THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS.

By A. HADRIAN ALLCROFT.

CHAPTER XXI.

SAXON PAGANISM.

Saxon Religion—The ' Hearg '—Bede's account of Godmund-ham—Roman Buildings as ' Fana '—St. Pancras' Church at Canterbury—Gregory's Letter to Mellitus—St. Gall at Bregenz—Gregory not concerned with Stone circles— Saxon burials—' Byrgels '—Cremation and Orientation —King Radbod of Frisia— Saxon Terms for Barrows, etc.—Alfred on Barrows—Saxon Cemeteries remote from Villages—Their Relation to Roman Roads—The Moot-System—Hundreds and their Names—Guildhall of York —Stone Circles not used as Moots by Saxons—The Saxons' debt to the Celts.

When once it has taken a definite shape, the religion of man is one of the most stubborn things in his life. It rarely changes except under pressure of force or of policy, and even then it changes probably in its outward form only, not in its essentials. It is otherwise with a religion which has not yet attained the rigidity of a system. When the Saxons[1] came to England they brought with them their religion indeed, but it was a scarce-formed thing, likely to be modified with ease. And it appears that it was easily modified, although there was no direct attempt to do this for a hundred and fifty years. Such of the Romanised British population as remained in the land—and they were numerous in all but a few exceptional areas—were

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[1] ' Saxons ' and ' Anglo-Saxons ' are convenient expressions, but it is certain that the invaders represented many other tribes than Saxons, Angles, and Jutes only, and equally certain that there was little uniformity amongst them, religious or otherwise.

either the confessed serfs or the professed foes of the new-comers ; they lacked the means to impose Christianity upon their masters by force, and they refused, at least officially, to attempt to do so by other means.[1] The Saxon, so long as he thought of the Briton as an enemy, and withal a beaten enemy, was not likely to forsake his own victorious gods in favour of the God of the defeated race. Not until he saw his king make this exchange would the thegn feel tempted to follow suit, and the ceorl presently follow the thegn ; and no Saxon king is alleged to have taken this momentous step until Ethelbert of Kent was baptised by Augustine on Whit-Sunday of 597. A week later died Columba in Hy. Thirty years elapsed before Edwin of Northumbria was baptised at York (627) and the missioner who there reaped where Columba's disciples had sown[2] was the Roman Paulinus. There was a brief relapse in the northern kingdom under Edwin's sons, until in 635 Oswald succeeded, and inviting help from Iona, founded in that year the Scotic bishopric of Aidan in Lindisfarne.
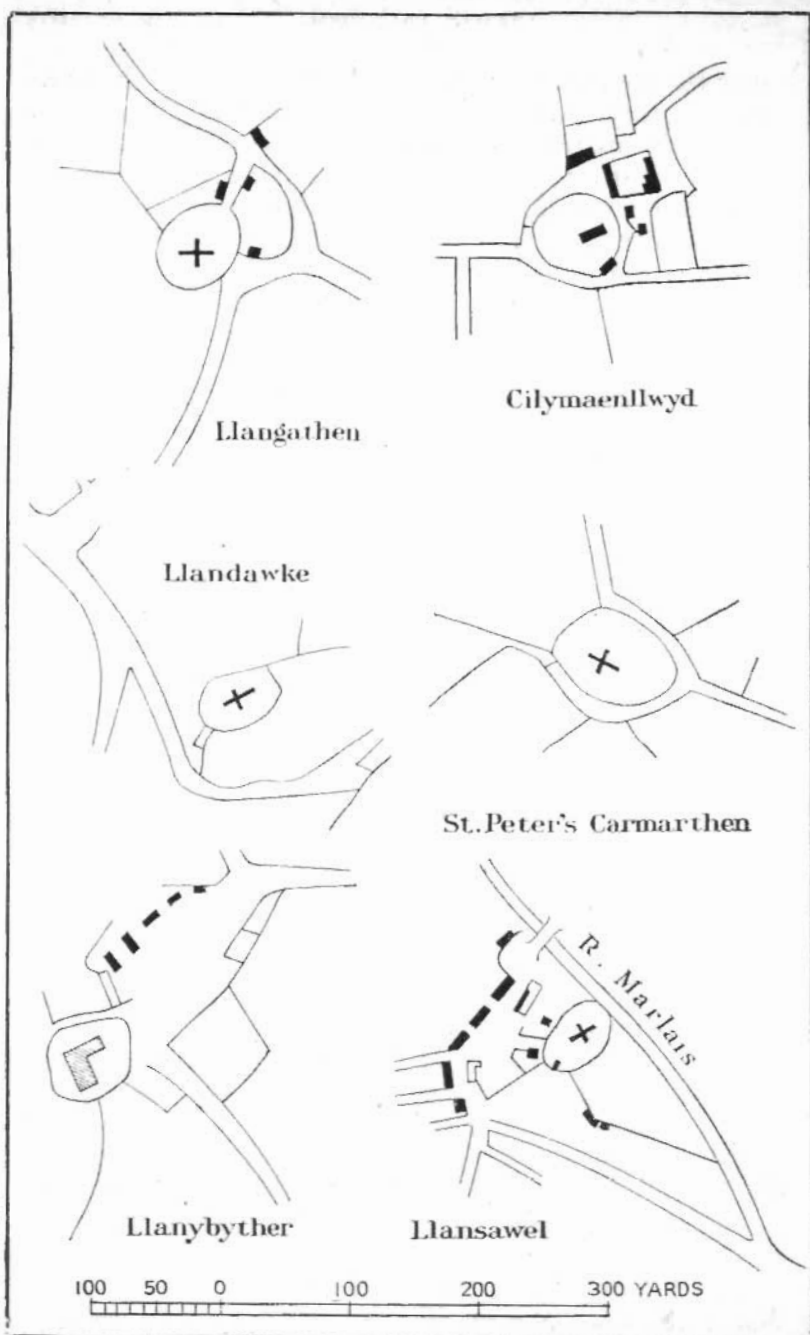
The various tribes whom for convenience we call Anglo-Saxons were stragglers in the great push which (412) divided Gaul amongst Franks, Burgundians, and West Goths. For the Saxons there was no room in Gaul, so of necessity they drifted west into Britain. Not having filtered through Gaul they came as Teutons in the raw, but settled here they fell at once under the influence of the Celt, and the history of their gradual reclamation from barbarism to civilisation is the history of their gradual acceptance of Celtic culture. That story reached its conclusion when they laid aside their old gods and accepted the Christianity which was the Celts' last gift.

J. R. Green has remarked that the bitterness with which the Saxon fought the Dane, and the rapidity with which the two peoples presently coalesced, are alike to be explained by their being both of one blood.[3] It was the same with the Saxon and the Celt, save that their differences were greater because older.

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[1] Bede *H.E.* II, ii, § 93 : cp. ibid. II, xx, § 147 : *cum usque hodie moris sit Brittonum fidem religionemque Anglorum pro nibilo habere.* So the attitude was still the same more than a century after Augustine's time.

[2] Above, ch. xvi.

[3] *Short History of the English People* (1881), p. 43.

Llangathen

Cilymaenllwyd

Llandawke

St. Peter's Carmarthen

R. Marlais

Llanybyther

Llansawel

100 50 0 100 200 300 YARDS

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN CARMARTHENSHIRE.

(From the Tithe maps).

Two facts made such coalescence the easier. One was that small bodies of Teutonic immigrants had long been drifting westward along the same route, settling in Britain, and necessarily merging into the Celtic mass of the population.[1] The other was that, even when the invasion was at its height in the fifth century, the newcomers were not one homogeneous and co-ordinated mass, but a number of independent bodies whose collective weight was largely lost in their mutual jealousies. Settling here and there amongst the native Celtic population, they offered themselves individually to the influence of Celtism, which rapidly made itself felt. Nowhere apparently is the Saxon element so strong as in Sussex, and the reason is simple : in Sussex the Briton had been exterminated.[2]

So far as is known the Saxons of England in the fifth century were precisely as were the peoples of Tacitus' Germany in the first century. Had we more details we should doubtless be able to recognise differences in the degree of culture of the various tribes, or even to determine this or that trait as peculiar to Jute, Angle, Saxon and so on.[3] But between 410 and 597 this land had no Tacitus. It had not even a Bede. The names of the days of the week, and that of the feast of Easter,[4] epitomise for most of us most of what we know of even their gods. There is nothing to show that their religion differed from that of the other German and Scandinavian tribes,[5] and so late as 600, it

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[1] The archaeological evidence for this statement is abundant, in the eastern counties especially, as is natural. The original Teutonism of the Jutes had been largely modified in the course of their passage westward. Earlier sporadic settlers under the Roman *regime* would learn the ways, not of the Roman, but of the Romanised Briton ; and distributed amongst the other *pagani* such earlier settlers would themselves remain *pagani*, with little if any knowledge of Christianity. There is a good deal about the survival of British blood, custom, and even speech, amongst the Saxons, in Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor.*

[2] Above, ch. xvi.

[3] Archaeology can do something of this kind with such concrete matters as a brooch ; with abstract matters the typological method fails. It is a fact that the culture of the Jutes was much above that of the Angles or the Saxons, and Thurlow Leeds has suggested that this may be due to that tribe's having for some time been settled in N. Gaul (*Archaeol. of A.-S. Settlements*, ch. vii). This might be invoked to explain how Augustine came to find traces of Romano-British Christianity surviving in Kent, and why the Kentish Saxons so early adopted the ruins of Roman buildings as *fana* (ch. xxii). But even the South Saxons, who seem to have been as uncivilised as any, had their contacts with the outer world, as the treasures recovered from the cemetery at Highdown Hill sufficiently prove.

[4] Even of Easter the etymology is disputed. The usual view is that it preserves the name of Eostre, a goddess of the springtime.

[5] Traill and Mann, *Social England*, i, 217-222.

has been said, ' it had very slight hold upon the affection
or the superstition of the people.'[1] Assuredly there was
nothing in it resembling the systematised religion of the
Celts, for that was organised to abet a political system to
which the Saxons had never approached. England did not
again come near to any such thoroughness of organisation
until the fifteenth century, and forthwith rose against it at
the Reformation.[2] Few peoples are more essentially
religious than the English, yet no people is more impatient
of religious *formulae*. Both qualities are inherited from
their teachers, the Celts. The Celt taught the Saxon his
first Christianity : there would therefore be nothing
surprising if he taught the Saxon also something of his
earlier faith. And the evidence suggests that this was the
case—that what religion the Saxons developed before their
conversion was to a considerable degree modified by Celtic
paganism.

In effect these ' farmers from Sleswick ' on their first
arrival here were in possession of no political institutions
whatever[3] and no religious system. A religion they un-
doubtedly had, but that is a different thing from a
religious system ; and in the same way they had a common
instinct in dealing with matters such as the making, inter-
pretation, and administration of what little law had as yet
taken shape in custom. They began at the very bottom of
the ladder of evolution with the family as the unit, and each
such family was itself an embryonic state, the head whereof
was judge, priest and king.[4] Exactly how these families
grew to be tribes, peoples, kingdoms, we can only surmise,
seeking analogies, perhaps, in the fashion in which the first
English colonists of America, or the first fore-loopers of
Dutch South Africa grew into states. The evolution of
either of those was the work of generations—not less than

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[1] *Op. cit.* i, p. 226.

[2] Compare Dean Merivale's remarks
upon a similar sequence of events in the
case of the Old Saxons of the Continent in
The Continental Teutons, p. 124.

[3] Bede (*H.E.* V, x, § 381) expressly says
that even in his own time the Old Saxons
still had no kings, and Henry of Huntingdon
explicitly asserts that the East Saxons on
their arrival here were without a kingship.
J. R. Green (*Short Hist. Eng. People*) argued

that monarchy was not developed amongst
the Saxons until after the conquest of
Britain. So also Palgrave. The real power
was with the ealdormen, who answer to the
senatores of Caesar's Belgae. Like the
Belgae the Saxons chose their leaders, and
these elected chiefs gradually became
hereditary monarchs with very limited
powers. The ealdormen claimed to be the
sons of Wotan, and answer to Hofner's
σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες.

[4] Rhys, *Lectures*, p. 226.

one and a half centuries. That of Saxon England could not be more speedy. Bede lived and wrote when the process was still unfinished. He might have told us much about it, but he has told us nothing at all.

If the head of the family was at once judge and priest, it will follow that each family had its holy place, and that as the family developed into the village, and that again into the tribe, there would be developed also holy places of the village and of the tribe, just as we know that there came to be special moots for village, hundred and county. Possibly this was so, but these holy places would for the most part be literally places only, and nothing more. There would be no buildings, ornaments, or accessories. The most to be looked for would be some sort of *limes* marking the *locus consecratus*, some sort of fence perhaps enclosing a small area about a tree or stone. That the Teutonic tribes in England ever built roofed temples, or fashioned anthropomorphic figures of their deities, it is impossible to prove.[1] Their chief objects of worship, as the laws of Cnut declare,[2] were the sun and the moon, fire and water, springs, stones, and trees ; none of these objects lend themselves to roofs, nor very readily to representation by idols. The continental Saxons of the eighth century had indeed a wooden temple and a wooden figure of their great god Irmin. It stood near Marsberg on the Diemel, and was destroyed by Charlemagne in 772.[3] This, however, is readily explained as due to later imitation of examples Gallo-Roman or Roman. But even so late there seems to have been little or no change in the essentials of their religion : 'Their superstitions and their cult, as described in the ancient chronicles, seem to have been generally identical with those reported of the tribes which occupied the same seats in the early days of Germanicus and Varus.'[4]
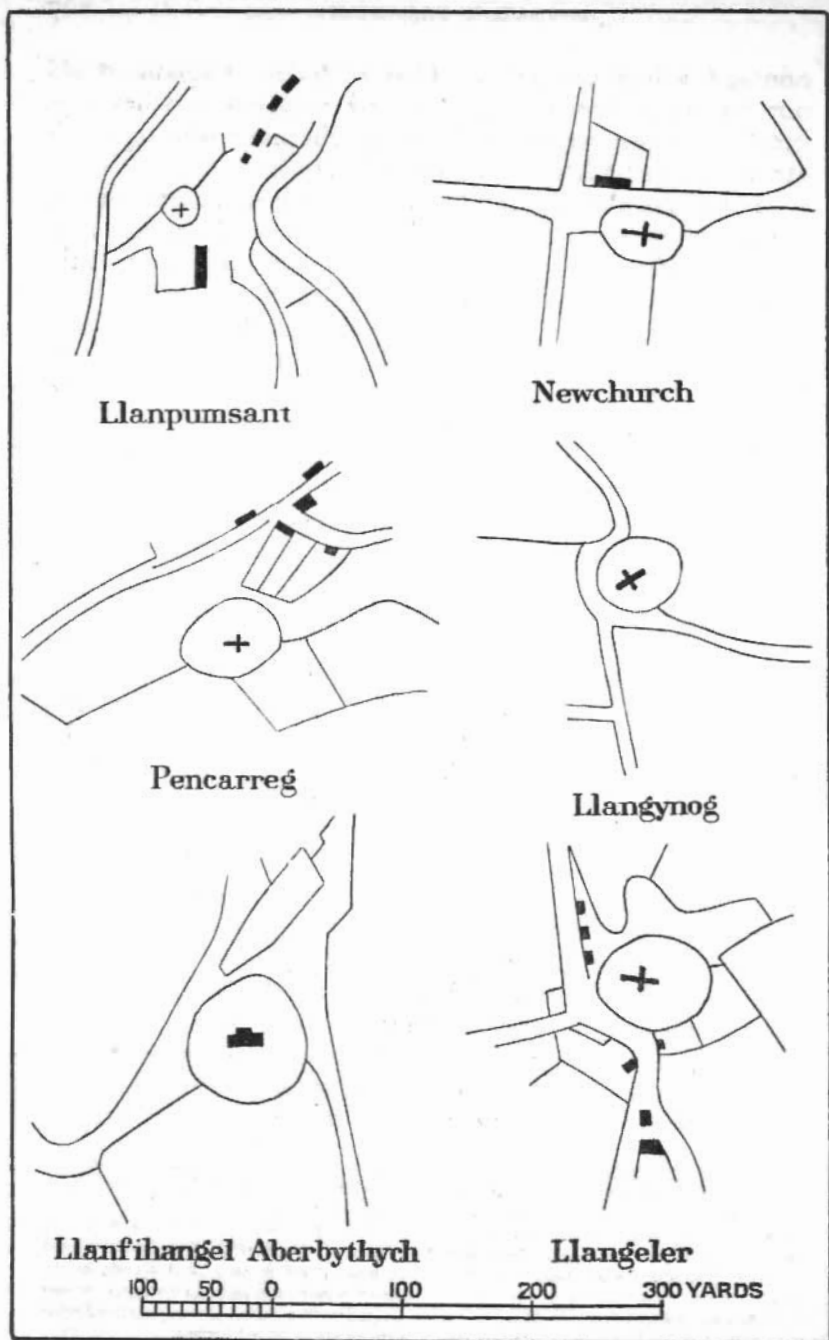
The most usual Saxon term for a ' holy place ' is

[1] No such thing as a Saxon idol has yet been found in England. The frequent assertion that the early Teutonic tribes made idols is probably largely due to the use of *idola* in old writers (*e.g.* Bede, *H.E.* V, ix, § 384, and Cnut's *Laws*) for 'false gods.'

[2] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 379. In the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* (ibid. p. 416) occur injunctions against the worship of idols (§ xlviii) and another (§ liv) makes it an offence ' if there be a *frith-geard* on any-one's land about a stone or a tree or a well, or any such folly.'

[3] The idol was the famous Irminsul, ' Pillar of the world.' The figure, carved of wood, held in one hand a rose, in the other a pair of scales, and wore a helmet crested with a cock. It was decorated with ornaments of gilded bronze.

[4] Merivale, *The Continental Teutons*, p. 121.

Llanpumsant

Newchurch

Pencarreg

Llangynog

Llanfihangel Aberbythych

Llangeler

100 50 0   100   200   300 YARDS

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN CARMARTHENSHIRE
(From the Tithe maps).

hearg, the Icelandic *hörgr*, usually rendered 'temple' or 'shrine.' Both renderings involve a *suggestio falsi*, for the *hearg* seems to have been roofless, and probably the Latin *lucus*[1] is nearer the meaning. In modern English the word assumes the form *harrow*, seen in such place-names as Harrow-on-the-Hill, Harrowden (older, Harrowdun), Peperharrow, and Arrowfield. [2] The suggestion that the word was occasionally applied to Christian shrines, as in the case of Anglezargh or Anglezark, a village in the parish of Bolton, three miles east of Chorley, Lancs., and in that of Guthlacesarc, the sometime name of the modern parish of Golcar near Huddersfield,[3] is scarcely warranted : there is no reason to suppose that the Guthlac here concerned is identical with the saint of Crowland, and both names may be otherwise explained. [4]

There is no evidence that the *hearg* was commonly on a hill rather than on low ground. There are no hills in Sleswig, and a large part of the eastern coastal areas of England is almost equally flat, so that there could be no 'high-places' there if hills were needful. Very possibly the *hearg* was nothing more than, as suggested in the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests*, an enclosure surrounding a stone, a tree, or a well. If this was all, there would be nothing upon such a spot to reward the excavator for his pains. Even the stone which may have been the central feature in some cases, will long ago have been removed,[5] and excepting a few ashes, and perhaps traces of incinerated bones, we know of nothing which the ritual of Saxon paganism was likely to leave behind.[6] It would seem

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[1] As suggested in Wright-Wülcker's *Glossary.*

[2] The etymology of *hearg* is quite unknown. A connexion with Latin *carcer,* 'a place enclosed and set apart,' has been suggested. In a *Corpus MS.* (? ix cent.) the word appears to translate the Latin *lupercal.* Alfred in his *Orosius* uses it of the holy places of certain Balkan tribes, but never of Greek or Roman temples ; and in his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral,* where the English version (*E.E.T.S.* xlv, p. 152) renders 'idols of the people of Israel were painted on the walls' (*tha heargas* [v.l. *hearga*] *Israheïa folces*). See McClure, *British Place Names.* pp. 209-216. The word does not occur in Middle-English lexicons.

[3] Taylor, *Names and their Histories* (1896), p. 390.

[4] By reference to the O.N. *erg,* 'a shieling.'

[5] The early Church issued repeated orders for the destruction, removal, or burial, of all sacred stones. How stubbornly such objects resisted is illustrated by the case of the famous Venus of Quinipili in Brittany, which is to this day the object of the secret worship of the neighbourhood. See Baring-Gould, *Book of Brittany* (1895) pp. 26-28.

[6] 'The *horg* was a sacred altar built of stones, often mentioned in the *Eddas* and *Sagas,* but never described . . . Freyja says, "Ottar made me a big *hörg* reared of stones . . . He reddened it with fresh ox-blood"' :

that metal was taboo in such places,[1] and there is no evidence that the Saxon ever used his *hearg* as a place of burial. There is no reason to think that the Saxons would go to any great trouble in the way of raising earthworks about their holy places. They seem to have had a general antipathy to any such form of labour. Only when compelled by the *force majeure* of the Danes did they take to rearing any considerable fortifications about their *tuns*, and only by rare exception did they trouble themselves to rear conspicuous barrows over their most exalted dead. Alike in their general contempt for funereal pomp and their refusal to think of a god who might be confined under a roof, they were exactly like the Germans of Tacitus' time. In the latter point they were also exactly like the Celts.

Their barrows excepted, the rigidly circular *limes* of Celtic ritual was not essential to the Saxons. Yet the evidence of language declares that to the Saxon's mind the strictly circular plan was nothing novel and remarkable ; for even in the case of the largest stone-circles this feature in no wise stirred his wonder. Mostly such circles have no old Saxon names at all. Stonehenge indeed was a thing to marvel at, but what struck the Saxon was not the plan of it or even the size of its monoliths, but the peculiarity of the impost. This was a novelty indeed, so he called the place the ' Stone Gallows.'[2] As no similar name is elsewhere recorded, it is the more likely that the impost was in fact a new departure and unique in the Britain of its day.

Bede, who was born in 673, must have talked with many a man who could remember the time when paganism was almost universal in England, yet his language when speaking of it is always curiously vague, perhaps purposely so. The Saxons, he says, had *fana, delubra, templa, idola, arae* and *arulae*. His Saxon translator is vaguer still : occasionally he speaks of *hearg* (*herge*) and *wigbed* (' altar '), but more commonly writes the colourless word *deofolgyld*, ' devilworship.' Redwald of East Anglia, a pervert who died in 617, had within the same *fanum* an *altare* for the worship

Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, p. 356. According to Cleasby and Vigfusson (*Icelandic-English Dict.*), the *börg* was ' an altar, holy circle, or any roofless place of worship.'
[1] This follows from the story of Coifi at Godmundham, cited below.

[2] Stane-henges. This is a more probable rendering than the alternative ' Hung (suspended) Stones.' The worshippers of Odin had an intimate acquaintance with gallows, but a gallows of stone was verily a novelty to them.

of Christ and an *arula* for the worship of ' devils ' ; the Saxon Version writes *wigbed* for both.[1] According to the lexicons *fanum* means merely a sacred place, a *locus consecratus*, irrespective of any building thereon, and neither *delubrum* nor *templum* necessarily connotes any building. On the conversion of Edwin of Northumbria and his high-priest Coifi, the latter proceeds forthwith to desecrate the *fanum* of the creed he had disowned. This was at Godmundham (Goodmanham) near Market Weighton, E.R.[2] In it were *arae et fana (heargas) idolorum*, and Coifi rides off *ad idola destruenda*. The Latin phrase suggests actual ' figures,' but a few lines further on we read *pergebat ad idola*, which looks as if *idola* was merely another term for *fana* ; and the Saxon Version throughout has *deofolgyld* only. Coifi desecrated the precinct by hurling into it his spear[3] : the weapon *sticode faeste on thaem herige*. So says the Saxon Version, but Bede's own Latin has nothing of the sort. If *herige* here means anything more than *fanum*, it must denote something into which the spear could fix itself. Was it an ' idol ' or a tree ? We know the Saxons worshipped trees ; we have no proof that they ever made ' idols ' as we understand that term. So it was probably a tree, unless indeed the *herige* was merely the soil of the *locus consecratus*.

The place was surrounded by *saepta (heowum,* ' haws,' ' hedges '), which is good Latin for a fence made of any sort of timber, but not commonly of stone or earth. It was destroyed ' together with its fences ' by fire ; so again the fences were definite objects.[4] There was seemingly no roofed building,[5] nor was there anything which could not be destroyed by fire.

This event happened in 627, when Northumbria was both in extent and in power the greatest of the Saxon kingdoms. Yet there is no hint that the chief holy place of

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* II, xv, § 134.

[2] ibid. II, xiii, § 131. Greenwell (*Brit. Barrows*, p. 286) remarks that this, from the evidence of barrows, etc., was the centre of a large population and a place of special sanctity in times far antedating the Saxons. How is this continuity of sanctity amid successive conquests to be explained ?

[3] But conversely the young Cuthbert, still a layman, before entering the ' church ' of Melrose to pray, hands his spear to his servant (Bede, *Vita St. Cuthberti*, c. 6).

[4] So in Icelandic paganism (ix-xi cents.) the *hof* was surrounded by high wooden fences which could be locked and were accounted as holy as the *hof* itself (Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, i, 360).

[5] In *Beowulf* occurs the expression *beargtrafum*, which is explained as ' idol-tents,' i.e. shrines.

its Bretwalda was anything that could in modern language be called a temple. It was apparently merely a *hearg* of the usual kind. Clearly the Northumbrian Saxons were in point of religion and ritual still savages, a century and a half after their migration. This is the solitary holy place of paganism about which Bede speaks with anything to be called detail, and Coifi is the solitary pagan priest whom he mentions.[1]

There is a doubt about the nationality of Coifi, whose name Toland identified with the Gaelic *Coibhi*, said to have been synonymous with ' arch-druid.'[2] Bede's account leaves the matter in doubt. If Toland be right, the Northumbrian Saxons must have gone some considerable way towards adopting Celtic paganism, as seems to be suggested by other facts. The interest of the matter lies in the further possibility (above, ch. xvi) that Celtic Christianity also had retained a footing at York ; in which case the position of Edwin, who had to choose between the two, was very much that of the later Oswy, who had to choose (664) between the rival claims of the Celtic and the Roman churches.[3]

There is evidence that the Kentish Jutes, the East Angles, and possibly the East Saxons also, had likewise made progress. Living where the Roman influence had been most virile, they had so far departed from their original Teutonic attitude as occasionally to appropriate ruined Roman buildings and turn them into *fana*. That of Redwald was still remembered by some of Bede's contemporaries[4] : he was very possibly dealing with one Roman ruin as Queen Bertha certainly did with another, the famous church of St. Martin. In Thorne's *Chronicle* (fourteenth century) it is said that king Ethelbert had a pagan place of worship (' fanum sive idolum ') of his own. It was a building, for it had a southern porch ; and in that porch stood a *simulacrum* which Augustine broke to

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[1] It is to be noticed that the *fanum* was not at York, which lies 18 miles N.W. of Market Weighton. If Edwin's ' capital ' was near his *fanum*, he had avoided the Roman city. On the other hand Paulinus at once seizes upon York as the scene of the king's baptism and the site of the first Christian ' church.' The northern Saxons had seemingly shown no tendency to adopt Roman ideas, and Paulinus deliberately set himself to reverse that attitude. A Roman road ran past Market Weighton, a mile to the west, leading to the shores of the Humber at Brough.

[2] *Hist. Druids*, p. 279.

[3] On the occasion of the Synod of Whitby.

[4] Bede, *H.E.* II, xv, § 134.

pieces. Then he ' made a Christian meeting-place of the pagan place of meeting' ('synagogam mutavit *in ecclesiam*'), and dedicated it to the Roman boy-martyr St. Pancras. Augustine appropriated Ethelbert's *fanum* as a church, but for what purpose the original building had been intended by its Roman builders we are not told. It was very soon superseded by the larger monastery-church of SS. Peter and Paul, which Augustine built beside it.[1] Himself a monk of St. Augustine's, William Thorne was in the best position to know, if not the facts, at least the tradition of his house.

Bede gives[2] a transcript of the letter sent (601) by Pope Gregory to the abbot Mellitus directing him how to deal with the *fana idolorum* in England. The *idola* are to be destroyed, but not the *fana*. If these can be utilised as Christian churches, they are to be sprinkled with holy water and then provided with altars and relics. Reasons are given for this course : if the *fana* are well built, they ought to be adapted to the service of the true God ; and the heathen may the more easily be converted if they are encouraged still to frequent the familiar scenes of their pagan devotions. Gregory well understood the power of the *religio loci*. Even the pagan festivals are not to be rudely forbidden : they are to be transmuted into Christian festivals. In an earlier letter the same pope had urged[3] king Ethelbert to ' hunt down the worship of false gods (*idola*) and overthrow the buildings (*aedificia*) which are their temples (*fana*).' Milman suggests that he diplomatically laid upon the king's own shoulders the invidious task of destroying such *fana*, while advising his missionaries to adopt a more conciliatory attitude.[4]

Gregory is clearly answering a precise question, viz. What was to be done with the *fana* of the pagan Saxons ?

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[1] *Monast. Anglic.* I, 23. The event is not dated in the *Chronicle*. According to one view it was in 598, three years before the writing of Gregory's *Epistle to Mellitus* ; according to another view, it occurred in the year following that *Epistle* (602).

The building was ' about midway between the church of St. Martin and the walls of the city.' It was also ' the first church dedicated by St. Augustine.' The statement is not inconsistent with Bede's narrative, who says (*H.E.* I, xxvi, § 56) that St. Martin's had been ' dedicated of old,' and does not make mention of St. Pancras' church at all. For both these churches, see Canon C. F. Routledge, *The Church of St. Martin, Canterbury* (1898).

[2] *H.E.* I, xxx, § 74. Mellitus was going to assist Augustine, who presently (604) made him bishop of London, and in 619 he became archbishop of Canterbury.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* I, xxxii, § 76.

[4] *Hist. Latin Christianity*, ii, 232.

There were, so far as can be guessed, only three possible varieties of *fana* in the England of that day, namely the Saxon *hearg*, the earlier *locus consecratus* of the Britons, and here and there a Roman ruin which had been adopted as a *fanum* by the more progressive Saxons such as those of Kent. Gregory's words declare that he was thinking of buildings, and it being impossible that any one could regard a *hearg* as a building, or that a pope of Rome at that date could regard a stone circle as something convertible into a church as he understood it, the conclusion is that he had in mind the last-named variety of *fana*, Roman ruins which had been converted into pagan places of worship and might be re-converted into Christian churches. He must assuredly have heard of the case of St. Martin's church. Presumably he had heard also of Ethelbert's *fanum* ; and the action of Augustine in forthwith break-ing Ethelbert's idol and reconsecrating the building to St. Pancras, looks like a direct outcome of the pope's letter. The stubborn tradition that St. Paul's in London occupies the site of a Roman temple,[1] and the cathedral of Winchester also, may have the like origin.

To suggest that Gregory, that ' Argus full of eyes,' erred through ignorance of the forms of Saxon paganism and thought that it commonly constructed roofed temples, cannot be right, for he was otherwise a very well-informed man, and the less likely to have laboured under such a mistake four years after Augustine's arrival in Kent.

Nothing is said of any interments in the pagan *fana*. This confirms the view that with the Saxons the *hearg* and the burial-place were different things. On the other hand Gregory insists on the introduction of relics of the saints into all converted *fana*. In other words the Latin Church of 600 was in complete agreement with the Celt in the feeling that interments or their equivalent were essential to any proper *locus consecratus*. The Saxon seems not to have so closely identified religion with death, but having no dogma of his own he was open to new ideas, and presently adopted this feeling in its entirety. In the same way, having no fixed prepossessions about such matters,

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[1] The balance of evidence going to show that Londinium never lost its Romano-British population (ch. xvi), and was never left a desolation, Mellitus would have to deal with a goodly number of Roman buildings, temples and others.

he was clearly by way of adopting a Roman fashion of temple.

There is evidence that other Teutonic tribes displayed a like adaptability. The case of the Irminsul has been mentioned (p. 167). We have an earlier instance from Switzerland : St. Gall, seeking a site for a monastery, finds a desecrated ' church ' in the neighbourhood of Bregenz. It had been turned by the natives into a *fanum*, and certain bronze figures which hung upon the walls were the objects of their worship. The saint brays to pieces the figures, purifies the building, and reconsecrates it by introducing certain relics of SS. Mauricius and Desiderius, ' which he carried hung about his neck in a little case.' [1] Similarly, at a date much later than that at which the Old Saxons did so, their neighbours in Denmark and Norway had likewise adopted some sort of structural temple, the *hof*, which they introduced in the ninth century into Iceland. [2]

It has sometimes been argued that stone circles are fewer in the north of England than in the south because Paulinus deliberately destroyed them, and that he did so because they were *fana* of the Saxons. There is very little reason for supposing that Paulinus' attitude was any different from that of Augustine, and he was probably guided in his conduct by the same advice which Mellitus had received from pope Gregory. He certainly contributed to the destruction of king Edwin's *hearg* at Goodmanham, but the description proves that that was not a stone circle. Nor is it literally true that the circles south of the Humber are so markedly more numerous and finer than those north of that estuary. Derbyshire, for example, has more circles to a given area than any part of England, and those of Cumberland are amongst the finest of the whole series. If there do not happen to exist traces of similar circles in certain large northern areas, e.g. Durham, Northumberland, and parts of Yorkshire, the fact admits of explanation. [3] There are few or none in East Anglia, in Mercia, and in Sussex, which are all in the south of the

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[1] Walafrid Strabo, *Vita S. Galli*, xi. St. Gall flourished *c*. 600, and the building must have been a relic of some earlier (Latin) missioner.

[2] Above, ch. ix.

[3] See above, ch. xi.

island. In some of these areas this peculiar form of moot may never have established itself, at any rate on the scale in which it is to be seen in other regions.

If the Church, whether in the person of Paulinus or at some later time, had so to say declared war on the circles because of their alleged connexion with devil-worship, they must long since have perished, not partially only, but entirely, for their construction was not such that they could possibly withstand an ordered campaign for their overthrow. That so many of them survive, and in some cases survive almost intact, is proof that there can have been no organised effort to remove them ; and this again is proof that the Church did not particularly associate them with the practices of Saxon paganism.[1] There is abundant evidence that their destruction has been in great part the work of the last two or three centuries, due to nothing more systematic than the activities of farmers, road-menders, or even idle holiday-makers. It may be demonstrable that the stones of Arbor Low have been overthrown with systematic intent, but there is no proving at what date and by whom it was done ; and in any case Arbor Low, with its great fosse, is a circle of different purpose from the unfossed moot-circles. If the stone circles were necessarily symbolical of what was un-Christian, it is very remarkable that the best of them, and the best preserved, are to be found in just those parts of England in which Scotic Christianity took first and deepest root. If on the other hand they were not regarded as symbolical of paganism their survival is understandable enough, in contrast with the case of the *hearg*. The disappearance of the latter is, as says Prof. Ekwall, ' by no means remarkable,'[2] simply because it was the embodiment of Saxon paganism. At any rate there is not known a solitary instance of its survival.

All that is known of Saxon burial-customs bears out what Tacitus says of the German tribes at large : they made little account of death, small fuss of burial. Exception might be made naturally in the case of the great ones of a tribe : Beowulf has his own barrow and is buried with full

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[1] There appears to be no capitulary or other Church edict which expressly orders the destruction of stone circles.

[2] *Introd. to Study of Eng. Place-Names,* p. 38.

honours, but his barrow is of the primitive type, the familiar ' hill ' of earth ; for the Anglo-Saxon seems never to have developed any distinctive type of monument, or anything more elaborate than the ' bowl ' and the ' bell.' Of dolmens, menhirs, cromlechs, and disc-barrows he knew little, if anything. Even his ' bowls ' and ' bells ' are commonly of insignificant size, and rather than build a new one he would lay his dead within the barrows of any earlier races.[1] Often he laid them in mounds which were never meant to be sepulchral at all, or within the ' camps ' of older races, as at Highdown hill in Sussex. Most frequently he laid them in urn-fields or grave-fields, of which no visible *limes* remains. The dead lie as close as may be in such cases, yet very rarely does one interment interfere with another ; which lends colour to the belief that there must have been some external sign to mark each grave. If so it was neither elaborate nor abiding, for it has left no recognisable trace.[2] In some Kentish cemeteries each grave seems to have had its own tiny mound, as in a modern graveyard.

There is a similar absence of all rule in regard to the orientation of the graves[3] and to the choice between cremation and inhumation. Thurlow Leeds asserts that, so far as there is any discoverable rule, the Angles burned, the Saxons buried, their dead. This deduction is possibly vitiated by the inclusion of cases both Christian and non-Christian, for, as will be seen, there is rarely any means of distinguishing the one from the other. The Church, so soon as it dared, forbade cremation, but until that time either fashion appears to have been very much a matter of choice.[4] Similarly the Church discouraged the burial of

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[1] ' Wherever the invaders penetrated the barrow areas of England, they made use of the barrows for the interment of their own dead.' This is particularly noticeable in Derbyshire and Yorkshire : ' On the great barrow-area of the Derbyshire moors, secondary interments in Bronze Age barrows are very common, but the use of them as general grave-yards, as in the remarkable instance at Driffield, seems to be confined to Yorkshire ' (Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of the A.-S. Settlements*, p. 71). In the British Museum *Guide to the Early Iron Age*, p. 112, it is remarked that these Yorkshire interments lie ' as in a churchyard.'

[2] St. Boniface (*Ep.* lxxxi) mentions, and condemns, the practice of fixing on stakes near graves the heads of the (animal) victims of the funeral-feasts. This practice would ensure that a grave was not lost sight of so long as such funeral-feasts continued.

[3] Thurlow Leeds, *Archaeology of the A.-S. Settlements*, pp. 27-8, 105.

[4] Thurlow Leeds, op. cit. pp. 26 *sqq.* To assist at a cremation was made a capital offence in France of the eighth century (Charlemagne, *Capitulary* viii).

any grave-furniture with the dead, but it is hardly to be thought that it would in the early days of Christianity take up too rigid an attitude in this, or indeed in any matter relating to burial. All that we really know of these days goes to show that the Church compromised in very liberal fashion ; and it is more than likely that the archaeological dogma which writes down as pagan any Saxon interment inconsistent with present-day rules in regard to orientation, or revealing any trace of funeral furniture, is guilty of an intolerance unknown to England until at least the middle of the eighth century.[1] The case of king Radbod of the Frisians has in it probably a good deal that is applicable to Teutonic paganism at large. The first missioner to the Frisians was the Saxon Willibrord, after whom followed Wulfram of Sens. The latter had persuaded the king to consent to baptism, when Radbod suddenly asked, Where were his forbears ? ' Shall I find them also in this Heaven you promise me, or are they in that Hell you speak of ? ' ' In Hell with all the unbaptised,' replied Wulfram. ' Then I will follow them thither,' said the king, and declined to accept a faith which would separate him from his kindred. Wulfram's intolerance postponed the conversion of Friesland for many years. Without doubt many a Saxon would have sympathised wholly with Radbod, and without doubt the Christian missionaries in England, more particularly those of the Scotic Church, exercised a more tactful discretion than did the overzealous Wulfram.

When Hakon the Good was buried at Seaham in North Hordaland ' his friends brought his body and raised there a great howe, and laid the king therein all armed with the best of his array, but no wealth therein besides. Such words they spoke over his grave as heathen men had custom, wishing him farewell to Valhalla.'[2] King Hakon was on the border line betwixt old and new : he was by way of being a Christian himself, but could not prevail upon his people to be so. His burial was in keeping, neither altogether pagan, nor wholly Christian, showing the older practices blending with the new.

[1] cp. the cases above cited (ch. iii) of radial burials, and the finding of urns and other grave-furniture in unquestionably Christian graves at Warren (ch. xx) and at the Knowe of Saverough (ch. xxii).

[2] *Story of Hakon the Good* (Saga Library), c. 33.

Saxon speech bears out the evidence of archaeology. The language has none of that variety of names for graves and grave-monuments which is so prominent in Irish, and to a less degree in other Celtic tongues. It has indeed no standard word at all. *Beorh* and *hlaw* and *howe* and *hyll* are used indifferently, and all mean the same thing, the 'hill' of earth which we now call a barrow.[1] More generic than any of these were *byrgenne*, 'grave,' and *byrgels*, 'cemetery.'[2]

In early Saxon Charters such phrases as *on ðaem haeðenan byriels*, 'to the heathen cemetery,' occur frequently ; e.g. in a charter of Aethelwulf of Wessex, 854. ' Heathen Burials Corner' is still a well-known spot in the parish of Steyning, Sussex, possibly the only one to retain its early name. A spot in the adjacent parish of Upper Beeding, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles east, is known as ' Christian Burials.' The ground adjoining some conspicuous barrows on Longmynd, near Ratlinghope, Salop, is called ' The Old Burials.'[3] The word sometimes developed into Burrell or Burrells ; cf. the Scottish Burreldales, where are remains of a (? sepulchral) circle. In Gibson's *Camden* (1753), p. 990, Burrells in Bath is explained as a corruption of Borough Walls, and the same explanation is offered for Burrells near Appleby ; but Sedgefield [4] prefers to derive this from the personal name Burrill or Borrell. In *D.B. Sussex* is Burgelstaltone (now Burgh Hill), i.e. byrgels-steall-tun, ' the *tun* by the burial-place,'[5] which suggests that the Saxons had no aversion from such places. The local name Britmeresburieles, ' Beorhtmaer's burial-place,' is cited in Buckinghamshire, *c.* 1250.[6]

It is quite in keeping with the facts of archaeology that *graef*, ' grave,' has outlived all the other terms. Alfred, in his version of Orosius' *History*, provides a curious illustration of the unfamiliarity of anything like the imposing individual barrow of Celtic times in the England of his own day. Orosius had repeated from Livy the story how

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[1] Dr. Grundy, however, thinks that the terms *hlaw* and *beorh* at any rate meant 'two different types of barrow' (*Arch. Journ.* lxxvii, p. 123).

[2] See ch. xxv. The word is a derivative of the same root as that of *burgh*, ' borough,'

from *bergan*, ' to shelter ' ; whence also the verb ' to bury.'

[3] *Shropshire Shreds and Patches,* vii. 78.

[4] *Place-names of Cumb. and Westm.*

[5] Taylor, *Names and Their Histories,* p. 390.

[6] *Place-Names of Bucks.* p. 260.

one of Hannibal's sailors, bidden climb aloft and report what he could see of the adjacent shore, said that he had sighted a ruined tomb (*sepulchrum dirutum*). Alfred faithfully translates the text, and adds the gloss ' such as it was the custom to rear of stones in memory of great men.'[1]

The Jutish cemeteries of Kent abound in examples of grave-furniture which prove that here the new-comers stepped straight into the heritage left by the Romans.[2] Here and there too are interments which perplex those archaeologists who accept the dogmatic assertion that Christianity allowed no grave-furniture such as is held to mark a pagan burial. Near Strood, for example, was found in 1852 a Saxon burial accompanied by ' the ordinary weapons of iron ' and other typically ' pagan ' relics, and with these a cylindrical object of bronze bearing, embossed upon it six times over, an indubitably Christian subject, viz. three figures, ' one seated and nimbed, the others standing with hands crossed on the breast ; above the head of one is a cross, of the other a bird carrying a wreath.'[3] This burial was close to the site of a Roman cemetery.

Like most other pre-Christian peoples of these islands the pagan Saxons made their burial-places remote from the dwellings of the living. There are few recorded cases of the finding of demonstrably early Saxon interments close beside old Saxon habitation-sites, whereas there are many examples of cemeteries lying a mile or so away from the village which may be supposed to represent the original *tun*. There is no doubt that the Saxons' advance over the country was largely guided or determined by the lines of the Roman roads. They did not as a rule place their *tuns*

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[1] Alfred's *Orosius* (E.E.T.S.), pp. 201–202 : (*ane to-brocene byrgene*) *swelce biera theaw waes thaet mon ricum monnum bufan eorthan of stanum worhte*. The point of Alfred's remark is probably in the word *ricum*. The early Christianity of England most certainly built barrows for its dead until within a few years of Alfred's time, but it made no distinction between the greater and the less among the *fideles*. But Latin Christianity speedily established the doctrine that burial in an *individual* barrow was a mark of paganism. Thus the Norse hero Lumber : ' He was born in Wangorn, and there lies in a cairn, *for he was*

a *heathen* ' (*Arch. Scot.* iii, p. 151). So too Hengist : Aurelius ' commanded him to be buried, and a heap of earth to be raised over his body *according to the custom of the pagans* ' (Geoff. Monmouth, *Hist.* viii, 7). When Duke William gave similar orders about the body of Harold, that it should be buried ' on the seashore under a heap of stones,' he probably did so to mark his opinion of the dead king as one who had no more than a pagan's regard for a Christian oath.

[2] See the evidence gathered in *V.C.H. Kent*, i, pp. 343 *sqq.*

[3] ibid. p. 377.

actually upon the course of the trunk roads, but on either side thereof at a distance of half a mile or so from the road, making use of the road itself as a convenient boundary line[1] for the territory of the *tun*. To maintain that they did not also use the roads as a means of communication is to argue the Saxons a people of fools. But while the *tun* lies off the road, the cemetery is found again and again close beside it, as if purposely placed at the very edge of the *tun's* land. Sussex provides a good illustration : a Roman road is traceable from Chichester eastward by Ford and Angmering through Portslade and Brighton to Lewes and on to Glyndebourne Cross ; thence through the village of Glynde, up the Downs behind West Firle, and along the high ground south-eastward to the Long Bridge at Alfriston and so to Eastbourne.[2] Saxon cemeteries have been found beside this road at Brighton (Port Hall), at Lewes (Saxonbury), at Glyndebourne Cross, at Glynde,[3] and at Winton Street in Alfriston ; while that at High-down Hill lies but a quarter of a mile from the line of it. The villages to which these cemeteries may be supposed to correspond lie at distances varying from half a mile to a mile away from them, namely East Angmering, Bright-helmston, Kingston-by-Lewes, Glynde, Beddingham, and Alfriston. Each of them, Kingston[4] excepted, has or had[5] an ancient church and churchyard set, as usual, in the very centre of the *tun*. The provision of such grave-yards actually within the *tuns* did not commence until about 750,[6] until which time the villagers must have continued to lay their dead in the older cemeteries. Thus Christian and

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[1] e.g. the Erming Street from Lincoln to the Humber. ' In thirty miles it does not pass through a single village, except a portion of Broughton and Appleby, nor even a group of houses, except at Spital, twelve miles from Lincoln. In curious contrast with this desolate highway is the quick succession of villages on each side ' (Murray's *Handbook of Lincs.* p. 234). So along the Great North Road beyond York and along the Fosse Way in Notts. In many parts of the country it must have been impossible for the Saxons to get away from the ubiquitous network of minor roads, so that too much must not be made of the constant association of old churches with Roman roads and Roman relics. It is never-theless a fact that very many of the oldest

of our churches lie on or beside Roman trunk roads, and the inference is that the Scotic missionaries used these roads in their progress through the country.

[2] *Arch. Journ.* 1916, pp. 201-232.

[3] Actually in the parish of Beddingham, at the spot once known as Mill Hill, now destroyed by a chalk-quarry.

[4] Kingston was a royal manor in Alfred's time, but was part of the parish of Iford until about 1100. As a charter of that date provides for the gift of an acre of land on which to build a church, there was presumably neither church nor churchyard there before.

[5] East Angmering once had its own church.

[6] Below, ch. xxv.

pagan, possibly for a century or more, would be buried in one cemetery, and herein lies the explanation of the difficulty which archaeologists have found in deciding whether the relics from any particular Saxon cemetery represent pagan or Christian interments.

Anglo-Saxon burial-places in this or other countries seem commonly not to have had any *limes* of a sort to survive to the present time. As in the cemeteries of the Yorkshire Wolds and in that of Alfriston, Sussex, the graves seem usually to have been made in regular rows. But in the barrow-districts the Saxon tribes very quickly learnt to make use of existing barrows, and so to associate the circular figure with sacred ground. When Scotic Christianity supervened with its rigidly circular precinct, it found the most pagan of the Saxons so far prepared for the new faith.

The Saxon cemetery at Alfriston occupied ground known for centuries as Hallow Furlong. The name shows that the spot was remembered as a *Christian* burial-ground, and the several interments were all laid in the east-to-west position. Yet on the other hand many of the graves yielded furniture of various kinds, and some of them brooches and other details of exceptional beauty.[1] The reasonable conclusion is that in this cemetery at Winton Street were laid all the dead of Aelfric's *tun* (Alfriston) irrespective of their creed, until the Church provided its own ' hallowed acre ' in the heart of the village. That ' hallowed acre ' is an indisputable round barrow, but it was reared by Holy Church to receive the faithful dead.[2] The burial of some few Christians—Sussex was converted only in 681—within the pagan grave-field was sufficient to hallow the whole. That was the kindly view of the Celt and the Saxon. It was not the view of the dogmatic Roman : Archbishop Theodore explicitly declared in his *Penitential* that the interment of a single heretic or infidel within the *limes* brought pollution upon the whole. Theodore was neither a Celt nor a Saxon ; he was of

[1] *Sussex Grch. Collections*, lvi (1914), p. 16.
[2] See below, ch. xxv. So, very curiously, whereas the Saxons of Alfriston had till then known nothing of barrows, but used merely a grave-field, Christianity immediately provided them with a communal barrow of its own.

Tarsus and as rigidly Roman as he dared to be. Another saint, Guthlac to wit, Saxon by birth and Celtic by training, actually selected for the site of his own cell what he knew to be a pagan barrow.[1] Saxon barrows are relatively few, Saxon burials within other barrows are common enough. Common also is the name of the Saxon god Woden, usually more or less corrupted, applied to conspicuous barrows. But it is very rare to find any other Saxon god-name so applied, and one infers that such names—Wodensborough, Wanbarrow, etc.—originated in post-pagan times and signify merely that the barrows in question dated from pre-Christian days and were associated with paganism.

But if the Saxon was somewhat indifferent to the generality of his dead, taking little pains to furnish them with any special or abiding monument, he was very jealous of the pedigrees of his great people. The royal houses of Wessex traced their descent from founders to whom go back also the old royal houses of the Danes, to Scyld (Skioldr) and Freawine and Wig ; and the kings of Mercia and of Northumbria had pedigrees equally long. Such jealousy points to a very real and very retentive form of ancestor-worship, for which there is further evidence in such writings as *Beowulf*, and in the edicts issued from century to century by the Church against the rites connected with funeral-feasts. Nothing is more certain than that the Saxons at large habitually ' ate the offerings of the dead,' and that their feasts were attended by various other practices to which Christianity took grave exception. Bede[2] assures us that many of the less offensive practices of paganism continued in use far into the seventh century, and were especially liable to reassert themselves in times of stress : ' in time of plague some would abandon the Christian sacraments for the mistaken remedies of paganism, as if they could control the scourge of God by incantations and phylacteries and other such secrets of the black art.' Councils of the Church in Gaul[3] throughout the seventh

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[1] For Guthlac and his foundation at Crowland, see ch. xxiv.

[2] *H.E.* IV, xxvii, § 344.

[3] In Brittany the survival of *paganiae* is rather the rule than the exception. ' The Bretons still spend whole nights at the graves of their kinsmen and pour over them libations of milk,' says Baring-Gould (*Book of Brittany*, p. 25), citing Cambry, *Voyage dans la Finistère* (1836), p. 128.

and eighth centuries, and indeed long after, denounce a multitude of similar and frequently much grosser *pagania* ·, such as the worship of trees and stones and wells, sacrifices to false gods, sacrifices and feasts at the graves of the dead, and in particular the eating of horseflesh at such feasts. This latter was apparently an essential in the sacramental ritual of Woden.[1]

As the Saxon polity developed there was developed an elaborate system of moots. Commencing with the *tun* at the bottom of the scale, we have burgh-moots, hundred-moots, shire-moots, moots representing an entire kingdom, and finally the national moot of the collective nation. As was to be expected, those which came earlier in the evolution, and represent stricter territorial areas, show a fixity which is not found in the later moots of kingdom and nation. Doubtless the Saxon would have developed something of this kind had he been left entirely to his own devices. Living as he did side by side with the British Celt, with whom a similar system of local moots was inveterate, it is at least likely that the Celt's example was not lost upon the Saxon[2]; and when it is found that the Saxon's most frequent place of meeting, for whatever purpose, was a grave-mound, or something exactly like a grave-mound, it looks as if he too shared with Acheans and Hellenes, with Latins and Celts, their peculiar belief in the necessity of ' taking the majority into their councils.'

The hundred-names which contain the words *beorh*, *howe*, *hlaw* and *hill*, all in the sense of places of sepulture, are a formidable list. If there be added further those embodying -*church* and -*stow*, the list becomes yet more considerable. There are also very many hundred-names referring to other objects—to roads, fords, streams, wells, camps, stones, meres (boundary-dykes), and yet more frequently to trees. Now as a moot was necessarily held at one definite spot, it is obvious that roads, streams and

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[1] Therefore Hakon the Good refuses to eat horseflesh at a ' blood-offering '; *Story of Hakon the Good* (Saga Library), c. 18. Du Chaillu, *Viking Age*, has a chapter (**xxxiii**) on the survival of *paganiae* in Christian Scandinavia.

[2] Thos. Barnes (*Notes on Ancient Britain and the Britons*, p. 66) was but one of many who have believed the Saxon hundreds to go back to Celtic originals. Peake (*The English Village*, p. 89) would put the origin of the hundred-moot far back in the prehistoric time.

dykes could not in themselves serve the purpose. In these cases the *rendezvous* must have been less the road, dyke, or stream, than some well-known object lying on or near the line of it ; and in all likelihood it was a burial-mound. The same remark applies to trees : at a date when ' oak and ash and thorn ' were vastly more common objects than now they are, it is no less difficult to understand how any such object, unless it were otherwise distinguished, could serve as the trysting-spot of an entire hundred, than to understand how a road or a dyke could do so. It is a fact that a very large proportion of hundred-moots were confessedly places of burial ; it is not at all improbable that originally all were so.

That none of the Saxon hundreds can be shown to have kept a Celtic name is not surprising. Even if the Saxon in a large degree owed to the Celt the development of his hundred-system,[1] he would not be likely to take over the individual Celtic hundreds as they stood. The Saxon hundreds were naturally relative to the Saxon population. If it happened that the new Saxon hundred retained the same trysting-place as its Celtic precursor, it was not to be expected that the Saxon would adopt and retain its name also. The old site would receive a Saxon name, very probably also a Saxon burial to give it a Saxon consecration ; for a ' founder ' who was not of the blood was impossible alike in logic and in fact.

That this view is plausible the term ' moot-hill ' is itself evidence, ' hill ' here having the sense in which it is still used by the older Southdown shepherds, who apply it to any grave-mound however slight in elevation.[2] So essential was the mound to the Saxon moot that the simpler earlier term *mot* or *gemot* was quite supplanted by ' moothill,' which was itself at a later date sometimes reinforced by other terms of the same import, resulting in

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[1] Presumably, like the other Germanic peoples, he already had it in an embryonic form. See above, ch. xii.

[2] cp. *mot-beorb* in a bilingual charter of Edgar (958-975), where the Latin version has *congressionis collem* (*Cod. Diplom,* no. 364 ; *Monast: Anglic.* ii, 364). In Dovedale is a Moot-low (Jewitt, *Grave-mounds,* p.128), and Mutlow occurs in Ches., Cambs., and

elsewhere. In Kemble's *Saxons in England,* i, pp. 55, 56, are cited *mearc-mot* and *mearc-beorb* ; whence it would seem that *mot* and *beorb* might be interchangeable. The fact may throw light on the hitherto unexplained origin of the word *motte* (Norman-French) meaning a '(castle-)mound.' *Mot-beorb* is in sense identical with the *cryc-beorb* dealt with in chap. xv.

pleonasms such as Muttilow[1] and Muthillstow. For
centuries after his conversion to Christianity the Saxon
still held his communal moots at the grave-mounds of the
community's dead, i.e. in the churchyard or the church
of his *tun*.[2] But that, as is commonly supposed, he had
ever habitually concerned himself to build mounds expressly
for the purposes of moots, is improbable. He disliked
spade-work, and preferred when possible to make shift
with the barrows of the men before him. The burial-
places which he thus used as moots while he was still a
pagan, like those which he used for the same purposes
when he became a Christian, were invariably circular,
and there are other hints that he long retained something of
the Celtic feeling that moots should be of this peculiar plan.
The original arrangement of the guildhall of York (plate 1,
fig. 1)—it was altered only some forty years ago—was very
suggestive. A severely rectangular building, erected about
1446, it included a perfectly circular ' ring ' of a diameter
of some 24 feet. The ' ring,' the floor of which was raised
two steps above the general floor of the hall, was enclosed
by wooden panelling, of which the one half was carried up
to the full height of the mayoral throne in its centre—the
throne backed against the end-wall of the hall—while
the other, about half as high, was provided with two small
doors whereby the city fathers reached their seats. The
plan is curiously reminiscent of that of some stone circles,
and not less curious is the fact that the guildhall stands
just outside the presumed site of the south-western gate
of Roman Eboracum, and close beside the Roman road
now represented by the street called Stonegate, that is to
say, exactly where one might have looked to find the moot
of the ancient city. The building occupied the site of an
earlier ' Common Hall,' and was so constructed as to leave
beneath it a thoroughfare which is believed to represent the
old Roman road and is still known as Common Hall Lane.[3]

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[1] Mutlow in Cambs., a large barrow, was
anciently Muttilow, i.e. Moot-hill-low, and
similar redundancies are common. At
Normanton, Yorks. is Haw Hill, presum-
ably for How Hill. In some instances the
syllable *low* has been rationalised to *law* :
thus the mound in Blyth, Notts. now known
as Blyth Law Hill, once the site of the
manorial gallows, was earlier called Emmers-
low (*V.C.H. Notts.* i, 315).

[2] Below, chaps. xxvii–xxviii.

[3] At a subsequent date (until 1811) a
building upon the Ouse bridge was used as
town hall.

NO. I.   THE GUILDHALL, YORK : INTERIOR, 1807
(By permission of Messrs. Delittle Fenwick & Co., York).

NO. 2.   SHOLDEN CHURCH, NEAR DEAL, AS IT WAS IN 1806.
(From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1806, pt. ii, 1017).

It looks indeed as if, when at last a roofed moot was desired, this was so built as to enclose the site of the community's earlier place of assembly in the open air.

The Celtic name for all moots of whatever type was *cruc*, for which the Romanised Britons substituted the Latin equivalent *circus*. The Saxons, learning both words, quickly dropped the one,[1] but passed on the other as the name of the scene of a specific kind of moot, that 'assembly of the faithful for religious worship' which the old Welsh called *cyrch* and we ourselves call a 'church.' The scenes of his older native gatherings he continued obstinately to call *moots* and *moot-hills*, just as the Dane, with equal obstinacy, continued to call them *tings*.

Reasons have been given for believing that a large number of the stone circles were moots of the Celts. If the Saxon, as here suggested, was led to develop his system of moots by Celtic example, the question arises, Why then did he not adopt the stone-circle ? There are but three possible answers to the question.

Firstly it might be retorted that the question is fallacious—that he did so use the circles. There is ample evidence that in the non-Saxon parts of Scotland, as in Brittany, the traditional use of the circles did not cease until the fourteenth century or even later[2]; but there is no hint of it in the thoroughly Saxon areas. One of the best pieces of evidence against it is the fact that not one single known Hundred-name refers to any such stone circle.

Secondly it has been argued by some writers that the stone circles were not in existence when the Saxon first arrived here. This view is hardly worth arguing to-day. It is probable that some of the best examples in Britain were actually erected after the fifth century in Cornwall and in Cumberland, but the type must have been known and used in these islands for some centuries earlier.

The third, and the only convincing answer is, that when the Saxons arrived upon the scene the stone circles

[1] Dropped it in the sense of 'moot,' though he retained it, as did the Celt himself, in the sense of 'grave' (ch. xv).

[2] Above, ch. xi.

had throughout the more progressive parts of Britain ceased to be in active or general use—that the Roman *circus* had supplanted the stone circle wherever the Roman influence was strongest, i.e. exactly in those parts of Britain by which the Saxon invaders made their entry. In these eastern and south-eastern and southern coastal lands the lack of suitable stone must have made that type of moot always rare and difficult to provide.

In the remoter West, in Cornwall and Wales, as in Strathclyde and in Scotland, they might, and almost certainly did, continue in use, and there, if not sooner, the Saxon must have learnt their purpose. Elsewhere the Romano-British communities had for the most part discarded the circle-moot for the new *circus*, a more modest thing and more accordant with their humbled condition. This, and the earlier and still humbler mound-moot, the Saxon saw in active use on all his borders. The mound-moot he adopted, if only because it was the easier to provide. Of the *circus* he learnt the use and the name ; he did not imitate it, but he kept its name in mind for future service.

The Saxon tribes, when first they reached Britain, would seem to have been in much the same state of savagery as were any other Teutonic people when they passed into Gaul, the Belgae not excepted. Celtism quickly modified the Belgae, so that when they again moved on into Britain they came as a highly developed people with a fixed polity, a fixed religion, and fixed ideas on burial. The Saxons had had no chance to learn these things : the Frank had forestalled them in Gaul, so that they came here direct and untutored. But once here they fell, like their forerunners, under the influence of Celtism. They learned and used the Celtic system of moots, they imitated Celtic burial practices ; and when presently they learnt Celtic Christianity, this was but the natural corollary to what had gone before. Like his kinsmen in Gaul before him, like the Normans in Ireland after him, the Saxon too fell under the same spell of Celtism,[1] and became *ipsis Hibernis Hibernior.*

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[1] For some remarks upon the enervating influence of Scotic Christianity upon the Saxon, see Sir H. Howorth's *Golden Age of the English Church.*

CHAPTER XXII.

ROME AND IONA.

*Christianity in Roman Britain confined to the Towns—
St. Ninian at Whithorn—The Reason of his Failure—
Bede's account of Romano-British Christianity—The
'Ecclesiae' not Structural Churches—Romano-British
Temples—The Term 'Basilica' in Bede—Paulinus
and Augustine—The Supposed Church at Silchester—
Conversion of Roman Buildings into Churches—Move-
ments of the Northern Tribes—St. Columba at Iona—
Iona a Scotic Monastery—'Raths' in Scotland—Kirk-
stones of Stroupster—Old Deer—The Death of Odhrain—
Aversion to new Burial-grounds—Circular Church-yards
in Scotland—The Knowe of Saverough—Hillswick in
Shetland—Scottish Churches on Cairns and Barrows—
Scottish Grave Monuments—Cist-burial—Orlygr in
Iceland—The Apse in Scotland—The 'Mansio' of
St. Cuthbert in Farne—The 'Mansio' of St. John of
Beverley at Hexham—The 'Mansio' of St. Chad at
Lichfield.*

Wherever Christianity has come, the 'elder faiths'
have always made a stubborn fight. The old gods may be
conquered, but being gods they refuse to die. To this day
the peasantry of Tuscany swear by the deities of pagan
Rome and practise magic in the names of still older Etruscan
divinities, even under the very shadow of St. Peter's; and
the like paganism lingers yet more stubbornly in remoter
lands, most of all in the erstwhile Celtic lands. The very
word 'paganism' suggests that the new faith for many
years made little headway outside the towns, and the word
'heathen'[1] conveys the same implication. There were
Christians in Britain very possibly for two centuries before
they gained public recognition and protection, but there
is no shred of evidence that the country-folk were anything

[1] A needless attempt has been made to derive this word, like 'church' itself, from the Greek, but in any case there was always a felt association with 'heath.' See *N.E.D.* Sozomen's assertion that Theodosius (*circa* 390) 'forbade the unorthodox to hold assemblies in the towns' implies that the country-folk were mostly pagan still.

but pagans. What Christianity existed was confined to the towns such as Canterbury, Silchester, Verulamium, and perhaps Caerwent.[1] The rhetoric of Gildas is hardly evidence to the contrary, and even his language applies to Bath only.[2] The Gallic revivalists Lupus and Germanus (429) are said to have preached, not in the churches only, but also *per trivia, per rura, per devia*.[3] This Prof. Baldwin Brown[4] takes as evidence that Christianity was not confined to the towns. It is certainly good evidence that *outside* the towns the *pagani* could boast of few or no churches. In the next year (430) Germanus, wishing to keep the Easter feast, caused his followers to build booths of boughs for themselves and a church of the same fabric (*frondibus contexta*) for the bishop.[5] This was in north Wales. Evidently there was no existing church within some distance. Evidently also the temporary ' church ' so constructed was not such as could accommodate a congregation, and the mass would be celebrated *more Scotico* under the roof of heaven.

Bede records[6] that Ninian, himself a Briton who had been trained and consecrated at Rome, ' built a church of stone after a fashion unfamiliar to the Britons.' This was before 432. Ninian selected a spot in Galloway then known as Rosnat. He named his church *Candida Casa*, translating the name of the place near Ligugé where he had received his missionary training[7]; and its present name of Whithorn (A.-S. *hwit-aern*) is again a translation of the Latin name. This is the first structural church in the British Isles for the building of which we have any evidence. Bede does not call it a *basilica*, and its name of *casa* suggests that

[1] An aisleless rectangular building at Caerwent with a western apse and transeptal annexe has been held to be a Christian church (Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*. p. 253), and T. S. Muir (*Ecclesiological Notes*) figures an unquestionably early church of similar plan. The late Dr. Haverfield thought that of the smaller towns of Roman Britain ' most . . . had perhaps a tiny Christian church or two ' (*V.C.H. Shropshire*, i, 209).

[2] *Hist. Brit.* §§ 12, 24. This was written *circa* 564 ; cf. Bede, *H.E.* II, xiv, § 133, of the beginnings of Roman Christianity in Northumbria under Paulinus ; *nondum oratoria vel baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi ecclesiae poterant aedificari*.

[3] *Vita S. Germani* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Jul. vii, 224).

[4] *Arts*, i, p. 162.

[5] Bede *H.E.* I. xx, § 44. This chapter is omitted in the Saxon Version. For the procedure—provision of booths, etc.—cf. the remarks of Gregory to Mellitus, ch. xxvi.

[6] ibid. III, iv, § 158, *ecclesiam lapideam insolito Brittonibus more fecerit*.

[7] Archibald Scott, *The Pictish Nation* (1918), pp. 78, etc. Some of the places now called Whitchurch may have the like origin, but see p. 300. If Whithorn is sometimes called *Magnum Monasterium*, the epithet has no reference to size.

it was very small.[1]   There must have been a Christian
population in Galloway if, as the usual story goes, a few
miles away was born (*c.* 372) St. Patrick, ' son of Calpurnius
the deacon and grandson of the priest Potitus '[2]; yet
Ninian's foundation failed to make good.[3]   It was Kenti-
gern,[4] another Briton (but consecrated in Ireland, and
therefore of the Scotic rule), who resumed Ninian's work
with more success in the latter half of the sixth century.

Ninian's date being some years prior to the great out-
burst of Scotic Christianity inaugurated by St. Patrick,
the Britons of Galloway must have owed their Christianity,
such as it was, to the earlier Romano-British Church.   Now
Bede is very emphatic in declaring that Ninian's training
was strictly Roman :   he was *Romae regulariter fidem
edoctus*,[5] and in Rome he had been consecrated bishop.
If then his procedure was *n os insolitus* in the Galloway of
A.D. 400, it is clear that the practice of these British Chris-
tians of the North was even at that date very different
from the Roman practice.   When Augustine met the Welsh
bishops at Augustine's Oak (*c.* 602) he could say that their
practice was ' in many points ' different from that of Rome
and the Church at large[6];   and while prepared to waive all
other differences, he insisted upon the necessity of their
conforming to the Roman rule in regard to the date of
Easter and the rite of baptism.[7]   The other points of
difference we are left to guess.[8]   One would certainly be

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[1] The words *casa* and *aern* recall the
Irish and Scottish *teach* (ch. xviii). Bingham
(*Christian Antiqs.* bk. viii, 1. § 10) remarked
that it was ' not very easy to conjecture '
why ' churches ' should frequently be styled
casae, and suggested that it was ' because
of their plainness and simplicity.'   The
truer reason was that, in Scotic Christianity,
they were originally the actual *habitacula* of
the builders, and remained so in some cases
down to the thirteenth century even in
England (p. 238).

[2] Calpurnius was also *decurio* of his
native place, which St. Patrick (*Confessio*)
calls Bannauem Taberniae.   If it had
decurions it must have been a *civitas* with
its own *curia.*

[3] It was restored as the seat of a bishopric
727-796, and finally refounded as a Pre-
monstratensian priory (twelfth century).
Ninian was buried there in 432.

[4] Cendeyrn, a Welsh Briton, nicknamed
Mungo, ' Dear One.' He was consecrated

bishop of Strathclyde in 543, and over his
burial-place is built Glasgow cathedral.

[5] *H.E.* III, iv, § 158.

[6] ibid. II, ii, § 93, *in multis quidem
nostrae consuetudini, immo universalis ec-
clesiae, contraria geritis*. In II, ii, § 91,
Augustine's *multis* is replaced by Bede's
plurima.   Augustine had previously asked
pope Gregory's advice in regard to similar
divergences between the Roman and the
Gallic Churches (I, xxvii, § 60).   Cf. again
II, iv. § 97 of Laurentius, *Scotorum . . .
quomodo et Brittonum . . . vitam ac pro-
fessionem minus ecclesiasticam in multis
cognovit.*   He thought the Scoti better than
the Britons, but was disappointed in them
both.

[7] No one knows in what precise point
lay the difference.

[8] Augustine began by demanding further
that the Welsh should abandon their policy
of ignoring the Saxons, and should unite
with him in the work of converting that

the fashion of the tonsure, ultimately settled in favour of the Romans at the Synod of Whitby (664). The British tonsure was probably derived from that of the Druids, or at any rate was objectionable to the Roman Church as reminding them of the druidical tonsure[1] ; yet Augustine, who had been counselled by pope Gregory to be conciliatory, is not recorded to have made any difficulty about it. It is not straining probability to suggest that others of the ' many ' points of variance would be the prominence given by the Celtic Christians to the burial-ground, the form of that burial-ground, and the method of consecrating it ; for all these, like the Celtic tonsure, were inherited from a paganism that was not yet dead. Other points would certainly be the insignificant place given to the structural church, the rudeness and simplicity of the Celtic oratory, the performance of all or almost all the ritual in the open air, the neglect of episcopal consecration of all ' churches,' and the use of one and the same building as oratory and dwelling-house. Augustine doubtless felt that he was carrying conciliation sufficiently far in waiving all these points and asking so little in return. But the Welsh, *toti mundo contrarii*, declined to be reconciled.

Certain other matters of difference are perhaps to be discovered in the canons of archbishop Theodore as given by Bede,[2] so far as they relate to the discipline of the clergy at large and of the monks in particular, for Theodore seems to have found in England a good deal of that individualism which characterised the Irish and Welsh Churches. Possibly also the practice of associating both sexes within the same monastery was in debate, and certainly the confirmed nomadism of the Scotic monastics.[3] That there was even after the Synod of Whitby (664) a strong feeling of antagonism between the Celtic and the Roman rules in England is further indicated by what happened in the case of Wilfrid. Bright[4] speaks of the ' deep and persistent antipathy ' to that Romanising bishop, adding that ' in

people. This, however, was hardly a matter coming within the *regula* and the *mysteria veritatis*, and moreover it did not apply to the Celtic Church at large (St. Columba's disciples in Bernicia and Deira, for example).
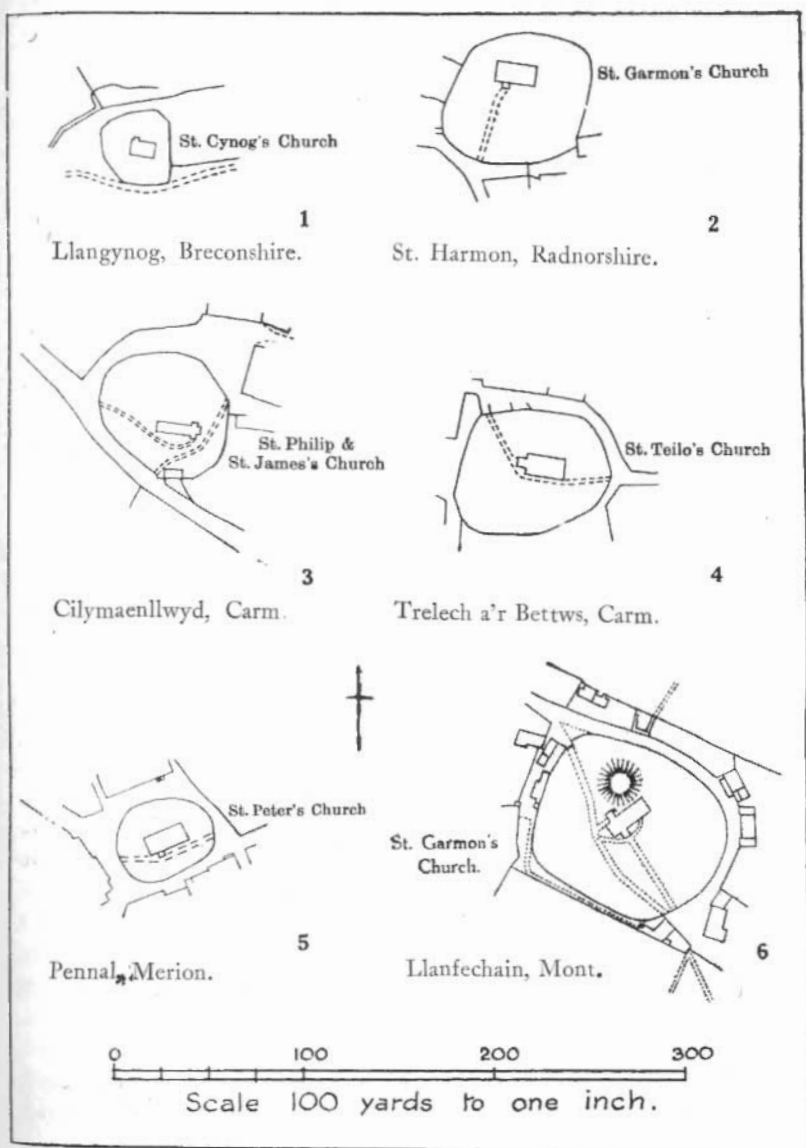
[1] The Druids seem to have shaved the front of the head from ear to ear, leaving the hair to grow long over the rest of it.

The *Book of Armagh* says that this tonsure was known (to the Christians) as ' the fillet of Hell.'

[2] *H.E.* IV, v, § 269.

[3] cf. the story of Colman's monastery in Inisboffin (Bede *H.E.* IV, iv, § 266).

[4] *Lectures*, p. 398. Archibald Scott, *The Pictish Nation.*

1
Llangynog, Breconshire.

St. Cynog's Church

2
St. Harmon, Radnorshire.

St. Garmon's Church

3
Cilymaenllwyd, Carm.

St. Philip &
St. James's Church

4
Trelech a'r Bettws, Carm.

St. Teilo's Church

5
Pennal, Merion.

St. Peter's Church

6
Llanfechain, Mont.

St. Garmon's
Church.

0   100   200   300
Scale 100 yards to one inch.

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN WALES
(*From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office*).

Northumbria at any rate there was a powerful mass of opinion which in a practical sense might be called anti-papal.'

Bede's language in reference to Ninian's ' church of stone ' at Whithorn is commonly taken to imply that the native Britons—as distinct, one must suppose, from the Romanised British population of the towns—knew nothing of churches built of stone or brick ; it being tacitly or explicitly assumed that they were perfectly familiar with churches built of timber and wattle.   There is ample evidence that the earliest Celtic ' churches ' were commonly of wood, but there is little or no evidence that the earliest of these goes back to Ninian's time ; and one fact which is prominent in Bede's pages is that to build a church of any kind was *mos insolitus* until the beginning of the eighth century. [1]   But inasmuch as for centuries after the triumph of the *regula Romana,* churches continued to be built of wood and wattle, it is scarcely credible that the use of timber or of stone was a vital question between the Roman and the Celt.   Bede was himself wholly Roman in his views : he scouted all that was not strictly Roman, and it is abundantly clear from his writings that to his mind a primary essential in orthodoxy was a structural church sufficiently large to accommodate a congregation, and preferably, though not necessarily, of basilican plan.   There-fore when the Roman Paulinus builds a ' church '—it is called both *ecclesia* and *oratorium*—at York for the baptism of king Edwin, Bede apologises for both its circular plan and its wooden fabric as due to the need of haste. [2]   Later he tells us that the same Paulinus built another *basilica* at Campodonum, apparently of wood, but he does not sneer at it therefor, nor indeed does he anywhere scoff at wooden churches merely because they are of wood.

Having regard to the essential difference which the evidence shows to have subsisted between the Celtic and the Roman way, it seems more reasonable to understand

[1] The same feeling lingered in Ireland until the twelfth century. When archbishop Malachy of Armagh built a church of stone at Bangor, ' an opponent protested against the innovation ; *Scoti sumus, non Galli . . . Quid opus erat opere tam superfluo ?* ' (St. Bernard's *Life of Malachy,* c. 28).

[2] *H.E.* II, xiv, § 132, *citato opere.* That it was circular is stated in the account of the subsequent building of the larger basilican church of stone ; *praeparatis ergo funda-mentis in gyro prioris oratorii, per quadrum coepit aedificare basilicam.*

Bede's remark about Ninian to imply that he attempted to introduce the Latin way amongst a people who at that date knew nothing thereof; and read in this light the emphasis laid upon Ninian's strict Roman training acquires a point which otherwise is wholly lacking. Ninian failed at Whithorn just because his was not the Celtic way, which began with the graveyard and attached small importance to any building within it. Kentigern succeeded because he followed the Celtic way. It would seem indeed that Ninian himself was forced ere long to abandon the Roman practice, for we read that when Kentigern came to Glasgow some century and a half later, he found there, not a 'church,' but merely a cemetery formerly consecrated by Ninian. That had survived and retained its sanctity for a hundred and fifty years, whereas the ' church of stone ' at Whithorn had failed.

This reference to Ninian and his work being the last which Bede makes to that earlier Christianity which had once prevailed in *Britannia Romana* and had been overwhelmed by the Saxon invasion, it will be well at this point to review the matter in the light obtained from the history of Christianity in Wales and Ireland.

It has been shown that the earlier Christian *loca consecrata* in Wales and Ireland were barrows, and that the structural church in both countries was a late development. As the Christianity of Wales is believed, and seemingly upon good grounds, to have been derived in the first instance from Roman Britain, however slight may have been the connecting thread, there arises the question, How came this early Christianity of Wales to be so unlike that which is asserted to have obtained in Roman Britain ? Is it possible that one's mental picture of the Christianity of the Romano-British likewise requires to be modified ?

Both the pagan Celt and the Christian Celt—the Cymru—paid extraordinary regard to the grave, small heed to any structural place of worship. The Romano-Briton was the heir of the one people, the parent of the other—it might indeed be said that he *was* the Cymru, for between Roman Britain and Christian Wales there was no hiatus of time or of blood. It would be very strange if in matters of religion he did not inherit something of the ways of his forebears ; stranger still if the Christianity of the Cymru
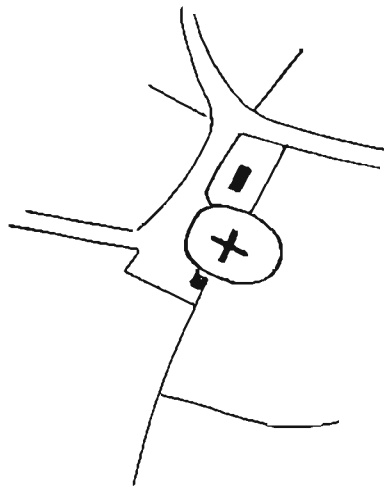
Llanfihangel Rhos-y-Corn,
Carm.
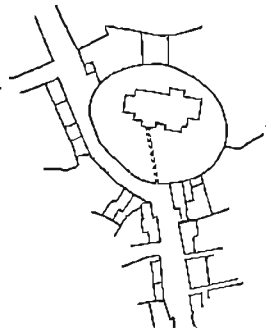
Llangadock,
Carm.
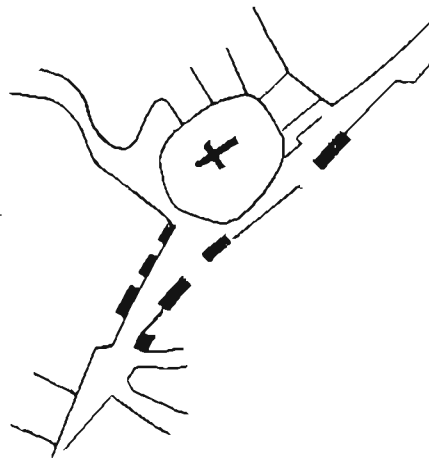
Myddfai,
Carm.

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS IN WALES, SAME SCALE AS ON P. 193.

(From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office).

were not very like his own. The Cymru had their *eglwys*, which assures us that the Romano-Briton had likewise his *ecclesia*. But what exactly was the *ecclesia* of the Romano-Briton ?

In the language of Christianity the word *ecclesia* meant originally the ' congregation,' and this is the only sense which the word bears in the Scriptures. From this was early developed the meaning of ' place where the congregation met. [1] The meaning of a roofed building, a structural ' church,' is a yet later development and is no part of the word's earlier connotation. In the Greek East it was permissible, at least as early as 300, to use it in the sense of a special building, [2] but there is no reason to suppose that the word's evolution was equally rapid in all lands to which it came. In Latin Italy indeed the evolution may have been almost as swift, because the civilisations of Greeks and Italians were in those days pretty much on one plane, and the forces working for Christianity amongst both peoples were largely identical and fairly synchronous. But the civilisation of Roman Britain, high though it may have been, was by no means on the same plane : the mass of the population, even in the most progressive parts of the province, was wholly different in culture [3] as in race ; and any forces there working for Christianity, if identical in kind, were far feebler and came much later into the field. We should not expect the evolution of a structural church to have been as rapid here as in Italy and the Greek lands, and there is no evidence that it was so.

The point may be illustrated from Roman paganism in Britain. That system had a clear field and a continuous

[1] Smith, *Dict.Christian Antiqs.* i, 366, etc.

[2] See further below, ch. xxviii, where it is shown that the evolution of the building out of the grave was precisely the same in the Christianity of the East and of Italy as it was in that of the Celtic lands. The only difference was in point of rapidity, as was to be expected from the differences in civilisation. In the Greek East ἐκκλησία did not begin to mean a structural church until 250 years after the death of our Lord : it had not wholly usurped that meaning until at least another 50 years later. So with the Latin *ecclesia* in Italy. The basilican plan did not become dominant until about 400, at the very moment when the Romans were beginning to think of leaving Britain. They did not return (in the person of Augustine) for 300 years, and by that time the Roman *ecclesia*, like much else in Roman Christianity, was stereotyped.

[3] The latest pronouncement on this matter is by Prof. F. Haverfield in *The Romanization of Britain*, and from the evidence there assembled it would seem that the culture of the province was by no means as high as the author would wish it to appear. For another estimate, much less flattering, see Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor* (1905), pp. 37 *sqq.* : J. S. Reid, *Municipalities of the Roman Empire* (1913).

career of at least 250 years, during which time it was the
official religion, and was further backed by all that policy
could do to help it.[1] The temples therefore of Roman
Britain should have been both many and magnificent.
They were mostly neither the one nor the other. One of
the outstanding facts of archaeology is the fewness of the
remains of indubitable Roman temples here, and the
comparative poverty of the few that are known. There
seem to have been few even in the great cities of the island,
and those in no wise large or elaborate. In the smaller
towns we must perhaps admit that they existed, but their
reliquiae are extremely small. In the villages which covered
the country they do not seem to have existed at all except
in the humble form of *nymphaea* and *sacella* attached to
this or that great villa, e.g. the temple of Nodens at Lydney,
Glouces. and the little *nymphaeum* lately identified within
the ringwork of Chanctonbury in Sussex[2] ; but as the vil-
lages could not rise to the ownership of *fora*[3] it is the less
remarkable that they did not build temples. The *circus*
which served them for the one purpose probably served them
for the other also, officially at any rate. It will not suffice
to urge that the temples once existed, but have been
destroyed. The 250 years of Roman paganism here were
precisely the years of Rome's most efficient building, and
it is incredible that, had she built here anything at all
approaching the temples of Italy, so few traces of them
should be forthcoming.[4] If then the official religion made
so poor a display, is it likely that the struggling and perse-
cuted faith of Christ could advertise itself in what we should
call ' churches ' ?

Yet indubitably there were Christians—a few—here in
the third century. If so, there were also *ecclesiae* in the

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[1] Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.

[2] *Sussex Arch. Collections*, liii (1910),
pp. 131-7.

[3] See above, ch. ix.

[4] Three temples were disclosed in the
excavation of Silchester, of which one had
a *cella* 24 ft. by 21 ft., another 13 ft. by
11 ft. See plans in Haverfield, *Romaniza-
tion of Britain*, 1912, p. 31. The third was
circular and larger. In *Archaeologia*, lxiv
(1912-13), p. 449, is a plan of a round temple
at Caerwent. Another at Caerwent had a
cella 20 ft. square, with an apse 8 ft. across

the gorge. At Corstopitum (Corbridge)
also was a building which may have been a
temple. All that remains of any temple at
Bath, the pleasure-city of the province, is
the great head of Sol, which probably
decorated his fane. The largest known
rectangular temple in the island is that lately
found at Uriconium (Wroxeter). Its *cella*
was 25 ft. by 20 ft. and it differed from the
others in standing within ' a cloistered
temenos ' 93 ft. by 55 ft. See *Reports of
Research Committee, Lond. Soc. Antiqs.*
1913-14.

sense of ' congregations,' and therefore also *ecclesiae* in the sense of ' places of meeting.' It does not follow that there were *ecclesiae* in the sense of structural ' churches,' and it is very unlikely that there were. There is no explicit mention of them, no trace of them, and no reason to think that the Romanised Briton, seeing that he was still a Celt, would require them. *Ecclesia* to him meant only the place of meeting for Christian ritual. In that sense he learnt to use the word and took it with him (*eglwys*) when later he with-drew before the Saxon into Wales. If he followed the example of the first Christians in Rome, whose first ' churches ' were in the tombs of the catacombs, he would make his meeting-place where he buried his dead ; and as this had likewise been the way of his forefathers in pagan times, it is the more probable that he did so. Further, as his forefathers had from immemorial time laid their dead in barrows, presumably he did the same. So his *ecclesia* (*eglwys*) must have been a barrow—the circular mound or the ring-work which still marked the graves of his dead, because he had never known any other way of marking[1] them. The evidence shows that this was actually the case in Wales in days when Christianity was no longer subject to persecution.[2]

After 311 things in Britain were different, for Con-stantine had given to the Christians liberty to follow their creed without molestation, and in effect Christianity became then and there the official creed of the province.

[1] It seems to be commonly assumed that Christianity at once swept away all the accessories of pagan burial. The thing is unthinkable, nor can there be cited any case where such a line of action was crowned with success. Christianity would assuredly have failed had it taken such a line, and it would have deserved to fail. There is no destroying at one blow the burial-customs of a people when they have any worth calling so, least of all those of the Celts.

[2] If *ecclesia* be taken, as archaeology suggests that it should be taken, not to have yet developed the sense of ' structural church,' all difficulty disappears from a number of statements, as for example that in *Menologia Graeca*, 16th March (cited in *Mon. Hist. Brit.* i, p. cii), of Aristobulus, one of the Seventy sent by St. Paul, ἐκκλησίαν ουστησάμενος καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους ἐν αὐτῇ καταστήσας, κ.τ.λ, and of St. Peter ἐκκλησίας τε συστησα-μενος ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους χειροτονήσας, κ.τ.λ. The word ἐκκλησία here probably has the same sense as in *N.T.* (' The Church which is in Ephesus,' etc.). There is no evidence what-ever to support e.g. Milman's imaginary picture (*Hist. Lat. Christianity*, ii, 227) of a Roman Britain in which ' churches and monasteries existed in considerable numbers.' So Baring-Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* 5th Ser. xvii, 273 ; ' So far no evidence has been produced of any churches erected by the Britons themselves of stone or brick.' The Aristobulus of the above citation has been identified with the Arwystli Hen of Welsh tradition, Bran's spiritual instructor, and with the person mentioned in St. Paul's *Ep. to Romans*, xvi, 10. See Williams, *Eccles. Antiqs. of the Cymry*, p. 57.

Then at last there might be built structural churches, for the upper class of converts would not relish the rigours of worship *sub divo* in this climate. These of the upper class would be largely non-Celtic,[1] if not actually Italian. Just about the same period the Christians of Rome also set the fashion for building such edifices,[2] and began gradually to evolve the peculiar form of church styled the basilican.[3] This too would find its way to Britain, but slowly, for distances were great and communications slow. But by the time the *basilica* reached him, the Romano-Briton had already become accustomed to speaking of any structural church as *ecclesia*, for he never adopted the new name (*basilica*).[4] More than that, he never adopted the type either. He went on, as in Wales he still goes on, building *ecclesiae* of the type he had first known—the type still to be seen in the Chapel of St. Agnes in the Catacombs—a mere rectangular box.[5]

Bede, writing of the altered state of things, makes a marked distinction between these two types of structure. The persecutions over, the Christians in Britain, he writes, ' repaired their *ecclesiae*, which had been levelled to the ground ; they founded and built and completed *basilicae* to the blessed martyrs.'[6] The difference in the terminology is proof of Bede's veracity : there had heretofore been no basilican churches in Britain, but *ecclesiae* only ; but after the declaration of religious tolerance the British Christains, drawn more closely into the Roman organisation, followed

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[1] The monumental proofs of the prevalence of Christianity in Britain in the fourth century are almost exclusively in forms which bespeak them the property of the upper and wealthier class, seals and rings bearing the Christian monogram, and tessellated pavements which reproduce it. See Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* pp. 12-19, 20-31. Newell (*Hist. Welsh Church*, p. 21) thinks differently in regard to Wales, where, he says, the evidence shows that early Christianity ' lived apart from the patronage of wealthy Roman residents.'

[2] ' Church-building, as we understand it, did not begin in Rome until the fourth century' (Ditchfield, *English Village*).

[3] On the lack of any uniform plan in the earlier Christian churches, see Bingham, *Christ. Antiqs.* VIII, iii. Constantine's original church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was circular (Eusebius, Walafrid

Strabo) : but the same emperor built an octagonal church at Antioch and a cruciform church (of the Twelve Apostles) at Constantinople. Others again were square (*forma quadra'a*, Sincerus in *Thesaur. Eccles. s.v.* ναός), and were oddly styled δρομικά.

[4] Its appearance occasionally in Ireland (*basleg*) is artificial only.

[5] William of Malmesbury (*c.* 1125), speaking of the well-known basilican church at Deerhurst near Tewkesbury, calls it *antiquitatis inane simulacrum*, ' a meaningless piece of ancient symbolism.' Did he mean that it was a style of building which was exotic in England ? (*Gesta Pontif.* ii, 76).

[6] *H.E.* I, viii, § 22, *renovant ecclesias usque ad solum destructas ; basilicas sanctorum martyrum fundant, construunt, perficiunt.*

so far as might be the new Roman fashion and built
basilicae. There was one at Silchester, believed to date
c. 350. Bede does not say that every church built in Roman
Britain after 311 was a *basilica*, nor is it likely that all were
such : even the building erected over the spot where
St. Albanus died he calls only an *ecclesia*, albeit it was ' of
admirable workmanship and full worthy of the martyred
saint.' [1]   Basilican churches would be found only in some
of the wealthier and more populous cities, and only there
too is it likely that there had been many martyrdoms.

Bede uses the term *basilica* twice again, and in both
cases of churches built by the Roman Paulinus. [2]   He never
applies it to any church built by the Scotic missioners or
their disciples, although some of these were of considerable
size, as for example that of Aedilburga at Faremoutier. [3]
All these he calls *ecclesiae*.   Clearly the word *basilica* has
reference solely to the plan of the building, but not to the
size or the material : Paulinus' *basilica* at Campodonum is
of wood, but Ninian's stone church at Whithorn is *ecclesia*.
If elsewhere Bede calls the *basilica* at York by the term
ecclesia, [4] this is not incorrect, for every *basilica* was an
ecclesia, though not every *ecclesia* was a *basilica*.

None of Augustine's churches at Canterbury is called
a *basilica*.   All are *ecclesiae*, as also the cathedral churches
built by his colleagues at London [5] and Rochester. [6]   Yet
in the case of the church of SS. Peter and Paul, now
St. Augustine's, he had an entirely free hand, and as excava-
tions have proved, the church as first completed was actually
a *basilica* ; and why Bede should style it *ecclesia* [7] is not
clear.   Is it possible that Augustine had not designed it so
ambitiously ? [8]   He began it in 601, but died in 604, and
the building was only completed under his successor
Laurentius in 613 ; and even so it was not a large building.
It is not easy to understand the length of time occupied
unless there were some very material alterations in the
design.   But Bede, who never left his home on the Wear,
had no personal knowledge of Canterbury, and could not

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[1] *H.E.* I, vii, § 20.
[2] Below, p. 232.
[3] *H.E.* II, viii, § 174.
[4] ibid. II, xiv, § 133.
[5] ibid. II, iii, § 95.
[6] ibid. *loc. cit.*

[7] ibid. I, xxxiii, § 79 : II, iii, § 96.
[8] Prof. Hamilton Thompson (*Ground-plan
of the English Parish Church*, p. 15) takes
this view.   The complete history of the site
is to be found in *Archaeologia* lxxvii (1927),
pp. 201-218.

always be infallible when relying upon the information of others.

King Alfred, in translating the *History* of Orosius, uses *cirice* for both *ecclesia* and *basilica* indifferently. So does Bede's Saxon Translator, and when met with the need of distinguishing between the two, as in the case of the earlier *ecclesia* and the later *basilica* at York, calls the former *cirice*, the latter merely *maran cirican*, ' a bigger church.' A Saxon of Scotic bias, he saw no difference save in point of size between the one and the other. As the Welsh used *eglwys* for any sort of church, so the Saxon used *cirice*, and just as the Welsh use of *eglwys* must have been established before the word *basilica* was introduced into Britain in the fourth century, so the Saxon use of *cirice* must have been established before Paulinus re-introduced the basilican type, i.e. before A.D. 627.

Within the walls of Canterbury Augustine ' recovered ' a church which he understood to have been built in the old days of Roman Christianity, and reconsecrated it as Christ Church. This is the only reliable mention of a structural church of that date in Britain. It lay beneath the nave of the present cathedral, a small basilican building with short nave, side aisles, western apse, and probably an eastern *narthex* flanked by square towers. King Ethelbert had perhaps made some secular use of it : his ' temple ' appears to have been outside the walls (at St. Pancras').[1] Beyond St. Pancras', beside the same Roman road leading to Richborough, lay St. Martin's. Both these are reputed to have been Roman buildings, but there is no proof that either was built to be a church, and both had eastern apses. As the Christians of the fourth century seem to have preferred the western apse,[2] it would seem that both buildings had been converted from some secular use. At any rate it is clear that the Jute had inherited a considerable number of Roman buildings. He had apparently stepped straight into the leavings of the Romans' civilisation, and they were more numerous here in the south-eastern corner of Britain than elsewhere. The Jute himself was far less of a savage than was the Angle or the Saxon, and king Ethelbert was

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[1] Thorn's *Chronicle*. It was a basilican building, and the king had an *idolum* in its south aisle. Bede does not mention it.

[2] According to Dr. Haverfield (in *Encycl. Britann.*) this was the fashion until *circa* 420, that is, so long as Britain was Roman.

actually married to a Christian queen who was guaranteed religious liberty, brought with her from Gaul her own confessor Luidhard, and used as her private chapel a building which stood where is now the church of St. Martin. Then, as always, culture stood higher in this quarter than elsewhere in the island, and ravage, whether of Pict or of Saxon, did less damage. The Roman tradition must have lingered as stubbornly here as anywhere : to this day two out of four of the great Roman cities of the area are still great, and Richborough failed only when the sea failed it. The fact must have weighed with pope Gregory when he directed Augustine to make his landing here in Kent.

It is at least probable[1] that the building excavated at Silchester was verily a Christian church. Like the original of Christ Church in Canterbury it was of basilican plan with a western apse and entrance through a *narthex* on the eastern side. The overall measurements were about 42 ft. by 27 ft. ; nave and apse together measured 30 ft. by 10 ft. ; the nave was 20 ft. by 10 ft. and the two aisles were but 5 ft. wide. It was therefore very small. It is strange that, if Christianity was in the fourth century so general and so vigorous in Britain as it is commonly alleged to have been, there should be so few certain traces of its buildings.

Silchester was a large city. Its walls enclose an area of 100 acres, whereas those of Caerwent and Caerleon—'the city of palaces,' as Giraldus Cambrensis called it—extended over fifty acres only, and those of Eboracum, the administrative capital of the whole of Britannia Romana, embraced no more than 52 acres.

If this small building contented so large a community in the more progressive part of the province in the days when Christianity was triumphant, of what fashion would be any 'churches' in the smaller towns and in the remoter villages ? Of what fashion would be any *ecclesiae* which existed in Britain prior to the days of Constantine ?

On this point we have no evidence of any sort save the vague statements of Christian apologists and such remarks as that of Bede, that all the *ecclesiae* had been 'levelled with the ground,'[2] in the days of Diocletian's persecution.

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[1] But Dr. Haverfield cautions us that 'there is no direct proof either of the date of the building or of its purpose.'

[2] *Ad solum usque destructas, H.E.* I, viii, § 22.

This phrase tells us nothing, for it might apply just as well to a barrow or a stone circle, as to any building of wood or of stone. If, as Bede says, structural churches were still unusual with the Britons of Ninian's time (*c.* 400), we may reasonably believe that they were at least as unusual more than a century earlier ; and that being so, we must infer that the Romano-British Christians of the third and fourth centuries as a rule had no ' churches ' at all, but meeting-places only. We know that this was the case in Ireland and in Wales in the fifth century, and that the Welsh Christians of that century were of the very same race as those of whom Bede was speaking. We can only suppose, in default of evidence to the contrary, that in matters of religion they did very much as their fathers had done. If so, the *ecclesiae* of pre-Constantinian Christianity in Britain must have been barrows, not buildings, and the meaning of *eglwys* at any time between the second and the fifth centuries—probably very much later—must have been simply this. As a barrow might be of any fashion, mound or disc or cromlech, there would therefore be nothing strange in finding the name of *eglwys* attaching to such monuments, precisely as happens in the Saxon areas with the term ' kirk ' or ' church.' Thus such a name as *Hên Eglwys* or *Eglwys y Gwyddel* (ch. xx) is exactly parallel with that of Sunkenkirk, Old Kirk, or The Kirk at Kirkby Ireleth (ch. xxiv).

What became of the *fana* of paganism when Christianity triumphed ? The new faith received no immediate license to persecute in its own turn, and there can hardly have been any systematic campaign of destruction directed against the old order.[1] Very likely some Roman *fana* were converted into Christian churches,[2] as had happened in Rome, but we have no positive evidence of it, and if true, it would apply only to the towns. The leaders of the new faith might model their procedure upon that of their fellows in Rome and aspire to basilican churches, but the generality of the flock would be Romanised Celts, *pagani*, who cared nothing at all about structural temples. Quite

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[1] Paganism was only proscribed at last bv Theodosius, *c.* 390, but it does not follow that even then all pagan *fana* were actually destroyed.

[2] This is said to have been done by order of the sons of Constantine.

possibly they actually used for Christian worship some of those moots—*circi* and circles—wherein they had erstwhile sacrificed to Jupiter. Such things lay ready to hand, and as they had never been used as places of interment, they might easily be purified and reconsecrated. If such a change really occurred—and Gregory a little later recommended to Mellitus precisely such a change—it would at once explain the persistent tradition that many of the stone circles were places not merely of worship, but specifically of Christian worship.

The Saxons as a whole, owing their conversion to Scotic missionaries, took the Scotic attitude as regards the structural church, and made small account of it. When at last they were brought over to the Roman attitude and began to build churches, the ruins of Roman buildings provided them with both models and materials. But for almost 200 years after the Romans left there were no churches at all built in England, and for the next two hundred years thereafter such as were built were almost all of wood.

Ninian failed in Strathclyde because he sought to impose Roman Christianity upon a Celtic people. His failure was hastened by the southward thrust of the still pagan Picts. If Gildas found it well to migrate from Alclwyd to Glastonbury, it was because Alclwyd was no longer safe from Pictish attack, whereas Glastonbury was still remote from the vanguard of the advancing Saxons. If Christianity maintained itself at all in Galloway, its existence was most precarious. Further to the north, beyond the Antonine Wall, it had never extended. Caledonia proper was still, and always had been, pagan without qualification. The dominant race there were the Picts, and the Picts were Brythonic, kinsmen of the Belgae of southern Britain, but belonging to a later wave of immigration.

One cause of the southward movement of the Picts was the invasion of the western sea-board of Caledonia— Dalriada—by tribes from the north of Ireland. Amongst these were the Scoti, who, coming from the Irish Dalriada, carved out for themselves a new kingdom of the same name in Argyllshire,[1] and in the long run imposed upon

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[1] Their capital fortress was traditionally the *dun* of Dunadd, which was taken and destroyed by Angus MacFergus, king of the Picts, as early as 736 (*Annals of Tigher-*

the whole country their own name. The general move-
ment of these tribes was to the north and east, and they
reached as far as the Orkneys. The traditional date for
the commencement of their invasions is 498. To make
room for the new-comers, the Picts moved eastward and
southward. To this day the place-names of eastern
Scotland are mainly Pictish, whereas those of the western
seaboard and the isles are Goidelic. Names of saints are
comparatively few upon the eastern part of the map ; the
western part bristles with such names, and the saints in
question are almost wholly Irish. Most famous and most
frequent upon the list, though not the earliest in date, is
that of St. Columba.[1]

Columba was a saint in the Celtic sense of that term :
he was a younger son of royalty[2] (O'Donnell), a convert
who broke many of the Ten Commandments and founded
many ' churches.' He left Ireland because he had to do so.
He came to the new Dalriada because, amongst other
reasons, the inhabitants were of his kindred. He had been
bidden not settle within sight of Ireland, so he pushed on
as far as Hy.[3] The year was 563.[4]

From this Scotic settlement on Iona—Icolumkille[5]—
sprang the whole Christianity of northern Britain for the
next 500 years. From the twelfth century onward Latin
Christianity began to usurp the field. Icolumkille, after
being repeatedly sacked and burned by the Norsemen,
was itself refounded as a Benedictine monastery in 1203,
just as Whithorn had been refounded as Premonstratensian

nach). The ruins have lately been excavated
with illuminating results (*Proc. S.A.S.* lii,
292, *sqq.*). The finds were such as might
easily have been put many centuries too
early in time, but for their including one or
two which bespoke Christianity. Of these
one was a small disc of slate lettered in Irish
minuscules with the legend IN NOMINE.

[1] Other missionaries already in the field
were SS. Kentigern, Finbar. Drostan,
Comgall, Cainnech, and Molaise, whose
activities extended from Galloway to
Sutherlandshire. See Archibald Scott,
The Pictish Nation, passim.

[2] He was great-great-grandson of Niall
of the Nine Hostages, a king of All Ireland
in the fourth century. He was therefore
a Brython. Through his grandmother he
was ' closely connected with the kings of the
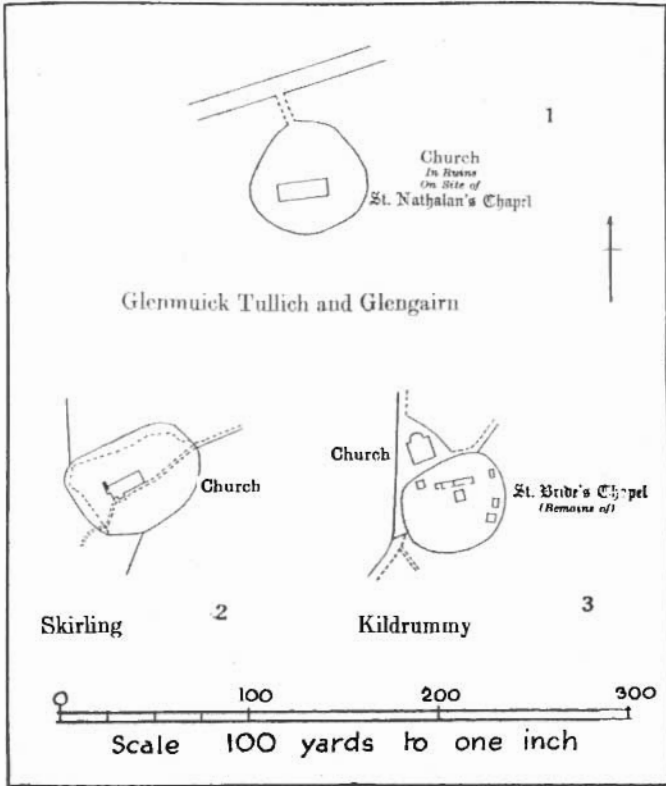Scottish Dalriada.' This explains both why

he settled in Hy, and why he at once
addressed himself to the Brythonic king
Brude Macmailhon (554-584) of the Picts.
Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, cc.
v, vi : Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 151.

[3] The modern name Iona is said to be due
to a misreading.

[4] Bede puts it in 565.

[5] The name recurs on many other sites in
the Western Highlands and in the Isles (in
Skye, Mull, Tiree, Islay, Lewes, and
Oronsay). Petrie believed it to have been
extended to all settlements founded from
the original in Hy, to the traditional
number of 300. Of these Warren (*Celtic
Liturgy*) pronounces 53 to be historical.
Kilcolumkille and Claodh-Columkille, how-
ever, need imply no more than a graveyard
containing, or claiming to contain, relics of
the saint.

(before 1153) in the time of king David I. But the wild coasts which had attracted the Irish pioneers[1] made less appeal to the Latin monks of a later age, who mostly left them alone. The world at large has followed suit, or if it has interfered at all, interfered usually to demolish. But

Church
In Ruins
On Site of
St. Nathalan's Chapel

1

Glenmuick Tullich and Glengairn

Church

Church

Church

St. Bride's Chapel
(Remains of)

Skirling   2   Kildrummy   3

Scale   100 yards to one inch

CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS, SCOTLAND

(From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office).

the monuments of St. Columba and of his missionary disciples are still strewn broadcast from Clydemouth to the Orkneys.

[1] Amongst them were St. Donan who settled in Eigg, St. Brendan in Seil, St. Blaen in Bute, St. Molaise in Arran, and St. Maelrubha in Skye. The settlements on the east coast were made partly direct from Iona by way of Perth and Aberdeen, partly from Lindisfarne, itself a daughter of Iona, northward by way of Old Melrose, Coldingham, etc.

In all external points the early monastic settlements of Scotland were like those of Ireland. Each had its small cluster of bee-hive cells grouped about one or more tiny rectangular oratories, the whole ringed by a circular *cashel*.[1] Remains of all these features are still traceable.[2] Later Roman reorganisations substituted the rectangle for the circle, but not so completely as to obliterate the latter. Enough remains to leave little doubt that the first settlement on Iona was another Inismurray,[3] and that the multitude of her daughter-foundations were of the same plan as was the parent settlement. ' The monastery established by St. Columba was of the usual Irish type. Its buildings were like St. Brigid's at Kildare, of wattles and clay, or at best of oak planks . . . The monastery was still in the same state even when more than a century old, for Adamnan tells of the toil he and his brother monks endured bringing home trees to repair their wooden huts.'[4] The same authority ' repeatedly mentions the church with its *exedra*, or side-chamber, and terms it *oratorium*, which shows that it was a *duirthech*, or oaken building.'[5] St. Columba merely transplanted to new soil Irish monastic Christianity.

' Kirk Stones of Stroupster ' is the name of a curious group of remains near Wick in Caithness, where the ruins of four diminutive quadrangular buildings with curiously long and narrow entrance-ways stand within the area of a roughly circular stone dyke (about 50 yards by 30 yards in diameter) upon a low green mound, the whole surrounded by a fosse. The buildings, which are thought to have once been roofed in beehive fashion, revealed traces of hearths, a quantity of shells, and—so it is said—fragments of blue-glazed pottery ; and some of them showed also traces of something like the stone bench running along the side walls as seen in ' St. Molaise's House ' at Inismurray (ch. xviii) and

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[1] Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, i, pp. 93 *sqq.*
[2] At Inch Columkille in Skye, at Eilean-na-Naoimh in Garveloch, at the Brough of Deerness in Orkney, and elsewhere.
[3] W. G. Collingwood speaks (*Antiquary*, 1907, p. 175) of ' a large flat space, strongly ramparted . . . possibly representing Columba's *rath* in Iona.' See also Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 116-8.

By contrast the *cashel* at Columkille in Skye is given as ' about 20 yards by 14 yards only (Anderson, op. cit. p. 94). At Eilean-na-Naoimh the insulated site rendered needless any *cashel*, as it did on Skellig Michael.

[4] Stokes, op. cit. p. 116, citing Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, p. 195.

[5] Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (1887), ii, 95.

in other early Irish oratories. They are not set east and
west. Two of them at any rate must have been long
occupied, for they proved to have had two or three
successive floors.[1] The whole description, not less than
the name of 'Kirk Stones,' is strongly suggestive of a
Scotic Christian settlement.

The word *rath*, now obsolete in Gaelic,[2] was in use as
late as 1380, when a Court of Regality was held 'apud le
standand stanes de la Rath de Kingussie.'[3] Dr. Christison
says that the evidence for its use in the Irish sense in
Scottish place-names is 'exceedingly meagre.'[4] There
are, however, a number of such place-names—Rathen near
Deer in Aberdeenshire, Rathillet in Fife, Ratho in
Edinburghshire, Rathven in Banff, and Rattray in Perth-
shire—all in the Brythonic area of Scotland; and with
Rathen, Rathven, and Rattray are associated many an-
historic remains and specifically many 'druidical' circles.
There is also a Rathmuriel—Rath of St. Muriel[5]—likewise
in Brythonic Aberdeenshire. Such association of the names
of saints with earthworks is, says Mackinlay, rare in Scot-
land, citing two other instances, namely, St. Bride's Ring
on Kingennie Hill, Monifieth, Forfar,[6] and Caerwinning—
St. Wynnin's *Caer*—in Ayrshire.[7] St. Bride's Ring is
described as a ruined circular fort with walls 7 feet thick,
built of undressed stone, with an inner diameter of
$54\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The name of St. Bride, thinks Mackinlay, has
been transferred to this spot from a chapel dedicated to her
in the vicinity.[8] It may quite well have been the other way
about.[9] The fort at Caerwinning appears to have been a
typical three-ringed Celtic *dun*,[10] like that at Eglwys

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[1] *Proc. S..A.S.* 1916. In the *Book of Arran*
(Glasgow, 1910), pp. 195-213, J. A. Balfour
describes a group of ruins on the Leaca
Bhreac near Kilpatrick in Arran, over-
looking Kilbrannan Sound, and identifies
it with the traditional settlement of St.
Brandan at Aileach (Culbrandon). It is a
dubious case: the area is unduly large
($2\frac{1}{4}$ acres) for such a settlement *circa* 680,
and the plan has no approach to circularity,
while the wall is very feeble. An adjacent
hill, however, bears the name of Torr an
Daimh, 'Church Hill.' Abutting upon the
wall of the enclosure are the ruins of what
seems to have been a formidable *broch*, with
an interior diameter of 55 feet.

[2] Mackinlay, *Pre - Reformation Church*,
p. 388.
[3] Gomme, *Primitive Folkmoots*, p. 190 :
Archaeologia, xx, 200.
[4] *Early Fortifications of Scotland*, p. 317.
[5] Mackinlay, op. cit. p. 387.
[6] Mackinlay, op. cit. p. 416.
[7] ibid. p. 388.
[8] The next parish is Panbride, which is
explained as Llan-Bride. There is another
Llanbride in Elginshire.
[9] Tradition asserts that there was a settle-
ment of Culdees here (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*).
[10] *New Statistical Account*, *Ayrshire*,
p. 219. The same saint has left his name in
Kilwinning also, likewise in Ayrshire.

Cymmin (ch. xix) ; whereas Carbuddo, otherwise Kirk-
buddo,[1] in Forfar—the *Caer* of St. Buite—has reference
to the ruins of a Roman *castrum*,[2] and Carluke in Lanark
was anciently Eglismalescoc.[3] The only explanation of
the change of *eglis* to *caer* must be that here too the
ecclesia was surrounded by earthworks so formidable as to
suggest a veritable *caer*. That this might be so is shown by
the case of Carmichael in the same county : in the twelfth
century the place was called Plan-Michael, ' St. Michael's
Llan.'[4] Even in the twelfth century Irish saints were
still coming over to Scotland and fortifying each his
oratory with ' a *vallum* after the manner of the Irish
rath.'[5]

One of the earliest Christian foundations in eastern
Scotland was that of St. Drostan at Old Deer in Buchan,
on the borders of the shires of Elgin and Aberdeen. This
settlement retained its original Celtic character as late as
the accession of David I (1124),[6] but even so late other
Irish missionary-saints were still founding new houses of
the same Scotic type.[7] This is a fact to be borne in mind
in attempting to determine the age of ecclesiastical remains
in Scotland, as is also the fact that the *regula Romana* had
in that country a free hand for at most 400 years.[8]

Columba brought with him other things than mere
externalities : he brought the immemorial Celtic belief
that there could be no consecration without burial. His
first act on proceeding to occupy his new home in Hy was
to bury one of his own followers, the monk Odhrain

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[1] cf. Cardonell and Kirkdonell, and other examples below, p. 293.

[2] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i, 135.

[3] Johnston, *Place Names of Scotland*.

[4] Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i, 159.

[5] Mackinlay, p. 387.

[6] *Book of Deer*. Old Deer lies in the very heart of that part of Aberdeenshire where ' druidical ' remains are most abundant, including a number of circles of the ' Aberdeenshire ' type.

[7] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 97.

[8] It is 350 years since the death of John Knox (1572), yet to this day the Roman Church remains unchanged and undisturbed amongst many of the northern glens. Things may well have moved as slowly there before the Reformation, and purely Scotic settlements may have subsisted far later than is usually supposed. King Nectan of the Picts, when he requested bishop Ceolfrid to assist him in building churches ' after the Roman manner ' which should be dedicated to St. Peter (710), was only ' conforming ' to the *regula Romana* in the prime matters of the date of Easter and the form of the tonsure. This involved ' the expulsion of the family of Hy (the Columban monks) ' from all Pictland (Tighernach, *Chron.* 717), and for a time the Christianity of Pictland seems to have been represented mainly by the solitary activities of the Culdees, who were rather Scotic than Roman. It was not until the eleventh century that the Roman influence came to be effectively felt. See Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, ch. vi.

(Oran), whose chapel still stands beside St. Columba's larger (and later) church. Here is the ugly story as retold by Professor Haddon.[1]   Arrived in Hy :

' Columkill said then to his people, " It would be well for us that our roots should pass into the earth here." And he said to them, " It is permitted to you that some of you go under the earth of this island to consecrate it." Odhrain rose quickly and thus spoke : " If you accept me," said he, " I am ready for that." " O Odhrain," said Columkille, " you shall receive the reward of this. No request shall be granted to anyone at my tomb unless he first ask of thee." Odhrain then *went to heaven*. He (Columkille) founded the Church of Hy then.'

Even in England at the present day the parishioners will frequently insist that they shall be buried within the old garth of their parish, be it never so crowded, each stubbornly refusing to be the first to be laid in any new annexe thereto ; and if they can be induced to give their reason, it lies in their conviction that ' the Devil gets the first person ' buried in the newly consecrated ground.[2] There can be little doubt that this attitude arises from a dim memory of the human sacrifices whereby the first ' churches ' were hallowed, and the same memory explains also the clear distinction drawn by the peasant mind between the formal ' consecration ' of a new burial-ground and its actual ' hallowing ' by the first interment. Of the former is made little or no account, of the latter very much.

This first Christian settlement at Hy was merely a circular burial-place surrounded by a ring of stones. There are many such scattered over the country, and in very many cases they still bear the name of this or that Irish saint. Sometimes it seems no building ever followed. Often there stands a tiny Celtic church, or the ruin thereof, within the circle. In not a few cases there are several

[1] Haddon, *The Study of Man* (1898), ch. xli ; cf. Jamieson, *Hist. of the Culdees*, p. 20 ; Baring Gould in *Arch. Cambr.* The satirical spirit of a later age gave to the story an amusing turn, for which see the note to Scott's poem of *Glenfinlas*. The chapel of St. Odhrain is still the oldest church in the island, though not the original building. It is possibly as old as the eleventh century. The burial-ground attached to it is called Reilig Oran, the Irish name transferred to Scotland. There is another Reilig Oran in Tiree. That in Iona is (or was) ' surrounded by a circle of stones ' (Murray's *Guide*) : i.e. it was a sepulchral cromlech. But for the happy accident which has preserved its history, this would have been written down as one of the many ' druidical circles ' of Scotland. Skene mentions (*Celtic Scotland*, ii, p. 89) ' a small green hillock surmounted by a circle of stones,' adding that ' it is now called Sithean Mor, but the circle of stones has long since disappeared.'

[2] This was the confessed reason given by an old man of Wybunbury in Cheshire, some few years ago. The prejudice appears to be specially powerful in Somersetshire.

such buildings within the one precinct.[1] These details may vary, but not so the *limes*. That is always circular.

The remains of the monastery of St. Maelrubha on Innismaree, Loch Maree, were described[2] in 1775 as 'a circular dike of stones with a regular narrow entrance. The inner part has been used for ages as a burial-ground, and is still so used.' A desecrated burial-ground in Coll, on Kilbride farm, is 'flat and rather spacious, of somewhat circular shape,'[3] remains of the enclosing wall still showing, though the site has been several times under tillage. Kilmaline, the burial-ground of Salen in Mull, three miles from the village, is a circular enclosure[4] within a rude wall dry-built of stones collected from the moorland about. There is another called Kilfinichen[5] on Loch Scridain, and a third in Ulva.[6] That of St. Kilda in the outermost Hebrides was in 1926 a circular mound overgrown with ragged grass, showing never a monument, nor any trace of a church.[7] The graveyard surrounding the old church of Dipple, parish of Speymouth, Elgin, is circular and revetted, the area flush with the top of the revetment. 'It used to be the custom [at Dipple] to carry the corpse sunwise round the churchyard before interment.'[8] The church-yard of Fodderty, Strathpeffer, Ross-shire, is still partially circular and greatly mounded up. That of Kirkton near Hawick, in Roxburghshire, was perfectly circular until enlarged in 1897. So was that of Linton in the same county. So is, and always has been, that of Skirling in Peeblesshire. James Hogg mentions[9] the remains of the chapel of St. Lawrence at Chapelhope, 'in a small circular

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[1] In a burial-ground at Howmore in S. Uist there are five such buildings; in another at Kilbar in Barra there are four. See T. S. Muir, *Eccles. Notes*, p. 50. So definitely circular is the *limes* in each case that he was content to show each by a compass-drawn circle.

[2] Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, ii, 330.

[3] Mackinlay, p. 8.

[4] The circle is now broken by an angular annexe on the south side. Within the circle 'are the foundations of a small chapel.' So T. S. Muir (*Ecclesiological Notes*, p. 25), who calls the spot Killinaline.

[5] T. S. Muir (op. cit. p. 26) found here 'no traces' of any building.

[6] The traditional burial places of 'Lord Ullin's daughter' and her lover.

[7] The kirk, a modern building, is at the opposite end of the village, entirely separate from the burial-ground.

[8] Private letter of John Geddie, Edinburgh. T. F. Thistleton Dyer (*Domestic Folklore*, pp. 61-62) mentions a similar practice as formerly prevailing in the north of England, for 'the dead maun aye go wi' the sun'; and cites Pennant as stating that 'when a corpse was carried to the churchyard, ... great care was always taken that it should be carried the whole distance on the right-hand side of the road.' A woodcut on the title-page of Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631) shows a funeral *cortège* entering a church with a sun-wise turn.

[9] *The Brownie of Bodsbeck*, ch. ii.

enclosure on the west side of the burn.' Chapelhope, near
St. Mary's Loch, is usually called Henderland (in Megget,
Peeblesshire). Its garth is very small (diam. 25 yards),
belted with an unmistakable vallum.[1] Circular in plan and
mounded up to a great height is the churchyard of
Kildrummy (St. Brigit), near Alford. On the other hand
that of Tullich, near Ballater, though almost exactly
circular, shows no mound. This ' church ' was founded by
St. Nathalan (*obiit* 678), and from it has come a long series
of carven memorial stones, the oldest a remarkable mono-
lith of Pictish type bearing the symbols known as the
' spectacles,' ' elephant,' and ' mirror.' [2]

The Knowe of Saverough, in the dunes half a mile
from Birsay in the Orkneys, provides a Scottish parallel to
the case of Warren in South Wales (ch. xx). Here was
a mound with diameter of 168 ft. and height of 14-16 ft.,
larger in area than that at Warren, but in proportions
much the same. It was filled with interments of all ages
and of both sexes, the bodies laid in cists made of flat
stones from the adjacent beach. The skulls show that they
belonged to those who inhabited the Orkneys at a date
prior to the Norse invasion at the close of the ninth century.
There was no grave-furniture with the bodies, save in one
case, where was found in the cist an urn 5 inches high.
Close by were the traces of a building with all the usual
indications of a dwelling-place, several querns, a double-
edged weaving-comb, implements of bone and of iron,
ashes, and the refuse of food ; and close beside, in a cist
of its own, was found—with no other deposit whatever—
the famous Bell of Birsay.[3]

Dr. Anderson is satisfied that the bell—such bells were
held in peculiar veneration by the Celtic Christians—was
buried there as a holy relic for its greater security at the
time of the Norse invasion. The spot was a *locus conse-
cratus* and a barrow,[4] and the bell being without question
a Christian relic, the inference is that the barrow was a

[1] Information of Ian C. Hannah.
- *Dee-Side Field* (Aberdeen, 1922),
pp. 16-18. St. Nathalan was himself buried
here.
[3] *Proc. S.A.S.* v, 10 : Anderson, *Scotland
in Early Christian Times*, p. 167. The bell
is now in the museum of the Society of
Scottish Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

[4] cp. R. Fenton, writing of Llanbedr in
Anglesey ; ' In the flat below there is a
circular knoll, encompassed by an *agger* such
as encloses places set apart for religious
ceremonies, which is called Bryn y Clychau,
i.e. Hill of the Bells ' (*Cambr. Arch. Assoc.*
1917, p. 265). The description is that of a
primitive *llan*.

Christian graveyard.   Dr. Anderson himself remarked that, when the Norsemen became Christians, a church— Christ's Kirk in Birsay—was built about half a mile away, as if in recognition of the fact that the spot was associated with Christianity.[1]

Here then is another of the very earliest Christian burial-grounds, like that of Warren, Pemb.   Both are circular flat-topped barrows ; and just as at Warren we find the pagan cup-mark side by side with the Christian wheeled-cross, so at Birsay we have the pagan urn in the same barrow with the Christian bell.   The Knowe of Saverough is, however, in point of evolution later than the barrow at Warren, for it was provided with a permanent structure to serve as the residence and oratory of a priest. We have no record of his name, but it would seem that he was the possessor of one of those much-prized bells, and fearing for its safety in some time of crisis, he buried it in the holiest sanctuary he knew of, the graveyard of his flock, which kept it safe for a thousand years.

There are in Scotland, and southward far into Northumbria, many isolated hills to which attach names such as Kirk Hill and Old Kirk.   They are mostly of no great elevation, but usually markedly circular, and were it not that their name of ' kirk ' has glamoured the judgment of those who see them, it would long since have been remarked that each is just the site for a barrow. Each *is* a barrow, or at least carries or has carried a barrow, and their name proclaims the fact.   Sometimes the name goes back to Gaelic times : Knockan-he-glish, parish of Drymen, Stirlingshire, and Knoc-na-eaglais, near Aberfeldy in Perthshire, both preserve the word *ecclesia*,[2] and each is a barrow.   There are cairns in Scotland to which still cling the names of saints reputed, and possibly correctly reputed, to be buried beneath them, like St. Donan's Cairn in Eigg and that of St. Duthace at Tain.[3]   Mitchell recalls the ' cairn erected in the presence of St. Columba

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[1] As the existing church of Warren (Pemb.) is some half-mile away from the earlier graveyard (ch. xx).   Theodore's *Penitential*, 47, seems to make provision for such changes in the sites of ' churches ' : *Ecclesiam licet poni in alium locum, si necessitas fuerit, et in loco altaris crux debet poni.*
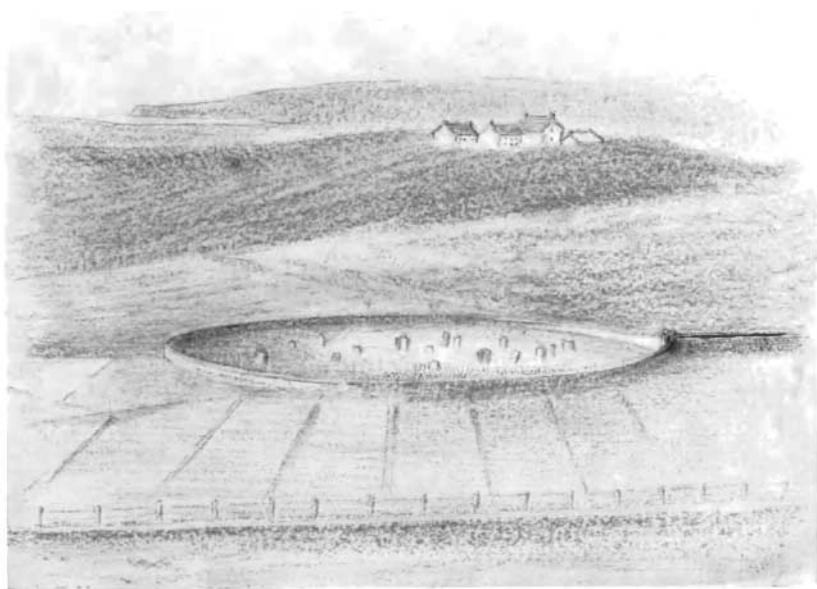
[2] Mackinlay, *Pre - Reformation Church*, p. 66.

[3] *Origines Paroch. Scot.* ii, 427. A Cairn-lernan used to be pointed out in the parish of Killiernan (Killearnan) in Sutherland-shire.

PLATE II.
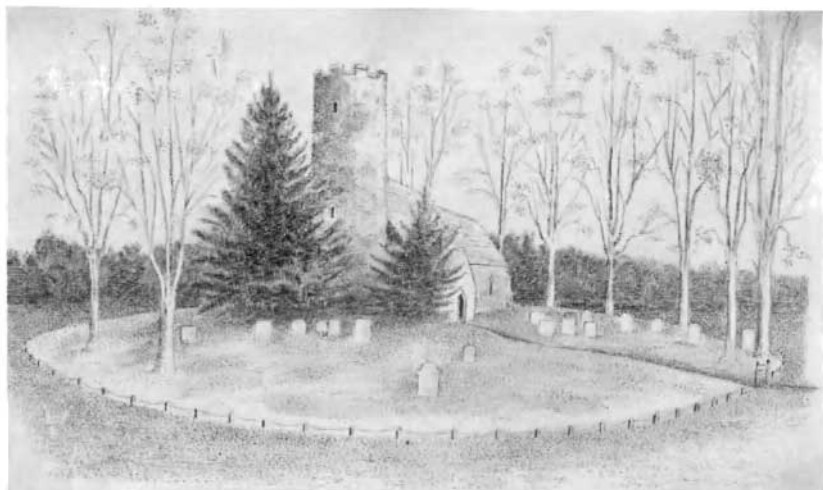
NO. 1. CRANWICH CHURCHYARD, NORFOLK
(*Drawn from a photograph dated* 1926).

NO. 2. HILLSWICK GRAVEYARD, SHETLAND
(*Drawn from a photograph dated* 1919).

over the grave of the decrepit old chief of the Geona cohort by his companions who brought him to Skye to be baptised.'[1]

The ruined church of St. Blane, Kingarth, Bute, stands upon a huge flat-topped cairn 500 ft. in circumference, still showing the remains of an encircling stone revetment.[2] At the opposite side of Scotland, at Strathdon near Alford in Aberdeenshire, at the confluence of the Nochty with the Don, is a conical hill—the Dun of Nochty —some 60 ft. high, flat-topped, and about 170 ft. in diameter. It was once girt by a ditch some 25 ft. wide, and within were to be found foundations of huts. The local tradition is that here once stood the old church of the district.[3] The churchyard of Kennethmont in Garioch is set upon ' an eminence similar to a mount.'[4]

Some fifty years ago it was decided to build upon a new site a new parish church at Hillswick, Mainland of Shetland, keeping the old site for use as a burial-ground ; but this being already full of graves, it was trenched over and new soil added. In the course of trenching there was found under the foundations of the old church a ' Picts' House,'[5] a circular wall of great stones (diam. 55-60 ft.), many of them weighing half a ton, with remains of a hearth and quantities of shells. The garth surrounding this building was, and still is, circular, and the facts point to this also having been a barrow, upon which had been set the customary early Scotic something which was at once dwelling-place and oratory.[6] For obvious reasons it seldom happens that an old Christian site is so thoroughly upturned as this, else similar evidence would probably be multitudinous (plate II, fig. 2).

The same forms of grave-monuments are found in Scotland as in Wales and in Ireland, though the dolmen is rarer, the cromlech far commoner. Pillar-stones are very numerous. Commonest of all is the cairn. With each type are found associated the names of saints. A ruined

[1] *The Past in the Present*, p. 89. The reference is to Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, i, 27.

[2] *Origines Paroch. Scot.* ii, 211.

[3] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

[4] Op. cit. *s.v.* Kennethmont.

[5] All anhistoric monuments are so called in the Shetlands.

[6] Information of Thos. Anderson of Laarsund. There appears to be no published report of the matter. The site seems to have been anciently an island in a loch now drained, and there is still traceable the paved causeway leading to it. A short distance to the west has been found and explored a so-called kitchen-midden.

dolmen ' close to the ancient burying-ground of Kilmichael
in north-western Bute ' is known as St. Michael's Grave,
and is thought to preserve the name of Maccaille, a
disciple of St. Patrick and a bishop, who died at the close
of the fifth century. The remains of a cromlech in Banff-
shire are known as St. Brendan's Stones, and a neighbouring
church is dedicated to the same saint. A grassy hillock in
Iona, which once carried a cromlech, is called Cnoc-an-
Aingel, ' The Barrow of the Archangel,' and round it at
Michaelmas the islanders used to drive their horses. The
names of SS. Ternan and Devenick are conjoined with
the significant Banchory, and each place is notable for its
' druidical ' circles. Tradition has it that on St. Columba's
own grave in Iona was set as his monument the ' black
stone ' which had served him for a pillow. A sculptured
pillar-stone at Cossins in Forfarshire, 7 ft. 9 ins. high,
bears the name of an unknown Saint Orland (or Airland).
It stands upon a ' sandy knoll,' presumably his barrow.
Another in the parish of Leslie, Aberdeenshire, formerly
surrounded by a small cairn, is called St. Ringan's (Ninian's)
Stone. A third at Dalry, Kirkcudbright, ' once lay in the
old church, still to be seen in the picturesque graveyard
beyond the Ken.' It is called St. John's Chair, and the
village of Dalry itself is known as St. John's Clachan.
St. Wallach's Stone, now lying near the ancient burying-
ground of Logie-Mar in Aberdeenshire, was at an earlier
date built into the churchyard wall. At Fortingall, Perth-
shire, is a Clach-math-Luag, ' St. Moluag's Stone,' and at
Portmaluag in Lismore is a pile of stones said to be the
ruins of a church and known as St. Moluag's Seat or Cairn. [1]
An eight-foot pillar-stone at Shandrick in Nigg is known
as Clach-a-Charridh, ' The Stone of the Burial Ground,'
and around it ' were for ages buried the Christian dead of
the parish.' [2] Archibald Scott observes [3] that the Scottish
peasantry ' steadily insisted on burying their dead around
the spots ' identified with their earliest Christianity, all
efforts of later Roman and post-Reformation clergy to the
contrary notwithstanding, just as they continued until
Stukeley's time to bury near the stone-circles. In Scotland,

[1] The above are all cited from Mackinlay,
Pre-Reformation Church, who gives many
other examples.

[2] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

[3] *Pictish Nation* (1918), p. 88.

as in Wales and Ireland, the rituals of the older and the newer faiths were interblended. In a grave within the churchyard of Navidale (St. Ninian's) in Sutherlandshire 'were found a bronze knife, a flint implement, and the palmated antler of one of the extinct deer.'[1] From the site of a sometime chapel in Dalry came four urns containing human bones.[2]   In and about the churchyard of Kildrummy have been found flint implements in such numbers as to give rise to the belief that it was the site of a prehistoric settlement.

In Scotland, as in Ireland, the usual practice was to lay the dead within rude cists built of slabs of stone, and this custom continued until very recent times. 'At Ness, in the Island of Lewis, till quite recently no one was buried in a wooden coffin. There was only one big coffin in connexion with every churchyard, which the people called 'The Chest of the Dead.' When the body was brought to the churchyard in this coffin, a coffin of stone [i.q. cist] was made, in which the body was placed.'[3] It would seem that there is but one certain test of the creed of the dead, and that is the finding on or in the coffin or the grave some indisputable religious symbol ; but as Holy Church did not countenance any kinds of accessory or ornament save in the case of those of high degree, and those of lesser status could ill afford them, there must in the vast majority of cases be nothing at all to distinguish the pagan from the Christian in death.

In the days of bishop Patrick of the Sudereys (tenth century) one Orlygr Hrappsson, his *protégé*, conceived the desire to go as a missioner to the pagan Norse of Iceland.[4] Approving his desire the bishop gave him ' timber for building a church,'[5] and also some ' consecrated earth to be laid under the corner-posts[6] of the church ' in lieu of

[1] ibid. p. 85.

[2] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

[3] *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, ii, p. lx. Wilson (*Prehist. Scotland*, p. 71) mentions the finding of numerous cists in recent years ' in the neighbourhood of the parish church of Cairnie, Aberdeenshire.'

[4] *Islendinga Sögur* (*Landnáma Boc*, ed. Finnur Jonsson, Copenhagen, 1900) pp. 10, 11 ; Baring Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, iv, 53.

[5] *Kirkiu-viδ*. There is little or no timber in Iceland, though there is stone in plenty. So bishop Patrick did not consider stone to be the essential material for a church. This was in the tenth century. Still later (eleventh century) Olaf the Saint sent to Iceland the necessary timber for the church which he caused to be built at the Tingvallr.

[6] *Hornstafi* (Icelandic *horn*, ' corner '). So the church was to be rectangular. When Thorolf Mostbeard removed his pagan

the usual episcopal consecration of the site. This has been characterised as a 'strange' story, but there is nothing strange about it. The missioner, as his name declares, was himself a Norseman, and he wished to convert his Icelandic fellows, settled there since the last quarter of the ninth century ; and having learnt his own Christianity in the Scotic Church of the Hebridean Isles, he was equipped with just the bare essentials as understood even so late by that Church, namely, materials for building the still customary rectangular oratory and cell of timber. In lieu of the older barbaric hallowing practised by Columba in Iona, he took with him earth from some properly consecrated ground elsewhere. He was further instructed to dedicate his new church to St. Columkille. [1]

The type of the early Scottish oratory was precisely the same as that of Wales and Ireland, an uncompromising rectangle of the smallest dimensions. [2] It is to be seen in scores of ruins amongst the Western Isles, but these are all of stone, and therefore, be they never so rude, are presumably in most cases far later than the days of St. Columba and his disciples, possibly in many cases as late as the twelfth century. This probably explains why the apse, unknown in Ireland and recorded in only one solitary ancient instance in Wales, is several times found in Scotland, the outcome of Latin influences. There are two examples in the Isle of Arran, namely, Kildonan's chapel, Kilmorie, and St. Mary's chapel at Slidderie in the same parish. [3] In both cases remain the foundations only.

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temple (*hof*) from Norway to Iceland, besides the timbers of it he took also 'mould from under the stool (altar) whereon Thor had sat.' *Story of the Ere-Dwellers* (*Saga Library*, vol. ii), p. 7. I owe this parallel to the late Albany F. Major.

[1] Also he was enjoined to place his church where he should find 'three standing stones.' As he was provided with the materials for one building only, this is to be understood as referring to some one particular spot, not as a general order ' to build a church *wherever* he should find three standing stones,' as was wrongly suggested in *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 154. The site of this church was at Esjuberg. under Mt. Esja, to the N.E. of Reykjavik. and at no great distance from the Tingvallr Vatn. Reykjavik is still the seat of the bishopric of Iceland. F. W. Howell (*Icelandic Pictures with Pen and Pencil*) says there are no

remains now to be seen on the site of Esjuberg.

[2] The kirk of Birnie, 4 miles south of Elgin, is said to be ' unique in the north of Scotland ' in so far as it presents 'a distinct chancel and nave with separate roofs.'

[3] J. A. Balfour, *Book of Arran*, p. 228. The former was 28 ft. long, the latter 35 ft. by 15 ft., proportions which do not suggest a very early date. Commenting upon the smallness of the early oratories the writer remarks : ' They were intended not for the accommodation of a congregation. but for the use of the clergy and choir. The buildings were in fact but *the chancel of a church, the nave of which was the surrounding ground.*' Had he added that the ' surrounding ground,' i.e. the circular graveyard, was the thing to which the name of ' church ' originally applied, there had been nothing more to say.

Bede, speaking of the Scotic preachers who presently passed southward from Iona into Northumbria, says in general terms ' they were monastics above all else.'[1] They would therefore bring with them all the apparatus of a Scotic monastery—*cashel* or *rath*, huts and oratories. He gives us details of some of the settlements made by these early saints, immediate successors of the original apostles from Iona. Where the Irish and Welsh used the term *desertum* to denote the ' place in the wilderness,' the retreat so much affected by the Scotic recluse, Bede uses the word *mansio*, ' place of rest,' a term found occasionally in the Latin *Lives* of the Welsh saints,[2] and perhaps purposely chosen to emphasise the otherwise homeless nomadism of the earlier missioners. The most valuable description[3] is that of the *mansio* of St. Cuthbert, wherein he died in 687. Every word of it had been submitted to the searching criticism of men who had known the saint and seen the spot. It was ' well considered and perfect.'[4]

Farne was a sterile and waterless islet, ' the less fit for a human dwelling-place because it was a haunt of evil spirits.' Having exorcised these, Cuthbert proceeded to construct his *mansio angusta*. It was almost circular in plan (*situ paene rotundum*), ringed with a vallum of earth, undressed stone and sods,[5] the diameter being ' between four and five perches,' i.e. 73 ft. more or less.[6] The material for the vallum was obtained by sinking the floor of the area in the fashion of a Romano-British *circus*,[7] so

[1] *H.E.* III, iii, § 156, *monachi erant maxime qui ad praedicandum venerant.*

[2] e.g. of St. Gwynlliw (Rees, *C.B.S.* p. 147); of St. Cadoc's Lenten retreats in the islands of Barry and Echni (ibid. p. 45) : and of St. Illtyd's first settlement in Hodnant (ibid. p. 162).

[3] In *Vita Cuthberti*, c. xvii, from which is epitomised the briefer account in *H.E.* IV, xxviii, § 346.

[4] Preface to the *Vita Cuthberti*. In Bede's time this *mansio* was intact. The S.V. has no single equivalent for *mansio*, which it renders variously as *deagol wiic*, *sundorwic*, *nearo wic* and *wununesse*, and *dygle aancorstowe*. Bede twice speaks of Augustine's first abode in Canterbury as *mansio* (*H.E.* I, xxv, § 55, xxvi, § 56), where the S.V. has (a) *wunenesse and stowe* and (b) *eardungstowe*; but the ' more suitable ' place later allocated to him is called *locum sedis* (I, xxvi, § 57), where the S.V. has

stowe ond setl. In III, xxii, § 216, Bede has *in vico regio qui dicitur Rendlaesham, id est, mansio Rendili* : and king Alfred also used *ham* in the sense of ' monastery.'

[5] *V. Cuthberti : murum non secto lapide vel latere et caemento, sed impolitis prorsus lapidibus et cespite, quam de medio loci fodiendo tulerat, composuit.* The *H.E.* (IV, xxviii, § 346) has merely *circumvallante aggere,* which the S.V. expands to *mid dice ond mid eorðwealle utan ymbsealde ond gefaestnode.*

[6] *A muro usque ad murum mensura quattuor sive quinque perticarum distentum.*

[7] Residential earthworks of this peculiar type are only to be found where there is slight risk of flooding, and especially upon the chalk. There is a cluster of them on Plumpton Plain near Lewes, Sussex, apparently a British village ; but they are decidedly rare in England.

that, while the wall rose above the ground outside higher
than a man's stature, it was ' much higher' above the inner
area, so high that the saint could see from his retreat
nothing but the sky above him.[1] Within were an oratory
and a dwelling. These were partly sunk below the floor of
the *mansio*, the rock being excavated in such a way as to
leave part of it to serve as footings[2] for the buildings,
which were roofed with unhewn timbers covered with
grass. In the one account (*H.E.*) Bede styles them
respectively *oratorium* and *habitaculum commune*, in the
other (*V. Cuthberti*) *oratorium* and *ad communes usus aptum
habitaculum, tuguriunculum, cellula, casula,* and *monasterium.*
The S.V. calls them respectively *cirican* and *gemaene
eordunghus.* It is not expressly stated that the two were
detached, and the language favours the view that they were
contiguous, *commune* meaning ' under one roof.'[3] The
dwelling had a window, and in its floor was a well.[4]
There is no mention of any cemetery or any consecration-
grave, but St. Cedd, consecrating the site of his ' monastery '
at Lastingham some years earlier (*c.* 660), had followed a
procedure less abhorrent than that of St. Columba at
Iona.[5] It was Cuthbert's own intention that he should
be buried within his *mansio*, on the north side of his oratory,
and he actually provided not only his own shroud and
coffin, but his own grave. In the end the monks of
Lindisfarne persuaded him to allow his burial ' in the
inmost part ' of their monastic church.

The building abutted upon the vallum of the *mansio* at

[1] Six feet would suffice, unless the saint
was unusually tall. The anonymous *Vita
Cuthberti* says the floor was sunk one cubic
and the vallum raised one cubit.

[2] Compare the construction of the
Trabaun-na-Chorrees at Inismurray, and
that of St. Benan's Hermitage on the Isle
of Aran. In *V. Cuthberti* it is said that the
walls of the oratory were made *tabulis minus
diligenter coaptatis*, ' with ill-fitted boards,'
the crevices stuffed with straw and clay.
The whole was rebuilt *a fundamentis* by
bishop Eadfrid of Lindisfarne, who succeeded
in 698 (ibid).

[3] It cannot mean ' common to all,' for
Cuthbert intended to live in it as a solitary,
and had expressly built a guest-house of
more commodious kind for visitors, near
the only landing-place on the island (*V.
Cuthberti*, c. xvii). The late Sir H. Howorth

(*Golden Age of the English Church*, iii, 24)
also understood that the two chambers were
under one roof.

[4] The chapel of St. Madron, Cornwall,
has a well in the south-west corner, and was
originally divided into two chambers by a
cross-wall (see the plan in *Arch. Journ.* ii,
225), the eastern part for an oratory, the
western for a dwelling, both under one roof.
Something similar is recorded of St. Cadoc
in Wales and of St. Guthlac at Crowland.

[5] *H.E.* III, xxiii, § 218. The new
procedure was by prayer and fasting for the
space of 40 days. From the emphasis with
which Bede states that Cedd declared this
to be 'the customary procedure of his
teachers' in consecrating a monastery or a
church, one may infer that he was well
aware of another way.

the southern side, apparently with no regard for orientation. Thus the spot in which Cuthbert had prepared his grave was to all intents the centre of the whole. As a Welsh writer would have put it, the saint hoped that his relics might mark and make the *mynwent* of his *llan*.

Cuthbert, an abbot and a bishop, was in his day the greatest figure in English Christianity, and he was still living in Farne when Bede was some fourteen years of age. He deliberately elected to withdraw in his feeble years to a barren and uninhabited rock, and to make his home in a comfortless hovel, seemingly with no other garments than those in which he stood,[1] no food save what he could produce by the labour of his own hands,[2] grass for his roof and native rock for his bed. The actual dimensions of his hut and his oratory Bede does not record, but they may be gauged from the other details given. Probably the saint had standing-room only, yet the S.V. calls his oratory a 'church.' The vallum fenced him about within a space some 25 yards in diameter over all, perhaps 20 yards across the floor, or a total of 314 superficial yards of space.

Had Cuthbert had his wish his body would have been buried within his *mansio* and Farne would have become a place of pilgrimage, so that where he had toiled to harvest a little barley others would have gathered gold. Fate drew his relics after all to Lindisfarne, which waxed the greater thereby ; whereas Farne, spoiled of his bones, failed and fell, precisely as did the age-long festival of the nameless hero of Cnocan (ch. xvii) so soon as his grave was desecrated. When, in the twelfth century, there came to live there for 40 years another anchorite named Bartholomew, he found the *mansio* in a state of shameful neglect : ' laymen dwelt in the *habitaculum*, and cattle found shelter in the oratory, so that, if by rare chance any came thither to pray, they could neither kneel for the filth nor pray for the stench of it. Wherefore,' said Bartholomew to the

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[1] Excepting indeed the piece of fine linen given to him by the abbess Verca, which he had laid aside to serve him for a shroud. Here is the ' touch of nature ' which makes the old saint of the seventh century kin with many hundreds of ' decent ' folk of to-day, as poor almost in this world's goods as was he, and as anxious about their own ' decent ' burial.

[2] He was living up to the pattern of the Welsh saints in this regard. But the Saxons were in less need of such example than were the Celts, and if the *Lives* of Saxon saints lay less stress upon this side of their activities, it may be taken as a proof of the general trustworthiness of their narratives.

companions of his death-bed, 'bury me here, lest the like fate befall the oratory a second time.' [1] He knew that only the presence of his bones might safeguard the spot from desecration, and like St. Cuthbert he had prepared his own grave *ad meridianam oratorii sui partem*, on the south side of the building. There he was buried, and presently was built ' a new wall from east to west ' screening the southern side of the oratory, with two small apertures through which women folk might have sight of the grave of the man of God ; for from St. Cuthbert's time onward the presence of women was discountenanced in Farne.

Geoffrey of Durham, who wrote the *Vita Bartholomaei* at the end of the twelfth century, says that the ' lowly little cottage,' the guest-house built by St. Cuthbert at the haven, was still there, a fabric of unhewn stone and turves. So were the adjoining well and the narrow pathway to the *mansio*. The vallum of the *n ansio* would seem to have wasted already into something scarcely recognisable, for he does not mention it ; the oratory, he says, was ' hidden in a kind of out-of-the-way depression,' [2] which St. Cuthbert had dug. Mention is made also of the well within the *habitaculum*, but apparently in the hand of some later scribe.

Cuthbert did not roof his building with stone, although the barren islet provided no timber large enough for his purpose. We may therefore the more readily believe that in the like conditions, and especially in the islets off the western shores of Ireland and Scotland, other early saints followed the like course, and may feel the greater doubt whether any of the stone-roofed oratories of Ireland be really of the age commonly attributed to them.

Very remarkable is the resemblance between this *mansio* of St. Cuthbert in Farne and the *circus* of the Romano-British time. [3] It had the same circular plan and the same vallum. It was even very much of the size of the average small rural *circus*. It had the same depressed floor, and like the *circus* it had no outer fosse. If, as would seem to be the fact, the Anglo-Saxons had learnt to call the

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[1] *Vita S. Bartholomaei Farnensis* (Rolls Series) i, 295.

[2] *In quodam secretae concavitatis latibulo positum.*

[3] Supra, ch. ix.

Romano-British thing by the name of *circ*, it was almost inevitable that they should apply the same name to this *mansio* of the Christian saint and to any other like it.

John of Beverley's *mansio* was about one and a half miles distant from the church at Hexham, on the north bank of the Tyne. It was ' somewhat retired among a few trees, surrounded by a vallum, and it contained a cemetery of St. Michael the Archangel.'[1] It was big enough to permit the bishop to reside there for occasional rests ' with a few others,' devoting himself to prayer and study. On one occasion he brought thither a seemingly incurable invalid, and caused to be built for him ' a little hut (*tugurium*) within the precincts (*conseptis*) of the *mansio*.' Clearly it was a typical Scotic monastic settlement, a circular enclosure provided with huts and oratories scattered about in irregular fashion, with space enough for the erection of others if needed. Clearly also in this case the ground was already hallowed by burial—it was already a cemetery.[2]

Of Chad's *mansio*[3] at Lichfield we are told only that it was ' not far from the church,' that the saint was wont to read and pray there with eight or nine brethren, and that it had its own oratory. Nothing is said of any burial-ground, and when Chad died (672) he was buried ' near ' the then church of St. Mary ; and when the cathedral (St. Peter's) was built, his remains were translated to the high altar of the new building.

Women also had their *mansiones*. Heiu, the first Saxon woman of Northumbria to take monastic vows, makes her *mansio*[4] at Tadcaster.

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[1] Bede, *H.E.* V. ii, § 362, *mansio quaedam secretior nemore rcro et vallo circumdata . . . habens coemeterium S. Michaelis Archangeli.* In Ireland, says O'Curry, it was usual to surround a residential *rath* or *lis* with a belt of trees. Caesar noticed the same practice in Gaul (*B.G.* vi, 30, 3). It was a habit which has maintained itself even in modern England.

[2] Richard of Hexham says the *mansio* overhung the river, that it contained an oratory dedicated to St. Michael which belonged to the monastery at Hexham, and that it was called Erneshaw or Herneshalg (*Latine, Mons Aquilae*). Raine identified it with the place now called St. John's Lee, which used to be the scene of ' a kind of religious wake held on 23rd-24th June ' (Howorth, *Golden Age of the English Church*, iii, 152), i.e. there may have been a confusion of John of Beverley with St. John Baptist and his festival of midsummer day. Others identify the spot with Warden, where is a church dedicated to St. Michael.

[3] Bede *H.E.* IV, iii, § 260. The site is said to be represented by the modern Stowe, anciently Chadstowe, outside Lichfield.

[4] *H.E.* IV, xxiii, § 324. The S.V. has *wiic*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FIRST CHURCHES.

*Scotic Christianity predominant in seventh century—Proof
that ' ciric ' meant ' graveyard '—Scotic Monasteries :
Chertsey, Medeshamstede, Thorney, Abingdon, Hartle-
pool—The three Churches of Paulinus—Further Proof
that 'ciric ' meant 'graveyard '—The term 'Bedehus '—
Churches as Residences—The ' cirics ' of Earls Puch and
Addi—' Mynstre ' signified the structural ' church '—
Evidence of ' Saxon Chronicle '—Evidence of Early
Saxon Codes—Place-names in ' -minster '—The
' mynstre ' at Kirkdale—Why the Latin Church disliked
' ciric '—Origin of Parishes—The Saxons not Builders
in Stone—The typical English Church a Scotic Type—
Badness of early Saxon Masonry—Dryhthelm at Cunning-
ham—Churches the chief force in creating Villages—
Wilfrid's 'Loca Sancta '—' Ciric ' extended to denote
' Structural Church '—Ecgbert's Orders—The Four
Classes of Churches.*

It is not to be supposed that a Church which in other
matters clung so obstinately to its own practices would
abandon these in the matter of mission-work. Bede
instances individuals who went about such work in England
precisely as others had gone about it in Ireland, and these
were but types of all. From north to south the England of
the seventh and eighth centuries was filled with Scotic
missioners and strewn with Scotic monasteries, amongst
whose multitude the Roman figures of Augustine and
Paulinus were remarkable only because they were so
exceptional. ' Not Augustine, but Aidan, was the true
Apostle of the English.'

Whatever the truth of Nennius' emphatic assertion as
to the presence of Celtic missioners at York at the baptism
of king Edwin,[1] it is a fact that Paulinus left Northumbria
(633) within seven years, and that thenceforward for a
generation Scotic Christianity had the field to itself. Even
the decisions of the Synod of Whitby (664) did not put a
stop to the close intercourse of the northern Saxons with

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[1] Above, ch. xvi.

the Scoti. That ' noblest-born of Scots,' St. Fursey, who settled in his own *monasterium silvanum* within the deserted walls of Cnobheresburg, once the Roman Garianonum (Burgh castle) in Suffolk,[1] was not the only one to make his home in England ; and conversely numbers of Saxons went to Ireland to study, and some at least returned to preach and teach.[2] Amongst them were Ethelwine, consecrated first Bishop of Lindsey in 680,[3] his brother Ethelhun,[4] and Chad.[5] Another Saxon named Egbert lived all his life in exile amongst the Picts, and died abbat of Iona in 716.[6] It is not recorded that Ethelwine built any ' churches,'[7] but in 669 Chad, whose bishopric combined Mercia and Lindsey, founded a monastery at Ad Baruae,[8] i.e. Barrow-on-Humber. Stukeley speculated upon the significance of the ' druidical mud-walled temple'[9] at Barrow, and to this day the churchyard retains much of its circular figure.[10] Celtic influence seems to have been strong in the part of Lincolnshire lying between Stow and the Humber, from the Roman Ermine Street on the east to the Trent and the Fens on the west. Genuine Saxon dedications—SS. Hygbeald, Alkmund, Radegund, Etheldreda, and Oswald—are frequent ; and there is a little group of parishes—Scotter (St. Peter),[11] Scotton (St. Genewys)[12] and Scothern (St. Germanus)[13]—

[1] *H.E.* III, xix, §§ 202, 203.

[2] *H.E.* III, xxvii, § 240 ; III, viii, § 172 ; V, x, § 381.

[3] His see was at a place called Sidnacester, obviously a Roman site. Freeman accepted the usual identification with Stow-in-Lindsey, but Roger of Hoveden (*circa* 1200) allowed that even in his time no one knew where it really was (*Flores*, i, 237).

[4] *H.E.* III, xxvii, § 241.

[5] *H.E.* IV, iii, § 264.

[6] *H.E.* III, xxvii, § 242.

[7] The building of the first church at Stow is attributed to bishop Eadnoth in the eleventh century (Camden, *Britannia*, i, 572).

[8] i.e. *Ad Nemus* (Bede *H.E.* IV, iii, § 259). *Bearw* is a common Saxon word for a ' grove,' and there are at least four parishes of the name in England. It is the word used in the S.V. for the ' belt of trees' about John of Beverley's *mansio* (p. 223). See Taylor, *Names and their Histories*, p. 367.

[9] *Abury* (1723), p. 92, and plate xxxix.

What he saw was a fine Norman mount-and-bailey castle. A better plan of it is to be found in Greenwood, *Picturesque Tour to Thornton Monastery* (Hull, 1835). In *D.B.* one Drogo de Beurere held lands at Barewe.

[10] ' About the shape of a moon three-quarters full' (autograph of the Vicar). When Greenwood wrote his *Tour* ' a district of houses at the back of the church ' was still called St. Chad's.

[11] *D.B.* Scotere.

[12] *D.B.* Scotone. The name of St. Genewys is otherwise unknown, and it has been thought that a St. Genesius is the person meant ; see Miss Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, i, 477. The name has a peculiarly Welsh look. There was a St. Gwynws (Guinnius or Wnws), eponym of Llanwnws, Card., and there is a Llangyniew 4 miles w. of Welshpool. In Cornwall is a St. Gennys.

[13] *D.B.* Scotorne, Scoltorne, Scotstorne. There is mention of a church and a priest here in 1086.
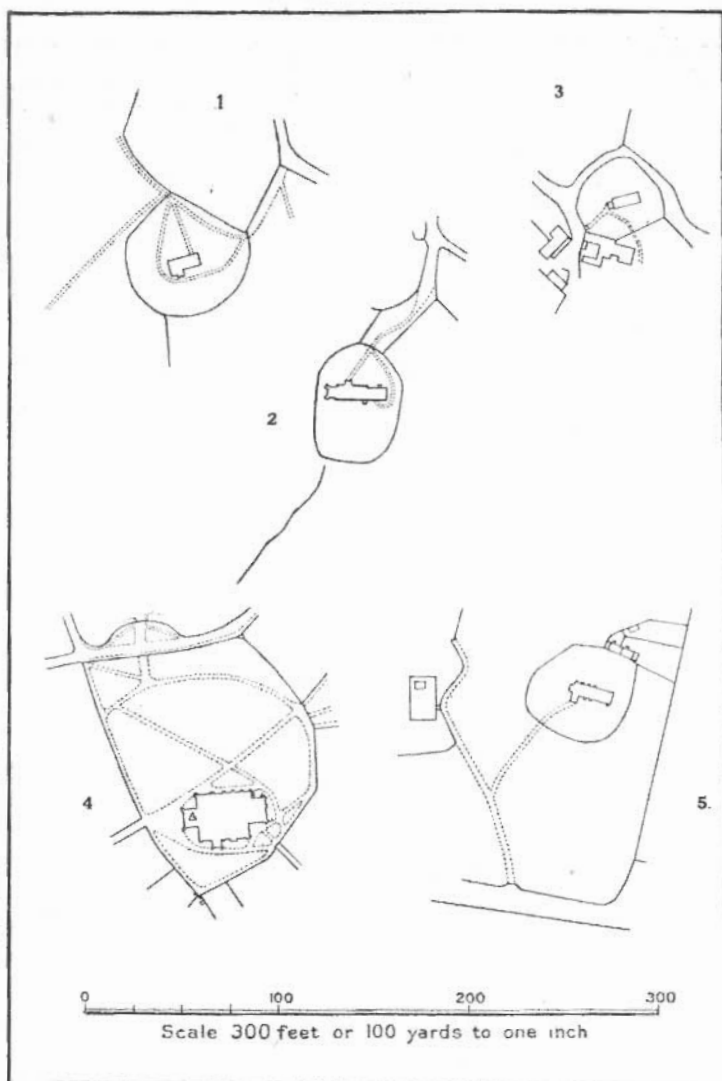
CIRCULAR CHURCHYARDS.

1. East Hope, Salop.   2. Stanton upon Hine Heath, Salop.
3. Efenechtyd, Denbigh.   4. Bromsgrove, Worc.
5. Cranwich, Norfolk.

(From the Ordnance Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office).

of which the names have been thought to commemorate Scotic evangelizers.[1] On the other hand the district is noticeably poor in later Roman religious foundations, such as were thickly strewn over the rest of the country.

Every bishop of the northern sees until the days of Wilfrid was a Scot, or a Saxon trained in some Scotic school. 'From Iona came (635) Aidan, the Apostle of Northumbria, as well as Finan (651), Colman (661) and Tuda (664), who followed as bishops there. The first bishop of Mercia, Diuma (656), a Scot, was ordained by Finan. The second bishop was Cellach (658), also a Scot, who resigned his bishopric and retired to Iona. His successor, the third bishop of Mercia (Trumhere, 659), was indeed an Englishman, but educated and ordained by Scots. Bishop Finan baptised Peada the son of Penda, and so introduced Christianity into the province.'[2] Chad, and his brother Cedd, were as much Scotic in their Christianity as any of the others. So was Cuthbert. So was Saxulf, seventh bishop of Mercia (675-691), and the contemporary bishop of London itself, Erconwald (675-693).

The latter half of the seventh century saw the foundation of a great number of monasteries which became famous, and where we have any evidence at all it goes to show that they were of the Scotic type. Erconwald, bishop of London, built for himself (666) a monastery at Chertsey, and for his sister Ethelburga another at Barking (670). Bede[3] has a good deal to say of certain happenings at Barking, and his account is worth examination. The date of its founding was but two years after the consecration of the Roman Theodore as primate, and therefore before he could bring to bear any Romanising influence.[4] Erconwald's foundation would presumably reflect the Saxon way, and that way we should expect to be decidedly Scotic. Bede's account shows that it was entirely so.

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[1] Similar names are Scottow in Norfolk, and Scotby near Carlisle. The present-day Scotland in Ingoldsby, Lincs., appears to be Coteland of *D.B.*

[2] Cited (with dates added from Bright's *Lectures*) from Miller's *Introduction* to the Saxon Version of Bede (E.E.T.S.). When Colman left Lindisfarne he made a joint Anglo-Irish settlement at Inisboffin, but presently withdrew with his Saxon disciples to a new site at Mageo (Mayo), *quod monasterium usque hodie ab Anglis tenetur incolis . . . egregium examen continet monachorum* (*H.E.* IV, iv, § 266).

[3] *H.E.* IV, vi-x.

[4] A *capitulus* of Theodore (Thorpe, p. 307) runs : *Non licet viris feminas habere monachas, neque feminis viros. Tamen non destruamus illud quod consuetudo est in hac terra.*

The monastery at Barking was in the first place, as were so many Scotic foundations, a mixed one, like Whitby, Repton, and others. Bede's language suggests that it was divided into two parts by some sort of cross-wall.[1] The western portion was reserved for the sisters, who had an *oratorium*. The eastern portion therefore belonged to the brothers, who may have had a second *oratorium* of their own.[2] There was, however, communication between the two parts, for the sisters used to pass from the oratory to the graves of the departed brothers (*fratrum*) ' to sing the accustomed praises of God.' It would rather seem that there was but one oratory, that it stood on the line of the dividing-wall, and that both sexes used it alike.

In the second place, though the sisters and the brothers buried their dead each within their own particular part of the precincts, there was at first no fixed place of burial ; for Ethelburga made it a practice to ask each of her flock of nuns where she would desire to be buried, until the question was miraculously answered for them collectively by a light from heaven, which pointed out a spot ' on the south side of the monastery and west of the oratory.' This again implies that the oratory in question was not in the centre of the precincts, but to the south. It appears to have been placed just as was that of Cuthbert at Farne, and perhaps for the same reason, namely, to leave the central space free for some notable interment.

Thirdly, the area of the monastery was very small, for the second abbess, Hildelid, already found it needful to get rid of this diversity of burial-places ' because of the small area whereon the monastery was built.' She decided ' to take up the bones of all the servants of God there buried, and to translate them, male and female alike, to one place (*in unum locum* ; S.V., *in anre stowe*) ' ; and this

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[1] See above, ch. xviii, on Inismurray.
[2] This is not at all certain, *pace* Bright (*Lectures*, p. 258), for in Irish monasticism it was sometimes the practice to divide one and the same building between the two sexes. The classical instance is that of the monastery of St. Bridgit at Kildare. See Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Architecture*, p. 27. [The description is supposed to belong to the ninth century, 200 years later than Barking.] At the present day it is not unusual for the sexes to occupy different sides of the church in Brittany, and traces of the same thing yet remain in Wales (Hughes and North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 84). The monastery ' not far from Partney,' of which Ethelhild, sister of bishop Ethelwine of Lindsey, was abbess (*circa* 680) was a double one : Bede *H.E.* III, xi, § 182. So was that which Osric founded about the same time at Bath. So also that of St. Etheldreda at Ely, founded in 673 ; *coetum utriusque sexus congregavit* (*Liber Eliensis*, i, 43).

place was ' in the church (*ecclesiam* ; S.V., *cirican*) of the blessed Mother of God.'

It might be inferred that therefore some sort of ' church ' had been built since Ethelburga's time. The sequel will raise a doubt whether Bede is not again reading into the story of a Scotic monastery the practice and procedure of a Roman foundation like his own at the other end of England.

The wife of a neighbouring *gesith*, being stricken with blindness, resolved to seek healing by prayer before the relics of those whose bones had been translated ' to one spot.' She was brought to the monastery and admitted to the burial-place (*coemeterium* ; S.V., *liictune*), and praying there was at once cured. So according to the one writer the *anre stowe* was in the *liictune*, and also it was in the *ciric* ; according to the other it was in the *coemeterium*, but also in the *ecclesia*.

Now it is not conceivable that Bede could write of a *coemeterium* as being within a church ; and it is certain that the Saxon Translator could not mean to suggest that a *liictun* could be within a church. That being so, it is clear that to the latter *ciric* did not here mean a ' church ' at all, but rather a ' burial-ground.' The *anre stowe*, it would appear, was some sort of joint vault or shrine within the burial-ground ; and *ecclesia* here means the same thing, and not a structural church at all.

Here then in the latter half of the seventh century was founded an exact replica of the typical Scotic monastery, at the very gates of London and in that part of England which might be supposed to have most effectively felt the Roman influence of the Augustinian mission. Probably Erconwald's earlier foundation at Chertsey was just such another. Saxulf was the original *constructor*[1] of a monastery at Medeshamstede (*c.* 655) which, after experiencing the usual ravage of the Danes, was rebuilt (963) and fortified in such sort as thenceforward to be known as Petri Burgus, now Peterborough. As Saxulf had also founded a monastery provided with cells[2] for solitaries on a spot known for that reason as Ancarig, the ' Isle of Anchorites ' (now Thorney),

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[1] Bede *H.E.* IV, vi, § 272. The S.V. renders it by *timbrend*, ' carpenter.'

[2] *Cum cellis eremiticis.* See Bright, *Lectures*, p. 257, and the references there given. Lewis says the date was 662.

it is to be inferred that the original Medeshamstede was also of thoroughly Scotic type. Yet the Romanising Theodore, so far from finding anything to disapprove in these Celtic activities, preferred Saxulf to the bishopric of Mercia in 675, and Erconwald to that of the East Saxons (London) in the same year.

The *Abingdon Chronicle* tells us the plan and something of the arrangements of that famous monastery in the days of its first abbat Hean, at the close of the seventh century, i.e. when Bede was at middle life. It was circular, with a diameter of 120 ft. only, surrounded by a high wall. Round the area were twelve cells and the same number of oratories, accommodating as many monks, who in the ordinary course of things ate and slept in their several cells. On Sundays and great festivals, however, they assembled for common service in the church (*ecclesia*), and also took their meals together.

This, so far as it goes, is a correct description of a monastery of the Scotic type. The circular wall, the exiguous area, the separate cells each with its own oratory, are all Scotic features. There was a ' great house ' or refectory also, as in St. Patrick's standard plan. The *Chronicle* avers that there was also an *ecclesia*, but there is no proving that this signifies a structural church ; and in view of the date and the evidence one may doubt whether the writer of the account, who clearly belonged to an age when the Scotic plan was no longer familiar in England,[2] did not, like Bede, read a false meaning into *ciric*, and substitute *ecclesia* where he should rather have written *coemeterium*.

Tradition derived the name of Abingdon from one

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[1] *Habebat (monasterium) in longitudine C et XX pedes, et erat rotundum, tam in parte occidentali quam in parte orientali* [clearly the description was written by some one to whom such a circular plan was anomalous, and he is at pains to emphasise its complete circularity] ... *In circuitu huius monasterii erant habitacula xii et totidem capellae, et in habitaculis xii monachi ibidem manducantes et bibentes et dormientes, nec habebant claustrum sicut nunc habent, sed erant circumdati muro alto qui erat eis pro claustro* ... *Habebant iuxta portam domum pro locutorio* ... *Diebus dominicis et praecipuis festivitatibus conveniebant et in ecclesia missam celebrabant et simul manducabant. Chron. Monast. de Abingdon,* Rolls Series (1858), ii, 272.

[2] This is borne out by his remark upon the lack of any cloister ' such as now we have.' For the meaning of *claustrum*, see Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, p. 184. He cites Julius Schlosser (1889) as showing that the cloister-court was not a feature of the earliest monastic houses ; ' the date of its introduction into general use, especially in our own country, is a matter for enquiry.' Presumably it was introduced when at last the Roman monastic *regula* supplanted the Scotic.

Aben or Abben, alleged to have been an Irishman and a Christian, to have escaped from the massacre at Stonehenge, and at the close of his life to have withdrawn to his native country. The truer derivation is probably from the Saxon personal name Abba. The monastery is believed to have been founded by Cissa, a viceroy of Kentwine (c. 675).[1] Its first abbat was his nephew Hean, and its next benefactor was Ceadwalla (ob. 688). Cissa's foundation was at Bayworth, half a mile outside Abingdon town. Burnt in 871 by the Danes, the monastery was rebuilt upon another site and reconsecrated by Dunstan. This new foundation— ' St. Mary's minster which is at Abingdon '[2]—was non-Celtic, and has been styled ' the first regular monastery of England.' The *Chronicle* asserts that Abingdon had been a centre of religion in pagan times,[3] which, if it is to be believed, may explain any pretended connexion of its alleged founder Aben with Stonehenge.

At Hartlepool, not 25 miles away from Bede's home in Benedict Biscop's Latin monastery of Jarrow, a woman named Heiu was (650) abbess of another monastery.[4] Many of the grave-slabs of its earlier inmates have been discovered, and their peculiar decoration illustrates in another way the universal Celtism of the time. ' The similarity of the characters employed on these stones to those of Irish manuscripts of the sixth and seventh centuries, the well-known *Cospels* of St. Columba and St. Ceadda, and the *Books* of Kells and Armagh,'[5] was recognised from the first. Even in 1889 Romilly Allen could compile a list of 229 places, distributed over 29 English counties, in which had been found stones with Hiberno-Saxon decoration.[6] The number has been greatly increased since that date.

The Roman Paulinus, in his seven years' mission in

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[1] But it is in no wise unlikely that there had lived upon the spot some recluse—Abben or another—before Cissa gave it his attention.

[2] *A.-S. Chronicle*, 977.

[3] *Chron. de Abingdon*, i, 9 : *Ubi etiam a primis Britonum temporibus locus fuit religionis, tam tempore religionis fanaticae quam tempore religionis Christianae.* Recent discoveries have shown that it was the site of a considerable Romano-British town.

[4] *H. E.* iv, xxiii, § 324. Heiu, consecrated by Aidan, was the first female to control a monastery in Northumbria. Later she moved to another monastery at Tadcaster, and at Healaugh, 3 miles therefrom, has been found a sepulchral slab bearing her name (Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* p. 222). She left Hartlepool to St. Hilda, who presently made (658) a new foundation at Whitby ; and Whitby, as Scotic as any, gave to England five bishops before Bede was dead (*H.E.* IV, xxiii, § 326).

[5] Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs* (1857).

[6] *Mont. Hist.* p. 22.

Northumbria, built but three churches.[1] Of these the
first was the *basilica* at York (p. 201)[2]; the second, also a
basilica, but a wooden one,[3] at Campodonum, probably
Doncaster[4]; while the third was an *ecclesia* at Lincoln,
which in Bede's time was already roofless.[5] In spite then
of his Roman leanings Paulinus was fain to build very
seldom, and even so to build with wood as well as with
stone. Nay, as Bede does not style the church at Lincoln[6]
a *basilica*, Paulinus may have had to waive at last even the
basilican plan. We know that he baptised *sub divo*, in the
Swale near Catterick and in the Trent at a spot unidenti-
fied. But so far was he from establishing a patent and
powerful Roman Christianity that there was in all Bernicia
' neither cross, nor church, nor even altar,'[7] until Oswald
raised a wooden[8] cross in memory of his triumph over
heathendom at Heavenfield in 635.[9] The church at
Hexham was built by Wilfrid about 673, but when Bede[10]
was writing (*ante* 731) he could only say that at Heaven-

[1] Bede mentions three only, but it is
certain that, if the facts had allowed it, he
would have mentioned more. In *H.E.* II,
xiv, § 133, he explicitly says that the facts
did not allow it : *Nondum enim oratoria vel
baptisteria in ipso exordio nascentis ibi
ecclesiae poterant aedificari.* He is speaking
of Paulinus in Northumbria, and apologising
for his administering baptism in the open
air.

[2] On the site of the present cathedral.
It was built so as to enclose the circular
wooden *oratorium* in which king Edwin had
been baptised ; and the latter evidently
owed its peculiar form to that of the well
at which the baptism was administered.
There is a well to this day beneath the
Cathedral, probably that in which the king
was baptised.

[3] For it was burnt down (*mid ealle þy
boȝle*, adds the Saxon Version, meaning
' with all the cells ' of the accompanying
monastery) very soon after, the only thing
to escape being the altar, *quia lapideum erat.*

[4] Others identify it with Slack near
Huddersfield, or with Tanfield near Ripon.
The Saxon Version has Donafelda. There
was a royal residence there, transferred after
the fire to Loidis (Bede, *H.E.* II, xiv, § 133).

[5] Wilfrid found it necessary to repair
the roof of the *basilica* at York about 50
years later.

[6] Represented by the present church of
St. Paul (i.e. Paulinus) at Lincoln.

[7] *Nullum, ut comperimus, fidei Christianae
signum, nulla ecclesia, nullum altare* (Bede,
H.E. Ill, ii, § 153). The order of the words
is noticeable : Bede was evidently familiar
with the Scotic practice of erecting open-
air altars before any churches were built :
and he spoke literally (*ut comperimus*), not
figuratively. This assertion is omitted by
the S.V., as is also the further passage which
tells us that ' the monks of Hexham for
many years regularly kept vigil on the battle-
field at Heavenfield, and on the anniversary
of the fight celebrated the Eucharist,'
although there was as yet no church there.

[8] See Bede's anecdote (*H.E.* III, ii,
§ 154) of the monk whose injured arm was
healed by help of a morsel of moss gathered
de venerabili ligno. He says the cross was yet
standing when he was writing (ibid. § 152).

[9] So Eddius and Richard of Hexham.

[10] A.-S. Hefenfelth, ' the high field.'
Bede naturally seized upon the chance of
connecting the name *ominis causa* with that
of Heaven, and rendered it *Coelestis Campus.*
According to the traditional view it was
near the hamlet of Wall and on the Roman
Wall. Camden says that in the eighth
century the chapel on the site was dedicated
to SS. Cuthbert and Oswald. Perhaps
Cuthbert had something to do with getting
the first ' church ' hallowed. Other authori-
ties would have the site of Hefenfelth to be
in Hallington, about 5 miles away.

field a church had been built 'recently.'[1] Benedict Biscop's church at Jarrow was built fifty years after the fight (684),[2] but even at that date, when Cuthbert was young, the remoter parts of the diocese of Lindisfarne were entirely without churches or other spiritual provision whatever.[3] In view of these definite statements the vague assertion that as early as Aidan's time (*circa* 635) 'churches were built *per loca*'[4] must not be pressed. Perhaps it means 'here and there' rather than 'here, there, and everywhere,' as it is usually made to mean. Aidan was a Scot, a disciple of St. Columba, and it is not in the least likely that he would build many 'churches.' He had a 'church' of some kind at Lindisfarne, the seat of his bishopric,[5] but it was of wood only and so small that his next successor Finan felt constrained to build another 'more accordant with the dignity of a bishop's see.' Even this, one learns, was still made of timber and roofed with thatch[6] ; so that its precursor may well have been nothing more ambitious than was that other building near Bamborough, beside which Aidan died in 651.[7] We have a hint of the rapidity with which such rude structures would decay in the fact that Bishop Eadberct,[8] only some 45 years

[1] It is odd that Bede makes no mention of the extraordinary church of St. Mary, alleged to have been built by Wilfrid at Hexham, if it was indeed there in his time. It was, says Eddius, the finest church on this side of the Alps, and Richard of Hexham (twelfth century) describes it as 'rising up like a tower, almost circular, and having four *porticus* on the four sides.' Judged from the descriptions it would have been remarkable anywhere, and especially so in an England which at that date had so few churches of any kind, and most of these mere Celtic oratories. Possibly Richard has attributed to Wilfrid (*ob.* 709) some later work of the monks of Hexham. Even so it is still odd that Bede has no mention of Wilfrid's authentic work, which was assuredly in complete accord with the *regula Romana*. But Bede had excuse for disliking Hexham ; see the tale told in Bright, *Lectures*, pp. 428-9.

[2] It was a *basilica*, and is so styled in the contemporary inscription (dated 23rd April, 684) there preserved. But Biscop was at pains to make it as strictly Roman as he could (*H.E.* IV, xviii).

[3] cf. *Vita S. Cuthberti*, c. 9.

[4] *H.E.* III, iii, § 156. The Saxon Version,

however, has *on monigum stowum*, ' in many places.' The same phrases, Latin and Saxon, recur in III, xxii. § 214, of Cedd's missionary work in East Anglia. Very likely both passages are instances of Bede's proleptic use of *ecclesia* = *ciric* = ' burial ground,' which appears also (below, p. 280) to be the specific meaning of *stow*.

[5] *H.E.* III, iii, § 156.

[6] ibid. III, xxv, § 225.

[7] ibid. III, xvii, § 195. It was a *mansio* (p. 219), though not so called by Bede, who says merely that Aidan had there an *ecclesia* and a *cubiculum* (S.V., *cirican* and *cytan*), a few *agelli* (S.V., *feower aeceras*), and nothing else. When he fell ill they made for him a tent : ' they ' would be the monks who shared the *mansio* with him, and the tent was a lean-to against the west end of the ' church.' As he was not carried into his *cubiculum*, one suspects that this was actually also his ' church '—that *cubiculum* and *ecclesia* were identical, as with the earliest Celtic Christians—and that the *ciric* of S.V. was veritably a *coemeterium*, as in the case of John of Beverley at Hexham (ch. xxii). Living alone, Aidan could have no use for four acres.

[8] He was bishop from 688 to 698, Finan

later, replaced Finan's thatched roof with lead and covered the whole building with sheets of the same metal ; and one further infers that the building must have been extremely small to allow of such costly treatment. Cedd, who died in 664, built his monastery at Lastingham[2] of timber. It contained therefore no other ' church ' than the customary Celtic oratory of wood, and it was still nothing more than an oratory when rebuilt in stone before Bede's death.[1] Only in 710 did the Picts, albeit nominally converted by Columba on his first arrival in Caledonia, send through their king Nectan (Naiton) to ask bishop Ceolfrid of Lindisfarne for masons to teach them how to build churches of the Roman kind.[3]

If these statements—and they are all drawn from Bede—represent what really contented a Paulinus and an Aidan, a Cuthbert and a Cedd ; if the greatest monasteries and the leading episcopal sees of the seventh century's last years were provided only with ' churches ' so humble ; it is impossible to believe that rural England at the same date could show many churches as we understand the term, or indeed many churches of any sort at all. It is much more probable that there were none outside the monastic settlements. This view is confirmed by the statement that Willibald was baptised at the cross in his native village in Hampshire, ' for at that date (*circa* 700) there were few or no churches in the Saxon villages.'[4] Even the crosses would not commonly be of more lasting material than wood, as was that at Heavenfield.

from 651 to 661. If this work upon the ' church ' was Finan's first concern and Eadberct's last, the extreme interval of time was only 47 years. It may have been as little as 27 years. The building was destroyed by the Danes in 793 (*A.-S. Chronicle*).

[1] Bede, *H.E.* III, xxiii, § 218.

[2] ibid. III, xxiii, § 219. The body of Cedd, which had originally been buried out-of-doors (*foris*), as Cuthbert had purposed to be buried and as Chad was buried at Lichfield, was re-interred beside the altar of the rebuilt church, and Lastingham continues to be a church to this day. Contrast again the fate of Farne (above, p. 221). The famous crypt of Lastingham is declared to be Early Norman only (Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist.* p. 199).

[3] Bede, *H.E.* V, xxi, § 427. We are not told what was the answer to his request, and there is no reason to suppose that ' churches ' of the Roman style ' thenceforward abounded in Pictland. Nectan's innovation may have been little more successful than was Ninian's (p. 190). And of what kind had been the Pictish ' churches ' before this time ? How were they related, if at all, to those Scottish stone circles, to so many of which still clings the name of Kirk ?

[4] Cited by Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, 256, from *Acta Sanctorum*, Jul. ii, 502. St. Willibald was born in 699. In the middle of the ninth century Walafrid Strabo is found protesting against the craze for building on too magnificent a scale, and St. Bernard yet later (*circa* 1150) deprecates ' the vast height, inordinate length, and needless

The passage in which Bede describes the *mansio* of John of Beverley on the Tyne reappears in his Saxon Translator, and the two versions are here printed side by side with an English rendering of the Saxon :—

BEDE.	SAXON TRANSLATOR.	ENGLISH.
Est mansio quaedam secretior nemore raro et vallo circumdata . . . habens coemeterium sancti Michaelis archangeli . . .	Sindon sumu deagol wiic mid walle 7 mid barwe ymbsealde . . . Habbað ða wiic gebaedhus 7 ciricean Ste Michales ðaes heahengles . . .	There are [1] some secluded dwellings surrounded with a wall and a grove . . . These dwellings have [1] a bedehouse and a *ciric* of St. Michael the Archangel . . .

Hist. Eccles. V, ii, § 362.

The Latin of Bede says that the *mansio* included a *coemeterium*, but says nothing about any church or oratory. The Saxon Translator says it contained a *gebaedhus* and a *ciric*. As *gebaedhus* cannot possibly render *coemeterium*, the equivalent of the latter word must be *ciricean*. Here then is a patent example of the use of *ciric* in the sense of *coemeterium*, 'burial-ground.' And evidence has been brought to show that at that period all burial-grounds were necessarily circular. So *ciric* meant a 'circular burial-ground.'

Cadoc in Wales built a 'church' to serve him for a resting place upon his journeys to and fro.[2] Ecgfrid of Northumbria gave to Cuthbert, who had just been consecrated bishop of Lindisfarne (685), the village of Creca (Crayke in Galtres) and the lands around it, 'as a halting place in his journeys to and from York.' Cuthbert is said to have founded a monastery there,[3] probably some small

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breadth' of the buildings (*oratoria*), 'their costly polished stonework and their elaborate painting.' If Bernard wrote as a reformer, this can scarcely be asserted of Walafrid. [Hospinianus, citing St. Bernard's *Apologia ad Gulielmum Abbatem S. Theodorici*.] It would seem that when at last the Saxons began to build on a more ambitious scale, their efforts were occasionally somewhat freakish, as e.g. in the case of the church which Alfred is said (William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Pontif.* ii, § 92) to have reared at Athelney, *situ quidem pro angustia modicam, sed novo aedificandi modo compactam. Quattuor enim postes solo infixi totam suspen-*

dunt machinam, quattuor cancellis opere sphaerico in circuitu ductis. This appears to be the earliest authentic record of any circular structural church in this country ; cf. however Richard of Hexham's account of the church at that place, above, p. 233, note 1. There is evidence that early Saxon buildings were commonly rather lofty than wide.

[1] The tense shows that the *mansio* was still in existence when the Translator was writing (? *circa* 975).

[2] Chap. xix.

[3] *Decem Script.*, 69 : Bede, *Op.* vi, 392.

thing of the Scotic plan. Crayke came to be a parish, its church dedicated to St. Cuthbert still, and until the last century belonged to the see of Durham. It was long remarkable as the scene of a race-meeting, and odd as it may appear, the saint and the racing were probably very intimately connected. [1]

Where kings and queens led the way lesser men soon followed,. and one ' earl ' after another made a *ciric* and called in a bishop to hallow it. Naturally these would in the first instances be close to one or other monastic foundation, the new faith gradually spreading further and further from these centres. Bede's narrative enables us to see the process at work : John of Beverley is staying at a convent (supposed to be at Watton, E.R.) and earl Puch invites him to come and hallow the earl's *ciric*. [2] It is ' about two miles ' from the convent. The next chapter tells how earl Addi did likewise. [3] Addi's *tun* was, it is thought, at North Burton (Cherry Burton), [4] some seven miles away from Watton. The date was about 686. [5]

In both these cases Bede says the saint is called in *ad dedicandam ecclesiam*, and in both cases the S.V. has *circan to haliganne*. There is no reason to doubt that the word *circe* is here used in its original sense of a burial-ground only ; for the time had not yet come for building any structural churches outside the protecting walls of a monastery. The two earls provide the land and the united labour of their men builds the barrow. It is precisely like any other barrow, but its consecration is new. It is hallowed by the bishop and constituted a Christian *ciric*. Whether or no there was at once provided an oratory, a tiny wooden bede-house, is of no particular moment. That would come in time.

The account of John of Beverley's *mansio* further tells what was the common name for the tiny oratories which in every *ciric* preceded any structural church. They were

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[1] Below, ch. xxvi. Crayke was one of the places where the saint's relics found shelter when the Danes ravaged Northumbria.

[2] *H.E.* V, iv, § 366. Watton is 5½ miles south of Great Driffield, and Puch's *ciric* is thought to have been in South Burton.

[3] *H.E.* V, v, § 367.

[4] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, 170.

[5] As this was more than 60 years before the first provision of a *ciric* within the *tun* (see below, ch. xxv), neither the *ciric* of Puch nor that of Addi can be identical with the present-day churchyards of their respective *tuns*, unless indeed each village was subsequently moved to the immediate vicinity of its *ciric*.

' bede-houses,' which is a sufficiently close rendering of
oratoria, and is also the word used in the Saxon rendering
of the words ' My house shall be called the house of prayer.' [1]
Throughout England this use of the word died out, the
kirk-word, transferred from the burial-ground to the
building, coming to be used by the laity for churches of all
classes, larger or smaller ; and with the completion of the
parochial division of the country very many of even the
smaller buildings came to attain the dignity of ' churches.'
Only the clergy troubled to maintain the distinction
between the one and the other, and inevitably the clergy
substituted for *bedehus* the Latin *capella*, ' chapel,' the
Saxon word surviving only in the sense of ' almshouse.'

The word appears in Welsh as *bettws*, introduced at the
close of the thirteenth century and occurring first in the
Taxatio of Nicholas IV. At this period Roman Christianity
was at last forcing itself upon the Welsh, and one of its
first and least popular steps was to introduce the Roman
system of small homogeneous parishes. For this purpose
structural churches had to be multiplied, for many of the
wilder districts were ill provided. The new buildings thus
erected were ' bede-houses,' which term naturally passed
into *bettws* ; and to this day there are some twenty which
still keep the name. Not one of them was a church-in-
chief, though several have since become so. Their intrusive
origin is confirmed by the fact that in several cases they are
spoken of as *capel bettws*, the Welsh having, without under-
standing, adopted and used together both the lay and the
ecclesiastical terms for such chapels-of-ease. Even so they
held toughly by their Celtic traditions. They declined to
misuse the term *llan* by applying it to a *bettws*, and as
stubbornly they declined to call it an *eglwys* ; for there
had been no monasteries in these places, nor any burial-
grounds wherein men had met for worship. Before there
could be an *eglwys*, i.e. a structural church, there must
have been a burial-ground ; but the *bettws* was as it were
a church without a foundation, an offence against the
fitness of things. Their manner of regarding it is illustrated

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[1] *Hutton Gospel*, Matt. xxi, 13, *Myn hus
ys gebedhus*; cf. Matt. vi, 6, *Gang into
pinum bedclyfan*, ' Enter into thy closet.'
There has possibly been some confusion
between *bede* and *bed*, natural enough at a
time when the same small hut was at once
oratorium and *dormitorium*. In the *Will of
Ceolwin* (*ante* 905) Thorpe (*Diplomatarium*,
p. 493) renders *beddarn* by ' refectory.'

by the curious fact that, having once learnt the word, they used it also in the purely secular sense of a ' harbour-age, place of shelter,'[1] and again we are reminded that when Giraldus Cambrensis was writing the Welsh at large knew little of permanent houses, but commonly dwelt in makeshifts of boughs and turves.[2] By contrast the smallest of chapels was almost palatial. It will be remembered also that in the Scotic use the ' church ' was actually the dwelling-place of its priest. At the one end of time is Cadoc building a ' church ' to serve him as a *hospitium* upon his journeys[3] ; at the other is Layamon (*circa* 1200) telling us in his own words that he ' dwelt at Areley, in a noble church on Severn's bank.'[4]

There is no ground for questioning the literal truth of this *ipse dixit* of Layamon. The original Scotic ' church ' had always been as much *habitaculum* as *oratorium*, and long after Layamon's time English people were perfectly familiar with anchorites who made their dwellings in the churches. Unquestionably priests did the same, and the wording of some of the early canons might even be taken to mean that this was expected of them. But many forces co-operated to break down the practice, in particular the obstinate refusal of the English priesthood at large to adopt a celibate life, and the great extent of the early parishes, which must have made it always more and more usual for the priest to lodge wherever was convenient. Gradually also the Roman Church forced upon the people the view that God's House should not be treated as man's house. The accommodation for the priest, once the entire building and later the half of it, came to be more and more

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[1] cp. the phrases *O fryn i fettws*, ' from hill to dale,' and *Y byd a'r bettws*, ' the world and the church.' In both is present the sense of a *mansio secretior* (Bede, *H.E.* V, ii, § 362), and the desired seclusion was to be found only in the valleys. Hence *bettws* came to mean (1) a ' place in a sheltered hollow,' and (2) the ' sheltered hollow ' itself.

[2] Above, ch. xix. For *bettws*, see Silvan Evans, *Welsh Dictionary*, and the references there given. When he wrote the derivation was still disputed : the *N.E.D.* adopts without comment the identification with ' bede-house.' Bedhus occurs also in Scotland, e.g. at Rathven.

[3] In Iceland so late as 40 years ago the village churches were the only substitute for inns. Apparently they were also used as a kind of communal store-house : ' Wherever I came the church was placed at my disposal for the night, and everywhere I found a store of fish, tallow, and other equally odoriferous substances ' (J. Pfeiffer, *Visit to Iceland*. London, 1852, p. 108).

[4] Opening lines of Layamon's *Brut :* wonede at Ernleye at aeðelen are chirechen uppen Seuarne stathe. Ernleye is now Areley, on the Severn opposite to Stourport. One half of the churchyard is still circular. The church, previously a small rectangular building of the Celtic type, was ' restored,' enlarged, and entirely altered in 1885-6.

circumscribed. Sometimes it seems to have been found in an upper chamber above the chancel, as at Darenth in Kent and at Leckhampton, Glouces., and later in a room in the tower or over the porch. In the end the priest found a home outside the building in a ' church house ' or parsonage, which to-day we call rectory or vicarage.[1] But custom long insisted that this should be as near the church as might be ; indeed it not seldom led to the secularisation of a large part of the churchyard to make room for the house and its adjuncts. The change was probably in a general way synchronous with the disappearance of the older wooden churches and the erection of others in stone, i.e. in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but there was no uniformity in this, or indeed in any single matter concerning the Church in England prior to the Reformation.

In the small importance with which Scotic Christianity so long regarded the structural church may lie the explanation of the much-debated case of Fairfield in Kent, of which the commissary of the chapter of Canterbury reported in 1294 that, although the churchyard had been consecrated, the church had never been dedicated ' because it was of wood.'[2] Growing up, as it commonly did, from the most rudimentary provision of a roof for the priest, the building might easily pass at long last into the dignity of a ' church ' without any special act of consecration ; for, as the *Lives* of the saints sufficiently prove, every Christian graveyard had *ab initio* its own specific dedication, and this might well be held to embrace any ' church ' which later arose within it.

The Saxon Version of Bede proves that even in the latter half of the tenth century *ciric*, although now beginning to assume the meaning of ' structural church,' might still mean nothing more than ' burial-ground.' Archaeology further shows that throughout Celtic Christendom the burial-ground preceded the church. England was part of Celtic Christendom, and in England therefore

[1] See many examples collected in Addy, *Church and Manor*, ch. 1 and 3, and *passim*. For anchorites and their dwellings, see Miss Clay, *English Hermits and Anchorites*. For church-houses, etc., see E. L. Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages*, pp. 149-163.

[2] Grayling, *Churches of Kent*, i, p. 146. The present church is restoration work of 1912 ; the earlier building was of ' pane and plaster.' The dedication is to St. Thomas Becket, but it is likely that the graveyard is of much earlier date and quite another dedication.

there must have been burial-grounds before there were churches. It is to these that the word *ciric* refers in documents prior to the tenth century, the scattered Christian barrows of the countryside, in which had as yet risen no churches, perhaps in many cases not even a bede-house.

The first occurrence of the word is in the *Laws* of king Ethelbert of Kent, who died in 616. It is there coupled with the word *mynstre*, and the two words recur thus conjoined repeatedly thereafter. English translators render them by ' church ' and ' monastery ' respectively, but there were no churches outside the walls of the monasteries before the ninth century, and *ciric* has been shown to have meant a burial-ground before it meant a building. What did *mynstre* mean ?

Mynstre is a Saxon transcript of the Latin *monasterium* and probably dates no earlier than the coming of Augustine ; and even so it meant only a monastery as the Scotic missioners understood such things, the circular *rath* or *cashel* with its contained cells. In course of time—but hardly before the eighth century, as the case of Abingdon shows—there grew up in these monastic settlements something which we may properly denominate a ' church.' To this, as being the most important and the most conspicuous feature of the whole, the word *mynstre* came to be applied in a special sense. It thus came to be the earliest general Saxon term for a structural church, and this accounts for the constant use of *monasterium* in the sense of *ecclesia*[1] : the Saxon *mynstre*, ' a church,' re-translated into Latin, naturally became *monasterium*, ' a church.'

The change of meaning in *mynstre* finds an exact parallel in *ciric* : this too meant originally a circular precinct only, but presently came to mean the dominating feature of that precinct, the structural ' church ' which was later built upon it ; and the change in both cases was due to the growing influence of the Latin *regula*. Thus there came to be a period—certainly not before 900—at which *ciric* and *mynstre* might both denote a ' church,' but, the efforts of the Latin Church, notwithstanding, the elder word *ciric* prevailed.

[1] See Ducange, *Lexicon*.

Now as every Scotic monastery was necessarily a burial-ground, every *mynstre* was also a *ciric* ; but as not every burial-ground was a monastery, not every *ciric* was a *mynstre*.

A very brief study of the early Saxon texts will confirm these statements. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* up to the year 890 the term *mynstre* occurs again and again, and always of places famous for the ' churches ' they had built—York, Winchester, Hexham, Lindisfarne, Peterborough, Glastonbury, Wimborne, and Monkwearmouth. At every one of these places the structural church was then, as mostly it now is, the chief glory of the spot. But of anything which can be construed as a structural church outside a monastery there is no mention, even so late as the year 870 when the Danes ' destroyed all the minsters they came to in East Anglia.' [1]

The opening clause of the surviving fragments of the *Laws* of Ethelbert of Kent, the oldest of the Saxon codes, has reference to the amount of the fine to be levied for outrage done to the Church or to its representatives, and specifically for any breach of the right of sanctuary. [2] The fragment runs thus :—

> ' *(for such outrage done)* to the property of God and the Church *(the fine shall be)* twelve-fold ; to the property of a bishop, eleven-fold ; to that of a priest, nine-fold ; to that of a deacon, six-fold ; to that of a clerk, three-fold ; to *ciric-frið*, two-fold ; to *m* ......
> -*frið*, two-fold.'

The mutilated word in the last line must have been *mynstre*. [3] Graveyard *(ciric)* and church *(mynstre)* were alike sanctuaries, and the penalty for violating either was the same.

In the same code occurs the phrase *Godes feoh and ciricean*, ' the property and the *cirics* of God.' Either ' graveyards ' or ' congregations ' will suit the sense here. There is no reason whatever to translate it ' structural churches.'

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[1] To this day the term is extremely rare in East Anglia. It occurs in Southminster (Essex) and in ' The Old Minster ' in South Elmham (Suffolk).

[2] *Fri∂*, ' liberty.' Later the word used was *gri∂*.

[3] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 1, who remarks, ' Wilkins reads *mynsteres-fri∂*, but in the MS. there is not space for so long a word.' Haddan and Stubbs (iii, 42) print *mynsteres-fri∂* without comment, and there can be no doubt whatever that the antithesis was the usual one between *ciric* and *mynstre*.

In the *Laws* of Wihtraed of Kent (*ob.* 725) the word
eiric occurs seven times,[1] never in the sense of ' structural
church.' The only word used in that sense is *mynstre* :
' Let the ealdor of a *mynstre* clear himself with the same
form of defence as a priest.' So again in the same king's
address to the Council ' at the place which is called
Baccancelde,' he declares the liberty in perpetuity of ' all
the minsters and the *cirics* that were given and bequeathed
to the glory of God ' from the days of king Ethelbert
onward.[2]

The word *ciric* does not occur unmistakably in the
sense of a structural church in any code of Saxon laws
before the very close of the ninth century. A clause (no. 5)
in the *Laws* of Ine, where it might seem to bear that
meaning, really refers to the taking of sanctuary in the
churchyard : ' If a culprit flee to a church (*cirican*), then
let the fine be in accordance with the sanctity of that
church (*cirican*).'[3] The *Laws* of Alfred, while repeating
this, also speak of the sanctuary of *mynstrehama*,[4] i.e. the
precincts of monasteries and structural churches ; and
another law of the same king (no. 8) refers to the crime of
abducting a nun from a *mynstre*, obviously a building and
probably a monastery, amends for which offence must be
made ' to the *cirican-hlaford*[5] to whom the nun belongs.'
Ciric and *mynstre* meaning different things, the *cirican-
hlaford* cannot well be the same as the *ealdor-mynstres* of
Wihtraed's laws (above), and the implication that, while
every *mynstre* presupposes a *ciric*, the latter is of a dignity
superior to the *mynstre*,[6] is of value. In the *Preface* to his
translation of pope Gregory's *Pastoral Letter* Alfred writes,[7]
' I will send a copy to every bishop in my kingdom. Let
no man dare to take the book from the *mynstre*.' Here

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[1] E.g. *Praef.*, aelc bad *ciricean*, ' every
degree of church ' : cap. 1, *ciricean*,
' congregation ' : cap. 2, 3, the same : cap.
24, *cirican manner*, ' of a churchman '
(Thorpe, loc. cit.).
[2] *A.-S. Chron.* 694.
[3] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, p. 46.
' Sanctuary ' and ' churchyard ' presently
came to be convertible terms (below,
ch. xxv).
[4] Thorpe, op. cit. p. 27. He cites also
(p. 1) a passage when Alfred uses *ham* to
translate *monasterium* : *Of Peortanea tham
ham, de monasterio Peortanea* (Partney in

Lincs.). It is so used again in *Diplom-
atarium*, p. 126 (anno 864), aet ham aet
Scireburnam. In the *Will* of Ealdorman
Aelfrid, ante 889 (*Diplomatarium*, p. 482),
we have ; ' Let the surplus be divided
amongst the monasteries for the benefit of
God's graveyards in Kent and Surrey (*gind
mynsterhamas to Godes ciricum*).'

[5] Thorpe, p. 30.

[6] For it is impossible to suppose that such
a matter would be referred to any *inferior*
authority.

[7] *E.E.T.S.* no. xlv, p. 8.

again *mynstre* must obviously mean a building, but Alfred does not call it a *ciric*. On the other hand in his *Will*[1] he leaves fifty pounds ' to the *cyric* in which I shall rest.'

Half a century later, in the *Laws* of Edmund (940-947) occurs the following :—

> ' We have also ordained that every bishop repair the houses of God (*Godes hus*) in his own [district], and also advise the King that all God's churches (*Godes cyrcan*) be well ordered.'[2]

Clearly *Godes hus* and *Godes cyrcan* are not the same ; and as *Godes hus* can only mean ' (structural) churches,' *Godes cyrcan* must mean something else. The distinction is the same as that between *mynstre* and *ciric*, and *Godes cyrcan* means ' burial-places,' where as yet there was frequently no *Godes hus* at all.

Later still a canon (no. 26) of Edgar (958-975) decrees that no dog, nor pigs in greater number than can be controlled, shall come *binnan cirictune (intra sepem ecclesiae)*,[3] and a good deal of discussion has been lavished upon the matter. There is nothing to discuss. *Cirictune* is the ' church-haye,' the fence of the churchyard, and *ecclesia* is the usual proleptic mis-rendering of *ciric* ; and there is no question at all about bringing pigs into the structural church.[4] It is clear that in the latter half of the tenth century *ciric* was still the normal word for the burial-ground and was not commonly used of any building therein.

Not until the time of Alfred, at the very close of the ninth century, does there occur a passage in which *ciric* possibly—not necessarily—bears the sense of ' structural church.'[5] Thence onward the change of meaning becomes more and more definite. A charter of Edward

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[1] *Diplomatarium*, p. 490.
[2] Thorpe, p. 105.
[3] *Ne binnan cirictune aenig hund ne cume, ne swin the ma thaes the man wealdan maege* : Thorpe, p. 397.
[4] In another Canon (no. 29) of the same it is enjoined ' that no man be buried within a *ciric* (*innan circan*) ' unless his life have been such as to deserve such burial. Here again *ciric* must mean the church-yard, for burial within the *church* had long been forbidden.
[5] *Laws*, no. 5 (of a man's seeking

sanctuary in a *ciric*), ' if the brethren have further need of their *ciric*, let them keep him in another house—*on ôðrum aerne*—and let not this have more doors than the *ciric*.' Thorpe, p. 29. In passages such as that in *Vespasian Psalter* (*circa* 825) xxi, 23, *in midle cirican ic herzoðe*, the word merely means ' congregation.' *N.E.D.* cites, from *O.-E. Chronicle* 874, *on Sca Marian ciricean* (*cirican*), ' (his body lies) in St. Mary's church'; but it is impossible to be sure that ' church ' here means the building rather than the churchyard.

the Elder (901-925) makes a distinction between the *ciric* of St. Gregory in Winchester and its burial-ground (*lictun*).[1] Here the word clearly means 'church.' But *ciric* certainly did not altogether cease thereafter to mean a burial-ground. It actually retained that sense in the dialect of Whitby so late as 1850.[2]

Speaking of the raid of Ecgfrith of Northumbria upon Ireland in 684, Bede says[3] that he spared ' neither churches nor monasteries ' : his Latin reads *ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis*, but the Saxon Translator writes *ne cyricum ne mynstrum*. Each authority illustrates the other, and we have the same distinction drawn 500 years later by so capital a writer as Giraldus Cambrensis,[4] who says that in 1165 the English, raiding into Wales, ' burnt many of the churches together with the villages and the graveyards.' The explanation of this seemingly purposeless savagery is provided by the *Roman de Rou*, where it is said that, upon the landing of the Normans at Pevensey, the English peasantry hurried with their cattle to the graveyards.[5] They were seeking sanctuary, and it was just because the *cirics* were so used that they were so prominent an object of attack by any invader, were he Norman in England or Englishman in Wales or Ireland.

Names in which the word *mynstre* survives are few, possibly because so many of the early minsters speedily went to ruin : Tetbury, for example, was at one period called Tettanmynstre,[6] but has long since reverted to the older form. In three cases the name is absolute.[7] Most

[1] *Diplomatarium*, p. 157. Latin Charters of Edward the Confessor explicitly distinguish between *ecclesiae* and *coemeteria*. i.e. between burial-grounds which had structural churches and those which had not (ibid. pp. 358, 404).

[2] *Dialect of Whitby* (Anon. 1851).

[3] *H.E.* IV, xxvi, § 340. The entry in *A.-S. Chron.* says merely that ' miserably they plundered and burned the *cirics* of God.'

[4] *Itin. Wales*, ii, 12 : *ecclesias aliquot cum villis et coemeteriis igni apposito combusserunt.* The Welsh leader Owen refused to render like for like : *nos ecclesiis locisque sacris maiorem solito reverentiam exhibituros et honorem.* The expression *loca sacra*, like *loca sancta*, seems to be the equivalent of *roemeteria* ; see below, p. 258. If *combusescunt* as applied to *coemeteria* means any-

thing more than ' destroyed,' it must have reference either to the fences enclosing them, or to the wooden crosses or other memorials which marked the graves.

[5] Donc veissiez Engleiz foïr,
Bestes chacier, mezons guerpir :
As cemetieres tot atraient,
Et encor la forment s'esmaient
                                        (ii, 751-755).
E. A. Freeman, quoting the passage (*Norman Conquest*, iii, 412), paraphrases ' men fled everywhere ... and sought for shelter in the churches and churchyards.' But Wace says nothing about churches. For the graveyard as sanctuary in England see *Laws* of Ine, no. 5 (p. 242, above), and for the same thing in Wales, above, ch. xix.

[6] W. of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* v, 235).

[7] Minster in Thanet, Minster in Sheppey, and a third in Cornwall, near Camelford.

frequently it is qualified by the addition of a personal name, presumably that of the donor, e.g. Lyminster,[1] Kidderminster,[2] Beaminster, Bedminster, and Buckminster.[3] Otherwise the qualification is usually topographical, e.g. Westminster, Southminster, Porthminster, and Upminster ; and in a large proportion of these cases the determinant is a river-name, e.g. Axminster, Exminster, Charminster, Ilminster, Sturminster, and Warminster. With the doubtful exceptions of Leominster[4] and Yetminster,[5] not one has reference to a dedication or to any other religious matter.[6] Aymestry, near Leominster, is ' Island-minster.'[7] Whitminster requires no explanation.[8] Alderminster[9] (in Warwickshire) and Worminster[10] (Som.) have no connexion with the matter.

The *A.-S. Chronicle* records (*anno* 1020) that Canute built ' a minster of stone and lime ' for the souls of those slain at Assandun[11] in 1016. So late then a church of stone was still something to be remarked, even though its builder were a king.[12] It is called a minster, but it was nothing more than a church,[13] for Canute ' gave it to one of his priests,' i.e. Stigand, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury.

Built into the wall above the porch of the church of

[1] *D.B.* Lolinminstre : Alfred's *Will*, Lullyngmynstre (' Lulling's church ').

[2] *D.B.* Chideminstre, ' Cydda's church.'

[3] Respectively the churches of Baega, Baeda, and Bucca. So Pitminster is ' church of Pipping.'

[4] As the form Leomynstre goes back to the tenth century, any reference to Leofric earl of Mercia, who refounded it T.E.R., is out of the question. It was early Latinised as Leonis Monasterium, with reference to a dubious St. Leo. The earlier name was Llanllieni (Leland).

[5] *D.B.* Etiminstre ; later Yatesministre, Iatmynstre. The name may possibly refer to Eata, abbat of Melrose and bishop of Lindisfarne (Bede *H.E.* III, xxvi, § 237), who has left his name also in Atcham, Salop. But the church of Atcham is dedicated to St. Eata, whereas that of Yetminster is St. Andrew ; and Yetminster (near Sherborne, Dorset) is a long way from Lindisfarne.

[6] Nonneminstre of *D.B. Sussex*, usually identified on no adequate grounds with Lyminster, is ' church of Nunna.'

[7] *D.B.* Eiminstre. It is on the river Lug.

[8] It is merely the Saxon equivalent of such names as Ty Gwyn, Casa Candida, and Blancmoustier.

[9] A corruption of Aldermaneston (Johnston).

[10] Originally Worme's Tor.

[11] Usually, but doubtfully, identified with Ashington in Essex. J. H. Parker believed the tower of the present church to show traces of Saxon work. It has lately been suggested that the site was rather Hadstock in the same county.

[12] He is credited with the pious resolve to rebuild in stone *all* the churches which the Danes had burnt, and it is no marvel that he did not live to fulfil so large a vow.

[13] Hospinianus pointed out (*Opera*, i, 49) that the German Münster does not necessarily imply ' monastery,' but is used of *ecclesiae maiores, quae collegia et scholas habent adiunctas, unde et Collegiatae Ecclesiae dicuntur.* The persistence of the style of minster in the cases of the great churches of York, Southwell, Lincoln. Beverley and Ripon, illustrates his remark,

Kirkdale (Yorks.) is an inscription of the eleventh century recording the rebuilding of the ' minster of St. Gregory ' by one Orm. [1]   How came the house of God in Kirkdale to be called a minster rather than a *ciric* ? for Kirkdale itself is confessedly *ciric-dale*, ' church-dell '. [2]   The case is one of many that go to prove that Latin Christianity disliked and discouraged the use of the word *ciric* and tried to supplant it by the term *mynstre*.   But the obstinate Saxon declined to be persuaded.   Kirkdale had acquired that name because it possessed a *ciric*, and to this day it calls its place of worship a ' church ' and not a ' minster.'   The latter word is to-day rarely found north of the Humber, whereas south of that river it established itself, if sporadically only. [3]   That other something which king Ethelbert had already discriminated from a *mynstre* and termed a *ciric*, is with us still in every English churchyard.

The Saxons' refusal to substitute *mynstre* for *ciric* proves two things : firstly, that there were Christian places of worship scattered up and down the country, which were not, and never had been, monasteries or structural churches ; and secondly, that these had been here, and had acquired their specific name of *ciric*, before the Latin term *mynstre* was borrowed.   In declining to confuse *ciric* with *mynstre* the Saxon was doing exactly as did the Welshman who refused to substitute *llan* for *eglwys* in such a name as Eglwys Cymmin (ch. xix).   And this proves that, just as Wales had had her *ecclesiae* before ever she had a monastic *llan*, so England had her *ciric* before ever she had any structural church.   There was necessarily an *eglwys* to every *llan*, as there was a *ciric* to every *mynstre* ; but not every *eglwys* was a *llan*, nor was every *ciric* a *mynstre*.

This view of the matter is confirmed by the account of king Wihtraed's council at Baccancelde.   His pronouncement, as summed in the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 694) runs thus : ' All Christian *mynstres* and *cirics* ought to be free in perpetuity, for no layman has any right to the possession of a *ciric*, or of anything belonging to a *ciric*.   Therefore

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[1] Figured and discussed in Baldwin Brown, *Arts*, i, 355-7.

[2] Another Kirkdale in Lancs. is the *D.B.* manor of Chirchedale.

[3] Sometimes concealed in the form of Misterton, as in Lincs. and Leic. (*D.B.*

Menstretone, Minstretone).   There was a late (Cistercian, 1137) abbey of Newminster near Morpeth, Northumberland.   It was the first daughter of the older foundation of Fountains, and was called *Novum Monasterium* for difference.

such possession of *cirics*, and of all thereto belonging, is hereby forbidden for ever.' As there is no second mention of the term *mynstre* (though particular injunctions are given for the proper selection of bishops, abbats and abbesses, i.e. the person to hold authority in *mynstres*), it is clearly implied that the *ciric* takes precedence of the *mynstre*—that the *mynstre* is included amongst ' things belonging to a *ciric*.'

Seeing that the Anglo-Saxon word *ciric* refused to be supplanted, one would have expected the Latin Church to have given it a Latin form and so adopted it, as when it transformed the Irish *kil* into *cella* ; and if the learned men of the Church really believed the word *ciric* to represent an original Greek word signifying ' the Lord's House '—a derivation which came in the twelfth century to be insisted upon as an article of faith[1]—the question why it was not Latinised forthwith becomes insistent. The answer is, that in a Latin guise the word would have been too much suggestive of another Latin word of evil savour to those who took their opinions from tradition : it looked too much like *circus*—no wonder, for it actually was that word—and the Fathers had long ago banned the *circus* and all thereto belonging.

The evidence uniformly bears out the view that, excepting the very few buildings reared by Paulinus in the north and by Augustine and his immediate successors in the south, the England of Bede's time was still entirely Scotic in its Christianity. It was dotted over with Scotic monasteries of which the plan certainly, the construction probably, was precisely that of such monasteries in the contemporary Ireland and Wales. Parish churches, as we understand them, did not exist, and the most that one might reasonably expect to find in any district a few miles removed from a monastery was such an oratory as Bede speaks of in Dryhthelm's *villula* (p. 255). The view that archbishop Theodore divided the whole country into parishes much as it is to-day divided is quite untenable. If he did anything in that direction it can only have been to divide it into *dioceses*,[2] each served by one or another of

[1] Below, ch. xxviii.

[2] The *diocese* of the Scotic church corresponded to what is now called a parish, and the terms were convertible even so late as Aelfric's time. See his *Vocabulary* : '*Dioecesis vel parochia*, bisceopscir *vel*

the monastic foundations—its *eald-mynstre* or mother-church—and possibly to do something by way of breaking up the larger of such ' dioceses' into more manageable parts by encouraging new foundations where they were most needed.

Such is the only conclusion warranted by the scanty evidence, and it is startling only because of the inherited preconceptions of centuries. The modern missionary makes it his first concern to build some sort of church for his congregation : it was not so in earlier times, and for a variety of reasons, prominent among which were the poverty of both missionary and people, the lack in most cases of any adequate temporal support,[1] and the strong objection of the Anglo-Saxons to assembling under any roof for fear of witchcraft.[2] More effective than any of these was the inability of the missionaries themselves, if Scotic, to conceive of any sanctity other than that of the grave. They required no structural place of worship, and on that point their congregations, Celtic and Saxon alike, were quite at one with them. They needed no meeting-*house*, but a meeting-*place* only, and their immemorial place of meeting had been a grave or the symbol of a grave. Every part of the ritual of early Celtic Christianity was performed ' in the eye of light,' and the first missionaries concerned themselves with no buildings other than the tiny huts which gave them house-room when required. Church furniture scarcely existed. The eucharist would be offered, as in early Ireland, within the sacred *limes* indeed, but under no roof. So with baptism : the absence of any font is a recognised feature of early Scotic churches, and its place was supplied by the well or spring which is invariably close at hand. Weddings took place outside the church so late as Chaucer's time, and even confessions and confirmations took place in the open air as in Ireland.[3]

biscopric' (Wright's *Anglo-Saxon Vocabularies*). Be it remembered that almost every Scotic monastery had its own ' bishop.' The native term for what is now called a parish was kirkshire (*circ-scyr*), which is proof that the parish was originally determined by the *ciric*. It was the whole extent of land occupied by any group of people who used one common burial-ground.

[1] Augustine owed his measure of success in Kent to the fact that he was *regio fultus adminiculo* (*H.E.* I, xxxiii, § 79), and similarly Paulinus owed his to the support of Edwin, Columba his to that of Brude.

[2] *H.E.* I, xxv, § 55 : cp. the meeting of Augustine with the Welsh bishops at Augustine's Oak, ibid. II, ii, § 91.

[3] Theodore's *Penitential* II, ii, §§ 1, 2 :— ' It is lawful for a bishop to confirm in the open (*in campo*), if need be . . . A priest may say mass out of doors, if a deacon or the priest himself hold the chalice and oblation.'

Thus, when there had at last arisen something which might by courtesy be called a church, it would need to be but very small. A people whose every moot had for centuries been held *sub divo*[1] would be slow to make any difference in that especial form of moot which we call worship ; and only when at last the congregation had come to ask for a roof over their heads would there be built what we call a nave.[2] It will be recalled that when Gregory, counselling compromise with paganism, directed Mellitus to convert the Saxon *fana* into *ecclesiae*, he advised that the congregation should still build for themselves the accustomed *tabernacula* of boughs.[3] Clearly he did not think of an *ecclesia* as necessarily a building capable of containing a large congregation. And so long as seats were not provided in the church, a very small building would accommodate quite a considerable congregation.[4]

If anything which we could call a structural church was built in those early days, it was assuredly in almost every case of timber, wattles, and clay only, except where timber was not procurable ; for the Saxons of those times knew nothing of mason-work or of any sort of building in stone. Every church of stone that was built in the north of England in or before his own days, is dwelt upon by Bede as a notable thing. Benedict Biscop[5] is singled out by Bede, as Wilfrid by Eddius,[6] for particular mention in

[1] Not until Charlemagne's time does Frankish law commence to insist upon roofed moots. In England the roofed moot came much later. See below, ch. xxvii.

[2] Hence the peculiar distinction between the 'church of the priest' and that 'of the people,' i.e. between chancel and nave.

[3] *H.E.* I, xxx, § 74.

[4] With the introduction of seating came the idea of individual ownership of such seats, and with this again the fiction that owners of such seats were entitled to be buried within the building, and in the first instance as close as might be to their seats : cp. *York Wills*, 1512 (Surtees Soc.), v, 37 : 'my body to be buried in the midel alye (aisle) at my stale end.' Out of this practice grew that of placing seats over the graves of the dead laity, exactly as altars had been first erected over those of other dead : cp. *Cartulary of St. Nicholas of Aberdeen*, i, 155 : 'our collectour . . . shall yeirlie sett ane honest stuill apoun ye said Jhonis sepultur, decorit with bakin and arress

(back and arris-pieces) as wss is.' Hence inevitably a good deal of very unchristian snobbery and rivalry among 'suche persons as loven the first sittinges at feestes, the highest stoles in churches and in hal' (Usk, *Test. Love*, I, v ; *anno* 1387-8). Humbler folk who could not afford seats in church, could not claim to be buried in church.

[5] Bede, *Vita Benedicti*. But even at Monkswearmouth the original buildings (671) were of wood, for Benedict sent to Gaul for men competent to build him a 'church of stone in the Roman style.' Bede adds that he was the first person to introduce into England workers in glass (for windows). He founded the monastery at Jarrow in 682, and built its church upon the Roman plan. An inscription recording its dedication in 685 is still extant, and correctly styles it *basilica*. See *Surtees Society*, vol. xxix, p. xxvi.

[6] *Vita Wilfredi*, c. xiv. Wilfrid built at Ripon, *circa* 661, a *basilica* of wrought stone.

this regard ; which is proof that buildings of stone were still exceptional. The new church (St. Peter's) at Lichfield, which was built soon after Chad's death in 672, was probably of wood ; the saint's shrine within it certainly was, though possibly from a desire to employ for that 'little house'[1] the same material as that of the oratory it imitated. The Saxon, like the Welshman, had no native words for a mason and masonry, of which he knew nothing nor invented anything. The Saxon word for 'building' a church is *timbran*, ' to carpenter,'[2] and the so-called Saxon style is merely an attempt to reproduce in stone the traditional features of timber-building, with the addition of a few details borrowed from Roman models. The Celtic way was to build the oratory of wood, and the Saxon naturally followed his teachers in this as in other matters connected with religion. Such churches as existed were almost exclusively monastic. ' So far,' writes Dr. Gee of Northumbria prior to 867, ' the Church had been planted in monasteries, and with the exception of Gainford there is no proof of the existence of church buildings in any other specific centres.'[3] Things were much the same in Wessex. Alfred contrived a means of measuring the hours by the wastage of standardised candles : he was obliged to have the candles enclosed in horn lanterns to protect them from the draughts which blew ' through the doors of the churches and the many chinks in the windows, walls, and planking.'[4] So the usual church of his time was built of timber, or

[1] *Tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta* (*H.E.* IV, iii, § 265).

[2] Cf. *H.E.* IV, iii, § 260, *vivos ecclesiae lapides de terrenis sedibus ad aedificium coeleste transferret*, rendered in S.V. *tha lifigendan stanas thaere cirican of eorðlicum sethlum to thaem heofonlican timbre gebaer* ; i.e. the ' building reared of living stones ' is termed *timbre*. Similarly where Bede (*H.E.* IV, vi, § 272) has *constructor* for one who builds a monastery, the S.V. has *timbrend*.

[3] *V.C.H. Durham*, ii, p. 5.

[4] *Per ecclesiarum ostia et fenestrarum, maceriarum quoque atque tabularum, vel frequentes parietum rimulas* ; Asser, *Life of Alfred* (Ed. F. Wise, Oxon. 1722), p. 68. The account does not justify the assertion that the windows were mere uncovered openings in the walls. If that had been the

only trouble, the king could have remedied it by covering them with horn or with glass, and the draught from the doors he could have obviated by means of a curtain, as did the hermit Ethelwald at Farne. The draughts came from all quarters, as was inevitable in a building of rough boards and unmortared stone. *Maceria* is correctly used of dry-building (*maceriam sine calce ex caementis et silice . . . facito*, 'build a mortarless wall of rubble and flint ' ; Cato *de Re Rust.* xv), and Asser is speaking of churches built either of timber, of dry stone, or of both. He tells us a good deal about Alfred's achievements in timber-building, nothing of his work in masonry. There may have been mortar-built churches in his England, but clearly they were the exceptions to the rule. And this was towards 900.

of unmortared stone. Dunstan, one of the most progressive churchmen of the tenth century, built wooden churches in many of the *hospitia* belonging to his see of Canterbury. [1] He built also a new church beside the famous older one at Glastonbury [2] reputed to have been founded by Joseph of Arimathea. That older church was of wattles, and there is nothing to show that the new one was of stone. ' Paul's minster ' in London, says the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 962) ' was burnt, and in that same year was again built up.' Probably it was of wood, and certainly of no great size. A church was built, between 959-975, over the relics of St. Wigstan, which had been laid in the ' mausoleum ' of the Mercian kings at Repton : ' according to several writers it was built of stout oak beams and planks on a foundation of stone, and its sides were made of wattles composed of withy twigs interlaced between the oak beams, daubed within and without with mud or clay.' [3] Professor Baldwin Brown believes [4] that there are still 200 churches showing traces of Saxon work, but even if we admit that this work is in every case of pre-Conquest date—and this is very doubtful—the number is not large. It has been said that ' few elaborate churches were built so long as men feared the end of the world in 1000,' [5] but there is also plenty of evidence that after that date the Saxons were not particularly quick to build in more ambitious style. William of Malmesbury calls the Norman fashion of church-building *novum aedificandi genus*, probably because the Normans used stone only. When William de Warrenne built (1066) his castle of Laques outside Lewes, [6] he adopted an ' ancient wooden church of St. Pancras ' thereby, and at once rebuilt it in stone. [7] To this day there are ancient churches in England of which large parts are timber built, [8] and one—that of East Grinstead in Essex,

[1] Lingard, *Hist. A.-S. Church*, ii, 370, citing *Ang. Sacra*, ii, 207. One was at May-field, Sussex, the traditional scene of Dunstan's encounter with the Devil.

[2] Mentioned in a grant of 744, *Cart. Sax.*. i, 242. It was still in existence in 1032, William of Malmesbury says it was built of wattles (*virgea*) and was called the ealde-chirche, i.e. *vetusta ecclesia*. It was burnt in 1184. According to Malmesbury there were four churches within the one monastic enclosure at Glastonbury, a Scotic feature.

[3] *Memorials of Old Derbyshire*, p. 117.

[4] *Arts in Early England*, i, p. 116. Other estimates are much more cautious. A. C. Hill, for example, puts the total at ' about 70 ' (*Architect. Hist. of the Church*, p. 129).

[5] P. H. Ditchfield, *English Village* (1901) p. 109.

[6] *Arch. Journ.* 1917, pp. 36-78.

[7] *Carta Fundationis* of the Priory of St. Pancras, in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

[8] Surrey alone has about thirty churches with towers or turrets of timber, some

thought to date from about 1013—which is entirely so.
P. M. Johnston has pointed out that so late as the close of
the eleventh century the Ramsey Pontifical made special
provision for the form of service to be used in consecrating
timber-built churches.

Churches of timber would commonly have footings of
stone, and these would frequently remain in the soil when
every trace of the superstructure had disappeared. Brought
to light at a far later date they have frequently passed for
the remains of a church of stone, and so encouraged the
belief that such buildings were far older and far more
numerous than was actually the case.

The typical Celtic church is merely the original Celtic
oratory reproduced upon a somewhat more pretentious
scale—a rectangular building without aisles, and indeed
without architectural features of any kind. Latin
Christianity presently obtruded the basilican church with
apse, aisles and crypt, as elaborate a structure as the other
was simple. No one who has the most perfunctory ac-
quaintance with English village churches can doubt from
which of the two types they are more directly descended.
In scores of English villages stands a Celtic church to this
day. Its original simplicity has been disguised, more often
than not, by the addition of aisles and chapels, vestry,
porch and tower ; but the nucleus, often still unaltered,
is the diminutive rectangular building, the single-cham-
bered Celtic oratory, and nothing else. The church at
Bradford-on-Avon, once thought to have been built by
Aldhelm, who died bishop of Malmesbury in 709, may be,
as Professor Freeman believed, the oldest unaltered Saxon
church in England, but it is very far from being the best
example of an early Saxon church.[1] It had already de-

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carrying spires. The oldest of them, e.g.
those of Burstow, Horne and Newdigate,
are thought to date as late as the thirteenth
and fourteenth century (*V.C.H. Surrey*,
ii, 437). The tower of the church of
Itchingfield near Horsham, Sussex, is built
of wood from the foundations upwards,
and so is that of the little church of Perivale,
Middlesex, almost within sight of St. Paul's.
At Raskelf (Yorks.) tower and piers of the
chancel are alike of wood ; so are the piers
of the one-aisled church of Selmeston,
Sussex, and of the magnificent half-timbered

church of Lower Peover, Cheshire. Half-
timbered churches are numerous in the last-
named county, and that too in districts
where red sandstone was abundant. The
half-timbered chapel of Mattingley, Hants,
is dated about 1500.

[1] Proof is lacking that this is the work
of Aldhelm, and both in plan and in,
technique it is more than suspect. The
mason-work may easily be 300 years later
than the date claimed. Malmesbury
(Maidulf's Hill) was moreover a Scotic
monastery, said to date as far back as 642,

veloped the cruciform plan, with north and south transeptal chapels or porches,[1] the whole building is unusually lofty for its area, nave and chancel are separate chambers, and the roof-lines of nave, chancel and transepts are all different. The true type has still the straight roof-line, broken only by the tiny bell-turret, which is commonly upon the western gable ; it has neither transepts nor porch ; and nave and chancel are often of one equal width, with no chancel-arch of any sort. There are such almost original ' bede-houses ' to be seen in nearly every English county. The type is not pretty and it makes small appeal to the architect, who, when called in, too frequently sweeps it wholly away and begins afresh. So ' the old order changes, giving place to new.' But the Celtic type of church ' was until the end of the twelfth century the normal type of our smaller parish churches,'[2] and bespeaks the influence of the Scotic missionaries.

Hugh of Peterborough (late twelfth century) asserts that Saxulf, bishop of Mercia 675-691, founded a monastery at Brixworth in Northamptonshire, and that a ' church ' at this place was attached *anno* 690 to Saxulf's greater monastery of St. Peter at Medeshamstede (Peterborough). Therefore the remarkable basilican church of All Saints, Brixworth is alleged to date from 690 at latest. The original structure, largely built of Roman materials, consisted of a nave 60 ft. by 30 ft., with an apsidal chancel 30 ft. by 30 ft., overlying a very large crypt. Now Saxulf was entirely Scotic in training and in practice[3]. If he built a monastery at all at Brixworth, that can have been merely the customary Scotic thing with no structural ' church ' worth the name. That he should have built a church so large and of such peculiarly Latin plan as was this, is entirely unlikely. Dr. Haverfield denied that the church itself is a Roman building,[4] and Professor Hamilton Thompson agrees.[5] The facts would seem to be thus :

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which must accentuate one's doubts. See Taylor, *Names and Their Histories*, p. 185. Fragments of crosses, etc. of Celtic type are preserved in the church. The church at Doulting, in which Aldhelm died, was of wood.

[1] The south transept has disappeared, but its foundations have been traced (Romilly Allen, *Mont. Hist. Brit. Church*, p. 184).

[2] J. T. Micklethwaite in *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii, 364.

[3] Above, p. 229.

[4] *V. C. H. Northants.* i, 194.

[5] *Ground Plan of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 21. ' The Roman brickwork,' he writes, ' has been re-used in obvious ignorance of Roman methods.'

there was a *ciric*, i.e. a Christian grave-yard on the spot, where Saxulf founded a little Scotic cell in dependence upon his greater foundation. The *ciric* may have dated from the days of the first evangelisation of Mercia, and it may have become neglected and forgotten during the time of Penda's lapse ; in which case Saxulf was merely recovering a *locus sanctus* to Christianity. The *ciric* was probably nameless when that occurred, and that may explain why it was consecrated in the name of All Saints. According to Miss Arnold Forster there are no less than 1,044 ancient churches of this dedication in England, besides 28 of the equivalent All Hallows ; and there could be none more appropriate for a *ciric* which was felt indeed to be Christian, but of which the original dedication and the founder's name were for whatever reason lost.

When at last, towards the very end of the tenth century, the Saxons began more systematically to build in masonry, their efforts were far in advance of their abilities, and a large number of their more ambitious buildings collapsed within a very few years from weaknesses in the structure or in the foundations. Such as endured owed their safety for the most part to the exaggerated thickness of the fabric, as in the great church of Stow, Lincs., but even the builders of the oldest Norman part of the Abbey of St. Albans— the work of Paul de Caen (1077-1088) seem to have been unable to use a plumb-line or to turn an arch correctly. Milo Crispinus of Bec, in his *Life of Lanfranc* calls ' wonderful indeed ' that archbishop's enterprise in bringing from Caen by sea ' squared stone for building.' The traditions of the Saxon carpenter-architects lingered on long after the Conquest, betraying themselves in the crowded pilaster-strips and transverse string-courses which cover the walls of churches otherwise entirely Norman in design.

There can be no doubt that by far the greater number of structural churches existing in England even in the twelfth century were still built of wood only, and this explains the remarkable activity of the church-architects of that and the next century : they were replacing in stone the earlier wooden churches, and rebuilding on a larger scale some of the few mason-built churches already in

existence.[1] Also in many cases they were building churches where there had hitherto been none, for England before the Conquest was dotted over with church*yards* where there was not, and never had been, any structural church at all. In Ireland and in the remoter parts of Scotland there are to this day many such Christian burial-grounds, not a few of them still used upon occasion, which possess no ' church ' of any kind, nor apparently ever have possessed one. Even in England there are graveyards which are still used as such, though the churches which once stood there have wholly disappeared[2].

The story of Dryhthelm[3] gives us a hint of the real state of things in the remoter parts of Northumbria and Deira about the year 700, when John of Beverley was bishop of Hexham, Bede was at middle life and Wilfrid an old man, and Northumbria was in the van of Saxon prosperity and progress. Dryhthelm, a householder ' in the land called Incuneningum,'[4] being sick unto death, fell into a swoon so deep that he was believed to be verily dead ; so that his present recovery was regarded by himself and others as a miracle. He went at once to pray at what Bede calls *oratorium villulae*, but which his Saxon Translator renders ' the church of the village ' (*to thaere cirican thaes tunes*), and subsequently made his way to the monastery of Old Melrose, where he received the tonsure and ' entered the retreat[5] which the abbat had provided for him.'

The Saxon Translator is a much safer guide than is Bede in matters concerning the native Church, for his

[1] J. H. Parker (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1862-3) maintained much the same view, if he did not go quite so far. The arguments *pro* and *con* may be found reprinted in Gomme's *Gents. Mag. Library, Ecclesiology*, pp. 1-60. ' So far as I know,' writes the editor, ' there is not much additional light thrown on the subject by recent research.' This was in 1894.

[2] The circular mound, 5 ft. in height and 75 ft. in diameter, which was the church-yard and the site of the church of Horsington (All Hallows), near Woodhall Spa, Lincs., has headstones bearing dates as late as 1882 ; yet the church was in ruins in 1540, and the graveyard has for long years been part of a grass pasture.

[3] Bede, *H.E.* V, xii, § 389.

[4] So Bede. The S.V. has *In Cununingum*. The place is usually identified with Cunning-

ham, still surviving as the name of the northern portion of Ayrshire, where the Abbey of Melrose certainly owned lands (*Liber de Melrose*, i, 72-74).

[5] *Locum secretae mansionis ; dygle aancor-stowe*. The monastery of Old Melrose stood upon a ' ness ' of the river Tweed, almost surrounded by water, close to the site of the Roman Trimontium and to the old Roman Deer-street (i.e. Deira-street) leading thereto. See Curle, *A Roman Frontier Fortress*. Its founder was St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, its first abbat his disciple Eata. It was therefore entirely Scotic, and the ' retreat ' was probably one cell (*clochaun*) the more built expressly for the new inmate. The site was deserted by the twelfth century, and the more famous Abbey of Melrose was founded (1136) upon a different spot some three miles to the west.

sympathies were wholly with that Church, and he prized those peculiarities which the Latin Bede was fain to ignore. Therefore if Bede says the village had an oratory, and the Translator says merely that it had a *ciric*, we may safely believe the latter to be right.   Had he meant to say ' oratory ' he would have written *gebaedhus*[1] ; he actually wrote *cirican*, and, as has been shown above, by that term was usually meant a burial-ground and nothing else.

Wherever Dryhthelm's home may have been, Christianity, probably in the persons of the monks of Old Melrose, had evidently come so far, and had left its usual mark in the form of a *ciric*,[2] i.e. a Christian burial-ground. Very possibly there stood within it, *more Scotico*, a tiny wooden cell. If so, Bede and his Saxon Translator do not contradict, but rather supplement, each other, and each specifies the factor which to his own mind was the more important. To the Latin Bede it was the building, to his Scotic-taught Translator it was the barrow. But assuredly there was nothing there which either Bede could style *ecclesia* or we could denominate a church.

Paganism, whether Greek, Roman, Celtic, or Saxon, had made the burial-places of the general dead at some considerable distance from the abodes of the living.[3] It had paid regular honours to them, visiting their graves at stated seasons, and celebrating their memories with games and feasting ; but it had otherwise, from whatever motive, kept aloof from their places of burial. The novelty in Christianity was that it made friends with all its dead ; recognised their presence and celebrated their memory not alone by special and recurring saints' days, but by daily ritual ; and so far from avoiding them, made its habitations and its temples actually amongst the tombs and upon them. There could be no immediate supersession of the older traditional attitude by the new. Rather there would need to pass some length of time before the new attitude could become established.   It was not

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[1] As in *E. H.* V, ii, in the description of John of Beverley's *mansio* (above, p. 235).

[2] Bede *H.E.* III, iii, *o* 156, *construebantur ecclesiae per loca.* He is speaking of the early days of the Scotic activities, when Aidan first came to Lindisfarne (635). Possibly this was one of the *ecclesiae* then founded, perhaps by Cuthbert himself, who was at one time Prior of Old Melrose and always very active as a missionary.

[3] The consecration-grave and the founder's tomb were amongst the rare exceptions which prove the rule.

established until the days of archbishop Cuthbert (742-758), who, when Christianity was now a century old in the greater part of England, felt himself strong enough to order that burial-places should be provided within the villages.[1]   Here is the sufficient explanation of the peculiarly central position usually occupied by the village church, which probably did more than any single other institution to consolidate and conserve English communal life.   In the typical English village the parish church is, not less by its position than by its activities, the nucleus of the whole[2] ; so much so that when one finds a church remote from its village, one generally feels a vague sense of surprise, and finds the explanation in some deflection of old roads, some shifting of economic centres.   These are modern influences, and in earlier days, if they existed at all, they were powerless against the centripetal attraction exercised by the church and by the common burial-ground of the community.   So long as the grave-yard was there it was no more possible to over-ride its attraction than to sever an Irish *aenach* from the cemetery which had brought it into being.   To-day there is little village life.   The population shifts too easily, and the thread of continuity is broken, for the dead are commonly laid where they die.   They do not come home to die, as once they tried to do, and only seldom are they brought back to be buried with their kindred.   So the ' root ' is lost, and the village life is dead, and in place of it we boast empire and turn our eyes, not to some ancient little village church, but to

' The Abbey that makes us We,'

or think of

' some corner of a foreign field
That is for ever England.'

If, as Bede declares, there was ' neither church nor altar nor other outward symbol of Christianity ' in all Northumbria before the year 635, it follows that, outside the

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[1] Below, ch. xxv.

[2] ' The one and only discoverable feature which imposed unity upon the area was the " parish- " or " mother- " church. . . . As the Church on a great scale is said to have given unity to the kingdom, so on a smaller one, it seems to me, the church gave to the parish its unity and its form. . . . The church is the decisive factor in the local division of the county ' (Dr. J. H. Round in *V.C.H.* Essex, i, 404).   There is nothing to alter in the phrasing of the passage, but the ' church' which moulded the parish was not the building, but the graveyard about it : cp. Green, *Conquest of England*. pp. 14-15.

permanent monastic settlements, the only sign of the new
faith must have been its burial-grounds, the circular
barrows to which were brought the bodies of the faithful
for burial. Whatever the monasteries may have possessed
in the way of ' churches,' it is clear that the country-side
had none at all. It had its *cirics* only, its circular burial-
places, each a *locus consecratus*.

In Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid* we are told that he claimed
as Church-property certain *loca sancta* which had been
usurped by various temporal powers.[1] Much argument has
centred about this phrase, and Professor Baldwin Brown[2]
endorses the opinion that burial-places were meant. The
evidence here advanced makes it certain that such is the
meaning, and it explains further why Wilfrid did not speak
of them as *ecclesiae*, for the *ecclesiae*, as Wilfrid understood
that term, had not yet been built. So when Kentigern
came to Glasgow (p. 191) and recovered a cemetery formerly
consecrated by Ninian, there is no mention of any ' church.'[3]
John of Beverley's *mansio* is a cemetery of St. Michael, but
again there is no mention of a church by Bede. It is from
his Saxon Translator that we learn that it contained a little
Celtic oratory (*bedehus*).[4]

It is impossible to fix any precise date at which the
structural church at last took precedence of the burial-
ground. All that can be said is that it was a *fait accompli*

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[1] 'Holy places in various regions, which
the British clergy had abandoned when they
fled from the swords of their Saxon foes.'
Wilfrid would be primarily concerned with
such Christian burial-grounds as had been
consecrated by the Scotic missionaries and
subsequently desecrated in one or other of
the Saxon lapses to heathenism, but he
astutely used language which would include
also all alleged sites of ' churches ' of the
Roman period. To have advanced a claim
to these only, some 250 years after their
profanation, would have been ridiculous.
His immediate grievance was something
very much more actual. In *Calendar of
Documents Preserved in France* (Rolls Office),
p. 440, occurs a case illustrative of such
secularisation in the twelfth century, when
one Jordan, son of Alan, grants ' to the
Abbey of Marmoutier ' the churchyard of
the church of Fraxinaria (de Fresnais) ' which
he possessed as if his own by hereditary
right,' he having come to understand that
he held it ' unjustly.' There are known

cases in which the parishioners have been
constrained to repurchase the site of their
sometime grave-yard, when by their
neglecting to keep it properly fenced it had
passed into private ownership. This
happened, for example, with the church-
yard of All Hallows of Horsington, Lincs.
mentioned above, p. 255, note 2 (Conway
Walter, *Records of Woodhall Spa*, p. 155).

[2] *Arts*, i, 253.

[3] *Life of St. Kentigern*, 9.

[4] Above, p. 235. Baldwin Brown (*Arts*,
i, 253) cites from Orelli an inscription
(no. 4499) in which *locus sacer* is used for
' cemetery.' The same expression is used
by Girald Cambr. (II, 12), and we may
compare the A.-S. expressions *balga stow*,
balga legerstow. The name of Hallows, Old
Hallows, or All Hallows, attaching to any
spot in a pretty sure clue to the site of an
ancient cemetery. Chaucer's pilgrims were
wont to ride ' to ferne halwes,' i.e. ' to the
far-away burial-places ' of departed saints.

by the year 1000, at least in theory. It does not follow that the theory was also the fact over the whole of England, and it is not at all likely. It is more than probable that many *cirics* remained without any sort of structural church until after the Conquest, and it is quite certain that the greater number of such churches as then existed were timber-built and very small.

The difficulty of determining the date of the change is increased by the fact that the Saxon term *ciric* was for long years used indifferently of the burial-ground and of the structural church, and the Latin *ecclesia* was used to render *ciric* in either sense. Ecgbert, archbishop of York, apparently made the first systematic attempt to promote church-building : ' Let every priest use all diligence in building his church.' [1] There has been mentioned in the *Laws* of Alfred [2] one of the earliest instances of the possible use of *ciric* to denote a building, but that was certainly not the customary usage in his time, for as late as the *Laws* of King Edmund (p. 243) there is still a firm distinction between *Godes hus* and *Godes cyrc*. In the *Laws* of King Edgar (959-975) there appears a novelty : a distinction is made between churches (*cyricean*) which have burial-grounds (*leger-stow*) and those which have none. [3] By this date then *ciric* had lost any necessary connotation of sepulture, but the relative dignity of the two classes of churches is illustrated by the injunction that the thane shall pay $\frac{1}{3}$ of his tithe to the support of any church upon his *bocland* if it has a burial-ground, whereas, if it has none, he may pay to it anything or nothing, the balance of the tithe going to the mother-church (*ealdan mynstre*). The same injunction is repeated in the same terms in the *Laws* of King Canute, [4] which further distinguish four degrees of

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[1] *Ut unusquisque sacerdos ecclesiam suam omni diligentia aedificet (Excerpta Ecgberti,* in Thorpe, p. 326). The word *aedificet* is noteworthy. It is not the same as *renovet.* Ecgbert was Archbishop 731-766 (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccles. Angl.,* p. 306), so that his order for the building of structural churches follows, as it should do, upon Abp. Cuthbert's order that burial-grounds should be provided in all *tuns* ; and this is borne out by the wording of canon xxiv of the same Ecgbert, which rules that no tithes or other possessions shall be taken away from any

ecclesia antiquitus constituta and made over to an *oratorium novum.* The little wooden *bedehus* of the new burial ground would be *oratorium novum* ; the ' churches of ancient foundation ' would include the old extra-mural *mynstres.* Unfortunately we have the canons only in Latin, but even so the distinction drawn between the old *ecclesia* and the new *oratorium* is significant.

[2] Above, p. 243.

[3] Thorpe, p. 3.

[4] Thorpe, p. 157.

churches, all alike in respect of their hallowing, but differ-
ing in dignity. These are the church-in-chief (*heafod
mynstre*), the medial church (*medemran mynstre*), the
church ' where there is a burial-ground, but the service is
little,' and lastly the field-church (*feld-cirice*) without a
burial ground. The difference in dignity is reflected in
the monetary value of the fine exacted for the same offence
in each of the four cases, namely 5 pounds,[1] 120 shillings,
60 shillings and 30 shillings.[2] The *heafod mynstre* is
evidently the same as the *ealdan mynstre* of Edgar's law,
the original monastic foundation, or the representative
thereof, from which the district was understood to have
been evangelised; and the third and fourth classes corre-
spond to the privately owned churches of the thanes in the
same laws. The ' medial churches ' must therefore denote
the great mass of the rural churches which had been
created by the activities of the churches-in-chief and were
their direct offspring—the *loca sancta* of the *tuns*, which
were now by way of providing themselves with structural
churches, commonly of timber only. It will be noticed
that the Saxon term applied to them is *mynstre*, not *ciric*,
whereas the latter term is applied to the inferior churches
of the third and fourth classes.

There was in the latter half of the tenth century a great
increase in the number of churches of various degree, and
a considerable advance towards the later and Latin view
that the building was the important matter.[3] None the less
the different meed of dignity accorded to any church
without a burial-ground is significant. As compared with
any other class of church whatever, it was entitled to only
half as much veneration. Evidently the old feeling that
there could be no church where there was no burial
ground died very hard. The England of the eleventh to
fifteenth centuries was covered with such pseudo-churches ;
they occupied every attractive hill, flanked every high road,
stood beside every ford and ferry, and even upon the
bridges. A few of them have lived to become parish
churches ; others survive as chapelries to parish churches ;

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[1] i.e. 360 shillings, the Saxon pound
counting 72 shillings.

[2] Thorpe, p. 154.

[3] Cf. *Laws* of Edward the Confessor
(no. 8) : ' There are now three or four
churches, where lately there was but one.'
(Thorpe, p. 191).

but by far the greater number have perished. They lacked the one thing which might have safeguarded them—the consecration of the grave-yard. The priority of the *ciric*, alike in time as in dignity, is betrayed further by the fact that fees due to Holy Church were always styled ' kirk-shot.' One never hears of ' mynstre-shot.' Of such dues the chief was the ' soul-shot ' paid for burial in a *ciric* ; and this, by the *Laws* of Edgar, must be paid to the *mynstre* to which it belongs, i.e. to the parish church of the township wherein the deceased had lived, no matter where he was interred.[1]

CHAPTER XXIV.

' CIRIC.'

Anhistoric Burials under Churches—Cases of Ludlow, Fimber, Pytchley, Passenham, Studland — St. Wigstan and Repton—St. Guthlac at Crowland—Churches on Barrows : Brockenhurst—Place-Names in -low, -how, -bury— The Burial of Ophelia—Kildale, Kingswear, etc.— Tell-tale Barrow-Names—The term ' Church ' applied to Earthworks—Place-Names containing the word ' Ecclesia '—Falkirk, Chirk, etc.—' Llan' usually trans-lated by ' -stow '—Meaning of ' Stow '—Saint-names rare on English Map—Few Raths in England—' Church ' and ' Kirk ' applied to Stone Circles—' The Kirk ' in Furness—' Towtop Kirk '—Sunkenkirk, etc.—Kirkby— Kirkabost, Kirkdale, Kirkheaton—Church-names in England—Pucklechurch, Baschurch, etc.—Chirk and Chirbury—Lost Kirk-names—How the name Ciric arose—Why church-names are few.

That burials of seemingly pre-Christian date have been found again and again actually under churches of great antiquity is one of the facts which have long puzzled antiquaries. Some have supposed that such churches had been by accident built over a forgotten grave or graves. Some have hinted at consecration-burials. Others have

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[1] Thorpe, pp. 111, 112, 157.

seen in such cases a deliberate usurpation by Christianity of a site known to be pagan. Probably each of these views is in some cases correct, but no one seems yet to have propounded the one theory which includes all the others and covers also the cases which they leave unexplained—the theory that the early Christian ' churches ' were barrows pure and simple. If that was so, then any structural church will, if it be a genuinely old foundation, stand either on the barrow, or immediately beside it. In the first instance the humble little wooden oratory was doubtless invariably upon the barrow, as to this day are all churches within original circular churchyards. The ambition of later ages, desirous of building on a larger scale, might either level the whole or part of the barrow, or might be satisfied to build the new church beside it. The archaeological journals abound in examples of both kinds, of which only one or two need be quoted.

When the people of Ludlow began to extend their church westward in the twelfth century, they removed a great barrow—possibly the *hlaw* which gave name to the town—and in so doing brought to light three interments each within its own *mausoleum* (presumably a cist). Whether or no they had any evidence for the character or date of these interments, they had wit enough to claim the bones as those of ' Irish saints,' and solemnly to translate them to their church ; whereby the church of St. Laurence became the richer by so many relics the more.[1]

There is a long list of churches standing beside barrows larger or smaller, which have been proved by actual exploration to be sepulchral and have been written down as of pre-Christian age. Whether they were so in all cases is doubtful. In the first place there is no reason to suppose that early Christian converts would in all cases construct their barrows at spots remote from those of their pagan forbears, but rather the contrary ; so that a church, though surrounded by pagan barrows, may none the less itself stand upon, or on the site of, yet another which was Christian. And secondly we know from excavation, and

[1] Leland, *Collectanea*, iii, 407. W. Johnson (*Byways*, p. 82) calls it a ' ludicrous ecclesiastical fiction ' that the bones were those of ' Irish saints.' On the contrary it was very possibly the fact. It is remarkable that any one of the date named should have asserted them to be Irish at all, unless there was a local tradition of a Celtic monastery here.

from documentary evidence like the Capitularies, that Christians long continued to lay their dead within barrows of pagan origin ; so that a pagan barrow might in time come to be hallowed as a Christian churchyard.

This is what actually happened in the famous case of Fimber, near Sledmere (E.R.) where excavation revealed successive interments extending apparently over the Bronze age, the Roman period, and that of early Saxondom. Upon these was later built a Christian church (St. Mary) ; and since 1877 the ground around it, i.e. the barrow of Bronze age and of Roman and Saxon times, has been a Christian churchyard. Continuity could scarcely desire a more conclusive illustration.[1] It is asserted that the church of Speeton, near Bridlington, is built upon a British barrow,[2] and that ' at Garton and Kirby Grindalyth the present churches occupy Saxon sites.'[3]

The early Norman church of Pytchley near Kettering stands upon a spot which has been the burial-ground of the district certainly from Romano-British, possibly from pre-Roman times, to the present day. The oldest interments had been made in cists, and there was evidence of the ground's having been raised at least six feet.[4]

At Passenham, Northamptonshire, ' church and vicarage seem to occupy the site of a considerable ancient cemetery. Skeletons in great numbers and much pottery and glass, Roman and Romano-British, have been found here.'[5]

In Studland churchyard, Dorset, were found (1881) burials of three distinct types : uppermost were those of modern type ; below these were burials in cists formed of rough unhewn Swanage stones ; and yet lower, ' lying in a line approaching north-east and south-west, were cists formed of rough local flints and some stones.'[6] Commenting upon this P. M. Johnston remarks that ' the second layer would seem to represent the Christian Saxon graves, while the lowest were clearly pre-Christian.'[7] If so, Studland

[1] Mortimer, *Forty Years' Researches*, pp. 189-192; *V.C.H. Yorks.*, i, 79. Mortimer speaks of ' the barrow on which the church stands.'

[2] Mortimer, *loc cit.*

[3] T. Sheppard, *Guide to Hull and East Yorks.* (1923), p. 222.

[4] *Arch. Journ.* iii (1846), pp. 105-115.
[5] Murray's *Handbook to Northamptonshire*, p. 147.
[6] W. M. Hardy, *Old Swanage and Purbeck*. Amongst other finds were the two stones of a large quern.
[7] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, n.s. xxiv (1918), p. 43.

churchyard is a clear case of the reconsecration of a pagan Saxon burial-ground, and of its continuity as a burial-place through a period of at least 1,300 years.

The evidence shows that Celtic Christianity inherited and long acted upon the pagan belief that a human burial was necessary to hallow the site of any new settlement. When the primitive practice was modified there yet remained the belief that the presence of an interment was an added guarantee of any hallowing. The barrow reared to the latest of the faithful dead was itself a new *ciric*, a place of Christian assembly and worship, and might in time come to boast its own church. The sites of some at any rate of the greater monasteries were determined by the presence of cemeteries, and it seems their founders did not always enquire too closely into the age, race, or faith, of the dead there buried. St. Mary's at Fimber was a Christian church for long centuries before it boasted a consecrated graveyard, yet it was built upon a barrow which in the first instance was most certainly non-Christian. The great Scotic double monastery of Repton, said to date back to 660, was immediately associated with, and probably actually included, a cemetery of the royal line of Mercia. Here were buried Ethelbald (*ob.* 757) and Wiglaf, kings of Mercia, and the latter's murdered grandson St. Wigstan (*ob.* 850). Destroyed by the Danes in 875, the abbey lay desolate for a century, when at last was built a church of St. Wigstan. But the saint's relics were translated in Canute's reign to the great abbey of Evesham, and in consequence, when the monastery of Repton was refounded in 1150, it ' had no root,' for the relics which ought to have been its *raison d'être* were no longer there. So, an accident at Evesham furnishing excuse, the canons of Repton recovered the relics and laid them ' not as beforetime in the mausoleum of Wigstan's grandfather Wiglaf, but in a shrine ' in the chapel of their priory.

There is no reason to think that the Mercian kings before 850 had anything which would nowadays be called a mausoleum. Like others of their race they would be laid in an urnfield or a barrow. On that spot would be built first the Scotic monastery, and next St. Wigstan's church, when at last structural churches were becoming usual. Some of the Mercian blood-royal who were there interred

were unquestionably Christian, but the case next to be cited will suggest that the Scotic mind did not enquire too narrowly into the faith of the dead man if his barrow offered a desirable site for a settlement.

The Saxon Guthlac selected (699) for the site of his *mansio* in the Fens a barrow (*tumulus*) and thereon he built his cell.[1] The barrow was a flattened mound some 3 ft. in height and 60 ft. in diameter, surrounded by the usual fosse, in which was found (1880) ' an abundance of rude pottery of native manufacture ; and near the sides of the mound were several cinerary urns and vases, including some very good specimens of lathe-turned Roman ware.'[2] The evidence showed that the barrow long antedated the Roman period : it was another of the many instances in which successive ages and races have used the same barrow for the same purpose. Here Guthlac lived and died (714), and here in 716 Ethelbald founded in his honour a monastery which grew to be the famous mitred abbey of Crowland.[3]

This is an important case. Guthlac, who cannot have been ignorant of the mound's real character, deliberately chose for the site of his *mansio* a burial-place, and that a pagan one[4] ; for Felix explicitly says that ' no Christian had so far been able to live ' there. Little more than a century before this St. Columba had hallowed his new settlement in Hy by the burial of his disciple Odhrain. Such procedure was already out of date in Guthlac's day, but not so the feeling that some sort of interment was needful to the hallowing of the site, and apparently the fact that the interments here were pagan made no difference to the saint or to Ethelbald and the world at large. Felix, who wrote the story from information furnished by Guthlac's actual companions, saw in it nothing to call for comment. So Crowland is an authentic instance of the

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[1] Felix of Jarrow, *Vita S. Guthlaci* (written before 750). In the later A.-S. version the mound is called a *blaw*, the saint's building a *hus*, a *cyte*, a *cell*, and a *ciric*. The Latin *Life* explicitly mentions that the mound had been long previously rifled by treasure-seekers, which is proof that its character was well understood.

[2] *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xlvii (1891), p. 288. There were found also flint implements, a large quantity of flakes, a bronze celt, and light-strikers.

[3] Crudeland, i.e. *terra caenosa*. It is curious that Felix of Jarrow calls it Cruglond, as if conscious of a derivation from *crug* (*cruc*) ' barrow.' So late as 1843 part of the ruins were locally known as ' Anchor-church House.'

[4] He had spent some years in exile in Wales, which would accentuate his Celtic way of thought, and his training had been received in the Scotic monastery of Repton.

.deliberate planting of a Christian settlement upon a pagan burial-site. The monks of Crowland continued to bury their dead close beside it for generations, and close beside it are still laid the dead of the parish. So here, as at Fimber, lie the successive dead of four epochs, Celtic, Roman, Saxon, and modern English. The only difference is that, whereas Guthlac's foundation rapidly outgrew the limits of the saint's first settlement, there was no such overgrowth in the case of the little church upon the Yorkshire Wolds.

The ruins of a chapel stand in the centre of one of a group of earthworks of remarkable type at Knowlton, parish of Gussage All Saints, Dorsetshire. The earthworks are apparently barrows and almost certainly of pre-Christian date. Again the facts point to the deliberate usurpation of a pagan burial-site by the Church, and that too at a date long after Guthlac's time.[1]

It has often been remarked that this or that English church stands upon a seemingly artificial mound, but rarely has a writer ventured to suggest that such mounds were in reality barrows. T. W. Shore accounted for this curious feature of many Hampshire churches by the supposition that the Saxons utilised sacred Celtic mounds for Christian purposes, adding that ',it is of course possible that these mounds were first adapted to Christian uses by early British Christians.'[2] He instances the churches of Burton, Cheriton, Corhampton and Sopley, but that of Bramshaw (St. Peter) and the old parish church of Brockenhurst (St. Nicholas) are as good examples as could be desired. Of the last-named, which ranks as one of the ' five ancient churches of the Forest,' the oldest portion is the nave (34 ft. by 17 ft. 2 ins.), said to date from the latter part of the eleventh century, while the chancel (26 ft. by 13 ft.) is attributed to a date about 1260. It will be noticed that in each case the proportions are those of the Scotic rule. The building stands upon the flat summit[3] of a large

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[1] The barrows are described in Allcroft, *Earthwork of England*, p. 564. The garth surrounding the chapel (which ignores the east-and-west position) is rectilineal, and if it be contemporary with the buildings, the fact shows that, when the chapel was built, the circular churchyard had already lost its old significance. But the nave is said to contain Norman work. See

Hutchins, *Hist. Dorset*, iii, 150; *Trans. Dorset N.H. and Antiq. Field Club*, xvii (1896).

[2] *Hist. Hampshire* (London, 1892), p. 32. He says that the mound on which stands the church of Burton (St. Martin) used to be known as St. Martin's Hill.

[3] A large number of the recognised barrows of this part of the New Forest are

barrow (diam. 150 ft.), its chancel occupying the central
point, and its tower, an addition of about 1750, standing
upon the western edge of the mound.

A main road loops round the barrow on the west and
the south, and a small lane until lately skirted it on the
north and east. Extensions of the burial-ground have been
made to the north, but these have not interfered with the
form of the original garth, the scarp whereof, falling steep
and unbroken, is especially well marked on this side, rising
some seven feet in vertical height. Owing to the scarcity
of suitable stone in the district there is no revetment, and
on three sides the *limes* is to this day the slope of the
original barrow, reinforced with a ragged hedge and a few
old wooden rails. At Bramshaw the garth retains its
original form unspoilt. So does that of the Norfolk church-
yard of Cranwich (plate II, fig 1), where the barrow, demar-
cated by nothing more than a ring of short posts and a
connecting line of wire rope, heaves up some five or six
feet from a green meadow. Its diameter is fifty yards or so,
and here and there along the periphery one might fancy
there are traces of an old-time fosse. An incomplete
circle of nine large trees further defines the circle.

At Mareham-on-the-Hill (All Saints), near Horncastle,
Lincs. the western half of the circular garth has been
secularised, but round most of the remainder still runs a
fosse some twelve feet in width, a feature unfortunately
omitted in the ordnance survey.

In districts where large masses of stone abound, they
are sometimes used to fence the garth, though it is not
suggested that this practice is a survival from the peristalith
of some pagan barrows. There is a good example at
Frilsham in Berkshire, where the garth, still largely original,
shows three-quarters of a circle and is mounded three feet
above the ground about. Another is at Lambourne in the
same county, where the garth is obviously not original.
In this practice is to be found in some cases the probable
origin of the tradition that this or that church stands upon
the site of a druidical circle, as for example the old parish
church (St. Nicholas) at Brighton.

of the flat-topped 'table' type, but some
particularly fine disc barrows on Setley
Plain, near by, suggest that the locality was
the seat of a thriving population in the last
years of the Celtic period.

Many ancient churches occupy precisely those sites which would naturally be selected for barrows, and in very many cases it is yet possible to see beneath them the swell of an original barrow. The words *blaw* and *howe*, elements in a long list of English parish-names,[1] point to the fact that the churches of these parishes are actually reared on barrows. Names like Kirkbergh,[2] Kirkbarrow,[3] and Chapel-le-How[4] tell the same story, as probably do many names in -*bury*, and -*borough* (*beorh*, ' a barrow '). These are the southern equivalents for the multitude of northern Kirkhills.

There are upon the English map a multitude of places containing the suffix -*borough* or -*bury* in the sense of ' hill,' where none the less there is no natural feature to which the word can well be applied. Such names are to be found all over the map of East Anglia and equally in other districts remarkable for the absence of any hills. It is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that the ' hill ' in some of such cases was none other than the barrow which became the churchyard of the village. As examples may be cited Tewkesbury (Theocesberie, *D.B.*) in Gloucestershire, Willesboro'[5] in Kent, Wisborough in Sussex, and Marlborough[6] in Wiltshire. Such a name as Havochesberie (*D.B.* Glouces. ; now Hawkesbury) is in form, as apparently in meaning also, exactly parallel with Hawkchurch (Devon), as Prestbury (Ches.) with the Derbyshire barrow called Priest's Low ; and the name of Felborough (A.-S. Feldbeorh) in Kent is precisely parallel with Felchurch (for Feld-ciric) in Suffolk.

The church of Edlesborough—Eadwulf's *beorh*—stands upon a small hillock, an outlier of the Dunstable Downs, as to the origin and purpose of which speculation has been rife : ' either an ancient barrow or perhaps a Roman summer encampment,' suggested Lipscomb.[7] Eadwulf's *beorh*[8]—the *ciric* which yet bears his name—is there to

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[1] e.g. Marlow, Taplow, Thriplow, Aslacoe, Aynho. Earwaker (*East Cheshire*, i, 42) remarked the ' curious fact ' that the parish of Wilmslow (' Wilhelm's Low ') ' consists exclusively of the church and adjacent churchyard.' The meaning of *howe* was early forgotten, whence arose such doublets as Howbery (*D.B.* Hov') in Kent and Hawhill (p. 186, *n.* 1) near Normanton, Yorks. W.R.

[2] In parish of Normanton, Westmorland, where was anciently a church.

[3] Three miles ssw. of Penrith.

[4] Bardsley, *Dict. Eng. and Welsh Surnames, s.v.* Chappelow.

[5] A.-S. Wifelesbeorge, ' Wivel's Barrow.'

[6] Earlier Maerlbeorh.

[7] *Hist. and Antiqs. Bucks.* (1847), iii, 349.

[8] *Place-Names of Bucks,* p. 93.

PLATE III.

To face page 269.

NO. I.   PENNAL CHURCH, MERIONETH.

(A typical Welsh example, shewing the dry-built revetment and the garth flush therewith).

NO. 2.   EDLESBOROUGH CHURCH, BUCKS.

(The two trees on the right stand at the margin of the original graveyard (a barrow) upon which the church is built).

this day, an oval depressed mound crowning the hillock and in turn crowned by the noble church of St. Mary. Once all the graveyard the village needed, it has of late years been enlarged, but without damage to the original barrow (plate III, fig. 2).

A series of names such as Ashow, Ashbury and Ashchurch, or Ludlow, Ludborough and Ludchurch, suggests at once the question whether they be not identical in meaning as they are in formation ; and in the light of the accumulated evidence that ' church ' might upon occasion denote a barrow, and so be identical in meaning with ' low,' ' how,' ' borough ' and ' bury,' the question is in no way absurd. One finds a direct parallel in such names as Martin's Hill (p. 266, *n.* 2) and Lightning Hill (ch. xxv), where the ' hill ' in question is or was merely the graveyard of the parish, and in the multitude of barrows distinguished as ' hills.' The suffix -*dun* was similarly used, as in Malden (*D.B.* Maldune, ' Cross-hill ') in Surrey, and Maldon in Essex. William of Malmesbury must have been aware that ' church ' and ' barrow ' had once been interchangeable when he wrote that Theokesberia (Tewkesbury) represents ' Theotokos-beria, id est, Dei Genitricis curia, vocabulo et Graeco et Anglico composito.'[1] English himself, he knew *beria* to represent the English *beorh*, and he declares that it might mean *curia*, that is, a circular place of assembly (ch. vi). In Orkney churchyards were called *burghs* so late as 1703.[2]

If the primitive church was a barrow, the strange finds recorded from a multitude of churchyards cease to be strange at all—the shards which are rarely absent from any really ancient graveyard, the rounded white pebbles, the quantities of charcoal sometimes observable,[3] the flakes and implements of flint, pot-boilers, shells, coins, and even urns.[4]

When the suicide Ophelia is to be interred with Chris-

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[1] *Gesta Pont.* iv, 157. Tewkesbury actually signifies ' Teodec's Barrow,' says Prof. F. M. Stenton.

[2] Martin, *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 389. He adds that *burgh* was ' from the Saxon word " burying ".' As etymology this statement is wrong, but it is conclusive proof that he was not confusing burial-places with ' brochs.'

[3] As at Danby in Cleveland : J. C. Atkinson, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish*, pp. 213, 220.

[4] For a long list of such funeral apparatus, see W. Johnson, *Byways*, ch. vii.

tian obsequies the indignant priest protests that her burial
ought rather to be that of a person outside the pale of the
Church—

' Shards, flints, and pebbles should be thrown on her.'

Hamlet, V, i, 254.

As an intelligent understanding of barrows and their
sepulchral concomitants did not begin to show itself in
England until some years after the play of *Hamlet* was
written, in the days of Sir Thos. Browne and Richard
Verstegen, it seems reasonably certain that Shakespeare,
when he wrote this line, was voicing a general English
feeling in regard to such as ' wilfully seek their own
salvation ' ; that is to say, that down to the opening years
of the seventeenth century there survived a vigorous
memory of the rites which had attended pagan burial in
days when Christianity was paganism's struggling rival.
If so, there is very great reason to doubt that such pagan
customs as the casting of ' shards, flints, and pebbles ' upon
the grave had ceased out of the land at so early a date as is
commonly believed.

When the church of Kildale, Yorks., was rebuilt in 1867
a number of skeletons, some of them accompanied by articles
of bronze and weapons of iron, were found beneath the
nave and the north wall of the fabric.[1] Under the tower
of the church of East Blatchington in Sussex were found
' two pots or urns containing charred bones.'[2] Under the
chancel of Sutton church near Bignor, in the same county,
were found sepulchral urns of the Romano-British period[3] ;
and in the churchyard of Hurstpierpoint, Sussex, had been
found up to 1861 ' so many coins and so large a quantity
of pottery . . . as to give rise to the conjecture that it may
have been the site of a Roman temple.'[4] In a cavity hewn
out of the rock beneath the church at Kingswear, Devon,
were found the bones of an infant buried in quicklime.
Similar finds have been made at Holsworthy in Devon and
at Wickersley near Rotherham in Yorkshire.[5] Carefully
placed within the south-west angle of the walls of the

[1] Atkinson. *Glossary of the Cleveland Dialect* (1868), p. xx.
[2] *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xiii, 309.
[3] ibid. xv, 242.
[4] ibid. xiv, 178.
[5] Baring Gould, *Book of Devon*.

church of Arlington in Sussex was found an urn of unusual size, still preserved in the church.[1]

The church of Alphamstone, Essex, appears to have been built over a (sepulchral ?) stone circle, of which two stones were found under the tower and two beneath the chancel. Urns and other sepulchral remains have come from the immediate vicinity.[2] Implements of stone and bronze have been found in many churchyards, and in some cases cannot be dismissed as mere strays, but are clearly genuine grave-deposits. Some such finds have been already mentioned ; others are a bronze celt found at Whittlebury, Northants,[3] and a buckle of bronze found in Cadney churchyard, Lincs.[4] The list of churchyards which have yielded shards and urns of Roman and Romano-British make, especially in Kent and Essex and Suffolk, is a long one. If in some cases this points only to the accidental usurpation of the site of some forgotten cemetery or habitation, in others it is impossible to question that the usurpation was intentional and the site sepulchral.

Here too is a reasonable explanation of the presence of monoliths, whether in churchyards or even actually within churches. The cases of Alphamstone, Rudstone and Constantine have been mentioned,[5] with others in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man. Probably most of these monoliths were nothing but the monuments of the dead, and in most cases of Christian dead ; but that now and again a pagan monument should come to be christianised in after years is not only possible, but extremely probable. All that was needful to that end was apparently the burial of a Christian's body within the same barrow.

Kemble believed it ' very possible that in England the new churchyards were intentionally placed upon the sites of old (i.e. pre-Christian) cemeteries.'[6] The evidence shows that in some cases it was so : neither St. Guthlac at

[1] There was found at the same time evidence that there had stood here two successive churches of wattle and daub, both of which had been destroyed by fire. There are Roman bricks in the present fabric (chiefly of decorated style).

[2] Walter Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 84-6.

[3] *V.C.H. Northants*, i, p. 215.

[4] Woodruffe-Peacock, *Notes on Cadney Church* (Louth, 1912), p. 2.

[5] For many further English instances, see Johnson, *Byways*, pp. 38. *sqq.*

[6] *Saxons in England* (1876) ii, *c.* 9 ; *Horae Ferales*, p. 99. Prof. Baldwin Brown (*Arts*, i, pp. 257 *sqq.*) traverses Kemble's view, adding that it is contradicted by monumental evidence. Doubtless in many cases it is so contradicted, but with as little doubt in many other cases it is confirmed, while in the vast majority of cases there is no evidence either way.

Crowland nor the unknown saint who made his oratory
upon Carnbrea (ch. xx) can have been ignorant of what lay
beneath. There are to-day people who do not recognise
a barrow when they see it. There are none, save the
physically sightless, who fail to recognise a churchyard.
And in the days of early Christianity a barrow was a thing
as unmistakable as is a churchyard to-day.

An explanation is now forthcoming for some of the odd
names attaching to barrows or the vicinity of barrows. If
the original ' church ' was a barrow, and if this is what the
word *ciric* originally signified,[1] it would be strange if the
name of ' church ' did not still attach to here and there a
mound, whether actually sepulchral or merely resembling
a barrow. Such a case is provided by ' The Kirk ' at
Kirkby Ireleth, to be described below (p. 289). A barrow
at Tideswell in Derbyshire is called Kirklow.[2] ' Gun's
Church ' is the name of a barrow in the parish of Hill
Deverill, near Warminster, Wilts.[3] ' In Stowe Wood ' in
the parish of Kilkhampton (Cornwall) ' is an earthwork,
circular and rocky, known as Ruberchurch.'[4] In the
parish of Cotherstone (Yorks. N.R.) was ' a cairn of loose
stone named Kirk (or Kyr) Arran,' within which was
found ' a round stone urn resembling a small mortar,
but containing nothing.'[5] In the parish of Monzie,
Perthshire, ' a pile of large stones,' locally reputed to be
the grave of Fingal's father, was known in the last century
as ' The Kirk of the Grove.'[6] Here is a plain identification
of the word ' kirk ' with a *pagan* place of burial. Heywood
Sumner describes three localities in Hampshire, all more or
less unbroken forest-land, which bear the names of ' Church

[1] Warne (*Ancient Dorset*, p. 103)
mentions that in the vicinity of Knowlton
(p. 266) ' the peasantry have a legend
relating how a large number of churches in
ancient times stood in the neighbourhood.'
Knowlton was—indeed still is—a consider-
able barrow-field (*Hutchins, Hist. Dorset*,
iii, 150), and the prominent type of barrow
seems to have been that still surrounding
the ruined chapel there, i.e. in a literal
sense a *circus*. When the local tradition
speaks of many ' churches,' one is strongly
moved to think that it had originally meant
merely many ' barrows.' Knowlton gave
its name to a Hundred, and a large number
of Hundreds are named from ' churches '
(e.g. Newchurch in Kent, Whitchurch in

Dorset, Pucklechurch in Glouces.) exactly as
others (and a still larger number) are named
from *beorhs, howes,* and *lows.* Five of the
pre-Domesday Hundreds of Dorset were
named after ' barrows of which the names
are now lost ' (R. W. Eyton, *Key to Domes-
day of Dorset*).

[2] Bateman, *Ten Years' Digging.*

[3] *Folklore,* xii (1901), p. 74; *Wilts.
Arch. and N.H. Mag.* xxxiii (1904), p. 128.
It is a ' bowl ' barrow lying at the extreme
south point of the parish.

[4] Dew, *Hist. of Church and Parish of
Kilkhampton* (1926), p. 5.

[5] Whitaker, *Richmondshire* (1823), i, 142.

[6] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*

Green ' and ' Church Moor ' (*bis*), and in each case the solitary feature which can conceivably have given rise to the name is a barrow.[1]

' Friday's Church ' is one of a small group of barrows on Barpham Hill (469 O.D.), a mile west of Harrow Hill, parish of Burpham, Sussex ; and local tradition asserts that here was ' the burial mound of queen Fridias.'[2] Excavation has failed to find here any trace of a structural church.

In Parwich, Derbyshire, is a barrow called ' Cross Low,' another at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts., called ' Cross Hill.' In Prinknash Park, Glouces. is an ' Idol's Barrow '[3] (Barrow of the False God ?), while ' Saint Low ' occurs on the Derbyshire border.[4] The famous Mote-hill of Scone was known as *Collis Credulitatis*, ' Believer's Hill.'[5] Names like these are in a different class from those of ' The Five Maries ' near East Chaldon, Dorset, and ' Gospel Hillock ' in Cowdale near Buxton, which admit of other explanation.[6]

Church Barrow in Cranborne Chase (ch. ix) was once known as Church-hayes,[7] i.e. ' the churchyard,' and the name must have been given at a time when the normal form of all churchyards was circular. ' Church-haye(s) ' has frequently been rationalised to ' Churchway(s),' which is common on the English map, and occurs also in Wales at Warren (ch. xx) applied to a proven barrow. The northern

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[1] *Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 65. These barrows possibly represent so many of the large number of ' churches ' alleged to have been destroyed by William I when he enclosed the forest. Such a case as that of Brockenhurst (p. 266) suggests that there would remain only a barrow after such ' destruction,' i.e. after the *tun* was evicted and its *tún-cyrc* closed.

[2] *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxiii (1922), pp. 26-7. The name seems to be parallel with those of Wanbarrow (Woden's Barrow) in Hurstpierpoint and Thundersbarrow (Thunor's Barrow) behind Shoreham, both in Sussex. At Handcross, Sussex, occurs also Puckchurch. In an eighth-century charter (*Cart. Sax.* no. 197) the term *Frigedaes*, the ' Friday,' figures amongst the determinants of a boundary-line in the parish of Wivelsfield, Sussex.

[3] A Hünebed near Sleen in Holland is known by the strange name of ' The Parsonless Church ' (Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 562).

[4] Jewitt, *Grave-Mounds*, p. 4. Saintbury, a parish of Glouces., is Sweyn's Barrow.

[5] Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, i, 280) thinks that it was probably here that king Nectan accepted Christianity and founded the ' Church of the Holy Trinity ' mentioned by Bede (*H.E.* V, xxi).

[6] ' Maries ' represents A.-S. *maere*, ' boundary-mark ' (Hutchins, *Dorsetshire*, i, p. 346); cf. ' Mare Hill,' a barrow at Throwley in Derbyshire (Bateman, *Ten Years' Digging*). ' Gospel Hillock ' is probably parallel with ' Gospel Oak,' referring to the custom of reading a portion of scripture at certain points in the course of beating the bounds of the parish. Herrick alludes to ' the holy oak, the Gospel-tree.'

[7] Warne, *Anc. Dorset*, p. 43. At the present time circular churchyards are few in the district. That of Pentridge is still sub-circular; that of Gussage St. Michael yet more markedly so; and those of Farnham and Tollard Royal both show evidence of their having been originally circular.

form ' Kirkway ' is recorded from the Norse area of Wirral, Cheshire.[1]

A manor in the parish of Hemington, six miles south-west of Bath, bore the name of Highchurch. It is now represented by a solitary farm-house on high ground (Highchurch Knap, 500 ft.) commanding a wide outlook. Collinson was doubtless correct in saying[2] that this was ' said to be the spot where the original parish church stood,' but such ' church ' was probably nothing but a burial-ground, a *ciric*. There are several noticeable barrows in the locality, if there be none now discoverable on High-church Knap.[3] Roman remains are frequent in the vicinity.

' Wild Church Bottom,' in Verwood, Dorset, seems to take its name from the peculiar knolls, curiously like barrows, which are the most striking features in the scene[4] ; but another ' Church Bottom ' near Ebbesborne Wake, Wiltshire, contains a small rectangular earthwork of about $\frac{3}{4}$ acre,[5] and yet another in the parish of Broad Chalk once showed ' a small square work '[6] now vanished. Heywood Sumner describes[7] four square works in the New Forest, all precisely similar in their small area (about $\frac{1}{3}$ acre), and their feeble defences ; and to three out of the four attaches the name of ' church.'[8] In Wiltshire again ' a small square entrenchment with a regular entrance to the east,' on the site of the British settlement near Ell Barrow (Willesford), ' is vulgarly called Church Ditches.'[9] Stukeley mentions three different sites in Wiltshire to which attached the

[1] Near Meols (anciently Kirkby Meols, i.e. Kirkby in the Sandhills). Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis* is quoted as asserting (1718) that there had formerly been a church there called ' Lee's Kirk, near a narrow land called Kirkway.' The name had disappeared in 1859, and Lee's Kirk, it was then suggested (*Trans. Lancs. and Ches. Hist. Soc.* xi, 228), was a blunder for Liscard, said to be written Liscark in old records. There is no reason to impugn Gastrell's specific assertion.

[2] *Hist. Somersetshire* (1791), ii, 454. He mentions another manor in the parish by name of Huntminster, ' which seems to imply a church there in Saxon times.' Here he is probably right, for *minster* and *ciric* were different things.

[3] ' Knap,' the modern ' knob,' suggests a barrow. Near Corsham, Wilts. is Chapel

Knap, where once stood a chapel (Editor's note to Aubrey, *Topog. Collections for Wilts.* p. 80).

[4] For another explanation, see *Arch. Journ.* xxiv (1867), 169.

[5] Figured by Heywood Sumner, *Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, pl. xxxvi.

[6] Colt Hoare, *Ancient Wilts, South*, p. 247.

[7] *Earthworks of the New Forest*, p. 61.

[8] One is ' The Churchyard ' in Sloden Wood : the other two, at Denny Wait and Ashurst, bear the name of ' Church Place.' The writer tells me that he has heard a shepherd speak of the rectangular (Bronze age ?) work on Martin Down (Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, Vol. iv) as ' The Church ' or ' Church Place.'

[9] Colt Hoare, *Ancient Wilts, South*, p. 175.

name of ' Old Chapel.' One of them was ' an entrenched
square work' near Balmore Pond, near which were several
barrows.[1]   A small and feeble rectangular earthwork at
Chelwood Gate in Ashdown Forest, Sussex, goes by the
name of the ' Danes' Churchyard.'   The vulgar error
which sees a church in all and any remains of ancient
masonry will not explain these names, for there is no
visible sign of masonry about any of the sites, nor any
tradition thereof.   The explanation must be found in the
supposition of the peasantry that all these works were
burial-places and therefore ' churches.'

In Scotland the generic term for the early Christian
burial-places was *kil*, which is still general in the Western
Isles.   As one goes east or south it becomes increasingly
rarer, displaced either by the Gaelic *cladh* or by the Saxon
kirk.   Neither *kil* nor *cladh* has made good on the English
side of the border.[2]   Occasionally, and chiefly in the west,
is found the term *teampul*, as in Ireland, for the structural
church, and still more rarely *tigh*, ' house ' (Irish *teach*).
In England the term ' temple,' not rare in place-names,
usually has reference to the order of knights templars.
The Latin *ecclesia* is found sparsely in both Scotland and
England, but whereas in England it can scarcely be shown to
date from the period preceding the confessed domination of
the Latin Church,[3] in Scotland it may go back to the Scotic
time.[4]   In both countries the majority of the few *ecclesia*-
names are unquestionably of late origin, referring to this or
that great monastic church to which the ground belonged.
In not a few cases the substitution of the Saxon *kirk* for older
terms can be verified from documents.   Thus the ancient
chapelries of Kilbride and Kilblane are now absorbed into

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[1] *Abury* (1723), pp. 47-8.

[2] Kilpeck in Herefordshire (*D.B.* Kil-
peete; 1130, Cil Pedec) is almost the
only certain instance outside Cornwall, and
this is less English than Welsh.   Killforge
in the same county is probably for Kiln-
forge.   Most English place-names in *kil-*,
if the modern spelling has any connexion
with the original forms, derive either from
personal names such as Ceolric and Ceolfa,
or from Scandinavian *kill, kell,* ' chill,'
' cold '; but Kilkhampton (N. Cornwall)
is referred (Dew, *Hist. of Church and Parish
of Kilkhampton*, p. 2) to *Killock*, a diminutive
of *kil*, still the name of a farm in the parish.

[3] English names deriving from *ecclesia*
are Eccles (Lancs., Hereford, Norfolk,
Kent), Ecclesall (Yorks.), Ecclesbourne
(Derby,   Sussex),   Ecclesfield   (Yorks.),
Eccleshall (Staff.), Eccleshill (Lancs., Yorks.),
Eccleston (Lancs., Ches.).   Eccleshall was
long the residence of the bishops of Lichfield.
With this cf. Chrishall (Essex), once Criste-
shala, Dewsall near Dewchurch (Hereford),
and Birdsall (Yorks.), once Brideshala (*D.B.*).
In Norfolk was a manor of Kirkhalle (*Paston
Letters*, no. 962).

[4] For   Scottish   *ecclesia*-names   see
Mackinlay, pp. 65 *sqq.*

the parishes of Kirkmabreck (Kirkcudbrightshire) and Kirkmahoe (Dumfriesshire). There are still an Eccles-machan in Linlithgow and an Ecclefechan in Dumfries-shire, both ancient names,[1] but as a rule the word *ecclesia* has been translated by the Saxon. The most familiar instance is Falkirk, of which the older name was Eaglais-breac. *Breac* is Pictish for 'speckled,' and *fal* is Anglo-Saxon for the same. The Saxon found existing a structural something, and translated—or fancied he translated—its name.[2] There is another and more obvious instance of the same kind in the case of Chirk. The old Welsh name of the place was Eglwys y Waen, 'the Church in the Water-meadow.' The Saxon contented himself with translating the word *eglwys*,[3] and dropped the rest. If there was here any structural church at the time of the change, it was not of a kind to attract remark, for otherwise the Saxon would have called the place *mynstre*. As it is, the number of *minster*-names is singularly small, the *Gazetteer* showing only two which are parallel with such *Domesday* names as Ecclesfield and Eccleston, viz. Minsterley in Salop and Minsterworth in Glouces., together with the small group of three Mistertons (for Minsterton) respectively in Notts., Leicestershire and Somerset. Clearly the Saxon was determined to have his own way, and got it. He would have either *mynstre* or *ciric*, or he would ignore the Church altogether.[4]

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[1] St. Machan was a disciple of St. Cadoc. St. Fechan was abbat of Fother in West Meath in the time of St. Kentigern (sixth century).

[2] *Ecclesia de Eggles-brec, quae Varia Capella dicitur* (1166). See Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*. Unquestionably *Varia Capella* translates the name of Falkirk, but that Falkirk is actually a trans-lation of Eaglais-breac is not so certain, although it was meant to be. Quite possibly the suffix refers in reality to a lost saint : there was a St. Bricius, a nephew of St. Martin of Tours, who died 444, and whose name may survive in that of Kirk-mabreck, which occurs twice in Scotland. See Mackinlay, p. 138 ; McClure, *British Place-Names*, p. 208. In Cornwall again is a parish and church of Breage (St. Breage or Breaca), and Brize Norton, Oxon., preserves the name of St. Brice or Britius. Prof. Allen Mawer suggests that possibly the 'church' was of black-and-white (half-

timber) work, and finds the same meaning in the Herefordshire Vowchurch ; but we do not know that at the date in question *kirk* had come to denote a building of any kind. Perhaps the reference in 'speckled,' if that be the original word, was to some peculiarity in the construction of the wall surrounding the *eaglais*, e.g. a mixture of quartz with darker stone, such as is found in the Keeill-churches of Man, and in some of the Scottish stone circles.

[3] This was the view of Sir John Rhys, and in *Pipe Rolls* of 1166 occurs the form (Castle of) Chirch. Others connect Chirk with Ceiriog, the name of its river.

[4] As Latin was the Church's *lingua franca*, there is no reason why *ecclesia* should not have made its way into Saxon place-nomenclature at any time after 600. None the less there is no showing that it did so at a date prior to the supremacy of the Latin Church.

As with *eglwys*, so with *llan* and *kil*. Of the latter there is but one certain English instance outside Cornwall. *Llan* occurs once or twice on the northern border, in Lanercost and in Lamplugh[1] near Whitehaven; beyond the border it is rare and usually disguised,[2] though it was once common. In Cornwall it is very common, and it is traceable here and there throughout the adjacent area as far as the Parrett and along the Welsh border into Cheshire. Street, near Glastonbury, was anciently Lantocai,[3] but the name remains in Lana[4] in Pancrasweek, three miles north-west of Holsworthy in Devon, and rationalised to Land-[5] in Landrake (Llan-Indrauc), Landcross (*D.B.* Lanchers, later Lancars), and Landkey (Llan-Kea). Possibly it appears also in Langport in Somerset. Lancaut in Glouces. preserves it, as does Landican in Cheshire; but it is not easily traced at any point remote from the ' Celtic Fringe.'

Where the Saxon found *llan*, chiefly along the Welsh marshes and in Dyfnaint, he commonly translated it. Occasionally he wrote ' church ' for *llan*, as is Kentchurch (*Lib. Landav.* 1130, Lann Cein; 1205, Ecclesia S. Keyne) and Kinderchurch (*Lib. Landav.* 1130 Lann Cinitr; 1291, Ecclesia S. Kenedri; both representing an original Llangynidr). Much oftener he wrote ' stow,' as in Peter-stow, Hereford (*Lib. Landav.* 1130, Llanbedr), and in Bridstow, Hereford (*Lib. Landav,* Llan Sanfreit, Lann San Bregit).[6] Doublets are not rare: thus we have Felixkirk, Yorks. and Felixstowe, Suffolk; Peterchurch and Peter-stow, both in Herefordshire; Chadkirk, Ches., and Chad-stowe, Staffs.; Dewchurch, Hereford, and Davidstow,

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[1] Apparently for Llan-plwyf; cf. the Breton Ploulan (for Ploelan, i.e. Plwyf-llan). The catena gives Lamploch, Landploc, Lamplo, Lamplou, Landplou and Lamplow (Sedgefield, *Place-Names of Cumb. and Westmor.*).

[2] Lanark is Old Welsh Llanerch, ' clearing,' and Lamlash is the ' Ilan of Molaise.' Lumphanan stands for Llan-Finan; cf. Lumphinans in Fifeshire. Others are Langmorn (Llan-Morgan) and Langcote (Llan-coit). Scotland has also a Lanbride (Llan-bryd).

[3] From the circular churchyard has come Roman pottery.

[4] The site of an ancient chapel.

[5] According to Joyce (*Irish Place-Names*) the older Irish form of *llan* was *land*; cf. Elmham Sandcroft, the popular pronunciation of Elmham St. Cross, Norfolk. Hentland in Herefordshire represents an original Hen-llan. Flann in Herefordshire may stand for Llan.

[6] The examples from Herefordshire are cited from W. St. Clair Baddeley in *Trans. Bristol and Glouces. Arch. Soc.* xxxix (1916). Wonastow (St. Wonnow or Wynwaloe), Mon., appears in early records as Llanwarrow (W. J. Rees in *C.B.S.* Supplementary Notes, p. 11), with intermediate forms Walwari-stow, Wonewalstow, and Owenstow.

Cornwall[1]; and perhaps Marhamchurch, Cornwall, beside Morwenstow in the same county.[2] There are two places named Michaelchurch and a Michaelstow, many Kirkbrides and Bridekirks along with Bridestow, Bridstow, and Bristol.[3]

The absolute Stow occurs in Cambs., Glouces., Hunts., Lincs., Norfolk and Radnor ; and Stowe absolute is found in Bucks., Lincs. and Staffs. ; just as in Lancs. we have the absolute Church.

Stow-names are common in North Cornwall, Devon,[4] and Herefordshire ; fairly common in Mercia and East Anglia ; they grow rare beyond the Humber, and Scotland has but one example.[5] In south-eastern England, except in the compound Plaistow and its cognates, they seem to be almost unknown.

The assertion that the word *stow* was applied to places where were stored things for sale is based upon the solitary case of Chepstow, Mon., representing Ceapstowe,[6] ' the stow of the chapmen (merchants),' which is taken to mean ' the place where the merchants stowed their goods.' The name in almost every other instance having obvious reference to relics,[7] or at any rate to religion, there is a presumption that the same is true of Chepstow, and that the more correct rendering would be ' the stow where the merchants met.' As fairs and markets were customarily associated

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[1] The form Dewchurch preserves the Welsh Dewi (David), and the pronunciation of the Cornish Davidstow is locally Dewstow. St. David's in Pembrokeshire is similarly styled in *Shires England* 5, *circa* 1300 (cited in N.E.D. from *O.E. Miscell.*: ' Tha breade of Engle londe is threo hundred myle brod from Dewyes steowe to Doueran '), and the neighbouring district is still called Dewsland. St. David's cathedral is the traditional scene of the saint's burial.

[2] But Miss Arnold-Forster (*Studies*, ii, 250) refers Marhamchurch (Marwenecherche, 1275) to a St. Merewenna or Marvenna, said to have been an abbess.

[3] McClure (*Brit. Place-Names*, p. 294) would explain Bristol rather as ' Bridgestow,' comparing the Bricg-stowe of *A.-S. Chron.* 1051. Bricg is almost certainly Bridgit (Bride) originally, though a later confusion with ' bridge ' is not unlikely ; cf. Bridgewater for Burh-Walter. One Bricstouuard held land in Somerset in *D.B.*

[4] The Somersetshire Stowey has a different origin, says J. S. Hill (*Place-Names of Somerset*), viz. Stealh-weg, ' steep way.'

Stow was liable to be confused with *stall* ; cf. Plemondstall beside Plegmundstow, Plaxtol beside Plaistow, Laistowe beside Laystall. Stow, stall, and stool, all go back ultimately to the same root. See *N.E.D.*

[5] In Wedale, on the borders of Selkirk and Edinburghshire.

[6] '*Commercium*, *ceapstou,' in Hessel's *Eighth-Century Latin and A.-S. Glossary*. It is so used in S.V. of Bede, *H.E.* II, i, and in a charter of earldorman Aethelred (886-899) printed in *Diplomatarium*, p. 137. There is no catena for the name of Chepstow, which is usually called by its Norman-Welsh name of Striguil (Estrighoel, Strigulia). It is said to have once borne the name of Casgwent.

[7] See Appendix D. The most notable exception (?) is Plaistow(e), on which see below, ch. xxvi, but others are Cotstow (now Costowe) and Wicstow (now Wistow). ' In charters *stow* is often applied to a place to which some real or fancied sanctity attached,' says G. B. Grundy in *Wilts. Ar. b. and N.S. Mag.* 1921, p. 353 : cf. Allen Mawer, *Place-Names and History*, pp. 16-17.

with holy places, whether pagan or Christian, this inter-
pretation is consistent with facts and finds a parallel in
Suffolk, where the place at one period known simply as
Stow has come to be qualified as Stowmarket, because of
the business which gathered there. [1]

Used at one period generically of any ' place,' the word
came to bear the special sense of the ' place of a holy man,'
and finally the ' place of (his) relics ' or ' place of burial.' [2]
The growth of the special meaning can be seen in the S.V.
of Bede, where *stow* renders the *mansio* of the Latin original
or denotes the cell of a Scotic monk. [3] Next it is used of
the common ossuary to which were translated the bones of
the dead in the monastery of Barking (p. 228) ; and
finally of the spot where were enshrined the bones of
St. Chad[4] at Lichfield (ch. iv). It will be remembered
that *halgastow* [5] was one Anglo-Saxon term for a cemetery
or churchyard. *Stow* was also long in use to denote the
' shaft ' or ' adit ' sunk by a miner, [6] and the transition
to that sense from that of ' grave ' would be easy and
natural. In the West Country such forms as Stowborough

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[1] Where the name of the differentiating
saint has been lost, there has usually been
added some distinctive epithet, just as
happened with the multitude of Kirkbys
(p. 294) ; and this epithet is either topo-
graphical (as in Long Stow, West Stow,
Stow Upland, Stow-on-the-Wold) or
proprietary (as in Stow Bedon and Stow
Maries, from the family of Mares or de
Marys). Stow-Nine-Churches, Northants.
is difficult to explain. Bridges (*Hist.
Northants.* i, p. 87) asserted that it alluded
to ' nine churches to which the lord of the
manor had a right of presentation,' referring
to *Registrum Ric. Gravesend Ep. Linc.*;
but Prof. Hamilton Thompson assures me
that that prelate's *Institution Roll* for the
archdeaconry of Northampton fails to justify
this assertion. Possibly there were once
nine townships in the parish, which is
a large one. Or the name may in reality
refer to the river Nene (anciently Nyne).
The church was the depository of the relics
of St. Alnoth (Aelfnoth ; cf. Alstoe), a
servitor of St. Werburgh (seventh century),
who was here murdered.

[2] cf. J. W. Blight, *Ancient Crosses and
Other Antiqs. of West Cornwall* (1872),
p. 113 : ' The piece of ground, or the Acre
of God, which in those days was wont to be
set apart and hallowed *for the site of a future*

church, was called . . . the *Stowe* of the
martyr or saint who gave name or origin to
the altar-stone.'

[3] e.g. the cell (*aancorstowe*) of Dryht-
helm at Old Melrose (p. 255, *n.* 3) and the
desertum of Wihtberht in Ireland (*ad locum
peregrinationis*; *to thaere leofan stowe*) in
H.E. V, ix, § 379.

[4] *Ofer his byrgenne stowe*, Bede, *H.E.* IV,
iii, § 265. The Benedictine abbey of
SS. Mary and Helen at Elstow was founded
towards the end of the eleventh century by
Judith, a niece of the Conqueror. The
abbey church did duty for a long time as
the parish church, until (*c.* 1350) a chapel
of St. Helen, which stood in the churchyard,
was made to serve the purpose, ' to avoid
the inconvenience caused by the chanting
of psalms in the nave of the monastery '
(*V.C.H. Beds.* i, 353). So there evidently
existed a building of some sort on the site
of the original *stow*, but seemingly not of
sufficient size, as it then was, to serve as the
parish church. It was rebuilt, and doubtless
enlarged, by one Ivota (op. cit. p. 354).

[5] cf. *Trin. Coll. Hom.* 207, ' He haueth
. . . gon . . . seldere thenne he sholde to his
chirche and to othre holie stowen.' For
the *chirche* also was at that date primarily
the place of burial.

[6] See citations in *N.E.D.*

and Stowbarrow[1] are common names of sepulchral barrows, and at Stoneleigh, Warwick, was a Mutstowehull.[2] The word seems always to have retained something of the implication of careful concealment of something precious for the purpose of safeguarding it, which still belongs to the modern verb ' to stow,' or ' to bestow.'

In early charters the word recurs constantly, sometimes applied to known monastic foundations, sometimes contrasted with such a known foundation as *mynstre* is contrasted with *ciric* (p. 240), but almost always with the implication of a burial-place. Aethelberht of Wessex grants (864) privileges to the *halgan stowe* at Sherborne, ' where resteth the body of king Aethelbald.'[3] The great monastery in Winchester is the *halga stow in Wintanceastre*.[4] So that of Stow in Lindsey[5] and that of Horton.[6] Lands are bequeathed, not to *mynstres* or to *cirics*, but to *halgan stowan*.[7] When a member of the Abbotsbury Gild is dead, the Gild shall bring the body *to thaere stowe the he to gyrnde on his life*, ' to the place of burial which he desired in his life.'[8] In Aelflaed's will (*circa* 972) we have ' the *halga stow* at Stoke, in which my parents rest.'[9] Stow had in fact come to mean what to-day we call a ' shrine,'[10] regarded as a place of worship. But in as much as the graves of great men were still, as they had always been, the scenes of sports and games, the rise of the name *pleg-stow* (*hodie* Plaistow, etc.) to denote other stows of less devout significance, possibly many of them in the first instance confessedly pagan places of burial, is easily understood. The identity of stow, tomb, relics, and altar, as late as the tenth century, is proved by the records of

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[1] Stowborough in Dorset is a decayed borough, where are some notable barrows. In *D.B.* it appears as Stanberge. Stowborough occurs as a boundary mark in the old Forest of Mendip.

[2] Bosworth has *thingstow* and *gemotstow*, both meaning ' meeting-place'; and a goodly number of the Hundreds bear names in *stow*. The meeting-place of the Hundred of Hinckford in Essex was at Mustoe, which probably represents Moot-stow (*Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* xviii (1927), p. 294). The *stow* in all these cases was almost certainly a barrow, so that the word might be synonymous with *beorh* in its more usual sense of ' burial-place.'

[3] *Diplomatarium*, p. 125.
[4] ibid. pp. 158, 226, 235.
[5] ibid. p. 371.
[6] ibid. p. 389.
[7] ibid. p. 540.
[8] ibid. p. 607.
[9] ibid. p. 522.

[10] cp. the place-name Skreen (Lat. *scrinium*, ' shrine '). There are three parishes of this name in Ireland (Meath, Sligo, and Wexford), and it occurs also in Scotland (Mackinlay, p. 10). Skreen in Meath was anciently Scrin Choluimcille. The name would seem to be the exact Celtic equivalent of the Saxon *stow*.

manumissions of serfs at Bodmin (St. Petrock's), where the act is said to take place *aet Petrocys stowe, aet Petrocys wefode,* or *on Petrocys reliquias* (*Latiné, super altare S. Petroci*) Occasionally occurs the expression *to mynstere,* or again *hie her laedan hider to mynstere and her gefreogian on Petrocys reliquias.* Once occurs *gefreod on tune,* which, if it does not actually mean *on ciric-tune,* at any rate echoes the fact that the *ciric* represented the *tun,* and that the terms were correlatives (ch. xxvii). On the other hand serfs are said to be bought *aet thaere cirican dura,* ' at the gate of the *ciric* (*tun*).' There was an obvious symbolism in the distinction, for the *ciric* was itself a place of sanctuary : the serf passed into it to his freedom, out of it into bondage. [1]

Stow is rarely used of a structural dwelling, except in such compound forms as *wic-stow* and *eardung-stow,* although it is one way of rendering Bede's *mansio,* ' place of abode.' When used as a place-name it denoted either the place where some saint was verily buried, or a place enshrining some relic of a saint or otherwise closely associated with his life or death. Thus Hibaldstow in Lincolnshire was probably the actual burial-place of St. Hygbeald [2] ; Dingestow in Monmouthshire is the Saxon translation of the Welsh Merthyr [3] Dingad, the place of St. Dingad's death ; and the name of Redborn-stoke, a hundred of Bedfordshire, probably stands for Raedburh's Stow. [4] But of three Wistows (Hunts., Leices., Yorks. E.R.) and a Wistanstow (Salop), two at any rate had no real association with St. Wigstan. [5] Holkham (Norfolk) was anciently called Withburgstow, as having been the place where St. Withburga passed her childhood [6] ; and a place called Alftham in Lincolnshire, perhaps identical with West Halton, was anciently

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[1] *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 9087 ; *Diplomatarium,* pp. 623, *sqq.* Bodmin is Bodmanaccan, ' the monastery.'

[2] A skeleton, believed to be that of the saint, accompanied by a bishop's crozier, was found in 1876 beneath the western tower of the church. Hygbeald is mentioned in Bede, *H.E.* IV, iii, § 264.

[3] This term is not recorded from any of the Saxon areas. Martyr Worthy in Hants. appears to take its name from one John la Martre, who in 1251 conveyed the advowson of the church (St. Swithun) to the Priory of St. Swithun in Winchester

(*V.C.H. Hampshire,* iii, 325). It has been thought that the so-called St. Martha's Chapel, near Guildford, is in reality Martyr's Church (Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications,* ii, 510).

[4] *Place-Names of Beds. and Hunts.* p. 67. Raedburh was a female.

[5] Those in Hunts. and Yorks., both representing Wic-stow. are tentatively explained (*Place-Names of Beds. and Hunts.* p. 228) as meaning ' site of the royal manor-house.'

[6] Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications,* ii, 371.

Etheldredstow, tradition asserting that the saint's staff had there miraculously budded.[1] Other such places which have lost their earlier names are Swaffham in Norfolk, anciently Guthlacstow,[2] and Netley in Hants, once Edwardstow.[3] In some cases remains the name of the saint only, as in St. David's (Pemb.), once Dewistow, St. Albans (once Albanstow), and the Cornish St. Neots (anciently Neot's Stow). In the case of Elstow, Beds., the popular St. Helen has been substituted for some Saxon saint unknown,[4] and this is no isolated case. Such places as Virginstowe and Warbstow, both in Cornwall, may conceivably have had some actual association with St. Bride and St. Werburgh respectively, but clearly such others as Marystowe (Corn.), Peterstow and Jacobstowe can have obtained their names only from the possession of reputed relics of their eponyms, unless indeed the names arose merely from the dedications of their burial-grounds. Churchstow in Devonshire owes nothing to the word *ciric*, but is derived from the favourite West-country saint Cyric.[5] The Devonshire Christow again has nothing to do with the name of the Saviour, for it appears as Christine-stowe and Cristenestou in 1259-1280, and as Cristenestowe in the *Taxatio*, apparently 'Christian's Stow.' This last may be a proprietary name, like Fulstow and Godstow (respectively the *stows* of Fugel and of Goda) and Plemond-stall (Plegmund's *Stow*), names exactly parallel with such others as Baschurch, Ormskirk and Bedminster.[6]

Stow and Stowe enter into the names of eighteen present-day English parishes, and only in a few instances is it possible to discover in whose honour the spot was originally named, as with Stowe by Lichfield, originally Chadstowe, the actual scene of the saint's last days, at

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[1] Op. cit. ii, 367. According to another story (Thomas of Ely, *Angl. Sacra*, i, 598) Stow-in-Lindsey was the scene of the miracle.

[2] Op. cit. iii, 365.

[3] Edwardstow was also an alternative name for Shaftesbury, whither were translated the relics of king Edward the Martyr in 901. Stow-St.-Edward again was the older name of Stow-on-the-Wold, but whether the eponym here was the Martyr or rather the Confessor is not certain. In the case of Netley it was probably the Confessor, to whom and the Blessed Virgin was dedicated the Cistercian abbey there founded in 1239.

[4] *Place-Names of Beds. and Hunts.* p. 70.

[5] Ecclesia de Churicstowe, Churcstowe, in *Taxatio*.

[6] The word is entirely disguised in Bunsty, which is explained as Buna's Stow. but 'such compounds of *stow* with a personal name not known as a saint's name are uncommon' (*Place-Names of Bucks.* p. 5).

once his *mansio* and his grave. Most of the remainder
have come to be distinguished by particular epithets,
but at least five parishes are still Stow or Stowe without
qualification, and at one time the name was vastly
commoner. So were its compounds, such as Stowford.
There is to-day a parish[1] of this name in Devonshire, but
Domesday gives at least three Stowfords in that county
alone,[2] while Lysons[3] mentions no less than eight. It is
easy to understand how the original qualifying saint-name
should come to be lost. How many persons are to-day
aware of the dedication of their parish church, save indeed
in a town, where a plurality of rival churches has kept alive
the dedication of each? It is quite possible that in some
cases there was never any distinctive name, the early
Christian place of burial being spoken of merely as *the*
Stow. It may be added that in no case in which the dedica-
tion of a *stow*-church is known, is it anything but ancient,
and that many of the *stow*-names stand upon known Roman
roads or upon spots which have yielded Roman remains.[4]

It is possible that, in the early days when *ciric* still
denoted merely the circular burial-ground, and before the
building of any permanent ' church,' the term *stow* meant
very much what in Welsh was termed the *mynwent*, the one
particular grave or reliquary which gave special sanctity to
this or that burial-ground. Whether it was applied to any
sort of building is not clear, but it would possibly come to
be applied to the wooden building which was the earliest
structural church, and which, to judge from the analogy of
Wales and Ireland, frequently stood upon the actual grave
of the local saint. There is an approach to this usage in
the Saxon Version of Bede's account of the shrine of
St. Chad at Chadstowe (ch. iv). But beyond question the

[1] In its churchyard stands a pillar stone
bearing in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules the
name of GURGLES. It is said, however,
not to occupy its original site (*Reliquary*,
1895, p. 228).
[2] Estaveforda (*Exeter Book*, Staveford) in
Braunston Hundred; Estaforda (*Ex. Bk.*
Staford) in Hundred of East Budleigh;
and Estatforda (*Ex. Bk.* Staford) in Lifton
Hundred. In some of these forms *stow*
represents an original *stan*, ' stone ' (*P.-N.*
vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 55) or *stoc*, ' place ' (ibid.
p. 56).

[3] *Magna Britannia, Devonshire* (1822).

[4] Thus Stow in Lindsey stands beside
Till-bridge Lane (Lindum-Segelocum);
Stow-Nine-Churches on Watling Street;
Stow-on-the-Wold on the Fosse Way;
Wistanstow on the Shropshire Watling
Street; Long Stow, Cambs., on the Old
North Road. Roman remains in more or
less abundance have come from Stow
Langtoft and Felixstowe, Suffolk, Hork-
stow and Hibaldstow, Lincs., and Elstow,
Beds.

normal Saxon term for any such ' church ' was first *bedehus*
and subsequently *mynstre*. *Ciric* does not appear to have
come to mean any sort of building before the time of king
Alfred, and then not usually.

Very remarkable is the difference between the Saxon
and the non-Saxon parts of the map in regard to the
incidence of place-names recalling saints. In the Celtic
areas such names meet one everywhere, but in the Brythonic
eastern parts of Scotland they are noticeably fewer than in
the Goidelic west, and in the Saxonised Lowlands they
are rarer still. There is not in the whole of Saxon England,
a single place-name recalling St. Aidan.[1] St. Chad seems
to have been the most fortunate of all. But excluding
the counties which border upon the Celtic areas, ancient
England musters little more than a score of parishes which
record a saint by his undisguised name. On the other
hand Cornwall alone has more than seventy such names.
Were it not for the group of *stow*-names already discussed,
there would be scarce one name of Saxon hagiology
surviving in a form recognisable by the layman. Of the
thirty *minster*-names, more or less, not a solitary one
commemorates a saint by name,[2] and where the name of a
saint of the Saxon time occurs at all, it is usually in com-
bination with some element of studiedly secular meaning,
e.g. Ebchester in Durham, and Patrington[4] in Yorks.
(E.R.). The same is largely true even of the Latin saints,
as witness Peterborough[5] and Petersfield. Of the few
saint-names which do occur, most are those of the Roman
Calendar, such as SS. Andrew, Lawrence, Leonard,
Margaret and Catherine, and are frequently late usurpa-
tions. The place now called St. Neots[6] in Hunts. was so
named only after the translation thither of the relics of the
Cornish saint of that name in the tenth century, and
similarly the name of St. Ives in the same county has
supplanted the older name of Slepe found in *Domesday*.

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[1] When Bishop Lightfoot came to
Durham he could say that there was not a
solitary church in his diocese dedicated to
the saint who was the first bishop of
the northern English (Lindisfarne). The
omission has been remedied since. In
Scotland used to be an Inch Aidan, now
Kenmare, a parish of Perthshire (Mackinlay,
p. 299).

[2] Unless Leominster be the exception.

[3] Named after St. Ebba (abb.) : cp. the
Tunnaceastre of Bede (*H.E.* IV, xxii, § 318).

[4] Said to be for ' Patrick's *tún*.'

[5] The earlier Medeshamstede (p. 229).

[6] The older name was Ernulfsbury.

In far the greater number of cases the saint-name has been
added to distinguish one from another village of the same
name, e.g. the three Gussages in Dorset and the six
Elmhams clustered together in Norfolk.

Something of this is doubtless due to the studied
policy of the Roman Church, which deliberately replaced
the earlier saint-names, Celtic and Saxon, by names of
Latin saints, and not seldom refused altogether to recognise
the claims of the expropriated to saintship of any kind.[1]
Theodore at the first opportunity reconsecrates in the name
of St. Peter that ancient little church of Lindisfarne[2]
which the Saxon Christians rightly regarded as the cradle
of their faith ; and under the same archbishop is built a
new church of St. Peter at Lichfield, to supersede that
older church of St. Mary near to which was first buried
St. Chad.[3] In somewhat less uncompromising fashion the
Normans introduced their French saint-names of
St. Denis, and others. The Saxons protested indeed,
but perforce acquiesced, and this doubtless accounts for
the number of *stow*-churches which have no eponym.
But contrasting the stubborn persistence of Celtic names
on Celtic soil one doubts whether the difference of attitude
displayed by the Saxons was not mainly temperamental.
St. Cedd selected for his place of retreat a ' haunt of wild
beasts' near Helmsley, there lived, and there presently
died (664) in the odour of sanctity, a widely known and
justly loved prelate, whose relics wrought miracles about
the spot and brought thereto the pilgrims of many centuries.
Yet when Bede was writing, some seventy years later, its
name was merely Lastingaeu,[4] with never a reference to
the saint. It would be easy to gather other examples. The
facts are in part explicable by the essential difference
between the social systems of the Celts and the Saxons.
In Wales there were few villages until Christianity created
them, and therefore the waste places (*deserta*) in which the
saints made their settlements may commonly have had no
individual names as yet. In Saxon England it would seem
that the greater part of the soil was already blocked out

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[1] For a similar policy as exercised in
Wales, see Willis Bund, *Celtic Church of
Wales*, p. 331.

[2] Bede, *H.E.* III, xxv, § 225.

[3] ibid. IV, iii, § 265.

[4] ibid. III, xxiii, §218. It is now
Lastingham.

amongst owners, whether these were individuals or communities, so that even Cedd's ' haunt of wild beasts ' was parcel of the territory of the Lastings, whose name that of the saint could not supplant nor ever has supplanted.

In lieu of *llan* or *kil* the Saxons adopted the term *ciric* (*circ*), the ancestor of our ' church.' What precisely did the term denote ? As both *llan* and *kil* signified not a building, but a precinct only, it might be suspected that *ciric* had the same meaning. At the present day most people wrongly imagine *llan* to mean a structural church, and at the present day it is traditional—possibly as incorrectly—to understand *kil* in the same sense. At the present day ' church ' certainly denotes a structure. But what has happened with *llan* and *kil* may equally well have happened with *ciric*. If this word was used as early as 616 for something different from *mynstre*, and continued to be so used for some three centuries ; if the Saxon Translator of Bede twice uses it to render the Latin *coemeterium* ; if anything in the shape of a structural church was anomalous in England until many years after the first appearance of the word *ciric* ; there is reason enough to doubt whether the word originally meant a building of any sort. The evidence clearly shows that it meant a precinct only, namely the circular Christian *limes* which the Scotic missionaries introduced into England. If so, the Saxon *ciric* denoted precisely the same thing as did the Irish *kil* and the Welsh *llan*. And if there are discoverable any cases in which the word still attaches to circular precincts, these will be so much confirmatory evidence. As the original *limes*, whether monastic or otherwise, was in the first instance a burial-place, a barrow, any instance of the name's attaching to a barrow or other sepulchral monument will have the same value. One or two such cases have been mentioned already (p. 272), and a few of many others may be added.

In Scotland ' the name of *kirk* constantly attaches to circles,' [1] with or without peristaliths, which are commonly accounted prehistoric. In Aberdeenshire and Banffshire stone circles are sometimes known as ' temples ' and as ' chapels ' ; and ' in the parish of Ellon there is a place

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[1] *Archaeologia*, i, 339.

called Tochell[1] (i.e. below the chapel), from one of these monuments which stands near by on high ground.' Another circle in the parish of Aberlour, Banffshire, was called Leachell Beandick, ' Blessed Chapel.' It is now destroyed. In the parish of Peterculter, five miles from Aberdeen, ' I myself . . . sent one of our number to ask the name of another (circle), and was told it was called the " Old Chapel." ' In the parish of Gamrie, Banffshire, ' Chapel Den ' was so named from an adjacent stone circle.[2] ' On the shore of Inverness ' is said to have been ' a monument of two circles of stone ' known as Chapel Piglag, ' from an old lady who worshipped there before a chapel was built in the district.'[3] The circle of Greystone in Alford, Aberdeenshire, was also known as the ' Auld Kirk '[4]; a circle on the borders of the parishes of Tough, Cushnie and Cluny in the same county was called ' Kirk o' Tough.'[5] A ' triple concentric cromlech of white stones ' in the parish of Auchterless is called ' The Kirkhill,' the site of a vanished circle on Tofthills farm in Clatt is ' The Sunken Kirk,'[6] and a similar site at Fetternear in Inverurie is ' Chapel o' Sink.'[7] These three again are all in Aberdeenshire. The assertion that in the Highlands the term *clachan* denotes indifferently a stone circle or a church,[8] is certainly true with limitations. In Wigtownshire also was a parish of Clayshant, i.e. Clachshant (' Holy Stone '), now embodied in that of Stoneykirk.[9] A group of standing stones in Sandwick, Shetland, is known as ' Holy Kirk.'[10] In none of these cases is it hinted that there ever existed any building which might account for the name. In other cases there are or have been buildings actually within the circle of stones, as at Bennachie, six miles northeast of Alford, and at Daviot, both in Aberdeenshire.[11]

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[1] *Chell* here. and in Leachell, is the Gaelic *cil*, Irish *kil*, and the renderings should be ' below the *kil* ' and ' Blessed *kil* ' respectively. Thus in Scotland, as in Ireland, *cil* denoted a circular precinct presumed to be sepulchral. ' Chapel ' is a late Roman substitution for *cil* (*quasi cella*), just as kirk is a Saxon substitution in such names as Falkirk (p. 276).

[2] The foregoing are cited from *Archaeologia*, i (1779), p. 339.

[3] J. K. Walker in *Gents. Mag.* 1863.

[4] *New Statistical Account of Aberdeenshire*, pp. 449, 613.

[5] Mackinlay, p. 130.

[6] *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxi (1897), p. 93.

[7] ibid.

[8] Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 10; Pennant, *Tour in Scotland* (1774), i, 274.

[9] Mackinlay, p. 405.

[10] op. cit. p. 130.

[11] That at Daviot was still visible about 1817; *New Statistical Account*, xii, 822; *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxvi, 517.

Two of the fallen pillars of another circle are embedded in
the wall of the churchyard at Kinnellar,[1] and at Culsal-
mond the sexton, when digging graves, used to come upon
the fallen stones of a circle.[2] ' The map records the site
of a stone-circle in the graveyard of the ruined chapel of
St. James', between Insch and Leslie Castle.[3] Indeed it
is said that to erect churches on such sites was in Scotland
' not infrequent.'[4] The old church of Midmar,[5] near
Echt, twelve miles west of Aberdeen, and that of Marnoch
in Banffshire stood close beside cromlechs—there were
three in the parish of Midmar, one of them ' remarkably
large '—while the more modern churches have been set
actually within the ring of stones.[6]

Hector Boece[7] is authority that in the early part of the
sixteenth century the general tradition of his country
declared the ' druidical ' circles to have been places of
sacrifice in heathen times. Unquestionably some of them
were so, but it would seem that others were not improbably
places of Christian worship in the otherwise heathen times
of the transition. ' These circles,' said Col. Forbes Leslie,
' were selected as places of Christian worship by the early
Christians, and are often called *churches* both in Gaelic and
in Lowland Scots, although no Christian church ever
occupied the site.'[8] So J. M. Mackinlay : ' There is
reason to believe that our early missionaries chose the
neighbourhood of groups of standing stones as sites for their
places of worship. This they did probably because the
inhabitants of our land assembled at such spots for
ceremonial purposes.'[9] It is clear that there was some
intimate connexion between the stone circle and the kirk,
and that this connexion, dating back into the earliest days
of Christianity, still subsists subconsciously.

The same association of ' church ' and ' circle ' is found
south of the Border, and notably in Strathclyde. Near

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[1] *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxvi, 504. There were
others still visible in 1846 (Lewis, *Topog.
Dict.*).

[2] *New Statistical Account*, xxxix, 731.
Proc. S.A.Scot. xxxvi, 577.

[3] *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxxvi, 536.

[4] Cordiner, *Antiquities and Scenery of
Scotland*, p. 34.

[5] *Old Statistical Account.* The new
church was built only in 1787.

[6] Mackinlay, p. 403, citing from Long-
muir's *Madyn Stane of Bennachie.* The
latter writer saw that herein was the explana-
tion of the presence of certain pillar-stones,
etc., within the precincts of churchyards or
embodied in the walls and foundations of
old churches.

[7] *Chronicles* (1527).

[8] *Proc. Brit. Association*, 1871.

[9] Mackinlay, p. 403.

Silecroft, Whitbeck, Cumb. was a group of circles, three of which were still recognisable in 1842, counting respectively thirty, twelve, and eight stones.[1] They were known as ' The Kirkstones' or ' Gutterby Kirkstones.' Another, near Lacra, two miles north-west of Millom, Cumberland, was called the ' Old Kirk.' The site of a third near Dalton in the same county is known as ' Chapel Flat,' and the great circle at Swinside is called ' Sunkenkirk.' On the moors between Ilkley and Keighley is a spot called ' Kirk Stones.' There are, or were, many barrows in the vicinity, and the map marks a stone circle. On Stanbury Moor, south-west of Keighley, is ' Ponder's Kirk.' At the present time it appears to be nothing but a cluster of natural rocks, but that once it was something different is suggested by the local tradition that it was ' the only place where folks could get properly married.'[2] On Ringstone Moor near Halifax was a spot called ' Oyden (or Ogden) Kirk,' probably once marked by the cromlech which gave to the moor its name of Ringstone. But the capital examples are the work still known until 1846 as ' The Kirk,'[3] at Kirkby Ireleth in Furness, and that called Towtop Kirk, near Bampton in Cumberland.

' The Kirk' in Kirkby Ireleth is a perfectly circular unfossed ringwork of earth and stone, 75 ft. in diameter, enclosing a perfectly level garth, lying near Gill-house beck at a distance of one mile ENE. from the present church of the parish. The vallum has a width of from 6 to 10 ft., an extreme height of 2 ft. 10 ins., with an entrance 6 ft. in width opening to the south-east. There is no fosse. In 1846 it was described by C. M. Jopling[4] as having once carried a peristalith, which had been removed

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[1] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.* s.v. WHITBECK. Murray's *Guide to the Lakes* describes them as having each had ' a pair of stones forming a kind of entrance on the east side,' as in many Irish *killeens*. They are now all but destroyed. One of these circles was formed of two concentric rings of stones (J. K. Walker in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1863), and ' an ancient round called Kirkshead,' in Westmorland, is also mentioned (ibid).

[2] cf. the popular traditions in regard to the Stone of Odin, or Thor's Stone, at Stenness. At Ponders Kirk also there is said to have been a perforated stone, through which couples used to join hands

in betrothal. This information is due to F. Villy, M.D.

[3] The name appears to be now lost. H. Swainson Cowper (*Archaeologia*, liii, 389 *sqq.*) gives details of a number of very similar works in the same district, to none of which is the name of ' kirk' said to attach.

[4] In *Archaeologia*, xxxi (1846), 450. The accompanying plan shows four stones, set like the four pips upon dice, in a group immediately outside the vallum on the north. H. Swainson Cowper (in *Archaeologia*, liii (1893), 389), though dismissing the plan as ' conventional and useless'

for building-material, 'not many years ago.' Jopling, who held to the traditional view—still current in the locality—that all such works were 'druidical,' remarked the 'somewhat singular' fact that 'the original appropriation of the circle is still recorded by tradition,' for the natives asserted 'that it was a place where their ancestors had worshipped,' and he observed that its name of 'The Kirk' was curious.

This earthwork is further of interest in that it was for an unknown series of years the meeting-place of the neighbourhood on Easter Monday, when, the lord of the manor presiding, the afternoon was spent in wrestling, dancing, leaping, and hurling; nor was the custom discontinued until, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the president for the nonce unluckily fell and broke his thigh. [1]

'The Kirk' is circular. The association of games with the spot is good evidence that it was a sepulchral monument. [2] It is exactly such a circular burial-place as the Saxon Version of Bede would style a *ciric*. It is scarcely possible to doubt that the name is old—that this is a genuine case of the application of the term 'kirk' to a spot from times long antecedent to the building of structural churches; and that other circular sepulchral monuments—ringworks, cromlechs, and barrows—were called 'kirk' and 'church' because the original *ciric* was a circular place of burial.

Towtop Kirk, in the parish of Bampton, Cumberland, is a similar but less regular enclosure on high ground above the moorland slope called Towthwaite, 'opposite to Moorah Hill, beyond the Con Beck, and about twenty yards from the latter.' In plan an irregular oval (145 ft. by 125 ft.), it is enclosed within a low vallum built of stones collected from the moor, and has no fosse. Those

endorses most of Jopling's observations, but regards the stones (of which he counted six) as possibly the remains of avenues. The site appears never to have been scientifically explored.

[1] *Archaeologia*, loc. cit.

[2] There is a considerable cairn some 350 yards to the north, and other indubitable sepulchral remains in the vicinity. At Urswick, some four miles to the south, was another group of remains including the 'Stone Walls,' an oval work (350 ft. by 315 ft.) girt by a ten-foot stone vallum. In the centre was a small circular enclosure, radiating from which were irregular walls dividing the whole into compartments. See the plan in *Archaeologia*, liii. The stone circle of Sunbrick (diams. 88 ft. and 75 ft.) lies a few miles to the east. H. Swainson Cowper has remarked the likeness between the 'Stone Walls' and the Celtic *cashels* of Ireland and Scotland, comparing also 'a supposed British *rath* near Kirkby Lonsdale'; for which see *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. Soc.* vi, 111.
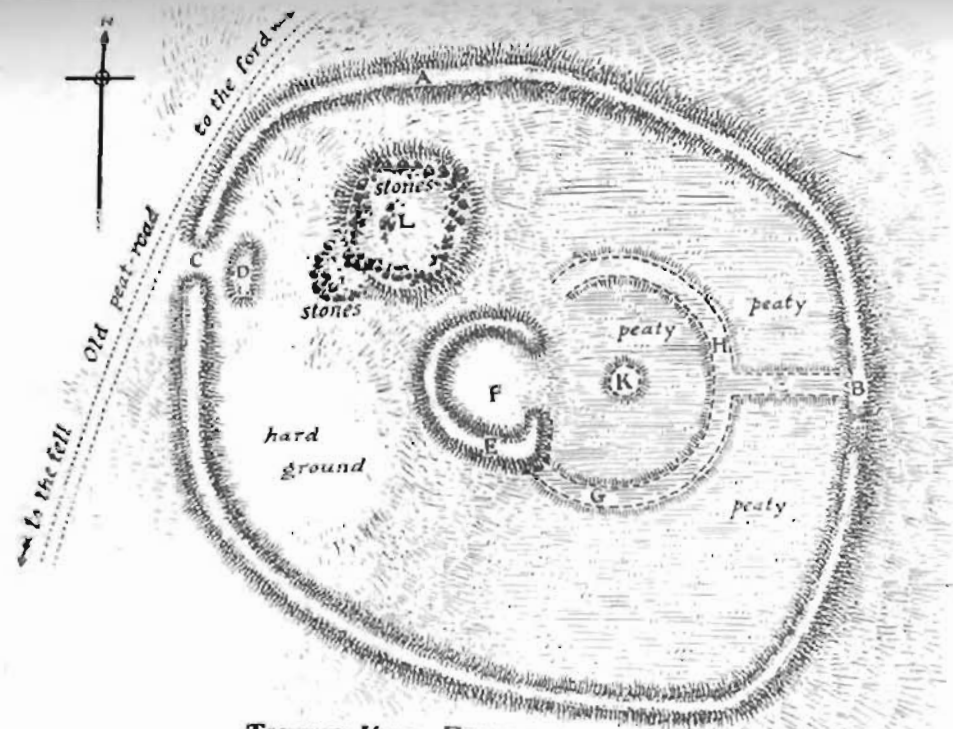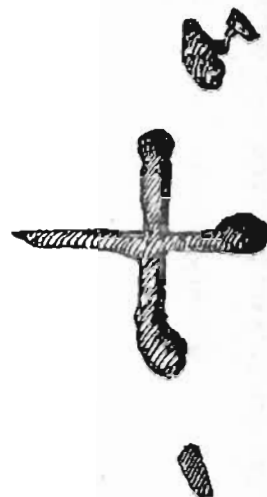
TOWTOP KIRK: BAMPTON.

W.G.C. mens. & del. 1902.

0   10   20   30   40   50 feet

TOWTOP KIRK : PLAN, AND INSCRIBED CROSS

(By permission of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society.)

The scale applies to the plan only.

who explored it, considering it to be 'a small example of the British Settlement with rudely circular rampart and hut circles . . . of whatever date can be given to the other examples of this type,' looked for traces of a palisade upon the vallum, but looked in vain. The area has been greatly cut about by peat-diggers, but there remains in the centre the unmistakable ring-wall of a hut (diam. 20 ft.), built exactly as was the outer vallum and therefore probably contemporaneous, with an entrance facing east. It had been ' paved with flat stones set in clay,' and ' soot and small fragments of charcoal were found in the joints of the stones.' The entrance of the enclosure lies at the west end, opening upon an old track which leads to a ford on the Con Beck ; and at a spot a few feet within this entrance was found a broken stone upon which had been cut a very small, [1] but unmistakable, Latin cross. An authentic alternative for the name of Towtop Kirk is that of Bampton Old Kirk. [2] This name, and the finding of the carven cross, throw light each upon the other.

The great 92-foot stone circle at Swinside, parish of Millom, Cumberland, has an almost contiguous peristalith set upon a bottom of small rammed stones, with an entrance from the south-east. Thoroughly explored, it has yielded no trace of any interment, and no indication that any building ever occupied the area. [3] Yet to this also attaches the similar name of ' Sunkenkirk.' [4] It belongs without

[1] It is described as being ' about an inch and a half in length, evidently ancient and artificial.'

[2] For further details, see *Transactions Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. Soc.* N.S. iii (1903), p. 265, where it is stated that the late ' Chancellor Ferguson thought *kirk* was derived from *circus*.' There is a local tradition that Bampton village once stood hereabouts.

[3] *Proc. S.A.* II, xix, 98.

[4] The ground, dry when the circle was built, subsequently became boggy. At the present time it has been drained, and is again dry. ' Kirk Sinkings ' is the name of the boggy ground on the west of The Kirk, Kirkby Ireleth. Such names as ' Sunkenkirk ' or ' Sunkenchurch ' are not infrequent. The current explanation having been that all such sites had once borne structural churches or chapels, which had so to say ' sunk ' into the ground, i.e. gone to ruin, the excavations at Millom were satisfactory in so far as they disproved any such explanation. The use of ' sink ' in such names is good Anglo-Saxon ; cf. Orosius (Saxon Version) ii, 6, *from burgum ond from tunum on eorthan besuncon* (Latin Version, *de ruinis villarum oppidorumque*) ; ibid. iii, 2, *twa byrig . . . on eorthan besuncon* (Latin Version, *duae civitates . . . abruptis locorum hiatibus devoratae sunt*). Similar names attaching to the sites of *buildings*, Roman or later, often reflect the vulgar error that any old mason-work must be ecclesiastical, a belief which itself presumes a time when mason-built churches were almost the only kind of stone building to be seen in country districts. Such are Kirk Sink, Gargrave, W.R., apparently a small Romano-British farmstead (*Bradford Antiquary*, 1911), and Sunkenchurch, Ickleton, Cambs., which seems to have been the site of a *basilica*.

question to the class of larger circles which were certainly not sepulchral, and probably were moots.[1] Inasmuch as science with all its efforts has not yet satisfactorily distinguished between peristalithic and other ringworks which are sepulchral and those which are not, it would not be surprising if earlier generations should have failed to do so and should have written down this particular work as sepulchral simply because it superficially resembled many other peristalithic works which were understood to be burial-places, and should therefore have styled it a ' kirk.' But it is also possible that, though the presence of graves was and is a constant feature of kirks (churches), this was no part of the original meaning of *kirk*, and that the stone circle was called a *kirk* solely because of its circular plan. A sub-circular *rath* overhanging Loch Roan, parish of Crossmichael, Kirkcudbrightshire, is yet known as the ' auld kirk of Loch Roan.'[2] Cases like the last prompt the belief that *caer* and *kirk* have been confused : thus Kirkhill, near Kirkoswald in Ayrshire, has been thought to stand for Caerhill and to have reference to an earthwork there[3] ; but reading that this earthwork, ' not quite circular,' is on the *outside* of its fosse and has a circumference of 221 paces only, one doubts whether there be any such confusion. The earthwork is plainly one of a somewhat rare class of ringworks which are usually held to have been not defensive, but ' religious,' whether sepulchral or not. It is certainly not what is understood by the term *caer*. So with Kirkmagill, in the parish of Stoneykirk, Wigtownshire. Sir Herbert Maxwell explained it as Cathair mic Giolla, ' MacGill's Fort.' ' There are,' he says, ' ruins here . . . but nothing to indicate a church.'[4] If the ruins indicate

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[1] It is ' eminently suited to be a hypaethral temple . . . I suggest this may have been the chief purpose of it ' (C. W. Dymond in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Soc.* v, pp. 56-7).

[2] *New Statistical Account, Kirkcudbrightshire*, p. 196 ; *Proc. S.A.Scot.* xvi, p. 153.

[3] Mackinlay, p. 420, citing John Smith, *Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire*. Westerkirk, one of the ' five kirks of Eskdale,' is probably so called because it lay furthest west, but Mackinlay (p. 126) would have it stand for Wester Caer, the name of a hamlet and sometime manor in the vicinity. Kirkclaugh in Anwoth, Kirkcudbrightshire, is said to represent Caerclach (*Proc. S.A.Scot.* xxvii, 167).

[4] *Studies in Galloway Topography*. The names of Kirkintilloch (Kirkentaloch, 1200) and Caerpentaloch would seem to be genuine cases of the confusion of *caer* with *kirk* (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i, 153). In this case, however, the earthwork is a true *caer*, i.e. a quadrangular Roman fort (*castra*). In Wales a sharp distinction is usually drawn between the quadrangular and other shapes : the former are called *caer*, the others *castell* : cf. on Carmichael and Carluke, above, p. 210. There was a constant tendency for the Cornish *cruk* to give way to *car* (i.e. *caer*) : thus the modern Carclew and Carplight stand for earlier Cruclew and Crucplight.

a ringwork, it is not needful to seek further for the origin of the ' kirk ' part of the name. The apparent identity of the names of ' church-field ' and ' round field ' in Cornwall has been mentioned (ch. xx), so that there is a good deal of evidence that any circular *limes* might be called Kirk or Church. It is, however, remarkable that these names seem never to be applied to any veritable hill-fort, no matter how strikingly circular its plan. They appear to be extended only to works which were not military, whether sepulchral or not.

Kirkby or Kirby[1] is one of the commonest of English place-names. It is Scandinavian,[2] as the suffix shows, and must have arisen from the establishment of a Scandinavian settlement at or near a *kirk*. What were the *kirks* in question ? The first recorded Scandinavian incursion, that of the Danes, occurred only in 787, and ninety years later was made the peace of Wedmore (878). The earliest of such settlements cannot therefore date before the ninth century,[3] and up to that time there were few or no structural churches of stone outside the monasteries. Even within the monasteries the churches were with few exceptions still built of wood, and as the Dane made the monasteries his chief object of attack, plundering and burning them until there was scarce one left unscathed throughout northern, eastern, and southern England,[4] it is not clear how there could survive even the ruins of such structural churches in numbers sufficient to account for the long list of Danish kirk-names on the English map.[5] Moreover it

[1] In Curthwaite, Cumberland, occurs another spelling of the word *kirk*. But *Kirk* is not the original of all Kirby-names, as witness Cold Kirby (*Place-Names of North Riding of Yorks*, p. 197).

[2] It rarely occurs except in the areas known to have been settled by the Danes and Northmen. The exceptional case of Horton Kirby in Kent is due to the land's having at a later date passed into the hands of a family named Kirby. This explanation will not account for Kirkby in the Berkshire parish of Inkpen. There was evidently a Scandinavian colony here : witness the name of *Nothing* Hill, in Kingsclere, once the site of the Hundred-moot. A few yards away from Kirkby (House) is a curious mounded enclosure, small and sub-circular, which may very possibly be the original *ciric* to which the name refers.

[3] Such names ' must have arisen mostly between 877 and 919,' says Prof. Ekwall (*Introd. Eng. Place-Names*, p. 55).

[4] Alfred's *Preface* to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral*.

[5] ' Very few of the religious houses which perished during the Danish wars ever rose again from their ashes. The cathedral and city monasteries were almost the only exceptions ' (Stubbs, *Chron. and Mem. Ric. I*, p. xviii). This statement is demonstrably exaggerated, but in his *Preface* to Gregory's *Pastoral* Alfred says that even south of the Thames the Danes' ravages had reduced land and people to barbarism at the close of the ninth century. The case of Northumbria must have been even worse, as the visitation had lasted so much longer. In the non-Danish areas names analogous to Kirkby, etc. are few. Evidently, as Kemble

has been shown that at that date the word *kirk* (*ciric*) did not denote any building at all. The word for a structural church was *mynstre*, and the fact that there is not a single Minsterby or similar Danish name in the *Gazetteer*, is proof that, in the Danelagh at any rate, few or no structural churches can have survived. The Danes could and did easily destroy both monasteries and *mynstres*. They could not so easily destroy the *ciric*[1], the circular precinct which, alike in monasteries and elsewhere, marked a Christian place of meeting,[2] nor was it worth their while to try. That survived, and its name also ; and when at last the Dane settled down to a peaceful occupation of the country, he found about him many such *kirks*. The Danish village which grew up beside such a *kirk* might not unnaturally be called Kirkby.[3]

From the churchyard of Kirkheaton, 11 miles north-east of Hexham and a mile west of the Roman road (' The Devil's Causeway ') from Hunnum to Trimontium (Old Melrose), has come a series of carven ' Celtic ' crosses, which, says W. G. Collingwood,[4] carry back the continuity of the primitive Church there to the earliest years of the ninth century. Here then was a Christian burial-ground, a *ciric*—of a structural church of that date there is no proof at all—at least half a century before the Danish pacification, and to that *ciric* the name of Kirkheaton must have originally referred.

The inscription[5] at Kirkdale (p. 246) tells us that before Orm's ' minster ' was built there had been a church there. There is no reason to think that it was other than of wood, and it can therefore have dated only after the pacification of 878. But when the Northmen settled on the spot they distinguished it from others as ' the dale where was the kirk.' So here too they must have found a *ciric*, a circular Christian burial-ground.

thought. on the south and in Wessex most of the A.-S. settlements had already won to names of their own which survived the storm, whereas in the north and the east many of the old Saxon names had perished, to be replaced by Danish *-bys*, *-dales*, and *-thwaites*.

[1] For the ' destruction ' of *cirics* recorded in *A.-S. Chron.* 684, see above, p. 244, *n*. 3.

[2] If this was, as it probably frequently was, one of the new intra-mural *cirics* lately made in accordance with archbishop Cuthbert's order (ch. xxv), it would be the more likely to attract the invaders' notice.

[3] The name is therefore in form and in meaning exactly parallel with Barrowby (*D.B.* Berghebi), which occurs once as a parish near Grantham, and twice in hamlets near Leeds.

[4] *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, 1916.

[5] It is attributed to a date between 1056 and 1065.

It is hardly possible to doubt that Kirkby in Furness derived its name from the adjoining ringwork still called ' The Kirk,' but if this be incapable of proof it yet remains to explain how that ringwork comes to bear its peculiar name. It has not the smallest resemblance to a church, nor is there any evidence that it ever included a structural church of any kind. On the other hand, as it is in appearance exactly such a circular burial-place as the Saxon Version of Bede terms a *ciric*, it must owe its name to its peculiar plan and ' kirk ' must signify a circular enclosure.

Closely parallel is the name of Kirkabost (O.N. *bõstr*, ' homestead ') in Great Bernera, Isle of Lewes. Here are the ruins of a stone circle so large as to have been described in 1842 as ' only paralleled by those of Stonehenge and Stenness.'[1] Here too is the old burial-ground and site of the vanished chapel of St. Macra (or Macrel), an early Scotic missioner.[2] In this case the first element in the name of Kirkabost might be held to refer either to the stone circles or to the burial-ground, but either way ' kirk ' must again denote a something circular, and Kirkabost means ' the homestead beside the kirk.'[3]

It would be unreasonable to expect that in every case there should survive to-day in recognisable form the original *kirk* from which the multitude of English Kirkbys are named. Rather it is remarkable that there should yet survive such striking examples as those cited. In the great majority of cases the *kirk* is presumably the original Christian graveyard of pre-Danish times, and with the conversion of the Danes many of such graveyards would once more revert to their original purpose—would become the churchyards of the villages—with small chance of preserving unspoilt through the centuries their circular form. But here and there are traces of the thing which gave its name to one or other Kirkby. The churchyard of Kirkby Wiske near Thirsk (N.R.) is still in part circular and mounded ; so is that of Kirk Hammerton, 10 miles west of York.

That the term *ciric* was in use long before the first coming of the Danes is proved by its appearance in the *Laws* of Ethelbert and Wihtraed. There is therefore no

[1] Lewis, *Topog. Dict.*
[2] T. S. Muir, *Ecclesiastical Notes*, p. 57.
[3] Very possibly Kirkabost has supplanted some such older Gaelic name as Kilmacra.

reason why some at any rate of the place-names of which ' kirk ' or ' church ' is a constituent should not go back to the very beginning of Christianity in England.[1] The total number is not large, and while some are obviously named in honour of this or that saint, others as obviously preserve the name of the layman who gave the ground or made the *ciric*, and yet others that of the priest who served it. Bede mentions one ' Tunna, a priest and abbat of a monastery in the place still called after him, Tunnaceastir '[2]; and the names of other men and women would be perpetuated in the same way and for the like reasons, although it may be impossible at this date to decide whether such persons were lay-folk or otherwise. Baschurch in Salop keeps the name of Bassa, as Colkirk in Norfolk that of Cola, Honeychurch in Devon that of Huni, Pucklechurch[3] in Gloucestershire that of Pucla, and Alvechurch in Worcestershire that of a woman named Aelfgyth. Achurch in Northamptonshire is the ' *ciric* of Asa,' as Lillychurch[4] in Kent is the ' *ciric* of Lilla.' Aelfgar and Orm are commemorated in Algarkirk (Lincs.) and Ormskirk (Lancs.). Both were Danes, like him who rebuilt St. Gregory's minster at Kirkdale. Hornchurch[5] in Essex perhaps commemorates another such benefactor, as also Hawkchurch in Devon and Ashchurch[6] in Gloucestershire and Offchurch[7] in Warwickshire. This last certainly goes back to the name of Offa, though not necessarily to that of the great Mercian king (757-795).

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[1] Such names as Kirklington and Kirtlington have mostly nothing to do with *kirk*, but Kirklinton in Cumb. stands for Kirk Levington.

[2] *H.E.* IV, xxii, § 318. The date is *circa* 679. The S.V. reads Tuna and Tunanceaster. The place was apparently in Northumbria and on a Roman road, possibly Tunstall near Sunderland, in which case Bede might easily have heard Tunna's miraculous story, as he avers, from men who knew the persons concerned.

[3] McClure suggested (*British Place-Names*, pp. 274-5) that in this name (*A.-S. Chronicle*, 946, *aet Puclancyrcan*) *cyrca* may be ' a modified form of the British *cruc* (= *tumulus*).'

[4] It is now the name of a house only, five miles north of Rochester, but it was once a village with its own church. See Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, p. 10.

[5] The popular etymology of the name of Hornchurch refers it to ' the old industry pursued by the pelt-mongers or skinners, who settled here and prepared raw hides for the market. Over the eastern gable of the church there is a sculptured bull's head bearing a pair of natural horns, with obvious allusion to the accepted etymology' (Worley, *Essex*); and Prof. Allen Mawer thinks the name may possibly refer to the fashion of the architectural ornaments of a (structural) church. The name of Hornchurch does not appear in *D.B.*, but the personal name Horn is well attested.

[6] Hawk (Hafoc) and Ash (Aesc) were common personal names.

[7] Ofechirche in 1300: cf. Offley in Warwickshire (*D.B.* Offeleia), and Offlow, a barrow and Hundred in Derbyshire (Bateman).

Some few names commemorate the saint to whom the church was dedicated. Romaldkirk (Yorks.) keeps the name of St. Romuald (Rumbold), as Kirkoswald (Cumb.) and Oswaldkirk (Yorks.) more doubtfully preserve that of the saint-king who died at Maserfield in 642. Peakirk (Northants.) is certainly named from its foundress St. Pega (714), a sister of St. Guthlac ; and the farm-house of Ilekirk in the parish of Westward (Cumb.) is said to tell of a hermitage of St. Hilda which once stood there. Chadkirk[1] in Cheshire requires no explanation. Ludchurch in Pembrokeshire may be a Saxon attempt to render its Welsh name of Eglwys Lwyd.[2] The foreign-born Felix— Bede says he was from Burgundy—who missionised in East Anglia about 636 is perpetuated in Feliskirk (Yorks.) and Felixstowe (Suffolk). Christchurch[3] explains itself. Dymchurch[4] in Kent, Bonchurch[5] in the Isle of Wight, and Vowchurch[6] in Herefordshire are puzzling. Laithkirk, now a chapelry of Cotherstone, ' a plain rectangular building 60 ft. by 20 ft.' with a western bell-cote, is said to have been originally the tithe-barn of the rectors of Romaldkirk,[7] and Stokenchurch, Bucks, means merely

[1] *D.B.* Cedde. Earwaker (*Hist. Cheshire*) says there is no mention of a structural church there before the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

[2] In *Myvyrian Archaiology*. Mediaeval forms are Londeschirche 1353, and Londchirche 1377, where the first element represents *llan*. As the church is dedicated to St. Elidyr, the place may have at one time been called Llanelidyr. The name of Ludchurch attaches also to a natural gorge in the rock on the moor above the river Dane south of Buxton, and popular etymology explains it either as the scene of Friar Tuck's exhortations to Robin Hood and his men, or as a place in which nonconformists used to meet for worship. The latter explanation has been advanced to explain Church Barrow (p. 273) and Wildchurch Bottom (p. 274). A third Ludchurch (Luderce) is recorded in *D.B. Notts.*, for which see McClure. *British Place-Names*, p. 235. It seems to be ' Hlude's Church,' and the same name reappears in Lowdham (*D.B.* Ludham). Ludlow, Ludborough (Ludeburg), and Ludford.

[3] *A.-S. Chron.* 1058, *aet Christes cyrcean.* Johnston (*Place-Names*) cites from *Gesta Steph.* 1160, the form Cristiciria (? Christi-Curia).

[4] McClure (*British Place-Names*) suggested ' the dim-church,' citing *dimbus* and *dimbof* from Napier's *O.E. Glosses*, but the site appears to be much too old for the name to refer to any building. It is a Roman site on which have been discovered ' vast quantities of crockery from Samian to coarse Upchurch ware,' as well as interments, and ' there is evidence that the site had never ceased to be occupied.' One would look for a personal name, possibly that of Diuma, the first (Scotic) bishop of Mercia (656-8). He was in office when Penda's son Wulfhere conquered the East Saxons and took in marriage a Kentish princess.

[5] *D.B.* Bonecerce. The current interpretation, ' St. Boniface's church,' is not satisfactory, nor is Johnston's suggestion of ' prayer church ' (A.-S. *ben*). It probably involves a personal name.

[6] So spelt as early as 1291, but Fowechirche and Ffoweschirch in 1316. In Dorset is Frome Vawchurch (pronounced Vochurch), which appears in *D.B.* as simply Frome. Does the second element refer to some grantee of the manor who himself owed his name to the Herefordshire Vowchurch ?

[7] *V.C.H. Yorks.* iii, 126 ; Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, i, 142. In Yorks. and

' log-church.' [1]   Churchover in Warwickshire is more
correctly written Church Over, the name appearing as
Church Waver in 1300, Chirche Wavre in 1327. The
prefix therefore is merely distinctive[2] as in Kirk Ella
(p. 301), Kirk Sandall (*D.B.* Sandale), Church Eaton
(*D.B.* Eitone), Church Knowle (*D.B.* Knolle, Chenolle)
and Church Icombe (*D.B.* Iacumbe), and the name
probably derives from A.-S. *wafre* ' aspen, poplar.' [3]
Overchurch in the Wirral, Cheshire, refers to the situation
of the original church, as does also its alternative name of
Upton [4] ; and is parallel with Upchurch in Kent—the
ciric standing up above the marshes—with Upminster in
Essex, and with Highchurch (p. 274). St. Mary Abchurch
in London is said to be a corruption of St. Mary Upchurch,
because it stands on relatively high ground. Handchurch
in Trentham (Staffs.) representing *Hean-ciric*, has the
same meaning, and is parallel with Hanbury, Henbury,
Henbarrow and Handborough, possibly also Hendon.
Fenchurch may mean the ' church in the Fen,'[5] but
Dunchurch (Warwick.) contains the same personal name
seen in the neighbouring Dunsmore Heath. [6] Newchurch
in Kent speaks for itself, but the name is at least as old as
Domesday (*Newchirche*), and in any case does not necessarily
connote a structural church. [7]   Eastchurch is said to
signify the ' church which lay east of the monastery,'
i.e. of Minster in Sheppey, and a similar explanation is to
be found for such names as Southminster, Westminster,
and Southchurch. The last-named place (*D.B.* Sudcerca)
lies at the southern end of an ancient road which here

Lancs. the word *lathe* or *laithe* still means
' barn ' (*N.E.D.*). The building is said to
date from the fourteenth century only.

[1] *Lignea capella .... Anglice Stockin ap-
pellata* (*Cart. Sax.* no. 458). The name can
have arisen only when wooden churches
were rarities, and must therefore be either
venerably old or fairly new. It is not known
before *c.* 1200 (*Place-Names of Bucks.*,
p. 194).

[2] It was simply Wara in *D.B.*, Waur and
Waure in 1257.

[3] cf. Wavertree, the place now called
Poplar, and the many places called Ash or
Nash.

[4] ' Upon a knoll ' (Ormerod's *Cheshire*).
From the site of the original church came
the ' Aethelmund Stone ' and a stone
(1887) with a runic inscription and an

interlaced pattern like that of the stones
found at West Kirby (*Research*, 1887).
There was a large Scandinavian element in
the population of the Wirral.

[5] cf. Church (or Kirk) Fenton. Yorks.
There was a *D.B.* manor of Fenna, identified
with Stow Maries (*V.C.H.* Essex, i, 304).

[6] Dunkirk in Kent is a modern name,
borrowed from the cross-Channel port of
Dunquerque and alluding to the fact that
the locality was a favourite resort of
smugglers. Dunkirk in Kells, Kirkcud-
bright, is explained as ' grouse-hill,' but
that explanation will not suit Dunquerque,
which would naturally mean the ' church
amongst the dunes.'

[7] There are six parishes of this name in
the *Clergy List*, and all are ancient.

reaches the Essex coast. Berechurch in Essex means the
' church in the wood (*bearw*),' and the same meaning under-
lies Woodchurch (Kent and Cheshire), Woodkirk[1] (Yorks.),
and Skewkirk (O.N. *Skógr*, ' wood '). Ivychurch occurs in
Kent and in Wiltshire, and in the latter case at any rate is
to be understood literally, 'the *ciric* overgrown with ivy.'[2]
Similarly Gracechurch (Gerschereche)[3] means the ' grassy
ciric.' Such names may be compared with Felchurch in
Washbrook, Suffolk, and Felkirk near Barnsley, both
meaning the ' church in the field(s).'[4] There is mention
of a Windcirice at Winchester in the time of Edward the
Elder.[5] Not one of these names of necessity implies the
presence of any building.

The oft-recurring Whitchurch and Whitkirk[6] in some
cases undoubtedly refer to a building, presumably a white-
washed building, and Whithorn (Hwit-earn, *Candida Casa*)
goes back to the early years of the fifth century.[7] It is,

[1] This was also an earlier name
(Wdekyrch) for Thankerton in Lanarkshire
(Mackinlay, p. 126).

[2] *Elements of Engl. Place-Names*, p. 41.
It is in the parish of Alderbury, and was
written Ivechirche in 1278. Henry II
founded here a small priory, which was
therefore styled *Monasterium Hederosum*.
The Kentish Ivychurch (Yvecherche in
1327) possibly has the same meaning, but
there are some elusive saint-names (Arnold-
Forster, *Dedications*, ii, 267) which might
be involved, and Normandy also has an
Yvecrique.

[3] Before 1053 Brithmaer of Gerschereche
bequeathed to Christchurch, Canterbury,
the *bomestal that be on set alre balgene
cherche* (*Diplomatarium*, pp. 372-3). It is
commonly said that this church of St. Benet,
Gracechurch, London, was so called
' because it was in the grass-market.' The
name of St. Mary Colechurch, London. is
said to be borrowed from that of a Cold-
harbour close by, but possibly it is original ;
for if Coldharbour meant an abandoned
' harbour,' Coldchurch would signify an
abandoned *ciric* : cf. Coldkitchen, the name
of a large Romano-British burial-mound in
Kingston Deverill (Wilts.).

[4] Otherwise explained as ' church of
timber,' from O.N. *fjol*, ' plank.' The
same meaning has been seen in Bradkirk,
parish of Kirkham, Lancs., as if from N.-S.
brede. ' plank ' ; but the prefix may equally
well represent ' broad,' i.e. ' spacious.'

[5] *Diplomatarium*, p. 156.

[6] There are ten parishes so called in the
Clergy List, some of which appear in *D.B.*,
e.g. Witcerce in Dorset (Whitchurch
Canonicorum). Wicerce of the *Exchequer
Book* is Whitchurch in the hundred of
Roborough, Devon.

[7] Above, p. 190. The Scotic missioners
probably followed the pagan Irish practice
of white-washing a *dun* or a *cashel*; cf. the
Welsh habit noticed in ch. xviii. Whitland
(for White-Llan) is supposed to preserve
the memory of Paul Hen's monastery of
Ty Gwyn, ' The White House.' So late as
1842 the church of Llanrug, 3½ miles from
Carnarvon, was ' white-washed all over, not
excepting the roof ' (Lewis, *Topog. Dict.
Wales*). The epithet ' white ' was applied
to many English churches and monasteries :
in Glouces. is a parish of Whitminster, and
the Norman name of Oswestry was Blanc-
moustier, ' White Minster.' In *Place-
Names of Bucks* it is suggested (p. 86) that
Whitchurch possibly means ' church of
stone,' and an Assize Roll of 1262 is cited
(p. 153) in which Great and Little Missenden
are distinguished as Messenden Sancti Petri
and Messenden Attewhytechirche. If
Little Missenden was called ' Missenden of
the Stone Church,' the name must have
arisen at a time when Great Missenden did
not as yet boast a church of stone. The
church of Little Missenden is attributed to
c. 1120, that of Great Missenden to c. 1340,
though it is said that ' there was probably an
earlier church on the site in the twelfth

however, not at all impossible that in some cases the names allude to the use of white materials to mark either the *ciric* as a whole, or the individual graves within the *ciric*.[1] To this day an English cemetery is frequently recognisable from a distance by its white headstones only.

In most place-names where *Church* or *Kirk* is the prefix, it merely serves to differentiate one village from another of the like name, as with the innumerable Kirk-towns of Scotland and the Church-towns of Cornwall. Thus Kirk Ella[2] (E.R.) is so called to distinguish it from West Ella, a mile away, and Church Honeybourne is so distinguished from Cow Honeybourne. In such cases *Kirk* or *Church* is no integral part of the place-name. In a few cases it may have reference to the exceptional size and dignity of the church,[3] and if so, it must obviously be a late epithet. Occasionally also it preserves the tradition of an ecclesiastical manor or similar accident. Kirkby Fleetham (N.R.) represents two separate *tuns* now fused into one.[4] In a few cases the modern Kirkby represents an earlier Kirkberg (Kirkbeorh), as the *Domesday* spellings show, and Monk's Kirby, on the borders of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, stands for Cyricbyrig of

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century.' Is there perhaps rather an allusion to the fact that at Great Missenden was an abbey of Black Canons founded in 1133; cf. the French Noirmoutiers? The much-quoted remark of Ralph Glaber, with reference to the frenzy of church-building which set in with the Norman conquest, is pertinent: 'It seemed,' he says, 'that the world was putting off its dingy vesture and donning a pure white robe.' Compare the words of Llewelyn Fardd, in the same century, that 'the face of Gwynedd was be-spangled with white churches as the firma-ment with stars' (Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, i, p. 468; Hughes and North, *Old Churches of Snowdonia*, p. 97). In Langland's time fourteenth century) to white-wash a church was still an act of piety (*Vision of Piers Plow-man, Passus* iii), and up to that time the wash was usually applied to the outside only.

[1] Crushed quartz and white shells, especially cockles, are largely used thus at the present day. The practice is more frequent in the Celtic than in the Saxon areas, and would seem to be another instance of survival from anhistoric times. Mixed with the earth composing a barrow in Car-marthenshire—Crug y Bwdran; *Inventory*,

no. 597 (i)—were such quantities of small white quartz stones as to 'suggest that the mound had been "iced" over with a white covering'; *Trans. Carmarthenshire Antiq. Soc.* xlv (1925), p. 27. The fact possibly explains the name of some out of the many 'White Barrows' of the map. In the Isle of Man, parish of Kirk Michael, a spot known by tradition as the site of a chapel proved to be 'a circle of white quartz boulders about 23 ft. 6 ins. in diameter, the inside area packed with small stones, mostly quartz' (*Proc. I.O.M. Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.* for 1914, p. 611).

[2] The old spelling was Elveley, which shows that the traditional connection with King Aella is wrong.

[3] 'It is possible that . . . places having Kirk as a prefix acquired that addition when the church was built in the churchyard ready for it, a churchyard already conse-crated and hallowed by years of divine service and sacred memories.' John Nichol-son in Andrews' *Curious Church Customs* (1895), p. 147.

[4] *V.C.H. Yorks.* iii, 320. It appears in *D.B.* as Chirchebi *and* Fleteham. It had 'a church and a priest' at that date.

the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*anno* 915).[1] A lost Churchfield[2] in Oundle means merely the ' field where was a *ciric*.'

The absolute Church, the name of a parish in Lancashire, is a modern form. It was anciently Kirk, and when Walcott wrote (1850) the place was actually Kirk Church. St. Mary Church, a parish in Devonshire, is the *Domesday* manor of Ste. Marie Cherche (*Exch. Book*, Cerce). Chirk in Denbighshire (Cirice in the thirteenth century) is a genuine Saxon rendering of the older Welsh name of Eglwys (y Waen), ' the church (in the meadow).'[3] Kirkham (Lancs. and Yorks.)[4] and Churcham[5] (Glouces.) may very well be amongst the oldest names in the whole series, and Kirkton (Kirton)[6] may be little, if anything, later.

As before remarked, *cryc* and *ciric* have constantly been confused,[7] and thus have arisen a number of names which have no authentic connexion with *ciric*. Amongst the commonest of these is Churchill (Oxon., Worces., Som. and frequently in Devon), which in most cases unquestionably stands for an original *Cryc-hyll*,[8] and is therefore in meaning identical with *Cryc-beorh* ; although such a form as *ciric-hyll*, the ' hill where was a *ciric*,' would be as natural as Kirkbergh (p. 301), Kirkbarrow in Motherby (Cumb.), and Stowborough (p. 280). Churchdown in Gloucestershire again has nothing to do with *ciric*, as the

[1] Intermediate forms Chircheberie, Kirkberia, and Kirkeby. The last two occur in two successive charters in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 996. Mrs. Armitage (*Early Norman Castles*, p. 37) accepts Dugdale's identification with Cyricbyrig, remarking that ' the derivation . . . is not according to etymological rules, but there can be no doubt about it as a fact.' Normally Cyricbyrig should appear to-day as Chirbury, and the place so named has in consequence long passed as the site of Ethelfleda's *burh* of 915.

[2] *Cart. Sax.* no. 1129. There is no weight in the comment (*Place-Names of Worcestershire*, p. 107) that ' from the remote situation of this place it is exceedingly unlikely that there was ever a church here.' In Ragdon, a township of Hope Bowdler, Salop, is a grass field known as Church Field. An obvious barrow in the field explains the name : the barrow was once the ' church ' (i.e. burial-ground) of the township. Probably a large number of such field-names admit of similar explanations.

[3] So Sir John Rhys in his edition of Pennant's *Tours in Wales* (1883), i. 345. He compares *perc*, the South Welsh form of the English *perch* (= a rod or pole). In Lincs, the peasantry still say that the chickens are ' upo' th' perk ' (perch). Prof. Lloyd and Canon McClure refer the name of Chirk to that of its river the Ceiriog (earlier Ceirioc).

[4] The Yorks. Kirkham is Chercham in *D.B.*

[5] Chirchehamme in 1297. It does not figure in *D.B.* but there was a ' church ' of some sort there in 1100 (*V.C.H. Gloucestershire*, citing *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouces.* Rolls series, i, 250, ii, 40).

[6] In (Camden's) seventeenth-century English Kirton appears also as the phonetic equivalent of Crediton in Devon.

[7] Above, ch. xv.

[8] See *Place-Names of Worcestershire* (1927), pp. 106-109, where is collated the documentary evidence for the existence of two similar but entirely different O.E. words (*a*) *cryc*, a strong masculine with genitive in *-es*, and (*b*) *ciric*, a weak feminine with genitive *ciricean*.

earlier spellings (*D.B.* Circesdune, later Churchesdon) sufficiently declare ; but whether the original reference in this case was to *cryc*,[1] or rather to the once popular saint Cyric, remains doubtful. The latter at any rate gave his name to Churchstow in Devon.[2] A medieval *Chircelford* in Dorset[3] would nowadays be written Crichelford, with reference to the *cryc-hyll* which gave name also to Long Crichel and More Crichel[4] ; but Churchinford (or Churchingford) in Devon probably represents *ciricean-ford*, the ' ford where was a *ciric.*' Churchinford is to-day a hamlet of Church Stanton, but as it anciently had fairs on 25th January (Conversion of St. Paul) and on 6th March (SS. Sithney and Kyneburga) it is to be inferred that it had also a *ciric*. Church Stanton itself (anciently Cheriston-tone and Churistanton) has no connexion with *ciric*, nor have Churston Ferrers, Cheriton[5] and Chirdon.[6] Churchley in the parish of Abson and Wick (Glouces.) may have taken its name from the spot where stood ' an ancient chapel of St. Bartholomew, now entirely ruined.'[7] but the spelling Chercheslege (1228) suggests that it is parallel with Kirkley in Northumberland,[8] and goes back rather to *cryc* then to *ciric*.

Kirk-names are far fewer now than once they were. Sometimes the entire village has disappeared, as with Kirkby (*D.B.* Chercheberie, Kirkeby) near Deene in Northants, whereof now remains only the house called Kirby Hall.[9] Naturally there was a tendency to drop the *kirk* or *church*, as this came in course of time to be less distinctive : Kendal for example represents Kirkby-in-Kentdale.[10] This tendency was already active in the eleventh century : thus *Domesday* has Langetone for the present Church Langton (Leices.), Sandale for Kirk Sandall

[1] The church appears to stand upon a barrow, possibly the *dun* (cf. Maldon) to which the second syllable refers.

[2] Above, p. 282. ' Cyric's stow ' is quite consistent with other *stow*-names, whereas *ciric-stow* would be a meaningless tautology. Church Stow. the modern name for Stowe-Nine-Churches (p. 279, *n.* 1) is no parallel. St. Cyric, the familiar St. Cyr of France, is disguised under at least twelve other forms in that country, including St. Cirq and St. Cricq. The present dedication of Churchdown is to St. Bartholomew.

[3] *Cart. Sax.* no. 708.

[4] So C. A. Sayler in *Place-Names of Worcestershire*, p. 107.

[5] According to Johnston (*Place-Names*) Churston and Cheriton are doublets meaning ' Cire's Town.'

[6] ' Ciorra's town,' says Prof. Allen Mawer (*Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*).

[7] Rudder's *Gloucestershire* (1779), p. 212.

[8] Above, ch. xv.

[9] cf. Lillychurch, above, p. 297.

[10] Similarly Kirkby Lonsdale is Kirkby in Lunedale.

(Yorks.), Sigheston for Kirkby Sigston (Yorks.).   Many such names are wholly lost : the *Domesday* name of Ulwineschercha (Essex) and Wlfrechirche of the *Taxatio* (Devon) can no longer be identified. Of Lestanescherche (1428) in Herts. there remains only the name of the donor (Leofstan) in the form Leyston.   The present-day Newtown-Arlosh, Cumb., represents a place which as late as 1305 was Kirkeby Johan.[1]   In other cases the patronal saint has usurped the field, as with St. Lawrence in Essex, representing the *Domesday* manors of East and West Newlands.   On the other hand the ancient chapelry of Pontesbright (Essex) is now the parish of Chapel.   The *Clergy List* shows four parishes of this name, all ancient dedications, besides five others where the name is qualified, as in Chapel-en-le-Frith and Chapel-en-le-Dale ; but all names derived from *capella* are relatively late.

In previous chapters it has been argued that the meeting-places of Celtic paganism were uniformly circular, and that the Celtic name for such meeting-places was *cruc*. *Cruc* is philologically the same word as the Latin *circus*. The *circus* was shown to have been the primitive Italian moot, and evidence was adduced to show that, during the Roman occupation, the *circus* largely superseded earlier forms of Celtic moots in Britain.   This being so, it is reasonably certain that the name *circus* would during the same period largely supplant the name *cruc*, and in fact it actually appears in Old Welsh in the form *cyrch* (ch. xi). At the beginning of the seventh century we find the word *ciric* in official use to denote a place where Christians met ; and it has been abundantly shown that such places of Christian meeting were in the first instance uniformly circular.   Moreover these, as was originally the case with the Celtic *cruc* and the Latin *circus* before them, were places of burial.   Like the *circus* again, the Christian *kirk* was the official scene, not of the communal ritual only, but of all and every communal happening.   Identical in plan, in origin, and in use, can there be any doubt that their names are also identical,—that *cruc*, *circus*, *cyrch*, and *kirk* are the same word ?

Did the use of the Latin word *circus* for a Christian

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[1] The parish church being still dedicated to St. John, one may infer that others of   the multitude of Kirkbys were similarly distinguished in earlier days.

place of meeting arise in the time of the Roman occupation,
i.e. before A.D. 410 ? It did not, for had this been so, there
must have appeared further traces of the word in this
sense in one or other of the surviving Celtic speeches.
This means that the use of the word to denote a Christian
place of meeting, an *ecclesia*, did not arise until after the
departure of the Romans and the dispersal of the Britons.
Obviously therefore it could not arise until the return of
Christianity to Saxon England, in the last years of the
sixth century. It was therefore the Saxon who first used
the word in this sense. For upwards of 1,000 years there-
after *ciric* (*church*) stood for the most important factor in
English life, and in consequence this word tended to thrust
itself in, in defiance of the older philologists and to their
sore confusion, as the names above discussed amply prove.

It may be objected that, if the *circi* were really such
ubiquitous and obvious facts in the time of the Anglo-
Saxon settlement, there ought to be a large number of
place-names which preserve the word. The answer is easy.
There is a certain number of such place-names—the
simpler compounds such as Churcham[1] and Kirkham,
Kirkton or Kirton, and Kirkstead—which may quite
possibly go back so far ; and if it be impossible to prove
that they are so old, it is equally impossible to show that
they are not. But further it is usually held that the Saxon
avoided the vicinity of others' settlements. In any case
where he came upon the scene the life went out of the
circus. It became a dead and useless thing, whereas *strata*
and *castra* and *vallum* still had life and use. The latter
therefore were much more likely to leave their memory in
place-names. They do, but to a very limited extent only.
The *Gazetteer* shows that there are in the whole of England
but one place named *Chester* without qualification, two
Walls only, and not more than four *Streets*. Even the
corresponding compound names are not many. There are
but seven *Chestertons* and three *Castertons* ; *Stratton*
occurs thirteen times, *Stretton* seventeen times ; and though
there are forty *Waltons*, only a small number of these are
referable to the word *vallum*.[2] Yet the formidable defences

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[1] In Gloucestershire, four miles W. of
Gloucester. A mile south of it is Minster-
worth.

[2] Many of them derive from *weald*,
Weabl, or *well*. It is remarkable that,
while there are so many Kir(k)bys, there is

of Roman *castra*, the methodical system of the Roman roads, the laboured immensity of such a work as the *Vallum Hadriani*, must to the Saxons have been novelties vastly more arresting than the multitudinous grassy hollows in the soil beside the gates of the Romano-British villages. Is it any wonder if he made little of these, seeing that the world had to wait for Sir Christopher Wren to recognise the marvel of Maumbury Rings, and seeing that England still boasts a multitide of smaller *circi* which have passed unrecognised until this hour ?

Commenting upon pope Gregory's advice to Mellitus in regard to the reconsecration of ' temples of the pagans ' to Christianity (ch. xxv), Fergusson argued that ' the fair inference . . . seems to be that there was so little difference between the temples of the pagans and the churches of the Christians that a little holy water and a few relics . . . were all that was required to convert the one into the other '[1] ; and again, ' it would appear that the temples of the pagans, between the departure of the Romans and the time of Alfred, were at least very similar to those of the Christians.'[2] Although the picture present to Fergusson's mind, alike of pagan temples and of Christian churches, was hopelessly wrong, the two generalisations above quoted seem exactly to summarise the truth.

The sum of the last three chapters is briefly as follows. Christianity came into Scotland, and from Scotland into England, in the outward form of the circular Scotic monastic enclosure. This, from its resemblance to the circular moots (*circi*) of the Romano-Britons—' amphitheatres ' or others—the Saxons termed *circ* or *ciric*. Spreading beyond the walls of the monasteries Christianity was visibly embodied in the circular burying-places of Christian converts, and to these was extended the same name. Latin influence introduced the term *mynstre* for the monastic settlement, and when this presently developed something in the form of a structural church in place of the earlier insignificant oratory, this too was

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not one example of -*by* compounded with *castra*, *strata*, *vicus*, or *vallum*. Clearly when the Dane came to settle, the *ciric* was now the living and forceful fact, the others (*castra*, *strata*, *vicus*, *vallum*) had ceased to be novelties. Both literally and

metaphorically the Dane had travelled a long way further than the Saxon of 400 years before.

[1] *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 22.

[2] ibid. p. 23.

known specifically as a *mynstre*. This term gradually usurped the sense of ' structural church ' generally, but more particularly a church of stone. In the non-monastic *ciric*, the burial-ground, had meantime sprung up the little wooden oratory known as a *bedehus*, which through long centuries of evolution came to be a building of stone ; and in due time the name of *ciric* was transferred to this building, precisely as that of *mynstre* had been transferred from the monastic enclosure to its principal feature. The graveyard which had for centuries been termed *ciric* was henceforward distinguished by a new series of names such as *ciric-tun*, kirk-garth and church-haye.