IV.-JARROW CHURCH AND MONASTERY.

By the Rev. H. E. SAVAGE, Hon. Canon of Durham and Vicar of St. Hilds, South Shields.

[Read on the 28th June, 1899.]

The history of Jarrow virtually begins with the arrival, in the autumn of 681 A.D., of Ceolfrid and his company of monks from Wearmouth. The Romans indeed may have had a subsidiary station there, on the knoll between the Tyne and the mouth of the Don, to support the termination of the great Wall on the opposite side of the river, and to link it with the camp on the Lawe; but if so, it is singular how few traces of their occupation have been found. The rev. J. Hodgson was the first to suggest that this was the site of a Roman fort He says :¹

At Jarrow, an oblong square of about three acres, with its corners rounded off, overlooking the estuary of Jarrow-slake, and fronting on the south the bank of the navigable stream called the Don, is, on good grounds, supposed to have been the site of a station or fortified town of the Romans. Under-ground foun lations of a wall of strong masonry mark out its area on every side, and include within them the site of the present church and church-yard, and some ragged remains of the ancient monastery of Jarrow. In digging up part of the remains of these walls in 1812, a silver denarius of Aulus Vitellius was found embedded in mortar in the heart of the wall: and when the road was formed past Jarrow-row, in 1803, two square pavements of Roman brick were discovered.

When Brand visited Jarrow in November and December, 1782, he made a careful and thorough search, as his notes show, for all discoverable remains; but he only found three fragments of Roman stones, which had been taken from the walls of the old nave, then recently pulled down; and he seems to have had no suspicion of a Roman station on the spot, for he adds: 'These stones may have been brought to Jarrow at the first building of the monastery, from the adjoining Roman station near South Shields.'²

These three broken stones, which are still the only Roman relics recorded from Jarrow, are (1) a figure of an archer and a stag,³ (2) part of an inscription, OMNIVM FIL . HADRIANI, etc.,⁴ and (3) part of a second inscription, DIFFVSIS PROVINCIS, etc. (see p. 32).

- ² History and Antiquities of . . . Newcastle-upon-Tyne, vol. ii. p. 63.
- ³ See Arch. Ael., vol. i. (N.S.) p. 248, xii. p. 6.
- ⁴ Ibid. vol. i. (N.S.) p. 248, xii. p. 2.

¹ Quoted by Bruce, The Roman Wall (1851), p. 323.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS.

This latter inscription, which may be taken as referring to the completion of the great Wall,⁵ seems naturally to belong to one or other of the two great terminal stations, at Wallsend or at the Lawe ; and it is not very probable that such a memorial would be set up at an intermediate situation like Jarrow. The cubical stones of which the chancel walls of the church are built are sometimes said to be of Roman workmanship; but they show no particular indication of this, and it is more than doubtful.

It has indeed been suggested more than once⁶ that some ships of the emperor Julian's corn-fleet, which he fitted out for carrying



supplies from Britain to the famine-stricken people in the Rhine provinces about the year 360, may perhaps have sailed from the harbour at the mouth of the Don (subsequently known as the 'Portus Ecgfridi regis'⁷); but this appears to be merely a conjecture.

The monastery at Jarrow owed its foundation to the energy of Benedict Biscop. He had already received, some years before, from king Egfrid a site at the mouth of the Wear, where he built his first stone church, with the assistance of Gallic masons, whom he obtained through the good offices of his friend abbat Torthelm. The king was so much gratified at the zeal manifested in the

⁵ See Arch. Ael., vol. viii. p. 243. ⁶ Ibid. vol. x. p. 225. ⁷ Sym. Dun. ii. 5.

development of the Wearmouth house, that he gave a further site at the mouth of the Don for a second establishment. The exact date of the foundation of this second monastery is involved in



some confusion Its story is recorded in two accounts. both written by contemporaries : one in an anonymous Life of Ceolfrid⁸ by one of his monks, and the other in Bede's History of the Abbats of Wearmouth and Jarrow. They both agree in stating that Wearmouth was begun in A.D.

674, 'indictione secunda,' and therefore before September 24.⁹ They both also say that after eight years Ceolfrid was appointed to start the new house at Jarrow, which would seem to point to the year

⁸ Harleian MS. 3020. Printed by Stevenson in his edition of Bede, *Opp. Minora*, pp. 318-334; and by Dr. Giles in the appendix to vol. vi. of his edition of Bede's works, pp. 416-432, under the somewhat misleading title of *Historia Abbatum Girvensium*. The sub-title corresponds more exactly to the subject of the tract, *Vita sanctissimi Ceolfridi abbatis*. In his list of 'Contents,' p. 355, Dr. Giles gives yet a third, and a curious, heading: *Vita Abbatum Wiremuthensium et Girvensium*. The trustworthiness of this account is strongly vindicated in an interesting way by the dedicatory verses on the back of the first leaf of the 'Codex Amiatinus' in the Laurentian library at Florence, which correspond with the lines recorded in this *Vita Ceolfridi* as having been inscribed in the 'Pandeet' which he took with him on his last journey to the continent, and which was carried on to Rome by some of his monks after his death at Langres. Four words have been erased and others substituted by a Lombard abbat, Peter, at the beginning of the tenth century, to designate the Codex as his gift to the 'Coenobium Salvatoris' at Monte Amiata (whence the present name of the Codex). For the identification of this Codex with Ceolfrid's pandeet by M. Rossi and others, which is described by M. Delisle as 'une découverte paléographique de premier ordre,' see Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 37-8, and the *Church Quarterly Review*, for January, 1888, pp. 435-448.

⁹ 'Incipiunt autem Indictiones ab viii Calendas Octobris, ibidemque terminantur.' Bede, *De temporum ratione*, 48; ed. Giles, vol. vi. p. 244.

DATE OF FOUNDATION.

But from other allusions it seems clear that he actually 682. began his work there in 681, and that the inauguration of the community (but not of the formal building) at Wearmouth had For (1) in his notice of Ceolfrid's death in 716. been in 673. Bede says he had been abbat for thirty-five years (viz. from 681), or rather forty-three years since his association with Benedict in his first foundation (which is therefore carried back to 673). (2) Moreover the Life of Ceolfrid dates his abbacy over both houses, 'tertio anno regis Alfridi, indictione prima, quarto iduum Maiarum die, qui, erat annus octavus ex quo monasterium beati Pauli fundaverat.' Aldfrid succeeded Egfrid in 685, so that his third year brings the date to 688; and 'the first indiction' was 688, not 689.10 Sigfrid died in the same summer, and Benedict in the following January, which is defined by both authorities as being in the sixteenth year from the first foundation of his monastery, which again carries back the date to 673. (3) This also agrees with the dates given in the dedication inscription at Jarrow, viz. the fourth year of Ceolfrid and the fifteenth of Egfrid. For Egfrid came to the throne after the death of Oswy in 670, so that his fifteenth year points to 685;¹¹ and the Life of Ceolfrid states that the church at Jarrow was begun in the third year from the foundation of the monastery, and was completed and dedicated in the second year from its beginning.

In 681 A.D., therefore, Ceolfrid was appointed by Benedict Biscop to take charge of the new establishment; and arriving in the autumn

¹⁰ 'Hoc autem argumento quota sit anno quocunque computare volueris Indictio reperies: sume annos ab incarnatione Domini quotquot fuerint in praesenti: verbi gratia, DCCXXV, adde semper tria, quia quarta Indictione secundum Dionysium natus est Dominus, fiunt DCCXXVIII: haec partire per XV . . remanent octo: octava est Indictio. Si vero nihil remanserit, decima quinta est.' *Ibid.* 49.

¹¹ Oswy died 15th February, 670 (A.S.Chron. s.a.; Bede, *H.E.* iv. 5.), and was succeeded by his son Egfrid. If, therefore, Egfrid's regnal years were calculated with strict accuracy, 23 April, 685, would fall in his sixteenth year. But the regnal years were computed roughly according to the dated years of the Christian era, and not according to the exact date of accession. There is an exactly analogous case, e.g., in the *Relatio de Sancto Cuthberto*, 6, 6 Ordinatus est autem Eboraci a Theodoro Dorobernensi archiepiscopo, septimo Kalendas Aprilis, ipso die Paschae, convenientibus ad consectationem eius vii^{tem} episcopis, praesente rege Egfrido, quintodecimo anno regni ipsius, sexcentesimo octogesimo quinto incarnationis Dominicae.² (Sym. Dun. vol. i. ed. Surtees Soc. p. 225). This is not a contemporary authority; but it is in agreement with Bede's computation in his notice of the death of Egfrid : 'Anno post hunc (viz. 685) . . . exstinctus anno aetatis suae quadragesimo, regni autem quinto decimo, die tertiadecima Kalendarum Juniarum.' *H.E.* iv. 26.

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with a band of twenty-two brethren, ten priests and twelve laymen, he hastily put up the necessary buildings for their shelter, and at once devoted himself to training them in the monastic discipline. Three years later he commenced the church, the king himself marking out the site for the altar, and it was ready for dedication on April 23 in the following year. The original inscription recording the dedication is still preserved. It has often been transcribed, but almost as often



inaccurately. The true reading will be seen at once in the accompanying block from a photograph of the original.

It is noticeable that this inscription is incised on two separate stones of equal dimensions.¹² They are now built into the west wall of the tower, facing the nave, above the arch, one immediately on the top of the other; but this is not likely to have been their relative position originally: for if it had been, it is difficult to account for the use of two stones where a single one would have been at once more

¹² These are shown very distinctly in the accompanying illustration, which is reproduced from a copy of a photograph taken in 1866, when the stones were taken down during the repair of the tower. The letters have obviously been darkened in : but even so, it is a great advantage to have a photographic copy of the original stones. There is a plaster cast in the vestry in one piece, which has misled some writers into supposing that a line had been erased between lines 3 and 4.

natural and more convenient. In all probability the two were placed on either side of some intervening memorial stone; just as Orm's (eleventh century) inscription at Kirkdale is cut on two equal panels on either side of Haward's sun-dial.¹³ But if so, what was the central stone? It is at least possible that it was the head of the cross, the shaft of which is preserved in the porch with an inscription running

on both sides beneath the arms. The letters of this inscription are of the same size and of the same character as those of the dedication inscription. The arms of the cross are cut on the edge of the slab which bears the Roman inscription OMNIVM. FIL, etc. (p. 31), as Mr. J. R. Boyle pointed out.¹⁴ Both these stones were taken out of the walls of the old nave in 1782, but the head of the cross has not been recovered. The legend of the Christian inscription is :--

INHO	CSIN
GVLA	R
NOVI	TARED
DITVR	MVNDO.15



¹³ Bishop G. F. Browne's Conversion of the Heptarchy, p. 195. ¹⁴ Arch. Ael., vol. x. p. 210.

¹⁵ Mr. Boyle (*l.c.* and *Guide to Durham*, p. 588) omits the D at the end of the third line, giving an impossible REDITVR. But the letter is plainly traceable on the stone. In this he followed Brand, whose account of his examination of the stone is worth recording: 'On a stone built up at present with the letters inwards at the bottom of the east jamb of that south window which is next to the west door of the lately erected body of Jarrow church, copied December 10th, 1782, when at my most earnest request the master builder was prevailed upon to open it out from within, I read, etc.,' vol. ii. p. 64.

At the end of the second line a socket hole has been cut in the stone when it was basely used as building material. It is a debated question whether the missing letters are IAN or ISIG, giving anno or signo.¹⁶ If this inscription was associated with the dedication stones, signo would obviously be the more appropriate word.¹⁷

There can be little doubt that the present chancel represents the church thus built by Ceolfrid in the seventh century. A glance at the exterior of the north and south walls shows that they were built before, and independently of, the tower; for they are not bonded into it, but are finished off at their western ends with angle quoins exactly similar to those at the eastern corners. Moreover during the alterations in 1866 the base of a wall was found running across the western end of the chancel immediately contiguous to the tower; and at the west end of the north wall, on the interior, the mutilated ends of the bonding stones of this west wall are clearly traceable. In the middle of the north side there is an original doorway, measuring two feet three inches between the jambs, which has been filled up at an early date, perhaps when the lower stage of the tower was built, and the entrance made at the west end. On the south side one jamb of a similar doorway still remains, but farther to the west than the north door. On the inner side of the east wall there is a distinctly visible break in the masonry on each side, at the distance of two feet seven inches from the north and south walls respectively. A corresponding break appears also on the outside. This would seem to indicate an original rectangular presbytery, as at Escomb. The opening into it was ten feet eleven inches (unless, indeed, it was reduced by sculptured stones on the faces of the jambs); but the depth cannot now be ascertained, owing to the modern construction of a large vault outside the eastern gable. The presbytery was, however, probably square, or nearly so. At Escomb the presbytery measures ten feet by ten feet. The general plan of the church at Escomb and that of the (present) chancel, which was the original church, at Jarrow, bear a curious similarity to each other. Each of them originally had doorways on the north (in the centre) and on the south (more to the west). Each

¹⁶ Arch. Ael. vol. xi. pp. 27-8, 32.

¹⁷ Compare William of Malmesbury's statement in his account of Aldhelm: 'Tunc moris erat, ut in novarum Ecclesiarum dedicatione, ad honorem Sponsi coelestis, et Ecclesiae matris, aliquod honorificum Epigramma poneretur.' In Gale's Scriptores av. vol. i. p. 340.

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ORIGINAL WINDOWS.

had small windows of the same type, except that at Escomb there are no imposts between the jambs and the heads.¹⁸ The respective internal measurements are : Escomb, forty-three feet six inches by fourteen feet six inches ; Jarrow, about forty feet by fifteen feet ten inches.¹⁹

Three of the very small original windows are left, high up in the south wall. They are splayed internally, but not on the outside. The jambs have single upright stones on either side, and plain horizontal stones for imposts. The heads are cut out of single stones. In two of the three windows stone slabs have been inserted in the openings, and through these smaller lights are cut; of which one is circular with a diameter of seven inches, while the other is eleven inches high and eight inches across. The introduction of these slabs in windows already so small and so high up cannot have been intended for purposes of defence, as has been suggested,²⁰ but was probably due to the great difficulty and expense of procuring glass. For although Benedict Biscop brought over glassmakers from the continent to Wearmouth, in the next century Cuthbert, the abbat of Jarrow, and Bede's disciple, to whom we owe the account of his master's death, writes to Lul, archbishop of Mainz, asking him to engage and send over to him a glassmaker, 'quia eiusdem artis ignari et inopes sumus.²¹ This may indicate the time, as well as the reason, of the insertion of these slabs. In his report on the church in May 1852.22 Sir (then Mr.) G. Gilbert Scott actually proposed to remove the slabs: 'I think that the little Romanesque windows which remain should be opened out and glazed:' but happily this treatment was averted when he had the church in hand fourteen years later. An almost exactly similar window to these at Jarrow occurs in the south side of the tower at St. Andrew's Bywell.

To the west of the westernmost of these three windows, and higher up in the wall, there are the remains of the eastern jamb and part of

¹⁸ This refers to the windows on the south side only. Those in the north wall at Escomb have square heads, with the jamb-stones mortised into the headstones; a survival of the older wooden construction. The original north windows at Jarrow have all been replaced by later work.

¹⁹ The exact measurements are : length (including space originally occupied by west wall) 41 feet 11 inches; breadth, 15 feet 8 inches at west end, 16 feet 1 inch at east end.

²⁰ Sir G. G. Scott, Lectures on the Rise and Development of Mediaeval Architecture, vol. ii. p. 47.

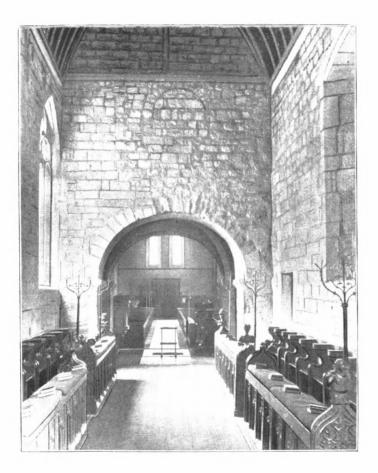
²¹ See Arch. Ael. vol. xxi. p. 266. ²² Printed in the preface to Jarrow Account Rolls (29 Surtees Soc.), pp. xxviii-xxx, n.

the head of a somewhat similar window. The head, however, was more lofty and apparently wider than the other three, and the whole opening therefore must have been considerably larger than in the other cases. This window in such a position, so high up in the wall (if this be its original position), might seem to lend some countenance to the theory which is maintained by some experts, that 'high side windows' (and, in some cases at least, even the very much' later 'low side windows') were for the purpose of burning lights to scare away evil spirits from the churchyard, like the *lanternes des morts* of French cemeteries. But if this was the object of this opening at Jarrow, the monastic buildings cannot have been on the south side of the church.

At the east end of the south wall there is a round-headed aumbry of uncertain date. The head is cut out of a single stone, with carelessly bevilled edges, and of a much rougher character than the window heads. The diameter is seventeen inches.

The tower is the great problem of the church. That it was added to the west of the already completed church has been already shown. But when was it added? The upper stages clearly belong to a comparatively late period, perhaps as late as the eleventh century; and at first sight there appear to be some reasons for assigning the lower part to the same date. Thus, for instance, the imposts of the great supporting piers of the two arches, with their hollow chamfers, exactly correspond to the similar, but smaller, imposts in the stage above, which evidently belong to a later work. But the occurrence of exactly similar imposts on the piers of the presbytery arch at Escomb, in a church of the same type as the earliest work at Jarrow, makes any argument as to exact date founded on this one feature extremely precarious. On closer examination these imposts are found to be part of a reconstruction, or rather reparation, of earlier work. For in the eastern arch the distinction between the new and the old is clearly seen from the chancel. The greater part of it has been renewed with dressed youssoirs of wider proportions than in the original work, some of which has been retained on the north side. This is built of long narrow stones, which are left rough and unfinished at the apex, as though they were intended to be covered with an inner facing of some kind, such as the strong cement lining which is found in Wilfrid's

Plate III.



S. PAUL'S CHURCH, JARROW, LOOKING WEST.

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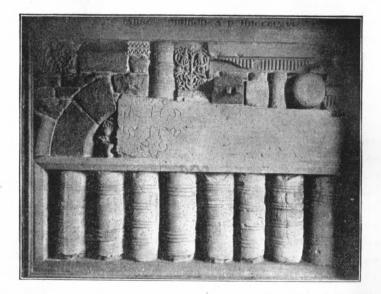
THE TOWER.

'confessio' at Hexham. Mr. Petree points out that in the chamber immediately above these arches the walls inside show joints all down the four corners, while on the outer faces the masonry has no such break, but is continuous. This indicates that an inner casing was inserted to strengthen the lower walls when the upper part of the tower was added; they could not be stiffened outside because of the buildings between which the stage below was wedged in, and that these inner walls were put in when the later work was undertaken is clear from the fact that in them are arched openings of that date. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that the two lower stages of the tower are considerably earlier than the upper ones; and they may well be even of the seventh or the eighth century. The lines of slightly projecting stones which are clearly traceable immediately above the second stage on the exterior faces, both north and south, seem to mark the tabling of the original building, before the upper stages were added.

A very close parallel to this tower is found in the tower at Monkwearmouth, in several particulars. In each the original entrances were by north and south doorways; in each there is a larger opening on the east into the church, and another on the west giving access to some other building, the foundation courses of which may still be traced at Monkwearmouth; each has been added to a pre-existing church.²³. but added so early that it may still be regarded as practically an original feature,—that is, as belonging to the occupation of the first community in the seventh or the eighth century, before the Danish irruptions; in each the building has been carried up to contain a single chamber above the porch, with a window opening into the church; each has been extended upwards into a complete tower at a considerably later date, perhaps as late as the eleventh century; in each the supporting arches rest on broad piers of masonry. At Monkwearmouth these piers in the western arch are ornamented in a curious way. The jambs are faced with sculptured slabs, on which are carved curious intertwined snakelike creatures with bird beaks interlocked ; resting on these, and supporting in turn other roughly squared stones. which serve as imposts, there are two baluster shafts on either side.

 23 At Monkwear mouth, however, the west wall of the church has been utilised as the east wall of the ' porticus.'

set back in a recess in the pier, so that they have a constructional function.²⁴ Their outer edge is in line with the front surface of the stones above and below. There is of course no question that this treatment of the jambs is early Saxon work, and that it carries with it the early date of the lower stages of the tower. Now at Jarrow the broad faces of the piers would exactly lend themselves to such treatment. There are preserved in the porch sixteen whole, and parts of four other, baluster shafts, which were recovered in 1866 from the walls of the nave erected in 1782. It is possible that these were used



BALUSTER SHAFTS, ETC., IN WEST SIDE OF NORTH PORCH, JARROW CHURCH.

in a similar manner to those in the jambs at Monkwearmouth. Their larger size, twenty-seven and a half inches by eleven inches diameter, as compared with twenty-two inches by ten inches diameter at Monkwearmouth, would correspond proportionately with the larger piers at Jarrow, which measure six feet seven inches in height by three feet across as compared with five feet six inches by two feet seven inches in the sister church. If these were so used at Jarrow, they were

²⁴ These jambs have at last been protected from the weather, quite recently, through the care of the present vicar, the rev. D. S. Boutflower, by the erection of a glazed wooden porch.

BALUSTER SHAFTS.

removed when the piers were rebuilt with dressed masonry, for the present pier-faces come right forward to the under edge of the imposts. These balaster shafts have been turned in a lathe. They mark the period of transition from the use of wood to that of stone in building; possibly also the adoption in the new material of patterns and arrangements which were in vogue in the days of wooden churches. At Monkwearmouth there are also similar but slightly smaller balastershafts on either side of the foot-splay in the two west windows, beneath the through jamb-stones. They are only twenty inches in height. There is one similar shaft at Jarrow, which is eighteen inches in height, by eight inches diameter; but no smaller ones have been found like those now collected together in the vestry at Monkwearmouth, which measure only eleven and a half inches by six inches diameter.

The shape of the tower, which is more than twenty feet from north to south, but only thirteen feet from east to west, would seem to point to its having been pushed in between two already existing buildings. And this may account for the fact that it is not rectangular; the arches below and the walls in the chamber above are six inches further apart on the north side than on the south. To some extent the exigencies of this position may also account for the unusually wide arches opening east and west. But it should be borne in mind that these would not appear disproportionate when compared with the presbytery arch, for they are practically equal in measurement. The eastern opening of the tower is ten feet ten inches, the opening into the presbytery was ten feet eleven inches.

But what was the westward building to which this central 'porticus' gave access? It has been suggested,²⁵ in the case of Monkwearmouth, that it was a baptistery. Such baptisteries were certainly not uncommon in Italy before the seventh century, and so must have been familiar to both Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid.²⁶ With regard to Jarrow, however, Mr. Boyle, since he wrote his account of the church

²⁶ A separate baptistery was added at the east end of Christ Church. Canterbury (which perhaps at this time had the altar at the west end, see *Proc.* vol. viii. p. 23), by archbishop Cuthbert in 750 A.D. See Edmer, *Vita S. Bregwini* (*Angl. Sacr.* vol. ii. p. 86). It also served as a burying place for the archbishops. See Gervase (in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1641): 'construxit eciam basilicam prope Ecclesiam Christi quam in honorem sancti Iohannis Baptistae consecravit, ubi ipse et omnes successores sui honorifice sepelirentur.'

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²⁵ By bishop G. F. Browne, Notes on Monkmearmouth Church (1886), p. 7; and by Mr. Micklethwaite, in the Archaeological Journal for December, 1896.

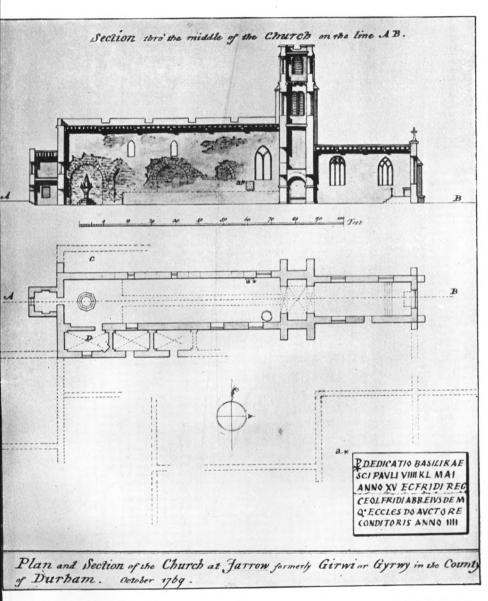
for Archaeologia Aeliana in 1884, has advanced an ingenious theory,²⁷ that the old nave taken down in 1782, which is shewn in the accompanying plan and elevation of 1769, was Ceolfrid's (or, as he expresses it, 'Biscop's') work; and that there were thus two churches of the same date and on the same axis standing scarcely thirty feet apart; and further that they were 'united unquestionably . . . when the lower stages of the tower were built;' at which time also he supposes the walls of the western church were extended so as to come up to the tower. But it is impossible to accept the whole of this suggestion as it stands, for it would make the insertion of the lower half of the tower not only unnecessary but quite meaningless. Moreover it is difficult to imagine that the earlier portion; of the tower was built for any other purpose than the closely similiar 'porticus' at Monkwearmouth. Whatever the one was designed for, the other must have been also. If, therefore, Monkwearmouth had a western baptistery, Jarrow may be assumed to have originally had the same. Mr. Boyle finds evidence of the extension eastwards of the walls of the western church as far as the tower in the view given by the brothers Buck; but if their somewhat erratic drawing may be taken at all as a guide in such a matter, it seems to indicate by the small window at the extreme east of the nave, that there was a small building of the same early date immediately contiguous to the western side of the tower; and that when the building to the west was joined on by new walling to the eastern church it was attached to this annexe and not directly to the tower.

But again, what was this further building to the west? and to what period does it belong? The first glance at the arcade in the north wall, as shown in the elevation, at once of course suggests a comparison with the well-known arcade at Brixworth, and therefore an early date; but, on the other hand, the voussoirs of the arches, if rightly drawn, seem to point to a much later time of building, coincident with the secondary work in the tower arches. The drawing, however, cannot be trusted for such close accuracy in detail; as, for example, is proved by the position assigned in the ground plan to the south-west window of the chancel, which in fact comes quite close up to the tower. And there are other considerations which make strongly

27 Guide to Durham, pp. 583-4.

Arch. Ael. vol. xxii. To face p. 42.

Plate IV.



British Museum, MS. Plan, K. 12 (47) b.

Photo. L. B. Fleming.

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TWO CHURCHES FOR ONE MONASTERY.

for the earlier date. The small windows high up in the wall, as seen in the Bucks' drawing, both by their size and by their position indicate eighth rather than eleventh century work. Moreover it is not difficult to assign a reason for this second church under Ceolfrid's abbacy. It is stated in the Life of Ceolfrid that when he started on his last journey towards Rome he left in the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow 'a band of soldiers of Christ more than six hundred in number.' At Wearmouth there were at least two churches to serve so . large a community, for on the morning of his departure mass was sung in the church of St. Mary as well as in the church of St. Peter; and at Jarrow too the numbers would require additional church accommodation : just as Aldhelm at Malmesbury, when his house grew, added church after church within the walls of the monastery.²⁸

Mr. Boyle suggests that the arcades were inserted, and the corresponding side chapels added, at some period after this church was built : but there is nothing to justify this distinction of the arches from the walls in which they are set; especially as he assigns his assumed alteration in any case to the time of Ceolfrid. He thinks that Bede's statement regarding Ceolfrid, 'plura fecit oratoria,' may refer to the side chapels of this church. But 'oratoria' were apparently not attached to a church. Indeed, the only one of Ceolfrid's time which can be definitely located, at Monkwearmouth, was not. For the Life of Ceolfrid speaks of 'oratorium beati Laurentii martyris, quod est in dormitorio fratrum.'²⁹ The term may include also such district chapels as that at Heworth, on the site of which Egfrid's stycas were found in 1814; just as Bede speaks of the 'villulae oratorium' at 'Incuneningum.'³⁰

²⁹ 'Caput Monasterii, ut dixi, in sancti Petri ecclesia erat; veruntamen, ut est animus nobilis industriae operandi ferias ponere nescius, alteram in ambitu eiusdem Coenobii Ecclesiam in honorem Genetricis Dei Mariae facere intendit. Fecit ergo Ecclesiam, eidemque alteram contiguam in honorem Sancti Michaelis, cuius nos vestigia vidimus. Will. Malmesb. De Pontificibus, v. (Gale, vol. i. p. 349). There were also four churches at Glastonbury, of which the fourth was built by Ina c. 720 A.D. Will. Malmesb. De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. (Gale, vol. i. p. 310). And Alcuin's description of York under archbishop Egbert (De Pontificibus et Sanctis Eccl. Ebor. 1488-1520) seems to imply two separate churches there.

²⁹ Comp. Bede, *H.E.* iv. 3. 'Cum . . . digressis ad ecclesiam sociis . . episcopus solus in oratorio loci lectioni vel orationi operam daret': and iv. 14, 'celebrent ergo missas per cuncta monasterii oratoria huius . . . et cunctis convenientibus ad ecclesiam fratribus communicent, etc.'

³⁰ H.E. v. 12.

The sequence of the several buildings, then, would seem to have been (1) the eastern church (= the present chancel), with presbytery at the east, and possibly a small baptistery or chamber at the west, corresponding to that of which distinct traces remain at Escomb;³¹ (2) the western church with aisles, built when the monastery largely increased in numbers; (3) the western 'porticus' of the earlier church, with chamber above, replacing the original small baptistery and opening into a new baptistery on the west, as at Monkwearmouth, the ground plan being crowded in by the already standing western church; (4) at a later date (as to which see below, p. 53) the western church and the baptistery were thrown into one nave. If this were the true sequence it seems probable that the dedicatory inscription would be first placed in the western chamber of the original church; then when that was replaced by a 'porticus' and a baptistery, it would be preserved in an analogous position in the latter. This would account for its location in the north-east corner of the modified nave, as shown in the plan of 1769. It was built in to the west face of the tower in 1782,³² and was replaced there again, after removal, in 1866.

As soon as Ceolfrid's (first) church was finished, Benedict Biscop set off for his fifth journey to Rome. On his return he brought with him a double set of pictures for the walls of the church, representing Old Testament types and New Testament antitypes, such as Isaac bearing the wood for the sacrifice, and our Saviour bearing the Cross; and the Brazen Serpent and the Crucifixion.

Wearmouth had already obtained through Biscop a letter of privilege from pope Agatho, but this apparently did not cover the sister foundation at Jarrow. Ceolfrid accordingly sent a deputation of his monks to Rome, and secured a similar protection for Jarrow from pope Sergius, which was produced in synod and confirmed by the signatures of the bishops present and of king Aldfrid.³³

³¹ To this chamber at Escomb the curious oblong font, which may be contemporary, exactly corresponds proportionately.

³² Brand, vol. ii. p. 50 n.

³³ So Agatho's earlier letter of privilege was, 'cum licentia, consensu, desiderio, et hortatu Egfridi regis accepta,' and confirmed by the bishops in synod. Bede, *Hist. Abb.* §§ 5, 12. Without such sanction a papal direction, whatever its prestige, was nugatory. Compare Egfrid's treatment of Agatho's letter on behalf of Wilfrid, and Aldfrid's answer to pope John's letter. Eddi, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, §§ 33, 56 (Gale, vol. i. pp. 69, 84).

BEDE'S EPITAPH.

It was to this monastery that Bede was attached from his childhood until his death. The story told in the Life of Ceolfrid of the boy who with abbat Ceolfrid alone sang the services during the time of the plague is commonly taken as referring to him; here certainly he passed all his life, worshipping, studying, teaching, writing; and here he died. A 'porticus' was consecrated to his memory on the north side of the church,³⁴ and the epitaph was put up which afterwards so excited the ire and the contempt of William of Malmesbury:

> Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne sepultus. Dona Christe animam in coelis gaudere per aevum, Daque illi sophiae debriari fonte, cui iam Suspiravit ovans, intento semper amore.³³

The story of the great manuscripts which are associated with Ceolfrid's abbacy, and which bear striking witness to the resources and the ability which the Jarrow scriptorium commanded, is too full of detail to be treated of here, especially in the light of recent investigations. They deserve a separate paper to themselves.



On Ceolfrid's death Huetbercht was unanimously elected abbat of the two houses, and was invested, 'with the customary benediction,' by bishop Acca. He was succeeded by Cuthbert, who wrote the

34 Sym. Dun. Hist. Eccl. Dun. i. 14.

³⁵ 'Magnum ignaviae testimonium dabunt versus epitaphii, pudendi prorsus et tanti viri mausoleo indigni . . . poteritne ulla excusatione hic pudor extenuari, ut nec in eo monasterio, ubi illo vivente totius litteraturae exultabat gymnasium, potnerit inveniri homo qui memoriam eius formaret nisi exili et miserabili stilo?' Gesta Regum Angl. i. 62, 63. The verses seem to be based on Bede's own words, with which he closes his History (v. 24): 'Teque deprecor, bone Jesu, ut cui propitius donasti verba tuae scientiae dulciter haurire, dones etiam benignus aliquando ad te fontem omnis aspientiae pervenire et parere semper ante faciem tuam.' The phrase 'sophiae debriari fonte' too recalls Bede's expression about the intercourse of Cuthbert and Herbert, 'qui dum sese alterutrum coelestis sapientiae poculis debriarent,' *Vita S. Cuthberti*, 28 ; (which is repeated in *H.E.* iv. 29, with the substitution of 'vitae' for 'sapientiae'). account of Bede's death. And later in the eighth century the names of Ethelbald and Friduin occur as abbats of the two houses.³⁶

There are a few broken remnants of sculptured stonework of this earliest period: (1) an arm of a memorial cross (in the museum at Newcastle), with an inscription which seems



⁽³⁾ ³⁶ See Arch. Ael. vol. xxi. p. 261.

to commemorate the names of several of the brethren who were carried off by some common fate;³⁷ (2) a fragment of a cross (in the chapter library at Durham) with vine leaves and grape bunches ;38 and (now within glass-doored cases) in the north porch at Jarrow, (3) part of a cross shaft, with two interlacing patterns; (4) two stones, possibly arms of a cross, excellently carved with intertwined branches, and figures; (5) parts of a string-course on which are represented continuous rows of miniature balustershafts;³⁹ (6) a stunted cross head with square bosses at

 37 Arch. Acl. vol. xi. pp. 28-30. The stone was found 10th December, 1782; Brand, vol. ii. p. 64. When Surtees wrote his History it was 'preserved at the rectory of Ryton.' Vol. ii. p. 68.

³⁸ See the recently published Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham, p. 70.

³⁹ Parts of a somewhat similar string-course have been found at Hexham. But there the represented baluster shafts are not in continuous rows, but are relieved by inserted groups of horizontal or diagonal layers of stones. *Ibid.* p. 61.

SCULPTURED STONES.

the centre and at the four extremities, of somewhat similar character to the arms of the cross on the edge of the OMNIVM FIL, etc., stone, but





(4)

without inscription, enclosed within a semicircular head (in the Black Gate museum, Newcastle); (7) a long stone with scroll work enclos-

ing vine leaves and bunches of grapes (also in the Black Gate museum).

Does the traditional 'Bede's chair' (see p. 50), now in the chancel, also date from this period? The two sides, which with the seat and (probably) the cross bar at the top, are the only ancient parts, are made of very old hard oak, and have the appearance of having been partially burnt; and



the charred edges have afterwards been worn down to a comparatively smooth surface. They, at least, do not show signs of having been chipped for relics. It will be remembered that the old church was at least once fired, in 1069 (see below, p. 50); and such a mere wreck of a chair is scarcely likely to have been preserved, as it has been, with



(7)

40 Vol. ii. p. 477.

assiduous care unless some special association had marked it out for peculiar interest. At all events it is very old, and its traditional name is not a new invention; but beyond this nothing can be said with certainty. Hutchinson thus describes it as he saw it in 1782 :—

What was shown as the greatest curiosity, and is carefully kept in the vestry-room, is a great two-armed chair, said to have been the common seat of Bede, and which has remained there since his time: It is of oak, and appears as rude as if hewn out with an ax, except that at the top of the back the cross piece is mortised to the standards or upright parts, which also serve for legs; these with the seat and sides are very ancient, but the back, according to the information of the person who shewed it, is modern: It is now become very rough and uneven from the superstition of people, who, by carrying away a chip from it, presume they have obtained the saint's protection.⁴⁰

There is a curious earlier reference to this chair.⁴¹ In the excitement of the rebellion scare of 1745-6 a mob; chiefly composed of sailors, wrecked a 'Popish mass-house' at Sunderland. Among the priest's papers was found a list of adherents, at the foot of which was written, 'This piece of wood I cut off an old chair in Jarrow church, which was the chair St. Cuthbert sat in to hear confessions.— Nicholas Taylor.'⁴²

⁴¹ Newcastle Courant, Jan. 18-25, 1745-6. Reprinted in Richardson's Table Book, vol. i. p. 416, and in Sykes's Local Records, vol. i. p. 179. Mr. Tomlinson has kindly pointed out this reference.

⁴² The chair was sent up to London in 1898 for exhibition at the Society of Antiquaries. In describing it, 'Mr. Micklethwaite said that the Jarrow chair

DANISH INCURSIONS.

After Bede's death Jarrow still preserved something of its literary fame, and apparently attained also to some reputation for metal work, and especially for bell-founding.⁴³ But in 794, the year after they had sacked Lindisfarne, the Danes swept down upon 'Egfrid's harbour,' and pillaged the monastery. No doubt, however, it rallied from this blow as rapidly as Lindisfarne seems to have done.⁴⁴ In the ninth century it was again harried by the Danes. Not much reliance can be placed on the statements of Roger of Wendover, and of Matthew of Westminster, that it was destroyed by these corsairs in 870.⁴⁵ But in 875-6 (the year of the final abandonment of Lindisfarne) these relentless foes wintered on Tyneside; ⁴⁶ and for some years about that time, there can be no doubt, there was no stable peace for the harried monks.

But when Guthred became king, in or about 880,⁴⁷ a long period of security and increasing prosperity dawned for the church. In this Jarrow, of course, had its share; but it was now overshadowed by the new diocesan centre close at hand at Chester-le-Street, and subsequently at Durham. For a long time it passes out of notice altogether; but that it was still regularly occupied 140 years later is

had been cut down from some larger piece of furniture, but that only the seat board and the dexter standard can be said with confidence to have been part of the original, though some of the frame of the back may have been. The sinister end of the seat board shows that it has been sawn off from something larger, and it is fastened to the standard by iron spikes only. On the dexter side the seat has been properly tenoned into the standard . . . [The standard] and the seat board probably belonged to a settle which was cut down and rudely made into its present shape at some time which cannot be very recent. . . . The original settle may perhaps have been as old as the fourteenth century.' *Proc. Soc. Antig. Lond.* vol. xvii. p. 238. These remarks are very interesting, but they are not entirely convincing; for (1) the sinister standard appears to be, if anything, older than the dexter; (2) both standards are equally charred; and (3) the cross bar at the top is made for a seat of the present dimensions; but it may of course not have been part of the original seat.

⁴³ Arch. Ael. vol. xxi. p. 266. ⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 263.

⁴⁵ (a) 'In hac quoque persecutione diabolica destructa referuntur nobilissima monasteria in margine maris sita . . . Gyrwense monachorum et Weremuthense in quibus Beda presbyter legitur educatus.' Roger of Wendover [Lond. 1841], vol. i. p. 302, under the year 870. (b) 'Anno 870 . . . destructa referuntur nobilissima monasteria in margine maris sita . . Coenobium . . . Girwense . . monachorum et Wiremuthense in quibus Beda presbyter legitur educatus,' Matthew of Westminster [ed. Francofurti, 1601], p. 162.

⁴⁶ Sym. Dun. ii. 6. What was really involved in an attack on a monastery by the Danes, and the atrocities committed by them, may be seen in Ingulph's account of the sack of Croyland and Medeshamsted in 870. (*Rerum Ano*⁷ Script. Vet. vol. i. pp. 22-3.)

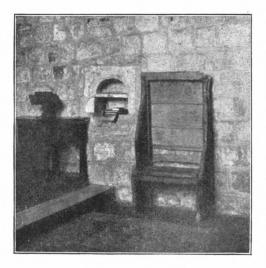
47 Arch. Ael. vol. xix. p. 57.

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shown by the story of the annual observance of St. Bede's festival, which attracted Elfrid Westowe, the relic-collector, year after year, until at last he succeeded in purloining the bones of the saint which he carried off to Durham.⁴⁸ This was about the year 1022, or soon after. In 1069 the monastery was still in occupation, and afforded shelter to bishop Egelwin on the first night of his flight to Lindisfarme with the body of St. Cuthbert.⁴⁹

But in the winter of the same year the church was burnt by the vengeful army of William of Normandy,⁵⁰ which had laid waste a



BEDE'S CHAIR' (see p. 47.)

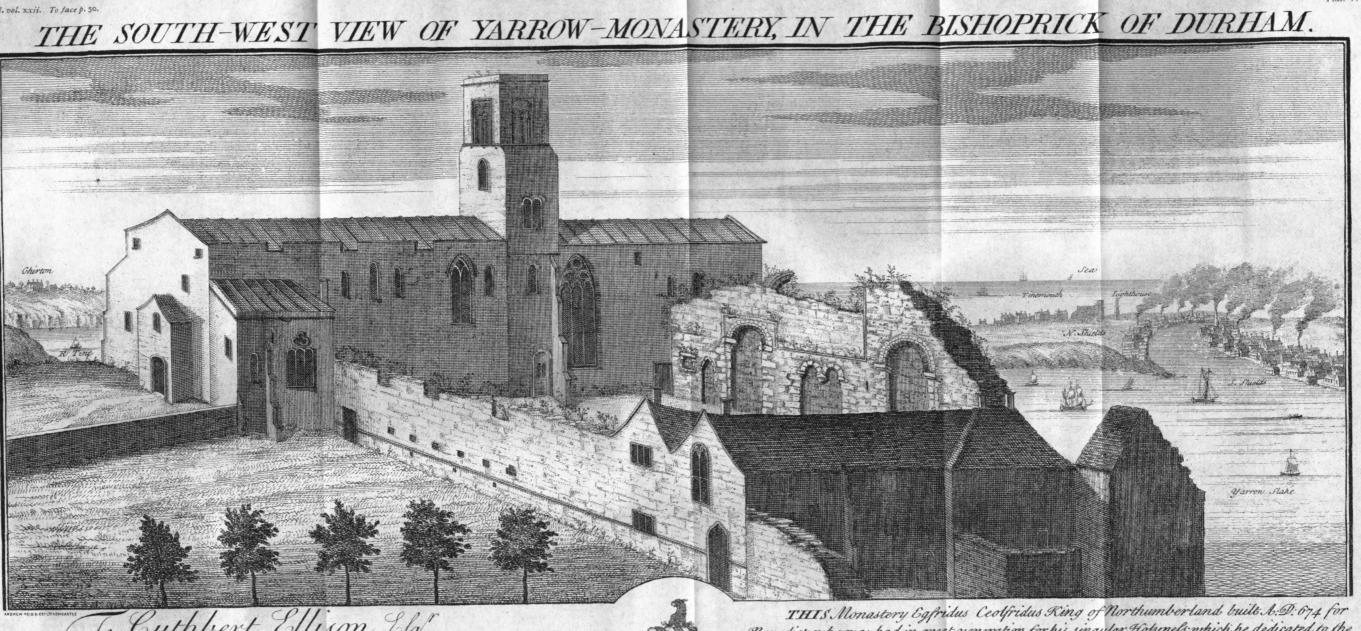
wide tract of country north and south of the Tees as a retribution for the death of Robert Cumin. Then at last Jarrow was deserted. and lay desolate ; but only for six years. For in 1075 Aldwin of Winchcombe and his two companions from Evesham were brought here from 'Monkchester' (Munecaceastre) by bishop Walcher. They at once placed a timber and thatch roof

on the church, and built themselves a rude shelter beneath its walls. The fame of their settlement spread rapidly, and they were soon joined by a large number of recruits, chiefly from the south. Whereupon, to enable them to restore the church and rebuild the ruined monastery, and to provide for their due maintenance, bishop Walcher endowed them with the neighbouring vills of Jarrow, Preston, Monkton, Hedworth, Hebburn, Westoe, and Harton;⁵¹ all of which were more or less devastated at the time.

⁴⁸ Sym. Dun. iii. 7. Regin. Dun. 26. ⁴⁹ Sym. Dun. iii. 15.

⁵⁰ Sym. Dun. Hist. Regum, s.a.

⁵¹ Sym. Dun. iii. 21. This gift of territory did not include Sheles. See Arch. Ael. vol. xix. pp. 73-75.



This Prospect is humbly Inscribed by his Obed ! Serv."

Sam! & Nath! Buck?

Benedict, who was had in great veneration for his singular Holyness which he dedicated to the Honour of S. Paul, & endow'd with Monks from him call' Benedictines; This is partly manifest from an Old Latin Inscription in the Church Wall / viz/ DEDICATIO BASILICA S. PAULI VIII KAL. MAII ANNO XV. EGFRIDI REG. CEOLFRIDI. ABB. EJUSDEMQ. ECCLES. DEO 💈 AUCTORE CONDITORIS ANNO III. Here the Venerable Bede was instructed by Benedict; and after him in this Place he resided to study if Holy Scripture. S. & N. Buck delin et Sculp 1728.

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ALDWIN'S RESTORATION.

And so the church at Jarrow became responsible for parochial provision for the surrounding district. Shortly afterwards the same bishop also gave the monks the ruined church at Wearmouth, with the vill of Wearmouth; to which, after 1080, his successor, William of St. Carilef, added that of Southwick.⁵² But in May 1083, bishop William, finding that at Jarrow and Wearmouth alone in his diocese there were regular monks (for Aldwin and his subordinates were Benedictines), transferred them to Durham, to form the nucleus of his new Benedictine foundation there,⁵³ of which Aldwin became the first prior; and from that time until the dissolution Jarrow was a subordinate cell under Durham.

It is evident that the remains of the monastic court to the south of the church belong to the period of Aldwin's restoration between 1075 and 1083. The general arrangement of the various parts may readily be gathered from the known plan of Benedictine buildings elsewhere. Thus the dormitory occupied the upper storey of the west side of the quadrangle; and the entrance doorway from the court has happily been preserved intact, with its nook shafts, ball capitals, abaci, and circular head in two orders, with plain tympanum enclosed. The refectory was on the south side, with the common room below, of which the fireplace still remains. On the east side was the chapter house, of which the entrance doorway was still standing in 1728, when the brothers Buck made their drawing of the church and the adjacent ruins. In the centre of the court is a well (recently boarded over), which was perhaps connected with the lavatory.⁵⁴ At the south corner of the western range of buildings is a doorway with a triangular head composed of two slabs supported against each other. There is also a window (now blocked up) with a similarly constructed head on the west face of the tower; with which may be compared the two windows of a like pattern on the sides of the tower at Norton; as also the head of a recess in the west wall of the chamber immediately adjoining the chapter house at Durham, on the south side, in the stretch of walling that is anterior to bishop William's work.⁵⁵ These triangular heads for doorways and windows occur throughout the country in pre-

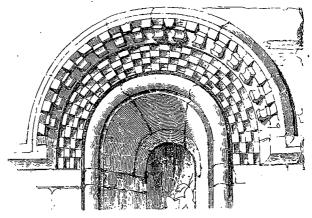
⁵² Sym. Dun. iii. 22. ⁵³ *Ibid*. iv. 2.

⁵⁴ See Rites of Durham (15 Surtees Soc. p. 70) for the lavatory in the centre of the court at Durham.

55 Greenwell, Durham Cathedral, ed. iv. (1892) p. 17 n.

Norman work, or in buildings erected (as at Jarrow) after the Norman occupation, but in the old-fashioned style and by local workmen.

To Aldwin's time must also be assigned possibly both the upper stages, but certainly the top or fourth stage, of the tower, the belfry windows of which belong to a style of building which passed away before the close of the eleventh century (p. 60). The triangular headed window on the west side of the third stage, already referred to, links that part of the tower with Aldwin's work ; though it may have been an insertion, as the round-headed window, with square billet moulding in the label, on the north side of the stage below certainly is ; but the windows on



the north and south faces of the same stage are earlier in design, if not in execution, than those in the stage above; though, of course, there need not have been any very considerable interval of time between them. In each case the familiar late Anglo-Saxon form of belfry window appears, with two semicircular headed lights divided by a baluster-shaft supporting a plain oblong impost, or abacus, which extends through the thickness of the wall, and from which one side of the head of each light springs. But in the lower windows this impost rests immediately on the shaft;⁵⁶ in the upper ones a rough capital is

³⁶ In Billings's drawing of the tower capitals are shown on the shafts of the lower windows as well as on those of the upper. It is, however, as difficult to accept this representation as true, as it is in any point to impugn the accuracy of Billings as a draughtsman. For the imposts in the lower windows are bevilled down on their under sides so as to adapt themselves to the top of the plain shafts. without any intervening capitals. It is easier in this instance to doubt Billings's accuracy, in that he has exaggerated the lines of the ridges in the setting back of the wall between the third and fourth stages into definite overhanging tablings, which are certainly not there, and apparently never have been. inserted between them : the lower ones come out to the face of the wall, without any enclosing arch; the upper ones are enclosed in a semicircular arch, which is again sunk within a square panel (see p. 60). The upper window of the tower at Monkwearmouth comes between these two patterns; for it has no capital between the shaft and the abacus, but it is embraced within an enclosing semicircular arch, though it is not sunk in a panel, but is flush with the face of the wall.

Between the third and fourth stages the north and south walls are set back considerably in a series of sloping ridges. In the top storey there are no less than six windows : one each on the north and south faces, and two each on the east and west. The work in these windows is only rough. The shaft and capital in the south-west window are out of proportion with the rest; and all the bases of the shafts are poor.

It is reasonable to suppose that it was at or about the same time that the originally separate building to the west of the tower was adapted as a nave for a single church embracing the whole range of buildings from east to west. The walling of the western part was continued up to the side walls of the baptistery, or chamber, between it and the tower. In the first floor tower chamber there is a fine arch of this date, measuring eight feet three inches in diameter, which when open to the nave above the western tower arch would be very effective, with the side lights from north and south, and the glimpse into what was now the chancel beyond through the earlier window of this chamber. But it can have had but a short life; for its head was badly broken in, almost immediately it would seem, by the weight of the building above, and it was walled up.

If the chancel was used as the monastic, and the nave for the parochial church, the altar for the latter would stand beneath the tower. This would account for the square recess on the interior of the blocking of the south tower door, which might well be the socket of an aumbry. The filling of this doorway as seen from the outside is interesting. A tympanum has been brought from elsewhere and set in the head, and an attempt has been made to adapt the voussoirs of the door head to its curve, but not very successfully. Two of these voussoirs remain at the western spring ; they have been padded to fit them to the new line, but then this plan has been abandoned and new voussoirs substituted which fit the tympanum, and which no doubt belonged to it before. They are of appropriate date, with a hollow chamfer running round the inner edge. The two missing stones of this set are now amongst other remnants on the west side of the north porch.

Aldwin's buildings were strong enough to withstand a determined assault by William Cumin the younger, when he attacked bishop William de St. Barbara at Jarrow on the Saturday in Rogation week, 1144.⁵⁷

In 1313, Jarrow was assigned to prior William de Tanfield, who had been obtruded upon the abbey five years before, as a retiring dower;⁵⁸ but he died within the year.⁵⁹ Again in 1394 it was granted to ex-prior Robert de Walleworth in lieu of Finchale, with the proviso that if his tenure was disturbed by a foreign (Scottish) incursion, he was to have Coldingham instead.⁶⁰

In the contest between the prior and the archdeacons of Durham and Northumberland as to jurisdiction over the dependent churches belonging to the abbey, which lasted from 1323 to 1333, Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, and their chapelries, were expressly reserved to the prior,⁶¹ who always exercised archidiaconal control over them. This special jurisdiction lasted on after the dissolution, even though these two churches had then passed from the hands of the chapter, under the scheme by which the churches in the patronage of the chapter were visited by their 'official' and not by the archdeacons. This system came to an end, under the provisions of an Order in Council, on the death of archdeacon Prest, the last 'official,' in 1882, and the several churches, including Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, were then merged in their respective archdeaconries.

At intervals during the time in which Jarrow was a cell of Durham various alterations were effected in the church. First of all a rood-screen was erected, and a doorway on to it opened through the blocked up arch in the west wall of the tower chamber. At the same

⁵⁸ Rob. de Graystanes, 36 (9 Surtees Soc. p. 95).

⁵⁹ Jarrow Account Roll for 1313-14 (29 Surtees Soc. p. 9).

⁶⁰ Hist. Dun. Scriptores Tres (9 Surtees Soc.), app. no. clv. pp. clxxiv-v. William de Chambre says (*ibid.* p. 137) that he died in 1391. But that was the date of his resignation (*ibid.* p. clxiii.). A payment was made to him by the Wearmouth cell in 1394 (29 Surtees Soc. p. 181).

⁶¹ Rob. de Graysianes, 40 and 43, pp. 103, 110.

⁵⁷ Contin. of Sym. Dun. § 6.

LATER WINDOWS.

time an access to this chamber from the chancel was opened, between the window and the south wall. It must have been approached by a staircase from the chancel. The jamb-work of these two doorways in the east and west walls of the chamber is identical, and the round head of the latter fixes the date as not later than the twelfth century.⁶² Later again, apparently in the thirteenth century, two heavy diagonal ribs were inserted to support the vaulting of the lowest stage. The arches have been cut back at each corner to give these ribs impact on to the imposts of the piers.

Of the windows, the narrow light above the blocked up north doorway of the chancel was an early insertion. Then came the twolight early English window at the south-east of the nave; followed. probably towards the end of the thirteenth century, by the east and north-east windows of the chancel, each with three lights and intersecting mullions, cusped certainly in the east window and apparently also in its companion, though the cusps have there been cut away. The side window to light the altar was in this case on the north side instead of the south, because the eastern range of the monastic court abutted on the south-eastern part of the chancel. When the east window was inserted, if not earlier, the now unnecessary small Saxon presbytery was removed, for the original nave provided a chancel more in accordance with the fashion and requirements of the later age. Towards the west end of the chancel on the north side there is a large square-headed window of three lights, with a trefoliated circle above the head of each light. It is not an attractive production. Immediately next the tower on the south side of the chancel is a three-light decorated window. The date of this insertion is fixed by an entry in the Jarrow account rolls as 1350.63

⁶² There was a rood-screen in Lanfranc's church at Canterbury (sc. before the fire of 1174). See Gervase (in Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1293): 'Pulpitum vero turrem praedictam a navi quodammodo separabat... supra pulpitum trabes erat, per transversum ecclesiae posita, quae crucem grandem et duo Cherubin et imagines sanctae Mariae et sancti Iohannis apostoli sustentabat.'

Imagines sanctae tranae et sanct i tonanns aposton sustentatat. ⁶³ 'Item cuidam cementario, pro una fenestra in cancello facta, cum aliis necessariis emptis, xxiijs. xd.' (p. 35). The account for glazing was paid in the following year: 'In una fenestra in cancello vetriata cum stipendio vitriatoris xvs. vijd.' (p. 36). The sum mentioned, however, seemed so small for this window as to suggest the doubt whether it did not refer to the small 'low side' window opposite. Accordingly I asked an architect friend to roughly estimate the probable present cost of inserting a window like that on the south-west, and he placed it at '£50 or a little less.' Now in the same roll

The pattern of the tracery of this window was a special favourite in Durham abbey during prior Fossor's incumbency, and elsewhere in the neighbourhood. The plan is mainly geometrical: the heads of the two outer lights are semicircular, the central one is ogee-shaped: above these are two figures, technically known as 'horizontal convergents,' in which the earlier design of unbroken circles is modified by the removal of that part of the circumference of the circle between



SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF CHANCEL, ETC., JARROW CHURCH.

the points where it touches the head of the outer light and the outer frame of the window arch respectively; thus marking a transitional development from a purely geometrical design. In the Jarrow window these figures are slightly compressed. The head of the window is filled with a quatrefoil. When Billings made his drawings of Durham cathedral church in 1842 there still remained no less

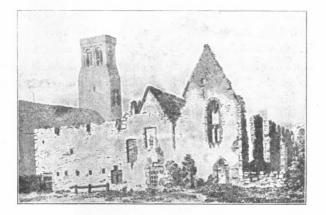
there is a payment: 'In xl. bidentibus emptis, actatis unius anni, xliijs. iiijd.' Prices ran exceptionally high in 1350, owing to the scarcity caused by the Black Death. In 1899, also a year of higher than ordinary prices, shearlings have mounted to 45s, or even more. For a rough comparison, then, taking 13d. in 1350 as equivalent to 45s. in 1899, the cost of the window, 23s. 10d., would represent ± 49 10s. of present money. The only other building entries referring to the church in the Account Rolls are (1) 'In emendacione fenestae in fronte ecclesiae vs.' 1378-9 (p. 67); (2) 'Et in emendacione et reparacione chori de Jarowe hoc anno vs. ijd.' 1452-3 (p. 113).

THE SOUTH-WEST WINDOW.

than six windows of this pattern, of which now but two are left. Moreover in Grimm's sketch of the (undestroyed) chapter house at Durham the three central windows of the apse are similar. The like pattern also occurs, for instance, on the south side of the chancel at Stranton, and in the north transept at Brancepeth.

The position of this window, crushed in as it is so closely to the tower that the quoins of the chancel wall have been cut away to make room for the window jamb, is probably accounted for by the original doorway, the western jamb of which is seen close to the east of the line of the eastern jamb of the window. The built-up square headed doorway, which was in use when Billings visited the church in 1845, is a later insertion.

Immediately opposite to this window, at the extreme west end of the north side of the chancel, is a fourteenth-century 'low side window.' The usual traces of the hinges of the shutter, and the socket into which it fitted, are clearly visible.



The only bit of Perpendicular work of which any trace has been preserved is the west window of the southern range of the monastic quadrangle over the triangular-headed doorway already referred to. Even that has now disappeared, but when the sketch of Jarrow for Surtees's *History of Durham* was drawn and engraved by E. Blore at the beginning of the present century the tracery still remained. It is from this sketch that the above illustration has been taken. It shows

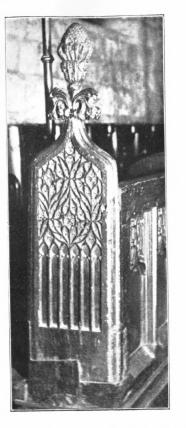
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that it was an insertion within a Norman window, very much after the manner of the Perpendicular insertions in the Norman windows of the aisles of the nave at Durham.

There are four very fine bench ends, now on the north side of the chancel. One of them bears the winged heart pierced by a sword, which is the sign of prior Thomas Castell of Durham (1494-1519). It occurs on a shield on the central boss of the western compartment of the abbey gateway at Durham, which was built by him. In an extremely interesting paper, written in 1864 and printed in Archaeologia Aeliana (vol. vi., pp. 201-5), Mr. Longstaffe points out how prior Castell, like his contemporaries, priors Lechman and Smithson of Hexham, and Gondibour of Carlisle, deliberately revived geometrical tracery in his work. These bench ends were not his only contribution to Jarrow church; he also replaced the earlier rood screen (or rather, screen beneath the rood) by a new and elaborately carved screen. This screen was still in situ when Hutchinson visited the church in 1782 (see below, p. 59); but it was removed when the nave was rebuilt, and parts of it at all events came into the possession of Mr. Rippon of North Shields, and eventually passed by purchase, after his death, into Mr. Longstaffe's own hands. The somewhat imaginative representation of the pulpit at Jarrow in Scott's Antiquarian Gleanings in the North of England wrongly introduces some of the panels of this screen into the pulpit, into which they do not fit.

At the dissolution Jarrow was treated as an independent monastery, and was suppressed; the property of the church being alienated to William lord Eure of Witton. It remained in the possession of the Eure family until 1616: it then began to be divided up amongst different owners, until at last it was broken up into one-eighth shares,⁶⁴ which changed hands from time to time. But there seems to have been, at any rate by tradition, though practically repudiated by the holders of the property, some responsibility for maintenance of the glebe house resting upon the impropriators. For in 1711 the churchwardens in their presentment at Easter report: 'We present' y^e ministers house at Jarroe (to be Repaired by the Impropriators) as very Ruinous & neither Wind nor Water Thite.' But nothing came of their complaint, for in 1715 their successors repeat : 'The Parson's

⁶⁴ Surtees, History of Durham, vol. ii. p. 72.



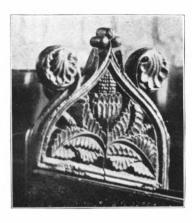




ENDS OF WESTERNMOST BENCH ON NORTH SIDE OF CHANCEL OF JARROW CHURCH.







ENDS OF EASTERNMOST BENCH ON NORTH SIDE OF CHANCEL OF JARROW CHURCH.





LATER RUINOUS CONDITION.

House . . . is in such very Ill Condition that he cannot live in it, but is forced to Rent another.⁶⁵

The church became an ordinary parish church; and under its new conditions it eventually fell into hopeless disrepair. Throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century there are continual references in the annual presentments of the churchwardens to its ruinous state. Thus, *e.g.*, at Easter, 1728 : 'Wee do present our parish Church y^t although y^e Parishoners have done very well towards y^e Repairing of it, yet by Reason of its antiquity y^e walls are like to become very Ruinous & being supported by two Cross beams has kept y^e walls uncomed together for sev¹. years. Thomas Tayler, Matthew fforster, Churchwardens.'⁶⁶ Hutchinson thus describes⁶⁷ the old nave shortly before it was taken down :—

The entrance into the Church was by a low porch with a circular arch, on the north jamb of which was the figure of a crosier staff, stripped from some of the antient tombs: The descent into the nave was by three deep steps, on the side walls of which were two pointed arches, that to the north built up, the other opening into a porch used as a vestry room; the groins were sprung from brackets, and the span was about twenty feet: The nave was twenty-eight paces in length, and only six in width; so that from the height of the side walls, which were nearly thirty feet, and the small irregular windows scattered on each side, the edifice had a very singular appearance: Some of the windows were under circular arches, others pointed, and all the walling so patched and irregular, that it was not to be distinguished to what age any particular part of it belonged : The congregation had deserted the nave for some years, perhaps from dread of being buried in its ruins, and the chancel alone was used for divine service. Fixed in the south-cast corner of the nave was a mount, whereon a stone pulpit formerly stood.

The rood loft remained, being a gallery of wood work across the church, above the entrance into the chancel, on which were the remains of gaudy painting.

In April, 1782, the parishioners applied for and obtained a faculty for rebuilding the nave, and the scheme was forthwith carried out, at a total cost of £626 14s. 9d.⁶⁸ This nave was in turn removed in

⁶⁵ It would be interesting to know if this was the house in the north-east corner of the churchyard, now let in tenements. A small rectory house was afterwards built to the south-west of the remains of the monastic court. It was taken down about 1877.

⁶⁸ The visitation returns and presentments for the Officialty of the Dean and Chapter disappeared after archdeacon Prest's death. After searching for them for three or four years, I at last found them, through the always ready help of Mr. J. Gibson, the Chapter clerk, in an unused room of the Chapter office. They contain many curious items of information, relating chiefly to the last century.

67 Vol. ii. p. 475.

⁶⁸ See the useful *Handbook to the Church of Jarrow*, published (anonymously) in 1887, by the rev. W. R. Egerton.

1866, when the existing nave, with its wide north aisle, was erected from Sir G. Gilbert Scott's plans. At the same time the supporting piers of the tower arches were largely rebuilt, and two heavy interior buttresses were attached to the western side of the tower, the western piers of which had both apparently split rather badly down the centre of their faces. A vestry also was added on the north side of the tower, with a connecting passage running along the east gable of the new north aisle.

There are two pre-Reformation bells in the steeple, on one of which is the confused legend SANCTE PALVS ORV PHO NOBIA, intended for SANCTE PAVLE ORA PRO NOBIS; the other has no inscription. These are no doubt the 'two bells in the stepell' referred to in the inventory of the commissioners of Edward VI. in 1553.⁶⁹

For the communion plate of the church, which includes an Elizabethan cup of 1571, see *Proc.*, vol. iii., p. 222.



UPPER PART OF TOWER, JARROW CHURCH.

NOTE.—Thanks are due to the Dean of Durham for permission to use the block from which the illustration on page 46 (2) is reduced; to Mr. P. Brewis for photographs reproduced on pp. 40 and 50; to Mr. J. Petree for those on pp. 34, 35, 46 (3), 47 (4), and 56 and 60, and plates 3, 6, and 7. The illustrations on pp. 47 (6) and 48 (7) are from photographs by Mr. W. Renwick.

All representations of inscribed or sculptured stones are reduced to a uniform scale of one eighth.

⁶⁹ 22 Surtees Soc. p. lvii.; see Proc. vol. iii. p. 6.