly be so prolific merely because they are entered in the extended form of the Survey in *D.B.* vol. II, for Essex, which is in the same volume and is bigger than Suffolk, has only about 13 churches.

Some light would be thrown on this subject if it were possible to ascertain, independently of the Survey, what churches were in possession at the time of landed property. To some small extent this is possible, for there are pre-Conquest wills and charters which convey landed property to country churches, and a comparison of a list of those so endowed with the notices of churches in Domesday would be instructive. For example, among the Anglo-Saxon wills in Thorpe's *Diplomatarium* are some which have been noticed already as containing bequests to this or that 'tunkirke.' When there was time for the bequest to take effect before the great transfer of property at the Conquest, we may reasonably assume that the property so conveyed would remain in the possession of the church benefited at the time of the Survey. In the instances shown in the table facing next page, out of seven churches to which lands were bequeathed more than twenty years before the Conquest, only two are indicated as existing in the Survey.

Passing from the general problem of the fiscal position of the village churches in the Survey, we find that the entries usefully illustrate several of the points of detail already touched on in preceding pages. At Membrefelde in Shropshire the church of St. Gregory T.R.E.[1] was collegiate; it possessed eight hides and was served by eight canons;[1] that of Taceham, Berks, by two clerics who possessed three hides of land.[2] In Derby town there were two such establishments respectively with seven and six clerics.[3] The priest appears as a man of substance in several of the entries. For example at Selesburne in Hants Radfred priest possessed half a hide and the church,[4] Roger priest held a church in Wallingford,[5] Turold priest one at Hannei.[6] At Bastedene two priests held two churches with one hide both T.R.E. and at the time of the Survey. At Wanetinz one William a deacon held of the king a third part of the church, property in which as we have already seen could be subdivided.[7] All these four places are in Berkshire. Morcar priest held Leighton in Beds T.R.E. but it was in other hands at the time of the Survey.[8] At the royal manor of Britford in Wilts, near Salisbury, the church was held by Osborn priest with a hide of land,[9] and the entry is of interest because the nave of Britford church is still Saxon. At Aldeborne, Melchesham, Cumbe, Bromham,[10] in the same county, are well-to-do priests, and we meet with one also in Dorset.[11] An entry at Stanham, Hants, introduces a new piece of evidence. Here Richerius a cleric held the church of the manor together with two other churches near Southampton which belonged to that as a mother church. There was a hide of land available and all the tithes.[12]

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[1] Tempore Regis Edwardi, in the days of King Edward.

This relation of the mother church to the ecclesia subjecta, or of the ecclesia to the capella, underlies many of the Domesday entries. The subsidiary establishment has at times an endowment of its own and a share in tithes, and we learn by instances the fiscal result of the duplication of oratories in what was once a single parish. Thus at Wallope in Hants there was a church which possessed a hide of land and half the tithe of

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[1] *D.B.* i, 253.
[2] ibid. i, 56 b.
[3] ibid. i, 280.
[4] ibid. i, 38.
[5] ibid. i, 58.
[6] ibid. i, 60.
[7] ibid. i, 57.
[8] ibid. i, 209.
[9] ibid. i, 65.
[10] ibid. loc. cit.
[11] ibid. i, 76.
[12] ibid. i, 41 b, 'quae ad hanc aecclam matrem pertinent.'

ANALYSIS OF DOMESDAY INFORMATION ABOUT CERTAIN CHURCHES MENTIONED IN ANGLO-SAXON WILLS

Page in Thorpe	Date in Thorpe	Place Name in Will or Deed.	Terms of Bequest.	Name and Reference in Domesday.	Information about Church.
517	970	Boccinge, . .	'One hide which I give to the church for the priest who there serves God.'	Bochinges* 11, 8, Essex.	No church or priest mentioned.
563	1046	Stistede, . .	'I give to the church at Stistead . . . fifty acres.'	Stiesteda.* 11, 8, Essex.	No church or priest mentioned.
„	„	Sumerledetune, .	'To the church at S. sixteen acres of land and one acre of mead.'	Somerledetuna.† 11, 425 b, Suffolk.	No church or priest mentioned.
572	1045	Wetheringsete, .	'The land that Aylri has [after the day of him and his wife] [let it go] to the tun-church.'	Weringheseta.* 11, 384 b, Suffolk.	'Ecclesia xvi ac.'
574	„	Bromlege, . .	'The land at Bromley which shall go to the tun-church' [after the day of testator and his wife].	Brumlea.† 11, 40 b, Essex.	No church or priest mentioned.
„	„	Henham, . .	(Bequeaths) 'The land at Henham except half a hide which shall go to the church.'	Henha'.† Henham.† 11, 71, 101 Essex. 414 b, Suffolk.	No church or priest mentioned.
„	„	Dunmawe, . .	(Bequeaths) 'The land at Dunmow except a half hide that shall go to the church and a toft.'	Dommauua,† Essex, 11, 38b.	'Tenet ... 1 pbr. dim. hid. in elemosina.'
				11, 69, - - -	'1 pbr.'
				11, 27 b, 36 b, 46 b, 50, 55, 61, 61 b, 62.	No church or priest mentioned.

* Belonged to a religious house at date of Survey.

† In lay hands at date of Survey.

(To face p. 338.)

the manor and all the church-shot, as well as forty-six pence of the tithe of the villeins and half that of the fields. There was also a chapel, æcclesiola, to which belonged eight acres of the tithe.[1] Here there has come about a division of the revenues, but the mother church is fortunate in retaining so large a portion of the tithe, which is separately calculated on the demesne lands of the manor and on the lands farmed by villeins. For a church to have retained all its tithe would be something remarkable, though we are expressly told that at Bosham the clerics held the tithe of the church.[2] At Thina, Hants, also, the church had all the tithe of the place.[3]

A locus classicus on churches and chapels in Domesday is a long entry concerning Tornai in Suffolk.[4] Here was a church in Edward's time with an endowment in land. At the time of the Survey however, Hugh de Montfort, the new Norman lord, had taken some of this land for the benefit of a certain chapel which some of his retainers had constructed close to the churchyard of the mother church, on the plea apparently that the latter would not accommodate all the parishioners. We are told that the mother-church had possessed from time immemorial half the burial dues and a fourth part of the other thank-offerings (the rest of these, as we know was the case elsewhere with such dues, having been probably filched from it). No one seemed to know however whether the chapel had been consecrated or not, under which fact may lie some difficulty between the bishop and the lord. No comment is needed here, for the transaction merely illustrates the general statements already made. It explains too the plea urged in favour of another proprietor, the Saxon predecessor of a Norman lord in Derby and Notts, that 'without leave of any one he could erect a church for himself on his own land and in his own jurisdiction, and pay his tithe where he would.'[5] The withdrawal of the tithe from the old parish church was the chief fiscal result of these forms of church extension favoured by the great Saxon and Norman landowners.

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[1] *D.B.* I, 38 b.
[2] ibid. I, 17 b.
[3] ibid. I, 44.
[4] ibid, II, 281 b.
[5] ibid, I, 280.

With the Norman Conquest ends the period with which we are specially engaged. As it has been the aim of these chapters to exhibit the continuity which exists between the Church life of the oldest England and our own, a word or two must be said on the later constitutional history of the parish church.

The most important phenomenon of the century after the Conquest is the great extension of a practice, previously in vogue, of handing over churches to the control of religious houses. The churches were not given to the bishops as such, but to the monasteries, and we must regard the donation as a recognition on the part of the secular population of the religious activity of the monks, which had now everywhere been quickened by the movements of reform. The reputation of the monasteries stood at high-water mark soon after the establishment of the Cistercian sub-order of the Benedictines in the first half of the twelfth century. It became a custom in England for the lay patrons of livings to hand these over to the monasteries, who became patrons and owners of all the then existing church patrimony, other than the priest's holding. The new patrons could not legally turn out the priest in charge, but at the next vacancy the effect of the altered state of things was at once apparent. The community of monks as spiritual persons took possession of the church and of the manse alike, and charged themselves with the whole working of the institution. A distinction in terms that has hitherto been kept in the background must now be noticed. This is the familiar distinction between the 'rector' and the 'vicar' of a parish. A proper term as we have seen for the parish priest from the time of his first establishment was 'rector ecclesiae.' Many incumbents in the present day are still rectors of their churches, and in theory their position is the same as that of their remote ancestors of early Saxon times. They have, that is to say, the freehold of the church endowments or such portions of these as have escaped alienation. The incumbent whose title is vicar is now practically speaking in the same position, but he has at his back some history that is worth recording.

When a monastery was put in possession of a living it became rector as well as patron, and the members of the community who were in orders could take the services, all the produce of the mansus integer going of course to the general chest of the house. It might however be inconvenient for monastic rectors personally to serve churches at a considerable distance from their house (Crosthwaite by Derwentwater, for example, belonged to Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire), so they would put in a cleric, not one of their own body, as a substitute or 'vicarius.' Such a vicar however would not be entitled to the old heritage of the church, or even to that of the parish priest whom in a sense he represented, but would have to be content with whatever arrangement the convent entered into with him for his maintenance.

This condition of affairs lasted till the Reformation. On the suppression of the religious orders what took place? The property of the conventual houses, including the advowsons of their livings and the lands, tithes, and dues which they enjoyed as rectors of the churches, passed for the most part into the hands of laymen, who were sometimes representatives of the same families who had centuries before handed over their churches to the monks. These new owners were not merely reinstated as patrons, but also succeeded the monasteries in their rectorial capacity and became in their turn rectors of the churches, and holders of the aforesaid property in lands, tithes, and dues. The vicar who was serving the church for the monks continued to perform the same service for the lay-rectors, and this has gone on ever since, the Church having never recovered what she had lost, either in the ancient days of the original secular encroachment, or at the time when the monasteries became seised of the rectorial privileges.

The patronage of the church is accordingly again in the lay hands in which it was at first, and it gives us a vivid sense of the continuity of our English Church history to find Parliament, as representing the public spirit of the nation, carrying on to-day the same fight against the abuses of private patronage that was waged a millennium ago. As lately as the year 1898 a bill was passed to limit in certain respects the rights of the patron in respect to the advowson of his church.[1]

The patron of the church is as we have just seen in many cases also the lay-rector, these offices being naturally, though not of necessity, combined in a single person. This lay-rectorship is a characteristic English institution, quite indefensible, but like many others of the same order, part of a time-honoured social system that will probably endure for a good while to come. The rector, or the patron or other personage that holds the position of lay-rector, has one particular fiscal relation to the church, that dates from a time which is in other aspects also of importance in the history of the mediaeval church. The time referred to is the middle of the thirteenth century when some ecclesiastical documents, such as a rescript of Archbishop Walter Gray of York of 1250,[2] give a definite form to arrangements that had probably existed in practice for some time previously.

This was the apportionment of the responsibility for the upkeep of the fabric of the church between the holder of the living and the parishioners. A moment's retrospect must here be allowed.

At the very first, provision had been made for this upkeep, and a third (or a fourth) share of the church revenues, or of that part of them not derived from endowments, had been set apart for the purpose.[3] A special obligation on the incumbent is insisted on in the *Excerptions of Ecgbert*.[1] 'Ut unusquisque sacerdos,' it runs, 'ecclesiam suam omni diligentia aedificet,'[2] 'let each priest give all due attention to the fabric of his church.'

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[1] 'On the report stage of the Benefices (No. 2) Bill, the Earl of Selborne moved a provision that anyone who offered a right of patronage for sale by auction . . . should be liable . . . to a fine not exceeding £100. This was agreed to.' Daily Journals, July 23, 1898.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, 1, 698.

[3] ante, p. 317.

A law of King Eadmund near the middle of the tenth century enjoins on the bishops the duty of rebuilding the churches of God on their own estates. The bishops seem to be addressed here as patrons of churches, not in their episcopal capacity as overseers of others, for the work was to be done by each bishop 'in suo proprio.'[3] We do not however find the duties of patrons on the whole much insisted on in the documents, though reference may be made to the second canon of the ninth Council of Toulouse, in 655 A.D., which seems to expect the patrons of rural churches, 'ecclesiae parochiales,' to charge themselves with the preservation of the fabrics. In our own country there are signs of special efforts made from time to time in church restoration. One of the dooms of Cnut seems to reflect the solicitude of the king for the restoration of the churches which his father Swein had wasted with fire and sword. In its Latin form it runs 'ad refectionem ecclesiae debet omnis populus secundum rectum subvenire' 'for the repair of the church all the folk should lend such assistance as is meet.'[4] This represented no doubt an incidental movement in which all classes joined, and not a perpetual charge on the commonalty. That the people, as distinct from the ecclesiastical authorities, recognized in some parts a duty towards the upkeep of their church is proved by a deed of 902 showing that at Ebbesborne, probably in Wilts, land was held on the condition, inter alia, that the tenants 'every year contribute to the repair of the church which belongs to the land in the proportion which other folk do, each according to the condition of his land.'[1]

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[1] ante, p. 305.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 102.

[3] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 187. He translates the words 'auf seinem Eigengut'; *i.e.* the 'proprium' in his view is not the bishop's diocese but his landed property.

[4] ibid. I, 253.

It was no doubt the case that in the later Saxon and Norman periods, when the resources of the churches were reduced, and the 'third share' can hardly have retained substantial existence, repairs were effected or not, or were well or meagrely carried out, just as circumstances allowed, the incumbent, the patron, the parishioners all sharing in the obligation, but often perhaps shifting it about from the one to the other. The arrangement indicated in the rescript of Archbishop Gray referred to above was intended to put matters on a more regular footing. The patron is not mentioned, but the other two bodies, the rector or vicar and the parishioners, are to divide the work of upkeep and the provision of the apparatus of the cult, on a certain scheme, the most important provision of which is that the former has to repair the chancel of the church and the parishioners the nave. This arrangement is of course open to the objection that it is unhistorical, and that it tends to divide into two parts the fabric of the church which should be one and indivisible. It was however a convenient compromise, and has justified itself by long continuance for it is perpetuated in the church customs of to-day.[2]

On the other side the fixed obligation now laid on the parishioners rendered necessary on their part some new organization. It seems likely that the institution of Churchwardens, who are first heard of in the fourteenth century, grew up to meet the requirements of the situation.[3] They were officers elected by the parish, to represent both bodies, the incumbent and the people, in all matters of business, and it was one of the most important parts of their duty to look after the repairs of the fabric. From this time onwards the constitutional history of the parish has to take account of this new factor, which was as important in pre-Reformation as it has been in more modern times. According to the Canons of the Church of England promulgated in 1604, the wardens are to be appointed for a year only (they are open to re-election) by incumbent and people in common, but if these shall not agree, then one is to be chosen by the minister and the other by the parishioners. This last alternative, though open to the same objection as was noticed above that it seems to divide what should be a unity, is the regular modern arrangement. At the close of their year of office the wardens are to render an account to the minister and parishioners of all sums they may have received or expended either for reparation or other church purposes, and transfer to their successors anything remaining in their hands.

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[1] Thorpe, *Diplom.* 151; Birch, *Cart. Sax.* No. 599.

[2] With the difference that whereas in the thirteenth century the vicar was under the same obligation as the rector, it appears now to be only the latter, whether clerical or lay, that has to keep the chancel in repair.

[3] Makower, *Die Verfassung der Kirche von England*, Berlin, 1894, p. 359.

The appearance of these regularly elected representatives gives a solidity to the life of the parish, which has from henceforth in its centre a stable institution recognized by the law. Round this have revolved in all the later ages of the church the social and religious activities of the place, which in their earlier manifestations will be discussed in the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE VILLAGE CHURCH IN ITS RELATION TO THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

THE constitution of the country parish in the oldest England was studied in the last chapter. Sensible and promising as this constitution appeared, its working was by no means uninterrupted, and many of the preceding pages have dealt with its practical violation by the encroachments of the great, or by the surrender of the independence of the church in favour of some bishop or monastery. The primitive arrangements themselves may have faded from the reader's mind as a dream-like dawn fades with its ideal suggestion before the realities of the full light of day. The parish priest as 'rector ecclesiae,' who 'plebi praeest,' 'is over the people,'[1] and as independent freeholder dispenses the goods of the church for the benefit of the flock at large, is a different figure from the mere retainer at the beck and call of local lords who have filled their barns with the church's tithe. If the latter personage represent the hard fact of mediaeval times, why dwell, some may ask, on the more shadowy lineaments of the other?

Hereto it may be answered that this mediaeval conception, of the working together in harmony for the good of the people of all the powers concerned about the church, however visionary at certain epochs it may have seemed, is for us of far more than merely historical interest, for in our own time it has become actualized as the fundamental principle of all the best

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[1] ante, p. 307.

Church work of the day. Except that old ecclesiastical property now in lay hands is not used so much as it might be for the practical benefit of the community, all the ideas and agencies which we meet with in the earliest period of English Christianity are the ideas and agencies of the Broad Church revival of the nineteenth century. For a century past the parish priest has resumed the social status he was to have had from the first, but which during a large part of English Church history he appears to have lost. Now again an effort is made to provide in the church a centre for the interests, other than those strictly religious, of the people. The energetic young Oxford or Cambridge vicar and curate have before their minds just the same sort of ideal of church life, in which education, charity and recreation are as important in their way as services, that we find embodied in the legislation of a Theodulf or a Hincmar.

Even in the time of these saintly legislators there was something more involved than a mere piece of vague idealizing. The mediaeval conceptions which they voiced were not only 'in the air.' It is not likely that these broad and enlightened ideas would have found expression in Acts of Councils and Capitularies if there had been no reasonable prospect of their fulfilment. Neither the greater Carolingian princes nor the bishops of their sees; neither our own Alfred or Edgar or Cnut nor the Theodores and Ecgberts and Dunstans of the English Church, were men who merely dreamed. We must accept their enactments as representing indeed a high ideal, but at the same time one that they conceived to be practicable in their own time and circumstances, and this gives a certain substance to the ideas and principles which entitles them to serious treatment.

We will therefore suppose that the constitution already studied is working smoothly, all parties fulfilling up to a reasonable standard their respective obligations, while the whole machinery is subservient to the best interests of the mass of the population, and will go on to inquire what sort of place under these conditions the church and its ministrations occupied in the daily life of the people.

It will be sufficient to indicate some of the chief points of contact between the life of the parishioner and his church, at different epochs from his baptism to his burial.

The rite of baptism was regarded as essential to salvation, and while in the mission period it was administered to adults, in communities already Christian it was from an early date imparted to infants. In cases of grievous necessity anyone could perform the rite, but it was in theory the duty of the bishop. As regards the place and manner of the ceremony, baptism by immersion of the whole body denuded of raiment was the traditional rule and practice, and a river or spring or even the sea might serve for the purpose. The well-known mural painting by Masaccio of St. Peter baptizing in a stream[1] gives a good idea of such an al fresco rite, and enables us to realize a little those scenes of stir and enthusiasm of which Bede has left a record, when Paulinus baptized the heathen folk all day long in the Glen or the Swale, or in the presence of king Edwin immersed Deda's friend with a great number of the people in some backwater of the Trent near Lincoln.[2] Bede however tells us that Augustine performed the rite in the church of St. Martin, Canterbury, and that Paulinus baptized Edwin in the wooden church at York. The historian gives us to understand that the baptism in streams was due to the fact that at the time no churches or 'baptisteria' could have been built (poterant aedificari) in the northern parts of Northumbria. What did Bede mean by baptisteria? A brief digression may be permitted here on the archaeology of baptism.

In Italy the original connection of the rite with the personal agency of the bishop led to the establishment in each civitas of one place set apart for its administration — the familiar round or octagonal baptistry that stands near the bishops' churches in the cities of the peninsula. At Rome

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[1] In the church of the Carmine at Florence.

[2] *H.E.* ii, 16.

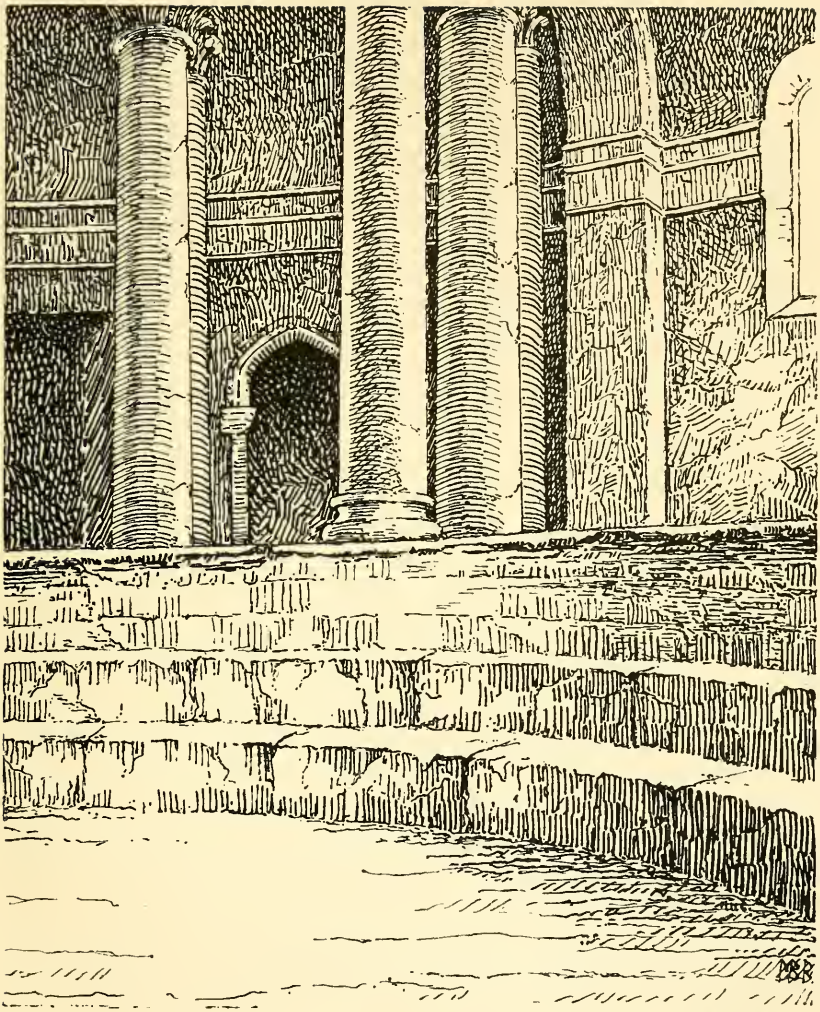

Fig. 26.—Early Christian Baptistry at Nocera, Southern Italy, showing the large central lavacrum.

(To face p. 348.)

itself the basilica of the Lateran, the real bishop's church of the city, has by its side the city baptistry, and at some of the Italian towns such as Parma the one baptistry has served till this day for the immersion of all the city's children. The most interesting of the Italian baptistries is probably the one at Nocera dei Pagani near Salerno. In this beautiful little domed building, probably of the early part of the fifth century,[1] the central 'lavacrum' is about sixteen feet across, and could well serve for the full immersion of adults. Some of the columns around it, that supported a canopy and probably curtains, are still standing and are seen in the interior view across the broad lavacrum in Fig. 26. The baptism of female converts created an embarrassing situation which was saved by the use round such a lavacrum of veiling draperies, through or over which the bishop laid his hands on the candidates.[2] It was noticed before[3] that the liberal employment of these hangings, which were often beautiful specimens of the textile craft, is an important artistic fact of the times.

Distinct buildings of this kind for the rite are comparatively rare north of the Alps, but there are several in Gaul, especially in its southern regions as at Aix, Fréjus, Albenga. A special architectural adjunct to a church is sometimes constructed for the purpose. An interesting example of the lavacrum still in situ was found at the restoration in 1861 of the early village church at Civray-sur-Cher, near Chenonceaux in Touraine, but it was unfortunately not left visible. The baptistry had been formed by prolonging the side walls of the nave for about twelve feet. It was entered by a western door and another central door led from it into the church.[4] A more common arrangement was to screen off a special part of an ordinary church interior. It is said that the first known instance of baptism in an ordinary church is that of Clovis, the traditional scene of which is the cathedral at Rheims,[1] and there, as Gregory of Tours informs us, a baptistry was constituted by screens of embroidered hangings, within which a lavacrum was prepared.[2] Later French sculpture, as on the west front at Rheims, represented the Frankish monarch as standing meekly in a sort of tub which only takes him in up to his middle. A lavacrum big enough for adult immersion may have been prepared at Rheims, but it is difficult to see how such a thing can have been conveniently established in small and temporary churches like St. Martin, Canterbury, and the timber church at York.

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[1] Mothes, *die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien*, Jena, 1884, p. 133.

[2] Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Alterthümer*, art. 'Taufkirche.'

[3] ante, p. 4.

[4] *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Touraine*, vol. 1, Tours, 1869, p. 82.

A permanent lavacrum within a church appears on the Plan of St. Gall of 820 A.D. It stands in the nave towards the western end partly enclosed with barriers, and seems to have been about five feet across.

In Saxon England special buildings for the performance of this rite were certainly contemplated, as we have just seen by the reference in Bede, but to what extent they existed as distinct structures it is hard to say. A baptistry close to the cathedral at Canterbury, but separate from it, was built in the middle of the eighth century by Archbishop Cuthbert[3] and Dunstan erected at Glastonbury a square building dedicated to St. John Baptist that had probably the same intention.[4] There are certain structural indications at the western end of some of our Saxon churches that may be explained by the previous existence of adjuncts or divisions like those above referred to, while of much later date we possess at Luton, Bedfordshire, a beautiful enclosure and canopy of

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[1] Kraus, loc. cit.

[2] *Historia Francorum*, ii, 31.

[3] fecit Ecclesiam in orientali parte majoris Ecclesiae eidem pene contiguam; eamque in honorem beati Johannis Baptistae solenniter dedicavit. Edmer, *Vita S. Bregwini*, quoted by Professor Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Lond. 1845, p. 2.

[4] *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, Rolls Series, No. 63, p. 48.

14th century stonework within which stands the font, and a similar erection in carved woodwork of the Perpendicular style in the church of Trunch, Norfolk. The usual arrangement of course is for a font to stand unenclosed somewhere at the western or entrance end of the church, as fits the apparatus of a rite concerning those entering Christianity. It has generally a cover, and this in mediaeval times, when it was often a beautiful piece of carved woodwork, was kept locked to prevent the consecrated water being purloined for sacrilegious purposes. Fonts of this kind some of which, notably that at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, go back to Saxon times are fit for the immersion of infants only, and whereever Æthelberht and Coifi were immersed it certainly cannot have been in the fonts shown now at St. Martin, Canterbury, and Goodmanham, Yorkshire. After the first age of conversion the rite was always administered to infants, and that immersion was obligatory we can infer from the eleventh canon of the English Synod of Celichyth, in 816, which prescribes that priests are not merely to pour the holy water over the heads of the infants, but that these are always to be plunged in the font.[1]

In or over these receptacles the children of the English parishes have for a dozen centuries been formally admitted into the privileges of Christianity. Though as we have just seen it was the bishop who in theory should administer the rite, in practice the parish priest baptized the children of his congregation as the bishop's representative, while the latter kept his part, in that an after portion of the rite, known even before the time of Bede as 'confirmation,'[2] could be performed by himself alone, while an essential part even of that delegated to the priest required the use of a special chrism, the supply of which was an episcopal monopoly. Through this arrangement the bishop retained his hold on the priest, while the episcopal confirmation kept him in personal touch with the whole flock of the diocese. A baptismal offering, though in theory against Church regulations, became in time a recognized part of the priest's dues, and, as we have seen, the pecuniary element thus introduced rendered the possession of a font a source of revenue to a church.

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 171.

[2] Eddius, *Vita Wilfridi*, c. xviii.

The fiscal distinction between the church with font and graveyard and the mere capella has already been illustrated. Here it is the social importance of the distinction that calls for notice. The font and the graveyard were not mere appliances, but elements both intimate and sacred in the domestic life of the people. Every scion of the Christian community had an appointed font and an appointed graveyard.[1] To these the parishioners were borne in swaddling clothes or on their bier at the beginning and end of their earthly race. The church to which these were attached was their parish church, and was as much a part of their personal life as their own homestead. They had free access to the building at proper times as a matter of right, while the dues which in various connections they paid were part of the revenues of this particular church and could not properly be diverted otherwhere.

To the church would toddle the growing child for its schooling. Do we sufficiently recognize the connection of the parish church with education? If, as we have seen, first the monasteries and then at a later date the canonical houses, from which have grown the scholastic establishments of more modern times, were the storehouses of ancient and the nurseries of Christian learning, it must not be forgotten that the parish church had its place also in mediaeval education, and that both elementary schooling and more advanced training for the priesthood were provided for under the care of the parish priest. The exact nature of the instruction offered does not concern us. Like education at all other periods it answered to the intellectual ideals of its time, and it is not to the point to inveigh against the middle ages, as was once the fashion, because they were not illumined by the torch of modern science. The question of religious instruction at any rate was solved by everyone having to learn the Pater Noster and the Credo.

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[1] In the Welsh laws ascribed to Howell the Good, a woman is to take an oath 'in the church where her burying-place is.' Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, I, 261.

The following ordinance of Carolingian date is due to Theodulf, bishop of Orleans at the close of the eighth century.[1] 'Priests should always have in their houses schools with teachers, and if any one of the faithful desire to intrust his children to them for instruction they should receive such gladly. . . . Nevertheless they should not look for any reward from the relatives of the children save only what these desire to give of their own good will.'[2]

The higher school for the religious life that was to be maintained in the larger clergy houses has already been noticed.[3] This was to provide fitting successors in the office of parish priest and also qualified assistants in the minor clerical offices, including, as we may judge from the last quotation, that of school teacher. The institution, that is, was for the benefit of the secular clergy, but besides this there was the monastic school for those intending to follow the regular life. The monasteries would also at times undertake the primary instruction which was normally in the hands of the parish priest, for on the Plan of St. Gall there is an outer school for the people of the district and an inner school for novices. The distinction between primary schooling for all, by whomsoever given, and an advanced professional education, was at any rate recognized. The following phrases notice both kinds of instruction. 'When children have been baptized some are sent to the school and given over by their parents to Christ to be the future priests and servants of Christ, but others are only so far imbued with learning that they may know Christ and ultimately take to themselves wives with the Church's blessing.' In an instructive rescript parents are bidden to give their children to school either to the monasteries or to daily school with the priests, for the words 'filios suos donant ad scholam, sive ad monasteria, sive foras presbyteris' seem to point to the distinction between residence for education in the monastery and the daily going 'out from home' to the priest of the village.[1]

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[1] There exists an Anglo-Saxon translation of Theodulf's 'Capitula' dated c. 995 A.D., so they were known in England.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 276.

[3] ante, p. 308.

The educational functions of the latter are not, however, yet exhausted. In an ecclesiastical law ascribed to king Edgar we learn with some surprise that 'every priest is to teach manual arts with diligence.' In this bishop Stubbs discerned the influence of that mighty craftsman Dunstan, who was as effective with the tongs as with the Bible,[2] but it is more likely that, as other references show, the precept was due to a general desire, which is not yet extinguished, to combat 'loafing' and idleness among the village folk.

'Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do'

is only a paraphrase of a sentence in Theodulf, and the truth of the aphorism was recognized by churchmen at large. Now the monk as we know was past master in the artistic crafts of the day, but the place of the parish priest in the history of the arts has not yet been fixed. One bit of workmanship from his hand readers will be glad to have brought before them, especially as it comes in the shape of one of the most interesting of Saxon lapidary inscriptions. Fig. 27 exhibits a sun-dial with inscriptions that is set in the wall over the south door of Kirkdale church, Yorkshire. It offers a fairly readable specimen of Old English of the middle of the eleventh century. The Saxon lettering and modern reading are printed below the facsimile. The historical persons mentioned are well known, and the date must fall between the years 1055 and 1065. The information conveyed by the inscription is of obvious ecclesiological interest. The original foundation of the church, which has a significant Roman dedication, may go back to a very early period. We know that Paulinus penetrated into the moors and glens of Yorkshire and Northumberland, and the religious associations of the romantic spot where Kirkdale church now stands may be connected with the earliest days of Saxon Christianity. The church is at the mouth of a glen that runs up into the heart of the moorland district of the North Riding, and is on a site very suitable for an early mission station. The original church, whenever it was built, was no doubt burned by the Danes, and remained 'to broken' and 'to fallen' for a couple of hundred years, till Orm bought the site and rebuilt it in the middle of the eleventh century. The existing nave, as is proved by the western door and the jambs of the chancel arch, is his work. The north aisle, the chancel, the western tower, and south porch are of later date. The inscription may be taken as evidence that Orm put two priests in charge.

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[1] Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II, 176.

[2] *Memorials of St Dunstan*, p. cvi.

For the immediate purpose of this chapter what concerns us chiefly is the fact that two priests, Hawarth and Brand by name, cut the inscription if they did not fashion the stone, and like many an amateur craftsman of more recent date they did not space out the lettering quite judiciously, for this gets very crowded in the second half.[1] How far in general the brethren of Hawarth and Brand went in their chipping, hammering, or illumination we cannot tell, but at any rate here is a good Saxon precedent for the wood-carving, leather-work, and tinkering of metals, that in these days of Home Industries emanate from so many country rectories.

[1] The stone is not all on one plane, but the two side panels with the main inscription, as well as the part outside the semicircle where the dial with its lettering is placed, is sunk to a depth of about half an inch, so the stone was expressly shaped for what it had to carry, and was probably prepared by the inscribers. Points are used between many of the words but not in every case, and published copies of the inscription are not all in this matter accurate. The form of the crosses in the lowest line should be noticed. There is no trace of the 'swastika' pattern which some have seen in them. For the expression 'to-broken' a parallel can be found in the Book of Judges ix. 53, 'and all to brake his scull.' The 'to' here is equivalent to the German 'zer' meaning 'asunder' or 'in pieces' as in 'zerbrochen,' or to the Latin 'dis,' as in 'disjunctum.'

For the interpretation of the inscription, as well as for valuable assistance in connection with other quotations from Old English in these volumes, the writer is much indebted to the kindness of Mr. G. Gregory Smith, as well as to Professor Napier. The only parts of the inscription that offer linguistic problems are those contained within the semicircle of the sun-dial. The word 'solmerca' in the top line appears to be a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον but Mr. Gregory Smith notes that the Lindisfarne text of Mark xii. 16 has 'Onmerca,' glossed 'inscribtio' (our text, 'superscription'), in the sense of 'mearc' 'merc,' a mark or sign or 'character,' made or burned in anything. Hence the compound in the inscription must mean the 'sun-marking.' The line round the lower border of the dial presents difficulties. It is to be translated 'at every hour,' but 'ilcum' is masculine whereas 'tide' is feminine and the reading involves therefore a grammatical error. The scholars referred to above explain this and other solecisms in the text by the late date of the inscription which belongs to a time when the 'niceties of the older accidence were being forgotten,' and 'the feeling for gender was dying away.' It should be said that the inscription as it is given opposite has been collated carefully with the original and is literally correct. The lettering and the condition of the stone in proximity thereto leave no room for doubt that the initial I and the terminal UM of 'ilcum' and the final E of 'tide' are correctly given. There is no possibility of any other reading.

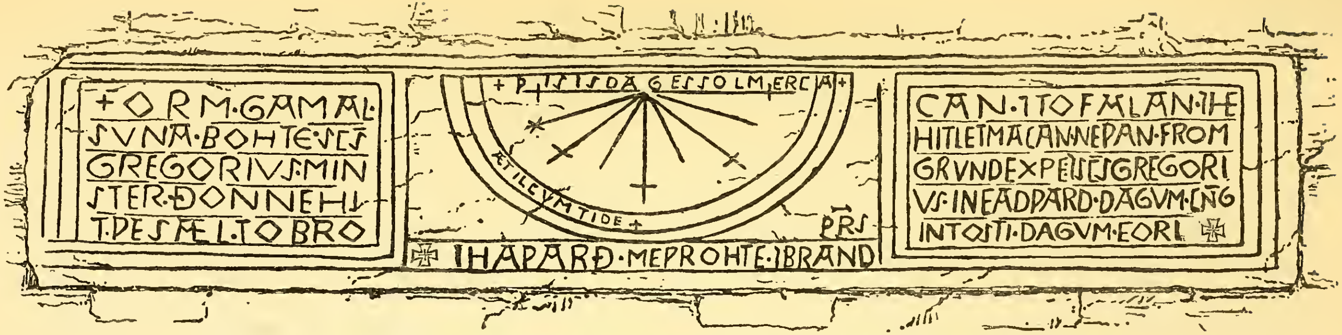
+ORM·GAMAL
SVNA·BOHTE·SCS
GREGORIVS·MIN
STER·ÐONNE·HI
T·PES·ÆL·TO·BRO
+ÞISISDAGESSOLMERCA+
ÆTILCVMTIDE+
PR̄S
⁊HAƿARÐ·MEƿROHTE·⁊BRAND
CAN·⁊TOFALAN·⁊HE
HITLETMACAN·NEƿAN·FROM
GRVNDEXPE⁊SCSGREGORI
VS·INEADƿARD·DAGVM·CN̄G
INTOSTI·DAGVM·EORL

Fig. 27.—Anglo-Saxon Sundial from Kirkdale Church, Yorkshire, with inscriptions.

ORM GAMAL
SUNA BOHTE SCS̄
GREGORIUS MIN
STER ÐONNE HI
T ƿES ÆL TO BRO

þIS IS DAGES SOLMERCA
ÆT ILCUM TIDE
PR̄S
⁊ HAƿARÐ ME ƿROHTE ⁊ BRAND

CAN ⁊ TO FALAN ⁊ HE
HIT LET MACAN NEƿAN FROM
GRUNDE XRE ⁊ SC̄S GREGORI
US IN EADƿARD DAGUM CN̄G
IN TOSTI DAGUM EORL

Orm Gamal's
son bought Saint
Gregory's min-
ster when it
was all bro-

This is day's sun-marking
at every hour.
priests.
& Hawarth me wrought & Brand

-ken & fallen asunder & he
had it made anew from the
ground to Christ and Saint
Gregory in Edward's days the king
in Tosti's days the earl.

It concerns us much to know where all this schooling was carried on. Theodulf speaks of the 'houses' of the priests, but the church itself or part of it was certainly at later times used as a school, and this custom lasted almost to our own time. In the lately published autobiography of Lieut.-General Sir Harry Smith[1] it is stated that in his boyhood, 1790-1800, 'the east end of the south aisle of St. Mary's church, Whittlesea, was partitioned off and used as a schoolroom, the vicar or curate teaching.' Evelyn, the author of the *Sylva*, who was born in 1620, tells us that he received the first rudiments of instruction in the porch of the village church at Wotton, Surrey, which still exists, though in an altered condition.[2] In the church of Beeston-next-Mileham, Norfolk, where are the carved pews figured in an earlier chapter,[3] there hangs a Latin inscription of which the following is a translation. 'Johannes Forbye master of arts and rector of this church renewed (refecit) this panelling (tabulas), these chapels (sacraria), and yonder seats, and he set them apart for sacred and not for profane or scholastic purposes. Death to me is life, 1598.' The adjective 'scholastic' evidently implies that the seats in question had been used by schoolchildren who very likely had reduced them to a condition in which a 'refectio' was needful.

As the child grew up to youth or maidenhood the church was the centre not only of religious but also to a great extent of social life. There were morning and evening prayers daily at which the laity were encouraged to attend, while on Sundays and feast days such attendance was as far as possible made obligatory. Theodulf lays down the rule, which may or may not have been observed, that no one was to taste any food till the service of the public mass was finished, but that all, whether women or men, should come together to the great mass in the holy and spiritual church, and should there listen to the great mass and to the preaching of the divine word. On those of every rank it is enjoined that, with the exception of nuns, they all attend the great mass.[1] At any rate, whether people went to church or not, no work was allowed to be done on those days, and this periodical cessation from toil, which affected the serf as well as the free man, must at certain periods have been a most timely alleviation of the lot of the poor. Domesday has preserved the information that in the town of Chester if any free man do any work on a feast day the bishop takes of him eight solidi, while if a servus or ancilla belonging to him work he has to pay a fine of four.[2]

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[1] Lond. 1901, p. 1, note.

[2] *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn*, Lond., 1850, 1, 4. '1624. I was not initiated into any rudiments till near five years of age, and then one Frier taught us at the church-porch of Wotton.'

[3] Fig. 4, facing p. 32.

The signal for service was to be given by some sounding instrument. This from about the ninth century onwards was the molten bell, with which later mediaeval and modern times have been so familiar, and which was already, on the Continent at any rate, being cast in large sizes at the time of Charles the Great.[3] In the collection of ecclesiastical regulations known as the *Excerptions of Egbert*, every priest is bidden at suitable hours of the day and night to sound the 'signa' of his church and then to celebrate the sacred offices.[4] In a completely equipped church, where the inferior orders of the clergy were fully represented, the 'ostiarius,' who kept the doors of the church and opened it to the faithful, was to indicate the hour of service by means of the church bells.[5] A note may be interpolated here on the officer thus entitled. Should we not see in him the occupant of that chamber in the church tower, in which some have sought to locate the priest himself?[6] He is represented here as in general charge of the building, to let in the faithful but also to keep out intruders, and as in touch constantly with his bells. Where could he more conveniently abide than in the tower in which they hang? A notice of the early part of the fifteenth century casts light on this. It belongs to the town records of Hedon near Hull, and states about the sacrist 'He sall kepe the kyrk and gudes of the kyrke, *and ly over nyghtes ther in*, or a man for hyme, and rynge the day bell, pryme and kyrfewe, and other tymes accordynge to the service of the day for tyme, as it has ben used of olde tyme.'[1]

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 281.

[2] *D.B.* I, 263. Provisions of the same order are of constant recurrence in Anglo-Saxon documents, from the laws of Wihtræd of Kent onwards.

[3] See postea, Vol. II, ch. 3.

[4] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 102.

[5] *Canon. Ælfric.* 970 A.D., ibid. I, 251.

[6] ante, p. 334.

That there were bells in Saxon times that required proper ringing is proved by documents. Thus we learn that bishop Æthelwold of Winchester 963-984 A.D. presents to Peterborough 'ten hanging bells.'[2] Hung-up bells are mentioned as a gift to St. Peter's monastery of Exeter by bishop Leofric of Crediton 1046-1072 A.D. while that such bells were high-sounding enough even at that time to be a nuisance to quiet townsfolk is shown by the fact that his successor, Osborn of Exeter, gave special leave to the monks of St. Nicholas monastery there to ring their hours by day and by night whenever they would, but in the same breath indicated certain close-times in favour of the neighbours.[3]

The service was to be so far practical that the priest was on Sundays and holydays to preach to the people in the vernacular. It was a pleasant arrangement, which has left monumental traces to this day, that during service in the church intimation was made to those outside of its progress, in order that they might have the opportunity of joining at any rate in spirit with the congregation. The sign was given by a small bell, called the sanctus bell, commonly hung in a little cote on the east gable of the nave, where in a few existing examples it can still be seen.

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[1] *The Early History of the Town and Port of Hedon*, J. R. Boyle, Hull, 1895, p. 92. The italics are not in the original.

[2] Thorpe, *Dipl.* p. 243.

[3] ibid. p. 437.

'And yef thow may not come to chyrche
Where ever that thow do worche
When thow herest to masse knylle
Prey to god wyth herte stylle'

is a mediaeval English direction on the point.[1]

The relation thus established between parishioners and their church extended itself till it might be said to cover almost the whole of their lives, and to affect their hours of work and of recreation as well as those specially devoted to religion.

This matter is well summed up in the following words of the French writer already so often referred to:—

'All these provisions form as it were a fence round the life of the parishioners. What wonder is it then that at this period men passed almost their whole existence in their parish. Here the villager was born, here baptized, here he heard mass and joined in the festivals, here he was buried. The parish bounded his life and his hope; the church mingled itself in all his public and private affairs. In the porch of the church wills and other deeds were prepared and the priest had to fulfil the functions of a notary. Hence the church was commonly the scene of covenants and sales and exchanges. The church was guardian and helper. It witnessed the manumission of slaves, it received for safe custody the goods of the poor when danger threatened. Accused persons who fled there could not be dragged forth by force. The church became even a court of justice, and the lord or the hundred-man held his assembly here. Nothing in a word was done in the parish that was not also done in the church.

'To the sacred building the people throng on feast-days and for the hearing of the word. At fitting seasons the bells are rung. The whole parish assembles for public mass at which on festal days and on Sundays all the parishioners, whether bond or free, were bound to attend. They enter the church.

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[1] *Instructions for Parish Priests*, edited for the Early English Text Society, 1868, line 1717.

According to ancient custom there is an offering of alms before the mass. After the reading of the Gospel comes the sermon in which in the vulgar tongue the people receive instruction. After service the parishioners give each other in turn the kiss of peace.'[1]

With the church, or rather with the churchyard, were connected associations of a less serious kind, to which reference has already been made. The churchyard had to be securely fenced to prevent the intrusion of beasts,[2] and proper care of it was enjoined on the priest, who was to keep out of it anything that could give offence. Long prescription however had sanctioned the use of the churchyard for recreation and merry-making, and in this connection, as will be readily understood, offence was very likely indeed to come. We must go back here to the earliest days of Christianity in the country when there is reason to believe that pagan ceremonials were transformed to Christian by a process suggested in Gregory's letter to Augustine.[3] The institution of the village festival comes here into view. It is significant to find the date of this coinciding with the anniversary of the saint to which the church of the place is dedicated. This occurs so often that it may be accepted as the normal arrangement. The original dedication of a church, where this has been altered, can sometimes be recovered by noting the day of the village feast. The saint whose day coincides with this will often turn out to have been the original patron of the church.[4]

The dedication feast of the church is part of the same scheme of ceremonial. The most suitable day for the dedication of a church was obviously the feast-day of the saint to whom the building was ascribed, but it does not seem that as a fact the church builders and managers worked towards or waited for this particular day. As it only occurred once a year this would not always have been convenient, and we find only that certain days of the week, notably Sunday, were preferred for the ceremony.[1] The anniversary of the dedication day was kept sacred[2] and this feast probably in many cases coalesced, if it did not originally coincide, with the anniversary of the saint.[3] We may suspect, as before said, in these village and dedication feasts a certain element of pagan survival. At any rate, either on account of this association or merely because human nature is what it is, the merry-making of which they were the occasion often passed the limits of what was decorous in a sacred spot. In an account of the miracles of St. John of Beverley, appended to his Life by Folcard, we are introduced to an anniversary celebration of the kind under notice. There was a church at North Burton near Beverley, dedicated in the name of this saint on whose lands it was built, to which some additions had been made. There seems to have been an 'opening' of these on the anniversary of the day of the saint, which 'was kept every year in his honour.' On this particular occasion, after Lauds had been celebrated in the evening, the clergy and people quitted the church, the doors of which were then locked, but as a finish to the feast, the youths and maidens are represented as indulging in merry games and dances over the green expanse of the churchyard.[4]

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[1] Imbart de la Tour, *de ecclesiis*, etc. p. 72.

[2] Praecipimus etiam quod coemeteria fossato, sepe, vel muro . . . honeste claudantur; ita quod ab eis per hoc immunda animalia arceantur. Woodlock, bishop of Winchester, 1308 A.D. in Wilkins, *Concilia*, II, 295.

[3] ante, p. 273.

[4] 'The day for the village feast . . . was originally a sure criterion of the feast of the patron saint of the church and village.' Canon Raine on Dedications of Yorkshire Churches, in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, II, 183.

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[1] Kraus, *R.E.* art. 'Dedicatio.'

[2] Woodlock of Winchester, loc. cit. writes, dies anniversarios dedicationum a parochianis ipsarum ecclesiarum . . . solenniter praecipimus observari.

[3] The two days are however regarded as separate in many documents such as the laws of Edward the Confessor, and the Constitutions of bishop Giles Bridport of Sarum of 1256. Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 311, 714.

[4] *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71/I, p. 323.

This was, or might be, innocent enough, but we find Bishop Richard Poore of Salisbury in the thirteenth century prohibiting in the cemeteries 'dances or vile and indecorous games which tempt to unseemliness.'[1] What this might mean we can divine from a confession reported by William of Malmesbury[2] in which a repentant sinner states that he was once in a churchyard in Saxony with eighteen companions, fifteen men and three women, dancing and singing profane songs to such a degree that they interrupted the priest and drowned his voice in the mass. Efforts were made both by the State and the Church to regulate this secular use of the churchyard which could not be wholly stopped. In the tract of late mediaeval times already quoted, which casts a welcome light backward upon earlier days, we read (line 336)

'Bal and bases and suche play
Out of chyrcheyorde put away.'

The law suggested substitution instead of total prohibition, and by the statute 12 Ric. II, c. VI, servants were ordered to amuse themselves with bows and arrows on Sundays and to give up football and other games. The subject of archery practice in connection with the churchyard does not concern us here, as the long-bow was not a pre-Conquest institution, but a writer in *Archaeologia Cantiana*[3] states that at Cliffe-at-Hoo, near Gravesend, Kent, 'the village green adjoining the churchyard on the south goes by the name of the Butt-way, and is probably an unenclosed portion of the area on which the parish butts were set up. The archery practice generally took place on Sundays and holy days after divine service.'

The holding of fairs and the erection of booths in churchyards was objected to by the ecclesiastical authorities still more strongly and with greater reason. David, they might remember, had danced gaily before the Ark and been approved, but huckstering in the outer court of the Temple had been visited with sternest condemnation. Many enactments both ecclesiastical and lay were aimed at the practice, but as was noticed above[1] it was very deeply rooted in the traditions of rural society.

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 600.

[2] *Gesta Regum*, ii, 10.

[3] XI, 153.

It is evident also that the Church strove to supply a counter attraction to the rude and perhaps half-pagan games, by encouraging sacred pageants, processions and other performances. These religious shows became very abundant and elaborate in later times, but they were already an institution in the Saxon period. In a tract known as *Concordia Regularis*,[2] containing a body of rules for monks drawn up in connection with the monastic reforms of the end of the tenth century, we find a description of a kind of sacred Easter play, performed in the church by the brethren of a convent. We learn from this, *inter alia*, that the Easter Sepulchre was a Saxon institution. A certain empty receptacle on one side of the altar is arranged with curtains to represent a tomb, and in this is laid up a cross wrapped in a linen cloth that figures the body of Our Lord. On Easter morn very early the cross is taken out of the sepulchre, and one of the brethren robed in an alb goes in secretly to the church and takes his seat by the empty tomb with a palm-branch in his hand. There then enter other three brethren with censers in their hands, and walking with the gait of those in search of something they come at last to the sepulchre. 'When now that seated one shall see the three coming near him as if astray and on a quest, let him begin to chant in a voice low and sweet "Whom seek ye," and let the three answer with one voice "Jesus of Nazareth"! to which the first replies "He is not here He is risen"'—and so in a while the pageant ends. On one of the walls of the monkish cells at San Marco at Florence, Angelico painted this very scene of the women that come to the empty tomb beside which is seated the angel. May he not have seen the very pageant enacted in the convent church as here described?

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[1] ante, p. 274.

[2] Printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Lond., 1817, I, xxvii.

If this sort of performance were carried out by cenobites, how much more would such elements of church life be developed among the secular population of a parish, where all classes could join and a place be found for the village maidens and even for the children? The so-called miracle plays were familiar in the mediaeval churches. We have a notice of one on this same subject of the Resurrection of the Lord, which was given in the thirteenth century in the churchyard of Beverley, Yorkshire, and is described as something customary.[1] The Ober-Ammergau Passion Play, though it does not actually date back to mediaeval times, is a revival and amplification of the older pageants.

Among the most elaborate of the religious shows of the Christian year was that of Palm Sunday, when the triumphal entry of Christ into Jerusalem seemed fitly to be commemorated by a sacred pageant. On the Palm Sunday festival Bede has some homilies, and Aldhelm in one of his treatises mentions the solemn paschal rite when crowds came together like a swarm of bees to celebrate the festival.[2] We may therefore take the more elaborate Palm Sunday celebrations, of which later mediaeval writers have left us accounts, to be merely extensions of practices going back to earlier Saxon days. A full notice of such a ceremonial has been put on record by an English writer of the Reformation period,[3] who though an anti-Romanist is evidently in cordial sympathy with these innocent and even edifying forms of religious recreation.

Let us try to realize with the aid of his description what actually went on. The scene is a country graveyard in the midst of which is a church, possessed of an ample porch, the architecture of which is probably to all appearance late mediaeval but on close inspection may reveal masonry of Norman or of Saxon times. It is spring time; the leaves are beginning to burst from their buds; the grey Perpendicular tower of the church traces out the lines of its pierced parapets and pinnacles in sunlit stonework against the azure of the heavens. The trees that fringe the ample garth are full of the song of birds. Down the church-walk from the village, where it has been marshalled in the so-called church-house, moves a silent procession headed by some of the clergy, one of whom carries an uplifted cross that is all shrouded in sad-coloured drapery. The people of all ranks and ages that follow bear in their hands palms, that is branches of the sallow tree, but their aspect is subdued, for the veiled cross signifies the condition of the world when Christ had been prophesied but not yet fully revealed. They 'go forth with the cross until they come to a certain stead of the churchyard,' where they stand still while the priest reads a gospel lesson. This may be within the churchyard gate—itself often a charming bit of mediaeval wood-work—or between it and the church porch on the south side of the building. But now from the other side of the edifice youthful voices are heard lifted up in psalmody, and circling round the eastern end of the church there appears a second procession, that may have formed within the building and issued out of the north door or that of the vestry. This too is headed by a cross but in this case it is 'bare and uncovered pricked full of green olives and palms' round the chased silver or gold-set jewels of its head. Before it goes a company of children that sing 'Behold the King cometh,' and all wear an aspect of brightness and joy for now Christ is born into the world. 'Now mark what followeth,' our informant proceeds, 'after the song of the children, the priest goeth forth with the sacrament and certain people also with the naked cross, until they meet with that cross that is obvelated and covered. They are not so soon met, but the bumbled cross vanishes away, and is conveyed from the company straightways. Then all the people inclose together with great joy, singing and making melody, triumphantly following the naked cross bearing in their hands every one a palm.' This symbolizes, of course, the vanishing away of types and shadows, and the glory of Redemption.

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[1] Contigit ut tempore quodam aestivo intra septa polyandri ecclesiae Beati Johannis, ex parte aquilonari, larvatorum (ut assolet) et verbis et acta fieret repraesentatio Dominicae resurrectionis. Confluebat eo copiosa utriusque sexus multitudo, etc. *Historians of the Church of York*, I, 328.

[2] *de Laudibus Virginitatis*, c. xxxviii, *Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 52.

[3] Thos. Becon (chaplain to Cranmer), *The Potation for Lent*, 1542 (Parker Society), I, p. 113 f.

We learn then that 'the people goeth somewhat further unto the church doorward and there standeth still' (probably the joint procession made first the whole tour of the church). Thereupon from a certain 'high place right against the people'—some think from a wooden gallery erected in the church porch—a choir of children burst into a song of praise, and at the end of every verse they cast down from their elevated station certain cakes and flowers, the latter seeming to signify the gracious acts of virtue, the former deeds of charity towards the poor.

After this the procession moves on to the church door which it finds closed against it, while within the building the voices of children are heard singing. The idea is that the church represents heaven, and the voices are those of the angels. The last act of the sacred pageant comes when the priest takes the cross in his hands and with it pushes open the closed door of the church, as signifying that it is Christ alone who can open the door into eternal bliss. The whole company then enters and the ceremonies conclude with a service of praise within the church.

Besides these publicly ordered pageants, the arrangement of which must have afforded interest and occupation to villagers of all ranks and ages, there were others of a more limited kind engineered by gilds or brotherhoods on the festival of their respective patron saints. Here again we have to deal with an institution highly developed in later mediaeval times that has its roots in the Anglo-Saxon period.

The village or parish gild, as distinct from the town gild that plays so large a part in borough history, can be discerned in its distinctive features in records earlier than the Conquest. Hincmar of Rheims in the middle of the ninth century recognizes parish associations 'quas geldonias vel confratrias vulgo vocant'[1] and wishes to confine their activity to offerings for the church, the burial rites of members, acts of charity, and other offices of piety. On their banquets and festivities, which led too often to excess and to brawling, he looks askance. That the institution existed in England is proved by entries in Anglo-Saxon laws and in various documents containing gild regulations printed by Kemble and in the *Diplomatarium* of Thorpe. It was a common feature of all such associations, whatever their more special objects, to make periodical contributions towards a fund from which the members received benefit in sickness and especially in the rites of funeral. They had periodical meetings in a common hall for conviviality, and were under the patronage of some saint whose festival they would naturally commemorate. One Urk a huscarl of Edward the Confessor presents a gild hall and stead at Abbotsbury in Dorset to a gildship, who make contributions for a feast on St. Peter's day and provide for the burial rites of members.[2] The members of a gildship at Woodbury, Devon, make a compact with the canons of St. Peter, Exeter, by which they pay a yearly contribution and also a soul-shot all round for every member that dies, while the canons are to have the soul-shot and perform such service for them as they ought to perform.[3] A Cambridge gild swears a common oath on the holy relics.[4] A gild at Exeter provides that at each meeting the mass-priest shall sing two masses one for the living and one for the departed members. The funds could be drawn not only in the case of a death but of a house-burning.[5]

[1] Migne, cxxv, 777.
[2] *Dipl.* p. 605.
[3] ibid. p. 608.
[4] ibid. p. 610.
[5] ibid. p. 613.

In later mediaeval times the churches contained altars belonging to these gilds, where the services were performed by priests thereto endowed, and where religious processions and festivals were held. We know that within the Saxon period altars were multiplied in some of the larger churches —that of York built in the eighth century had no fewer than thirty—and it is quite possible that some of the Saxon churches that have come down to us possessed subsidiary altars which belonged to these geldoniae. At any rate their existence made a fresh element of life in the village community. Though the bishops condemned the excesses that went on at the feasts, the gilds flourished through the later mediaeval period down to the Reformation.

One of the most important parts of the church was its porch. Some of the existing Saxon churches have attached to them porches of great proportionate size and it is interesting to know some of the purposes for which these were used. We will suppose that our typical Saxon villager has grown up to man's or woman's estate and comes to deal with so much of the business of the world as rippled the even surface of rural existence. The church porch was not only used sometimes as a school house but for legal business either of a formal or an informal kind. Every church with its graveyard, and even the manse of the priest if it were on church land,[1] was a sanctuary. The laws of Ine of Wessex in the seventh century provide that 'if any one be guilty of death and he flee to a church, let him have his life, and make bōt as the law may direct him.'[2] The fine for breaking the peace within the sacred limits was a high one.

The accused who had taken sanctuary might appeal to the ordeal. This institution was of pagan origin but was taken up and regulated by the Church. It was forbidden to enter on such proceedings on Sundays or feast days or at any specially holy season, and certain forms of ordeal, such as that of battle, favoured by the Normans, the Church could have nothing to do with. Ordeal by hot water or iron, or that by the reception as a solemn test of good faith of the Holy Sacrament, a form specially in use by priests, went on in the church or porch or garth with certain religious ceremonies specified in contemporary writings. The laws called those of Edward the Confessor contemplate the 'placita' or regular judicial proceedings by the king's justice to be held in or at the church,[1] and a notice of the Saxon cathedral at Canterbury tells us that the south porch of it was a regular place for dooms.[2] It has been suggested that some fittings in the ground story of the Saxon church tower at Barnack, Northamptonshire, may be thus explained.

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[1] Wilkins, *Concilia*, I, 311.

[2] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 91.

The same was the case with the more informal acts of popular justice. It is for instance provided that if a man declare that he has found a stray beast he is to bring it before the church, and in the presence of the priest of the church and the reeve of the tun and the chief men he is to exhibit all that he has found.[3] As the central spot of the life of the community the church porch was chosen as the suitable place where couples who were so minded might be associated in the sacrament of marriage. Chaucer's Wife of Bath boasts that she had had five husbands at the church door. The priest would give the nuptial benediction at the altar within the church after the ceremony. For a similar reason unnatural parents exposed their children at the church door where some charitable person would be most likely to find and take them up.[4] To this day the church door is the recognized place for the display of notices relating to the local administration and this is merely a survival from the social customs that were established before the Norman Conquest.

In an informal fashion the clergy of the church filled the place of the village notary, for the fly leaves of the books used at the altar were exploited for various kinds of memoranda, and an entry made by the priest in a ‘Christ's book’ or a ‘Gospel book’ could be appealed to as a legal record of a transaction. A curious instance of this use of an entry in a Gospel book to ratify a not altogether edifying proceeding is recorded in Thorpe's collection.[1] A mother and son appear to have quarrelled, and she disinherits him by declaring before a deputation from a shire-moot that was sitting at Ægelnoth's stone ‘Here sits Leoflæd my kinswoman, to whom I give not only my land, but my gold, and garments, and robes, and all that I own, after my day.’ The husband of the fortunate Leoflæd at once gets confirmation of the bequest from the moot and, in evident haste lest the maternal heart should relent and the proper heir be reinstated, he ‘then rode to St. Æthelberht's monastery, with the leave and witness of all the folk, and caused it to be set in a Christ's book.’

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[1] Thorpe, *Laws*, etc. p. 192. [2] Willis, *Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 11.

[3] Edward the Confessor 24. Thorpe, *Laws*, etc., 195.

[4] See Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*,^{2} III, 581.

An important social act of a semi-legal order might have the church for its scene—the manumission of slaves. The attitude of the Christian Church towards the institution of slavery has been the subject of no little comment. Following the example of the author of the Epistle to Philemon she did not set her face against the institution in itself, and in fact the Church herself became the largest slave holder in the land. On the estates owned by episcopal sees, abbeys, and parish churches there were ‘adscripti glebae’ bound in every kind of servile tenure. The Church favoured the manumission of slaves, and it might be fairly urged against her that she should have begun with her own. There is a letter of the eighth century extant which shows how churchmen of that time might, according to the measure of their Christianity, take very different views as to their obligations in this matter. Archbishop Berhtwald of Canterbury is endeavouring to persuade abbot Beorwald of Glastonbury to release a Kentish maiden taken captive in war, whose relatives offer 300 solidi for her redemption. He pleads with the abbot to let her spend the rest of her days in happiness with her kinsfolk instead of languishing in servitude, but the abbot seems obdurate.[1]

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[1] *Diplomatarium*, p 336.

In certain respects however the Church did carry out into practice the fundamental Christian doctrine that there is in Christ neither bond nor free. Access to the church, participation in sacred rites, even admission to orders was as open to slaves as to the free, though in the last instance, as an obvious recognition of the established rights of property, ordination was not to be given to a slave unless he had received or purchased his freedom from his lord. The requisite act of manumission could be carried out anywhere provided it was in public, as at a market, and one method was to take the slaves to four cross-roads and let them go whichever way they pleased—'in quadrivio positi pergerent quocunque voluissent'[2]—a notice that is of value as showing that there were plenty of roads in Saxon England. Provision for the freeing of slaves is constantly met with in Anglo-Saxon wills, and such an act of beneficence was held to lighten the pains of Purgatory. As a religious act the manumission might be consummated at the altar of the village church, and when this was the case an entry of the transaction was made by the priest in one of the church books.

A very pleasant impression is conveyed by the following record from a Gospel book to the effect that 'Æilsige bought a woman called Ongynethel and her son Gythiccæl from Thurkild, for half a pound, at the church door in Bodmin,' and paid the market dues withal. 'Then went Æilsige, who had bought the persons, and took and freed them upon St. Petroc's altar,' taking to witness of the manumission the good men, mass-priests and deacons, there serving.[3] This was an attestation that made still more holy the sacred book wherein it was entered.

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[1] Hahn, *Bonifaz und Lul*, Leip. 1883, p. 51.

[2] *Chromion Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, Rolls Series, No. 83, p. 59.

[3] *Diplomatarium*, p. 627.

The records of the life of the old English village as it revolved about the church grow much more copious in the later mediaeval period, when there becomes available that interesting class of documents known as churchwardens' accounts. These consist in the returns given in by these officials at the end of their terms of office, and they supply us with a mass of valuable information as to village goings-on. It is not till near the Reformation however that the extant accounts begin, as the older ones seem all to have perished, and with a period comparatively so late we cannot here concern ourselves.

In leaving now the subject of the village church of pre-Conquest days, let us glance once more at the graveyard where our typical Saxon hind will finally rest. Let us hope that he was not one of those who tried to crowd in among his betters within the building, and we will imagine rather that the church, which was the centre of his little circle of daily occupations of labour and play and prayer, would at the end reflect the sunlight on to the grassy mound where his bones were laid.

The southern side of the churchyard, where is generally, but by no means always, the chief doorway with its porch, is the sunny side of the building, and as the porch itself and the path up to the porch are most frequented by the villagers, who gather there before prayer-time and linger after the service in the noontide glow, so it will commonly, not universally, be found that the gravestones stand thereabouts most thickly. One would fancy it a social attraction that brought the dead to lie within sound of the footfall and the voices of their friends and children, but we have seen reason to think that in part at any rate this preference of the southern side of the church is due to its proximity to the door of access to the building, within which it was reckoned most desirable to lie. We need not dwell however on the dubious elements in a motive that helped to secure a result so accordant with the whole traditions of the village.

Over that winding path that stretch of mounded turf, where week by week the living gather to a pious fellowship with their dead, there broods the 'ancient peace' of English rural life. So complete, so rounded, is the impression of the scene that it seemed to Thomas Carlyle one of the 'realized ideals' of humanity, and in the words he uses in the proem to the *French Revolution* we may fittingly take leave of it. 'In the heart of the remotest mountains rises the little Kirk; the Dead all slumbering round it, under their white memorial-stones "in hope of a happy resurrection":—dull wert thou, O Reader, if never in any hour . . . it spoke to thee—things unspeakable that went into thy soul's soul.'

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ERRATA

Page 97, line 11, for 'Dunstaple' read 'Dunstable.'
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