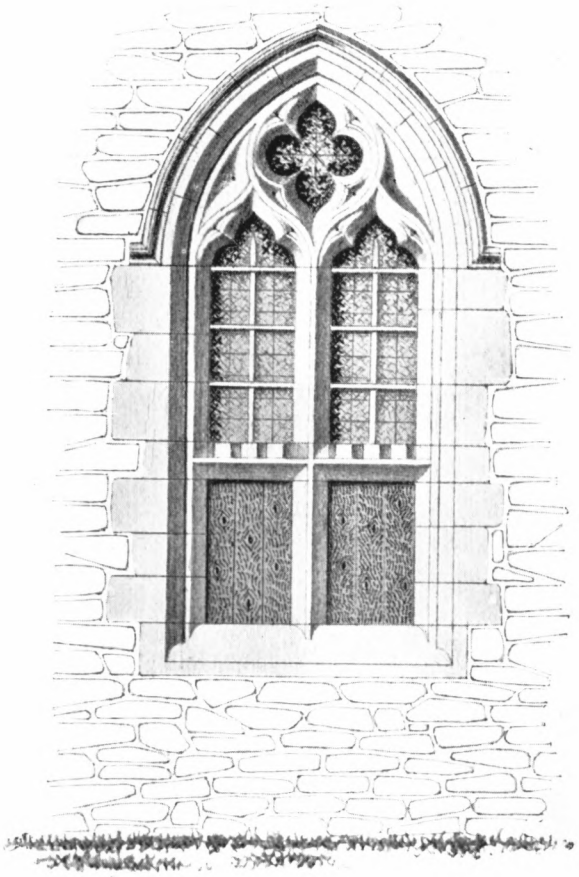


LOW SIDE WINDOW, CROSBY GARRET, WESTMORLAND.

IV.—ON 'LOW SIDE WINDOWS.'

By the Rev. J. F. Hodgson, M.A., vicar of Witton-le-Wear.

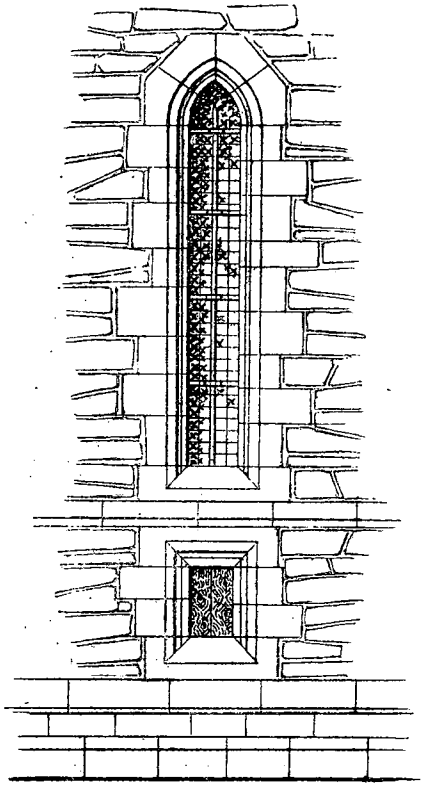
[Read on the 25th of July, 1900.]

Chapter I.

Classification, and various theories as to their use and origin.

Of all the questions which have exercised the ingenuity of archaeologists during the last half century and more, none has, probably, elicited fewer approximately satisfactory replies, or still remains so thoroughly 'open' as that relating to the true use and purpose of what are commonly called 'low side windows.' Preposterous as the definition—whether invented by the late Mr. J. H. Parker, or only brought into general use by him—may be, it has now become so far convenient that, however exceptionable, everyone knows exactly what is meant by it. And hence, probably, the hold which it still retains, both in writing and conversation. Save on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, however, it would tax the skill of a very ingenious person to devise one more thoroughly misleading. For, in the first place, though these apertures are often, perhaps generally, low, they are by no means always so, being often, on the contrary, high; then, secondly, though they are most frequently found on the sides, they yet occur also at the ends, of churches; and, thirdly, though frequently combined with, they are, strictly speaking, never, under any circumstances, windows at all. Yet here, as elsewhere, it is easier to criticize than to perform, and when it comes to supplying a scientifically accurate definition, the difficulty of doing so becomes speedily apparent. For, indeed, they vary so greatly, and in so many ways, that one which should be at the same time both accurate and universally applicable, would be little, if at all, short of impossible. Roughly, they may, perhaps, be classified under the following heads, viz.:—I.—Those which are either built or inserted, for one purpose only and none other, as at North Hinksey, Berkshire, and Salford Priors, Warwickshire (see next page). These are commonly

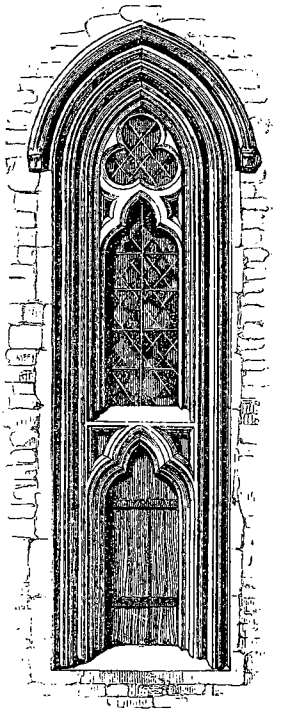
square, or arch-headed openings of small dimensions, say from a foot by six inches, to three feet by one foot, wide and high, set quite apart, and for the most part below, the level of the windows proper. II.—Those which are combined with a window opening, in the same detached and separate way, having the lower part only fitted for a door or a shutter, while the upper part, whether provided with a stone transom or not, is glazed, as at Somerton, Oxfordshire. III. — Those which, forming part of the regular series of fenestration, have the lower part of the light divided by a transom with, or without, an arched head, and provided with a shutter, as at Raydon, Suffolk,* and Wensley, Yorkshire.† IV. — Those in which two or more narrow slits or openings are found close together, like panes in a lantern, and cut through a small stone slab, as at Weekly church, Northamptonshire, and Landewednack, Cornwall. V.—Those which are combined with windows proper, of two or more lights, by having the western one divided in its lower part by a transom, or by having it brought down below the proper level of the sill, as at Othery, Somersetshire,‡ and Downton, Wiltshire, respectively. VI.—Those



SALFORD PRIORS CHURCH, WARWICKSHIRE.

* See next page. † See page 46. ‡ See page 47.

which, save for some special difference of size, or design, or level, have, at the present time at least, little or nothing to distinguish them from other windows, being glazed throughout, as at Jarrow* and Winston, co. Durham; Flintham, Notts.†; and Lancing and Patcham churches, Sussex. VII.—Those which, though connected through apposition with a window, form really no part of it; and are clearly designed to serve a wholly different purpose, as at Barnard Castle church, co. Durham, and Berkeley, Gloucestershire.‡ VIII. — Those of two or more lights, whose sills, set at a much lower level than the rest, have a transom carried uniformly through the lower parts of all of them, beneath which the openings are, or till lately were, usually, though not always, found blocked, as at Beckford, Gloucestershire; Harwell and Uffington churches, Berkshire; Ardley, Garsington, and Checkendon, Oxfordshire; as well as Crosby Garret, Westmorland (see plate III.), and Goldsborough, Yorkshire, respectively; in the last two of which both of the lower openings were provided with shutters, whether glazed or otherwise.



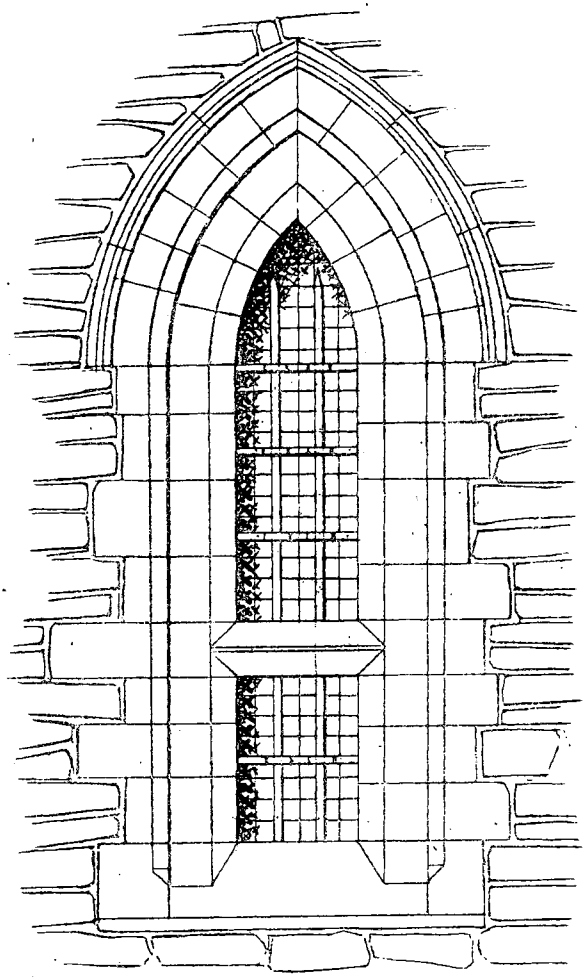
RAYDON, SUFFOLK
(see preceding page.)

And now, following directly upon such attempted classification of these apertures, the question presents itself:— For what definite and special purpose were they devised? As to any secondary uses to which they might in some cases, perhaps, be occasionally applied, we need not trouble to enquire, as being quite irrelevant, and leaving the real subject practically untouched.

Of the wildly fantastic theories from time to time put forth by way of answer, there has been simply, as in the making of many books,

* See page 58. † See page 48. ‡ See page 49.

no end. That they should, one and all, have been purely speculative and imaginary, is due to the fact that we have, unhappily, not only

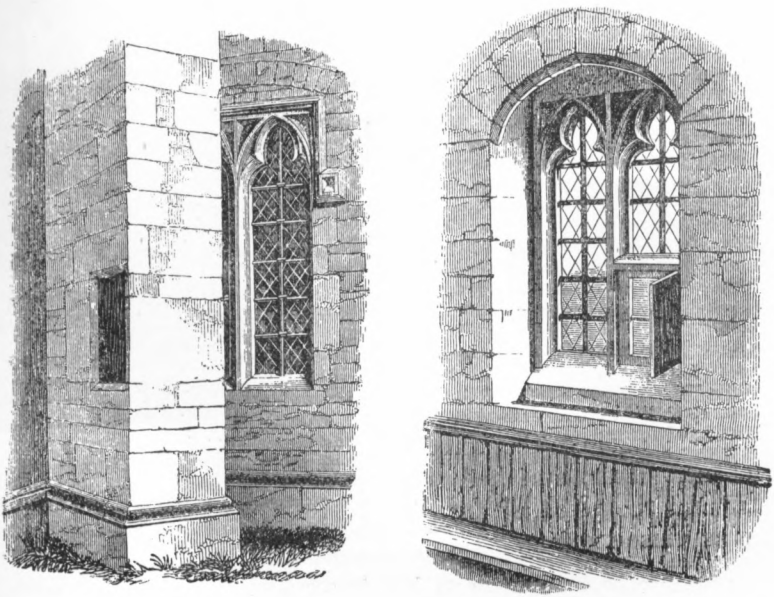


WENSLEY, YORKSHIRE (see page 44).

no historical evidence on the subject whatever, but no lingering remnants of tradition to serve as guides—even blind ones. And thus

the sole effect of such few, poor, faint scraps of seeming reference to them as have now and then turned up, has been either to start, or strengthen, some new, or already existing speculation, as really unfounded, as impossible. Among the several titles and uses ascribed to them are:—

I.—'Lychnoscopes.'—For a long time this favourite term held a very first and foremost place. Pseudo-ecclesiologists, indeed, may be said to have fairly revelled in it. The name was bestowed with the

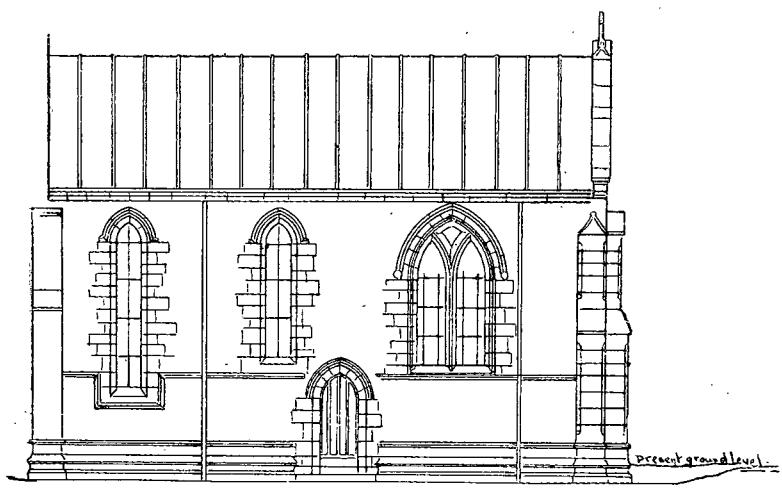


OTHERY, SOMERSETSHIRE (see page 44).

idea that they were designed to command a view of the light burning before the high altar. To apply such a simple test as that of experiment to their theory, however, would seem never to have occurred to its authors, for out of the countless numbers I have myself examined, I cannot—though such exceptional instances may, perhaps, here and there exist—call to mind a single instance in which anyone unprovided with a neck, at least as long and flexible as that

of a swan, could succeed in doing so. And then, even if they could, why such rampantly eccentric curiosity should exist and be encouraged, when those concerned could far more easily have gone inside the church to see, was unexplained. So the day of lychnoscopes, though for long, even yet, perhaps, in some quarters, enjoying a sort of twilight, or after-glow existence, ceased and determined.

II.—'Hagioscopes.'—This too, enjoyed an equally enthusiastic, though transient reputation. Instead of watching the light, a vast class of people of whose existence history knows nothing, was

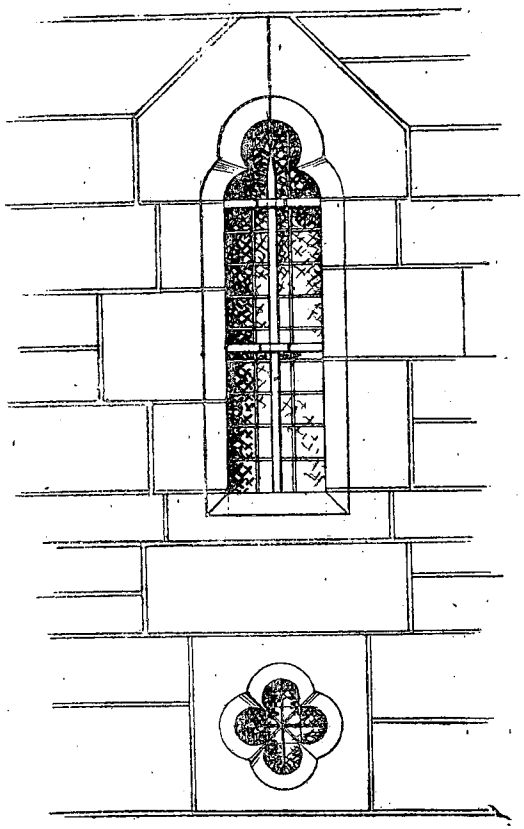


FLINTHAM, NOTTS (see page 45).

supposed to be everywhere anxious to see the elevation of the Host from the outside, instead of the inside, of the church, whose doors were open to them, and whence they could far more effectually have attained their desire. But there was a good deal in a name, which, at once mystical and euphonious, was not only fascinating, but seemed to imply recondite learning on the part of those who used it. And then, were it false, it was, perhaps, just as true as any other.

III.—'Vulne windows.'—This term—whether originating with the now long extinct Cambridge Camden Society or not, I cannot say—would seem, among all others, to cap the climax of absurdity.

It was imagined that these openings, which are most frequently found in the south-west corners of chancels, were made, not for any practical use whatever, but only to represent in a way—certainly 'not understanded of the people' generally—the wound in our Lord's



BERKELEY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE (see page 45).

side, and, for a while, they were regarded with a due amount of ignorant, if sympathetic, awe. But, apart from the sheer lunacy of such a notion, the position was wholly misplaced, since in any church, whether cruciform or not, the head would, proportionately, occupy

that position,[1] while the place of the spear-wound would be found some quarter way westwards down the nave. So, after a brief stay, the 'vulne' theory, smothered with ridicule, disappeared.

IV.—Then the term 'leper windows,' which 'caught on' with amazing tenacity, was evolved, as is thought, from the inner consciousness of the late Dr. Rock. But such a conjecture, it is clear, must have rested on an exceedingly slight and imperfect acquaintance with the subject, since in untold numbers of cases, the administration of the Holy Eucharist through such apertures must have been, to say the least, extremely unbecoming and difficult, while in others it would have been physically impossible.[2] Add to this the further considerations, viz., that there is simply no record of such a use ever having obtained; that lepers were so much as admitted within the precincts of the churchyard;[3] and that leper houses and hospitals

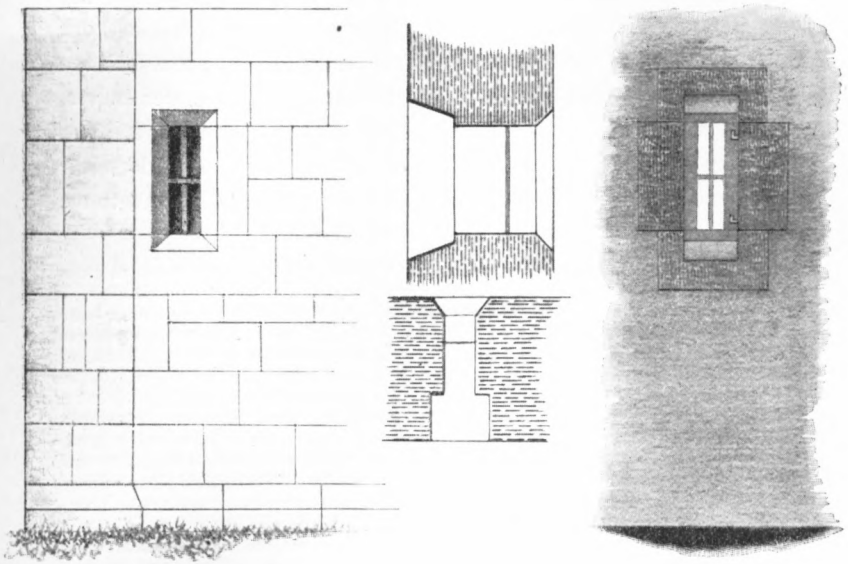
[1] 'Dispositio autem ecclesiae materialis, modum humani corporis tenet. Cancellus namque sive locus ubi altare est, caput representat: & Crux ex utraque parte brachia & manus: reliqua pars ab occidente, quicquid corpori superesse videtur.'—*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum A.R.D. Gulielmo Durando Mimatensi Episcopo. Venetiis, Apud Gratiosum Perchacinum, 1568. Lib. I. cap.* I. p. 4 *dorso.*

[2] There are two classes of these so-called windows to which the above expressions apply. First, those which are on, or all but on, the level of the ground; and secondly, those which are so far above it as to render the 'manual acts' of giving and receiving quite impracticable. Of the first class we have several local examples, as at S. Martin's, Micklegate, and S. Cuthbert's, Peasholme Green, York (see page 54); Elwick Hall, and Redmarshall, co. Durham; and Middleham in the North Riding, where there are two, one at each end of the high altar, and the sills of which, if there were but a single step of six inches to the altar platform above the floor of the nave, would be on a level with it; and, in the case of two such steps, as most usually happened, six inches *below* the upper one—arrangements which, one and all, render the idea of communicating absurd.

Of the second, without taking account of 'high side windows,' but with reference to such only as are placed at a moderate height, we find interesting examples at Goldsborough, near York, where the sill of the window, set in a wall nearly three feet thick, is five feet seven inches above the surface; at Winston church, co. Durham, where the two windows, south and north, in walls of the like thickness, are nine feet nine inches, and eight feet six inches above it respectively, and at Raydon church, Suffolk (see page 45), where the height, though a trifle less, is nearly the same.

[3] 'Houses for lepers,' says Mr. T. I. Pettigrew, 'were evidently framed on the ideas of infection, and the necessity which therefore existed of separating the diseased from the healthy.' And so we find Edward III., in the twentieth year of his reign, commanding that all leprous persons in the city of London 'should avoid within fifteen days next,' that 'no man should suffer such to abide within his house,' and that the said lepers 'should be removed into some out places of the fields from the haunt and company of sound people.' But, though the regulations respecting them varied in different parts, and at different times, they were in no case, it would seem, so severe as in Scotland. In the Greenside

were not only scattered abundantly all over the land (Dugdale, when the whole population fell far short of that of London at the present day, giving an *imperfect* list of no fewer than one hundred and



ACASTER MALBIS, YORKSHIRE (see next page).

twenty-three), but quite near to, as well as actually within, the parishes where such openings are found. Such, among other

hospital, at Edinburgh, they were not permitted to quit the house, under penalty of death, and a gibbet was erected in front of the hospital to show that this was no idle threat. In other places they were, however, allowed to wander about, but only with rattles and clappers, so as to attract attention to their wants, which could then be relieved without incurring contact. Subject to perpetual seclusion, they were deprived of all rights under the civil law, and looked upon as virtually dead—*tanquam mortuus habetur.* The church also, as Dr. Simpson shows, regarded the leper as defunct, and performed the service for the burial of the dead over him when, on the day of his separation from his fellow-creatures, he was consigned to a leper house. In France, the mass for the dead was said over him. Before leaving the leper, the priest interdicted him from appearing in public without his leper's garb; from entering inns, churches, mills, and bakehouses, from touching anything in the markets except with a stick; from eating and drinking with any others than lepers; and specially forbade him from walking in narrow paths, or from answering those who spoke to him except in a whisper, so that they might not be contaminated by his pestilential breath. The Sarum usé also, among ourselves, formally prohibited lepers from resorting to any places where they might meet their fellows, and excluded them from even burial in the churchyards.

illustrations, may be seen at Acaster Malbis (see page 51), about five miles from York, where in the small cruciform church, standing all alone in the fields, there are two contemporary ones, exactly opposite each other in the chancel, notwithstanding the fact that in the city there were no fewer than four leper hospitals. And then, in York itself, although so many of the churches there—only about half the original number—are but mere fragments of their former selves, chancels without naves, and naves without chancels, and that the rest have been so cruelly knocked about and destroyed as to render their witness exceedingly fragmentary,[4] a diligent search has disclosed to me no fewer than five still surviving illustrations.[5]

[4] In the city of York there were at the time of the dissolution of religious houses, no fewer than forty-one parish churches, besides seventeen chapels, of which last two only are left. Of the churches, no fewer than twenty have been wholly destroyed; while many of the remainder, fallen into varying stages of squalor and decay, have been miserably mutilated and curtailed. Thus, of those still standing, All Saints', Pavement, had its chancel destroyed in 1782, in order to enlarge the market-place; the fine priory church of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, having, at an earlier date, suffered the loss of its choir, transepts, nave aisles, and central, and south-western towers. S. Helen's, Stonegate, has had the ends of its aisles cut off to widen the pavement; while S. Michael's, Spurriergate, originally one of the finest of all, has had its beautiful Transitional nave and aisles very largely pulled down for a like purpose. S. Olave's, Marygate, which was greatly injured during the Civil Wars, and extensively rebuilt in 1722, has lost much of its ancient character; as has also S. Lawrence, without Walmgate Bar, which, wholly ruined at the same time, and in part patched up in 1699, is now but a mere fragment. Of S. Denys, Walmgate, only the chancel with its aisles, and a rich Norman doorway, removed from the nave, are left; the latter, together with the original tower and spire, having been pulled down in 1798. Besides all which, the church of Holy Trinity, King's Court, commonly known as Christ Church, in addition to having its northern chapel destroyed, suffered the loss of all the eastern parts of the chancel in 1830, in order to widen Colliergate.

Of the two chapels, viz.: those of the Merchants' Hall, and Holy Trinity, Bederne, the latter, a singularly interesting fourteenth century building, to the east of the Minster, has had all its external windows built up, and is now used only for churchings and christenings; S. Mary Bishophill Senior, and Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, being abandoned altogether, and having service said in them but once a year.

Most infamous of all the ravage and spoliation that has befallen the city churches, however, has been the wanton destruction of S. Crux, beyond comparison the finest of them all—quite unique, indeed, in the scientific skill and beauty of its details, and this but a few years since, under pressure of archbishop Thomson, *and during the incumbency of the then secretary of the Surtees Society*, the late Canon Raine.

What further evidence this multitude of destroyed and mutilated churches might have yielded in respect of 'low side windows,' cannot now, of course, be said.

[5] Of these, two are to be found in the church of S. Cuthbert, Peasholme Green; one on the south side of the chancel, and the other at the east end, towards the north—the latter on, the former (see page 54), which cuts into the base-mould,

At Atcham church, near Shrewsbury, there are also two at the east end of the chancel, although there was a leper hospital only three miles off. At Mitton church, Lancashire, where another so-called 'leper window' occurs, there was a leper hospital in the parish itself; while at St. Stephen's church, St. Albans, where there is said to be another, the leper hospital of St. Julian was within a distance of five hundred yards. Nor is that all. To accept a theory like this, is to presuppose the existence of shoals of lepers drifting perpetually, not only along all the high roads, but also the obscurest by-roads of the country day by day; and, as though that were not enough, besieging all the parish churches as they passed, and clamouring to be communicated. Even the 'Ages of Faith' can scarcely, one would think, be credited with achieving such results as this.

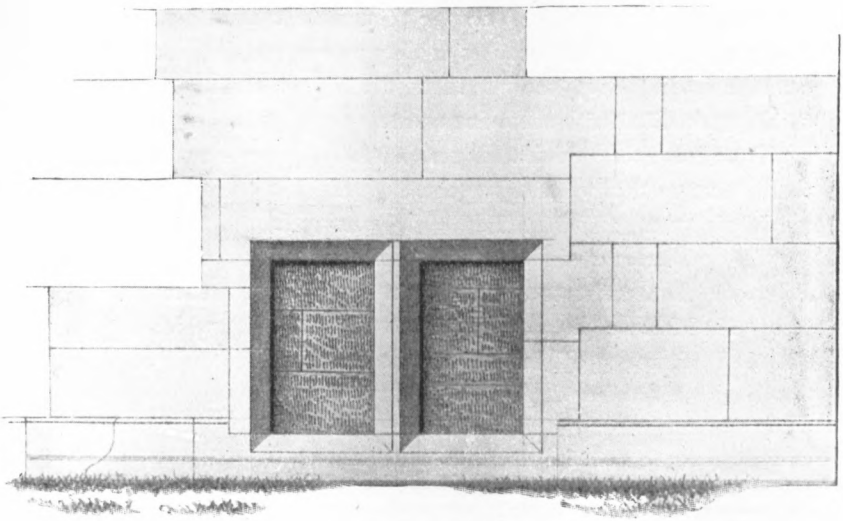
V.—'For excommunicated persons to do penance at, previous to their being readmitted into the church,' an equally preposterous and unhistoric 'use.'

VI.—'Offertory windows.' A term applied to them by Mr. Paley, of 'Manual' fame, through an entire misapprehension of a passage in Martene (lib. i., cap. iv., art. vi., sect. vii.), which applies, not to the church at all, but to the cells of anchorites, each of whom *per fenestram ejusdem oratorii possit ad missas per manus sacerdotis*

all but on, the level of the ground. A third, of two large trefoliated ogee-headed lights—the sill of which must be at some little depth below the present surface, for I could not reach even the top of it—is on the north side of the chancel of the church of S. Martin, Micklegate. Both here and at S. Cuthbert's, the late Mr. J. H. Parker, in a highly characteristic way, ascribes the use of these windows to the lighting of purely imaginary and non-existent crypts! The fourth example—which has been so scrupulously walled up as to be almost obliterated—is immediately above the basement, on the south side of the chancel of S. Margaret's, Walmgate; while the fifth, which cuts through the upper base mould altogether, occurs directly westwards of the south porch of S. Mary's, Castlegate. Besides these, there exists, although in a 'restored' state, a square-headed window of three lights at the west end of the north aisle of S. Saviour's, beneath the sill of the west window proper; as well as one of five lights, in a similar position, beneath that of the north aisle of S. Mary's, Castlegate, the north-west angle of which has portions of projecting masonry indicating, apparently, the existence of a former portico, since a blocked doorway remains between the south end of the window and the respond of the north arcade. What the precise use of these two windows may have been, whether that of the class under consideration or not, seems doubtful. At Wighton church, Norfolk, there were no fewer than five such distinct windows at the east end of the chancel, under a lean-to, which was, however, ruinous so far back as 1847.

oblationes offerre. As may well be supposed, this blunder expired in its infancy.

VII.—'For acolytes to pass the thurible through,' so as to obtain a greater degree of heat before the incense was applied. But, besides there being no directions found in any ancient office for such a practice, the window openings in question were commonly so ill adapted to it, as to render all attempts that way practically impossible.



ST. CUTHBERT, PEASHOLME GREEN, YORK (see page 52, note 5).

VIII.—'To enable a watcher to discern the approach of the priest, and then ring the sanctus bell to announce it to the people.' But comparatively few churches had sanctus bell-cots;[6] nor is there any authority for supposing those bells to have been ever rung for such a purpose. Besides which there is hardly one of these lateral openings anywhere which could possibly have been utilized in that way. This idiotic notion, naturally, never took much hold.

[6] In the county of Durham there were, I think—so far as existing remains shew—but two examples of such sanctus bell-cots, viz.: those of Billingham and of Brancepeth.

IX.—'For the distribution of alms.' But, here again, besides there being no record of any such practice anywhere; or of alms to be distributed in the places where such openings exist; though some of them would, doubtless, be suitable enough for that purpose, vast numbers would be wholly unsuitable, being either much too high, or too low, for it.

X.—'To give light to the reader of the Lessons.' This was the idea of the late M. Viollet le Duc, led away by the circumstance of there being in the Sainte Chapelle, at Paris, a little window glazed with white glass, which was set low down, and, when not in use for that purpose, closed with a wooden shutter. But the resemblance was purely accidental, and on the surface only. The use of this particular window was, no doubt, that which the very distinguished architect attributed to it, and which was precisely that of such as are found in the monastic refectory[7] pulpits, as also in that well known instance (which has puzzled so many), at prior Crauden's chapel at Ely, viz., throwing light upon the reader's book from behind. Such, however, it is clear, was not the case with these variously placed, and multiform openings of ours, which, for the most part, neither did, nor could, serve any such end at all. This view, therefore, also fled swiftly 'like a shadow that departeth.'

XI.—'Ventilation.' That they might occasionally be used, to

[7] Owing to the wholesale destruction of our ancient monastic buildings these pulpits are very rarely to be met with nowadays. The remains of a very fine one of late thirteenth, or early fourteenth century date may be seen, however, in the ruins of the magnificent refectory of Easby abbey, near Richmond; of another, very slightly later, in the fratry of Walsingham priory, Norfolk; and a very early one, of the close of the twelfth century, in that of Lilleshall priory, Salop. One of the earliest and finest of all, however, is that of highly enriched Early English character, in the parish church of Beaulieu, in Hampshire, originally the refectory of the Cistercian abbey there; another, of much the same period, remaining in what was once the refectory of the abbey of S. Werburgh, at Chester. This last, with its entrance doorway, arcaded staircase, and projecting pulpit, is wonderfully well preserved, its window being merely blocked. A little later, of pure decorated work, is that at Carlisle, happily quite perfect. The late Mr. Billings, who gives an admirable view of it in his Carlisle cathedral—following the common Protestant hallucinations of his day—imagined it, as almost all inexplicable things were then imagined to be, a 'confessional,' and, consequently, introduced the figures of a shaven monk, seated in the upper part, while a 'veiled lady' on her knees, 'said,' or shouted, as best she could, 'her say' from the floor below. Ludicrous as the idea is, it is yet as sane common sense, compared with that theory of these apertures, propounded further on, for both were, at least, *inside*, and under cover.

some extent, for this purpose, would seem likely enough. Indeed, one can hardly doubt but that, in many instances, they were. The very curious little aperture at Berkeley church, Gloucestershire,* helps to do this so admirably in connexion with the south door (it occurs in the north-west chapel of the chancel), that the vicar thinks it can have been designed with no other object. That, however, cannot have been the case elsewhere, any more than there really, indeed, and so does not touch the primary reason for their introduction in the least. Owing, possibly, to its entire lack of romance, as well as for more efficient reasons, the ventilation theory, too, went duly the way of all the rest.

XII.—'For the exposition of relics.' This might seem almost as impossibly ridiculous as the 'vulne' theory. Where the relics were to come from, and whence the crowds of credulous folk so anxious to see them, that, even in remote country churches, a single window would not suffice for the purpose, was not so much as hinted at. Neither the self-evident circumstance that they could be so much more conveniently and reverently exposed to the veneration of the faithful, with the necessary accompaniment of lighted candles, when assembled inside the church, than standing, one or two at a time, outside in the churchyard; and thence, either mounted on a ladder, or lying prone upon the ground, peeping at them through a thick stone wall. This fiction also died a natural, and deservedly speedy, death.

XIII.—'For the ringing of the hand-bell through, at the elevation of the host.' Here, at length, we emerge from the dreary region of wild and untempered imagination, into one of comparative reason and common sense. In defence of this theory has been quoted the following from the 'Constitutions' of archbishop Peckham, 1281: 'In elevatione vero ipsius corporis Domini pulsetur campana in uno latere, ut populares, quibus celebrationi missarum non vacat quod idie interesse, ubicunque fuerint, seu in agris, seu in domibus flectant genua.' But, the very quotation, it will be seen, carries the refutation of the theory it is advanced to prove, along with it. When we bear in mind the diameter of many of these openings; the close proximity of so many of them to the ground; the fact that great numbers of them are still

* See page 49.

fenced with their original stone or iron grilles, through which it would be simply impossible to pass a bell of any audible size whatever; the application of the injunction to these windows, as a class, is seen at once to be quite out of the question. At Berkeley church, for instance, the window*—a little quatrefoil, only seven inches diameter in the full, is, from point to point of the cross, through which the bell would have to pass, no more than three inches wide. Moreover, as the vicar writes, 'a tall man standing on a chair,' would not be able to do so, even if the width of the aperture permitted such an act. So too at Llandewednack, and Weekley churches, where there are two narrow lights, some four inches wide, by about eight high, pierced through thin slabs of stone; and at Atcham, Shropshire, where there are two single square-headed lights, only seven inches high, and three inches wide, at either end of the high altar. But, narrow as these are, they are, nevertheless, twice as wide as those at Acaster Malbis,[8] near York, where the iron grille, which still remains perfect, reduces the passage-way to just about *an inch and a half!*† It has been urged, however, with regard to the impediment offered to the transmission of sound by the iron grilles so commonly met with, as at Ludlow and Downton among others, that it amounts to no more than that caused

[8] The little church of Acaster Malbis, as well in structure as in situation, is of very exceptional interest. Set a little back from the north bank of the Ouse, some five miles below York, it stands quite alone in the midst of fields, apart from all human habitation. It is of one date throughout, *c.* 1330-40, aisleless, nearly an exact Greek cross on plan, sixty-nine feet three inches, by sixty-one feet, and with a wooden spired bell-cot at the intersection of the high-pitched roofs. All its windows are square-headed, the western one of five, the eastern of seven, and all the rest of three, very narrow, ogee-topped, trefoliated lights, only eight inches wide, and with the remarkable peculiarity of being recessed from the outside, and having their mullions flush with the inside surfaces of the walls. Two very fine effigies of the founder, and, presumably, his son, are preserved within; and there are some good, and considerable, remains of contemporary glass in well nigh perfect condition, across the entire centre of the east window.

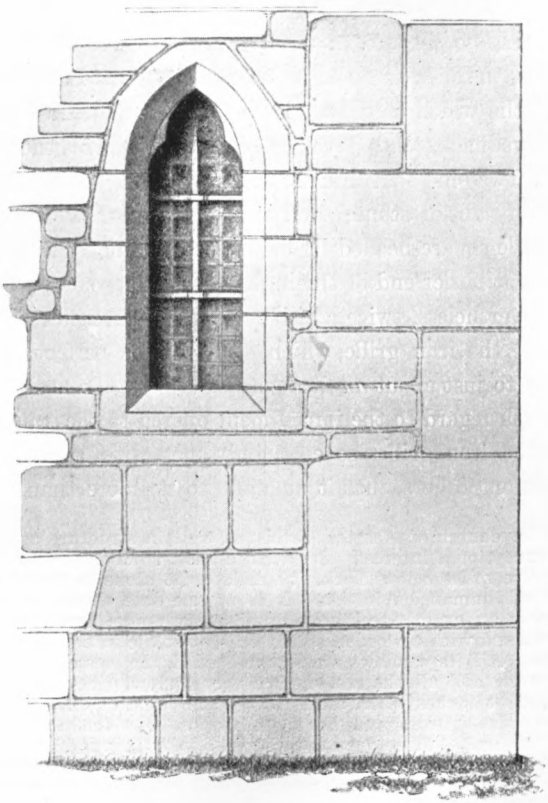
Inside the porch, which is towards the south, hangs the following framed and glazed notice :—

✠ The memory of the Just is Blessed.
John Sharp, Archbishop of York, A.D., 1691 to 1713.

'The parish church of Acaster is within a little mile of the Archbishop's palace. It stands by itself in the fields. Thither he frequently retired alone and made the little porch of that church his Oratory, where he solemnly addressed and praised God. And here it was that, for some years, he resorted as he had opportunity, to perform his Thursday thanksgivings.'—Newcome's *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, v. ii. p. 78.

* See page 49. † See page 51.

by the luffer-boards in belfry windows—quite regardless of the difference between a great church bell hung high up in a tower with large windows, often double ones, on all sides, and a little tinkling handbell inside the church, and rung within an opening often but a



JARROW, CO. DURHAM.

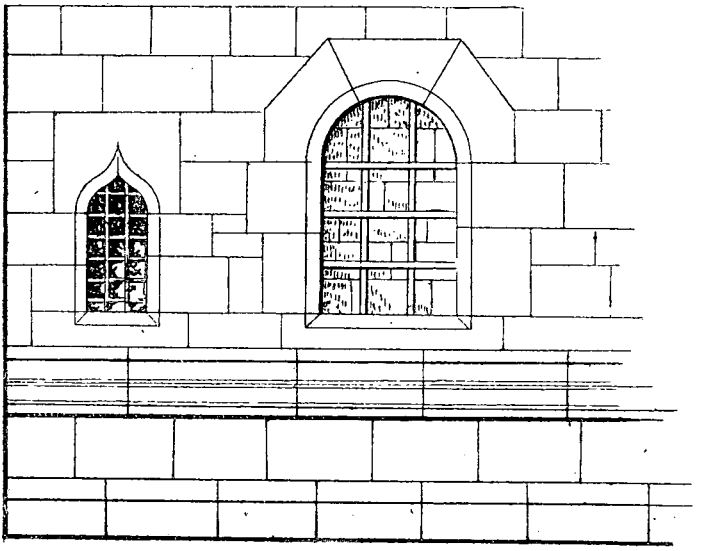
few inches in diameter, and, times out of number, near, if not all but actually upon, the surface of the ground. That they could not have been used for this purpose for the sake of convenience in being situate generally, near the high altar, is also further shown by the fact that in very many cases these openings are found in connexion with

both sanctus bell-cots and central towers, of dates contemporary with, or earlier than their own, as at Ludham, Norfolk; Uffington, Berkshire; Beckford, Boxwell, and Minchinhampton, Gloucestershire; Bucknell, Oxfordshire; Jarrow, co. Durham; St. Lawrence, Ludlow, Salop; and Acaster Malbis, Yorkshire; which would render their introduction, under such conditions, utterly absurd, since the rope of the church bell proper would be within arm's length, and its use infinitely more effectual for the purpose.[9] And this consideration brings us at once to a further, and possibly still more cogent argument against the adoption of this otherwise improbable, not to say impossible, theory.

Documentary evidence, let me say, such as this adduced from archbishop Peckham's 'Constitutions,' is always—when really bearing upon a subject—of an interesting, oftentimes of a convincingly conclusive character. But what is the exact value of that now before us? It is quoted as though its meaning were as clear as daylight, and could not be gainsaid—swallowed, in fact, so to say, whole and without previous mastication. Be it remembered, however, that Peckham was a very learned man, and a great lawyer to boot, and therefore, in the composition of a legal instrument, would be sure to use legal and technical expressions. And it will be observed, on reference to this particular injunction, that he not only makes use of the word 'campana,' but also of a further one, viz., 'pulsetur,' to which last, by way of explanation, are added, 'in uno latere.' Now Durandus, and his master, Dom Johannes Beleth, from whom he quotes, tells us that there were no fewer than six recognized kinds of bells in ecclesiastical use, each several one of which had its own distinguishing and technical name. Writing of these, the latter says:—'sciendum est sex esse instrumentorum genera, quibus pulsatur: tintinnabulum, cymbalum, nola, nolula, campana, & signa'—Durandus, who gives them in the same order, calling only the first by the equivalent name 'squilla.'

[9] A further objection to this alleged reason is, that so many are found quite away from the high, or any other altar, whatever; as at S. Margaret's church, Durham, where the opening—on the level of the ground—is at the west end of the south aisle; at S. Mary, Castlegate, York, where it is to the west of the south porch; as is also the case at Staindrop, and Barnard Castle churches, whence the high, or parish, altars cannot even so much as be seen.

'Tintinnabulum,' continues Beleth, 'pulsatur, in triclinio & in refectorio: cymbalum in choro, nola in monasterio, nolula in horologio, campana in turribus, cujus diminutivum Hieronymus ad Eustochium in coenobium esse ait. Quousque campanula in claustro pulsabitur. Signa autem pro quibus pulsandis instrumentis accipi possunt, ut quibus quipiam significetur.' From all which it is perfectly clear that the 'campana' of the injunction could have no reference whatever to that class of small handbells which could be



ETTON, NEAR PETERBOROUGH (see next page).

carried about and rung through any of our 'low side windows,' more especially such as are only a few inches in diameter. Nor would such a use explain in any way, or be at all consistent with, the existence of those many instances in which, as at Goldsborough, near York, S. Martin, Micklegate, and S. Cuthbert, within the city, among others, these openings are double, that is, so to say, of two lights, separated only by a mullion; nor yet of those others where the two openings, as at Middleham and Atcham, are separated

by the space of the high altar only, or at Patrick Brompton, near Bedale, where the two, though some twelve feet apart, are yet both on the south side of the chancel; still less at Etton, near Peterborough (see preceding page), where, in the same position, the two, of different dates and sizes, are within a couple of feet of each other; since, whatever the size of the bell, there could be no possible use in ringing it through two closely adjacent apertures.

But besides, the technical word, *campana*, which applied expressly to great bells hung in towers, we have also another equally technical one in that which defines the manner of the ringing—*pulsetur*. Now, here again, both Beleth and Durandus tell us that there were three ways in which bells were to be rung. These were 'compulsari,' 'depulsari,' and 'simpulsari' or 'simpliciter pulsari.' By the first was meant violent ringing, with the mouth upwards; by the second, a less violent kind of ringing, backwards and forwards, as in the case of bells of moderate size, hung in open bell-cots; and by the third, simply tolling, knolling, or knelling, in which the clapper merely strikes the bell, as the injunction expresses it 'in uno latere.'

Now, in the case of handbells any such method of ringing as that prescribed by the word 'pulsetur,' would, as is clear, be altogether absurd, and out of the question, since such bells never are, nor, indeed, ordinarily can be, so rung. And thus we see how these two apparently simple, but really highly technical, words 'campana' and 'pulsetur,' so far from upholding, serve not only to condemn, but to exclude, the much vaunted handbell theory completely.

And then, further comes the reason why the great bell, or 'campana,' hung aloft in the tower was to be tolled like the usual 'death bell,' viz., in order that the people, being in their houses, or labouring far off in the fields, might know what was then taking place in the church, *i.e.*, 'Shewing the Lord's death till he come,' and wherever they were, or however occupied, might reverently bend their knees.

The methods of carrying out the injunction, as explained by itself, are seen, in short, to be just as technical, clear, and practically efficient as—considering their authorship—might be expected, and the ends for which it was issued, laudable. To suppose that such could be met by tinkling a little 'squilla' or 'tintinnabulum' in

the chancel—sufficient as this, of course, would be for a congregation actually assembled in the church—is surely nothing short of an endeavour to empty words of their meaning, and to turn the simplest common sense into sheer nonsense. Yet, this theory, I have reason to think, is, at the present moment supposed to be the *scientific* one; and consequently, among the 'better informed,' may be said to 'hold the field.'

XIV.—For 'Confession.' This view also holds a position which, if not quite, is yet well nigh as strong, perhaps, as that of the 'hand-bell.' To which of them the palm of absurdity should be awarded, would require, I think, an acutely critical, and finely balanced judgment to decide. And the curious, not to say amazing, thing about both of them, as also of that propounded by Mr. Paley, is this, viz., that all three alike rest their claims upon historical documents, thoroughly authentic and trustworthy in themselves, but which are found, on examination, to have absolutely nothing whatever to do with the subject. On what basis of the kind then, does this last theory of 'Confession'—that strangely fascinating word, which has served to bewitch, and deprive of their senses, so many generations—repose? At first, it might seem to have been, as usual, simply assumed, on the old and well established 'omne ignotum pro confessione' principle, without further enquiry. And then, by and bye, there turned up, whether by pure accident, or otherwise, 'confirmation strong as oracles of Holy Writ,' in the shape of a letter from Bedyll to Cromwell, relating to the state of affairs, not of any parish church, or churches, whatever, but *within the Monastery of Sion.* Yet this letter it is, which, wholly disconnected with the subject, we are asked to accept as clinching it conclusively. Here it is:—Bedyll to Cromwell. From MS. Cott. Cleop. E. IV. fol. 109.

Right worshipful, after my moost hertie commendations, pleace it you to understand that maister Leighton and I, have had muche busines with this house sythens your departing hens; and as for the brethern, they stand stif in their obstinacy as you left thaim . . . . . I handled Whitford after that in the garden, bothe with faire words and with foule, and showed him that throughe his obstinacy he shulde be brought to the greate shame of the world for his irreligious life, and for his using of bawdy wordes to diverse ladys at the tymes of their confession, whereby (I seyed) he myght be the occasion that shrift shalbe layed downe throughe England: but he hath a brasyn forehed,

whiche shameth at nothing . . . . . We have sequestered Whitford and Litell from hering of the ladys confessions; and we think it best that the place wher thes frires have been wont to hire uttward confessions of al commers at certen tymes of the yere be walled up, and that use to be fordoen for ever; ffor that hering of utward confessions hath been the cause of much evyl, and of muche treson whiche hath been sowed abrode in this mater of the Kinges title, and also in the Kinges graces mater of his succession and mariage . . . . . We purpose this after none, or els tomorrow mornyng to waite on the king grace, to know his plaisir in every thing, and specially towching the muring up of the howses of utterward confessions . . . . . .

From Sion, the xvijth day of December,

By yours, as your servant,

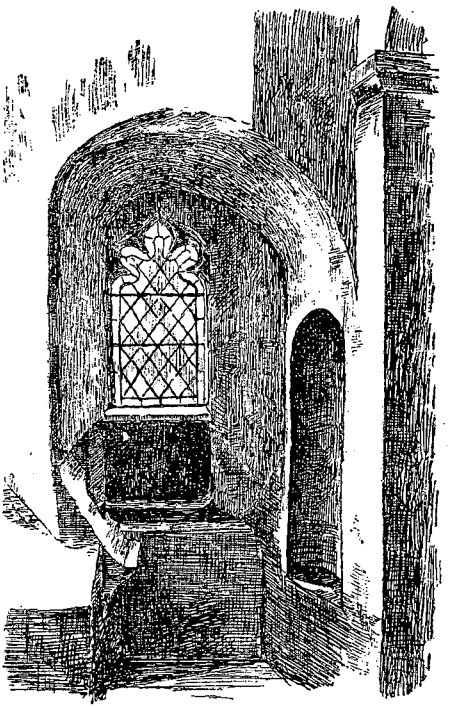
THOMAS BEDYLL.

Now, consider, in the first place, the simple matters of fact stated in this letter, and then, after that, the inferences, which, purely in support of this theory, have been drawn from them. Sion, be it remembered, was a Brigittine house in which monks and nuns, though separately, lived under a common rule. The visitors, after examination had, sequestrate the two confessors, Whitford and Little, from their office, and then proceed to say that 'we think it best that *the place* wher thes frires have been wont to hire uttward confessions of al commers at certen tymes of the yere be walled up, and that use to be fordoen for ever.' That is to say, that, in that house of that special order, the place where those two men had been used, at certain times, to hear the confessions of all comers, should be walled up, in order to put a stop to a practice which they were turning to treasonable account. In the concluding sentence it will be noted that they speak of the muring up of the 'houses,' not 'windows,' of outward confessions, that is, of outsiders, or non-members of the community, as though there were more than one such in that monastery; for there is no mention of, neither were they concerned with, any other. But could anything wilder or more inconsequent than the application of these expressions be conceived? Transferring the references from the two individuals concerned, and who were not, be it said, friars at all, to all the friars of the whole four orders, from the 13th to the 16th centuries inclusive; the *locus in quo* is similarly transferred from the single Brigittine house of Sion not, as parity of reason would require, to all the monasteries or friaries, but, *mirabile dictu*, to

all the parish churches in the land! Further, we are asked to believe, though history is wholly silent on the subject, that the friars of all orders were invested with such power that, in spite of the several incumbents, they themselves, who had no such legal rights, could forcibly enter their churches to hear the confessions of the parishioners, who, notwithstanding they had such legal rights, were compelled to remain outside. Then, still further, by implication, that the sins of these latter, paralleled only by a consuming desire to confess them, were such that, even in the smallest village, two confessors and confessionals were needed for their accommodation at the same time.[4] And finally, that the arrangements to this end were carried out in such a blundering way that while, in very many cases, both priest and penitent would have to lie down flat upon their bellies in order to converse; in many others they would have to mount ladders from ten to twenty feet high, for the purpose; and in all cases, and in all weathers, would have to do so in a public and exposed manner, when the church doors were open to both alike, and they had nothing to do but go inside, and shrive and be shriven, in peace and privacy. Nor is this all: for what shall be said to the existence of certainly one, if not two of these windows in the choir of the church of Jarrow; one, an early fourteenth century insertion, at the usual height to the north-west; the other, nearly opposite, towards the south but about fifteen feet above the ground, and of the original Saxon construction of 685? For this, be it remembered was no ordinary parish church, but that of a Benedictine monastery, and cell of the great mother house of Durham. Will it be pretended that the friars armed with bulls to hear confessions in parish churches, which no one has seen and which cannot be pro-

[4] Thus of the two 'low side windows' in the chancel of Edburton church, Sussex, it has been said (*Journal, Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvii. pp. 206,7.): 'The rebate in the aperture, evidently intended for the usual shutters instead of glass, has been noticed by Mr. Bloxam and Mr. Brock as indicating the uses to which these windows were applied. The friars, protected by papal bulls in their invasions of the rights of the parochial or secular clergy, sat here to receive the confessions of all who came, till the windows were half closed up (as now usually seen) by an order, the date of which is given by Bloxam, that they should be no longer used. The shutters used by the friars were then removed, the windows glazed, and the practice discontinued.' In connexion with which calmly confident assertions, two simple, but pertinent, questions may be asked, viz: 1st, Where are the bulls? And 2nd, Where is the order? Up to the present both are absolutely unknown to history.

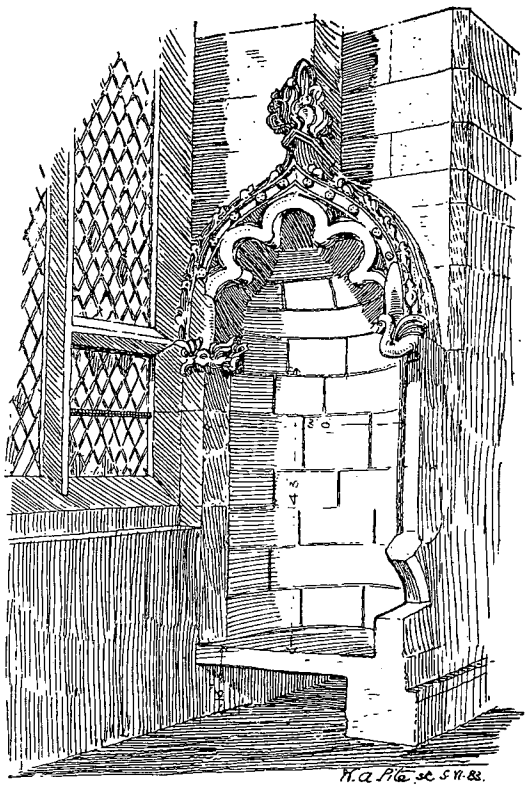
duced, were privileged to enter the churches of the established religious orders, and despite the abbots or priors hear confessions there also? The inventors of these bulls have not as yet, I think, had the hardihood to venture quite so far as this. But, it is urged again, that in some instances we find seats and book desks in close proximity to, and in evident connexion with these openings; followed by the enquiry, for what purpose could such have been supplied, save for the use of a confessor? Well! most choirs, we know, were provided not merely with one, but many stalls and book desks, yet quite independently of confessors. And then, these instances of seats and desks are so very few and far between, that only some half dozen or so have, I think, anywhere been noticed. One such, of which an illustration is here appended, exists at Melton Constable, Norfolk, while two others are instanced at Elifield, Oxon., and Allington, Wilts. At Wigginton, Oxon.,* again is another of a very exceptional and extraordinary character indeed, having a richly decorated stone canopy, in close connexion with a low side window formed by a transom cutting off the lower part of the western division of one of two lights. There is no desk however, and what its precise purpose may have been, and why it should be so elaborately enriched seems difficult to say. But whatever its object may have been it could clearly have no *necessary* connexion with the opening, since nothing of the kind has, so far as I



MELTON CONSTABLE.

* See next page.

know, been noticed in any other instance whatever. In two instances only, indeed, have I ever met with any provision for a book: one, *possible* only, at Patrick Brompton—an exceedingly rich and beautiful example, contemporaneous with the chancel, where the inner part of the flat sill, slightly sloped away, might accommodate a book; the other at



WIGGINGTON, OXON (see preceding page).

Crosby Garret (see plate III.), where there is a similar arrangement but accompanied by a ledge, about an inch in depth, to prevent the book from slipping. But the explanation is simple enough without calling in the aid of a wholly unnecessary and impossible confessor. Lights alone were not of themselves deemed all-sufficient. They were,

besides symbols of the divine presence, mute calls for prayer, and meant to be supplemented by it, as well for the souls of the dead from purgatorial pains, as for their bodies from demoniacal pollution; and whether the seat and desk were occupied by the parish priest, or members of guilds, or private persons, mattered nothing. Their prayers would be directed equally to one and the same end, and be offered in the same place where the light was set. 'Eternal rest give unto them, O Lord, and let perpetual light shine upon them.' In some of the French *fanaux*, as in those of Antigny and Ciron for example, a small altar was attached to the lower part of the shaft, shewing that not only prayers but the sacrifice of the mass also, were, at stated times, offered on the spot. The very rare occurrence of such seats and desks, therefore, need cause no surprise, or if any at all, only that they are not met with more commonly than they are.

In spite of misunderstood and misapplied texts, then, the 'confessional' theory—so manifestly impossible of application in cases out of number, as in those which are too high, or too low, or within a few feet of each other, or so close together that there is only the thickness of a mullion between them, to say nothing of its inherent absurdity, —must, like the *scientific* hand-bell one of certain *superior people*, be relegated to the limbo of 'imagined' but utterly 'vain things.'

XV.—'For the exhibition of lights, wherewith to dispel evil spirits.' Here we come, at length, to a theory which, though advanced many years ago, would seem, like all the rest, to have been nothing better than a piece of mere guess-work, unsupported by any evidence drawn either from literature or analogy. Whether for this reason or not, however, it fell flat, and was seldom, if ever, heard of again. Very possibly it might be thought to savour too strongly of ignorant, and childish superstition, to be worth serious attention. At any rate, it got none. Yet an ordinarily careful study of the subject must certainly have led to very different conclusions, and, though direct and positive evidence was not forthcoming, shew in a morally convincing way that, from whichever side approached, whether of analogy, or the offices of the church, this was the one and only theory which, when subjected to such tests, could stand, and be, in fact, the true one. But, in order to prove this, it will be necessary to take a

wide and comprehensive, though necessarily very slight, view of the subject in its several bearings. For it is one which is far reaching, and many sided; and though some of its aspects can be no more than glanced at, yet there are others which can be taken more in detail; and the more thoroughly this is done, the clearer and more convincing will this evidence appear.

Chapter II.

OF THEIR TRUE USE AND ORIGIN.

With many, perhaps most, people, nowadays, it is to be feared the bare mention of evil spirits—to say nothing of their expulsion—will be likely to raise only a laugh, or smile, of pitiful contempt. While quite prepared to admit the presence of 'evil,' they will, probably, draw a line at 'spirits,' or direct, personal agencies of evil. Nor need this, perhaps, be wondered at, for when such 'superior people' as the late Mr. Matthew Arnold, rejecting more or less completely the idea of a personal God, are only willing to admit in His stead 'a stream of tendency which makes for righteousness,' what more consistent than equally to reject the idea of a personal Devil, for a corresponding stream of tendency making for unrighteousness—the subordinate, ministering spirits, on either side, disappearing naturally with their respective principals. But then, the question is one. not at all of the belief or unbelief of the present, but of the faith and practice of the past, with which modern thought, while wholly unsympathetic, is, for the most part, just as wholly unacquainted. The intensely subjective points of view of to-day find themselves confronted by others equally intense but objective, of a yesterday which stretches back beyond the realms of history, into the very womb of time. Everything, animate or inanimate, falls within their scope—the spirits of the living, and the bodies of the dead alike. Hence the complexion of so many prayers, exorcisms, and ceremonies of the Church, exhibited in her divers offices from baptism to burial, and even afterwards. Indeed, it is only through a detailed study of these several rites and offices that the full force and extent of the belief in the all-pervading presence of such individual spiritual agencies can be realized; the

several uses of the cross, whether formative or material, of holy water, incense, salt, chrism, oil, and fire, all equally and alike pointing, not fancifully, but deliberately and confessedly, in that direction. What, for example, was one of the first and most important acts to be performed before building a church? Let Durandus, the highest of all ancient authorities on the Rationale of the Divine Offices, tell us: 'Est autem ecclesia,' says he, 'sic aedificanda. Parato namque fundamenti loco, juxta illud: bene fundata est domus domini super firmam Petram, debet episcopus, vel sacerdos de ejus licentia *ibi aquam aspergere benedictam ad abigendas inde daemonum phantasias, & primarium lapidem cui impressa sit crux in fundamento ponere.*' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* i., p. 4.)

Why again, after being built, were churches dedicated? 'Tertio dicendum est,' he proceeds, 'quare ecclesia dedicatur, & quidem propter v. causas. *Primo, ut diabolus, et ejus potestas inde penitus expellatur*, unde refert Gregorius in dialogo lib. iij., c. xxj. quod cum quaedam ecclesia Arrianorum fidelibus reddita consecraretur, & reliquiae sancti Sebastiani, & beatae Agathae illuc delatae fuissent populus ibi congregatus *porcum repentè inter pedes huc illuc discurrere senserunt, qui fores ecclesiae repetens à nullo videri potuit omnesque in admiratione commovit. Quod idcirco dominus ostendit, ut cunctis patefieret, quod de loco eodem immundus habitato, exiret.* Sequenti autem nocte magnus in ejusdem Ecclesiae tectis strepitus factus est, ac si in eis aliquis errando discurreret. Secunda verò nocte, gravior sonus increpuit. Tertia quoque nocte tantus strepitus insonuit, ac si omnis illa ecclesia fundamentis fuisset eversa, statimque recessit, *nec ulterius apud illam antiqui hostis inquietudo apparuit.*' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* vi. p. 17, *et dorso.*)

We also learn further, for what purpose the twelve consecration crosses—which even yet, in some instances, as at Exeter and Salisbury cathedrals, for instance, remain more or less perfect—were carved or depicted upon the church walls. 'Sanè christmate altari xij Cruces in parietibus ecclesiae depictae chrismantur. Depinguntur autem ipsae cruces: *Primò propter daemonum terrorem, ut scilicet daemones, qui inde expulsi sunt, videntes signum Crucis terreantur, et illuc ingredi non praesumant.*' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* 6, p. 19.)

Again, when met together for public worship on Sundays, why were the holy table, the church, and people asperged with holy water? For a mere figuratively expressive and symbolic reason, to denote the clean hands and pure hearts with which they should draw near to God? Far from it. 'Sacerdos in dominicis diebus celebraturus, alba et stola paratus, priusquam planetam induat, ut liberius vacare possit; aquam . . . . . benedicit, altare, Ecclesiam, & populum aqua benedicta conspergit, *ut omnis spirituum immemdorum spurcitia tam de habitaculo, quam de cordibus fidelium propellatur.* Hanc euim virtus aquae exorcizatae inest & etiam, quia omnis Christianorum populus baptismatis sacramento renatus; ita ministerio aquae lotà renatorum corpora diluit, sicut sanguis agni à prisco populo, ad repellèndum percussorem, in postibus ponebatur, unde in canone Alexandri ita legitur: Aquam sale aspersam populis benedicimus: ut ea Cuncti aspersi sanctificentur et purificentur, quod & omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus; nam si cinis vitulae aspersus populum sanctificabat, atque mundabat, scilicet à venialibus, multò magis aqua sale aspersa, divinisque precibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat à venialibus, & si sale aspersa per Elisaeum sterilitas aquae sanata est, quanto magis divinis precibus sacratus sal, sterilitatem rerum aufert humanarum, & coinquinatos sanctificat, & purgat & caetera bona multiplicat, *& insidias diaboli avertit; & à phantismatis versutiis homines defendit.*' (Dur. *lib.* iv., *cap.* 4, p. 63.)

But these several acts and offices of defence against the 'fraud and malice of the devil,' which attended both the corporate and individual life of the church's children up to, and beyond its close, commenced at the very beginning—from the time when, as catechumens, they had not as yet even entered her fold.

Thus, of the oil of the catechumens, and its double use, we read 'Valet etiam hujus olei unctio ad duo, scilicet ad purgationem et ad tutelam. Ad purgationem, *ut si quae catechumino postquam venit in scrutinium, adhaesere maculae, recedant ad tutelam: ut diabolus expulsus, redire non audeat,* verba orationis hoc demonstrant dicendo: Si quae illius adversantium spiritualium adhaeserunt maculae, recedant ad tactum hujus sanctificati olei. Haec de purgatione. De

tutela sequitur. Nullis spiritualibus nequitiis locus, nulla refugis virtutibus facultus, nulla insidiantibus malis latendi licentia relinquatur. Quia vero diabolum se damnandum maximè in futuro judicio novit: et inde tremit, idcirco exorcismus terminatur. Per eundem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos, & seculum per ignem. *Exorcismus enim est adjuratio. Nam in ea adjuratur diabolus ut recedat.*' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* lxxiv, *dorso.*)

Then again, when the sacrament of baptism comes to be administered: 'Post interrogationem et responsionem *sacerdos ter in faciem baptizandi exsufflat: ad notandum, quòd saeva potestas, id est malignus spiritus ab eo exsufflatur, id est ex sufflando expellitur, seu in proximo expellenda significatur, ut per pium sacerdotis mysterium Spiritui sancto cedat fugiens spiritus malignus.* Hinc autem ait Augustinus, Ergo parvuli exsufflantur et exorcizantur, id est, increpantur, seu adjurantur, ut expellatur ab eis diaboli potestas inimica quae decipit hominem, ut possideat homines. Haec autem exsufflatio sive exorcizatio, & si non prosit aliquid ad vitam, quia adhuc in eis mors manet: prodest tamen, ut inimicus minus et nocere possit. Adest enim Spiritus Sanctus, non solum verbis, quae dicuntur in nomine suo: verum etiam significationibus, quae sunt in honore suo. Et est notandum, quod *exorkismos* graecè, latinè dicitur adjuratio, ut est illud. 'Exi ab eo immunde spiritus.' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* 82, p. 238 *dorso.*)

Afterwards also, in the office of confirmation, we read:— 'Bis ergo ungitur chrismate baptizatus, scilicet in vertice et in fronte: nam et ipsis Apostolis bis fuit datus Spiritus Sanctus. Primò in terra quando Christus exsufflavit in eos dicens: Accipite Spiritum Sanctum. Secundò à coelo in die pentecostes sed et ipsi Apostoli receperunt Spiritum Sanctum in baptismo . . . . Subsequenter episcopus confirmatum percutit in faciem. Primò, ut tenacius memoriae teneat, se hoc sacramentum recepisse. Secundo, quia hoc sacramentum datur baptizato ad robur fidei, ut praemissum est: ut videlicet sit ita fortis in fide in baptismo suscepta, quòd ulterius coram quocunque confiteri nomen Christi non erubescat. Tertio, haec percussio representat manuum impositionem, quoniam Apostoli per manus impositionem

confirmabant. *Quarto, ad terrendum malignum spiritum, ut fugiat, et ne redire audeat.*' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* 84, pp. 241 *dorso*, 242 and *dorso.*)

Again, in connexion with the consecration of churches or altars, we learn in what, among others, one chief cause of rejoicing, at least, consisted. '*Post completam vero ecclesiae, vel altaris consecrationem cantatur allelu-Ia: quoniam exclusa daemonum phantasia Deus ibi laudabitur, etc.* Secundò circa aquae benedictionem notandum est, quod hujusmodi aquae exorcizatio fit ad effugandum inde inimicum. In qua benedictione quatuor necessaria sunt, videlicet, aqua, vinum, sal, et cinis. Et hoc propter tria. Primò, quum quatuor sunt quae inimicum expellunt. Primum, est lachymosum effusio: quae per aquam. Secundum, est spiritualis exultatio, quae per vinum. Tertiò naturalis discretio, quae per sal. Quartum, profunda humilitas, quae per cinerem significatur.' (Dur. *lib.* i., *cap.* vii., p. 22.)

Further, in the Eucharistic service, we are told why the altar is to asperged. 'Altare enim aspergitur propter reverentiam sacramenti, quod ibidem consecrandum est, *ut inde omnium malignorum spirituum praesentia arceatur*, quemadmodum Christus per altare quod esse debet lapideum, significatur, secundum illud Apostoli: Petra autem erat Christus: & fides nostra de uno Christo & non de pluribus est: idcirco ut signum signato respondeat, unico altari asperso, universus aspergitur populus, quid ipse solus est, qui tollit peccata mundi.' (Dur. *lib.* iii., *cap.* 4, p. 63 *dorso.*)

And then, still further, during the same service, why incense is used in regard to both sacrifice and altar alike:—'Maria ergo, scilicet Magdalena,' says he, 'accepit libram unguenti nardi, pistici pretiosi, & unxit pedes Jesu, & impleta est domus ex odore unguenti. Et sacerdos in modum crucis superducit et circumducit incensum super sacrificium, et altare, *ut & crucis signaculo & turis incenso diabolicae fraudis malignitas extricetur, et effugiat.*' (Dur. *lib.* iv., *cap.* 31, p. 95, dorso.) The previous incensing of the altar being explained in cap. 10, p. 70:—'Praeter mysticam etiam rationem *ob hoc incensatur altare ut omnis ab eo nequitia daemonum propellatur. Fumus enim incensi valere creditur ad daemones effugandos.*'

Again, as regards the use of the cross and ringing of bells, whether

during processions, or in times of storm and tempest, the fullest and clearest explanations are offered. Thus, of the cross in processions we read—'Crux ergo, quasi regale vexillum et triumphale signum in processionibus praemittitur. Primo, ut fugiant, qui oderunt eum, à facie ejus. Ps. lxvij. Est enim signum victoriae Christi. Juxta illud: Vexilla regis prodeunt, etc., *quo daemones victi sunt, unde illo viso timent et fugiunt.*' (Dur. *lib.* iv., *cap.* 6, p. 67.) And again, in those of rogation tide—'Caeterum in processione ipsa praecedunt crux et capsa reliquiarum sanctorum, *ut vexillo crucis et orationibus sanctorum daemones repellantur.*' (*Ibid.* vi., *cap.* 102, p. 259 *dorso.*)

Of the use and purpose of bellringing, and the benefits accruing therefrom, the witness is equally full and unequivocal. Nothing, indeed, could be more directly to the point, or show how thoroughly the belief in the all-pervading presence and interference of evil spirits in the worlds of nature and of grace alike, was held by, and exhibited in, the daily life and offices of the church. 'Pulsatur autem et benedictitur campana,' we are told, 'ut per illius tactum et sonitum. . . . *procul pellantur hostiles exercitus, & omnes insidiae inimici . . . spiritus procellarum, & aereae potestates prosternantur,* & ut hoc audientes confugiant ad sanctae matris Ecclesiae gremium ante sanctae crucis vexillum, cui flectitur omne genu,' etc. (Dur. *lib.* i. *cap.* 4, p. 13 *dorso.*) And yet still further, in the same chapter, on the subject of bell-ringing during processions — 'Caeterum campanae in processionibus pulsantur, *ut daemones timentes fugiant. Timent enim auditis tubis ecclesiae militantis, scilicet campanis, sicut aliquis tyrannus timet audiens in terra sua tubas alicujus potentis regis inimici sui.* Et haec etiam est causa quare ecclesia videns concitari tempestatem, campanas pulsat, scilicet, *ut daemones tubas aeterni regis, id est, campanas audientes, territi fugiant, & à tempestatis concitatone quiescant,* & ut ad campanae pulsationem fideles admoneantur, & provocentur pro instanti periculo orationi insistere.' (p. 14 *dorso.*)

But belief in the universal presence, and malignity of these satellites of the 'Prince of the power of the air,' reached far beyond the creation of tempests, or blight and pestilence among cattle, and fruits of the field. It attached to the minutest and most trivial details connected with the events of everyday life; and that not

merely among the illiterate and superstitious, but the most learned and devout teachers and rulers of the church.

'Nullus debet etiam unquam aliud comedere,' writes Durandus, 'nisi prius saltem signo crucis facto. Unde legitur in dialogo Greg. Papae, lib. j., c., iiij., quod cum quaedam monialis iret per hortum, latucam, sine benedictione comedit, *& simul daemonem, qui super eam erat, suscepit, qui etiam multum vexavit.*' 'Nos quoque,' continues he, 'vidimus in civitate Bonon. puellam à duobus spiritibus immundis, & malignis triennio vexatam. Cumque à quodam perito volente illos cum exorcismis & abjurationibus ab humano corpore pellere interrogarentur, qualiter corpus mulieris intrassent, *responderent, quod sedebant in quodam melogranato, quod ipsa puella comederat, qui tandem virtute adjurationum nobis praesentibus ab humano corpore recesserunt.*' (Dur. *lib.* vi., *cap.* 86, p. 245.)

We see then, from the several rites and ceremonies of the church, as interpreted, not by any process of modern guess-work, but by the very highest contemporary authority, how strong and universally prevailing this belief, not only in the existence, but in the constant active interference of evil spirits in the affairs of human life really was; and shall, therefore, be all the less surprised to find how the same malignant powers, which pursued men through life, were believed to follow and defile them even after death. For this, be it noted, is the precise point in our enquiry to which the quotations above given all gradually and systematically lead up. They exhibit, as such extracts only can, the depth and reality of those convictions which alone could make such issues, as we find them ultimately terminating in, possible. For Durandus, in his exposition of the office of the burial of the dead, writes:—'Adhuc licet in missa pro vivis debeant omnes turificari ad significandum: quod illorum orationes ad coelestia diriguntur, in missa tamen pro defunctis non debet tus per chorum portari, nec offerri, id est altare turificari, sed circa corpus tantum quia hoc in lege prohibitum fuit. Nullus ergo in hoc officio turrificatur, ad notandum, quod mortui nil, amodo valent orationibus suis promereri, unde Psal. Non mortui laudebunt te Domine. *Ipsa autem defunctorum corpora turrificantur, & aqua benedicta aspurguntur, non ut eorum peccata tollantur: quae tunc per talia tolli nequeunt, sed ut*

omnis immundorum spirituum praesentia arceatur, & fiunt etiam in signum societatis, et communionis sacramentorum quam nobis cum dum vixerunt habuerunt.' (*Lib.* vii., *cap.* 35, p. 300 *dorso.*) And then finally, after the body has been brought to the grave side :—'Deinde ponitur in spelunca, *in qua, in quibusdam locis, ponitur aqua benedicta et prunae cum ture. Aqua benedicta ne daemones qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant. Solent namque desaevire in corpora mortuorum ut quod nequiverunt in vita, saltem post mortem agant.*' . . . 'Et in quocunque loco extra coemeterium,' he continues, 'Christianus sepeliatur, semper crux capiti illius apponi debet, ad notandum illum Christianum fuisse, *quia hoc signum diabolus valde veretur, & timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum.*' (*Lib.* vii., *cap.* 35, p. 301 *dorso.*)

In face then of the possibility, however remote, of such hideous desecration befalling the bodies of the passive and defenceless dead, what wonder that all possible care which either natural piety or affection could devise, should be resorted to for their defence ? And such, altogether apart from, and beyond the ordinary and prescribed ritual of the church, we shall find to have been commonly exercised by all sorts and conditions of men, everywhere. And our evidence for this, like that supplied by the offices themselves, and their contemporary expounders, comes to us, fortunately, at first hand. I refer to those little known, and less generally read, but invaluable documents—the medieval Wills. Though differing, *toto coelo*, as they do, both in form and substance, from those of the present day ; in no single particular, perhaps, is the contrast so strikingly apparent as in the elaborate provision made therein for the rites to be observed during the times following directly upon death, and afterwards. Far more thought, indeed, is bestowed upon the temporal and eternal welfare of the dead than of the living ; first for the treatment of the body, then for that of the soul ; for the funeral accessories in the church and churchyard, in addition to, while forming part of, the prescribed service ; and after these, for masses, whether for a fixed time, or in perpetuity.

Among these observances, by far the most striking and persistent were those connected with the 'ceremonial use of lights !' Following hard upon the dutiful commending of their souls to God and all the

company of heaven, the first clauses are, almost without exception, devoted to the place of sepulture, and the number, weight, or cost of the candles and torches to be burnt about their bodies, directly after death, as well as during, and after, the funeral solemnities. Then the number of masses to be celebrated for their souls—of the priests to be engaged, and the term of years over which their services were to extend. When not in perpetuity, these last commonly varied between one and two, or twenty.

Generally speaking, the wealth and status of the testator may be fairly guaged by the extent of these provisions only. In most cases little or nothing is said as to the lights to be burned in the house while the body was being watched, between the days of death and burial, the ordinary custom in such cases following as a matter of course, and calling for no special directions in the will. Sometimes, however, their cost may have been included in the lump sums occasionally bequeathed for the entire funeral expenses, and implied in connexion with the amount provided to be paid to the 'clericis psalteria psallentibus et viduis vigilantibus et orantibus,' for the soul of the deceased during that period. What we find commonly referred to in these documents is the precise number, weight, or cost of the tapers and torches to be burnt at, and after, the time of the public exequies in the church. For these, the provision made, though in a few cases rigidly limited, in order to avoid all appearance of pomp or vain glory—was always abundant; in many cases, as might seem, extravagant. Thus, though Thomas de Buckton, canon of York, 1346, enjoins two candles only to be burnt about his body, one at his head and the other at his feet, Master Thomas de Walkington, rector of Houghton-le-Spring, 1410, leaves a hundred shillings—equal to about £75 of our money—for the like purpose; while at the burial of Ralph, lord Nevill, at Durham cathedral, in 1355, the church, we are told, had no less than nine hundred and fifty pounds of wax, and sixty torches; and at his wife's, in 1373, fifty pounds of silver, together with three hundred pounds of wax, and fifty torches.

What then was the end and object of all this expenditure, and what the meaning to be attached to the corresponding ceremonies? For that they not only had a meaning, but a very important one, cannot be doubted, however much it might, in process of time, have

become obscured through the ceremonies being perverted to purposes of mere social ostentation and display. Of that meaning, there cannot be a doubt. 'Lumen quid, in ecclesia accenditur,' writes Durandus (*lib.* i. *cap.* i. p. 6). '*Christum significat juxta illud: Ego sum lux mundi.* Illuminatur autem ecclesia ex praeceptis Domini, unde in Exo. legitur, Praecipe filiis Aaron, ut offerant oleum de arboribus olivarum purissimum, ut ardeat lucerna semper in tabernaculo testimonii. Fecit quoque Moses lucernas septem, quae sunt septem dona spiritus sancti quae in nocte hujus seculi tenebras nostrae caecitatis illustrant quae super candelabra ponuntur, quia requievit supra Christum spiritus sapientiae, & intellectus, spiritus consilii, & fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae, & pietatis, spiritus timoris Domini, quibus praedicavit captivis intelligentiam.' And again (*lib.* vi. *cap.* lxxxix. p. 251). '*De septem diebus post Pascha*,' he says, 'In quibusdam etiam Ecclesiis in his diebus quando descenditur ad fontes, antefertur quidam serpens imaginarius, super vergam, et candela novo lumine accensa super caput serpentis retorta affigitur, ex quo cereus paschalis, et omnes aliae ecclesiae candelae accenduntur . . . . . *Nam serpens in palo, est Christus in patibulo.*' Further (*lib.* vii. *cap.* vii. p. 287 *dorso* & 288), 'Debemus quidem portare *non tantum deitatem vel humanitatem, sed utrumque, sicut fecit Symeon, quod significatur per candelam, quam ferimus in processione. Per ceram enim per apes opere virginali, cum melle productam: nulla enim libidine resolvuntur humanitas sive caro Christi ex virgine sumpta: per lumen, deitas, quia Deus noster ignis consumens est.*'[10] In these, as in all other

[10] Again, during the service of the mass—'Acolyti . . . . cereos ferunt accensos, dum legitur evangelium, aut offertur sacrificium, non ut tenebras aeris, sed cordis illuminent, cum sol forte eodem tempore rutilet, & ut proximis opera lucis ostendant, atque ad signum laetitiae demonstrandum, ut sub typo luminis corporalis, illa lux ostendatur, de qua in evangelio legitur: Erat lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum . . . Dominus autem hoc officium se habere testatur, cum dicit, Ego sum lux mundi, qui sequitur me, non ambulat in tenebris sed habebit lumen vitae.' Dur. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 7. p. 37.

And yet again: 'De officio sabbati,' we read of the newly lighted paschal candle—'Caereus & renovatus & illuminatus significat, quod Christus resurgens a mortuis, in carne gloriosa versus Deus apparuerit. Atque ita caereus illuminatus exprimit Christum divinitatis splendore illuminatum. Quòd autem ex igne maximi caerei duo minores ac caetera Ecclesiae lumina incenduntur, declarat non solum Prophetas & Apostolos, qui per minores duos caereos, intelliguntur, igne Sancti Spiritus fuisse illuminatos sed quòd omnes etiam Ecclesiae fideles eodem igne illustrentur.' *Div. Offic. D. Johannis Beleth, brevis explicatio. Cap.* 110. p. 355 *dorso.*

instances, one or two lights are declared to represent, or stand for Christ in one person or two natures; or when more, then of those who, illuminated by Him, 'brought life and immortality to light through the gospel.' Burnt about the bodies of the dead, they put them, by such act of faith, under the direct and immediate protection of Him who said: 'I am the light of the world: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.'

All these, however, were included in those exequies—'in die sepulturae'—for the due celebration of which, as well as for the subsequent masses and other observances, the following extracts from some of our northern wills make such interesting and varied provisions.

Chapter III.

OF CANDLES AND TORCHES TO BE BURNT ABOUT THEIR BODIES, FOR WHICH, AS WELL AS FOR MASSES, ETC., SPECIAL PROVISION WAS MADE IN THE WILLS OF THE DECEASED.

Johannes Daudre miles.—'Sepeliendum in Cimiterio Beatae Mariae de Seggefeld. . . . . Item in cerâ xl^{s} . . . . Item clericis salteriam dicentibus et viduis vigilantibus xiij^{s} iiij^{d} . . . . . Item cuidam capellano idoneo celebranti pro animâ meâ per sex annos in Ecclesiâ de Seggefeld xx. libras.'

Nicholas le Mouner of Medomsley.—'In cerâ comburendâ circa corpus meum ij^{s}.' Prob. 13 kal. Maii 1346.

Dominus Radulphus de Nevill.—'Item Sacrista habuit nongentos et quinquaginta libras cerae, et sexaginta torgys, circa corpus ejusdem.' A.D. MDCCCLV.

'Item Alicia uxor ejusdem Radulphi . . . in Testamento suo dedit Priori et Conventui quinquaginta libras cerae. . . . . Item habuit sacrista trescentas libras cerae et quinquaginta torgys.' A.D. 1374.—*Hist. Dun. Script. tres* (9 *Surt. Soc. publ.*), 135.

Thomas de Ridell, senior, Burgensis Villae Berwici super Twedam, 1358.—'Item lego in cerâ comburendâ circa corpus meum iiij libras. Item lego circa exequias meas faciendas die sepulturae meae et in elemosinis pauperibus erogandis viij libras.'

William de Felton, 1358.—'Item pro lumine circa corpus meum in die sepulturae meae c solidos.'

William Mennevill, 1371.—'Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in alâ Beatae Mariae in Ecclesiâ de Esyington juxta tumulum Dionisiae consortis meae . . . Item lego ad sustentandum quinque cereos in perpetuum coram altari Beatae Mariae Virginis in capellâ Ecclesiae de Esyngton x marcas . . . . Item volo quod quinque cerei stent circa corpus meum, in quorum quolibet sint tres librae cerae, et non minus.'

The references in this, and in the two preceding extracts, are worthy of note as shewing the different provisions made, in each case, with respect to the use of lights. In the first case, Thomas de Ridell directs four pounds of wax—in the shape of as many candles, probably—to be burnt about his body, in accordance with common custom, as it would seem, between the time of his death and burial. For the ceremonies, and alms on that day, however, he leaves eight pounds sterling. William de Felton, while giving no direction as to what should be done during the intermediate stage, contents himself with making the very large bequest of c^{s}—equal to about £75 0s. 0d. of our money—for lights to be burnt about his body on the day of his burial alone. William Mennevill, on the other hand, while directing that five lights of three pounds weight each, at the least, should be burnt about his body, without specifying whether before, or at the time of, his burial, provides for five others to burn perpetually before the altar in the chapel of St. Mary. This chantry—whether of his own, or some earlier foundation, does not appear—was, as the architectural arrangements clearly show, contrived in the eastern part of the south aisle; and thus the lights, as is evident, would burn, not only before the altar, but also before the tombs of himself and his wife, which were in front of it. They stood for the five wounds of Christ.

DOMINUS ROBERTUS OGILL, 1410.—'Infra ecclesiam parochialem de Whalton, videlicet in porticu Beatae Mariae, quem volo ut plumbo cooperiatur meis sumptibus et expensis. . . . Volo eciam quod duo honesti et idonei capellani per xij. annos ibidem pro animâ meâ et Johannae uxoris meae, ac omnium parentum et benefactorum nostrorum, et pro animabus quibus teneor, celebraturi inveniantur, horas canonicas cum placebo et dirige singulis diebus à canone licitis praemissa dicturi,' etc.

He would therefore, be buried before the altar of the B.V.M.; and the daily mass, with lights, would accordingly be celebrated before his grave for the time specified. This, together with a great many other similar bequests, forms an interesting connecting link between the usual provision made for such solemnities at the time of burial, and those on behalf of the permanent chantries which were to last while 'the world should stand.'

MAGISTER THOMAS WALKYNGTON, rector of Houghton-le-Spring, archdeacon of Cleveland, and chaplain to the Pope, 1410. To be buried in the collegiate church of St. John of Beverley.—'Item lego in cerâ comburendâ circa corpus meum die sepulturae meae c^{s}.'

RALPH DE BROMLEY, vicar of Norton, 1415.—'Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in choro Ecclesiae de Norton. Item lego iiij[l] cerae ad ardendum circa corpus meum ad exequias meas in die sepulturae meae.'

MATILDA, wife of WILLIAM DEL BOWES, 1420.—'Corpus meum sepeliendum in ecclesiâ de Dalton in le Dale. . . . Item do et lego Ecclesiae de Dalton vj torches, et in quâlibet torche vj libras cerae. Item do et lego Luminari Beatae Mariae de Dalton ij quarteria frumenti.'

These great torches would, doubtless, be burnt before the Bowes vault in the choir of Dalton church, which faces the high altar on the north side. The present altar tomb was constructed, either for the husband of the testatrix, Sir William Bowes, knight, or for her son, Sir Robert Bowes, knight, who was slain at the battle of Baugy Bridge, in 1421, the year after the making of the will, and is still in good preservation. Most probably, however, it was for the latter.

ELIZABETH, LADY FITZHUGH, 1427.—'My body may be caried to Jeruaux, and y[r] to bee biryed afore the hegh Auter beside my lord's body. And as for myn enterment I will yat y[r] ben at myn exequises & atte messes vpon ye morow xxiiij torches brennyng aboute myn herse and xv tapers ychon of a pond brennyng afore y[e] hegh aut[r] in y[e] same messes tyme.'

ROBERT CONYERS DE SOCKBURN, 1431.—'Corpusque meum sepeliendum in Ecclesiâ Parochiali Omnium Sanctorum de Sokburn, cum mortuariis meis debitis et consuetis. Item lego in cerâ cremandâ circa corpus meum, in die sepulturae meae, iiij libras. Item lego summo altari iij[s] iiij[d].'

THOMAS LYNDLEY of Scutterskelf, 1529.—'Corpus ad sepeliendum in ecclesiâ de Rudby in choro coram sedem clerici parochialis, quinque serie duarum librarum sint ardentes supra corpus meum tempore missali, quilibet cerius continens unam libram cerae. Capellanus meus celebret unam missam in septimanî annuatim de quinque vulneribus xp'i pro animâ meâ in Ecclesiâ de Rudby in diebus dominicis.'

To the above extracts, taken from the Surtees Society's Northern Wills and Inventories, may be added—for the sake of ampler information, and the strong light which they throw upon the mortuary observances of former days—divers others from those of York, where the wills of early date—far more numerous than at Durham—are of the utmost interest and importance.

RICARDUS KELLAWE,[11] Episcopus Dunelmensis 1316.—'Item lego sexaginta libras cerae ad sexaginta cereos faciendum circa funus meum.'

[11] Bishop Kellawe was buried, according to his own direction, in the chapter house at Durham, 'above the step,' where his remains were discovered, in a stone coffin, during the excavations there, in 1879.

On the morning after his death, which took place at Middleham, 'in minori camerâ,' when the monk who had attended to, said mass for him, he had a

MAGISTER JOHANNES DE WODEHOUS, quondam Rector ecclesiae de Sutton super Derwent, MCCCXLV.—'Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in cimeterio sancti Michaelis de Sutton praedicta juxta crucem sancti cimiterii. Item lego in luminaribus circa corpus meum xxx^{s}. Item lego clericis psalteria psallentibus et viduis vigilantibus et orantibus pro animâ meâ xiij^{s} iiij^{d}.'

HUGO DE TUNSTEDE, rector ecclesiae de Catton, MCCCXLVI.—'Sepeliendum in choro ecclesiae predictae, juxta magnum altare ad latus aquilonare. Item volo quod circa corpus meum sint quatuor personae pauperes, induti tunicis nigris cum capuciis, tenentes quatuor torticeos, quorum quilibet sit pondiris vij librarum cerae. (Persons named). Item volo quod feretrum meum cooperiatur panno nigro ejusdem sectae, tantae longitudinis et latitudinis quantae fuerit pannus pro personis predictis, et post sepulturam meam dividatur inter quatuor viduas per equales porciones. (Persons named).'

EDMUNDUS DE PERCY, Civis Ebor, MCCCXLVI.—'sepeliendum in ecclesia Sancti Clementis Ebor. Item do et lego unum lectisternium[12] meum melius ut ponatur super feretrum, super corpus meum, et post sepulturam meam remaneat ecclesiae Sancti Clementis predictae. Item lego vj libras cerae comburendas circa corpus meum.'

AGNES nuper uxor Domini ROGERI DE BURTON militis, MCCCXLVI.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ Fratrum Predicatorum Ebor. Item legavit xiij pauperibus portantibus xiij cereos die sepulturae suae xiij tunicas de nigro cum capuciis.'

HUGO DE HASTINGS 'miles, MCCCXLVIJ.—'Sepeliendum in ecclesia parochiali de Elsyng. Et lego ad fabricam dictae ecclesiae quadraginta libras. Item lego pro omnibus expensis faciendis a tempore mortis meae usque sepulturam meam totaliter finiendam xxx^{l}. Item lego Domino Ricardo Capellano meo x marcas. Et volo quod idem Dominus Ricardus celebret pro animâ meâ per decem annos proxime sequentes post diem sepulturae meae in ecclesiâ parochiali de Elsyng, et non alibi, capiens per annum de executoribus meis quinque marcas. item lego Domino Thomae capellano meo x marcas. Et volo similiter quod idem Dominus Thomas celebret pro animâ meâ similiter in eadem ecclesiâ per decem annos, capiens per annum quinque marcas.'

The testator built the church in 1347, and, therefore, as founder, would have the most honourable place of sepulture before the high altar, where lights would burn, and masses be sung for ten years

vision, as Greystanes tells us, of the bishop, as if saying with his latest breath, 'I am of the household of Christ,' which made him remember the passage in St. John, 'where I am, there shall also my servant be.'

[12] *Lectisternium* was a feast offered to the gods, in which their images were placed on couches before tables covered with viands. In the Christian period—a feast held in memory of a deceased person. From the nature of the context, it seems clear that, in the present instance, the term is used only in respect of the drapery which was spread upon the couches, and must, therefore, be taken to mean the best coverlet.

afterwards. The remains of his magnificent brass may still be seen there, with eight of the chiefest men in England on it as 'weepers.' Carter, Cotman, Waller, and Boutell all describe and illustrate it.

JOHAN Counte de Warenne de Surrey et de Strathorne, Seigneur de Bromfeld et de Yal, MCCCXLVII.—mon corps d'estre enterre en l'eglise Saint Pancratz[13] de Lewes en une arche pres del haut autier a la partie senestre quele jeo ay fait faire. Jeo voile que touz les draps d'or et de saye qui serront offortz pour mon corps, et que tout la cire de la herce qui serra faite entour mon corps demoergent a la dit esglise ou mon corps serra enterrez. Jeo devys as friers Minours de Lewes cynquantz marc. Et jeo voile que une mesne herce soit faite en lour esglise et q'ils chauntent une messe de Requiem pour alme et que toute la cire de la dite herce demoerge devers eux.

ISABELLA quae fuit uxor Domini Willielmi filii Willielmi de Emelay militis, MCCCXLVIII.—ad sepeliendum in capellâ sancti Thomae Martiris in ecclesiâ de Sprotburgh. Item lego luminari circa corpus meum, die sepulturae meae, viij torches cerae, una cum viij vestibus pro octo hominibus illa portantibus. Item quatuor presbiteris ad celebrandum pro animâ meâ in ecclesiâ de Sprotburgh primo anno xx marc.

AGNES PERCEHAY relicta domini Walteri Percehay Militis, MCCCXLVIII.—sepeliendum in prioratu de Malton juxta corpus mariti. Item volo quod executores mei exhibeant sex sacerdotes per unum annum ad celebrandum pro animâ mariti mei quondam et pro animâ meâ. Item lego xxxvj ulmas panni nigri sive albi pro vestura xiij pauperum corpus meum circumstantium. Et volo quod apponantur circa corpus meum tresdecim magnae candelae de cerâ sine pluribus.

AGNES DE SELBY, MCCCLIX.—in cimiterio sancti Michaelis de Berefrido Ebor. Item lego et volo quod quinque librae cerae et dimidia comburantur circa corpus meum in quinque cereis factis die sepulturae. Et volo quod quinta cerea sit ponderis unius librae et dimidiae cerae, et post sepulturam meam ponatur coram altare beatae Mariae ad comburendum tempore majoris missae omnibus diebus festivis quamdiu duraverit.

[13] The site of the church of St. Pancras at Lewes, or of a very considerable part of it, including the testator's place of sepulture, now 'hangs in air;' a cutting of the Brighton and Hastings railway, forty feet wide and twelve deep, having swept it utterly away. The plan of the church was remarkable, consisting of a pair of western towers, a nave, with north and south aisles, a short transept with an apsidal chapel on each side eastwards, and a semi-circular choir with five similar radiating chapels. In a line with the centre of the transept, and on the left, or south, side of the high altar—precisely in the spot indicated in the will—was found a skeleton, with the nails of a coffin, and some remains of grave clothes. Beneath the skull was a leaden bull of Pope Clement VI., inscribed Clemens P. P. VI. He was elected in 1342, and died in 1352. Midway between these dates, died and was buried, John, eighth and last earl of Warenne, and of whose plenary absolution, probably, this was the sole surviving relic.

In many other graves, thin plates of brass, much corroded, are said to have been found upon the breasts of the deceased, during the same operations. See Fosbroke, *Brit. Mon.*, p. 213.

WILLIELMUS DE NEUPORT, rector ecclesiae de Wermouth, MCCCLXVI.—sepeliendum in medio chori ecclesiae de Wermouth. Item do et lego decem libras cerae, ut in quinque cereis ardendis circa corpus meum eodem die sepulturae meae cum sex torchis. *Item do et lego novae fabricae*[14] *ecclesiae Ebor. xl*[l].

MARMADUKE LE CONSTABLE, miles MCCCLXXVI.—sepeliendum in cancello ecclesiae sancti Oswaldi Regis de Flaynburgh.—Item lego xxv. libras cerae ad faciendum in quinque candelas ad comburendum circa corpus meum die sepulturae. Item lego sex libras argenti pro xij. torchis emendis et comburendis circa corpus meum die sepulturae meae. Et volo quod xij. pauperes portant et teneant illos circa corpus meum induti tunicis et caputiis de russeto, quousque sepeliatur, de quibus xij. torches finitâ sepulturâ meâ, volo quod quatuor torches remaneant ad summum altare in ecclesiâ de Flayneburgh pro reverentiâ corporis Christi. Et ij torches remaneant ad altare sanctae Mariae in eadem. Et ij remaneant ad altare sanctae Katherinae in eadem. Item lego ij ad summum altare in ecclesia de Holm et ij ad deserviendum in capellâ sancti Nicholai in eadem.—Item lego domino Johanni German, ad celebrandum divina pro animâ meâ per ij annos post decessum meum, in loco ubi sepelietur corpus meum xij[l].

JOHANNES DE MEUX DE BEWYK in Holderness miles, MCCCLXXVII.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ sancti Bartholomei in Aldeburgh, videlicet in insulâ Beatae Mariae in ecclesiâ predictâ et volo quod corpus meum sepelliatur in habitu Fratrum Minorum, quia eorum frater sum in eodem ordine, et volo quod corpus meum tegatur nigro panno die sepulturae meae, et circa illud corpus quatuor magnos torgeos ardentes.

ROBERTUS DE SWYLYNGTON, miles, MCCCLXXIX.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ de Swilyngton, videlicet in capellâ beatae Mariae ante altare ex parte boreali Christianae uxoris meae. Item lego xx. libras cerae ad comburendum circa corpus meum tempore exequiarum mearum. Item lego Capellanis (etc.) xiij.[s] iiij[d]. Item volo quod sex pauperes vestiantur in russet, et sedeant ad orandum circa corpus meum quousque sepeliatur. Item volo quod expensae faciendae circa exequias meas fiant tantum pauperibus et egenis.

ROGERUS DE MORETON civis et mercerus Ebor. MCCCXC.—sepeliendum in Ecclesiâ sancti Martini in Conyngstrete in Ebor. Item lego xx. libras cerae in quinque cereis conficiendis et circa corpus meum comburendis in die sepulturae meae. Item lego ij torcheas cerae precii xiij[s]. iiij[d]. ad ardendum ad missam, in die sepulturae, et extunc ad ardendum et deserviendum in ecclesiâ predictâ ad summum altare. Item lego cuidam capellano honesto et ydoneo, divina celebraturo pro salute animae meae per duos amnos integros in ecclesiâ memoratâ x[l].

JOHANNES DE SANCTO QUINCTINO, MCCCXCVII.—sepeliendum in ecclesiâ beatae Mariae de Brandesburton, in medio chori, coram summo altari predictae ecclesiae. Item do et lego viginti marcas ad emendum quandam petram de

[14] The 'nova fabrica' above referred to, was that of the presbytery, including the lady chapel, and comprising the four easternmost bays of the choir of York minster, commenced by archbishop Thoresby, July 30th, 1361, and completed by him, probably, before his death in 1373.

marble, super corpus meum, et corpora Lorae nuper uxoris meae et Agnetis uxoris meae jacendam, cum tribus ymaginibus de laton[15] supra dictam petram parietis. Item do et lego ij cereos cerae ponderantes xij libras ad comburendum circa corpus meum, die sepulturae meae, videlicet unum ad capud et alterum ad pedes meos. Item lego et constituo octodecim torches ad comburendum circa corpus meum die sepulturae meae.

JOHAN FITZ DU ROY D'ENGLETERRE, Duc de Lancastre, MCCCXCVIII.—a' estre ensevelez en l'esglise cathedrale de Saint Poal de Loudres, pres de l'autier principals de mesme l'esglise, juxte ma treschere jadis compaigne Blanche illoques enterree. Jeo vueille et devise que apres mon trespassement mon corps demoerge desur la terre nemy enterrez pour quarante jours. Item jeo devise en ciere pour arder entour nom corps le jour de ma sepulture, primerement dis grosses cierges, en nom des dis comandementz de nostre Seigneur Dieu, contre les quelx j'ay trop malement trespassez, suppliant a mesme nostre Seigneur Dieux que ceste ma devocion me puisse remedier de tout cela que encountre les ditz comandentz ay moult sovent et trop malement fait et forfait; et que desuis yceulx dis soient mys sept cierges grosses, en memoir de sept eovres de charite, esqueulx j'ay este necgligent, et pour les sept mortiels peches; et dessus y ceux sept je vueille que soient mys cynk cierges grosses en l'onur des v plaies principalx nostre Seigneur Jehsu, et pour mes cynk scens, les quelx j'ay moult negligemment despendu, dount jeo prie a Dieu de mercy, et tout amont yceulx cierges jeo voille que soient mys trois cyerges en l'onur de la Benoite Trinitee, a le quele je me rende de tres toutes les malx qui fait ay, en suppliant de pardon et de mercy pour la mercie et pitee que de sa benigre grace il a fait pour la salvacion de moy et d'autres peechours. Et vueille bien que parentre les suis ditz cierges, soient mys entour mon corps morters de cire, tieulx et a tantz corne a mes ditz executours il plerra de y mettre—mes executeurs facent ordenner et establie en l'avant dit esglise de Seint Poul un chanterie de deux chappellains, a celebrer divine service en ycell a toutz jours pour m'alme et l'alme de ma dite nadgairs compaigne Blanche, et que a ceo sustenir perpetuelement soient donez et amortizaz certein terres et tenementz en Londres, des queulx la reversion est pourchasez a mons eops.

WILLIELMUS DE MELTON, miles, MCCCXCVIII.—ad sepeliendum in ecclesiâ omnium Sanctorum de Aston. Item lego xl libras cerae et vj torches circa corpus meum ardendas, et vestimenta alba pro vj hominibus tenentibus dictas torches et cuilibet capellano venienti ad exequias meas iiij^{d}.

JOHANNA, quae fuit uxor Donaldi de Hesilrigg, MCCCC.—Ad sepeliendum in ecclesiâ meâ parochiali. Item lego xxv libras cerae in quinque cereos conficiendas ad comburendum circa corpus meum ad exequias meas, et die

[15] This brass, though mutilated and largely covered by a pew, still exists in the choir of Brandesburton church. Notwithstanding the provisions of the will, it contains two figures only, viz.: those of the testator and his first wife Lora, whose effigy, as sometimes happened, was made to do duty both for herself and her succsssor. The figures are of life-size, but the head of sir John is gone, as is also nearly all of the inscription.

sepulturae meae. Item lego xiij torches, quolibet per se ponderante xiij libras cerae rosyn et weke, ad ardendum similiter ad exequias meas circa corpus meum in die sepulturae meae. Item lego pauperibus eosdem torches portantibus, videlicet cuilibet eorum per se iij ulnas panni russeti, precium ulnae xij[d].

JOHANNIS DEPEDEN, miles, ac dominus de Helagh, MCCCCII.—corpusque meum sacrae sepulturae jacere in ecclesiâ abbathiae de Helaghpark, si Deus ordinaverit, in medio chori ecclesiae ejusdem, videlicet juxta Elizabetham uxorem meam, cujus animae propicietur Deus. Et volo et ordino, quod tempore sepulturae meae et ministracionis corporis mei, sint ardentes circa corpus meum quinque cerei, et quod quilibet cereus continet in se quinque libras cerae. Et volo quod tempore predicto sint ardentes circa corpus meum viij torches, et quod octo homines pauperes sint ibidem tenentes dictos torches, et quod dicti homines sint vestiti in panno nigro, empto et facto sumptibus meis. Et volo quod dictae viij torches distribuantur in formâ sequenti, videlicet quod ij remanant dictae Abbathiae, et ij ecclesiae parochiali de Helagh, et ij ecclesiae parochiali de Thorparche, et alii ij ecclesiae parochiali de Burghwalays, ad divina servicia in eisdem ornanda. Et volo et ordino quod feretrum meum sit coopertum cum panno nigro laneo, et quod dictus pannus remaneat dictae domui de Helaghpark.

And now, in direct connexion with, and sequence to, such proofs of the universal custom of burning lights about the bodies of the deceased from the time of death to that of burial, as we have seen witnessed to by 'Offices' and 'Wills' alike, it may be well, perhaps,—as pointing clearly to the underlying beliefs which led up to, and maintained those practices—to turn from the actual torches and candles of which we have heard so much, to the 'instrumenta' in which some of them, at least, and especially those serving at the altar during the office of the mass, were fixed.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PRESERVATIVE, AND DEMON DISPELLING PROPERTY OF LIGHT, AS FIGURATIVELY REPRESENTED IN MEDIEVAL CANDELABRA.

In no department of ancient metal-work, probably, shall we find more striking evidence of artistic skill, inventive genius, or symbolic expression displayed, than in that pertaining to the 'luminaria' of the church services. Most unhappily, however, scarce a single example of this once abundant class, of native manufacture, would seem to be remaining to us in England. We know, historically indeed, of some

few particular instances, but of the great bulk of those which once served and adorned our sanctuaries in well nigh incalculable profusion, the very memory has perished. Examples of ancient candelabra are now, for the most part, to be met with only in our museums, or in foreign galleries and churches, where many such, dating from the twelfth century, have not only been preserved, but remain in use. Of these, many beautiful and highly instructive illustrations may be seen in the *Annales Archéologiques*, of the late M. Didron; the *Bulletin Monumental*, of the late M. de Caumont; and the *Dictionnaire Raisonnée du Mobilier Francais*, of the late M. Viollet le Duc. However differing in other respects these may be, they will all be found to agree in this one particular, viz.:—That the several monsters represented thereon—lions, dragons, or other figures symbolical of the powers of darkness—are shewn as vanquished, and striving to flee away, and escape from, the presence of the light.—'Thou makest darkness that it may be night, wherein all the beasts of the forest do move. The lions, roaring after their prey, do seek their meat from God. *The sun ariseth, and they get them away together, and lay them down in their dens.*' Ps. civ., 20-22.

One of the very finest existing works of this kind is the magnificent altar candlestick of the cathedral church of St. Vitus at Prague, described and illustrated in vol. i., 197-200 of the *Mitt. Kunstdenkmale des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Heider, Eitelberger und Hieser, Stuttgart, 1858). Of early thirteenth century date, apparently, its plan consists of a circular base, out of which rises an equilateral triangle with a projecting semi-circle applied to each face, the whole of which it so nearly absorbs as to leave only the points of the triangle visible. All these mouldings are very simply, but boldly and beautifully treated. Above this smooth and lustrous pediment rises a living mass of men and monsters. Three huge winged dragons, with heads and necks depressed and prone in pain and terror, rear their lizard-like bodies towards the central nozzle of acanthus leaves, which forms the socket for the candle; while six others, of less size, resting on their shoulders, with upturned and reversed heads, regard angrily three naked men who, seated astride of

them, in calm and assured confidence, place their hands in the mouths of as many lions. Above each point of the triangle, and between the dragons, three other figures, young, beautiful, sandaled, and clothed in richly girded tunics, place their feet with perfect unconcern within the jaws of two other dragons' heads, while resting their outstretched arms and hands upon their bodies. The aspect and attitude of all three figures is that of absolute fearlessness and domination.—'*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem.*' Ps. xci. 13.

Very similar, in respect of its decorative and symbolic features to this of Prague, was the lower part of the great Paschal candlestick at Durham, 'esteemed,' as we are told, 'to bee one of the rarest monuments in England.' This—says the author of the *Rites*,[16] 'was wont to be sett upp in the Quire, and there to remain from the Thursday called Maundye thursday, before Easter, untill Wednesday after the Assention day, that did stand uppon a foure-square thick planke of wood against the first grees or stepp, hard behind the three basons of silver that hung before the High Altar. In the midst of the said greese is a nick wherein one of the corners of the said planke was placed, and at every corner of the planke was an iron ringe, wherunto the feete of the Pascall were adjoyned, representinge the pictures of foure flyinge dragons, as also the pictures of the four Evangelists above the tops of the dragons, underneath the nethermost bosse, all supportinge the whole pascall; and in the four quarters have beene foure christall stones, and in the four small dragons' four heads four christall stones, as by the holes doth appeare. And on everye side of the four dragons there is curious antick worke, as beasts and men, uppon horsbacks, with bucklers, bowes and shafts, and knotts, with broad leaves spred uppon the knotts, very finely wrought, all beinge of most fine and curious candlestick mettall comminge from it, three of everye side, wheron did stand in everye of the said flowers or candlestick a taper of wax. And on the height of the said candlestick or Pascall of lattine was a faire large flower, beinge the principall flower; which was the seventh candlestick. The Pascall in latitude did containe

[16] 15 Surtees Society publ. p. 8.

almost the bredth of the Quire, in longitude that did extend to the height of the vault, wherein did stand a long peece of wood reachinge within a mans length to the uppermost vault roofe of the church, wheron stood a great long square taper of wax called the Pascall, a fine conveyance through the roofe of the church to light the taper with all.'

And this account of the great 'Paschal' at Durham—the obscurity of its concluding words nótwithstanding—brings us, at once, to the examination of that which, very similar, apparently, both in general design and decoration, is known as

'L'ARBRE DE LA VIERGE,' AT MILAN.

This famous work of the founder's and goldsmith's art, unquestionably the very finest of its kind, either at the present, or any previous period existing, is still preserved in beautiful perfection in the cathedral of Milan. It is of bronze gilt, and strengthened with an inner frame, or skeleton of iron. M. Didron, gives the following account of it. (*Annales Archéologiques* xvii., 243.) 'Cet arbre de métal a six mètres de hauteur; il est en fonte de bronze que couvre une patine comparable à celle des médailles antiques. L'adoration des Mages y occupe le nœud principal, comme on le voit; tous les autres sujets, signes du zodiaque, fleuves du paradis, création et chute de l'homme, expulsion du paradis terrestre, arts libéraux, vertus et vices, déluge, sacrifice d'Abraham, Moïse délivrant les Hébreux, David tuant Goliath, Assuérus couronnant Esther, tous sont à la racine de l'arbre, dans ces broussailles qui gardent, comme autrefois le jardin des Hespérides, les dragons qui servent de base à tout le monument. Malgré les admirable finesses de la gravure de M. Sauvageot, on ne voit pas, on ne peut pas voir une foule de petites têtes ou de petits animaux qui sortent de l'aisselle des feuille sou s'élancent à la pointe des rinceaux. C'est tout un monde en miniature. L'œuvre de fonte appartient surtout au pied et au nœud principal; l'œuvre d'orfévrerie est distribuée sur les autres nœuds, sur le tronc et toutes les branches. Sur cette écorce de métal, dans ce cannelures festonnées et dorées, sont serties par l'orfévre ou plutôt par le bijoutier un grand nombre de pierres précieuses de toutes couleurs, rondes ou plates, mais toutes sous forme de cabochons; du reste, le nœud de l'adoration des Mages,

qui nous avons donné au tiers de grandeur, montre parfaitement la forme de ces pierres précieuses et la manière dont elles sont enchâssées . . . . Ce chandelier étale sept branches, bien entendu, et porte sept larges plateaux sur lesquels on pose de gros cierges ou des lampes. Mais à chaque plateau principal, quatre plateaux plus petits font une espèce de collerette et portent quatre petits cierges. En tout, sept grosses lumières, ou sept planètes, pour ainsi dire, et vingt-huit étoiles plus petites. Pour un arbre aussi considérable, ce n'est pas une masse bien forte de lumière, et cependant, surtout aux office des morts, ainsi que je l'ai vu un jour dans le Cathédrale de Milan, cela brille comme le buisson ardent qui vit Moïse dans le désert.'

Of far more frequent occurrence, however, naturally, than the great and costly Easter candlesticks of the cathedral, and abbey churches, were those small, and comparatively speaking, inexpensive portable ones, belonging either to shrines for the exposition of relics, or to the several altars of churches of all kinds—even the humblest. Of these, many examples of early date have been happily preserved, varying, of course, greatly in respect of detail, but all following one general plan; all, more or less, admirable as illustrations of artistic skill and symbolical expression, and, perfectly adapted as they are to their special uses, offering the best possible models, or rather types, either for adoption, or adaptation among ourselves. Among those of this class, one of the earliest, and finest, perhaps, is that described by M. Didron in the tenth volume of his *Annales Archéologiques*, p. 141, belonging to a village church on the banks of the Moselle. Writing of it, he says—'Rien de plus commun que les reliquaires, même les chandeliérs, posés sur des corps d'animaux,' lions, dragons, aigles, griffons. Aujourd'hui, nous publions précisément un chandelier de l'époque romane, dont les trois pattes sont faites de trois serres d'aigles qui saisissent une portion de sphère ovale. Si cette patte est bien la serre de l'aigle, la griffe de l'animal *souvrain* prend procession du globe des empereurs. Quant au pied proprement dit du chandelier c'est un composé de lezards, de dragons ailés qui se mordent et s'enlacent. Il y en a douze autour de ce petit triangle qui a juste 10 centimètres de côté. La bobèche est soutenue ellemême pas trois dragons, qui l'escaladent, sont à jour et forment comme

de petites anses. Il est probable que ce petit chandelier accompagnait, avec un ou trois autres, un reliquaire, quand on exposait et éclairait ce reliquaire sur un autel. On voit, en effet, gravé autour de la bobèche, entre les dragons à jour, l'inscription suivante, qui est mutilée malheureusement : MARTYR TRANSLATIO DE VASE CRUORE S . . . .

Two more examples only, designed more strictly for ordinary altar, or eucharistic service, however, than the preceding one, need here, I think, be noticed in illustration of this branch of the subject. Of much the same early character, they display, if with somewhat less artistic excellence, perhaps, not only the same general arrangement of parts, but a similar treatment of the same general, and universally dominant, idea. These too are given by M. Didron in the *Annales Archéologiques*, xviii. 160, 'Comme on le voit,' he says, 'la forme de ces chandeliers varie peu : un pied sur trois pattes de lion ou trois corps de dragon ; un nœud de feuillages ou de dragons enroulis ; une bobèche assez évasée arcboutée par trois ou quatre petites bêtes fantastiques qui resemblent à des dragons ou à des lezards ailés ; du pied au nœud et du nœud à la bobèche, tige absente ou tres-courte. Telle est la forme générale des chandeliers, petits, moyens, et grands, de l'époque romane ; forme charmante et qui a même séduit le xiii^{e} siécle mais en si simplificant. Les deux chandeliers ne manque pas d'intérêt, cependent ils ne valent pas, à beaucoup près celui qui a paru dans le volume x.'

But, to whatever class these various candelabra may belong—and the few examples above referred to, be it remembered, stand only as typical instances of countless others—whatever their respective artistic merits, or individual scheme of decoratively symbolic design may be ; the one clear, unmistakable lesson which they all alike, though in necessarily varying degrees, convey, is this, viz. :—The absolute and eventual triumph of light over darkness, of good over evil, of life over death, of God over 'the Dragon, that old serpent which is the Devil, and Satan.' That 'God is Light ;' and that all those who, having been 'delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the Kingdom of His dear Son,' are now 'no longer darkness but light in the Lord'—'all children of the light, and of the day,' and who 'walk in

the light,' shall, in like manner—'go upon the lion and adder, and tread the young lion and dragon under their feet.'

These various symbolical representations of the personal spiritual agents of the 'father of lies,' to whom 'the blackness of darkness is reserved for ever,' and not the servants of the 'true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world'—as the heathen of old so calumniously alleged—are seen in short, to be the true '*Lucifugax natio.*' 'For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are done in God.'

In this connexion, however, it is very necessary to remember that the fire of the lights, thus used ceremonially in the divers offices of the church, was derived from no common or haphazard source; but, on the contrary, reverently produced and hallowed for the several purposes to which they were applied. No strange fire was allowed; only that which having beforehand been 'sanctified by the word of God and prayer,' exhibited thenceforth in figure the person and office of the Lord—'a light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of His people Israel.' All other lights were derived from the great 'Paschal,' the emphatic emblem of that 'true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' So Durandus—'Secundo loco paschalis cereus benedicitur. Circa quod sciendum est, quod in principio officii totus in Ecclesia debet ignis extingui, & novus de lapide percusso cum calibe, vel ex crystallo soli objecto debet elici, & de sarmento foveri. Ignis vetus, veterem significat legem, cujus figurae in morte Christi completae fuere, et ideo velut extinctae cessare debuerunt: sed de lapide, id est, de Christo qui est lapis angularis, qui verbere crucis percussus. Spiritum sanctum nobis effudit, vel de crystallo inter solem & lunam mediante, id est, de Christo qui fuit mediator inter Deum & hominem, qui sicut ipse testatur, ignem in terram mittere venit, novus ignis elicitur, dum per ejus passionem vel resurrectionem Spiritus sanctus nobis effunditur, cui praebet alimentum sacramentum, id est, Christus qui est vitis vera Crystallus quoque perlucida est Christi, humanitas resurrectione splendidissima. Adhuc novus ignis ideo benedicitur, ut sicut ille, qui est lumen indeficiens, illuminans

omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum igne illuminavit Mosen: ita illuminet sensus & corda nostra, ut ex his tenebris ad lumen & vitam aeternam, meriamur pervenire. Nec est vana religio solenni processione, ad hujus ignis benedictionem exire, in quo meminisse debemus exeundum nobis esse ad illum quem Judaei extra castraejicerunt. Exeamus (inquit Apostolus) ad eum extra castra, improperium ejus portantes, & benedicimus illum cum cruce & aqua, ut nos in passione ejus per quem Spiritum sanctum accipimus totos esse significamus. Rursus extinctis Ecclesiae luminaribus, & igne de petra cum calibe excusso ignis aqua aspergitur benedicta, quia extinctis Apostolis, qui lumen mundi à Christo dicti sunt, de Christo petra excussus est ignis charitatis cum calibe lanceae vulnerantis, dum sanguis & aqua de ejus corpore sacro emanaverunt, à quibus habent efficaciam sacramenta quibus mediantibus in amore Domini inflammamur aqua gratiae perfusi. . . . Subsequenter benedicitur cereus ex institutione Zozimi, & Theodori primi Papae. . . . Benedicitur autem ideo quoniam ex simplici sui natura absque benedictione, non potest transire ad significationem mysterii columnae ignis de qua jam dicetur. . . .

Porro cereus, super columnam illuminatus, significat primo columnam ignis, quae praecedebat in nocte populum Israel, extinctus vero significat columnam nubis, quae praecedebat in die, prima quidem de nocte illuminans, & secunda in die refrigerans in qua Spiritus sanctus significabatur. Tenuit quidem in nobis columna nubis figuram humanitatis: columna ignis figuram divinitatis. . . .

In cereo etiam affigitur tabula seu charta scripta, quae significat tabulam, in qua Pilatus scripsit: Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum, quam vidimus Parisiis in capella Illustris Regis Francorum, una cum spinea corona, & ferro, & hastea lanceae, & cum purpura, qua Christum induerunt, & cum sindone, qua corpus fuit involutum, & spongia, & ligno crucis, & uno de ex clavis, & aliis reliquiis multis. Et cum cereus Christum significet, merito in dicta tabula inscribitur annus Domini tunc currens, cum ejus incarnatione, quia in cereo notat quòd Christus est annus antiquus, & magnus, plenus dierum. . . .

In quibusdam Ecclesiis additur alter cereus minor: primus major consecratur in personam Christi dicentis. Ego sum lux mundi, alter in persona Apostolorum, quibus ipse dominus inquit: Vos estis

lux mundi; uterque cereus praecedit cathecuminos, ad baptismum, & Apostoli nos ad terram promissionis. Item Christus per se illuminat ecclesiam, illuminat etiam illam per Apostolos, quorum praecepta diligenter intueri & observare debemus, quod ostenditur ex illuminatione aliorum cereorum, qui ab aliis duobus illuminantur. In plerisque vero ecclesiis duo alii parvi cirei accenduntur à majori, & statuitur unus ab una parte cerei benedicti, alius ab alia, qui significant sanctos novi & veteris testamenti qui per Christum illuminati sunt, and per doctrinam Apostolorum & Prophetarum, qui cum Christo concordant. Ecclesiae luminaria ex igne majoris cerei accenduntur, ad figurandum quod ignis Spiritus sancti à Christo procedit, & quòd non solum Prophetae & Apostoli, qui per duos cereos significantur, verumetiam omnes ecclesiae fideles à Christo illuminati sunt.' (Dur. *lib.* vi. *c.* lxxx. pp. 232 *dorso* and 233 *dorso.*) In connexion with which extracts from Durandus, may be taken the following from his master, Dom. Johannes Beleth—'Cereus a diacono benedici & consecrari oportet, non autem a sacerdote vel Episcopo, etiam si sint presentes, quantumvis majoris sint ordinis, & dignitatis. Per quod quidem intelligitur, quod Christus resurgens ex mortuis, primo sere obtulerit & ostenderit mulieribis, per quos, utpote quae erant sexus debilioris, gloriam suae resurrectionis Discipulis suis nunciavit. Sed nec illud temerè fecit Dominus. Nam quem ad modum principium mortis per foeminam in mundum intravit, ita quoque necessarium fuit, ut initium, nostrae restitutionis & salutis per mulierem mundo annunciaretur. (*c.* 102.)

Again ('in baptismo') (*c.* 110), we read—'Caereus in aquis ponitur, quod contactus corporis Christi in baptismate aquas sanctificaverit, & vim regenerandi illis contulerit. Representat autem caereus super columnam positus & accensus columnam ignis, quae nocte praecedebat filios Israel, quando Aegypto exeuntes intrarunt mare rubrum, in quo praefigurabatur baptismus, ut per desertum venirent in terram promissionis. Extinctus vero ostendit columnam nubis quae item eosdem praeibat interdiu. Columna enim tria praeibabat, protegebat namque, illos a sole, ab hostibus, & nocte eis lucem praebebat. Pari ratione Christus praecedens baptizatos, obumbrat eos contra in citamenta vitiorum, & protegit ab hostibus, scilicet a daemonibus,

& a mundanis cupiditatibus, atque illuminat per charitatem. Unde dicitur. Ignis consumens in nobis vitia.'

But helpful to the dead, and consolatory to the living, as such exhibition of the symbols of the Divine presence and protection attaching to lights might either be, or be esteemed—as well at, as after, the obsequies of the deceased—they constituted by no means the only way in which it was sought to protect them. They were to be both incensed and asperged.—'Adhuc licet in missa pro vivis debeant omnes turificari ad significandum, quod illorum orationes ad coelestia diriguntur, in missa tamen pro defunctis non debet tus per chorum portari, nec offerri, id est altare turificari, sed circa corpus tantum quia hoc in lege prohibitum fuit. Nullus ergo in hoc officio turrificatur, ad notandum, quod mortui nil amodo valent orationibus suis promereri unde Psal. Non mortui laudebunt te Domine. *Ipsa autem defunctorum corpora turrificantur, & aqua benedicta asperguntur*, non ut eorum peccata tollantur: quae tunc per talia tolli nequeunt, *sed ut omnis immundorum spirituum praesentia arceatur, & fiunt etiam in signum societatis, & communionis sacramentorum quam nobiscum dum vixerunt habuerant.*' (Dur. *lib.* vii. *cap.* 35, p. 300 *dorso.*)

And the same protective care and watchfulness, which had so diligently waited on them hitherto, attended them to their graves. Apart from such—at all times comparatively very few in number—as were interred within the church itself, those buried without, were not, as happens so commonly among ourselves nowadays, laid in some plot of common ground, merely fenced in and set apart for that purpose. Nor was it thought enough to accompany the act of separation by the performance of some such religious 'exercises,' merely, as might seem, in a general way, decorously 'appropriate to the occasion.' Something far more serious and practical in its import than functions of this sort were deemed needful. 'Coemeterium, quod eisdem gaudet privilegiis cum ecclesia,' says Durandus, '*consecratur, & benedictur. Benedictus autem ut ulterius desinat illic immundorum spirituum habitatio esse, et fidelium corpora ibi usque ad diem judicii requiescant in pace.*' (*Lib.* i. *cap.* 8, p. 27.)

Nor was this general consecration and benediction of the cemetery at large allowed to suffice. Whatever benefits might accrue therefrom

to the company of the faithful dead collectively, a special, personal protection was sought to be obtained for each one of them in particular. The separate graves were to be hallowed individually. The dead body, after being brought thereto, and other preliminary service said—'Deinde ponitur in spelunca, in qua in quibusdam locis ponitur aqua benedicta and prunae cum ture. Aqua benedicta ne daemones, qui multum eam timent ad corpus accedant . . . . Et in quocunque loco extra coemeterium Christianus sepeliatur, semper crux capiti illius apponi debet, ad notandum illum Christianum fuisse quia hoc signum diabolus valde veretur, & timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum.' (Dur. *lib.* vii. *cap.* 35, p. 301 *dorso.*)

But, hallowing and protective as the presence of the great cemetery cross, like that of the cemetery, and church itself, might be to all at rest around it, still those whose means enabled them to do so, sought further means of defence against their ghostly foes by the erection of others, special and peculiar to themselves. To this large, varied and most interesting class of monuments, therefore, before proceeding to an examination of the further, and final, use of lights in this connexion, we will now betake ourselves.

Chapter V.

On the Sign of the Cross set above, or over, the Graves of the Dead.

Of the cross itself, as a sufficiently protective device, whether simply, or carrying the effigy of Christ, or sculptured with scriptural subjects as well, we have instances innumerable, from pre-Augustinian times[17] downwards. Its virtue was universally understood, and as

[17] Thus, Mr. Perret, in his fine work on the *Roman Catacombs*, gives the *chi-rho* as cut upon the stone of the martyr Marius, A.D. 117; as also on that of the martyr Alexander, in 161. And then, in our own country, among the gravestones of Wales and Cornwall, we find this sign occurring—apparently before the departure of the Romans in 410—on that of the tribune Honemimorus. Mr. Lysons also notes a highly curious and interesting one found at Pen Machno, in Caernarvon, with the *chi-rho* surmounting the inscription—CARAVSIVS HIC IACIT IN HOC CONGERIES LAPIDVM, commemorating possibly, as some have thought, the famous usurper of that name, A.D. 287-293. Another, equally interesting, and supposed to be that of Sellyf, duke of Cornwall, A.D. 325, has the *chi-rho* very clearly cut, above the words SELIVS. IC IACET. Then again, among those found on the west

universally applied. So Durandus (*lib.* v., *cap.* 2), 'sacerdos cum dicit: Deus in adjutorium meum intende, signo crucis se munit, ad effugandum illius virtutem scilicet quamlibet diaboli versutiam, & potestatem. Valde enim timet signum crucis.[18] Unde Chrysostomus: Ubicunque daemones signum crucis viderint, fugiunt, timentes baculum, quo plagam acceperunt.' In some form or other it hallowed and defended the graves of the dead in Christ, whether in the churchyard only, or in the church itself. For such as were too poor to erect a special grave stone for themselves, the shelter of the great cemetery cross sufficed, or was held to suffice, as a common family protection.[19]

coast of Scotland, is that existing at Stranraer, and which Scottish archaeologists attribute, with probable justice, to the fifth century. Within a large sunk circle, occupying the full breadth of the stone, and surmounted by the letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, is a boldly cut *chi-rho* above the inscription, HIC IACENT SCI ET PRAECIPVI SACERDOTES ID EST VIVENTIVS ET MAVORIVS.

Of those immediately succeeding the days of Augustine's mission, and dating from the seventh century onward, we have remains in abundance everywhere; one of the earliest, and for the present purpose, most interesting, being that of Owini, steward of queen Ethelreda, *c.* 680-90, now in Ely cathedral church, and thus inscribed: 'Lucem Tuam Ovino da Deus et requiem.'

[18] In the oaken lintel of the fireplace in Shakespeare's house at Stratford-on-Avon, was discovered about 1860, secreted in a deep augur hole carefully plugged, a little cross carved with a knife. It was embedded in coarse tow, among which were several grains of barley. The cross consisted 'of a plain quadrangular shaft, supported on a flat plinth, reached by four steps encompassing it on either side. It measured one and a quarter inch in height, and eight-tenths in diameter at the base, which retained traces of the cement wherewith it was probably once attached to some woodwork. Professor Quekett pronounced the material to be willow—a fact which at once established the origin, purpose, and, possibly, the date of the relic,' as witnessed by a rare tract, entitled: *A Dialogue or Familiar Talke betweene two Neighbours, from Roane, by Michael Wodde, the 20 February, 1554,* 12mo. After mentioning the various ceremonies practised in the church on Palm Sunday, it goes on to say—'the priest at the altar al this while, because it was tedious to be unoccupied, made crosses of palme to set upon your doors, and to beare in your purses, to chase away the divel—But tell me Nicholas, hath not thy wyfe a crosse of palme aboute her? (*Nich.*) Yes, in her purse. (*Oliver*) And agoon felowshippe tel me, thinckest thou not sometyme the devil is in her tongue? Syghe not man. (*Nich.*) I wold she heard you, you might fortune to finde him in her tong and fist both. (*Oliver*) Then I se wel he cometh not in her purse, because the holi palme crosse is ther; but if thou couldest entreate her to beare a crosse in her mouth, then he would not come there neither.' *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xvi., p. 330-32.

[19] So sweeping has been the obliteration of these beautiful and impressive monuments of ancient Christian faith and piety, that in the whole county of Durham, the broken shaft of one only, so far as I know, viz., that in my own churchyard of Witton-le-Wear, remains; though part, if not the whole, of another survived in that of the mother church of S. Andrew Auckland for some time after their general destruction, one Thomas Perkins, of Coundon, having, according to Hutchinson, desired burial in the churchyard there 'beside

But as we see, all the land over, those less closely restricted, sought habitually for some more purely personal and intimate defence—to lie more directly and immediately beneath its shadow. Nay, not even beneath, as usual, but occasionally within its sheltering arms. Of the many forms which the simpler and commoner grave crosses took, those of this class constitute one of the happiest and most expressive imaginable. Instead of the limbs simply intersecting, they are seen to expand at the point of junction into flower-like forms, which enfold, as it were, with a close embrace, the effigies of the deceased to their very heart and centre. Among the many examples of this sort may be instanced those at:—

AUCKLAND S. ANDREW, DURHAM, now a matrix only, but which once contained the figure of an early dean.

TORMARTON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, *c.*1350, in memory of Sir John de la Riviére, who, as founder, carries the model of a fine cruciform church, with tower and spire, in his hands. This again, is, unhappily, merely a matrix.

EAST WICKHAM, KENT, where John de Bladingdone and his wife have their busts enclosed in the cusped and octofoiled head of the cross, *c.* 1325.

CHINNOR, OXFORDSHIRE, *c.*1320, where the tonsured head, neck, and hands only, of a priest are shown within a very beautifully floriated cross, the eight points of which are expanded into triplets of vine leaves.

the cross.' Very few unmutilated examples can now be met with anywhere, though an exceptionally fine and perfect one, with the scene of the crucifixion fully displayed, may be seen at Ampney Crucis, near Cirencester. It is of great height, and such importance as to have added its distinguishing suffix to the present name of the village. Still more striking and impressive than even this imposing monument, however, is the perfectly simple cross in the churchyard of Bag Enderby, Lincolnshire—a cluster of some six or eight thatched cottages, embowered among the grandest trees imaginable. The church—a small, but charming and untouched fourteenth century structure, sinking slowly to decay, —lies close at hand, and by the pathway leading to its porch, which it adjoins so nearly that all who enter in must pass beneath its shadow, stands the cross. Untouched, save only by the hoary tints of time, grey, solemn, awe-inspiring—colossal, indeed, in comparison with the adjoining lowly fane, it stands out like a 'strong rock and defence,' a very 'horn of salvation and refuge,' to all the unrecorded and forgotten dead that sleep around. It is only, perhaps, in the profound stillness and repose of such a spot as this, that all the peace and power of the churchyard cross can be fully felt—felt, but *not* expressed.

WOODCHURCH, KENT. Here the cross takes the form of a simple medallion—a circle—containing the inscription, whose outer lines curve off, ogee-wise into four fleurs-de-lys at the cardinal points, while the inner form a quatrefoil, within which is the diminutive effigy of a priest, Nichol de Gore, in eucharistic vestments, *c.* 1320.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL, where there is, or was, a small figure of a civilian, within the open head of a richly cusped and floriated octofoil cross, *c.* 1300.

STONE, KENT. An exceedingly fine, perhaps the very finest, example of monuments of this class. From a stepped base rises a stem with leaves springing from either side, while the octofoil, ogee-arched head, which is very large and richly cusped, has its points terminated in bold and diversified tufts of foliage. Within, is the finely drawn figure of John Lumbarde, rector, 1408. The Auckland brass has very closely resembled this.

TAPLOW, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE. In S. Nicholas's church, here, is an elegant brass cross, with a long stem resting on a dolphin. It terminates in a head composed of eight ogee arches, alternately large and small, with beautiful finials, and enclosing a small male figure habited in hood, cape, and tunic reaching below the knees. The inscription runs:—'Nichole de Aumbedine iadis Pessoner de Londres gist ici. Dieu de Salme eit merci. Amen.'

Another, somewhat similar, but with the opening quatrefoiled instead of octofoiled, remains at BUXTED, SUSSEX, containing the three-quarter effigy of a priest, Britellus Avenel, *c.* 1375; and the like arrangement is found at MERTON college chapel, OXFORD, *c.* 1310; at GRAINSTHORPE, LINCOLNSHIRE, *c.* 1380; WIMBISH, ESSEX, 1374; HANBURY, STAFFORDSHIRE; and ST. MICHAEL'S, ST. ALBANS, *c.* 1400.

In the centre of the simple, but very beautiful grave-slab cross, laid down by Archbishop Chichele to his father and mother, at HIGHAM FERRARS, Northamptonshire, and where the extremities display the evangelistic symbols, the point of intersection is occupied by a medallion containing a seated figure of our Lord in glory, giving the benediction.

At CHELSFIELD, KENT, the grave cover of Robert de Brun, priest, has, instead of an effigy of the deceased, a small crucifix, with figures of SS. Mary and John on either side, and above a scroll inscribed—'Salus mea xpe est.'

In each of the above cases—types only of many others—we see the salutary power of the cross emphatically appealed to as the sole defence of the deceased, in full accordance with Durandus's sentence :—'In quocunque loco Christianus sepeliatur semper crux apponi debet, ad notandum illum Christianum fuisse, *quia hoc signum diabolus valde veretur et timet accedere ad locum crucis signaculo insignitum.*' *Lib.* vii. *cap.* 35.

CHAPTER VI.

OF DIVERS OTHER SYMBOLS.

Besides the sign of the cross, an immense variety of hallowing and protective devices are found both here and abroad. Among these is a very solemn and expressive one which, though seldom seen upon our English tombs, is yet common enough on those of France and Belgium —the Hand of Providence, or 'Dextera Dei,' seen issuing from clouds in benediction, and taking the bodies of those below, as it were, under its immediate protection.—'Whoso dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.' An extremely fine and early example of this treatment occurs at—

SECLIN, near Lille, *c.* 1150, on the incised slab commemorating St. Piat, a companion of St. Denis, who was martyred about 286, by having the upper half of his head struck off, which he is shewn carrying in his hands.

JAKEMINS DOXNEN, his wife and son, 1344, at Brussels, are shewn all three lying side by side, beneath a rich triple canopy. The son, who was a priest, is in full eucharistic vestments, and carries the chalice on his breast. The Divine Hand appears above the head of each.

JOHAN and ARNOTT DE PARFONDRIEU, Fremalle Grande, 1413. A much injured, but once very fine slab, in memory of two brothers

german, of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the white cross of which appears upon their breasts, while the Hand of God, again surmounting the head of each, bestows His benediction.

Another class of these defensive symbols is found both in sculptured and incised tombs, though, from the nature of the case, much more frequently in the latter than the former, in the shape of censing angels, about, or above, the heads of the deceased.[20] In the earlier and simpler monuments, these angels are always shown censing the effigies exhibited thereon: in the later and more elaborate, the Divine Personages whether of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, or our Lord, who occupy the centre part of the tabernacle work overhead. One of, if not *the* earliest, of our English examples, may be seen in the sculptured monument of—

BISHOP BARTHOLOMEW ISCANUS, 1159-1184, in the Lady chapel of Exeter cathedral, where they appear in the spandrils of the sharply pointed arch which forms the canopy of his head, on a very small and insignificant scale. That of—

ARCHBISHOP WALTER GREY, 1215-1255, in the south transept of York minster, also sculptured, has censing angels at the head, while the end of his staff pierces the dragon at his feet.

BISHOP BRIDPORT, 1256-1262, whose sculptured effigy, like that of Archbishop Grey, reposes beneath a most beautiful canopy, in the south-eastern transept aisle of Salisbury cathedral, has also his head supported by two censing angels.

BISHOP WILLIAM DE KILKENNY, 1255-1257, in the choir of Ely cathedral, again, has his head similarly supported.

KING JOHN'S effigy, 1216, in the choir of Worcester cathedral, has the head supported on either side by the figure of a bishop, holding a thurible or censer, and, doubtless, intended to represent SS. Oswald and Wulfstan, between whose shrines he was interred. Although shewn in effigy vested, as he was actually buried, in royal robes,

[20] 'Ipsa autem defunctorum corpora turrificantur . . . . ut omnis immumdorum spirituum praesentia arceatur.' Dur. *lib.* viii. *c.* 35. 'Fumus enim incensi valere creditur ad daemones effugandos.' *Lib.* 4. *c.* 10. The actual censing took place during the burial office, the pictorial representation afterwards, and as a further and abiding safeguard.

and with the crown upon his head, the latter, as appeared upon the opening of the tomb, was really enveloped in the cowl of a Benedictine monk, buckled beneath the chin with straps. Like those afterwards—

'Who to be sure of Paradise,
Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan, thought to pass disguised.'

The effigy of a LADY of the HACCOMB family, under the first mural arch on the north side of Haccomb church, Devonshire, *c.* 1330, has also the head similarly supported.

Of the second, or incised class, whether in brass or stone, we have examples on the grave covers of—

BISHOP WILLIAM DE BITTON, probably, Wells cathedral, south side of choir, 1267-1274.

THIEBAUZ RUPEZ, *c.* 1260, at S. Memmie, near Chalons-sur-Marne, who is shewn riding out hawking, and accompanied by dogs, while overhead, and above the crocketed canopy, are two angels of considerable size, holding incense boats and swinging censers.

HUES LIBERGIER, 1263, the famous architect of the church of St. Nicaise at Reims, esteemed to have been the culminating work of Gothic art in France, as well as probably also, more or less, of the great cathedral there, where his grave slab, removed from the former building, now lies, and on which two large censing angels appear in the uppermost corners above the canopy — an exceedingly fine and impressive work.

LEWIS BEAUMONT, bishop of Durham, Durham cathedral, 1318-1333.—'Under a most curious and sumptuous marble stonn, which hee prepared for himselfe befor hee dyed, beinge adorned with most excellent workmanshipp of brasse, wherein he was most excellently and lively pictured—with two angells very finely pictured, one on the one side of his head, and the other on the other side, with censors in theire hands censinge him, &c.' *Rites of Durham* (Surt. Soc. publ.), pp. 12-13.

AGNES DE SAINT AMANT, 1296, Rouen. A very rich and fine work. Beneath a trefoiled canopy are two angels attending her, one on either side the head, while above are two others of much larger size, holding censers.

In all the preceding examples, be it noted, the angels are shewn censing the effigies of the deceased. In the following, and later ones, where rich masses of tabernacle work, in one or more stages, appear above their heads, the angels are censing the figure of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, or our Lord, either singly, in His mother's arms as a child, or, as in a Pieta, dead, and laid across her knee as just taken down from the cross.—'Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense.'

EUDELINE DE CHAUBRANT and her two daughters, 1338, Chalons-sur-Marne. A very fine and elaborate work. The three effigies are shown under as many traceried canopies. In the spandrils between the canopies is seen, to the left centre above the clouds of heaven, God the Father, holding the three souls in a sheet;[21] to the right a kneeling angel holding three crowns; and in the half spandrils at the sides, angels swinging censers in mid-air. Beneath the

[21] This scene, which is commonly, but quite erroneously, described as Abraham's bosom, is variously represented on monuments. Thus, on that of Marie de Mondidier, 1317, at Evreux, two kneeling figures, neither winged nor nimbed hold up the soul of the deceased, which is fully vested, in the apex of the canopy, while two winged and nimbed angels of much larger size swing censers on either hand, no divine personage whatever appearing.

In that of Berger Petersen Brahe and his wife, the parents of the famous S. Birghitta or Briget, 1328, at Upsala, God the Father, who occupies the central niche above the head of each, holds their respective souls in a sheet, while two attendant angels in either case swing their censers before Him. A similar treatment is seen on that of Gile de Pegorre, canon and subchanter of Reims cathedral, 1377; of Katherine van Nethinem, 1459, at Louvain; and of Johan Mingen and his wife, 1486, at Chalons sur Marne.

In the magnificent brass of king Eric Menved and queen Ingdeborg, 1319, in the cathedral of Ringstead, the souls of each, fully robed, are held in large sheets by two angels respectively, two others swinging censers, standing to the right and left of them; but again there is no divine personage represented.

In the equally splendid brass of bishops Ludolph and Henry de Bulowe, 1339-1347, at Schwerin, the souls of the two brothers are shown respectively as two small naked figures, standing in the lap of God the Father, who holds them with his left hand, while the right is raised above their heads in blessing. Censing angels again appear on either side.

On the corresponding brass of the two other brothers, viz.: Godfrey and Frederic de Bulowe, 1314 and 1375, also at Schwerin—if possible, still more elaborate, perhaps, than the other—their souls appear naked, and held between the clasped or folded hands of the Almighty, adoring angels accompanying, one on each side.

On that of the two bishops, Burchard de Serken, 1317, and John de Mul, 1350, at Lübeck—perhaps the most elaborately magnificent brass ever executed—the souls, which occupy the central canopies, immediately above the heads of each effigy, are held in long sheets, or webs of linen, passing over the shoulders of two saints at either end, and which are so depressed in the centre as to appear like funnels or jelly-bags. Two other saints, with musical instruments, are also shown, one on each side, beyond. Above, in the highest row of tabernacles,

mother's feet, in the midst, are shewn a coffin covered with a rich pall, with tall candles at the head and feet, and in the midst, a cross. To the left and right, beneath the daughter's feet, six priests chanting the funeral service.

GILE DE PIGORRE, 1377, Reims, canon and subchanter of the cathedral. He is shewn in simple eucharistic vestments: God the Father, in the central tabernacle of the canopy, holding his soul in a sheet, while two angels, occupying the highest niches of the supports on either side, swing their censers upwards to his feet.

WALTER PESCOD and his wife, 1398, Boston, Lincolnshire. His gown is powdered with peas-cods and flowers. Effigies beneath a large square canopy, the central niches of which contained figures of our Saviour and attendant angels, with censers, now lost.

ABBOT DE LA MARE, presbytery of St. Alban's abbey church. The rich canopy of this 'by far the finest ecclesiastical brass in England' is surmounted by tabernacle work containing the figure of our Saviour enthroned and attended by angels carrying thuribles and instruments of music. Becoming prior of Tynemouth he was translated thence, in 1349, to the abbey of the mother house of S. Albans, where he died in 1396. His tomb was prepared under his own superintendence, during his lifetime.

those in the centre are occupied by enthroned figures, either of our Lord, or of the Almighty Father; on each side of whom are censing angels, while others, bearing candles, appear outside of all.

In the very fine brass of Proconsul Albert Hövener, 1357, at Stralsund, the soul, naked, is supported by the right hand of the Father, upon His right knee. Censing angels attend, as usual, to the right and left.

On that of Johan von Zoest and his wife, 1361, at Thorn, the souls of each are represented as naked, and standing in sheets, which are also, as in the case of bishops Serken and Mul, at Lübeck, exceedingly depressed towards the middle, as to resemble bags or pockets. Each is sustained at the extremities by two angels, two others, holding candles, being placed outside them. In each case, the figure of God the Father occupies the central niche of another row of tabernacles overhead.

The souls of John de Heere, 1332, and Gerard de Heere, 1398, commemorated on the same brass at Brussels, are seen held, respectively, in a sheet by a figure seated in the central niche of their several canopies, and who, in each case, is supported by SS. Peter and Paul, two angels and two other saints appearing in the niches next adjoining. Here, from the absence of the customary censing angels, Abraham's bosom may, perhaps, very naturally be intended.

Finally, in the very rich and fine brass of bishop Andreas, 1479, at Posen, God the Father (or the Son?) with a cruciform nimbus, is shown seated on a throne beneath a rich canopy, and holding the naked soul in a small napkin with both hands, while kneeling angels, swinging censers, worship on either side.—'The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and there shall no torment touch him.'

Chapter VII.

OF YET FURTHER PROTECTIVE, OR PRESERVATIVE SYMBOLS.

In addition to the cross, either separately, or in connexion with it, other representations of sacred persons, or things, were frequently introduced with the object of still further defending the sepulchres of the dead from the pollution of evil spirits, thus:—

On the canopy of the tomb of the Black Prince, in Canterbury cathedral, and looking down upon his effigy, is seen a picture of the Holy Trinity, reverenced by him always, we are told, with 'peculiar devotion,' and on whose feast day he died.

On that of bishop Stapledon's tomb, in Exeter cathedral, is a vast figure of Christ with pierced hands raised to bless, and his wounded feet resting on the globe of the earth. The sculptured effigy of the bishop, fully vested, lies immediately below.

In Bredon church, Worcestershire, is an obtusely pointed grave cover of a man and his wife, probably of the Reede family. From a stepped base rises a cross ragulée supporting the canopies which surmount the busts of the deceased, and carrying the crowned and crucified figure of our Lord. On the transverse bar, which cuts short the busts, are seen their souls in the shape of two doves.

At Stoke Charity church, Hampshire, the brass of Thomas Hampton and his wife has above their effigies a representation of the Holy Trinity; the Father, enthroned, beneath a canopy, holding with His left hand the cross with the Saviour, and blessing with the right; while, resting on the cross to the left of our Lord's head, appears the Holy Spirit like a dove. On scrolls proceeding from the mouths of the deceased are engraved:—'Pat. de celis de. miserere nobis,' 'and 'Scâ tintas un. de. miserere nobis.'

Within the Salisbury shrine or chapel, in the choir of Christ Church priory, Hampshire, on the great central boss of the vaulting, is a sculptured figure of the Holy Trinity, in the form of God in three Persons, surrounded by cherubim, and with the foundress kneeling humbly in the front. Her carefully constructed grave, together with that of her son, cardinal Pole, lies directly underneath.

At EXETER cathedral, in the small chapel of S. Radegund, constructed by bishop Grandisson in the thickness of the screen of the west front, is sculptured in the roof, above the site of his now destroyed tomb, a figure of the Saviour in low relief with the right hand raised in benediction. From holes in the stone vault, lamps were formerly suspended. Owing to the peculiar nature of the position, the altar stood, in this case, towards the south.

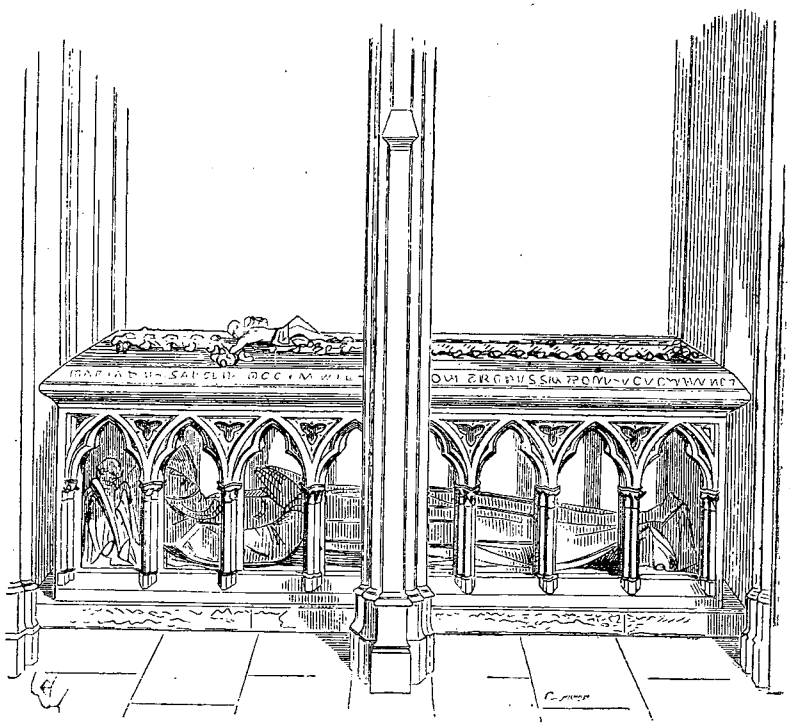
In WIKE church, near Winchester, the brass of William Complyn, 1499, is surmounted by a gigantic figure of S. Christopher, who, staff in hand, is shown crossing the river. The infant Christ upon his shoulder appears, through the mistake of the engraver, holding the cross in His right hand, and with His left raised in benediction.—'When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.'

In HEREFORD cathedral, the canopy of the fine early tomb of bishop Peter de Aquablanca, 1239-1268, which has three sharply-pointed traceried gablets lengthways, has the two exterior ones finished with rich floriated crosses only. That in the centre differs from them in displaying the crucifix in high relief.

In the RIVERS chapel, S. Nicholas's church, Macclesfield, the brass of Roger Legh and his wife, 1506, display labels proceeding from the mouths of each, and inscribed respectively: 'A damnatione perpetua libera nos Domine,' and, 'In die judicii libera nos Domine.' Above their heads is shown an altar on which are a chalice and missal. Before it kneels a figure wearing a triple crown encircled by a nimbus, and clad in eucharistic vestments; while behind, appears the majestic figure of the Saviour rising from the tomb, and, with uplifted hands, displaying the wounds of His passion. (The scene is known as the Mass of S. Gregory.)

At S. LAWRENCE'S church, Ludlow, in the south aisle of the nave, is a grave cover which had a brass inscription round the edge, with the evangelistic symbols in the corners. Up the centre was a cross carrying the image of Christ crucified, with a label over; and at the bottom, two kneeling figures with labels proceeding from their mouths, with others containing prayers scattered on each side.

Somewhat similar, in general design and intention, was a very fine and interesting tomb to the north of the high altar of the abbey church of Longpont, figured by M. V. le Duc, in his Dictionary of French Architecture, ix., p. 51, and here reproduced. Nothing could show more conclusively than this the protection sought for the dead body from the presence of the crucifix, which covers it completely,



TOMB IN ABBEY CHURCH OF LONGPONT. FRANCE.

and beneath which the effigy, forming the actual coffin lid, is laid. 'C'est celui d'une femme. L'effigie de la morte n'est plus placée sur la crédence qui recouvre la place de la sépulture, mais sous cette crédence ajourée, tandis qu'un crucifix richement décoré est déposé sur la crédence. Voyez la collection de Gaignières. *Bibl. Bodleienne d'Oxford.*'

'Dans le cimetière qui entoure encore l'église de Montréale (Yonne), on remarque,' says M. V. le Duc, 'plusieurs tombes dont voici la forme. Cette pierre, en façon de comble croisé, recouvre, sur des cales, la sepulture . . . . . Quant au pignon de l'extrémité anterieure, il est muni d'une petite niche avec coupelle formant bénitier.' vol. ix., p. 45. Another, and striking proof, of which we would seem to have few, if any, examples in England, of the anxiety of the dead for the preservation of their bodies from demoniacal defilement. 'Aqua benedicta,' says Durandus, 'ne daemones qui multum eam timent, ad corpus accedant.' (*Lib.* vii., *c.* 35.)

At S. ALBAN'S abbey, the vault beneath the monument of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, has its eastern wall painted with the subject of the crucifixion in front of the body of the defunct. Here then, we see a still further step—the protective symbols being transferred into the grave, and thus serving as a connecting link between those above the surface, and such as are found either upon, or within, the coffins themselves. Of this further class, there have, of late years, been discovered, both at home and abroad, but especially in the north of France, many very curious examples; though, of course, the great bulk of the simpler and more perishable kinds have left no traces of themselves behind whatever. We come then, in natural sequence, to an examination of instances of this further class.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROTECTIVE SYMBOLS FOUND EITHER UPON, OR INSIDE, THE COFFINS THEMSELVES.

Of this, a very simple and natural illustration—common, probably, to all sorts and conditions of men, but especially among the poor—was discovered at Canterbury cathedral. Here, when in 1832, the tomb of king Henry IV. was partially opened, the workmen came upon the outer of the two leaden coffins in which the royal body was enclosed. On sawing through this they came upon a 'thick layer of hay, on the surface of which lay a rude cross of twigs.' Below, and within the inner coffin, the king's face—the only part which was exposed—was seen. It remained unfallen, fresh, full, and perfectly preserved.

In the minster close at LINCOLN, there was found in 1847, within a stone coffin, a cruciform plate of lead, thus inscribed:—'corpus: sifordi: presbiteri: sce: elene: et sce: margarete: titvlatvs: hic: jacet.' The forms of the letters indicated the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. Besides this English example, a considerable number of similar cruciform leaden plates have been discovered in the graves of the bishops of Metz.

In the cathedral of BRUGES, the magnificent brass of Joris de Munter and his wife, 1439 and 1423, shews them both wrapped in winding sheets with large thin crosses of equal limbs laid upon their breasts. These crosses represent others of like size and proportion, formed of metal, which were placed upon the bodies after they were laid in their brick graves.

At LACOCK abbey church, Wiltshire, when the tomb of the foundress, the famous Ela, countess of Salisbury, was violated, there were found, among other things, her cross and beads, buried with her. These have now been, after long exposure, lost or stolen.

At BURY S. EDMUND'S abbey church, in 1772, the embalmed body of Thomas Beaufort, third son of John of Gaunt, half-brother to King Henry IV., duke of Exeter, K.G., Lord Chancellor, and High Admiral of England, was discovered in a leaden coffin, as freshly preserved as on the day of its interment. The precious golden crucifix enclosed with the body was stolen.[22]

[22] The circumstances attending the discovery of the body of this great prince and warrior, who commanded the English rear-guard at the battle of Agincourt, exhibit, as we learn from a contemporary authority resident on the spot, a degree of callous and disgusting brutality well nigh incredible. He died in 1427, and his leaden coffin was discovered on February 20th, 1772, at the entrance to the Lady chapel.—"On the 24th, the remains were enclosed in an oak coffin and buried close to the north side of the large north-east pillar which formerly supported the belfry.

Before its re-interment, the body was cut and mangled with the most savage barbarity by Thomas Gery Callum, a young surgeon in this town, lately appointed Bath king at arms. The skull sawed in pieces (where the brain appeared, it seems, somewhat wasted, but perfectly contained in its proper membranes); the body ript open from the neck to the bottom; the cheeks cut through by a saw entered at the mouth; his two arms chopt of below the elbows, and taken away—one of the arms the said Callum confesses to have in spirits; the crucifix, supposed a very valuable one, is missing.

It is believed the body of the duchess was found within about a foot of the duke's, on the 24th of February. If she was buried in lead, she was most likely conveyed away clandestinely the same night."

At HEREFORD cathedral, when the wooden coffin of Johanna de Bohun, who died in 1327, was exposed to view in the Lady chapel, linen crosses of cross-crosslet form were, it is stated, found laid upon the lid of it.

But, by far the most ancient and curious protective devices of this sort were those discovered in the earlier part of last century, at HARTLEPOOL, in the graveyard of the ancient monastery, and dating from the seventh century. There, the heads all rested on small flat stones, as upon pillows, while above them were others of a larger size marked with crosses and inscriptions in Saxon and Runic letters.

Very similar, in all respects, to these at Hartlepool, were two found at S. BRECAN'S, in the Isle of Arran. On one is shown a cross in a circle, with the inscription, 'ci brecani,' inscribed between the four limbs. On the other, which has a cross of similar design, is cut 'uii romani,' in memory of seven Roman ecclesiastics, there interred. S. Brecan is thought to have died early in the sixth century, and the stone of the Romans is evidently of the same date as his.

At WENSLEY church, Yorkshire, is another stone, very similar to those at Hartlepool, found many years ago in the churchyard. It has, in slight relief, a fimbriated Maltese shaped cross, with two birds and two fantastic animals between the four limbs, while underneath is the name Donfrith. This stone measures $15\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 inches; while the Hartlepool ones range from $11\frac{1}{2}$ by 10, to $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and vary in thickness from one inch to $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Of still greater interest even than these, however, were the contents of the coffin of S. CUTHBERT, as disclosed on the opening of his grave in 1827.* Besides the original coffin within which the body was placed in 698, and which was itself covered all over with figures of our Lord and other sculptures, there were found inside, a small wooden altar plated with silver, richly engraved with cruciform devices, and a burse, or small linen bag, for containing the sacramental elements, laid upon his breast. About his neck, and suspended by a cord of silk and gold, was, moreover, his pectoral cross of gold set with garnets.

* See Raine's *Saint Cuthbert*.

No sooner had S. Cuthbert expired—according to the anonymous monk of Lindisfarne—than the brethren washed his body from head to foot, and wrapped it in a cere-cloth, enveloping his head with a face cloth, or napkin. Thereupon they clothed him in priestly vestments, placing the sacramental elements upon his breast—'*oblatis super sanctum pectus positis*'—and sandals upon his feet. Although, in strictness, the word *oblata* refers to the species of bread *only*, Dr. Lingard is of opinion that both elements were deposited in the coffin. (*Antiq. Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 268).

When on August 29th, 1104, the relics of S. Cuthbert were solemnly translated to his new shrine within the apse of the Norman cathedral, the monks, we are told by an anonymous author, 'replaced in his coffin the other things which they had found along with him, namely, an ivory comb and a pair of scissors, still retaining their freshness, and as became a priest, a silver altar, a linen cloth for covering the sacramental elements, a paten, a chalice, small in size, but from its materials and workmanship, precious, its lower part representing a lion of the purest gold, which bore on its back an onyx stone, made hollow by the most beautiful workmanship, and by the ingenuity of the artist, so attached to the back of the lion that it might be easily turned round with the hand, although it might not be separated from it.' Reginald also corroborates this evidence. 'Moreover he has with him, in his coffin, an altar of silver, a cloth for covering the sacramental elements, a golden chalice with a paten, and a pair of scissors retaining their original freshness. These are placed in his coffin, upon a tablet standing in a transverse direction at his head, where, along with his ivory comb, they are hitherto preserved.' —*Reginald. Dunelm. cap.* xlii. (Surt. Soc. publ.).

At HEXHAM abbey church, Lingard tells us, when the grave of bishop Acca was opened about the year 1000, a similar altar to that found within the coffin of S. Cuthbert, made of two pieces of wood fastened with silver nails, and bearing the inscription:—'Alme Trinitati, agie sophie, sancte marie,' was found deposited upon his breast in precisely the same way.

At YORK minster, sometime in the early part of the last century, three graves of early archbishops were opened. From them were

abstracted as many chalices and patens of silver, now gilt. Of these, while one is plain, the second has both chalice and paten engraved; the one on the foot, with the crucifixion; the other with the 'Dextera Dei' superimposed upon a cross within a circle, in the centre. The third set was distinguished by a remarkable addition—a partially burnt wax taper, broken in two, and laid cross-wise on the archbishop's breast.

In S. SEPULCHRE'S churchyard, Norwich, was found, some years since, a small silver cross, with cells for relics, the face engraved with the crucifixion, and, on the back, the symbol of the passion.

In CHICHESTER cathedral, June, 1829, were found, between the piers of the north and south arches of the choir, two coffins of Sussex marble with flat polished lids, on which appeared croziers placed diagonally, with the volutes to the left shoulder. Within that on the north side lay a skeleton amidst the remains of episcopal vestments. A silver chalice, gilt inside, and a paten, in the centre of which was engraved a hand in the gesture of benediction, between a crescent and a star, lay on the right shoulder; the head of the actual crozier, as on the lid, resting on the left. This was supposed to be the tomb of bishop Seffrid, who died in 1151. In the other coffin were the remains, as was supposed, of his successor, bishop Hilary, who died in 1169. The crozier was placed as in the preceding case; and again on the right shoulder was found a silver chalice parcel-gilt, and a paten, in the centre of which was engraved an *Agnus Dei*. In a third coffin, on which the crozier was represented as erect, it lay parallel to the right side, but there was neither chalice nor paten.

A fourth bishop, Godfrey, who died in 1088, and was buried in the Paradise, within the cloisters, trusted rather to a Papal absolution engraved on a leaden plate, measuring seven and a half by five inches, which was buried with him, and, expanded, read as follows:—'Absolvimus te Godefride episcope vice Sancti Petri principis apostolorum cui dominus dedit ligandi atque solvendi potestatem, ut quantum tua expetit accusatio et ad nos pertinet remissio sit tibi deus redemptor ompnis salus omnium peccatorum tuorum pius indultor. Amen. vii. kal. Octobris in Festivitate sancti Firmini episcopi et martiris obiit Godefridus episcopus Cicestrensis. Ipso die v. lunae fuit.'

At BOUTEILLES, in Normandy, the late M. l'abbé Cochet found, during his explorations, in 1857, five crosses of this description, his account of which, (*Bull. Mon.* xxv. p. 274) is here reproduced: 'Cette croix, que nous reproduisons à moitié de sa grandeur, était placée sur la poitrine du mort, le haut d'inscription dirigé vers la tête, et le côté écrit tourné vers le ciel. Ella contenait la formule suivante :

"*Dominus Iehesus Christus, qui dixit discipulis suis quodcumque ligaueritis super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque solueritis super terram erit solutum et in celis de quorum numero licet indignos nos esse voluit ipse te absoluat, Berrengarine, per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus criminibus tuis quecumque cogitatione locutione, operatione negligenter egesti atque nexibus absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna celorum qui uiuit et regnat, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*"

La seconde croix, trouvée sur la partie haute de la poitrine d'un défunt, est d'une forme plus soignée et plus élégante que les autres. . . . . Le plomb étant d'une qualité inférieure, l'inscription s'est fort mal conservée ; M. L. Delisle n'a pu déchiffrer que ces quelques mots : "*In nomine Patris. . . .que dixit discipulis. . . nos esse voluit ipse te absoluat. . .*"

La troisième croix, trouvé était sur la poitrine, le haut de l'inscription dirigé vers la tête, et le côté de le l'écriture tourné vers le ciel. . . Nous la reproduisons en entier: *Absolve, Domine, animam famuli tui B. ab omni vinculo delictorum ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos ressuscitatus respiret.*

La quatrième . . . contient la formule d'absolution qui suit :

"*Dominus Iehesus Christus qui dixit discipulis suis quodcumque ligaueritis super terram erit ligatum et in celis et quodcumque solueritis super terram erit solutum et in celis, de quorum numero licit indignos nos esse voluit ipse te absoluat per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus peccatis tuis quecumque locutione, cogitatione negligenter egisti ipse te absoluat.*"

La cinquième est véritablement la plus originale et la plus remarquable sous tous les rapports ; car ici, ce n'est plus seulement une formule d'absolution, ou d'oraison quelconque c'est aussi une formule

de confession à laquelle vient s'ajouter une prière absolutoire. . . . Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, cette croix contient un *Confiteor*, dont voici la formule parfaitement déchiffrée par M. L. Delisle.

"*Confiteor Deo et omnibus sanctis ejus et tibi pater, quid peccavi nimis in legem Dei quecumque feci cogitando, loquendo, operando, in pollutione, in meditatione, in opere, in consensu et in omnibus vitiis meis malis, ideo precor, pater, ut ores pro me ad Dominum Deum nostrum.*"

Le *Misereatur*, qui suit le *Confiteor*, ne s'est pas laissé lire aussi complètement. . . Voici donc ce que l'on a pu déchiffrer : "Misereatur tui omnipotens et dimittat tibi peccata tua preterita, presentia et futura, *liberet te ab omni malo conservet et confirmet in omni opere bono et ad vitam perducat aeternam.* . . . . ."

Toutes sont en plomb et decoupées à l'aide de ciseaux, à même une feuille de ce metal . . . . . Toutes ont le type général de Malte.'

Now, in all these cases of written and engraved forms of plenary absolution interred with the body, and laid on the breast, face uppermost, 'towards heaven,' what was, and, indeed, could be, the only possible—nay conceivable, end and object? For the weal and salvation of the soul, they could manifestly avail nothing, since spiritual effects must necessarily flow from purely spiritual causes. The *pronounced* absolution was clearly all that either was, or could be, available in such respects. Why then, the written form engraved upon a cross—that figure which evil spirits so greatly feared—and laid upon the breast of, and interred along with the dead body—why, but to secure the same defence and protection to that body, which the spiritual sentence did to the spirit departed thence? Could clearer or stronger proof of motive than that afforded by these, and other kindred instances, be either asked for, or desired?

Other historical notices of the like practice are also adduced by M. l'abbé Cochet in the same treatise. Thus he adds :—'*Dans la Vie de saint Ansbert évêque de Rouen* (689-95 ou 707), on lit que ceux qui ouvrirent son tombeau "*invenerunt in brachiis ejus signum Dominicae crucis similitudinem gerens*"——.'

'En 1856 on trouva une croix de plomb, dans le cimetière de l'église de S. Martin de Louviers. Cette croix rappelle assez bien celles

d'Edmunds-Bury où l'on trouve : "*Crux Christi pellit hostem : Crux Christi triumphat.*"

Le 3 décembre 1850, on a trouvé dans la cathédrale d'Angers, tout près du maître autel, le cercueil de plomb de Marie de Bretagne, épouse de Louis 1er., duc d'Anjou, et grand mère du roi René, decedée en 1404. Le cercueil étant ouvert, on aperçut une croix, dont le pédoncule était en bois et la traverse en cuir ; elle reposait sur la poitrine et s'élevait jusqu'au milieu du visage. Cette croix avait cinq taches rouges : l'une à ses bras, les autres à son sommet, sur son milieu et au pieds.

Le célèbre Lebrun des Marettes, racontant, dans ses *Voyages Liturgiques*, les coutumes pratiquées à Fontevrault, à propos des sépultures, dit que l'on enveloppait le corps dans un long voile, ou suaire, qui était cousu depuis les épaules jusqu'au bout des pieds ; en suite, l'abbesse prenait un cierge bénit qu'elle faisait dégoutter, en forme de croix, depuis la tête jusqu'au nombril ; "*a summo Capitis usque ad umbilicum ventris, in modum crucis.*" De là, continue le vieux liturgiste normand, de là est venue cette croix de cire qu'on met, à Rouen et ailleurs, sur les cercueils.'

Have we not here a full and striking explanation of the burnt wax taper, broken, and laid upon the breast of the archbishop of York above referred to, viz. : that after being lighted, and caused to gutter a cross upon the corpse, it was then broken in two, and—in company with the sacramental instruments and elements—also laid cross-wise upon it ?

At ROMSEY abbey church, in 1846, on the removal of a large grave cover, originally decorated with a fine floriated cross of brass, was found the body of a priest in eucharistic vestments. In his right hand was a chalice covered with a paten, of pewter, the latter much corroded. Singular to say, though the covering slab of Purbeck marble was nearly twelve feet long, the coffin was only about half that length, while the skeleton was but five feet four inches.

At LINCOLN minster are preserved a silver chalice and gold pontifical ring, said to have been found with the remains of the famous bishop Grossetete, 1254 ; a silver chalice and paten from the

grave of bishop Benedict de Gravesend, 1280; a paten, on which appears a hand in the act of blessing; a chalice, much decayed, said to have been found in the tomb of Simon de Barton, archdeacon of Stowe, who died in 1330: and another chalice of pewter, from some grave now unknown. In addition to these were found, so recently as 1889, in the coffin of bishop Oliver Sutton, 1299—who built the cloister—a silver-gilt chalice, with a paten laid upon it, and covered with a piece of fine linen. These, as usual, were placed to the right of the body.—'I have set God always before me; *he is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall.*'

A chalice and paten of pewter, and a crucifix of jet, were, now a good many years since, found in a stone coffin at OLD MALTON; and a silver chalice—found in Lincolnshire—together with a paten, and large cup of crystal, silver gilt with a cover, taken out of a stone coffin at Hill Court, Gloucestershire, in connexion with a skeleton which at once fell to dust, were exhibited, on the visit of the Archaeological Institute to Bristol, in 1851.

On taking up the floor of the choir of EXETER cathedral in 1763, the large slab covering the grave of bishop Bitton, 1307, was removed. Within the leaden coffin underneath, the skeleton was found nearly entire. On the right side stood a small chalice, covered with a paten, and having a piece of silk or linen wound about the stem. Among the dust was also discovered a gold ring with a large sapphire, and some fragments of a wooden crozier.

During the very difficult task of underpinning and consolidating the ruinous tower of S. DAVID'S cathedral in 1869, it became necessary to disturb the tombs within the choir screen, as well as certain others adjoining. Among the several articles thence removed were the head of a crozier, bronze gilt, and two chalices. A silver paten was also found during the restoration of 1861, in the stone coffin of bishop Walter de Cantelupe, at Worcester cathedral.

At ROCHESTER cathedral, when the tomb of the famous bishop Walter de Merton, 1277, was opened in 1598, his body was found pontifically vested, and accompanied by a crozier and chalice. The latter was removed, and is now preserved in his college at Oxford.

From another grave, in the south-east transept of the same church, and covered with a stone bearing a floriated cross, a crucifix and chalice were also taken, it appears, during the Commonwealth spoliations.

In the cathedral of TROYES, on October 31, 1844, M. Arnaud, inspector of monuments in the department of the Aube, opened the coffin of bishop Hervée—'mort en 1223, et inhumé avec ses ornements pontificaux, sa crosse, son calice et son anneau pastoral. Dans le calice, on a trouvé une fiole de verre blanc, dont le col allongé avait été cassé vers son orifice afin qu'elle put y être contenue. Un sédiment blanchâtre résidu d'une liqueur existe encore dans cette fiole. On voit des traces de la même substance, répandues dans le calice, et c'est sa lente evaporation qui aura fixé au bord de la patène quelques parcelles d'un linge blanc et fin qui y sont restées attachées. . . . . Nous sommes portée à supposer que cette fiole épiscopale contenait du chrême ou des huiles saintes. Nous lisons dans la *Vie* de saint Romain, évêque de Rouen au VII^e^ siècle, qu'il portait l'huile sainte aux fonts baptismaux dans une fiole de verre—'vitream testam ad fontes.' Casalius, dans son ouvrage intitulé: *De veterum sacris christianorum ritibus*, parle d'une fiole d'huile sainte que l'on plaçait avec les morts!' (*Bull. Mon.* xxii., p. 354).

This mention of holy oil interred with the bodies of the dead, as a still further protection against demoniacal pollution—the first I have met with—is certainly interesting, especially when taken in connexion with the chalice; for, since the vial containing it would certainly not be placed there, while either or both of the consecrated species were present, it might seem probable that in this case, as in so many others, they had previously been administered to the corpse direct.

Yet once more, at HEREFORD cathedral, within the tomb of bishop Swinfield, 1316, were found buried, *circa* 1860, a chalice and paten, as usual. What might, perhaps, be thought *unuusal*, was the fact of there being—as the Rev. F. T. Havergal, an eye witness, declares—'*a trace of wine in the chalice.*' At the back of the coffin, which lay within a recessed mural arch, was a picture of the crucifixion.

Now, this discovery in the grave of bishop Swinfield opens up a strange and highly curious enquiry. All these chalices commonly

found in the coffins of ecclesiastics, of which those above specified form but a small part, are nowadays, usually spoken of as *grave chalices*, whether fashioned of silver, pewter, or gilt wax, just as though they had never been used for sacramental purposes, and were merely meant to point to the office of the deceased. Such, however, might seem to have been, and probably was really, very far indeed from being the case. This discovery at Hereford points clearly to the persistent use, even among the hierarchy, of a superstitious, though, perhaps, natural and intelligible, custom of defending the bodies of the dead by the sacramental presence of the Body and Blood of Christ. It was one of very old standing, and which, from time to time, long continued to crop up in the church, though expressly forbidden by the highest authorities, and council after council. Thus, the third council of Carthage, 397, at which S. Augustine was present, decrees—'*Placuit ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim a Domino, Accipite et edite : cadavera autem nec recipere possunt nec edere.*' And the same decree, with a slight variation, is repeated in the African Code, where the cause is ascribed to the ignorance of the presbyters misguiding the people. A like canon also was made in the council of Auxerre in France, in 578. S. Chrysostom (399-407) also speaks against it, asking—'*To whom did he say,*' '*Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye have no life in you?*' *Did he speak to the living or to the dead?*' But the practice, it seems, still continued, notwithstanding, for the council of Trullo (692), repeats the prohibition in the words of the council of Carthage, '*Let no one impart the eucharist to the bodies of the dead; for it is written, "Take and eat," but the bodies of the dead can neither take nor eat.*'

Cardinal Bona, though not defending this practice, yet does uphold another and similar one, viz, that of burying the eucharist with the dead ; and this, because it was followed by S. Benedict, with the approval of Gregory the Great. According to the latter, S. Benedict ordered the communion to be laid upon the breast of one of his monks, and to be buried with him. And the practice was undoubtedly persevered in, for both Balsamon and Zonaras speak of it in their time, and Ivo says that : 'when the body of S. Othmar

was translated, the sacrament was taken up out of the dormitory with him.' And a learned man, now living, says Bingham (*Antiquities of the Christian Church*), assures us, that he himself (Dr. Whitby) with many others have seen the chalice in which the sacred blood was buried, dug out of the graves of divers bishops buried in the church of Sarum. So that whatever the laws might prohibit, the profanation continued under pretence of piety amongst the greatest men, but without any foundation or real example in the practice of the primitive church.' (Vol. ii., b. xv., c. iv., s. 20.)

But whether the consecrated elements were deposited on a portable altar, within a chalice, upon a paten, or inserted in the mouth of the corpse, was after all, of little moment; since, in neither case, could any *spiritual* benefit be derived from their mere proximity to, or even actual contact with it. The sole possible advantage of their interment must, therefore, have been regarded as a *corporal* one: the 'supernatural' presence of the body and blood of Christ affording so perfect a defence to the 'natural body' of the deceased, that—'the *enemy* should not be able to do it violence, nor the *son of wickedness* to hurt it.' [23]

[23] In the case of ecclesiastical effigies sculptured in relief, the chalice is, I think, very rarely represented. In that of bishops—although such vessels were frequently, if not generally, interred with them—never, under any circumstances. As on the sculptured tombs of archbishop Gray at York, 1255; bishops Bartholomew, 1191, Marshall, 1206, and Simon de Apulia, 1223, at Exeter; on the brasses of archbishop Greenfield at York, 1315; archbishop Cranley, 1417, and bishop Young, 1526, at Oxford; and on the incised slab of bishop Bitton, 1274, at Wells; they are usually shown as holding the cross, or crozier, in the left hand, and blessing with the right, though this is far from being always so. Thus, on the brass of bishop Ysowilpe, at Verden, 1231—the earliest one known—he is depicted as carrying a church in his right hand, and a castle in his left; while bishop Otto of Brunswick, at Hildesheim, 1279, carries a model of the castle of Wolsenburgh in his left hand, and his crozier in his right. Bishops Godfrey and Frederic de Bulowe, 1314 and 1375, at Schwerin, have their hands simply crossed downwards, as has also cardinal Cusanos, 1464, at Cues; while bishop Rupert of Paderborn, 1369, like bishop Wyvill at Salisbury, 1375, William of Wykeham at Winchester, 1404, and bishop Stafford at Exeter, 1419, have theirs—

'in resignation pressed,
palm against palm on each tranquil breast.'

as usual with all classes. Bishops Theodericus at Naumberg, 1466; Vriel de Gorka at Posen, 1498; and cardinal Casmiri at Cracow, 1510; all hold the gospels in the left hand, and the crozier in the right; bishop Goodrich at Ely, 1544, reversing the order by holding his crozier in the left hand, and the gospels, below which hangs the Great Seal, in his right. Bishop Boothe of Exeter, 1478, is shewn in profile, kneeling, and with his hands raised before him; while bishop

Chapter IX.

of chantry chapels.

And now, this custom of interring portable altars and sacramental vessels within the coffins of the deceased, brings us by natural transition to the consideration of that further use of such instruments which prevailed so largely in the later portion of the Middle Ages, and transformed a prohibited and superstitious practice into one wholly agreeable with the faith and teaching of the church. I refer to the subject of private chantries, and their accompanying chapels.

Varying very greatly in character, size, and splendour, these last, as their grievously mutilated remains still show us, were established

Schomberg at Naumburg, 1516—who caused his tomb to be made in his lifetime—appears as a miserably shrivelled 'cadaver,' standing, and with his hands clasped in the same position. Besides which, we have bishop John Tydeman at Lübeck, 1561, holding his mitre in his right hand, and crozier in his left; while the beautifully sculptured demi-effigy of bishop Ethelmar de Valence at Winchester, 1261, shews him with both hands raised, and 'lifting up his heart.' But, in no single instance, anywhere, do we meet with the chalice, which would seem to have been everywhere regarded as the peculiar and distinguishing mark of priests only. This, though of very rare occurrence on their effigies in relief, is found, however, so frequently—even in the few instances of their brasses and incised slabs that remain—as to lead us to suppose that, originally, its appearance on that class of monuments was very common indeed. Thus, among others, we see it in the fine Flemish brass at Wensley, where it appears above the crossed hands, and upon the breast of the deceased; and on another of the same class at North Mimms, and by the same artist, beneath the hands, which are pressed together and elevated. On that of a priest at Broxbourne, Herts., the chalice is shown as supported, not grasped, between his two upraised hands upon his breast; as is also the case in that of Henry Denton, at Higham Ferrars, where it is surmounted by the priest's wafer marked with a cross crosslet. The brass of William Curtes, at South Burlingham, consists, beside the inscription, of a chalice only, containing the wafer ensigned with the sacred monogram—a very common fashion throughout Norfolk, and which appears also on the tomb of William Langton, rector of S. Michael's York, 1463. On an incised slab at Petit Andelys, the beautifully drawn figure of the priest holds the foot of the chalice with his left hand, while his right supports the stem. At Middleton church, Lancashire, Edmund Appleton also grasps the foot of a rich and immense chalice with his left hand; his right, supporting the bowl, with an ensigned wafer. At Chalons-sur-Marne, also, an unknown priest, while holding the foot of the chalice in his left hand, maintains the rim of its bowl with his right. At Brussels, on the effigy of a priest, named Doxnen, as in the case of that at North Mimms, we see the chalice set below the upturned hands. At Melsele, on the effigy of Ian Van Den Couteren, 1500; and at Ghent, on that of Willem Symoens, 1570, it is also shewn in the same position. At Nordhausen, Jacob Capillan, 1395, who is kneeling, holds the cup aloft before him, grasping its foot with both hands. At Erfurt, the priest, who appears to be standing under a very rich octagonal canopy, holds the knob of the chalice in his left hand while the first two fingers of his right are laid upon the brim. At the same place, John de Heringen

throughout all the land, in well nigh countless numbers, and in churches of every description: cathedral, collegiate, monastic, and parochial alike. Among these generally, perhaps, the most distinct as well as beautiful are, or rather were, those founded by bishops and other magnates in the cathedral and abbey churches. Of these we have happily, even yet, notwithstanding all the havoc they have undergone, many exquisite remains. From the peculiar nature of the case, many of them, both in form and dimensions, differ greatly from such as are usually met with elsewhere, as possessing not only a personal, but structural isolation; that is, in commemorating the individual founders only, and in their detachment from the structures in which they stand, by being placed between the pillars of their arcades. They

holds the foot of a tall chalice with his left hand, and the stem with his right; while at Bamberg, Eberard de Rabenstein holds a book in his right, and a chalice by its stem, in his left hand.

At Damme, Johan de Fonte, 1531, has the chalice, as at Wensley, laid above his crossed hands, upon his breast. Again, at Erfurt, Eobanus Ziegler, 1560, while grasping the cup with his left hand, blesses it—and not the people generally like a bishop—with his right.

On the simple grave covers of priests which have no effigies, the chalice, with or without other accessories, occurs indeed, constantly. Thus, at Barnard Castle, for example, we find to the left of an exceedingly rich floriated cross, a book; to the right, a chalice, immediately over which, and crossing the cross stem, is a forearm vested in an alb, with hand extended in benediction. At Gainford, the chalice appears alone. At Blanchland, with the wafer over. At S. Andrew's, Newcastle, with a hand in benediction to the left, and a paten to the right of the cross shaft, of which the cup forms part. At S. Mary's Hospital there, both chalice and paten form part of the cross stem, to the left of which is the wafer. At Sproatley, Yorkshire, the cup is to the left of the cross stem, which it partly overlaps, while a hand holds a quatrefoiled paten overhead. At Marrick, the cup is to the right of the cross, and accompanied by what looks like a pax; a book and paten appearing to the left. At Great Salkeld, and S. Mary's, Leicester, are a chalice to the right, and a book to the left. At Ampleforth, Southwell Minster, and Clixby, Lincolnshire, the cup alone appears to the right. At All Saints, York, beneath a short and equal limbed floriated cross. At Well, Stainton-le-Street, and Corbridge, the cup, singly, forms part of the cross shaft; while on a second stone there, as also at Newcastle, the paten appears as well. In this last instance, the wafer is also introduced to the left. At Jervaux abbey too, not further to multiply examples, a chalice, containing the wafer, is shewn to the left of an exceptionally rich and beautiful floriated cross.

Now, without either asserting, or even assuming, any necessary connexion between the representation of the sacramental vessels upon these, and many other grave covers, and the deposition of the consecrated species in the graves beneath, it may certainly be held—*knowing what we do of the practice*—that they not only render such a supposition far from improbable—more especially where the host, either plain, or ensigned with the cross, or sacred monogram appears in addition—but serve greatly to strengthen the conviction that, in every case where the so-called 'grave chalices' occur, there, at least, the sacramental elements must, *all but certainly*, have accompanied them.

exhibit, in fact, a simple development of the ordinary canopied tomb by having its enclosing members advanced just so far beyond the limits of the actual sarcophagus as to admit a passage way all round, as well as the introduction of a small altar at the east end.

Of this, WINCHESTER cathedral possessed by far the most numerous and magnificent collection, viz., those of bishops Edington, 1354-1366, between the second and third pillars of the nave, to the south-east; Wykeham, 1367-1404, between the seventh and eighth, proceeding in the same order westwards; Beaufort, 1405-1447, between the two central pillars of the eastern choir aisles, southwards; Waynflete, 1447-1480, exactly opposite, between the corresponding pillars northwards; Fox, 1500-1528, on the south side of the feretory, behind the reredos; and Gardner, 1531-1555, on the north, in the like position, beneath the inclined arches forming the quasi-apse. Saving perhaps the last; the whole of these were of the most ornate character—masses of gorgeous ornament, tabernacle work, and imagery, and painted and gilded so profusely as to resemble mounds of glittering jewellery.

Still larger and more magnificent than even these, however, were the private sepulchral chapels of bishops Alcock and West (1486-1500, and 1515-1533), at the eastern ends of the choir aisles of ELY cathedral; and of bishop Langton, at the eastern extremity of the south aisle of the Lady chapel, at Winchester; all three unsurpassable in the richness, profusion, and delicacy of their sculptured stone, and wood work, as well as of the polychromatic decoration with which they were originally all ablaze.

At EXETER cathedral, those of bishop Brantyngham, 1369-1394, on the north side of the nave, and of Hugh Courtney, earl of Devon, 1377, on the south side, have—save the high tomb of the latter—been utterly destroyed.

At SALISBURY cathedral, two such chantry chapels still remain in generally fair preservation. They are those of bishop Audley, 1502-1524; and of Walter, lord Hungerford, *c.* 1429, set exactly opposite each other in the second bay—north and south—of the choir, counting from the east; the former in its original place, the latter removed from

the nave in 1778. That of the bishop, though all its statuary has been destroyed, still retains its rich fan vault, as well as much brilliant colouring. The Hungerford chapel has all its upper parts, which are wholly of iron, richly painted and gilded.

At WELLS cathedral, three of these rich and beautiful structures are also to be seen. Two of them, viz., those of bishop Bubwith. 1407-1424; and dean Sugar, 1489; occupy the second bays of the nave, counting from the east, respectively, and remain, as to their stonework, tolerably perfect. The third, that of the great builder and benefactor, both of the church and city, bishop Beckington—a work of the most sumptuous and elaborate splendour—has been deliberately pulled to pieces in a late 'restoration,' and, while the tomb has been left in the choir, the enclosing canopy has been relegated to the east aisle of the south transept. Parts of the latter, with all their wealth of painted and gilded sculpture, may be seen, admirably reproduced, by Mr. Collings in his *Gothic Ornaments*.

In TEWKESBURY abbey church are two. One of them, viz., that erected by Isabel, countess of Warwick, in 1438, in honour of S. Mary Magdalene, beneath the first arch of the choir, westwards, towards the north, exceedingly rich and beautiful; the other, that of Sir Edward de Spencer, in honour of the Holy Trinity, beneath the second arch of the choir westwards, on the south. The remarkable feature in the case of the countess's chapel is that, though constructed a year before her death as a mortuary chapel, probably, it was really but a cenotaph; the inscription, carved in black letter, stating that she died in London, in the Minories, in 1439, 'et sepulta in choro, in dextram Patris sui, cujus animae Parcat Deus. Amen.' As a chantry for the celebration of daily mass for her soul it was, however, perfect.

One of, if not now, perhaps, the most perfect and best known chantry chapels of this class, is that splendid one of polished brass erected by king Henry VII. in the east central part of his reconstructed Lady chapel at Westminster, where, though the covering has gone, and the altar along with it, the effigies of himself and his queen remain practically intact. Gone, too, are all the splendid plate and

jewels, with the services to which they ministered, notwithstanding the covenant for their continuance—'*whilst the world shall endure.*' Alas! for the truth that 'a man's foes shall be they of his own household.' '*Within fifty years of the king's death the last flickers of the tapers at his shrine had died out.*'

And now, not further to multiply instances, it will suffice to notice more particularly one of three others still remaining at St. Alban's abbey church. Two, viz., those of abbots Ramryge and Wallingford, which respectively occupy the north and south arches immediately west of the high altar—though still very rich and beautiful, need not detain us, the chief interest centring, as it does, in the third. It is that of the famous Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, uncle to king Henry VI., and Protector of the Kingdom during his minority. This magnificent work stands under the easternmost arch of the feretory, southwards of the shrine of the saint, and is of the most elaborate character, having been constructed for him at his own expense, and during his lifetime, by abbot John of Wheathamstead. The vault below was opened in 1703, when the duke's body was found entire; a crucifix being painted against the eastern wall. A peculiar value attaches to this chapel, not only on account of its singular richness and historic interest, but because of the detailed account that has been preserved of its cost, and of the uses to which it was applied. This is contained in the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, marked Claud. A. 8, 195, and is as follows:—

In this sedule be conteyned the charges and observances appointed by the noble Prince Humfrey, late Duke of Gloucester, to be perpetually boren by the abbot and convent of the monasterie of Seint Alban:

	£	s.	d.
First, the Abbot and Convent of the seid monasterie have payd for makynge of the tumbe and place of sepulture of the seid duke, within the said monasterie above the sume of cccexxxiii^{l} vi^{s} viii^{d}	433	6	8
Item, two monks prests dayly saying masse at the Auter of Sepulture of the seid Prince, everych taking by the day 6^{d} summa thereoff by one hole yere, xviii^{l} v^{s}	18	5	0
Item. To the abbot ther yerly the day of the anniversary of seid prince attending his exequyes	10	0	0
Item. To the priour ther yerly, the same day in likewise attending	10	0	0

Item. To 40 monks not priests, yerely, the said day, to everych of them the same day 6^{s} 8^{d}, summa thereof ...	13	6	8
Item. To ii Ankresses at St. Peter's Church and St. Michael, the seid day, yerely to everych	0	20	0
Item. In money, to be distributed to pore people ther the seid day	0	40	0
Item. To 13 pore men berying torches about the sepulchre the seid day	0	40	0
Item. For wex brennyng daily at his masses and his seid anniversary, and of torches yerely	6	13	4
Item. To the kichen of the convent ther yerely, in relief of the grete decay of the livehode of the seid monasterie, in the Marches of Scotland, which beforetime hath he appointed to the seid Kechyn	40	0	0

But then, besides these, and many others which, if less isolated and sumptuous, were still splendid, and of a distinctly personal and individual character, we have also that vast and quite incalculable host of other, and less wholly personal, private chantry chapels, built and endowed, not for the individual founders only, but for their families and descendants, and of which our ordinary town and village churches afford such an infinite variety of examples. Differing, as these necessarily do, in so many ways, that is, as to size, position, form, and general architectural character, there is nevertheless one particular, in which they all agree, and that is the possession of separate and distinct altars, where, with lights burning, the daily sacrifice should be offered continually, so that of those interred therein also, it might be said, as of those of old:—'Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth for evermore.'

Chapter X.

Of Hearses and other Light-bearing Contrivances about Tombs.

This 'brennyng of wex' daily at his mass and anniversary, and torches yearly, set forth in the schedule of the charges and observances to be perpetually borne in respect of duke Humphrey's chantry at S. Alban's, introduces us again to that kindred, but far commoner, because cheaper, custom—all traces of which have now well nigh disappeared—of placing 'herses' over and around the graves and

monuments of the dead. These were of two kinds, temporary and permanent: the former, as less costly, being, doubtless, in most general use. They consisted of 'frames, covered with cloth, and ornamented with banners and lights, set up over a corpse in funeral solemnities,' and so continuing, as it would seem, for a longer or shorter time, according to circumstances. Temporary hearses were, apparently, in special vogue among members of the divers guilds, which were at one time so numerous throughout the country. Thus, in the constitutions of that of S. Margaret and S. Catherine, at Leicester, among others, we read:—'Also it is ordained that if anyone of the brethren or sisters die within the town of Leicester, he should have a hearse with torches in the church of the same parish wherein he may die, and that all the brethren and sisters should be present at his obsequies, and on the morrow at mass, if they should be forewarned by the superiors.' 'Also, if any brother or sister should die within the space of twelve leagues around the city of Leicester, his *confrères* shall bring him or her to the town of Leicester with torches, and he shall have a mass and a hearse in the aforesaid church of S. Margaret.'

But, besides these light and movable structures which would, doubtless, take to pieces, were others of a more enduring and fixed sort—'standing herses' of metal fixed over tombs, to hold lighted tapers on anniversaries, and as a sort of cradle to receive the pall. Of these, says the late A. W. Pugin, in his *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, 'I have seen only two examples remaining, the well known brass one in the Beauchamp chapel, Warwick, which is composed of brass rods with enamelled ends; and one in wrought iron, over a tomb of the Marmions in Tanfield church, near Ripon, Yorkshire. But Mr. Bloxam, in his *Glossary*, mentions another in Bedale church, in the same county. These herses serve at once for a protection to the tomb, and a frame for lights or hangings, and when furnished with bannerols of metal, shields and cresting, they produced a most solemn and beautiful appearance.'

Then again, apart from the lights attached to these hearses, whether movable or fixed, as well as from those used in the daily masses within the chantry chapels, there are others holding a some-

what different place—forming part of, or connected more or less intimately with, certain tombs or chapels, and designed for use, perhaps, only on anniversaries, or other 'solemn days.' Thus the tomb of bishop Hotham, 1316-1367, in the choir of Ely cathedral, which was in two storeys, had on the top, a lofty 'branch' for seven great tapers. His effigy, originally in the lower one, has now been removed.

The fine canopied tomb of king EDWARD II., in the north choir aisle of Gloucester cathedral, was originally, and is still, furnished with a large and handsome bracket midway on the side to serve as a stand for a lamp.

At HACCOMB church, Devonshire, under the first mural arch in the north aisle, is a female effigy, holding in her hand a heater shaped shield upon her breast, on which are the Haccomb arms. Between this and the next mural arch, which contains a slab with a curious truncated cross raised on a stepped base, and supposed to be the memorial of Robert de Pyle, clerk, 'there projects from the wall about six feet from the ground, the remains of a vested arm; this once sustained a light.'

At EXETER cathedral, in the chantry chapel of S. Radegunde—constructed in the thickness of the western screen as the place of his sepulture, by bishop Grandisson, the principal builder of the church—in addition to the lights which burnt upon the altar, were others suspended from the roof, the holes for which still remain.

At WESTMINSTER, the chantry chapel of Henry VII., was also provided with four immense and magnificent bowls for sustaining vast tapers of wax, in the centre of each side. They are still perfect, and consist of great roses surmounted by royal crowns, which project boldly beyond the cornice.

In the cathedral of S. BAVON, at GHENT, may now be seen four magnificent candelabra of wrought copper, no less than eleven feet high, of the richest workmanship, and bearing the royal arms of England. These are traditionally said to have once been in S. Paul's, whence they were taken and sold during the times of the Commonwealth, for the benefit of the exchequer. But, however this may be, it is certain that, originally, they formed part of that sump-

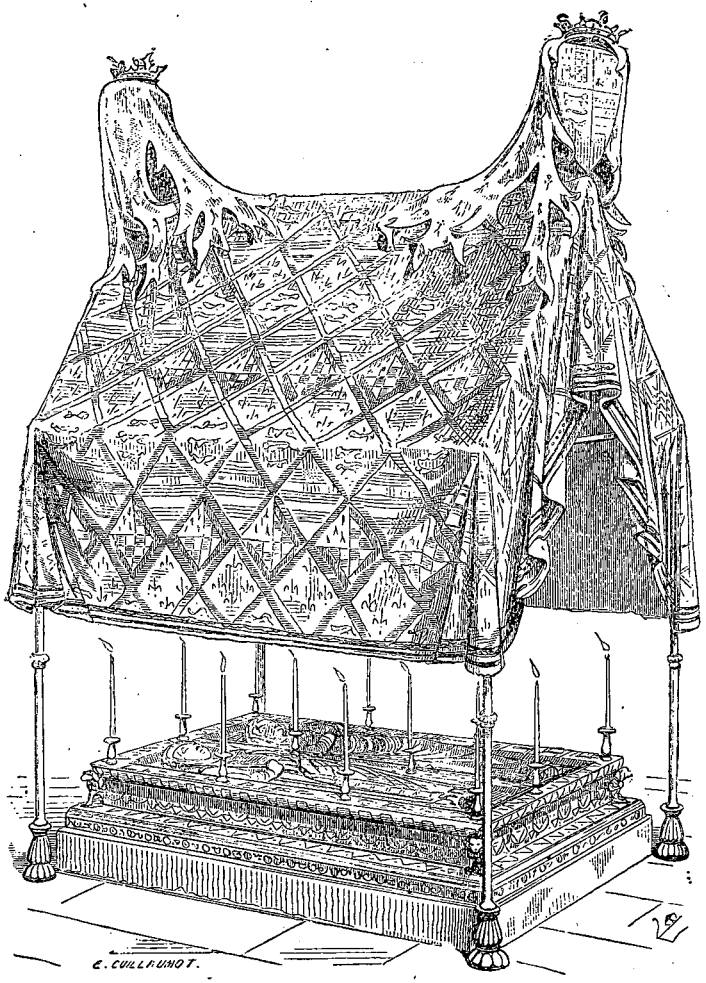
tuous tomb which Wolsey began to erect for himself at Windsor, and which Henry VIII., afterwards appropriating for the same purpose to himself, never lived to finish. They would be designed, therefore, to stand, either at the four corners of the contemplated monument, or as in the case of his father's, in the centre of each face.

In the south aisle or Nevill chantry of STAINDROP church, co. Durham, built and endowed by Ralph, lord Nevill, of Nevill's Cross, in 1348, lies, beneath a mural arch, the effigy of his mother, Euphemia de Clavering. Above the arch rises a tall, triangular pyramid, or canopy, terminating in a large bracket, doubtless intended to support the image of some saint, probably that of the B.V.M. Between the arch and canopy the wall surface is filled in with beautiful flowing tracery, richly cusped, in the centre of each lateral compartment of which may be seen holes plugged with lead, evidently intended for the support of metal branches carrying lights to burn *above* the effigy of the deceased, as well as *before* that of the tutelary saint. This particular instance may probably serve to illustrate one only, of many similar methods of illuminating tombs, the evidences of which are now, for the most part, either obscured or destroyed.

Besides these examples, the abbey church of S. DENIS, near PARIS, furnishes us with some early, and very interesting ones of a like kind, erected by the care of S. Louis. In order to prevent their unduly encumbering the transept in which they were placed, the effigies of the several kings and queens set up by his order were arranged on low bases, two and two; the heads of the one at the feet of the other. Behind the heads of each pair a kind of low reredos extended from side to side, with arched niches forming shallow vertical canopies for the heads of each, while the ends, carried up into lofty pillars with foliated capitals, formed bases for candelabra. Between each pair of these pillars, again, and surmounting the reredoses, was set a fringe or cresting of small candlesticks. Viollet le Duc, *Dic. Raissonné de l'Architecture Française*, vol. ix. p. 48.

But, perhaps, one of the most splendid and perfect works of this class was that to be seen before 1793, in the church of VILLENEUVE, near Nantes. It combined, in a very remarkable way, the two

systems of hearses without provision for lights, and tombs with provision for them. The monument, a double one, was that of the two



HEARSE IN CHURCH OF VILLENEUVE, NEAR NANTES.

princesses, Alix, countess of Bretagne, who died in 1221, and her daughter, Yolande de Bretagne, who died in 1272. The effigies themselves, as well as the couches on which they lay, were of copper,

gilt, and enamelled, and on the armorial bordures, which surrounded and separated them, were twelve sockets for receiving sconces for candles. Outside of all, at the four corners, were four rich and lofty standards of metal supporting the framework of the herse, on which were hung the cloths displaying the armorial insignia of their house.—Viollet le Duc, *Dict.*, vol. ix. p. 64.

Chapter XI.

ON FANAUX, LANTERNES DES MORTS, OR COLONNES CREUSES DES CIMETIÈRES.

Such being the methods adopted for safeguarding the remains of the richer and more distinguished classes, inside the churches, whether laid in simple graves, or within purely personal or family chantries, it behoves us now to enquire into those taken to protect the bodies of the great bulk of the people whose means and position, forbidding any such honours, were laid to rest in the common cemetery without. And first of all, as a matter which admits of no dispute whatever, and serves at the same time to illustrate and explain the less well-known and understood methods practised with the same object amongst ourselves in England, it will be desirable to direct our attention for awhile to France, and examine, so far as their existing, or rather recorded, evidences permit, those commonly pursued there. Owing to their isolated and detached character, their exposed position, and the ready mark which they offered to the rabid violence of the revolutionary mobs of the last century; as well as, perhaps, to their gradual disuse throughout the country generally, these monumental witnesses are, nowadays, but few and far between, even in the districts wherein they were once most plentiful. Being, moreover, so widely scattered, they failed to exercise the speculative instincts of the people, and thus, the few of them which had escaped extinction ceasing, by degrees, to be either talked about or thought of, became at length, forgotten and unknown. And in this state of contemptuous oblivion they remained till the second quarter of the last century; the late M. de Caumont of Caen, being the first to call attention to them in part iv. of his *Cours d'Antiquités Monu-*

mentales, which appeared in 1838, and in an advanced notice of the same published in vol. iii. of the *Bulletin Monumental*, the year previous.

Speaking therein of his forthcoming treatise he says: 'Je crois devoir signaler aux lectures du Bulletin une espèce de monuments que j'ai décrite et sur lesquelles il n'existe aucun renseignement; je veux parler des colonnes creuses ou des fanaux qui se rencontre encore dans quelques-uns de nos cimetières.' And he thereupon proceeds to describe the very remarkable one at Fenioux (Charente Inférieure) of which he supplies an illustration. 'Ce petit monument,' he says, 'est placé à cent pas de l'église, vis-a-vis le portail sud; et le style qui domine dans les details annonce le xii^e^ siecle. . . . Il offre une agglomération de onze colonnes engagées, ayant d'abord une base commune, et ensuite des bases particulières. Ces onze colonnes qui ont chaque leur chapiteau portent une architrave sur laquelle s'élèvent en forme d'attique onze petits piliers carrés ayant entre eux autant de petits intervalles pour laisser pénétrer le jour. Sur ces petits piliers repose une pyramide quadrangulaire terminée par une croix.

'On a ménagé dáns l'intérieur de la colonne, un escalier auquel on parvient par un corridor. Le monument est placé sur un tertre, et c'est dans ce tertre qu'est creusé le corridor: le socle est en partie caché sous la terre; cependant le côté de l'est face du monument, est plus à découvert. C'est dans ce soubassement qu'est située la porte du corridor.

'Un autre escalier de huit à neuf marches existait extérieurement en avant de la porte. On voit encore les pierres qui formaient la rampe; celles des marches enlevées, quelques-unes se trouvent au pied du monticule.

'Cet escalier extérieur ne conduisait pas au corridor; car la porte est au-dessous: il menait vers le haut du socle; peut-être dressait-on dans certaines cérémonies sur la table de ce socle, un autel portatif, des chandeliers, des offrandes, un crucifix. . . .'.

He continues:—'Le monument de Fenioux offre une parfaite ressemblance de style avec celui de Quinéville (Manche), dont j'ai parlé dans la v^e^ partie de mon Cours' . . . and then goes on:—

'Il existe en Poitou plusieurs fanaux semblables . . . d'autres sont cités dans plusieurs départements du centre de la France. J'ai visité celui du cimetière de Château Larcher près Poitiers : il présente, autant qu'il me souvient, une colonne creuse, et une espéce de socle ou de soubassement en forme de tombeau d'autel ; et quoique moins remarquable que celui de Fenioux, il meritait d'être dessiné. . . .

'Ces monuments etaient plus communs dans le centre de la France que dans l'ouest et le nord. Il y en a plusieurs dans la Haute-Vienne, dans le Puys-de-Dôme, dans le Cantal ; et l'usage d'allumer ces fanaux subsistait encore dans plusieurs endroits de ces départements au siècle dernier.

'"Il existe," dit M. le Cointre, "une donation faite en 1268 à la cure de Mauriac par un de ses curés pour allumer tous les samedis[24] une chandelle dans la lanterne qu'il avait fait élever au milieu du cimetière. Nous ne pouvions désirer un document plus précis.'

'Je ne serais pas surpris quand la petite colonne qui supporte la croix de l'ancien cimetière de Séez, aurait été autrefois surmonteé par une lanterne.

'L'usage de ces fanaux dans les cimetières chrétiens est bien ancien, puisqu'il en existait un à Saint Hilaire-de-Poitiers, lors de la bataille de Clovis contre Alaric. Ce fanal est désigné dans les historiens par les mots *pharus ignea*. L'église de Saint Hilaire etait au milieu d'un champ de sépulture fort considerable : tout le quartier est pavé de trois et quatre rangs de sarcophages superposés."'

In a letter addressed to M. de Caumont by M. Tailhand in vol. v. of the *Bulletin Monumental*, pp. 433-5, the writer says :—

'Le premier de ces monuments qui m'apparut est celui de Felletin, département de la Creuse ; il est placé dans le cimetière au-dessus et un peu à l'est de la ville. C'est un prisme octagonal surmonté d'un toit pyramidal de la hauteur totale de 26 pieds. A 12 pieds, à partir de la deuxième marche circulaire qui l'enveloppe à la base, est une légère corniche sur laquelle reposent huit croisées d'environ 2 pieds de hauteur, a plein cintre. Une seule ouverture

[24] Note the lighting of the candle on Saturdays (like the Greeks) the day when the Lord's body lay in the tomb.

percée à 2 pieds de la même base, et ayant 4 pieds de hauteur sur 15 pouces de largeur laisse pénétrer dans l'intérieur qui est absolument vide.'

He then proceeds to describe with illustrations, as in the preceding example, two others, viz., those of Montaigu, arrondissement of Riom, department of Puy-de-Dôme, and Cullent, the former square, the latter round, and proceeds :—

'Ils sont aussi vides dans leur intérieur. Les ouvertures de chacun d'eux regardent l'orient. On ne voit dans leur intérieur aucun moyen pour s'élever jusqu'aux fenêtres.'

Besides these, he says, in answer to M. de Caumont's enquiries :—'Il en existait aussi dans le même département a Abajut et à Montferrand. Ce dernier n'existe plus ; sa forme nous a été conservée par un dessin de M. le comte de Laizer, il etait surmonté d'une croix qui a dû y être placée postérieurement à sa construction.

'Je pourrais en citer beaucoup d'autres, et la tour octagone près la chapelle du St. Sépulcre, à Aigueperse (Puy de Dôme), m'en parait encore un avec quelques modifications. Il y en avait beaucoup dans la Marche. Il y en a un près Roen-en-Forez.'

Then he proceeds to enquire into the uses of these structures, and supplies various speculative solutions which have been offered by divers persons, most of which are sufficiently extravagant, but which, with others, equally imaginary, if less absurd, may be summarily dismissed.

In vol. vi. of the *Bulletin Monumental*, as a further answer to M. de Caumont's invitation, M. A. de la Villegille sends a description of two other monuments of the same class. He says :—

'Les deux colonnes creuses, que j'ai visitées, sont situées, comme les fanaux dont M. le Cointre fait mention, au milieu de cimetières qui bordent des chemins de grande communication. La première colonne, celle d'Estrées, arrondissement de Châteauroux, occupe a peu près le centre d'un grande terrain vague, qui s'appui, au midi, sur l'ancienne route de Buzançais á Palluau, et se trouve limité au nord par les restes de l'église paroissiale d'Estrées, monument du xi^{e} siècle dont le chœur est encore de bout. Ce terrain, autrefois le cimetière de la paroisse, a été fouillé sur presque toute sa superficie.

. . . L'élévation totale du fanal d'Estrèes est de 8m 30″. . . .'

He then proceeds to give a lengthy and minutely detailed account of the structure which is, or was then, in an exceedingly ruinous condition, and concludes by saying:—'Quant à l'usage auquel il était destiné, il est vraisemblable qu'il a dû être employé comme fanal. La tradition locale confirme d'ailleurs cette conjecture. Elle rapporte qu'on plaçait une lumière dans la colonne *pour éclairer les moines lorsqu'ils revenaient des vignes*. Le cimetière se trouve en effet entouré de vignobles, qui dependaient sans doute du monastère de St. Genoux, situé dans la vallée, a peu de distance.' . . .

'La seconde colonne, est située dans la commune de St. Georges de Ciron, à 15 kilomèteres du Blanc, et sur l'ancien chemin qui conduisait de cette ville à Argenton. Elle est éloignée de l'église du village d'environ 150 mètres, et comme celle d'Estrées, elle se trouve au milieu d'un vaste cimetière abandonné depuis longtemps. . . . Le fanal de Ciron est assis sur un large piédestal en maçonnerie ayant 5·80m de long, sur 4·80m de large, et 1·20m de hauteur. On y monte, du côté du couchant, par un escalier de six marches. Les autres faces avaient également des degrés dans l'origine, mais il y a environ quatre-vingts ans (vers 1760), un curé les fit elever pour construire une petite sacristie près de l'église. La colonne proprement dite, dont le diamètre extérieur est de 0·85m, et qui a une élévation de 7·20m, n'occupe précisément le centre du piédestal. La base est orneé de plusieurs moulures, et le vide qu'elle renferme ne commence qu'à 1·20m de la plate-forme. A cette même hauteur, une pierre d'une largeur égale à celle de la colonne, fait saille vers l'ouest, et forme une table plane de 43 centimètres de longeur sur 18 d'epaisseur. A la partie opposée, on aperçoit les traces d'une autre saillie plus étroite que la première, mais descendant beaucoup plus bas. La pierre ayant été brisée, il est impossible de reconnaitre actuellement ce qui existait de ce côté.

'L'edifice se termine, a sa partie supérieure, par un toit aigu, en pierre, surmontée d'un boule au-dessus de laquelle était placée anciennement une croix aussi en pierre . . . . la colonne est percée de six fenêtres ogivales, etroites et allongées, comme celles à qui l'on a donné le nom de lancettes. Une petite ouverture quarrée, qui

regarde le sud, se trouve à la naissance de la cavité intérieure et communique avec elle. . . .

'Dans la commune de St. Hilaire, non loin de Ciron, il existait egalement une colonne du même genre, mais un peu moins élevée. Elle était au milieu d'une prairie, et la procession de la Fête-Dieu s'y rendait aussi chaque année. Le proprietaire du terrain a malheureusement fait démolir cette colonne en 1833 ou 1834.

'Enfin, une quatrième colonne m'a été signalée comme existant encore dans le hameau de Vercia, dans le voisinage de la Souterraine (Creuse). Elle parait être plus riche en ornaments que les précédentes.'

The foundations of another fanal, now otherwise wholly destroyed, existed some few years since also on the south side of the cemetery of the abbey of Parthenay in Poitou, where they were explored by M. de Caumont. In respect of this it is recorded that—'*une rente était constituée pour subvenir aux frais d'entretien de la lampe qui y était anciennement allumée.*'

An account of yet another, at St. Pierre d'Oleron, is supplied by M. Moreau, Inspector of the Charente (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vi. pp. 331-2)—'Ce monument, dit-il, qui a des rapports avec celui de Fenioux, peut avoir eu la même destination; cependant les deux monuments ne sont pas de la même époque. J'attribue l'érection du fanal de Fenioux au xii^{e} siècle; celui de St. Pierre d' Oleron me parait postérieur d'environ deux cents ans, le premier est une construction romane, celui de l'ile d'Oleron est dans le style ogivale du xiv^{e} siècle. Je ne parle que de la partie octogone, car le prisme et la pyramide quadrangulaire qui la surmontent sont encore moins ancienne. Comme à Fenioux, le monument est placé sur un tertre; un escalier de pleusieurs marches est situé à l'extérieur et conduit au pied d'un escalier intérieur. Mais l'ornamentation est fermée d'arcades simulées appliquées sur chaque face de l'octogone. L'archivolte est une ogive étroite et les pieds droits sont des groupes de tores qui s'élèvent de la base du monument jusque vers son extremite supérieure.'

M. Godard is also reported (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii. p. 544) to have discovered a further, and very curious example in the middle of the town of Saumur.

Of that still remaining at Parigné l'Evêque (Sarthe) M. F. Etoc.

Demazy says :—'La colonne de Parigné l'Evêque est la seule que je connaise dans notre département, la seule, peut-être de notre province. Personne, que je sache, ne l'avait indiquée . . . Cette tour de forme cylindrique, élégante et gracieuse, s'éléve sur un perron circulaire composé de trois marches, haut de 0·80^{m}. De ce point, au commencement du toit, j'ai compté 9·40^{m}, et du larmier à la pointe du cone, 2·50^{m}; total de la hauteur: 11·70^{m} ou 40 de nos anciens pieds . . . Le diamêtre interieur de la tour, pris à sa base, est de 1^{m}; le diamêtre total de 2·26^{m}., et de 1·80^{m} sous le larmier . . . Les fenêtres, à pleine centre et au nombre de quatre, sont disposées dans le sens des principaux points de l'horizon. . . . On monte dans la tour au moyen de vingt huit ouvertures carrées, sans issues à l'exterieur, dont quatorze de chaque côté de la porte . . . La lanterne de Parigné est dans un état presque parfait de conservation . . .

'Je n'ai pu me procurer sur la tour de Parigné l'Evêque que se seul renseignement: elle fut construite par les Anglais, qui l'eclairaient la nuit, afin de guider leurs soldats revenant d'expeditions nocturnes.'—*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii. pp. 349-352.

M. Lambert is mentioned as the discoverer of another of these 'lanternes des morts' at Bayeux, which M. de Caumont had originally described—owing to its then surroundings—as a chimney. —*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii. p. 540.

In vol. viii. of the same work (p. 598), is figured the fanal of Iournet. It has a square base, to one side of which is attached an altar slab supported at the back by an engaged column of thirteenth century design. Above it rises the circular, and apparently tapering, shaft of the column which terminates in a lantern with square-headed openings. The usual conical, or pyramidal head would seem to be nearly destroyed. Others are said to exist also at Château Larcher, and Antigny, but of these no illustrations are supplied.

A representation of another of these 'lanternes des morts,' of late twelfth, or early thirteenth century date, which exists at Celfrouin in the department of the Charente, is given in vol. xii. p. 444. It is of very striking and monumental aspect, closely resembling that already described at Fenioux. The shaft consists of a clustered column

having a polygonal base, and terminating in a conical cap surmounted by a cross. Like that at Fenioux too, it is approached by a flight of steps. The general character of the shafts with their capitals, strongly recalls those in the choir pillars at Ripon, with which indeed they are almost identical.

In the Limousin these structures are said to be still numerous :— 'Quant aux lanternes des morts, elles sont encore nombreuses et variées de formes ; rondes, octogones, carrées, ces colonnes ont toutes un autel orienteé à sa base. Le fanal de S. Gousseau présente cette peculiarité que l'on fait encore aujourd'hui la quête pour y entretenir la lampe qui pourtant n'est plus allumée.'

The most elegant of all, however, is perhaps that figured in vol. xiii. as occurring in the isle of Ré in Saintonge. It is of the thirteenth century, and composed of a long octagonal shaft, the angles of which, wrought into reed-like stems, are connected at their caps with pointed arches. This panelled shaft is surmounted by an open octagonal lantern of sharply pointed arches resting on slender pillars, and capped by a lofty spirelet which terminates in a cross.

Though instancing but a few of these once numerous structures still surviving in France, the examples given above may yet be taken, I think, as fairly representative of all the rest, and to point, as one might well imagine, with sufficient clearness, to their former use and origin. Such however, strange to say, is, or, at any rate, for a long time was, as far as possible from being the case. Even among the best informed archaeologists, the wildest and most preposterous ideas were entertained as to their purpose—so entirely, and in so short a space of time as that between the middle of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, had all real knowledge of them died out. Precisely as in the case of our own, so called, 'low side windows,' there prevailed everywhere a state of blank, abysmal ignorance ; and 'ingenious people,' of whom, both at home and abroad, there was never any lack, amused themselves, from time to time, in ventilating whatever theory their passing fancy could suggest. Entirely unrestrained by historic, or other trammels, their perfervid imagination was allowed full scope, and, spurning all impediments, ran riot accordingly.

Dismissing this mass of 'clotted nonsense,' however, let us rather

turn to the rational and scholarly explanation offered by that most able architect and antiquary, the late M. Viollet le Duc, in vol. vi. of his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Architecture Française*, pp. 154-161. Speaking of them under the term of 'Lanterne des Morts, Fanal, tournièle, phare,' he gives their structural definition as :—'Pile creuse en pierre terminée à son sommet par un petit pavillon ajouré percé à sa base d'une petite porte ;' and then, more speculatively, if less accurately, proceeds to explain their use as :—'Destinée à signaler au loin, la nuit, la présence d'un établissment religieux, d'un cimetière,' in illustration of which, perhaps, partially correct view, he adduces from the *Chronique de Rains* (xiii^{e} siécle), the following interesting, if not strikingly apt quotation :—'Adont moru Salehedins li miudres princes qui onkes fust en Paienie et fu enfouis en la cymitère S. Nicholai d'Acre de jouste sa mère qui moult ricement y fut ensévelie : et à sour eaus une tournièle bièle et grant, où il art nuit et jour une lampe plaine d'oile d'olive : et le paient et font alumer cil del hospital de S. Jehan d'Acre, qui les grans rentes tiènent que Salehedins et sa mère laissièrent.'

Then, turning to France, and such remains of this class of monuments as are still to be found there, he says :—'Les provinces du centre et de l'ouest de la France conservent encore un assez grand nombre de ces monuments pour faire supposer qu'ils étaient jadis fort communs. Peut-être, doit on chercher dans ces édifices une tradition antique de la Gaule celtique. En effet, ce sont les territories où se trouvent les pierres levées, les *menhirs*, qui nous présentent des examples assez frequent de lanterne des morts. Les mots *lanterne*, *fanal*, *phare*, *pharus ignea*, ont des étymologies qui indiquent un lieu sacré, une construction, une lumière. *Later*, *laterina*, en latin, signifient brique, lingot, bloc, amas de briques : Φανός, en grec, lumineux, flambeau ; Φανής, dieu de lumière ; *fanum*, lieu consacré ; *par*, en celtique, pierre consacrée ; *fanare*, reciter des formules de consecration. Le dieu celte Cruth-Loda habite un palais dont le toit est parsemé de feux nocturnes. Encore de nos jours, dans quelques provinces de France, les pierres levées dont on attribue, à tort selon nous, l'erection aux druides, passent pour s'eclairer, la nuit, d'elles-mêmes, et pour guérir les malades qui se couchent autour la nuit

précédent la Saint Jean. La pierre des Erables (Touraine), entre autres, prévient les terreure nocturnes. Il est bon d'observer que le *menhir* des Erables est percé d'un trou en part, ainsi que plusieurs de ces pierres levées. Ces trous n'etaient-ils pas disposés pour recevoir une lumière? et s'ils devaient recevoir une lumiére, ont-ils été percés par les populations qui primitivement ont éléve ces blocs, ou plus tard? Que les *menhirs* aient été des pierres consacrées à la lumière, au soleil, ou des pierres préservatrices destinées à détourner les maladies, à éloigner les mauvais esprits, ou des termes, des bornes, traditions des voyages de l'Hercule tyrien, toujours est-il que le phare du moyen âge, habituellement accompagné d'un petit autel, semble, particulièrement dans les provinces celtiques, avoir été un monument sacré d'une certaine importance. Il en existait à la porte des abbayes, dans les cimetières, et principalement sur le bord des chemins et auprès maladreries. On peut donc admettre que les lanternes des morts érigées sur le sol autrefois celtique ont perpétué une tradition fort antique, modifiée par le christianisme.

'Les premiers apôtres des Gaules, de la Bretagne, de la Germanie et des contrées scandinaves, éprouvaient des difficultés insurmontables lorsqu'ils prétendaient faire abandonner aux populations certaines pratiques superstitieuses. Souvent ils étaient contraints de donner à ces pratiques, qu' ils ne pouvaient détruire, un autre but et de les détourner, pour ainsi dire, au profit de la religion nouvelle, plutôt que de risquer de compromettre leur apostolat par un blâme absolu de ces traditions profondément enracinées. M. de Caumont pense que les lanternes des morts, pendant le moyen âge, étaient destinées particulièrement aux services des morts qu'on apportait de très loin et qui n'etaient point introduits dans l'église. Il admet alors que le service se faisait dans le cimetière que le fanal remplaçait les cierges. Cette opinion est partagée par M. l'abbé Cousseau. "Les églises mère (*ecclesiae matrices*) seules," dit M. Cousseau, "possédaient sans restrictions tous les droits qui se rattachent à l'exercise du culte. Cela résultait de ce que souvent le seigneur, en faisant donation d'une église à un corps religieux, apportait à sa libéralité cette restriction, que le droit de dîme, le droit de sépulture, &c., ne seraient pas compris dans la donation." Que les lanternes des morts aient été utilisées pour les

services funèbres dans les cimetières, le fait parait probable ; mais qu'on aît élévé des colonnes de plusieurs mêtres de hauteur pour placer à leur sommet, *en plein jour*, des lampes allumées dont personne n'aurait pu apercevoir l'éclat, et cela seulement avec l'intention de remplacer l'éclairage des cierges c'est douteux. Si les lanternes des morts n'eussent été destinées qu'a tenir lieu de cierges pendant les enterrements, il eût été plus naturel de les faire très-basses et disposées de manière que la lumière pût être aperçue de jour par l'assistance. Au contraire tout, dans ces petits monuments, parait combiné pour que la lampe que renferme leur lanterne supérieure puisse être vue de très-loin et de tous les points de l'horizon. M. Lecointre, archéologue de Poitiers, " remarque que les colonnes creuses ou fanaux étaient éléves particulièrement dans les cimetières qui bordaient les chemins de grande communication ou qui étaient dans les lieux très-frequentés. Il pense que ces lanternes étaient destinées à préserver les vivants de la peur des revenants et des esprits de ténèbres, de les garantir de ce *timore nocturno*, de ce *negotio perambulante in tenebris* dont parle le Psalmiste, enfin de convier les vivants à la prière pour les morts." Quant à l'idée qu'on attachait à ces monuments, au xii^e^ siècle par example, M. Lecointre nous parait être dans le vrai ; mais nous n'en sommes pas moins disposé à croire que ces colonnes appartiennent, par la tradition, à des usages ou à des superstitions d'une très-haute antiquité. Il est à regretter qu'il ne nous reste plus de lanternes des morts antèrieures au xii^e^ siècle ; il n'y a pas à douter de leur existence, puisqu'il en est parfois fait mention, entre autres à la bataille livrée entre Clovis et Alaric, mais nous ne connaissons pas la forme de ces premiers monuments Chrètiens.'

In every case without exception, indeed, so far as is known, the cross formed the terminal of these lanternes des morts, which thus practically, and to that extent, took the same place as the great churchyard crosses did among ourselves. So much so, that Durandus refers to the light proceeding from them under the designation of cross, only. And it is not a little interesting to note how exactly parallel the fate which has befallen both these classes of monuments has been, the one, at the hands of blaspheming French atheists, the other, at those of their counterparts in sacrilegious havoc, the English

Puritans, the same rabid hatred of the symbol of salvation inflaming both alike. As to our own churchyard crosses, though some few, here and there, have escaped unscathed, the great majority of them have perished. Nay '*ipsae periere ruinae*,' and in the whole diocese of Durham, the base and mutilated shaft of that at Witton-le-Wear are the only relics of the kind I know of.

But the cross did not constitute the only point in common between these several classes of monuments. Their position, for the most part, was identical—always southwards of the church, inclining sometimes to the west, sometimes to the east, but always southwards. Nor was that all. For just as the fanaux, though primarily light-pillars, were yet furnished with a cross, so our corresponding churchyard crosses, though primarily crosses, were yet, in many instances, furnished with lights. And then again, though for the most part, on a much larger scale, the Irish round towers so exactly reproduce in form, these French light-pillars, that, when drawn to different scales, one might very easily be mistaken for the other. Both these variants will need taking account of: and first of all, as bearing, perhaps, the closest analogy to these lanternes des morts, it will be convenient to notice briefly some of those churchyard crosses provided with niches whose scanty remains are still left to us, and of which I have been able to obtain some slight account.

Chapter XII.

Of churchyard crosses provided with niches for lamps.

If, as is only too evident, churchyard crosses are, nowadays, scarce and hard to meet with all the country over, it goes without saying that those possessing receptacles for lamps are much scarcer still. Whether the fashion prevailed generally, or, as might seem to be the case, was confined, more or less strictly, to certain districts, is not easy, with such scanty and imperfect notices of them as are readily accessible, to say. From such evidences as I have been able to meet with so far, however, it appears to pertain more particularly to the south-western counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Devon. Whether this be owing solely or chiefly,

however, to the circumstance that the crosses thereabouts have more frequently escaped destruction than elsewhere, or that the percentage of these niched crosses was greater there than in other parts, is more than I can say. But, however that might be, their presence may very well help to explain a difficulty which constantly meets us, viz. : that while, in so many cases, we find 'low side windows' in the smallest village churches, not only singly, but in pairs, we fail to find any trace of them in others of far greater importance, and where they might naturally be looked for. Not, of course, that the two systems might not quite naturally go together ; but that in those cases where the more usual one of low side windows was, for some reason or other, not adopted, recourse might be had to the other as being equally effectual.

Indeed, the only difference between the lanternes des morts, and the niched churchyard crosses—not in principle, be it noted, but in degree—is that the relative importance given to their two constituent elements is reversed, the light being accorded the chief place in the one, the cross in the other. For though in both the cross, as of right, dominates the structure ; the light, which in the case of the lanternes des morts is always elevated, and commonly occupies the whole capacity of the shaft, in that of the churchyard crosses holds an exactly contrary position, being set not merely in, or just above the base, but confined to a comparatively small aperture. As the crosses, however, were always solid, and not hollow like the French lanternes and German Todtenleuchten, in which the lamp could be elevated by means of a cord or chain, this was a matter of necessity : such position, at the same time, corresponding closely, as may be remarked, to that occupied by it in the low side windows generally, more especially in those numerous instances in which they were almost, if not quite, on the very surface of the ground. And thus, though the niches in the bases of the cross shafts were, in general, as proportionately smaller than the lanterns of the fanaux, as the crosses themselves were larger, yet this was not always so, since that at Cellefrouin, for instance, the earliest, and, in some respects, finest of all, has but one minute and narrow slit in its pyramid capable of emitting, and that in one direction only—just like the cross lamps—a very thin stream of

light indeed. So long as the light itself, however, the symbol of the divine power and protection, was there, its simple presence might, perhaps, be deemed sufficient, as well for the particular graves which it illuminated, as for those which it did not. But, whether this were, or were not, so, one conspicuous advantage possessed by the light in the cross, in common with the fanaux and Todtenleuchten, was that, being quite detached, its rays would, in many cases, be less liable to interruption, and could, therefore, command a far wider range than those placed within the church.

And here a highly curious and interesting example, perhaps unique, and occupying an intermediate place between the detached churchyard cross and low side windows, may be referred to, which occurs in the west wall of the south transept of Romsey abbey church, Hants. It consists of a large structural crucifix built up in the wall, of which it constitutes an integral part. Beside it southwards, and like itself, forming also part of the structure, is a niche—quite as large as many of the 'low side windows'—in the upper part of which is a flue or chimney for carrying off the smoke of the lamp, or other fire which burned from time to time within. That it was provided with a shutter—whether glazed or otherwise—is shewn by the perforations for the hinges. Originally, this niche and crucifix were contained in the eastern walk of the cloisters—now wholly destroyed. It is thought on the spot that the niche formerly held a brazier from which fire was obtained for the incense, but whether this were so or not—and the idea seems sufficiently unlikely—it would not in the least interfere with the nocturnal burning of a lamp, as elsewhere, in connexion with both the crucifix and cemetery, to the uses of which cloisters were so commonly applied.

Another, and very singular combination of the cross with a tabernacle and lantern for a light, is seen surmounting the gable of the south porch of Elkstone church, Gloucestershire; where the cruciform gabled saddle-stone, instead of being solid, and capping the water-tabling in the usual way, is not only hollow, but raised vertically to a height of six or eight inches, and open at both ends, so as to form a canopy for the reception of a lamp, at an elevation of

about eleven feet above the ground. Thus, the light, which would be raised to much the same level as that commonly obtaining among the fanaux and Todtenleuchten, would, though issuing—as at Ödenburg and Mattersdorf, among other instances—from two of the four sides only, diffuse its rays quite as effectually. How far, if at all, similar arrangements were adopted elsewhere, I cannot say. It is certainly interesting, however, in shewing by what a variety of ways the same end was reached.

A still further and more curious example, intermediate between the niched churchyard cross, andthe 'chapelles isolées,' or 'des morts,' occurs in the churchyard of Kinlet, Shropshire. It stands midway, and immediately eastward of the footpath leading from the gate to the south porch, and thus in close proximity to all passing to and fro. On plan it is a square, with gables surmounting four recesses. These latter are quite shallow towards the north, south, and east, and all are five feet four inches high, by three feet broad. The western recess is much more important. Here the arch is chamfered, and six feet and a half high, by three feet and a half broad, while no less than two feet eight inches deep. In the back of this recess, about half-way up, is a small niche, one foot nine inches high, by nine inches broad, and about six deep. There is also another niche over the large arch, which was doubtless designed as a canopy or shelter for those who knelt beneath. The entire structure serves to support the base of the churchyard cross proper, which, planted on the intersection of the four-gabled roof, rises there at an elevation of about ten feet above the ground. On a much larger scale, this remarkable erection, though perforated only on one side instead of two, reproduces almost exactly the little stone lantern at Elkstone.

Of the number of niched churchyard crosses, pure and simple, still existing, I am unable either to speak, or form any kind of estimate. But the examples which, so far, have come under my notice are sufficiently numerous and important to shew that they have constituted part of a distinct, and by no means unimportant, class—once, doubtless, very much more numerous than now. Of these, or rather their remains—for they are all more or less fragmentary—one of the most important is in the churchyard of

Colwall, Herefordshire, where the three massive steps, square base changing into an octagon, and part of the shaft, remain well preserved. The niche, which is crocketed and supported by pinnacles, is worked in the base as usual.

At Raglan, Monmouthshire, is another, the highly enriched and moulded square base of which is also worked into an octagon. Here, the niche, which has a segmental-pointed head, is in width eight and a half inches, by six and three quarters high, and three deep.

At Newland, Gloucestershire, where the broached base of the cross, two feet square, only remains, the cinquefoiled niche is ten inches high, eight wide, and five deep.

At S. Weonards, Herefordshire, where the base, supporting part of the shaft, is unprovided with steps, the shallow trefoil-headed niche occurs in one of the smaller sides, close upon the level of the soil.

At Lydney, Gloucestershire, the similarly-shaped niche, which is worked in the simple square base of the cross, is raised on an elevation of no fewer than seven steps.

At Broadwas, Worcestershire, the niche, which is quite plain, is, as at Newland and S. Weonards, placed just above the ground. The lower part of the cross shaft, worked, like the base, into an octagon, remains above.

At Brampton Abbots, Herefordshire, the churchyard cross, which has a sort of double, or two-staged base, has the niche placed in the lower one, just above the level of the two steps.

At Kingdon, Herefordshire, where the massive square base of the cross, and the lower part of the shaft remain, there is a plain, triangular headed niche, surrounded by a raised edging, and, apparently, about a foot high, by eight inches broad, and six deep. Unless originally placed upon a sub-base, the bottom of this niche would be all but level with the soil.

At Wonastow, Monmouth, the same plan is pretty nearly repeated. The massive square base worked into an octagon, and supporting the lower part of a flattened octagonal cross shaft, has a triangular niche, quite plain and square-edged, one foot three inches in height, by nine inches in width, and four deep, coming down to the very bottom, and level with the surface of the soil.

At Whitchurch, Herefordshire, the massive base stone is circular in two stages; and here again we find the same triangular headed niche, though with raised edgings as at Kingdon, coming down, in general outline, to the ground; but with the platform or footing for the lamp inside raised to the extent of about six or eight inches. This niche is one foot three inches high, in the full, one foot ten inches wide, and four and a half inches deep.

And here, I think, account may, perhaps, most conveniently be taken of another class of monumental details bearing more or less directly on the subject of 'low side windows.' Writing of the various ceremonies peculiar to Maundy Thursday and the two following days, Durandus says:—

'Consequenter candelae & lumen extinguntur, nam hae tenebrae tribus noctibus celebratae, significant tenebras quae tribus horis fuerunt Christo in cruce pendente, vel ideò tribus noctibus lumen extinguitur, quia verum lumen triduo jacuit in sepulchro. Circa quod advertendum est, quod quidam accendunt septuaginta duas candelas, quidam viginti quatuor, quidam quindecim, quidam duodecim, quidam novem, quidam septem, & secundum quosdam non est numerus certus, omnes tamen non sine mysterio agunt. Septuaginta duae candelae quae extinguntur, designant septuaginta duos ducipulos, quorum praedicatio in morte Christi penè extincta est significant etiam quod Dominus septuaginta duobus horis iacuit in sepulchro per synecdochen intellectus, vel tot accenduntur, propter lxxij. nationes seu genera linguarum. Viginti quatuor candelae accenduntur, Primo quia sol iste, qui mundum xxiiij. horis diei & noctis illuminat, significat Christum verum solem, qui extinguitur, quia Christus occubuit vespere passionis, & tenebrae factae sunt super universam terram. Secundo, dies cujus majus lumen Christus est, nox verò cujus lumen Ecclesia est, luminaria sunt Apostoli, & alii viri Apostolici, qui sunt quasi xxiiij. horae, quae diei Christo, & nocte Ecclesiae famuluntur. Viginti quatuor luminaria ergo extinguntur, quia Apostoli in unoquoque die per viginti quatuor horas latuerunt, &c. Quindecim candelae significant xij. Apostolos & tres Marias, quae sequebantur Dominum, quae extinguntur quoniam tunc omnes laudes Dei tacuerunt &c.

'Duodecim candelae accensae repraesentant duodecim Apostolos,

quae extinguntur, ad notandum quod Apostoli tunc siluerunt & fugerunt, & penè extincta est fides in eis. Novem Candelae significant genus humanum, quod per peccatum se à novem ordinibus angelorum, & à verâ luce exclusit. Septem candelae significant gratiam spiritus septiformis, quae in cordibus discipulorum penè fuit extincta . . . Porrò omnes candelae non simul, sed una post aliam extinguntur, quia discipuli non simul à Christo, sed successivè unus post alium discesserunt . . . . . In quibusdam quoque Ecclesiis candelae quadam manu cerea extinguntur, quae significat manum Judae, de qua Dominus dixit. Qui intingit manum mecum, &c. Quae fuit quasi cerea, id est, ad malum flexibilis per quam Christus rex noster, & vera lucerna, traditus fuit, & quantum in illo fuit extinctus. *Candela autem, quae in medio est, non extinguitur, sed in fenestra vel arca accensa servatur occulte, ut posteâ reveletur, & Ecclesiam illuminet.* Sanè candela quae ultima extinguitur, est major coeteris et significat Christum qui fuit Dominus prophetarum. . . . . Et ad canticum evangelicum candela ipsa extinguitur quia Christus evangelizans occiditur.' *Lib.* vi. *cap.* 72. *p.* 219 *dorso* 220.

Here then, during the ante-paschal ceremonies, we see a lighted candle set in a low side window sill looking towards the churchyard, and, beyond all dispute or question, representing the Person of the Lord. That of itself is a point sufficiently striking, and one which, in this connexion, cannot fail to attract attention. Nor does it stand alone, or without support; for in many French churches, low side windows are found, within which the light was placed, not alone, but accompanying the reserved sacrament; and thus, though in a far more solemn and striking way, acting as a lanterne des morts.

Of this, a very distinguished architect and archæologist of Paris, M. Camille Enlart, writing in answer to my enquiries, mentions one at Bar-sur-Aube, with a photographic illustration of which he also kindly supplied me. It occurs beneath the westernmost of the very lofty two-light windows of the pentagonal apse on the south side of the choir, and in a little lean-to projection contrived beneath its sill and between the apse buttresses of the choir and of a similarly planned, but lower chapel towards the south. Two others of which he also kindly sent photographs, are found in the churches of S. Peter at Villiers, near

Montmédy, and Warangeville near Nancy. Another is mentioned by him as occurring at Neufchâteau; and this arrangement, of which he goes on to say he has sketched many examples, is frequently met with in Lorraine, where, indeed, it is quite common and habitual. Referring to our English low side windows, he continues:—'Si toutefois certaines de ces fenètres étaient accompagnées d'une appareil de luminaire, ce seraient soit des tabernacles analogues à ceux de Lorraine soit des "lanternes des morts" regardant le cimetière de l'église. En Autriche les lanternes des morts prennent souvent la forme d'une niche ou guérite sur le mur extérieure de l'église, et à Agen (Corrèze), la lanterne des morts démolie récemment, etait une niche pratiquée dans une contrefort du chœur de l'église.'

Now besides the fact of the lanterne des morts referred to at Agen being placed, not, as usual, in a detached pillar, but in the wall of the church itself—one only, as can hardly be doubted, among many others of a similar class—this special form of 'windowed tabernacle' looking upon the churchyard, opens an interesting question as to whether some, at least, of our own low side openings may not have been devoted to the same purpose. I refer more especially to such as that at Berkeley, where the little quatrefoil, though internally connected with the window over it, is yet separated by the space of about a foot, and has evidently been designed to serve some other purpose. At Salford Priors too, among others, we have a similar example, and at Coombes, Sussex, another; where, though the two are connected, the separation is quite clear. But however this may be, the important fact remains that, not only is the circumstance of the lighted candle, representative of our Lord's person and office, being reserved in the sill of one of the church windows, during the Passion tide services witnessed to by Durandus; but that, in divers parts of France certainly—and therefore, probably elsewhere also, the consecrated Host, with a light burning before It, and serving as a lanterne des morts, occupied a similar position; and the inference consequently seems clear, viz., that what happened there might, under varying conditions, happen here too. In other words, that our diversified forms of low side windows played, as I have all along been contending from analogy that they did, the same part which

the fanaux, lanternes des morts, windowed tabernacles and Todtenleuchten did in France and Germany.

Chapter XIII.

'Chapelles isolées,' or 'des morts.'

Of these, though for the most part undescribed, at any rate, collectively, there would still seem to be great numbers existing in various parts of France: Two of special interest, but of widely different date and character, however, are given by M. Viollet le Duc in vol. ii. of his *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'Architecture Française*; while of others, mention may be found in various volumes of the *Bulletin Monumental*, and in M. de Caumont's *Cours d'Antiquités*, vol. vi., accompanied by many illustrations.

Of these, the earliest by far, if only the date given by M. V. le Duc be accepted, is that of Sainte Croix in the monastic cemetery of Montmajeur near Arles. This, he states, on the strength of documentary authority, to have been built in 1019, but the evidence of his own drawings and description shews clearly, I think, that it must be a full century later at the least. 'C'est un édifice,' says he, 'composé de quatre culs-de-four égaux en diametre, dont les arcs portent une coupole à base carrée; un porche précède l'une des niches [the western one] qui sert d'entrée . . . . L'intérieur n'est éclaré que par trois petites fenêtres percées d'un seul côté. La porte A [in the centre of the southern semicircle] donne entrée dans un petit cimetière clos de murs. La Chapelle de Sainte Croix de Montmajeur est bien bâtie en pierres de taille, et son ornamentation, très-sobre, exécutée avec une extrême délicatesse, rappele la sculpture des églises grecques des environs d'Athènes. Sur le sommet de la coupole s'élève un campanile . . . Les seules fenêtres éclairent cette chapelle s'ouvrent toutes trois sur l'enclos servant de champ de repos. La nuit, une lampe brûlait au centre du monument, et, conformément a l'usage admis dans les premières siècles du moyen âge, ces trois fenêtres projetaient la lueur de la lampe dans le charnier. Pendant l'office des morts un frère sonnait la cloche suspendue dans

le clocher du moyen d'une corde passant par un œil, réservé, a cet effet, au centre de la coupole.'

In this last statement, M. V. le Duc is, however, surely mistaken. The square open turret, surmounted by a spirelet which crowns the central cupola externally, would seem from all analogy far more likely to have served as a lantern than a belfry. Besides which, his section shews that the opening in the centre of the vault is altogether too small for the passage of a bell, though quite sufficient for that of a lamp, which, by means of a cord, could be raised or lowered from the floor at will. The idea here enunciated was precisely that arrived at I find, by the 'Congrès Scientifique de France' on the occasion of its thirty-fifth session held at Montpellier in 1868. In the account of its proceedings, given by M. de Caumont (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv., p. 907), it is said:—'La partie centrale de la pyramide en pierre qui forme la toiture a dû être percée pour donner passage à une lampe qu'on allumait vraisemblablement autre fois dans la lanterne qui forme le couronnement de l'édifice. Cette chapelle au milieu de tombes nombreuses creusées dans le roc devait effectivement être une chapelle funéraire avec son fanal comme celle de Fontevrault.' Should it have been as he supposes, however, as well it might, that a lamp hanging in the centre of the chapel before the altar also projected its rays through the three small windows to the east and south, then the arrangement might serve to explain that of other sepulchral chapels where external lanterns do not occur, and illustrate, in the directest way possible, the uses of our own so called 'low side windows.'

The other sepulchral chapel described and illustrated by M. V. le Duc is of strikingly different character and of later date. It occurs at Avioth (Meuse) and belongs to the fifteenth century. 'Cette chapelle est placée près de la porte d'entrée du cimetière; elle s'élève sur une plate-forme élevée d'un mètre environ au-dessus du sol; l'autel est enclavé dans la niche A; (at the back) à côté est une petite piscine. . . . On remarquera que cette chapelle est adroitement construite pour laisser voir l'officiant à la foule et pour l'abriter autant que possible du vent et de la pluie. Au-dessus des colonnes courtes qui, avec leur base et chapiteau n'ont pas plus de deux mètres de

haut, est posée une claire-voie, sorte de balustrade qui porte des fenêtres vitrées. Il est a croire que du sommet de la voûte pendait un fanal allumé la nuit, suivant l'usage; la partie supérieure de la chapelle devenait ainsi une grande lanterne.'

The chapel, which is of the richest detail throughout, is on plan a hexagon. The upper part, forming a splendid lantern of large glazed windows, and terminating in a spire of open work, is carried on low, detached columns; the whole, save a niche at the back which contains the altar, and the lower part of one of the adjoining sides, being open to the air. In this case, however it may have been in the preceding one, the light of the lamp was certainly distributed through the windows to the cemetery.

An example also of the highest interest, as well on account of its architectural character as of its ascertained history, is that of the chapel of S. Catherine, described at great length by the late Abbé Martin (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii., p. 540-4), and which formerly occupied the centre of the parish cemetery at Fontevrault. 'Son plan,' says he, 'est carré, mais chacun des angles est enveloppé par un contre-fort légèrement saillant, ce qui lui donne en petit l'aspect d'un château fort flanqué de quatre tours. . . . . Le haut du monument est couronné par une légère saillie coupée en biseau, qui tourne aussi autour des contreforts. C'est sur cette saillie comme sur sa base qui vient s'appuyer la pyramide quadrangulaire en pierre qui sert de toit à cette chapelle. Chaque contrefort est aussi surmonté de sa pyramide quadrangulaire, mais plus aiguë que la grande. La partie la plus curieuse de ce petit edifice est au sommet de la grande pyramide. De ce point s'élève une tour octogone d'un petit diamètre, et de 4 à 5 mètres d'élévation. Elle porte à son sommet une charmante lanterne du plus gracieux effet. . . . . Entrons dans l'edifice . . . . rien ne peut être comparé à la grâce, à la légèreté, je dirais presque à la prétention de la charmante coupole qui forme la voûte . . . les nervures . . . s'arrêtent à la naissance de la petite tour qui couronne tout l'édifice, pour laisser apercevoir son intérieur et le jour mysterieux qui l'éclaire. C'est une heureuse pensée d'avoir entr'ouvert cette voûte de pierre sur la tete du chrétien agenouillé aux pieds des autels comme pour l'inviter à lever les yeux vers le ciel,' etc.

The date of this chapel with the name of its founder, and the amount of its endowment are all set forth in the following charter of Bertha, tenth abbess of Fontevrault :—

'Bertha Dei gracia Fontis Ebraudi abbatissa omnibus presentes litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino. Noveritis quod venerabilis Ala quondam ducissa Borbonii post vero multum tempore religiosa monialis et benefactrix nostra, dedit nostro consilio et assensu in puram et perpetuam eleemosinam capellam quam adstrui fecit de suo proprio in medio cimiterii nostri, in honore beatae Catherinae, XLIX. solidos quatuor denarios minores singulis annis percipiendis . . . Dedit iterum octo solidos dictæ capellæ . . . In festo Sancti Michaelis percipiendos . . . et 30 sectaria frumenti . . . ad luminare praefatae capellae faciendum . . . in eodem festo similiter recipienda. . . . Ut autem haec donatio firma et stabilis in perpetuum perseveret ad petitionem supradictae Alae presentes litteras sigilli nostri munimine facimus roborari. Actum anno gratiae MCCXV.' (*Gallia Christ. II. instrumenta*, col. 363).

M. A. Saint Paul mentions briefly (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxi. p. 143), the occurrence of another of these cemetery chapels at Sarremezan, in the pays de Comminges. He says it is of the thirteenth century, and adds :—'Cet édifice est fort simple, mais construit en pierres de taille ; on y voit le mélange du style roman et du style ogival. Souvent, dans nos campagnes, on rencontre ainsi des chapelles plus ou moins anciennes, soit dans les cimetières, soit au milieu des champs.'

Of that at Jouhé in Poitou, M. de Cougny says :—'Bien que depourvue de tout caractère architectural, la chapelle de Jouhé nous a semblé remonter au xvi^e^ siècle. Elle est située sur le bord de la place qui précède l'église paroissiale, et qui doit être un ancien cimetière . . . Au fond de l'abside de forme rectangulaire, sont representées la Création, la Chute originelle, et dans un angle l'Annunciation. A la voûte, on voit nôtre Seigneur accompagné des quatre Evangélistes . . . Les tableaux figurés sur les murs latéraux forment deux zones superposées, et separées par une bande ornée de quatre-feuilles. Ils representent le Dieu, les trois morts et les trois vifs, le Jugement dernier, la Nativité, l'Annonce aux bergers

et l'Adoration des Mages. Dans le zone inférieure toutes les figures sont noires, mais on s'aperçoit qu'elles ont été préalablement esquissées en traits rouges, etc.'

In the cemetery of Rochechouart is another, thus briefly described by M. l'abbé Arbellot :—'Hors de la ville, dans un angle du cimetière, on trouve la chapelle de Beaumossau (autrefois Moumossou, mauvais chemin). C'est une simple nef, à contreforts plats, avec un portail à l'ouest et une porte ogivale au sud-est. Elle fut bâtie vers 1280, par Foucard de Rochechouart, chanoine de Limoges, qui était le sixième fils d'Aimeric viii. vicomte de Rochechouart, et de Marguerite de Limoges.'—*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv. p. 411.

M. de Cougny speaks thus of that at Vignemont in Touraine :—'Située dans l'ancien cimetière du Pestiferés. C'était dans cette chapelle que l'on déposait autrefois les corps des personnes mortes de contagion, et qu'on célébrait pour elles l'office des défunts. Elle appartient au xii^{e} siècle et est aujourd'hui converte en grange.'—*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxv., p. 145-6.

Another of much interest is mentioned by M. de Caumont as still standing at Montmorillon in Poitou.—'L'octogone de Montmorillon,' says he. 'monument du xii^{e} siècle terminé par un toit pyramidal . . . était une chapelle sépulchrale. Avant 1772 cette chapelle était, comme celle de Fontevrault, terminé par une lanterne ou fanal.' M. de Coigny, however (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv.), gives a much fuller account of this monument, the erection of which, it appears, was ascribed by the antiquaries of the 18th century, to the Druids! Like nearly all the German examples, to which attention will be called presently, it was provided with a subterranean chamber or crypt, which served the purpose of a charnel, or bone-house. 'La chapelle supèrieure,' he tells us, 'est voutée en coupole surhaussée, renforcée de nervures toriques retombent sur des chapiteaux à crochets. Chaque pan de l'octogone est orné d'arcatures ogivales. Vis-à-vis la porte d'entrée se trouve une abside rectangulaire, eclairée par une petite fenêtre. Cette abside occupe un des pans de l'octogone. A l'exterieure cette exèdre est surmontée d'un petit cloches-arcade a simple fronton, imitant une haute lucarne. A gauche de cette partie de l'octogone un escalier étroit, à marches élevées, menagé

dans l'epaisseur du mur, descend dans la crypte. De cette crypte, suivant Montfaucon, un chemin large de plus d'une toise, et long d'environ cent, conduit à la rivière. Dans la chapelle supérieure, et à gauche de la porte d'entrée, un escalier pratiqué, comme le précédent, dans l'epaisseur du mur, sert a monter sur le sommet de la coupole. De la sans doute, on pouvait élèver et descendre le fanal placé dans la lanterne. La colonne supportant cette lanterne était, suivant Montfaucon, un tuyau de grandeur toujours égale, long de quatre toises.'

In Mr. R. J. Johnson's fine folio on Early French Architecture is given (pl. xxxi.) a view of another early chapel of this kind standing in the cemetery of Breteuil (Oise). It is a small building thirty-eight feet seven inches long, by twenty-three feet three inches wide in the full externally, and resembles in all respects the detached chancel of a village church, only loftier and more dignified. Rectangular on plan, and two bays in length, it is supported at the sides and ends by broad flat pilaster buttresses in stages, and a short intermediate one in the centre of the east gable. It is lighted by simple round-headed windows, one in each bay, and three towards the east, between and above which are two circular lights or oculi, another being placed above the westernmost of the two south windows. Here, as in many other instances, there would *seem* to have been no external lantern, and the light of the nocturnal lamp, if such were burnt, must therefore necessarily have been diffused by means of one or more of the windows.

M. du Chatelier, writing on the subject of this class of structures (*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 94-5) mentions the curious example of one near the cathedral church of Quimper, which was devoted almost exclusively to the double purpose of a mortuary and baptismal chapel. He says:—'dans une copie des statuts de l'ancien chapitre de Kemper (Quimper), siège de l'évêché de Cornouailles, on trouve un capitulaire daté de 1354, où il est parlé de plusieurs dispositions à suivre par les parents du défunt, qui portaient sa depouille mortelle dans la chapelle du baptistère, voisine de la cathédrale, pour la veille et la nuit: *per noctandum et vigilandum*; que cette même chapelle, affectée aux baptêmes et à la veillée des morts, était pour

la ville et la banlieue à peu près exclusivement reservée aux veillées dont nous parlons.

'Malheureusement, quand un de nos évêques, M. de Rosmadec, en 1426, jeta bas l'ancienne église pour la reconstruire, le pauvre baptistère fut sacrifié et avec lui les veillées des morts probablement.

'Cet usage cependant n'était pas isolé, et les deux évêchés de Cornouailles et de Léon, qui forment aujourd' hui le territoire du departement du Finisterre, possédent encore plusieurs chapelles mortuaires du genre de celle que les statuts du chapitre de Kemper mentionnent expressément.

'Nous pouvons citer entre autres les paroisses de Loctudy et de Pleyben, dans l'évêché de Cornouailles; celles de Comana, de Guicmillian, de Lampaul, de Goulven, dans l'évêché de Leon.

'La plupart de ces chapelles, dont la fondation remonte au xive siècle, portent extérieurement et sur les rampants de leurs toitures, des signes non équivoques de leur destination. Toutes sont placées dans les cimetières, cela va sans dire; et quelques-unes, comme celles de Guicmillian et de Pleyben, sont accompagnées, outre l'ossuaire de rigeur, de beaux calvaires où la sculpture a developpé par des groupes nombreux les scènes de la passion et de la vie du Seigneur.'

Chapter XIV.

of irish round towers.

Following that ultimate development of the 'fanaux,' or 'lanternes des morts,' the 'chapelles isolées;' it will be convenient, next in order, and before examining their counterparts, the German 'Todtenleuchten' and 'Rundcapellen,' to take account of another class of buildings to which, in some respects, the 'fanaux' seem more intimately allied—'the round towers of Ireland.'

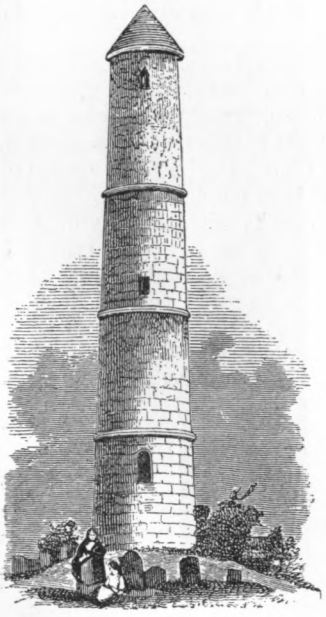
Of these, though many would seem to have perished, there are still very considerable remains, most of them in wonderfully good condition.

Their history, as a whole, has been thoroughly investigated by the late Dr. Petrie; and their construction, and geological peculiarities,

by Mr. Geo. Wilkinson, the two best authorities who have treated the subject from those several points of view respectively.

The following is the list of those still standing, as supplied by the latter :—

Aghavuller, Kilkenny. Only about thirty feet remaining.
Antrim. Perfect ; over ninety feet high ; door about ten feet above ground.
Ardmore, Waterford. Nearly perfect ; conical cap ; door about ten feet above ground. See view annexed.
Cashel, Tipperary. Nearly perfect ; conical top ; four openings below it.
Clondalkin, Dublin. Conical top ; four square openings below.



ARDMORE, WATERFORD.

DEVENISH, FERMANAGH.

Castledermot, Kildare. Less than usual height ; connected by passage with church ; has upper openings only.
Clones, Monaghan. Imperfect and ruinous ; holes for floors inside.
Cloyne, Cork. Lofty tower ; stones wonderfully fitted, as though filed.
Devenish, Fermanagh. See illustration above.
Donoughmore, Meath. No top windows. For doorway, see illustration, p. 159.
Fortagh. Above usual height ; top imperfect.
Glendalough, St. Kevin's Kitchen. See p. 157.
Kells, Meath. Usual height ; five windows at top.

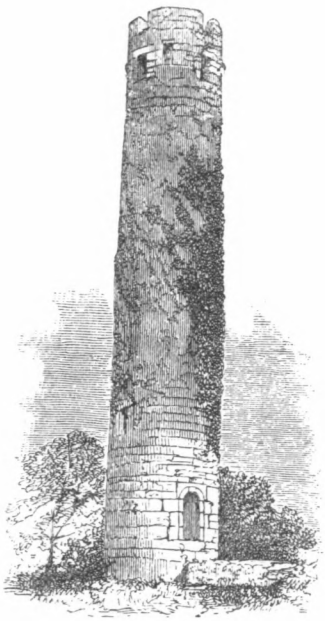
Keneith, Cork. Top wanting; hexagonal base.

Kilcullen, Kildare. Considerable height, but wanting top.

Kildare. Above usual height; five openings at top; late twelfth century.

Killala, Mayo. Perfect; usual height; with four angle-headed top windows.

Killmallock, Limerick. Less than usual height; three doorways, one on level of church, with which the tower is connected; one a few feet above the church, from which there are high steps; the third about level with the parapet of the church.



KILREE, KILKENNY.

Kilree, Kilkenny. Above usual height; upper openings square-headed. See illustration.

Lusk, Dublin. Considerable height; four square-headed openings at top.

Meelick, Mayo. Nearly perfect; but top wanting.

Monasterboice, Louth. Top gone, with many feet of walling.

Rathmichael, Dublin. Only a stump; thought to have been left unfinished.

Rattoo, Clare. Usual height; conical top; four large openings below.

Roscrea, Tipperary. Perfect, except top.

Swords, Dublin. Conical top; door about twenty feet from ground; four large openings at top.

Timahoe, Queen's County. Nearly one hundred feet high; conical top; and almost perfect.

Turlough, Mayo. Usual height; with conical top, and four upper lights.

Tighadoe, Kildare. Less than usual height; and top without usual openings.

S. Canice, Kilkenny. Rather above usual height.

Seven Churches, King's County. Large tower. Usual height; openings at top square.

Seven Churches, Do. Small tower; less than usual height; and nearly perfect; door on ground, and opens into a small chapel.

Seven Churches, Wicklow. Average height; top wanting; four large square-headed windows below it.

The foregoing embraces nearly the whole of the round towers which remain. At Killossey, in Kildare, is one of peculiar form, having a larger base, and being of less than the usual height. At Kilmacduagh, Galway, is one of usual height, but leaning consider-

ably. At Ram's Island, on Lough Neagh, and at Tory Island, on the western coast of Donegal, are also round towers. There would seem, therefore, to be at least, some six and thirty of these round towers still standing, in a more or less perfect state, all placed in cemeteries, and in connexion with, or attached to, churches.

And now, as to the origin and uses of these towers. Exactly as in the case of the 'low side windows,' and of the 'fanaux,' or 'lanternes des morts,' speculation has had a 'fair field'; and the

ST. KEVIN'S KITCHEN, GLENDALOUGH.

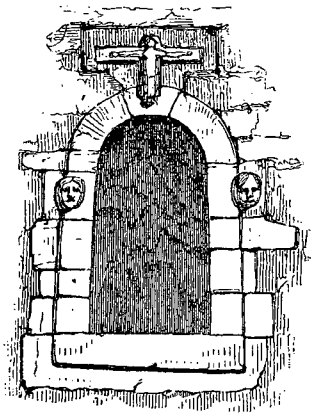
wildest of wild guess-work, every 'favour.' Local antiquaries were for the most part long divided as to the source of their introduction, one section attributing it to the Danes; the other, and more ambitious, to the Phoenicians! And then as to their uses—all kinds, possible and impossible, were advanced from time to time, with the utmost confidence, and backed by arguments as endless as unintelligible. They were fire temples—places from which to proclaim Druidical festivals—gnomons, or observatories—phallic emblems, or

Buddhist temples—anchorite, or stylite columns—penitential prisons —belfries—keeps, or monastic castles—and finally, beacons, or watch towers.

Foremost, as well as most voluminous, of all these busy theorists, was the renowned General Vallancey, who, with an overwhelming display of Old Irish, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Chaldee, Perso-Scythian, Hindoo, and Syriac quotations, endeavoured to prove their Phoenician, Persian, Indo-Scythian, Formosian, or African sea-champion, origin—the last named dating from shortly after the Noachian deluge! Seduced by all this show of pseudo-learning, he secured, naturally enough, a considerable following to change with him in all his changing moods. His first contention, propounded in 1772, was that they were Phoenician, or Indo-Scythian fire-temples, in which the Irish Druids kept the holy fire with which, every recurring May-day, all the people were required to supply themselves. Then came the discovery that they were introduced by the 'African sea-champions.' After that, that they were sorcerers' towers; and after that, again, observatories, where, after the manner of the Canaanites of old, the Irish Druids observed the revolution of the year, festivals, &c., by dancing round them. Then again, discarding all his former theories, he finds they were not African, or Phoenician towers at all, but those of the Persian, or Chaldaean Magi. No longer towers for celestial observations, or for proclaiming anniversaries, or sorcerers' towers, or towers for Druids to dance around—they are now 'fire towers,' for the restored religion of Zerdust, or Zoroaster!

And so on, and so on, with interminable speculations and wranglings as to the precise force and scope of (generally unintelligible) ancient Irish terms—charges, and counter charges of ignorance, disingenuousness, perversion, fraud, invention and falsehood, *more Hibernico*, to the utter 'weariness of the flesh.' Alas, for poor General Vallancey and all the tribe of contemporary, and later disputants! Had they but possessed the faintest knowledge even of their own home architecture, what cataracts of ink, and what amount of heart, and head achings, might they not have spared both themselves, and other people too! Marvellous weavers of fancies, but, all the while, blankly ignorant of facts, which, staring them in

the face, falsified them all completely. For that these towers are not only of Christian origin, but of dates varying, in some few cases, from, *perhaps*, the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, is shown, by the internal evidence of *style alone*, beyond dispute. Not only do Christian emblems occur upon several of them (as in the accompanying illustration), but in that of Kildare, for example, though thought even by Dr. Petrie, to to have been reckoned of great antiquity in the twelfth century, the details, so far from supporting any such idea, belong to quite the latter part of it, *i.e.*, to the Transitional Norman style, simply *Irished*. And, moreover, it is worthy of note that, though some few *may be*, and possibly are, to some small extent, perhaps, of as early a date as that claimed for them by Dr. Petrie, yet the first authentic notice of their existence is one which refers to the burning of that at Slane, in 950; while the earliest authentic record of the erection of such a tower is in connexion with that of Tomgrancy, in Clare, by bishop Cormachus Hua-Killene, in 964. As to that at Armadown, in the county of Galway, now destroyed, the *Annals of the Four Masters* fixes the date of its construction as late as the year 1238.



DONOUGHMORE, MEATH.

The questions of origin, and date therefore, being clearly established, it remains to take account, first of their construction, and then of the purposes to which they were applied.

They are found, according to Dr. Petrie's account of them, to be 'rotund, cylindrical structures, usually tapering upwards, and varying in height from fifty to, perhaps, one hundred and fifty feet; and, in external circumference, at the base, from forty to sixty feet, or somewhat more. They have usually a circular projecting base consisting of one, two, or three steps, or plinths, and are finished at the top with a conical roof of stone, which, frequently, as there is every reason to believe, if not always, terminated with a cross formed of a

single stone. The wall, towards the base, is never less than three feet in thickness, but is usually more, and occasionally five feet, being always in accordance with the general proportions of the building. In the interior they are divided into storeys, varying in number from four to eight, as the height of the towers permitted, and usually about twelve feet in height. These storeys are marked either by projecting belts of stone, set-offs or ledges, or holes in the wall to receive joists on which rested the floors, which were almost always of wood. In the uppermost of these storeys the wall is perforated by two, four, five, six, or eight apertures, but most usually four, which sometimes, though not always, face the cardinal points. The lowest storey, or rather its place, is sometimes composed of solid masonry, and when not so, it has never any aperture to light it. In the second storey the wall is usually perforated by the entrance doorway, which is generally from eight, to thirty feet from the ground, and only large enough to admit a single person at a time. The intermediate storeys are each lighted by a single aperture placed variously, and usually of very small size, though in several instances, that directly over the doorway is of a size little less than that of the doorway, and would appear to be intended as a second entrance.'

In this last particular, however, Dr. Petrie's conjecture would seem to be altogether beside the mark, the use of the larger opening immediately overhead, being much more probably that of the machicoulis above the entrances of castles, and other fortified places, viz., to enable those inside to protect themselves by lowering, or precipitating therefrom beams, stones, or other missiles on the heads of the besiegers. And this, at once, brings us to the consideration of the several purposes which these towers were meant to serve. For that—unlike the 'fanaux' and 'Todtenleuchten,' of France and Germany—they had, and, from the first, were meant to have, more uses than one is clear; just as clear, indeed, as that those structures had, and could have had, but one, and one use only. In either case, the structural peculiarities leave no doubt on this point whatever. As compared with these Irish towers, both 'Todtenleuchten' and 'fanaux,' are for the most part, of very small and slight dimensions indeed; varying, as regards the former more especially, from simple

pillar-lanterns, some ten or twelve feet high, to richly decorated shafts of thirty—the 'fanaux,' which are usually of more equal height, ranging between twenty and thirty, or somewhat more. But, whatever the actual size of either one or other may be, it is evident that their purpose was a single one, viz.: that of light-houses, accompanied commonly, in the case of the 'fanaux,' by a small altar slab projecting from the base. Simple hollow shafts or tubes of stone, with one or more openings for light above, and a small door with wooden shutter, just sufficient for trimming and adjusting the lamp below, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to conceive their serving any other use than that for which they were so manifestly designed, and which the names they have always borne—'perpetual,' or 'poor souls' lights,' 'lanterns,' or 'light-houses of the dead,' describe so well. For this they sufficed perfectly—for nothing more.

As to the round towers, it is quite otherwise. Striking as their similarity to the fanaux is—so striking, indeed, that, if drawn to different scales, the one might often be readily taken for the other—their dissimilarity is just as striking. And this comes out most strongly and readily, perhaps, with respect to bulk. Though, like both fanaux and Todtenleuchten, varying considerably in this respect, yet the smallest of these towers by far exceeds, both in height and breadth, the largest of *either class* of those structures. From fifty to, perhaps, a hundred and twenty or thirty feet high; with strongly built walls, averaging about four feet in thickness, and having, in many instances, the lower storey filled in solid; with single, narrow, doorways placed at heights varying from eight or ten, to about thirty feet above the ground; divided into several storeys communicating with each other, and all of them with the top; it becomes obvious at a glance, that they were needed to meet requirements of which the fanaux and Todtenleuchten were incapable. And what those requirements were, is made as clear from their own internal evidence of design as—again like the 'Todtenleuchten' and 'fanaux'—from the names by which they have all along been known.

Their isolated position, though always in close connexion with churches; their not only relatively, but actually, great height; their massive construction, internal capacity and fittings; the character

of their doorways and other openings, declare at once, and in a way there is no mistaking, that defence of the persons and property of the ecclesiastics, as well as of others, was at least one of the primary objects of their erection. Otherwise, such arrangements could have no meaning.

But then, these very arrangements point to something more than a merely defensive purpose, however admirably designed to that end. The single small aperture which was deemed sufficient for the lighting and ventilation of each of the lower storeys, gives place in the upper one to others of larger size, varying from as many as eight to four, the usual number, and commonly facing the cardinal points. Such, in England, and, as a rule, everywhere else, is, as need hardly be said, the number of windows in all square-towered belfries of whatever size; and that this also was another primary use, may be safely inferred, not merely from inherent fitness and analogy, but from their original and universal designation of 'cloictheac,' a bell-tower. And such, as Dr. Petrie tells us, is the name they go by at the present day; and not without reason, since, in some of them, bells are hung still. Yet, for all that, their compound use as keeps has never been lost sight of, either traditionally or historically; as witness, among many other notices of a like kind, the following from the *Annals of the Four Masters*: 'A.D. 948. The cloictheach of Slane was burnt by the Danes, with its full of reliques and good people, with Caoinechair, Reader of Slane, and the crozier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells.'

Nor, yet again, would the uses for which they were designed seem to have been limited to those of keeps and belfries, as, in disturbed districts happened so frequently, both at home and abroad. As Dr. Petrie so well points out, the mistakes of all the Irish antiquaries at, and up to his time, was that of confining the purpose of those towers to one single issue exclusively; a course which—involving them, as it necessarily did, in endless altercations—while failing altogether in the establishment of any one theory, proved only the inability of their several authors to understand the many-sided aspects of their subject.

Besides being meant for belfries and keeps, he distinguishes a further intention in their design, viz., that of watch-towers or beacons. This view he bases on the fact of their having been used

as places of defence and refuge, coupled with their aptitude for such purposes, and which would lead to their being used at night time to attract and guide travellers to places of hospitality and prayer. And he felt himself confirmed in the belief by the authority of Dr. Lingard, whose opinion was 'that the Irish round towers were chiefly, if not exclusively, intended for this purpose.' This opinion he would seem to have founded largely upon Wolstan's description of the new tower of Winchester cathedral, as built by bishop Elphege, the successor of Athelwold, who had commenced, but not finished, the work at the time of his death, in 984. In his poetical letter to Elphege, he gives, among other details, a particular account of the great central tower as constructed by that prelate, as follows :

'Insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum
Quo sine nocte manet continuata dies
Turris ab axe micat, quo sol oriendo coruscat
Et spargit lucis spicula prima suae.
Quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris
Per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique vias
Stant excelsa tholis rostrata cacumina turris
Fornicibus variis et sinuata micant.
Quae sic ingenium docuit curvare perituum
Quod solet in pulchris addere pulchra locis
Stat super auratis virgae fabricatio bullis
Aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.'

. . . . . .

'Additur ad specimen stat ei quod vertice gallus
Aureus ornatu grandis et intuitu.

. . . . . .

Impiger imbriferos qui suscipit undique ventos
Seque rotundo suam praebet eis faciem.'

Thus Englished, by the late Professor Willis, in the Winchester volume of the Arch. Institute, p. 14, 1846 :

'Moreover, you have added a lofty temple, in which continual day remains, without night' (to wit) 'a sparkling tower that reflects from heaven the first rays of the rising sun. It has five compartments pierced by open windows, and on all four sides as many ways are open. The lofty peaks of the tower are capped with pointed roofs, and are adorned with various and sinuous vaults, carved with well-skilled contrivance.' 'Above these stands a rod with golden balls, and at the top a mighty golden cock which boldly turns its face to every wind that blows.'

Dr. Lingard, it may be added, understood the expression, 'Quo sine nocte manet continuata dies,' to imply distinctly that the windows

of the tower were illuminated all night through; and such would certainly seem to be its natural meaning, though I am not aware of any other instance of a central tower being used for such a purpose. But that it could not have been intended for use as a pharus, or light-house to guide belated travellers over dangerous wastes, as, to some extent, owing to their sites, and the normal condition of the country, might not improbably have been the case with most of the Irish round towers, seems evident from its wholly converse circumstances. For such as might possibly have obtained there, and which here, certainly in some instances, as in the great plain at York and the fens at Lincoln, led to the erection of the well-known lantern towers of All Saints Pavement, in the one case, and of S. Botolph's Boston, in the other, find no place at all in that of Winchester. Its main purpose must evidently have been of a more restricted kind, viz., that of a fanal, for the use, not so much of the absent as of the present; not for travellers, but for those at rest; not for the living, but for the dead.

Such was certainly the nature of the light pillar referred to by Mabillon in his *Iter Germanicum*—and not a little interesting in this connexion—as occurring in the Irish monastery of S. Columbanus at Luxovium, or Luxeuil, in Burgundy, and of which he says:—'*Luxovium.* Cernitur prope Majorem Ecclesiae Portam Pharus, quam Lucernam vocant, cujus omnino consimilem vidi aliquando apud Carnutas. Ei usui fuisse videtur, in gratiam eorum, qui noctu ecclesiam frequentabantur.'

But Mabillon, it is clear, knew no more of the fanaux than M. de Caumont, and the generality of the French antiquaries of his day. To whatever uses this at Luxeuil might happen to have been applied at the time of his visit; whatever ideas as to its original purpose may then have existed; and by whatever name it may have been known to those upon the spot, there cannot be the least doubt, either from its character or position, that it was simply one of the old 'lanternes des morts'—neither more nor less.

The idea of these pillar lights, however, being intended primarily to guide wayfarers, entirely unhistorical and absurd as it is, has yet, all along, taken strong hold of the imaginations of French antiquaries,

as offering, perhaps—notwithstanding their utter unfitness—some sort of practical solution of their meaning. To shew a light to those purely imaginary people who, declining for some occult reason, to 'frequent' the church like everybody else by day, were supposed to do so by night instead, 'seemed,' it appears, superficially, and to such as took no pains to enquire, quite a rational explanation of their *raison d'être*. But then the single word '*videtur*' which implies, and with perfect truth, real ignorance of the case, gives it away, as will be observed, completely. The connexion of this fanal with the Irish monastery at Luxeuil, however, is sufficiently interesting. There under wholly altered conditions, we see a corresponding change of plan. No longer needed as places of refuge or treasure houses; inadequate as belfries where many bells existed; the other use of the round towers still remained, and to such, and such only, this one at Luxeuil was naturally applied. Had it at all approached those of the mother country, either in height or other particulars, Mabillon would, doubtless, have taken due notice of the fact; but he does nothing of the kind. On the contrary, he states precisely that it was just such another as he had observed at Carnutas, in other words, one of the usual French type.

The true explanation of these 'fanaux,' be it said, must be sought elsewhere than at Luxeuil, and in earlier and better informed authorities on such matters than Mabillon. And it will be found, ready to hand, in the cemetery of the abbey of Cherlieu, and in the account of the 'fanal' there given by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluni, who dying in 1156, lived, consequently, while the earliest of those which have come down to us were being built, and when the uses to which they were applied were not only thoroughly understood, but practised. In his description of that place, he says:—'Obtinet medium cimeterii locum structura quaedam lapidea habens in summitate sua quantitatem unius lampadis capacem, *quae ob reverentiam fidelium ibi quiescentium, totis noctibus fulgore suo locum illum sacratum illustrat, &c.*'

Not a syllable, be it observed, about its lighting the way for those afflicted with the strange desire of visiting churches in the dark, to whom both Mabillon and De Caumont refer so confidently. Nothing

whatever about belated travellers, pilgrims, delayed funerals—from 'over the hills and far away'—putrescent corpses too far gone to be allowed inside, bands of marauding soldiery, vine dressers, or other such like figments of uninformed imagination, but contrariwise and simply—the surrounding dead.

And here, let me call attention to the force of the singularly appropriate—not to say technical—word, 'reverentiam,' adopted in his explanation. Now, the first and chief sense of the verb 'revereor,' as given by Dr. Smith is—'to stand in awe or fear of; "after that," to respect, honour, or revere.' And it need hardly be urged, I think, how the presence of the dead both is, and ever has been, accompanied by feelings of awe—nay, in some mysterious way, of fear. What wonder then that such feelings should find special expression and intensity in these places where the dead of centuries lie interred! and how naturally do they become increased and magnified at night time, and in the dark, when all things living are absent and we are left alone in the midst of that silent and solemn company! How instinctively does everyone, without exception, under such circumstances, crave eagerly for light as a protective in some sort against that undefined, but very real and very present '*timore nocturno*' and that *negotio perambulante in tenebris*, of which the Psalmist—as all experience teaches—tells so truly.

Here then, in the first place, and merely from the standpoint of the spectator, may we see a reason for the use of the word 'reverentiam,' in the sense of awe, or fear. The cemetery light served, it is clear, more purposes than one; it not only 'helped to protect, as with a shield,' those who 'were alive and remained' upon the earth, but those also who had left it and lay below. But, though doubtless affording comfort to the living, such use was still wholly subordinate to that other, and fundamental one of succouring and defending the dead. If it helped to preserve the one from that natural fear of apparitions and 'phantoms of the night,' which has haunted all mankind at all times, apparently; it was held to preserve 'the bodies of the saints which slept,' from infinitely greater and more dreadful terrors, viz:—those of demoniacal possession and defilement. That, we learn, was the chief end and object of the existence of those

'lanternes des morts,' the best, and most practical way in which those who had been dear to them, and to whom their memory was still dear, could exhibit their respect and 'reverence.'

Considering then, the close and striking similarity observable in so many points between these 'lanternes des morts' and the 'round towers of Ireland,' how, it may well be asked, is it possible to doubt their main identity of purpose? Found constantly in close proximity to churches, while yet detached from them; always, and without exception, in the midst of cemeteries, pillar-like and rotund of form, terminating in conically shaped roofs surmounted by the cross, and pierced normally at their summits with four (or sometimes more) openings facing, commonly, the four cardinal points; built by people of cognate race who held constant intercourse with each other; holding the same faith, possessed with similar superstitions, it would be strange, indeed, if coincidences so striking and various, were purely accidental, and disconnected with the one central fact which would lead up to, and explain them all. The only and wholly unimportant differences which exist between the 'fanaux' and the 'round towers' are due simply to those developments demanded by the special and peculiar circumstances of the latter, and in no way affect the primary purpose common to them both. What that purpose was, as regards the former, the highest and most unquestionable contemporary authority has told us, and there cannot, I think, on the most searching and dispassionate view of the case, be any reasonable doubt but that the same '*reverentiam fidelium ibi quiescentium*,' was the real and constraining motive in both instances alike.

Chapter XV.

Of the German 'Todtenleuchten.'

Turning now from that branch of our subject as exhibited in the 'round towers of Ireland'—which, though so much loftier and bulkier than the French 'fanaux,' most nearly resemble them in general outline—we arrive at length at that final and specially interesting group of monuments of the like kind, the German 'Todtenleuchten,' 'Armenseelen' or 'Ewigelichte.' Together with their

associated 'Rundcapellen' and 'Karner,' they present in principle as strikingly close a parallel to the French 'lanternes des morts,' and 'chapelles isolées,' as could well be imagined. In respect of form, however, they display, generally some distinctive features. For example, the early German form of 'Rundcapellen,' or circular graveyard chapels, is seldom, if ever, seen in France, while the 'Lichtsaulen,' or 'Todtenleuchten,' instead of being circular like so many of the French 'fanaux,' would seem, as a rule, never to be so by any chance whatever.

Though many of these perpetual lights still remain, great numbers—as in the case of the 'fanaux'—owing to their isolated position and comparative slenderness and unimportance, appear to have perished. For, though some of them were as lofty as, and much more highly enriched than, any of the fanaux of which any evidence exists; very many, on the other hand, would seem to have been plain, simple, pillar-lanterns, only some ten feet, or so, in height, and of little or no architectural pretension at all.

Whatever remains of these light-pillars of an earlier date may happen to be found in divers out of the way places—as is every way likely to be the case—it is yet not a little remarkable that the earliest of which any generally accessible account is obtainable, dates only from the latter part of the fourteenth century. The fanaux, on the contrary, are, for the most part, far earlier, ranging from about the middle of the twelfth, to that of the fourteenth century, when chapels, in some shape or other, began to supersede them. But, though only beginning—so far as recorded examples witness—where the lanternes des morts left off, the Todtenleuchten continued to hold their own all along till the use of such appliances commonly 'ceased and determined.'

As to the mortuary or graveyard chapels, they would seem to have existed, both in France and Germany, from a very early period, that of S. Croix, near Arles, dating, as we have already seen, from the year 1019; while their generic German name of 'Rundcapellen,' which points to their circular form, wherein all the details are in the early round arched style, points, with sufficient clearness, to the primitive period to which the more ancient of them belong. In

later times, these ancient circular chapels gave place to others of polygonal shape, and more elegant and ornate character. Of these a very beautiful example may be seen in that known as the Anna chapel, attached to the church of Heiligenstadt. Though now called a baptistry, there cannot, I think, be any doubt, judging as well from its form as from the lantern which so conspicuously crowns its summit, that it was originally, as the late Mr. Fergusson, in whose fine work a view of it appears, was fully convinced, really one of the later graveyard chapels, a more typical illustration of which it would be difficult to find. As to the earlier fashion, the diagrams given in vol. vii. of the *Mittheilungen* of the Austrian Government, p. 319, may serve to show the typical character of those commonly erected during the eleventh and twelfth centuries throughout Bohemia. In all examples of this class, the everlasting light which burnt before the altar, must either have hung so high as to project its rays directly from the lantern; or, which would seem far more likely, been supplemented by another in that position, the usual, and, comparatively, feeble altar light shining only, so far as it could do so at all, through the east and two side windows.

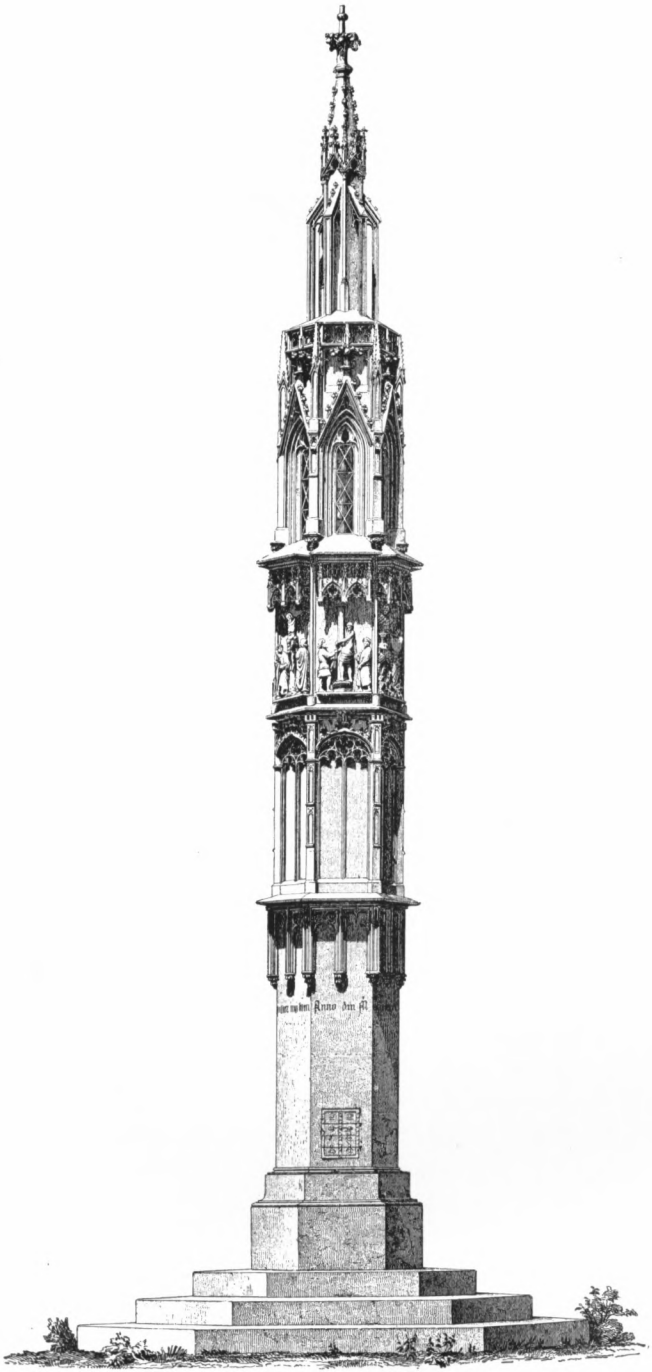
To the west of the Benedictine abbey church of S. Iák, in Hungary—a somewhat small, but magnificent, tri-apsal, two-towered building in the German transitional style of the early thirteenth century—is a so-called 'round-chapel' of the same character and period. On plan, a spherical quatrefoil, and in two storeys, its entrance doorway is in the centre of the southern apse, where the cloister formerly stood, with a small window on each side of it. The western apse, which contains a winding staircase in the thickness of the wall, is windowless, while the east and north limbs, or apses, are each lighted by three windows, those in the upper storey being double, and with the lights divided by a shaft. The central pyramid, which is of the same form as the main building, is small and windowless, so that the rays of the light, or lights, before the altar must have been diffused solely through these windows, and not, as commonly, through the central pyramid or lantern.

Another of these graveyard chapels may be instanced in that of Our Lady's church at Wiener Neustadt. Like so many others, it lay

towards the south, and was under the invocation of the Archangel S. Michael. The priest, Johann Putchmann, is recorded to have bestowed 4000 florins wherewith to provide a yearly requiem on the patronal festival, in 1613, and it still continued in use in 1776. As in the case of some of the pillar-lights, its plan is a hexagon with a semicircular apsis attached to the eastern face. Slender buttresses project from each angle; and each face, or side of the hexagon originally terminated upwards, German fashion, in high pointed gables. At the present day these have been truncated, and a plain tiled roof applied to the entire body of the chapel. Like that at S. Iák it belongs to the time of the transition. The interior has a richly groined stone vault, supported on shafts with capitals of overhanging foliage, and is lighted by two deeply recessed round-headed windows. Two others of similar form, but larger, light the apse. The original roof being destroyed, it is now impossible to say whether it terminated in an open lantern or not, or whether all the light displayed externally, proceeded, as at S. Iák, through the altar, and other windows of the chapel proper.

In the earlier period of the Middle Ages, says Herr Von A. Essenwein, in his very interesting and well-illustrated account of certain 'Todtenleuchten' in Austria, published in vol. vii. of the Government *Mitthleilungen zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the 'Karner' were mostly of round form, it may be that the everlasting light burning before the altar may have fulfilled the purpose of the Todtenleuchten. The light must have been hung so high that it would be visible outside, viz., in a lantern on the top of the building, whence also rightly the name of this part of the building. Indeed the lantern attached to the many round churches of Bohemia at that time had no other meaning. The transition between them and the pillar lights constitutes the 'Karner,' on whose point a very high and slender attachment was placed as a lantern—a distinct light-pillar.

With the thirteenth century the 'Karner' became scarcer, the light-pillars more numerous; the lantern also partly disappeared from the 'Karner,' and it is therefore to be supposed that both uses came into vogue about the same time; the polygonal rectangular



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chapel also came into use instead, when it did not suit to use the lantern.

Speaking of the 'Todtenleuchten' or light-pillars, he says, 'There are none known to us in Germany earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, although such doubtless have existed, though none have been preserved. The oldest in Germany that I can at the moment remember are the remains of the dead-lights inside the cloisters of the cathedral of Magdeburg; that beautiful little early Gothic light-house in the cathedral of Ratisbon; and the one at Puttrich, built outside the school gate, etc. The last is still a formal chapel with high lantern which also exemplifies very clearly the transition from one kind to the other. The Karner with lanterns may, however, have been erected later, but they are for the most part simple towers of masonry of greater or less height, four-cornered or polygonal, with openings at the top through which the light shone. A pretty little pillar stands also in the churchyard of Schwaz, near Innsbrück. It consists of a round column, upon which is a quadrangular little lighthouse closed by four gables, and supporting a pyramid. The everlasting light, it may be added, burns within it still.'

Finest of all the Todtenleuchten, however—so far, at least, as I have yet seen—is the beautiful one, about thirty feet in height, at Klosterneuburg. Hexagonal in form, and standing with well developed base upon a platform of three steps, which serve to give an air of sufficient stability to the work, nothing more exquisitely proportioned, or admirably decorated than all its seven stages, could be imagined, or more perfectly suited to their purpose. Scenes from the Lord's Passion—among which the scourging and the crucifixion appear clearly in the illustration—are exhibited in the fourth, or central band of sculpture, immediately above the lantern: thus again, as in others of its class, together with the French fanaux and the Irish round towers, enabling it to play the further part of churchyard cross. Tall and slender as a candle, like that famous, though now destroyed monument of the Sainte Chandelle at Arras, it was built, as appears by an inscription on the upper part of the shaft, in the year 1381; and, what is very much to the point, and worth

noting; *after a visitation of pestilence, and in memory, and for the benefit, of those who died therein, and slept below.*

Another six-sided perpetual light also stood formerly, it seems, in front of the south side of the cathedral of S. Stephen, at Vienna, not far from the tower. All that is now known about it, however, is found in a small, and not very accurate view by Merian, which shows it to have been in two stages, the uppermost somewhat plain and simple, and crowned by a rectangular spire.

One of the simplest plan may be seen at Gurk in Carinthia, in the churchyard, near the cathedral. It is four-square, capped with a pyramid pierced by four pointed trefoliated lights at the top of the shaft, and with the usual little opening for trimming, lighting, and regulating the lamp. It is about fifteen feet high.

Another, only about ten feet high, and, consequently, so low that the lamp could be trimmed and placed in its niche by hand, without any assistance of chain or pulley, occurs in the cathedral yard at Brixen. With a four-square base and lantern, connected by a banded, octagonal shaft, it terminates in a stout, short spire, and bears date, 1483. In the year 1488 a beautiful five-sided light-pillar, about thirty feet high, was erected in the churchyard of Freistadt, in Upper Austria. From a circular base, set upon two pentagonal steps, rises a long slender column enriched with deeply cut angle mouldings, each of which has its own proper base and sub-base dying into the splayed surface of the common one below. Above this lower half comes the lantern, with slender angle shafts supporting five interlacing, ogee-shaped, crocketted and finialled canopies, each of which embraces two sides of the lantern. The lower part of each face of it only is perforated for light. Above these openings the solid surfaces are enriched with pointed trefoliated heads, so that each pair presents the appearance of an ogee-headed and crocketted window of two lights with a quatrefoil over, whose mullions and tracery, instead of lying in the same plane as the jambs, project forward, like the enclosing arch above them, towards the centre. The opening for the lamp, as well as the stand to set it on, appear below at the usual level, and the whole is crowned with a rich spire and finial, surmounted by a metal crucifix.

Another interesting and characteristic light-pillar is that at Penzing, near Vienna. Twenty-six feet in height, it stands upon a stepped quadrangular base, in which the aperture for raising the light is worked at somewhat less than the usual level. Above this square base, the shaft, canted into a concave octagon, rises straight to the lantern, which is fashioned by simply cutting away the faces of the shaft, and leaving their extreme angular points as supports to the pyramid, which finishes in a finial. Immediately below the lantern appears a projecting gabled tabernacle, supported on moulded brackets, and bearing upon its face the picture of the crucifixion sculptured in relief. In this case, again, we see the office of the everlasting light combined with that of the churchyard cross; just as it sometimes is with the Karner, and as were formerly also the Karner and the cross.

Leaving the subject of the detached light-pillars, however, of which we have now had ample illustration, let us retrace our steps to Vienna, and the great cathedral church of S. Stephen, where others of somewhat different form, though precisely the same nature, await us. There are said to be no fewer than ten such still remaining there, and they are of the utmost interest in our present enquiry as supplying *the all-important connecting link* between the lanternes des morts, Irish round towers, and Todtenleuchten, and our own, so-called, low side windows. Todtenleuchten still, to all intents and purposes, they appear, notwithstanding, under entirely different forms and conditions. No longer standing free in the churchyard, and at considerable height above the ground, they are now discovered—like our own low side windows—not only to form part and parcel of the church itself, but—as with such vast numbers of them—to be set quite low down in the walls, close upon, and even *within*, the basement. We see these Todtenleuchten, in fact, passing at a single step into veritable low side windows, pure and simple, more especially in those cases where the wall of the church is thoroughly perforated, so that the lamp could be trimmed either from within or from without.

Of these, the majority are said by Von Essenwein to be—again, just like so many of such openings among ourselves—quite unimportant, little quadrangular stone lanterns built into the wall in any kind of

nook or corner, and open sometimes on one side only, sometimes on two. Some of them, he adds, may have stood, in part, quite open, like the detached light-pillars, so that the light could be placed within them, protected partly by rails, and partly by glass; in which case openings were provided for the passage of smoke. In the present (1862) restoration of the cathedral, he says, are stone heaps all round, enclosed in barriers of planks, so that it is not possible to make a sufficiently close examination either of the number, or details, of these light-houses. He gives an interesting illustration of one of the simplest sort on the west side of the cathedral. It is constructed partly above, and partly below, the basement mouldings, just as at S. Cuthbert's, and S. Mary's Castlegate, York.

Among the more highly enriched and important ones, the same writer states, were three, previously unknown to him. The most ornate stood on the south side of the chapel of S. Eligius. From a slender round stem, rose, above a massive corbel, a polygonal lantern, and out of this, another and still loftier one, highly enriched with niches, buttresses, finials, mouldings and other architectural enrichments, the whole of which closely resembled a Sacramentshaus; but all so enveloped in scaffolding as to render the making of a drawing impossible. Such was also the case with a four-square one carried on a column on the north side in the angle of the tower. The third on the east side in the corner *could* be drawn. Above a slender round column with a polygonal base sprang an alternate quadrangular and octagonal corbel, over which stood the square-shaped lantern with round columns in the corners. A steeply sloping roof surmounted the horizontal cornice, and terminated in a lofty finial. It was formerly covered with freely designed ornament, parts of which, however, only now remain. The scroll gives the names of the builders, and the date, 1502.

Many, perhaps most, if not all, indeed, of these little light-houses would seem to have been constructed by private individuals on behalf of their own proper, or, at least, family burying places, since they are frequently found embellished with figures, names, and coats of arms. By way of illustration he gives one from the parish church of Botzen. It rests on a console which springs from the head of an

apparently evil spirit, and bears the busts of a man and woman, whose shield of arms appears between them. The lantern, which is quadrangular, and open on the three external sides, is pierced at the back through the substance of the wall, so that the lamp—as in the case of so many of our own low side windows—could be managed from the interior. Behind the window opening stands a baldachino, supported on pillars, underneath which is an angel who grasps them with his hands.

There are three more of these light-houses at Botzen—one close to that just described. In all four instances, however, there is only one in which the lamp is regulated from the outside; the light in the other three being transmitted, just as with us, from the inside of the church.

In conclusion, I may mention the side-window of the cemetery chapel at Oppenheim. Access to it is gained by a little stair-case inside the chapel. Thence a torchlight could either be displayed straight forward, or a lamp placed within a lantern, and set upon the platform carried by the detached shaft, whence, protected by the canopy overhead, its rays would be projected, as in some other of these instances, to both right and left as well.

And thus, we have now at length come, step by step, to trace, not only the existence of a certain similarity or parallelism between the probable uses of the low side windows, as developed in England, and those attaching to the lanternes des mortes, Irish round towers, and Todtenleuchten, *but a far closer and more intimate relationship.* That the uses of all must have been more or less alike, it was only, *primâ facie*, reasonable to suppose. The same faith, the same rites, ceremonies, and religious observances practised by our own ancestors, were held and observed equally, and by all alike. And not only the same faith as regarded in its deeper and more essential aspects, but the same ideas, views, and manner of regarding spiritual things generally; ideas that, to many of the present day, perhaps, are apt to seem so full of childish credulity and superstition. That they should rightly or reasonably, seem so, however, is quite another thing. Indiscriminating and uncritical generally, as the beliefs of our forefathers may have been to some extent, and in some directions; as

regards the existence and operations of spiritual powers—angels and evil spirits, they simply accepted the plain and positive statements of the scriptures of the old and new testaments, and the teaching of the universal church of Christ, without let or hindrance. To such as, nowadays, can with difficulty bring themselves to believe in the existence, or even probable existence of a personal God, the simple, unquestioning acceptance of even that belief, may seem to more than savour of superstition. In the Middle Ages, however—'ages of faith'—as our own 'superior people,' with fine irony, are pleased to call them—the prevailing Herodianism of the present day found no acceptance. To our forefathers the spiritual world was a very sure, and ever present reality. It entered into every relation of life and death. Angels, good and evil, were then no mere artistic or poetical abstractions—as now, to so many among ourselves—purely fanciful conceptions, with allowed, or tolerated places in picture books, or church windows, but not to be taken too seriously. Spirits, good and bad, were with them, on the contrary, omnipresent, 'about their path, and about their bed, and spying out all their ways,' interesting themselves everywhere and unceasingly, in the affairs of men. Then, at any rate, neither death nor the grave itself was esteemed the end of all things. Supernatural ministrations, begun and maintained through life, were continued when life was passed. Untroubled by 'higher critics' they doubted not that God, 'who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire,' made them, moreover, 'all ministering spirits,' 'sent forth to minister to them which should be heirs of salvation.' They believed that after death the souls of the righteous, as in the case of Lazarus, should be 'carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom,' and looked to them for that service.

But as to their bodies, the story of the demoniac, 'who had his dwelling in the tombs, exceeding fierce,' and that of S. Michael 'contending with the devil about the body of Moses'—troubled them. They dreaded such unclean indwelling or rapine of their own, or other bodies after death. For, whether in death or life, the angels of darkness were just as real, as personal, and as present as those of light, and so it was that in the sacrament of baptism, when with the most

solemn and impressive ceremonial, they accepted the yoke of Christ, they no less solemnly and emphatically and, with every expression of abhorrence and contempt, such as turning to the west, stamping with the feet, stretching forth the arms, percussion of the hands, exsufflation and expectorating, renounced 'the devil, his pomps, and his angels.'

Now, as to these angels, 'their works and ways,' we get, at once, at the teaching of the church in the great commentary of Cornelius a Lapide, on this particular case of the Gadarene demoniac. 'Nota Primò,' says he, 'Judaeos sua sepulchra . . . habuisse . . . extra civitatem, in agris et montibus. Erant autem sepulchra eorum alta et lata quasi camerae, ut multi simul in iis sepeliri, quin et vivi illud ingredi et defunctorum suorum corpora inferre possent, ut patet ex sepulchro Christi, Sarae, Abrahae et aliorum. Sic ergo daemoniacus hic habitabat in sepulchris *quia ea a daemonibus agebatur* . . . Secundò *quia daemon spurcissimus et foetidissimus, spurcissima et foetidissima assumit corpora ac similia incolit loca, putà sepulchra plena ossibus et cadaveribus* . . . . . Tertio ut significetur daemones delectari hominum morte, ac inter mortuos, putà damnatos in gehenna, versari. Addunt Quartò Chrysostomus, Euthymius, et Theophylactus eum id fecisse, *ut hominibus persuaderet, hominum mortuorum animas in daemones commutari, qui proindè corporibus sepultis in sepulchro assideant.* Unde daemoniaci, ait Chrysostomus, subinde clamant, Anima Petri, vel Pauli, vel Johannis, ego sum. . . . Ex hoc et similibus locis liquet, multos daemones non esse in inferno, sed versari in hoc aëre, terrâ, aquâ, montibus, cavernis, silvis (ubi olim ipsi se Faunos et Satyros vocabant; Isaias cap. xiii. 21, et cap. xxxiv. 14, *pilosos* vocat) idque usque ad diem judicii, praemittente Deo, ut homines tentent. Ità S. Athanasius in Vita S. Ambrosii, et S. Augustinus, lib. ii. de Civit. 33. Unde pia est Ecclesiae consuetudo, ut fideles in coemeteriis et locis sacris ab Episcopo benedictis sepeliantur ut scilicet per benedictionem hanc *ab illis locis arceantur daemones*, utque ibidem fideles Deum pro ibidem sepultis orent. Hac ratione abiguntur daemonum larvae et spectra, uti mihi narrarunt Attrebati in Belgio, viri graves et experti. *Cum enim vespere obirem coemeterium vidi in eo multas incensas ardere candelas,*

ac perplures ibidem orantes. Causam sciscitatus audivi, solere ibi noctu terras apperere larvas, sed post usum luminum ac precum pro defunctis, illas evanuisse. . . . . .

'Addit Gregorius Nyssensis, Daemones, inquit, imitantes legiones angelicas, dicunt se legionem, imo imitantes legiones et simulantes Deum ipsum, qui vocatur Dominus Sabaoth, id est exercitiuum et legionum angelicarum. Lucifer enim est simia Dei. Disce hic quanta est multitudo et malignitas daemonum.'

So, everywhere, the bodies of the dead were kept with all respect and reverence; everywhere, all possible precaution was taken to preserve them from pollution. That there should have been some variations in the way of doing so, may be taken as a foregone conclusion. Unity is to be sought where it will be found—in purpose, not in the minute and trivial details attending its accomplishment. In this case they were trivial indeed. Here in England, we placed the lights within the church, either using or adapting, one or more of the existing windows, or providing others, whether in connexion with, or separate from, them, as lanterns, whose rays, symbolical of the Divine presence, were held to protect sufficiently the graves of all, whether actually illuminated by them or not. In France, Ireland, and Germany we see only slightly different ways of arriving at the same result. There, in many cases, the lights were wholly separate from the fabric, being placed in detached structures of varying elevation, some high, some low, whence the rays could be distributed equally, and in all directions. Such, as we have seen, were the lanternes des morts, round towers, and Todtenleuchten, generally. But this, though normally, was not always so. One of the earliest and finest of the French fanaux, viz., that at Celfrouin, has but a single, and very small opening—a minute slit in one direction, far less efficient for the distribution of light than any of our low side windows that I have met with anywhere. So, too, some of the round towers, like that at Donoughmore, have not the usual four openings at the top at all, while, though some others have more, others again have but two or three. And so with the 'everlasting lights.' While many, like the beautiful example at Klosterneuberg, stand quite detached in the midst of cemeteries, projecting their

radiance in all directions, some, placed in the angles of churches, do so only in two, while still others, of perhaps more private origin and purpose, give out theirs only in one. So that, even in these several classes, there is nothing like uniformity to be found.

And then again, as regards the 'chapelles des cimetières,' or 'Rundcapellen.' In some of these, as in that of S. Iák, for instance, there would seem never to have been any central lantern, all the light being transmitted through the side, and end windows, just as through our own, with this difference only, viz., that while in our English examples, the lamps if not always, were yet, as it might seem, commonly set in the sills of the particular windows prepared for their reception, in these cases it was probably central only, and sent its light through more than one.

And yet here again, there may, very possibly, have been less difference than might be thought. For in the very common case of two-light windows, where, as at Goldsborough and Crosby Garret, each one has, or had, its own wooden shutter, it does not at all necessarily follow that there were two lamps—one to each light; nor yet, where, as at Norton and Uffington, for example, there were three, is it necessary to suppose that there were as many lamps as lights; so it may quite possibly, not to say probably, have happened that a single lamp, placed centrally, may have shone through both or all of them.

Yet, in other of these grave yard chapels, there were certainly central light-houses, rising well above the roofs, and illuminating the burial-grounds, either independently, or in addition to the light transmitted by the altar lamp through the windows down below. But, whether or no, there would at least, be the altar light which, in cases where no central light-house was provided, might then, very probably, owing to the double part it would have to play, be of much larger size than usual, when it simply burned before the sacrament. Under any circumstances, however, the apsidal, or lateral windows of the chapel would, thereupon, *ipso facto*, become low side windows, just as truly, if not quite so distinctly, as when the lamp was placed on the flat sill of one of them, as with us.

An intermediate example, of much richness and beauty, as well as

interest, is seen in the semi-chapel, semi-lantern of Avioth (Meuse) where the lamp, suspended centrally, before the altar, shone during the night, through the traceried windows, just as, on a larger scale, through those of the ordinary chapelles de cimetières, and on a smaller, through those of the fanaux, or Todtenleuchten. See V. le Duc, *Dict. R.* ii. 148-50.

And then again, as to 'low,' and 'side,' and 'windows,' we have all three in closely similar fashion, in such instances as those at Botzen, Brixen, Oppenheim, and S. Stephen's, Vienna, where the lamps are not only set low down, but placed in window openings, either flush with the walls, as with us, or, more efficiently, in projecting bow-window fashion, so as to ensure a more copious and wide spread diffusion of their light. In other words, 'low side windows,' as they are so commonly, but incorrectly, called, *are found to be, by no means, special and peculiar to ourselves*, of unknown and practically unknowable, use and origin, but—as might naturally be expected—of distinctly kindred purpose with, and analogous to, those other and contemporary grave yard appliances which we meet with so abundantly elsewhere, and with which they have the closest possible affinity. Apertures, contrived, not for the *admission* but *emission*, of light—for the convenience, not, in any sense, of the living, but for the defence and consolation of those who, all around, 'lie in darkness, and the shadow of death.'

How great the concern of Christian people formerly was to provide all manner of defence against the powers of evil, we have already had striking proof in the various precautions taken by them, as well at the hour of death, as afterwards—in the house, in the church—and at the grave itself. These 'lanterns of the dead,' these 'poor souls', or 'everlasting lights,' came after—a final, and fond resource of loving care and sympathy, to ask, not merely the survivors' prayers for the souls' weal of the departed, but, more particularly, to serve as safeguards to the bodies on which they cast their beams—a symbol, not vain, but efficient, of His Presence who is the Light of the world, and whom all who follow 'shall not walk in darkness, but have the Light of Life.'

Whence this striking, and, as I cannot but think, beautiful,

custom was derived, how it maintained its place throughout so many ages, and among so many people, whether with, without, or in spite of, the voice of the church; and how its hold is even yet retained both in east and west, remains still to be enquired into.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PERPETUAL LIGHTS.

The fundamental purpose and use of fire in connexion with the burial, and other, offices of the dead, would seem to be lost in the dim and shadowy recesses of the past. It found its chief expression, however, apparently, in the act of cremation; but when, and where, this custom arose, seems, as yet, wholly unknown. One thing only, in the midst of so much uncertainty, seems clear, and that is that, whenever, and wherever, it originated, and with whatever precise object, it must have been long subsequent to the simple and primeval process of interment. By far the earliest methods of disposing of the bodies of the dead of which we have any evidence—the Egyptian, —shews that practice to have been not only thoroughly established among that people some three thousand or more years before Christ, but from their practice of embalming to have been ancient, even then, in other words, of the most remote and primitive antiquity.

That such, too, was the case during the earliest historical period in Palestine, we learn from the account of Abraham making choice, B.C. 1860, of the cave of Machpelah, as a burial place for himself and Sarah, from among those of the children of Heth, and which he bought of its owner, Ephron the Hittite, for four hundred shekels of silver.

Of Moses also it is said that when, B.C. 1451, 'he died in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord, he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.' And such—hallowed as it was, by the Divine sanction—continued to be the Jewish practice to the last, the regular scriptural formula on the deaths of all the kings, running—'He slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers, in the city of David his father.'—I. Kings xxii. 50.

Interment of their dead, would seem also to have been the common, not to say, universal, practice among the ancient inhabitants of Babylonia and Assyria from what may be called the earliest historical period of two thousand years and more, before our era, to the destruction of Babylon, B.C. 538.

'Among the most curious remains,' says Rawlinson (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 107), found in the lower plain are the *tombs*, which so encircle the old cities as to suggest the idea that both the Babylonians and the Assyrians may have made the sacred land of Chaldaea the general depository of their dead. At Warka, for instance, excepting the triangular space between the three principal ruins, the whole remainder of the platform, the whole space within the walls, and an unknown extent of desert beyond them, are everywhere filled with human bones and sepulchres. In places, coffins piled upon coffins, certainly to the depth of thirty, probably to the depth of sixty feet; and for miles on each side of the ruins the traveller walks upon a soil teeming with the relics of ancient, and now probably extinct, races.

'The tombs which seem to be the most ancient are of three kinds. The first are vaults, about seven feet long, three feet seven inches broad, and five feet high; the pavement, walls, and roof being of sun-dried bricks, laid in mud. The walls slope slightly outwards, as far as the spring of the roof, which is a false arch, formed by layers of bricks, each projecting inwards over the next below, and closed at the top by a single brick. A similar construction is seen in the Scythian tombs; and on a larger scale, in Egyptian architecture. These vaults appear to have been family sepulchres, the number of skeletons contained in them being often, three or four, and, in one case as many as eleven.

'The second form resembles a hugh dish-cover, in one piece of terra-cotta, covering the body, which lies on a platform of sun-dried brick. No more than two skeletons—and, when two, always male and female—are found beneath these covers; children were buried separately under smaller covers. In both these forms of burial the skeleton is laid upon a reed mat, generally upon its left side, with the right arm across the body, its fingers resting on the edge of a copper bowl, which lies on the palm of the left hand. Besides the

copper bowl, the tombs contain a variety of articles, among which are always vessels for the food and drink, which the deceased was supposed to need for his long journey.

'In the third form of burial a single corpse was laid in an earthenware coffin, formed by two bell-jars placed mouth to mouth, and sealed at the joint with bitumen, an opening being left at one end for the escape of the gases resulting from decomposition. Another precaution, which shews the care bestowed on the remains, was an elaborate system of drainage by earthenware pipes, from top to bottom of the mounds in which the coffins were deposited.'

Another form of coffin found in large numbers by Mr. Loftus at Warka is a single piece of earthenware, coated with a blue vitreous glaze, nearly in the shape of our coffins, only largest at the head, where the body was inserted through a hole in the upper surface. Implements of flint and bronze are said to have abounded in these tombs.

The earliest tumuli in Asia Minor, again, such as those at Tantalais, on the northern shore of the gulf of Smyrna; those still remaining on the plain of Troy; the vast number of others, anterior to that of Alyattes, B.C. 561, near Sardis; the ancient Pelasgic sepulchres or 'treasuries,' as the Greeks called them, of Mycenae and Orchomenus, some, perhaps, earlier than, some more or less contemporary with, the earliest of those in Etruria, all take us back to a period some ten or twelve centuries before Christ. These last are especially valuable as having in great part, and more particularly as regards the most important examples, remained undisturbed till quite recent times, when both their structure and contents could be scientifically examined and described.

Of these, one of the most remarkable is that opened in 1836 at Cervetri,—the ancient Pelasgic Agylla, or Etruscan Cerae, a city founded more than thirteen centuries before Christ, and known as the Regulini Galeassi. All the treasures of gold, silver, and bronze being in the earliest style of Etruscan art, led Canina to attribute to them an age of, at least, three thousand years. Many others, of similar age and character, have also been discovered from time to time in the same district, all containing the bodies of the deceased,

clad in armour, and lying at full length, either on stone benches, or in sarcophagi.

In the necropolis of Tarquinii, founded nearly 1200 years B.C., immense numbers of ruined tumuli have been met with—Signor Avvolta, the chief recent explorer there, calculating its extent at over sixteen square miles, and the number of bodies at not less than 2,000,000. On digging into the first of those which served of late to draw attention to these tombs, 'I beheld,' he says, 'a warrior stretched on a couch of rock, and in a few minutes I saw him vanish, as it were, under my eyes, for as the atmosphere entered the sepulchre, the armour, thoroughly oxidised, crumbled away into the most minute particles; so that in a short time scarcely a vestige of what I had seen was left upon the couch.'

The tombs at Vulci and Tuscania, all of the same early type and character, shew with what elaborate care and circumstance—precisely as in life, the bodies of the dead were preserved, and how uniform and persistent this method of interment was. With what literal truth might it not then be said that 'Man goeth to his long home'—those on, and under, the earth being, practically, alike.

And this system of burial, as opposed to cremation, would seem to have extended everywhere; for if the ancient Mexicans, as has been thought, were of the same Turanian stock as the Egyptians, and the modern Chinese and Japanese races, then we have 'at three nearly equidistant points, 120 degrees apart, and under the tropic of Cancer, burial firmly established, as the universal and unbroken practice.

To come, again, to those later, but still early, times of the Persian and Median kingdoms, we see the primitive custom of interment prevailing everywhere throughout, as the structural tomb of Cyrus, at Pasargadae, B.C. 529, the rock cut one of Darius, at Naksh-i Rustum, B.C. 486, four more uninscribed, and therefore unknown, ones at the same place, together with three of the Achaemenian kings at Persepolis, remain to shew. But this, of course, was only natural, especially after the renewed impetus which the Zoroastrian religion received throughout the reign of Darius. For as a symbol of the all pure, all holy Ormuzd, 'Bright effluence of bright essence

uncreate,' fire was esteemed so sacred as to be polluted by contact with the bodies of the dead, the burning of which could only have been regarded as a species of sacrilege. With the Medes and Persians, therefore, cremation must have been impossible.

When, where, and with what specific object, this once so prevalent and wide-spread custom sprang up and diffused itself, remains, then, still a question, and one to which no satisfactory or conclusive answer has, as yet, been returned. We simply arrive, in course of time, and in different localities, at the fact of its existence, but without being able to assign any sufficient reasons for it.

'The Greeks,' says Lucian, 'burn, while the Persians bury, their dead'; but, as regards the former, modern writers are much divided as to the more usual practice. Wachsmuth will have it that, in historical times, the dead were always buried, which is clearly an overstatement, since there are many known instances to the contrary. Homer tells of the burning of the dead; but interment was also used in very ancient times, the dead, according to Cicero, having been buried at Athens in the time of Cecrops. They were commonly buried among the Spartans and the Sicyonians, and the prevalence of the practice is proved by the great number of skeletons found in coffins in modern times, which have evidently not been exposed to the action of fire. Both burning and burial appear to have been always used to a greater or less extent, relatively, at different periods, and just according to fashion, or individual choice.

The Roman methods, though in general resembling the Greek, had yet certain peculiarities of their own. In the earliest times, according to Pliny, they buried their dead, though they also adopted, to some extent, the custom of burning, which is mentioned in the Twelve Tables. Burning, however, did not become common till the later Republican period. Under the empire it was almost universal, but declined with the spread of Christianity, so that in the fourth century it fell into disuse. By the time of the younger Theodosius, indeed, it would seem to have died out altogether, since Macrobius, writing about the year 420, says expressly, that the custom of burning the bodies of the dead was quite abandoned at that time, and that all he knew about it was

derived from history. Under Constantine and his successors, the decline had naturally been both rapid and general, since the church, though no laws were then enacted against the practice, had all along resolutely opposed it. Thenceforward, it became distinctly and exclusively heathen.

All these, however, are mere matters of historical record, more or less accurate statements of fact, but without anything to explain or account for them. We are still as far as ever from knowing for what exact reason a custom which sprang up, no one, apparently, knows where or when, had its beginning. It was one, not only costly and inconvenient in itself; but, in those early times, entirely deprived of the modern pretence of sanitary necessity. We cannot doubt, therefore, that there must have been some very efficient reason both for its introduction and its continuance. What then, was that reason? In the absence of all evidence we are once more, as in the case of the 'low side windows,' driven to seek, and, perchance, to find it, in analogy.

From the very nature of the case, its unnaturalness, and the expense necessarily attending on it, it seems hardly possible to escape the conviction that the constraining motive for cremation, whatever its precise object, must certainly have been a religious one. Now, of all the elements, we know that fire, has at all times, and among all people, ever been regarded as the purest and most sacred. Water, however effectual for cleansing the surface, could do no more; fire penetrated and purified the substance, consuming all corruption. And thus, we read how the world, cleansed, at first, 'by the waters of a flood,' is 'kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment, wherein the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth, with the works that are therein, shall be burned up.' Further, how death, and the bodies of the dead were universally held to convey pollution both to men and things, we learn from sacred and profane history alike. Among the Jews, the laws relating to it—the most ancient of which we have any knowledge—were, as might be expected, of the most exact and rigorous character. Thus, he who touched the dead body of a man, was to be unclean for a week; when a man died in a tent, all that came into it, and all that was in

it, were likewise to be unclean for the same time. And whoever 'touched one that was slain with a sword in the open fields, or a dead body, or a bone of a man, or a grave, was to be unclean seven days.'

For all such cases provision was made by purification by water, yet not by water only. With it were to be mingled the ashes of a red heifer of three years, without spot or blemish, which was to be burnt without the camp, and whose blood the priest was to sprinkle 'with his fingers directly before the tabernacle, seven times.' While the heifer was burning, cedar wood, hyssop and scarlett, were to be thrown upon it, and to their mixed ashes, running water added in a vessel. With this, 'the water of separation,' the purification of every man and thing polluted was to be accomplished: 'a clean person' was to 'take hyssop, and dip it in the water, and sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there, and upon him that touched a bone, or one slain, or one dead, or a grave.' And the 'clean person was to sprinkle upon the unclean on the third day, and on the seventh day: and on the seventh day he was to purify himself, and wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be clean at even.' Nor was this all, for the priest also that led forth the heifer, as well as he that burned it, and the man that gathered the ashes and put them into a clean place, were to wash their clothes, and bathe their flesh with water, and 'afterward come into the camp and be unclean until the even.'

Regulations, similar in character, if less solemn, and rigidly enforced, prevailed among the Greeks and Romans. With the former, the body, after death took place, was washed, and after being anointed with perfumed oil, laid out upon a bed. Before the door was placed a vessel of water, in order that those who had been in the house, might purify themselves by sprinkling it upon their persons. All who had been engaged in funerals, moreover, were held to be polluted, and could not enter the temples of the gods till they had been purified.

And, as with the Greeks, so with the Romans; the body was first washed, and then anointed, but by slaves. After the burial, those present were thrice sprinkled with pure water from a branch of olive or laurel, for the purpose of purification. Then, on their return

home, the friends underwent a second purification, called *suffitio*, which consisted in being sprinkled with water, and stepping over a fire. The families of the dead also underwent purification on special days appointed for that purpose, and styled *Feriae denicales*.

But, as regards the dead, the treatment was altogether different. In their case water, save only in the natural, and, indeed, necessary initial act of washing after death, had neither use nor office. Fire took its place. For the dead it was no longer a mere temporary and external, but permanent and complete purification that was needed. And its aspects and character were wholly sacrificial. Thus, to take in the first place the exceptional cases of those struck by lightning—the thunder-bolts of Jove—both Greeks and Romans deemed their bodies sacred, ordering them to be interred apart, and in the places where they fell. And in all other cases of cremation, in the usual sense of the term, and as commonly observed, sacrifice would seem to have been the essential and dominating idea.

Thus, as in the case of the most ancient sacrifices of animals, the body was burnt whole and entire. It was also decked with flowers, as in the case of ordinary victims, as well as in those of living human victims, at Athens, in the sacrifice of the Thargelia. Next, the pyra, or funeral pile, on which the corpse was to be burnt, was built in the form of an altar with four equal sides, whence it was called *ara sepulcri*, or *funeris ara*. Moreover, the sides of the pile were, according to the Twelve Tables, to be left rough and unpolished, though sometimes covered with leaves. Then, after the corpse, along with the couch on which it was carried, was placed upon the pile, the nearest relative, with averted face, set fire to it. Again, as with animal sacrifices, when the flames began to rise, wine and incense were cast into them; oil and perfumes, together with clothes, food, and other offerings, were likewise burnt, for the gods delighted chiefly in the smoke of the burning victims. Sometimes also, animals were slaughtered at the pile, and in ancient times captives and slaves, since the Manes, or departed souls, were supposed to delight in blood.

Then, when the pile was burnt down, the embers were soaked with wine, and the bones and ashes of the deceased collected by the

nearest relative, who sprinkled them with perfumes, and placed them in an urn of marble, alabaster, or other material, which was finally deposited in a sepulchre constructed without the city.

The Romans, as well as the Greeks, were also accustomed to visit the tombs of their relatives at stated periods, in order to offer them sacrifices and gifts, called *Inferiae* and *Parentalia*; for they appear to have regarded their Manes as gods, whence the practice of presenting such oblations as victims, wine, milk, garlands of flowers, and other things. On these occasions the tombs, it seems, were sometimes illuminated with lamps.

At the end of February, also, was a festival called Feralia, in which the Romans carried food to their sepulchres for the use of the dead. Feasts also, as upon a sacrifice, were given in their honour, sometimes at the time of the funeral, sometimes on the Novendiales, or ninth day after it, and sometimes later.

Though naturally accompanied with much greater pomp and display, the apotheosis, or deification of the dead emperors, was yet, as would seem, of essentially the same character as the ordinary rite of cremation. The pile, erected in the Campus Martius, was in four storeys, diminishing in size upwards, like a pharus. In the second was placed a couch with a waxen effigy of the deceased upon it, and accompanied by all manner of aromatic gums and incense. The whole structure, which was of massive timber filled with faggots, was then, after divers ceremonies, fired, when from the topmost height an eagle was let loose to fly skywards as the flames ascended, and bear with it, as the Romans believed, the dead emperor's soul, who thenceforward was worshipped with the other gods.

In all which how forcibly is the story of Manoah, as told in the book of Judges, brought back to us. How the 'man,' the 'angel of God,' when asked by him, 'What is thy name?' answered, 'Why askest thou after my name, seeing it is wonderful?' and then, when told that if he would 'offer a burnt offering, he must offer it to the Lord,' after he had taken a kid with a meat offering and offered it upon a rock, 'the angel did wondrously, and Manoah and his wife looked on. For it came to pass when the flame went up toward heaven from off the altar, that the angel of the Lord ascended in the

flame of the altar . . . . and Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God.'

All that was carnal and corrupt in those cremated, therefore, being consumed, as in a sacrifice acceptable to the gods—to whose company their souls had ascended—nothing thereafter remained for spirits of evil to occupy or pollute.

Coming to later and more barbarous times, cremation whencesoever derived, would seem to have been beyond all doubt, originally, the universal practice of all Teutonic races, as well as of most others in the north of Europe—Goth, Scandinavian, Herulian, Thuringian, Frank and Saxon, Alamann and Baiowarian—for reasons deep seated in the national heathendom—all acting alike, at first, in this respect. As to the causes which led to the abandonment of so universal and national a custom there were two, apparently, one physical, the other moral. The first consisted in the difficulty of obtaining means to practise the rite, which by gradually leading to its abandonment led, as certainly, to its desecration. In districts where wood was scarce, the practice soon became too costly for the bulk of the population to indulge in, and there it ceased sooner than Paganism. Then having ceased as a religious rite, it soon fell into dishonour. 'No sooner,' says Kemble, 'did the people cease to burn, not only its heroes, but its own children in Scandinavia, than it began to burn its malefactors. The want of wood alone served to wean the heathen from his ancient customs. He reserved cremation for trolls, witches, and such, as, having been buried, rose again and *walked*, to the horror and amazement of men.'

The next is the moral cause. In Asia, there are those who will not *defile* fire with the task of burning matter—corpses; these throw their dead anywhere, except into the flames. But in Europe, heathendom, as long as it was free to do so, committed its dead to a sanctifying and purifying fire. Hence the hostility of Christendom to cremation. Wherever Christianity set foot, cremation ceased. Nay, in A.D. 785, we find Charlemagne making it a capital offence —'*Se quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit et ossa ejus ad cinerum redigerit, capite punietur.*' Christians naturally preferred burial, because Christ was buried. The heathen, just as naturally, adhered to cremation, since he

believed his gods, not only to have instituted the rite of burning, but themselves also to have mounted the funeral pile. Fire was the purifier, the medium of communication with the gods.

A striking proof of the hold which the practice maintained while the Christianizing process was still in progress, came to light some sixty years since, when on the removal of a barrow at Elzen near Hildesheim, an interment was disclosed in which fire appeared to have been introduced almost by stealth, as though the bodies had not been exposed to its full power. Upon its base were found six holes or kists of which five were nearly filled with wood ashes, and over each lay a skeleton at full length upon its back. The sixth hole was not occupied, but close to it was a small urn. It was supposed that this was a transitional interment of Christians who had not yet entirely relinquished their pagandom; or of pagans, who, though dread of the law prevented them from raising a pile to consume the bodies entirely, had been content to burn at least a part of the flesh by means of fire lighted underneath, and fed with heath and ferns whose flame could not be seen from far. In a similar way the abbé Cochet describes finding several skeletons at Parfondeval, lying upon a stratum of ashes and charcoal: 'L'orientation la plus générale,' says he (*La Normandie Souterraine*, p. 308), 'était le sud-est pour les pieds, le nord-ouest pour les têtes. Parmi les tombes quelques-unes n'avaient pas de matières noires, d'autres en présentaient beaucoup autour du corps, *deux ou trois squelettes paraissaient avoir été déposés dans une couche de braise et même sur des cendres.*'

In a vast number of burials where interment is the rule, there are said to be signs of cremation, as at Elzen and Parfondeval; the body was not reduced to ashes, but only *singed*. It might have been dangerous to make a fire large enough to consume it; but by a little management, the advantages of Christian and heathen burial might be combined. This may probably best account for the fact of a few remains of charcoal only, often exceedingly minute, which are said to have been so often found in tumuli where skeletons are deposited entire. A little fire was thought enough to symbolize the ancient rite, and if any doubt remained in the mind of the new convert, or the ancient superstitions still lingered, as to far later times we know

they did, he took care to be on the safe side, and make all sure in both quarters. '*Aqua benedicta, et prunae cum thure*,' both of which, Durandus tells us were, even in his day, placed, in some quarters in the grave, ensured the safety of the deceased completely.

Writing of the graves of the Merovingian period in France and their several contents, the abbé Cochet (*La Normandie Souterraine*, pp. 25, 26), says:—'Souvent, j'en conviens, il est mal aisé de discerner la religion de ces barbares au milieu des formes si simples et si rudes de leur mobilier; mais on voit déjà qu'ils ne croient plus à Caron, à Latone, aux Mânes, ni aux besoins matériels des morts dans l'autre vie. On ne voit plus ce luxe de cuillières, de vases aux libations, de cruches, d'assiettes, de plateaux, de soucoupes, de verres et de bouteilles. *Le vase aux pieds n'est là que contre ces possessions, ces obsessions démoniaques dont la croyance fut commune à tous les peuples de l'antiquité païens ou chrétiens, et dont la pensée a traversé le moyen-âge.* C'est une pratique païenne, j'en conviens, mais que le Christianisme a sanctifiée, car nul ni vaudra accuser de paganisme les plus saints prêtres et les plus savants évêques du moyen-âge dont le cercueil renferme toujours un vase au charbon ou à l'eau bénite, par plus que l'on ne voudra soupçonner d'idolâtrie ou de superstition la pieuse Blanche de Castille qui fit mettre à Poissy, quatre vases en terre dans les tombeaux de les jeunes fils, Jean et Philippe, frères de saint Louis, ni la bienheureuse Marie de l'Incarnation dans le cercueil de laquelle les Carmélites de Pontoise placèrent encore des vases in 1618.'.

Again, when describing in the *Bulletin Monumental* (vol. xxv., p. 289) the many sepulchral vessels unearthed by himself personally, he writes:—'Au premier coup d'œil, j'ai reconnu environ vingt espèces ou variétes parfaitement appréciables; mais dans toutes ces catégories, si incomplètement représentées, j'ai surtout distingué quatre espéces qui je puis appeler entières, et qui je vais essayer de definir. La premiére catégorie . . . se compose de vases en terre rougeâtre d'une couleur et d'une argile analogues à celles de nos briques modernes. Ce vase, épais de 3 millimètres, est haut de 8 centimètres et large de 10 à la panse . . . sa forme, assez gracieuse, est celle d'une petite urne romaine. . . . Evidemment

la pièce avait été prédestinée au rôle de cassolette . . . nous croyons qu'il n'est pas postérieur au xiii.e siècle.' (Fig. p. 290.)

'La deuxième catégorie se compose de vases noirs dont la terre cendrée a reçu une légère couverte ardoisée au moyen de la mine plomb. Ces vases sont tournés avec goût et leur pâte est fine et légère ; tous sont munis d'anses et portent des cous qui représentent le tiers de la pièce. Ce col est recouvert de raies horizontales. En général, on peut dire que la forme de ces vases est celle de la quatrième catégorie, avec une capacité moindre et un faire de meilleur goût.

'La trace du feu n'est pas apparente sur les fragments, mais ils étaient mêlés à des charbons de bois. On ne saurait d'ailleurs douter de leur destination comme cassolettes, car la panse présente cette particularité que, primitivement, elle fut munie de trous pratiqués dans la terre molle avec un poinçon circulaire ; puis, au moment du service, ces trous ayant été reconnus insuffisants pour l'evaporation, ils furent violemment agrandis avec un outil de fer. . . . Leur forme, leur forage, et le milieu dans lequel ils se trouvent les font descendre jusqu'au xiii.e et au xiv.e siècle.'

'La troisième catégorie, c'est un genre de vases dont la terre est blanche, fine et bien choisie, le façonnage léger et la forme gracieuse. Ils possèdent une anse et un cou court, mais évasé ; l'interieur présente un vernis jaunâtre jaspé de vert, mais seulement au fond et sur les bords. . . . Plusieurs échantillons m'ayant présenté un rang de trous forés à la panse après la cuisson, j'ai tout lieu de croire que tous en ont possédé. Tous les vases de cette catégorie paraissent neufs et semblent n'avoir jamais servi à aucun usage domestique. C'est à peine si l'on surprendrait, sur leurs parois interieures, quelques traces du feu qui brûla le jour de funérailles.' (Figs. p. 293.)

'La quatrième espèce des vases était véritablement dominante, et dans des proportions telles qu'elle nous a donné trois cents morceaux sur quatre cents. Ces vases sont de ceux que l'on appelle en Normandie *pintes*, *chopines*, ou *pichets*. La couleur de la terre et du vernis varie beaucoup. Toutefois si l'on en trouve en terre rougeâtre et en terre jaune, on peut affirmer que la terre blanche domine. Quelques-uns sont lourds et épais, mais le plus grand nombre sont fins et légers ; ces derniers sont tournés avec assez d'élégance. Ces vases, qui ont tous une anse, n'ont ni bec ni goulot.

'La plus grande partie de ces vases ont contenu du charbon, quelques-uns en étaient encore remplis. Tous présentent à l'intérieur des marques de feu ou de fumée. Presque tous sont percés à la panse d'un rang de trous pratiqués après la cuisson. Il est évident que la raison pour laquelle ils sont ici vient du rôle qu'ils ont joué dans les funérailles des chrétiens.

'Toutefois leur terre, leur forme et leur vernis nous font penser qu'ils peuvent appartenir au xiv.e et au xv.e siècle ; mais nous doutons qu'ils soient postérieurs à cette époque. Ce qui nous fait pencher pour le xiv.e siècle, c'est que, sur une miniature et cette époque reproduisant l'office des morts, on voit, rangés autour du corps, des vases allumés entièrement semblables aux nôtres.' (Figs. p. 294.)

'Maintenant on nous demandera quel nombre de vases on plaçait dans chaque sépulture chrétienne, et quelle place ils y occupaient. Nous dirons volontiers le peu que nous savons.

'Nous avons établi qu'à l'époque mérovingienne et peut-être aussi carlovingienne, le vase, ordinairement seul, était généralement placé aux pieds. Cette règle n'admettait que peu d'exceptions. Nous sommes moins rensignée sur l'époque capétienne. . . .

'Les sépultures de Ste. Geneviève de Paris, données par M. Lenoir, présentent dans chaque cercueil quatre vases placés à chacun des angles. Les cercueils des deux jeunes frères de saint Louis, découverts à Poissy, en 1714, ont fourni la même observation, mais pour le caveau seulement. A Troyes le comte de Champagne, Henri Ier, mort en 1180, n'avait qu'un seul vase placé au côté droit : l'évêque Hervée inhumé en 1223, n'avait non plus qu'un fiole de verre.

'Le baron Taylor ne cite que deux vases trouvés dans le cercueil d'un abbé de Jumièges du xii.e siècle. M. Féret n'en a également rencontré que deux, en 1827, dans la tombe de Renaut de Calletot, mort vers 1310. L'un était au pieds et l'autre à la tête. On n'en cite qu'un seul dans la fosse d'un curé de St. Aubin-sur-Mer (Seine Inférieure), enterré en 1307 et visité en 1850. M. Viollet le Duc parle de trois seulement, rencontrés dans le sarcophage d'un évêque d'Amiens de 1325 : l'un était au pieds et les deux autres près des épaules.

'En 1853, ce savant architecte, travaillant à la restauration de la

cathédrale d'Amiens, dont il est chargé par le gouvernement, découvrit, dans la chapelle de la Sainte Vierge, le cercueil de pierre de Simon de Gourcans, évêque de ce diocèse, mort in 1325.

'Ce sarcophage renfermait trois vases, dont deux aux épaules et un aux pieds. Tous trois étaient percés de trous et contenaient du charbon dans leur intérieur ; ils étaient blancs, légers et fins. Leur panse est ornée de ces lignes rouges et perpendiculaires dont nous avons beaucoup parlé et qui nous semblent faites avec de la sanguine. Ce tombeau toutefois avait déjà été visité, car on n'y a trouvé que le bâton de bois de la crosse. Le vase était entier ; mais son couvercle, qui était plat, a été trouvé brise en plusieurs morceaux.

'Le 18 décembre, 1854, la *Société archéologique de l'Orléanais* a fait, dans l'église de Notre-Dame-de-Cléry, l'examen des sépultures des Dunois-Longueville. Voici quelques détails concernant les vases qu'elle y a rencontrés.

'Le caveau du célèbre Jean, bâtard d'Orleans, comte de Dunois, décédé le 24 novembre, 1468, avait été violé à la Révolution ou auparavant. On a trouvé, parmi la terre qu'il contenait, sept vases funéraires qui n'étaient pas en place.

'Le cercueil de François Ier, de Longueville, né en 1447 et mort en 1491, n'avait pas été violé dans son caveau. On a trouvé, des deux côtés, dans le sens de la longueur de cercueil, douze petits pots de terre rouge commune, contenant du charbon qui a été allumé ; quelques-uns de ces vases ont été brisés. Ils ne sont pas vernis à l'intérieur, et ils portent des anses. Les plus forts ont 12c de haut, 10c de diamètre à l'ouverture, 40c de tour au plus renflé de ventre, et 7c à la base.

'Dans le caveau d'Agnès de Savoie, duchesse de Dunois, morte le 16 mars 1508, le cercueil en plomb n'avait pas été violé. Près de lui étaient quatre pots à anse, de poterie rouge commune, sans vernis, d'une dimension double de celle des pots qui précèdent. Ils renfermaient du charbon ; deux étaient à droite, et deux à gauche.'—*Bull. Mon.* xxii. pp. 428-429.

Not further to prolong the interminable list of such like discoveries it may suffice to mention a further one made some years ago at Morienval (Oise) where were found—'autour d'un cercueil du xvi.e ou xvii.e siècle plusieurs vases, placés sur le couvercle, *et trente-huit autres rangés autour du sarcophage.*

'Sous la législation si profondément catholique de cette partie du moyen âge qui va depuis le xi.e jusqu'au xvii.e siècle,' continues the abbè Cochet, 'la vase funèbre durera encore, et plus vivace que les siècles et que les ères qu'il traverse, il survivra au moyen âge, et il faudra toutes les lumières du siècle de Louis XIV. pour déraciner des mœurs cette vieille plante qui naquit au berceau de l'humanité.

'. . . . Mais je m'arrête, parce que je crois avoir suffisament démontré ma thèse et avoir élevé à l'état de loi ce qui, par le défaut d'ensemble, n'apparaissait guère que comme un accident ou un cas isolé. J'ai prouvé, je l'espère, que, sous l'empire de la pensée catholique, l'usage des vases funéraires avait persévéré parmi les chrétiens du moyen âge. J'ai fait plus, j'ai rattaché cette coutume à sa source primitive, montrant qu'elle découlait de la haute antiquité et qu'elle avait pris naissance au berceau du monde.'

'Nous ne terminerons pas ce travail tout archéologique sans ajouter un fait moderne et contemporain qui, malgré son actualité, a tout l'intérêt d'une antiquité bien conservée. Le lecteur croirait-t-il, si nous ne le lui attestions, que la coutume de placer des vases dans la fosse des morts subsiste encore au sein de notre France? C'est pourtant ce que nous sommes en mesure de prouver, pièces en main.

'Dans mon mémoire, *Sur la coutume de placer des vases dans la sépulture de l'homme*, je disais au début: "Cet usage, qui remonte au berceau de l'humanité, a traversé les siècles avec la grande famille humaine et il y a 200 ans à peine qu'il a quitté le sol de la France. Peut-être même y existe-t-il encore caché en quelque endroit obscur, et nous ne serions nullement surpris d'apprendre qu'au fond d'une des provinces, au sein d'une paroisse reculée, vit et prospère la coutume des vases funèbres, aussi chère aux premiers chrétiens qu'à ceux du moyen-âge."

'Cela était écrit à la fin de 1856.

'Et le 7 mars, 1857, je recevais de M. I. Chevrier, de Châlons-sur-Saône, la lettre suivante:—"Je suis heureux, Monsieur, de vous fournir l'occasion de justifier un pressentiment que vous exprimez dans le *Bulletin Monumental* de 1856, relatif à l'usage des vases funéraires. En effet, notre Bresse et notre Morvan continuent encore aujourd'hui l'usage de placer dans le cercueil ou dans la fosse un vase ayant servi

au défunt." Puis, dans son mémoire sur les fouilles à St. Jean-des-Vignes, près Châlon, en 1855 et en 1856, le même archéologue s'exprime ainsi :—"Dans le Morvan, et notamment à Anost, les paysans continuent encore de nos jours l'usage des vases funéraires, ils jettent sur le cercueil, au fond de la fosse, une écuelle ou un vase de terre ayant servi ordinairement au défunt ; et dans certaines parties de la Bresse, on jette dans la fosse le vase à eau bénite qui fut placé aux pieds du défunt avant la cérémonie de l'inhumation."—*Bull. Mon.* XXV. pp. 301-304.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXAMPLES STILL REMAINING IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

Having now, therefore, as a necessary preliminary, treated of the subject of 'low side windows' generally, and in a fashion as thoroughly exhaustive as the materials at my command would allow; it remains, in conclusion, to present such illustrations of it as remain within a given and well-defined portion of that district with the antiquities of which it is the object of this society to deal—the county palatine of Durham.

Though not comprising any very special, or peculiarly striking, or exceptional examples, perhaps, they may still serve, probably, like most others within a like area, to bear sufficiently clear witness, as well positive as negative, to the real, though now forgotten uses to which this mysterious class of openings was applied. If somewhat deficient, possibly, in that kind of direct and pointed evidence supplied in certain individual instances elsewhere, they will yet, I think, be found, in general character, fully representative of those usually met with in other parts of the country : fair average specimens, that is, of their class, taken as a whole. All of them, I think, will be found to point more or less directly to that continued and general use of lights in cemeteries, which the church from the very beginning of the fourth century, though it did not encourage, at least permitted to be burnt, for the satisfaction of the living, if not for the benefit of the dead, at night. For the famous thirty-fourth canon of the council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, which refers directly to this practice, and was enacted to

regulate, since it could not suppress it, says expressly—'Cereos *per diem* placuit in coemeterio non incendi. Inquietandi enim sanctorum spiritus non sunt. Qui haec non observaverint, arceantur ab ecclesiae communione.' Where we see that the prohibition, which involved the penalty of excommunication, had reference to the burning of such candles in the daytime only; thus plainly, and by implication, allowing the custom to be followed after dark. And this concession in various ways, as we have already seen, was taken the fullest advantage of throughout the whole of Europe till the close of the Middle Ages; nay in some parts indeed, continues to be so still. Moreover the reason assigned by the canon itself for its promulgation is, as will be seen, plain enough, viz.:—'Because the spirits of the saints, or of the dead in Christ, are not to be disturbed'—that is, troubled by the thought that their bodies, which had been made 'temples of the Holy Ghost,' were, after their departure, being outraged and profaned by devils. But even then, though as being in the 'hands of God,' where no such 'torment' could 'touch them,' it did, for all that, touch the living most acutely, and hence their care and anxiety that the 'earthly tabernacles' of those dear to them, which had been 'put off,' and were being 'dissolved,' should, by every means in their power, be protected from such possible defilement. And hence the universal burning of these lights. So deeply rooted, tenacious, and ineradicable were these primeval and apparently universal beliefs—or, as so many nowadays would prefer to call them, *superstitions*—in the hearts of all men everywhere.

The evidence of the practice is, unfortunately, in this particular locality, very largely discounted by the great number of old churches which have been either utterly destroyed, or so mutilated and disfigured, that their testimony, whatever it may once have been, or indeed may even now be, is not obtainable. And this is, perhaps, all the more to be regretted because—in comparison with those in so many other parts of England—the ancient Durham churches are in themselves, for the most part, so poor, and few, and far between. Such as it is, however, and it is quite enough for my present purpose, a full account of them is here presented, arranged, for comparison, in three separate groups, viz., firstly, those ancient churches in which, for divers reasons,

it is now impossible to determine whether such features ever existed or not; secondly, those in which, in varying conditions, they exist still, and are hereinafter, illustrated and described; and thirdly, those in which they neither do, nor, apparently, ever did exist. Taking them in this order then, we have :—

I.

CHURCHES IN WHICH THE EVIDENCES ARE NOW EITHER OBSCURED OR DESTROYED.

Aycliffe.
Billingham.
Bishopton.
Coniscliffe.
Denton.
Dinsdale.
S. Mary-le-Bow, Durham.
S. Nicholas, Durham
Eggleston.
Esh.
Greatham.
Hartlepool.
Houghton-le-Spring.
Hunstanworth.
Hurworth.
Longnewton.
Merrington.
Middleton-in-Teesdale.
Monkwearmouth.
Muggleswick.
S. John's Chapel.
Sedgefield.
Sockburn.
South Shields.
Stainton, Great.
Wearmouth, Bishop.
Whorlton.
Wolsingham.

Of these, Aycliffe had, at the time of its late careful restoration, only one side of its south-western lancet of the chancel remaining, and the sill is, consequently, new, so that all witness in that, the usual quarter, is destroyed. Billingham chancel was expensively, but very inartistically rebuilt from its foundations many years ago. Bishopton church has been largely, if not wholly, rebuilt. Coniscliffe church has had the whole of its single north aisle, or chantry, rebuilt *circa* 1846. Denton was utterly destroyed, and rebuilt in a miserably poor and mean fashion, during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Dinsdale church, though still standing, has, at various times, been grievously mutilated and 'restored.' S. Mary-le-Bow and S. Nicholas, in the city of Durham, have both been annihilated and rebuilt from the ground, the one in the seventeenth, the other in the nineteenth century; while the chancel of S. Oswald's, which, when Surtees's *History* was published, contained a large inserted 'low side window' in the usual place, has now lost all traces of it. The

little church of Eggleston has been rebuilt upon another site. Greatham church has, externally, also been rebuilt in the vulgarest sham Gothic manner conceivable, nothing but the singularly fine and interesting arcades being left of it. At Hartlepool, the magnificent chancel, which had hardly, I might say, any, rival in England, fell down, through continuous neglect and decay, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The chancel of Houghton-le-Spring has the lower part of the south side of its western portion covered with plaster, so that its evidence is hidden. Hunstanworth has been destroyed. Hurworth church, as regards its outer walls, has also well nigh wholly perished. Longnewton church is chiefly modern. Merrington was wickedly destroyed, down to the ground, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, all its claims to reverent treatment notwithstanding. The church of Middleton-in-Teesdale, though in excellent condition, and, as regards its chancel especially, of singular interest and dignity, was wantonly, and without any rational cause whatever, utterly swept away, and a brand new one built upon another site near at hand, some thirty years since. Monkwearmouth church, though its chancel still remains intact, and without any sign of a 'low side window,' has had the south wall of its nave pulled down and rebuilt twice over. Since no fewer than six of the Durham churches, however, have, or had, their openings of this kind in the nave, and four of these towards the south, the evidence is, in this case, necessarily inconclusive. Muggleswick has wholly perished. S. John's Chapel, in Weardale, also, was long since destroyed and rebuilt. At Sedgefield, the chancel has been plastered all over with a coat of Roman cement, so that its witness, for the present, lies buried. Sockburn church has long lain in ruins; while the chapel of Sherburn hospital has been destroyed by fire. At South Shields, the church of S. Hild, save, I think, a small fragment at the base of the tower, has perished utterly. Great Stainton church, like that at Middleton, has been pulled down, and rebuilt upon a fresh site. Of Bishop Wearmouth church, only the eastern parts of the chancel are left standing, the western having long since been destroyed, and the space occupied by them thrown into the nave. At Whickham, the church, which till lately retained, either in great part or altogether, its 'low side

window' towards the west end of the south aisle, has now been so enlarged and altered that, outside, hardly a vestige of antiquity is left. Wolsingham church has, save the lower part of the tower, been wholly rebuilt and enlarged; while at Whorlton, the ancient chapel, with its twelfth-century chancel arch and other interesting features, was swept away entirely during the latter part of the forties.

In none of the above-mentioned instances, therefore, is it possible to say, at present, whether the churches do, or ever did, possess such features as 'low side windows' or not.

II.

CHURCHES IN WHICH 'LOW SIDE WINDOWS,' OR THEIR REMAINS, DO, OR TILL LATELY DID, CERTAINLY EXIST.

Auckland, S. Andrew's.
Barnard Castle.
Bishop Middleham.
Cockfield.
Dalton le Dale.
Durham, S. Giles.
" S. Margaret.
" S. Oswald.
Easington.
Elwick Hall.
Haughton le Skerne.
Jarrow.
Kelloe ?
Medomsley ?
Norton.
Pittington.
Redmarshall.
Ryton.
Seaham.
Staindrop.
Stanhope.
Trimdon.
Whickham.
Whitburn.
Winston.

III.

CHURCHES IN WHICH 'LOW SIDE WINDOWS' NEITHER DO, NOR, APPARENTLY, EVER DID, EXIST.

Auckland, S. Helen's.
Boldon.
Brancepeth.
Chester-le-Street.
Croxdale.
Darlington.
Durham, S. Mary in the S. Bailey.
Elton.
Ebchester.
Edmundbyers.
Egglescliffe.
Gateshead.
Grindon.
Hamsterley.
Heighington.
Lanchester.
Middleton S. George.
Monk Hesleden.
Stranton.
Witton Gilbert.
Witton le Wear.

It may, perhaps, be well to state that, in the above group of

churches, it is by no means meant to assert that none of the windows were used as 'low side windows,' but only that there is no structural proof that any of them were so used. At Ebchester, for instance, the whole of the windows were thoroughly adapted to such purpose, having flat-stepped sills, on which a lamp could be set with perfect propriety. And the east window of the south aisle, or Hansard chantry, at Heighington, could also have been used equally well in the same way. But there is nothing either to indicate, or even suggest, the fact. All that can be said is that, in the whole of the above-named churches, there are no remains of any specially contrived apertures of the kind, whether detached, or in connexion with, *i.e.*, forming part, either by elongation or subdivision, of any one or more of their windows. If 'lanternes des morts,' or graveyard lights, were really used *within* the buildings, it must have been in some slightly different way, of which we have now no existing evidence: or, if not, then, probably, as in many other cases, after the French and German fashion, in connexion with the destroyed churchyard crosses, 'of which we cannot now speak particularly.' For it would seem far more reasonable to suppose that so widely prevailing a custom should have been observed with some little variety of detail, than that in so many and important instances, where we should naturally expect to find some proof of it, it should not have been observed at all.

Now, the first superficial comparison of these three groups reveals the very striking fact that, with respect to numbers, they are very nearly equal. What the proportion between the two remaining ones would be, could we but accurately divide the doubtful, or uncertain one into its component parts, would be as interesting, as it is, unfortunately, impossible, to know. It may not be unreasonable or extravagant, perhaps, to *imagine* at any rate, that it might prove to be pretty equally divided between such as had, and such as had not, these contrivances: in which case the result would be that one half of the old Durham churches would turn out to have been provided with 'low side windows' of a structural character, while the other half, whatever methods may have been taken to achieve the same end, were unprovided with them. It would hardly seem likely, however, considering the oneness of the belief and practice which

prevailed in connexion with matters pertaining to death and burial both at home and abroad, that a similar, if somewhat different, form of expression should not have obtained in those churches where such structural evidences are wanting, as in those where they are found. For so long as the light was actually exhibited, it would seem to matter little or nothing, whether it were so either in shuttered, or unshuttered windows; or, as in Ireland, France, Germany, and various places here in England, outside in the churchyard. But it would be difficult to suppose, in face of the general witness, that there were *any* graveyards where, unless only private lights were placed for a time upon particular graves, as in Greece and Italy at the present day, there were none at all. Thus it by no means follows, and it would, moreover, probably, be quite as wrong as illogical to conclude that because, even in the case of a practically unmutilated church, there is no *structural* evidence of the existence of such lights, they were not provided for in some, perhaps, only slightly different, while yet analogous, fashion. And this, for more reasons than one. In the first place, it is by no means clearly evident what the exact use of shutters, the evidences of which, if not, as sometimes happens, the actual shutters themselves, meet us in nearly, if not quite, all examples of these structural openings, really was. In the example of the 'Todtenleuchter' at Klosterneuburg, among others, it will be seen that the lamp hangs aloft simply protected by the glass lights of the lantern, though, of course, the wooden door giving access to it and its connected mechanism, is placed within easy reach of the ground. And, unless these shutters were meant to facilitate access to the lanterns set upon the inner sills of these 'low side windows,' from the churchyard, and could then, after they were extinguished, be shut to again, it is not easy to say what their precise purpose could have been. Were this really their object, however, then the difference might seem to resolve itself simply into this, viz., that these structural openings with shutters indicate only such as were meant to be utilized from the outside, while in other cases, the lamp, or lamps, could either be placed upon the sill, or else suspended, like the 'lanternes des morts' and 'Todtenleuchten,' from a chain or cord within.

And another and very cogent reason for supposing that a differ-

ence of fashion in exhibiting the lights prevailed all along, is this: viz., that by far the greater proportion, nay, nearly all, of these structural apertures, and especially in the county of Durham, perhaps, are clearly not original, but later, and often *very much* later, insertions. How then, considering the remote, not to say primeval, antiquity of the practice, is this very singular and striking fact—for such it undoubtedly is—to be acccounted for? Of all the twenty-five existing, or till lately existing, Durham examples, four only, viz., two at Winston, one at Trimdon, and one at Middleham, are of the same date as the walls in which they stand; for the somewhat doubtful one at Kelloe, which differs from its fellows only in having its sill a few inches lower down, is not only almost entirely modern, but even in its small ancient portion no earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century (when the church was largely recast), while the actual walls in which it and the rest were inserted are at least a full century earlier. What, then, were the methods adopted for exhibiting lights both at, and after, the period when the churches, where by far the larger proportion of these 'low side windows' are found, were built? Since it seems impossible to suppose that the practice was abandoned, we are forced to conclude that some other older and still existing fashion then held sway, and that the introduction of 'low side windows'—early as some few examples doubtless are—was yet of very slow and gradual development, and only adopted here and there, in preference to the ordinary way as occasion served. Thus, we may see clearly enough, I think, how the older and probably simpler methods, whatever they may have been, were never wholly, or anything like wholly, displaced, but continued, just as they were before, concurrently with, as well as after, the introduction of these shuttered insertions commonly known and spoken of as 'low side windows.'

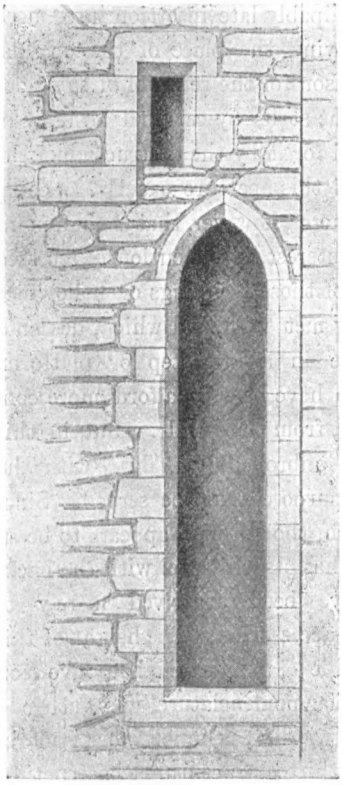
And this consideration will serve to explain in a perfectly satisfactory way the, at first sight, somewhat perplexing problem, how it happens that in so many comparatively large and important churches, as those of Darlington, Chester-le-Street, Gateshead and Lanchester for instance, we should find no signs of them whatever; while such small and obscure structures as those of Seaham, Redmarshall, Dalton-le-Dale, and especially Cockfield, one of the very least in the whole county, where there are two, should all have them.

AUCKLAND ST. ANDREW.

Coming now to the examination of those examples of which either the historical or material evidences remain, we arrive, in the first place, at the church of S. Andrew Auckland, where we shall find two, both possessing features somewhat out of the common. The first, which occurs in the usual position at the south-west corner of the chancel looks, from the outside, mean and poor enough. As the character of the work shews, it is a palpably late insertion introduced amidst the disturbed masonry occupying the place of the original priest's door. Now, since the sole reason for the removal of this door was, as is clear, the introduction of the stalls by cardinal Langley in 1416, when a new place was contrived for it by the destruction of the westernmost sedile, we get the date of this aperture exactly. Seeing that it possesses no architectural character, however, that is not a point of much interest. What is of some interest, is the curiously recessed position it occupies, so suggestive of those thinnings or hollowings of the wall occasionally, though rarely met with, and which, descending to the ground, terminate there in a low step or platform. Their obvious purpose would seem to have been to afford more convenient access to the lamp, or shutter, from the inside. But in this case, since the stalls continue in an unbroken line, flush with the general surface of the wall, no such purpose could be served. Since the interior stonework, however, which, though new, appears to be an exact reproduction of the original, has its sill level with the backs of the stalls, it may probably have been contrived merely to allow more space for the lamp and its accessories. The height of this opening to the glass, from the ground level outside, is about five feet.

The other, which, to adopt a similar nomenclature, may rather be called a 'high end,' than a 'low side,' window, is much more remarkable, for it is not only of the original thirteenth-century-construction, but placed in the west face of the tower, and at an elevation of about eighteen feet from the grass. Structurally, it is interesting from the point of internal evidence. Built originally with its sill just clear of the head of the northern of the two lancets which light the ground storey of the tower, it at once became plain that the latter were too short, when—by way of sacrificing the less to the greater—the sill-

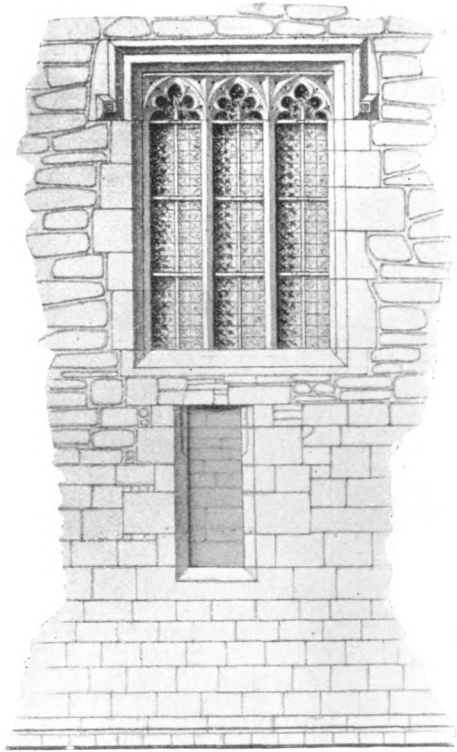
stone was thereupon taken out bodily, the head of the lancet raised to the desired height, and the lower part of the curtailed light roughly filled up against it with small rubble. It is now, unfortunately, blocked throughout the entire thickness of the wall; but it was widely splayed, as its lintel, still distinctly visible on the inside, remains to shew. The west, the region of darkness, was held, it will be remembered, to be especially significant, and under the dominion of the devil. Hence, perhaps, the establishment of this beacon light in that direction, which would throw its beams, not only on the churchyard below, but far up the narrow valley of the Gaunless, on whose banks the deanery, and one, at least, of the old prebendal houses stood.



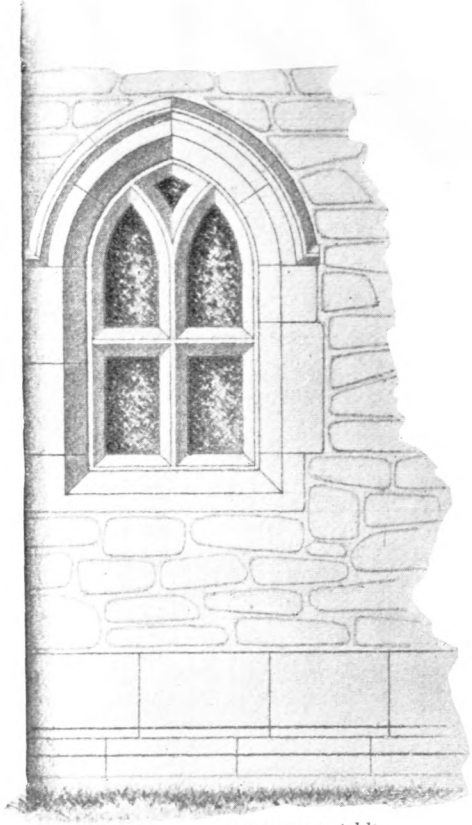
AUCKLAND S. ANDREW:
N.W. Window of Tower, and High End Window

BARNARD CASTLE.

The church of Barnard Castle furnishes us with an exceptionally interesting instance of a 'low side window,' really 'low,' and really 'side,' though its interest, which is three-fold, lies in other directions. In the first place, its position is an unusual one—west of the south porch, and between it and the south-west angle of the aisle; in the second, it has had an internal recess of access contrived in the interior of the wall, of which there are now, however, only slight remains; and in the third, King Richard III., of bloody and unhappy memory, as lord of the place, was a chief contributor to the works (of which this opening, and the three-light window over it formed part), and on



BARNARD CASTLE.



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

EASINGTON (see page 212).

which his badge and crowned head may yet be seen. It is not, let me say, as might at first sight, perhaps, be thought, the remains of an earlier window, the head of which had been destroyed to make way for the sill of the larger one above, but, on the contrary, of the same late Perpendicular character, and contemporary with it. Why its upper part should have been mutilated in the elaborately wanton and deliberate way we now see, would be difficult to understand, did we not find the same misdirected energy employed in an equally remorseless way elsewhere, as at Old Seaham, and S. Margaret's, York, for instance. That, occupying such a position as this, as far removed as possible from all altars, and even beyond the range of the chief door, it should have been constructed for the purpose of ringing a hand-bell through at the 'Sanctus' in the mass—as the latest 'scientific' theory would have it—is, of course, even supposing such a practice ever to have existed, altogether absurd. Among other local examples, occupying precisely similar positions, may be mentioned one in the adjoining parish of Staindrop; another, quite recently destroyed, at Whickham, near Gateshead; and a third, an early one of the thirteenth century, at St. Mary's, Castlegate, York, still open, and perfectly preserved.

COCKFIELD.

The parish church of Cockfield, unless, perhaps, those of Elton, Middleton S. George, and S. Mary in the South Bailey, Durham, be excepted, is probably the smallest, as it is certainly among the smallest, in the county of Durham. It possesses also the somewhat rare distinction of having been built all at one time, as well as of remaining—save for the loss of its original roof, now, however, well restored—almost untouched. Yet, small as it is, it had, besides the high, or parish altar, two others, one on each side of the chancel arch, whose piscinas remain to bear witness to them. All is of the simplest kind—a little rude, perhaps, but what is of more importance, solemn, quiet, and impressive. It had, and, indeed, has yet, two 'low side windows,' one, the larger, on the south, the other, opposite, on the north side. Like the church itself, both are small and perfectly simple. They are, however, as almost always happens, insertions of much later, though uncertain, date. During the operation the southern one has

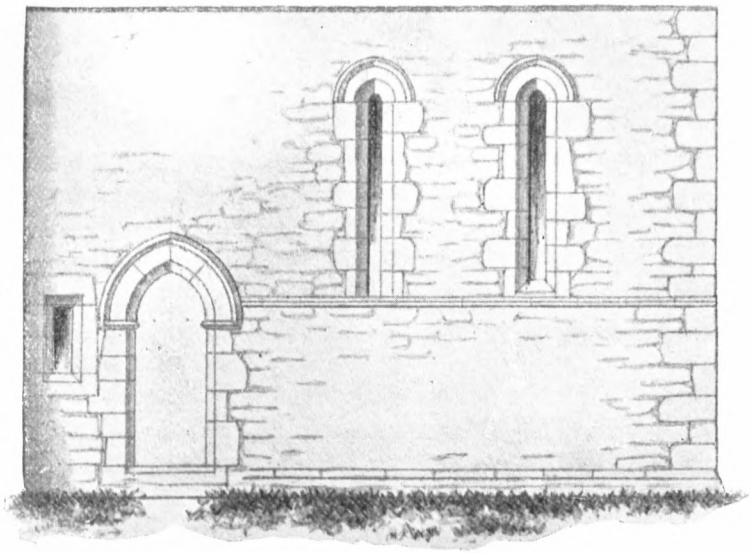
slightly broken in upon the hoodmould of the priest's doorway. It is about two feet three inches high, by rather less than a foot wide, but unfortunately remains blocked, so that its internal arrangements cannot be seen. The other, which is much smaller, being only about a foot and a half long by six inches wide, is turned towards the village; thus making it all the less suitable for the purpose of that hand-bell ringing which someone or other, with more imagination than scholarship, and through sheer ignorant blundering, supposed to be enjoined in the Constitutions of archbishop Peckham. Its internal evidences are now, worse than hidden—lost.

DALTON-LE-DALE.

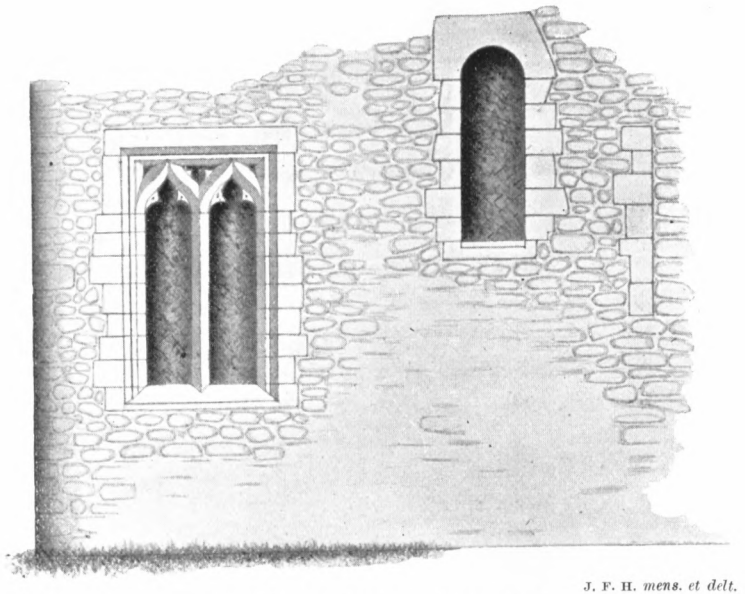
This interesting and somewhat peculiar church must once have enjoyed a charmingly sequestered and beautiful situation. Seated in the deep declivity of a narrow vale beside a babbling stream, all its accessories of shelving wood and water were calculated to enhance its impressions of simple, unaffected dignity. It is aisleless, with unusually lofty walls and long, narrow, chamfered lancets north and south, with a single one to the west and a triplet to the east. There is a fine large south doorway with jamb-shafts, of early character, and another, still earlier, of late Transitional date and richly zig-zagged, to the north. The latter would seem to have been, originally, the chief or south door of an older and smaller church, but removed to its present place, on the erection of what was practically a new one, some forty or fifty years later. Such at least, since no other feature in the same style occurs in the existing fabric, seems to be the likeliest explanation of its presence in the place it now occupies, viz., close to the base of a precipitous bank where it could never have been of much more use than now, when it is built up.

The chancel arch has entirely vanished; and the whole interior, fitted with mean, deal seats, plastered ceilings, and pink-washed walls, presents the most wretched and forlorn appearance imaginable.

The 'low side window' occupies here, as at S. Giles's, Durham, a very unusual position—the north-east corner, or what, before the destruction of the arch and its supports, would have been the north-east corner, of the nave. Again, in confusion of the preposterous hand-bell theory it is set, as the drawing shows, close down upon the



COCKFIELD.



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

HAUGHTON LE SKERNE (see page 214).

basement near the bank side, where the bell ringing, though it might, perchance, startle some stray sparrow, could do little more. Again, too, as in the preceding examples, it is seen to be an insertion—possibly as early as the middle of the fourteenth century, though hardly earlier, and, probably, somewhat later. But, whatever explora-

J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

DALTON-LE-DALE.

tion might show its proximate date to be, it must clearly have consisted of two lights, as similar, perhaps, in character as in size and form, to those of the still happily remaining, though long buried one at Easington. But the presence of the large blocking stones would seem to show that its filling in, or tracery, of whatever kind, had been

effectually destroyed before they could have been introduced. It craves an opening, which some local society might do worse than undertake.*

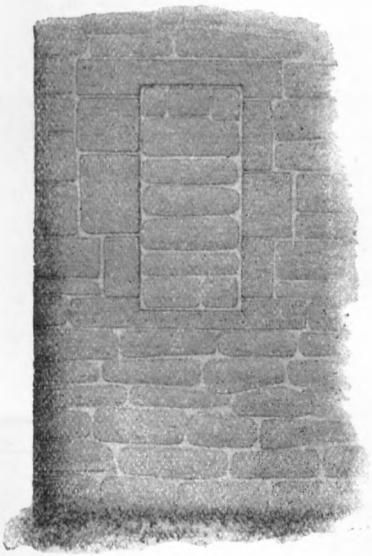
DURHAM.

Of the six ancient parish churches of the city of Durham two, viz., those of S. Mary-le-Bow and S. Nicholas, were utterly destroyed and re-built, the one in the seventeenth, the other in the nineteenth, century, and, consequently, all their witness went with them. But of the remaining four, it is interesting to note, that no fewer than three are, or were, provided with 'windows' of this class; two of them, indeed, being so still, though all evidence of the third was carefully expunged, now more than sixty years since. The two remaining instances are seen at S. Giles's and S. Margaret's. The destroyed one at S. Oswald's, of which the sole remaining evidence is to be found in the view of the church given in Surtees's *History*, occupied the usual position at the south-west corner of the chancel, and was a late insertion of large size, plain, square-headed, transomed, of two lights, and quite domestic character. Like it, the other two are also late insertions, plain and square-headed, but—like the churches themselves—much smaller. Unlike it, however, they both occupy very exceptional positions: that at S. Giles's, like the one at Dalton-le-Dale, at the north-east angle of the nave; that at S. Margaret's, at the west end of the south aisle. Of the two, the S. Giles's opening is the larger, but is completely blocked, so that it is impossible to say how it was fitted. But, as the opening in the clear was no more than fourteen inches, it must have been of a single light only, and probably quite plain. The sill is three feet four inches above the ground; and the eastern jamb about a foot and a half from the east buttress of the nave. Whether there was a corresponding opening at the other side cannot now certainly be said, as the church,

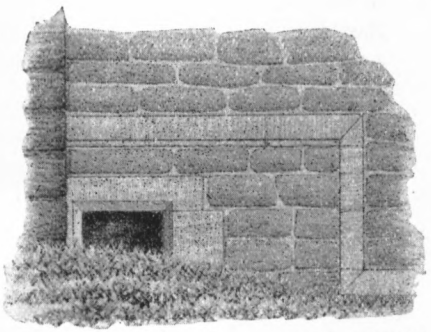
* When the late Mr. Billings published his *Architectural Antiquities of the County*, in 1846, the chancel arch, which he describes as 'a circular one without ornament,' was still standing. Like the doorway, it doubtless formed almost the only part of the older building suffered to remain when the present church, which is throughout of distinctly early English character, was undertaken in the early part of the thirteenth century. Little more than restoration of the ancient form of the roof would be needed to make this a very striking and impressive village church indeed.

formerly aisleless, had, some years since, a broad aisle, nearly equal in dimensions to the nave, added on to it towards the south. I feel pretty sure, however, that there was not one.

That at S. Margaret's is still more remarkable, since it is not only at the end of the south aisle, facing west, but actually on the level of the ground—a position at once negativing the 'hand-bell,' 'confession,' and 'leper' theories as completely as can be conceived. Its breadth is almost the same as that at S. Giles's, though its height is much less, for, even were the grass and soil at its base cleared away, it could



S. GILES'S, DURHAM.



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

S. MARGARET'S, DURHAM.

hardly exceed fourteen inches, thus bringing it to about a square. The earth table, which has apparently been stepped to accommodate it, is of late date, like the tower, and forms no part of the original structure of the church, which reaches to Norman times.

But another, and as yet unreferred to, remains to mention, viz., that which appears in the usual place in the church of S. Mary in the South Bailey. This is, perhaps, notwithstanding the number already mentioned, the only real, genuine 'low side window,' justifying the

name, that I have met with. For, though many are 'low,' and most of them 'side,' this is, perhaps, the only one of all which in strict sense can be called a 'window,' that is, an opening contrived for the admission of external and natural, as opposed to the transmission of internal and artificial, light. It is, moreover, unlike any, so far noticed in this account, strictly contemporary with the ancient fabric of which it forms so striking a feature as to have obtained a special archaeological record.

Yet, alas! that it should prove an absolute and unmitigated fraud. Originally the west window of the nave gable, it was taken out during the general restoration of the church under the late Dr. Raine, now more than fifty years ago, to make room for one of larger size, and then, possibly without any deliberate intention to deceive, inserted in the place so commonly occupied by these openings—the south-west corner of the chancel. How often does partial truth prove the worst form of falsehood!

EASINGTON.

By far the most interesting and perfect of our Durham cemetery lights is that which, though long known to exist, remained completely blocked, up to 1895, by the grave stone of archdeacon Pye, who died in 1808. After a lengthened waiting this obstruction has now been completely cleared away, and the opening, happily intact, again revealed to sight. Occupying the usual position near the south-west angle of the chancel, from which its western jamb is but five inches distant, and set at the average height of four and a half feet above the ground, its special peculiarity lies in this, viz., that small and low set as it is, it is yet not only arch-headed and of two lights, but transomed. And a further and very remarkable point is that the entire inner plane of the aperture, sill, jambs, arch tracery, mullion and transom, are all cut out of a single stone slab about four and a half inches thick. This, however, is set in an unusually deep and well-proportioned casement, which gives the glass plane a recess of not less than nine inches from the surface. Now, there are many arch-headed and transomed 'low side windows' as they are called, no doubt, in divers parts, as at Crossby Garret and Goldsborough, to take two fine local examples; but then, these are all large church windows of

normal size, of which one or both of the openings below the transom—set commonly in a line with the sills of the other windows—have been provided with shutters. Here, however, the case is altogether different, for we find this, the usual type, reproduced, not in the ordinary dimensions, but in miniature, the whole composition, including the arched head, coming bodily beneath the other window sills. Again, though all four compartments are grooved for glass, only the lower western one is rebated for the reception of a shutter, of which the hinge, and fastening marks, remain still. Like all hitherto described, it is an insertion, a fourteenth-century one, in a thirteenth-century wall, through which it has been somewhat roughly broken. Inside, its appearance is simply that of a rude square hole. Some little while since, it was happily filled with excellent stained glass in memory of the late rev. T. H. Chester, the subjects represented being the four chief saints of Northumbria.

But, though the most interesting and important, this is not the only 'low side window,' apparently, in Easington church. For, on the north side, and towards the west end of what, to all appearance, was originally a chantry, but is now a vestry, may be seen the remains of another, plainer, and much smaller. It is set at about the same height from the ground as the other, but has been only of a single, square-headed, chamfered light, about two feet high, and probably about one broad; but its eastern side has been destroyed, and the remaining one, towards the west, blocked up.

ELWICK HALL.

In the usual place, the south-west corner of the chancel, but unusually low down—upon the ground line indeed—may still be seen the fragmentary remains of a small, plain, square-headed, 'low side' opening, in all respects similar to that at Redmarshall (described and illustrated farther on) but only about a quarter of its size, or about one foot square instead of two. It is so mutilated and hidden away however, that, except on very close investigation, its existence would never so much as be suspected. It is of course blocked as usual, and all its interior evidence thereby effectually obscured. But it is interesting as shewing the extraordinary pains taken here, as elsewhere, not merely to do away with, but obliterate, all traces of these apertures.

Such a fanatical amount of zeal as they elicited would seem in many cases, indeed, to have approached, even if it did not touch, something closely akin to madness.

HAUGHTON-LE-SKERNE.

The church of Haughton, much as of late years it has been tampered with and altered, possesses still many interesting features: notably the early Norman work of the south, west, and (blocked) north doorways of the nave; the contemporary remains of the south and east windows of the chancel; and the plain, low, narrow chancel arch. How far the existing building retains any portions of its Saxon predecessor cannot certainly be said, perhaps; but part of the quoining of the south-east angle of its chancel may readily be detected about midway in the length of the present one, southwards. This, together with one of the, apparently, inserted Norman windows, is shown in the drawing. The point of special interest in the present enquiry, however, is the 'low side window' shown in the usual position. Its sill is at the usual height, about four and a half feet above the surface; and its full general dimensions about seven feet by a little over four. Like all the foregoing, it is a palpable insertion, but differs from them in these particulars, that we can, in this instance, point, not only to its proximate date, but to its probable donor. From a comparison of its tracery with that of the sedilia in Darlington church, as also of the tower and aisle windows there, there can be little or no doubt whatever that it must be referred to the days of rector Ingleby, whose arms, as one of the canons, appears upon one of the shields on the sedilia, and who died in 1375. With his period the work agrees perfectly. And a very singular point of resemblance, as regards detail, may be noticed between the cusping of the ogee-heads of the lights and that of the window arcading in the Darlington tower, and especially at so late a period in the style, viz., that it is, as in the transition from Early English to Geometrical, soffit cusping, springing, that is, from the soffit, and not from the chamfer plane. And even in the sedilia and aisle windows where, owing to the size of the openings, it springs in the usual way from the chamfer, it does so in a very delicate and subdued manner, having a bold roll and fillet moulding, defining the main lines in front of it.

Till lately, the window was blocked up, and so far mutilated that it has needed very extensive restoration. This, however, so far as can be judged, has been effected in a minutely exact and conscientious manner. Inside, the sill, as at Easington, Dalton-le-Dale, and Auckland, is quite flat, and suitable for the placing of a light. The interior, being almost entirely new, calls for no particular remarks.

JARROW.

The famous monastical church of Jarrow, whether from a historical or architectural point of view, cannot fail to be regarded as one of the most precious and instructive in the kingdom, especially in Northumbria. For, though ten years later in respect of its foundation than that of Wearmouth; while only the tower and attached gable of the latter remain, the entire church of Jarrow still stands practically perfect. And in no way is its witness more interesting, perhaps, than in connexion with that class of antiquities which we have more immediately under review. For it presents us, as there seems every reason to believe, with the very earliest example of these openings in the kingdom, if not, as by no means improbable, seeing it is of the original construction of 685, in the world. Nor is this all; for on the north side directly opposite is another, a single-light insertion of early fourteenth century date; while below and to the west of the first is a large three-light window of flowing-pointed character, introduced probably *circa* 1350-60, and which may, not improbably, have formed a third.

The first and earliest of these apertures can never, apparently, have been intended to serve the same uses as the other three windows of similar size and character which light the church towards the south, since, as the elevation shows, it is wholly and markedly dissociated from them, its sill being above the level of their heads, just as, conversely, the heads of the later 'low side windows' are placed below the sills of those adjoining to them. Moreover, while the three south windows proper are equally spaced at a distance of about ten and a half feet apart, this is set so close to the westernmost of them that in the interior the jamb, base, and headstones of their splayed faces are in contact. The sole constructive difference between the higher

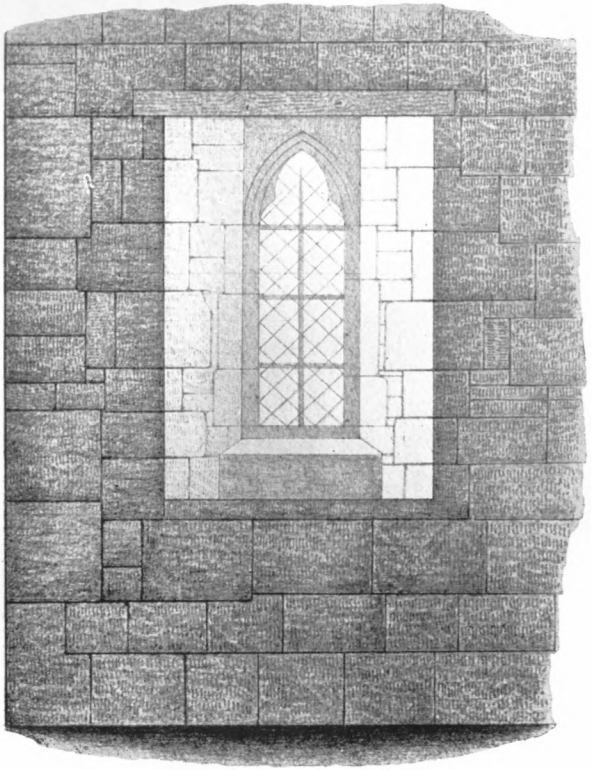
sét opening and the rest, and which, like its position, might seem designed to indicate a difference of purpose, consists in its head being composed of voussoirs, while theirs are cut out of single stones. And what is not a little curious also is the circumstance that it occupies, though at a higher level, precisely the same position which in after times became the normal one for this class of apertures, the south-west angle of the choir. Placed at such a height in the walls, which themselves stand on a considerable elevation, the light of a lamp must have shone conspicuous far and wide across the dead swampy level of the Don, and served as a well-defined beacon for the living, as well as a protection for the dead.

We come next to the early fourteenth century insertion opposite, at the north-west angle of what—originally the oratory of the Saxon monastery—forms now the chancel of the parish, or in later medieval times, of the monastic, church. This again, as the masonry itself sufficiently shews, is of quite another date than the wall through which it has been broken. The inner sill, as in all previous instances, is flat; the stonework of the light itself rebated for the reception of a wooden frame; while the holes for the bolt and the hinge fastenings are still perfect. The aperture, in the clear, is about a foot wide by about three and a half feet high, and four above the outside surface of the ground.

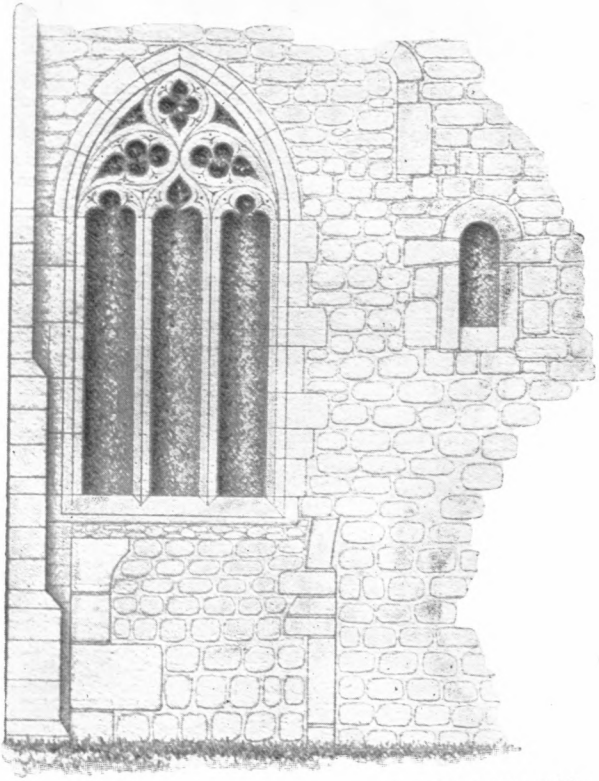
As to the large three-light window towards the south, it would seem far from improbable that, after the destruction, whether accidental or deliberate, of the primitive Saxon one, it would be used for the same purpose, and, probably, in the same way, viz., by the suspension of a lamp from above, exactly as in the case of the 'lanternes des morts' and 'Todtenleuchten.'

KELLOE.

Kelloe church—indissolubly associated with the pious, but unfortunate bishop of that place-name—like that of Dalton-le-Dale, is situate, not in what was once, but is even yet, a pretty little valley, plentifully besprinkled and relieved with trees. With a small squat tower of, apparently, Norman date at the west end, and a Norman south door with cushion-capitaled shafts, it presents, in other respects, a far more profuse display of Decorated work in its buttresses



'Low side window,' north-west of chancel, interior
(for exterior see p. 58).



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

JARROW.

Fourteenth century inserted window, with remains of original Saxon or 'high side' one above, and westernmost of the three ordinary ones below to the right.

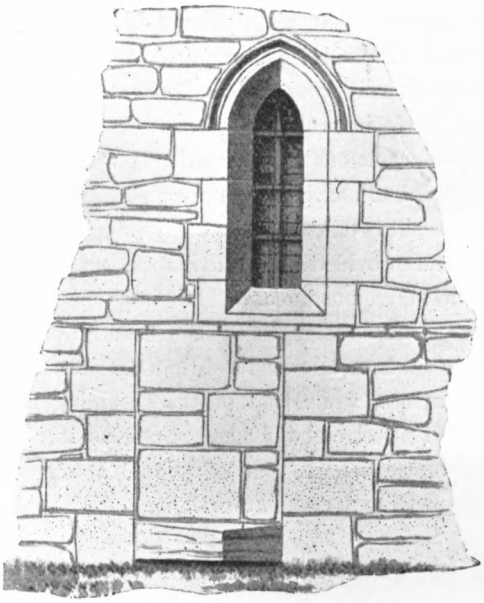
and windows than can, perhaps, anywhere else be met with in the county, a result due, as can hardly be doubted, to its connexion with the bishop, whose parish church it was. While the large east window of the chancel remains nearly perfect, those of the nave, as well as the other chancel windows, have been very largely renewed; among them—that with which we are more particularly concerned—the south-westernmost one of the chancel.

If of somewhat doubtful character, it is yet, on the whole, not improbably, perhaps, an example of that section which in some other cases, as here, possibly, may rightly be styled windows; that is, a window, pure and simple, though applied to a particular, and subsidiary use. Whether its tracery exactly reproduces the original or not—though I think it probably does so—is more than I can say, for not only is the whole of the inner order new work, but the greater part, indeed, I think all, save three stones, perhaps, of the outer one also. The inside sill is flat, as are the adjoining ones, but then they are all modern, and provided with ventilators, so that nothing can be argued from that circumstance. The only one pointing to the original having, perhaps, belonged to the class we are considering is, that its exterior sill is at a lower level than the rest, being only five feet above the surface, while that of the adjoining lancet, east of it, is no less than six feet eight inches. Such as it is, however, and though at the best, perhaps, but of 'doubtful character,' I here mention it for whatever it may be worth.

MEDOMSLEY.

Though containing portions of earlier walling, Medomsley church, like that of Dalton-le-Dale, may yet be said to have been built, practically, all at one time and in one style—that of the early thirteenth century. Indeed, prior to its comparatively recent restoration and enlargement by the addition of a new north aisle and vestry, the two churches bore a striking resemblance to each other; the one only, as planted on a hill top, being of less lofty proportions than the other, planned for the deep seclusion of a vale. Till then it consisted simply of a long nave and chancel, with a little open bell-cot on its western gable. As to the chancel, the eastern two-thirds have very clearly been added on to the western third, since the string course

which runs beneath the fine eastern triplet, and is continued along the south wall, stops abruptly at that point—just at the west side of the central of the three southern lancets. The character of the masonry also differs somewhat—not much, indeed, but visibly. Half under, and half westwards of the western lancet (modern, since the original had been destroyed) we come upon evidences of what may not impossibly have been—a 'low side window.' At first sight, it might be taken for the remains of the priest's door; and such, from the



MEDOMSLEY. J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

fact of the jambs running straight up to a thin course of flagstones, which extends both above and on either side of it, might seem the most probable explanation. At any rate, the lintel, which has been removed, must have been higher than the remaining jambs, whether it were that of a doorway or any other opening. If of a doorway, then considerably so, as the height of the jambs is only three feet seven inches. Previous to the introduction of the present lancet—which exactly reproduces the two ancient ones to the east of it—

there was a long, seventeenth century window of two round-headed lights, the insertion of which, unless it were already gone, must necessarily have caused the destruction of the head of this opening, of whatever kind it may have been. Its western jamb is four feet five inches from the south-west angle of the chancel; and its width—exactly suited to a doorway—two feet nine inches. But then, on the other hand, it has been blocked, partly with large stones, in the same elaborate and purposeful manner that we see both at Dalton-le-Dale and Seaham, where there can be no question as to the character of the openings; and it is further provided at its base, not with a regular thirteenth-century sill, as at Auckland, Cockfield, and elsewhere, generally, built into, and forming part of the jambs, but with what can only be described as a projecting shelf, of its full width *inserted* between the jambs, which is now broken away obliquely towards the ends, but which, in the centre, is still no less than ten inches broad, and eight and a half inches thick. And this, let me say, is no ordinary step, detached from the wall, and simply resting on the ground; but built into the wall, and having its under surface raised three or four inches clear of the ground. Now, on the north side of the chancel of Kirkburton church, Yorkshire, there was shewn to the members of the British Archaeological Association, by the late W. Fairless Barber, in 1874, what was described by him as a 'hagioscope,' having '*a stone seat fixed in the wall*, upon which the leper, or other infected person sat.' That, of course, was all nonsense, but, however vain the theory, the solid fact of the stone remained, as, in a somewhat different form, it does yet at Seaham, where it appears as a low seat formed of rubble, immediately at the foot of the blocked and almost obliterated 'low side window' there.

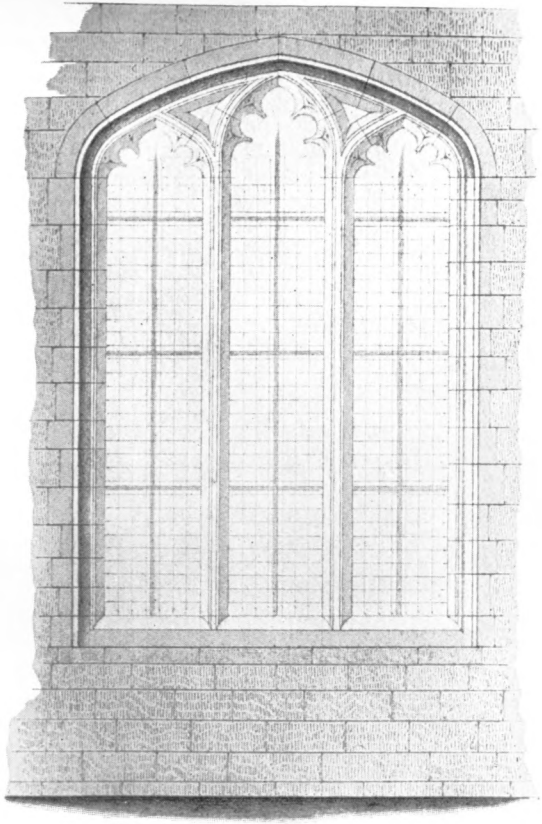
Now, failing the possibility of exploring this quondam aperture, and thus ascertaining the fact with certainty, it might seem a not irrational working theory to suppose that, having, perhaps, in the first instance, been a priest's door—as both its position and remaining dimensions apparently indicate—it was at some later though uncertain time converted to other, or mortuary, purposes; that on their abandonment it was, as usual, elaborately blocked up; and then, on the insertion of the seventeenth, or it may be later, window,

was still further and finally mutilated by the removal of its lintel, and the breaking away of the ends of its shelf or sill.

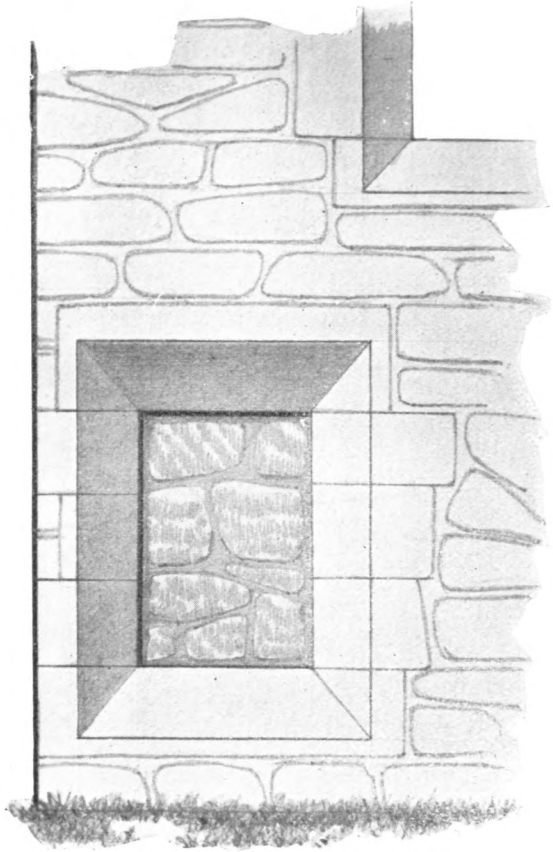
Such, judging, as I am unfortunately compelled to do, superficially, is the only explanation, however impotent, that I can offer of what is certainly as interesting, as doubtful, a fragment. The drawing, in which every stone is carefully measured, must bear its witness to be interpreted just as each one will.

NORTON.

Next after Jarrow, the church of Norton—viewed in respect of its earlier, as well as of its later features—is certainly one of, if not, perhaps, the most curious and valuable of all within the county of Durham. Originally a cruciform, aisleless, Saxon structure, it was largely recast in the days of Pudsey by an entire rebuilding of its nave, with the important additions of arcades, aisles and clearstoreys; the reconstruction of the west and east arches of the tower; and a lengthening of the choir eastwards, by the erection of another bay, forming the sanctuary. As early as 1082, when the seculars were expelled from the church of Durham by William of S. Calais, it became collegiate; and hence, doubtless, the alterations and improvements it underwent both in Pudsey's time, and still later under Fox. In 1496, we find that famous and exemplary prelate sequestrating the income of the canons for the purpose of rebuilding the choir, and assigning as a reason for his so doing, that 'the canons, prebendaries of the same church had permitted the chancel of the said collegiate church, which had been decently and richly constructed for the praise and worship of God, to fall into ruin and desolation, as well in the roof, main walls, and windows, as in divers other respects.' To this very proper and necessary act of 'visitation' the chancel bears living witness to the present day, especially as regards the roof and windows. Besides the eastern one, hardly, it must be confessed, 'a thing of beauty, and a joy for ever,' there are two others towards the south, all of which owe their existence to this action of the bishop—who thus 'being dead, yet speaketh.' The two latter are both alike in point of design, the sole difference being that the western one is placed at a lower level than the other, its internal sill, which is flat, being no more than three feet above the floor. As the drawing shows, the



NORTON.



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

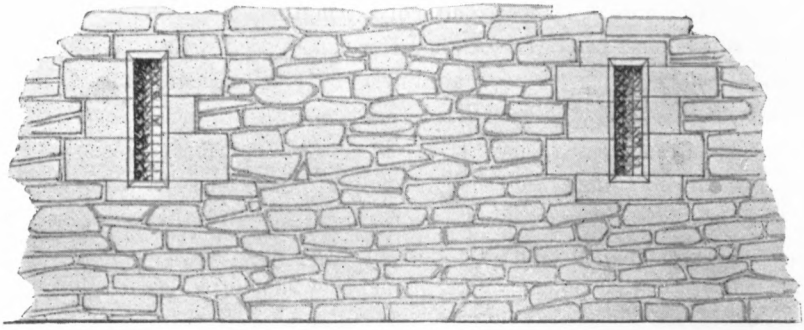
REDMARSHALL (see page 223).

work though as simple as possible in respect of the tracery—if, indeed, the mere arched heads of the lights can rightly be termed such—is yet well and deeply moulded, both sides being alike, and with the glass, as usual at the time, set exactly in the centre. Beyond its flat sill and lower level, however, there are no distinct evidences of its having ever served as a mortuary window; but it might seem, very probably, to have belonged to a class, of which we can hardly doubt there would be many—as well after, as before the introduction of separate and distinct apertures for the exhibition of such lights exclusively—which were naturally utilized for the same purpose, and for which, so far as we can see, they were equally well adapted.

PITTINGTON.

In the wall of the north aisle of Pittington church, and opposite the easternmost bay of the original Norman arcade, are to be seen two small, narrow, square-headed openings, now blocked, and about seven feet apart. The wall itself was rebuilt many years ago, when these two features are said to have been reinserted in their former positions. They have been imagined (though fondly) to have formed two of the original lights of the added late Norman aisle. But this, whatever their origin, they certainly did not. That, at any rate, goes without saying. To what precisely later period they should be referred, however, is not so readily determined. For though possibly of the thirteenth, they are more probably of the fourteenth, or perhaps fifteenth, centuries. As the annexed carefully measured elevation shews, they are simply and very slightly chamfered, not so broadly as we should expect to find in the advanced fourteenth, or fifteenth, century period, but more probably at some date between about 1280 and 1330. Every vestige of their inner parts is, however, gone, and we can therefore only judge of their former use by analogy. They would certainly seem to have belonged to the class of so-called 'low side windows,' though their arrangement is, to some extent, unusual. At Middleham church, Yorks., there are two openings, somewhat broader, and six feet or more apart, below the east window of the chancel; and two others, considerably less than these at Pittington, at the east end of Atcham church, Salop. Quite recently, however, and indeed while

these last pages were passing through the press, I came upon a very curious, but externally much mutilated example at Riccall church, near Selby, in a position very similar to that of these, viz., in the north aisle wall of the nave, and nearly opposite the south door. Internally, there is a perfectly preserved four-centred arch, very nearly flat, about six feet wide, and, together with its jambs, four and a half feet high. These, up to the surface of the present ashlar blocking, are about fifteen inches deep; the front part of the sill being sloped, while the back, next the blocking, is flat. Outside, unfortunately, the same careful obliteration has been resorted to as is observable at Elwick Hall and Old Seaham—only one stone, and that partly covered up, being left in position in the eastern corner, which still reveals its



PITTINGTON. J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

chamfer. More interesting and curious by far, however, than even this, is an accessory attached to it in the shape of a well-designed, semi-octagonal bracket, of earlier date than the recess, and but ten inches in diameter—too small apparently for a statue, of which indeed there is no indication, and which therefore, I think, can only have been intended, as at Elkstone and elsewhere, for an external lamp. Of some such arrangement as this we seem also to have an indication at the west end of the north aisle of the church of S. Mary, Castlegate, York. There, below the sill of the great west window, is a highly curious 'low end' one, square-headed, and of five lights, the two northernmost of which are distinguished from the rest by being not only more highly enriched, but grouped together by an enclosing arch.

Its sill is one foot nine inches above the ground ; its height three feet seven inches ; and its length seven feet eight inches. But the special peculiarities in this case, or rather perhaps one of them is, that the flat sill for the lamp, or lamps presumably, is on the *outside*, not inside ; the window itself having evidently once been enclosed within some kind of portico or chamber, remains of which may still be faintly traced to the north, west, and south, and into which a doorway at the south end of the window, but now blocked, opened originally from the church. But whatever its nature or uses, the roof of this structure must have been quite flat, as there is but the space of eight inches between the head of the 'low,' and sill of the 'high,' end window over it. In point of height and length, as well as provision for outside light, this window at S. Mary's would seem to have had some kind of analogy with that at Riccall, though how far that extended cannot now, perhaps, be said. Anyhow, both are valuable as helping to shew in how many now forgotten and varying ways provision was once evidently made for the good estate and protection of the faithful dead.

REDMARSHALL.

The miniature village of Redmarshall enjoys vastly greater advantages of prospect and situation than most others in the county. And its church, a small, aisleless building, consisting of chancel, nave, with a transeptal chapel to the south, and a little pinnacled west tower, is interesting, and stands well. Essentially Norman, it possesses still a very high and narrow Norman tower arch of a single square-edged order ; a chancel arch of similar description, though much lower and broader ; and by far the finest and richest of the Norman doorways yet extant in Durham. In the fifteenth-century chapel, known as the Claxton porch, is the fine alabaster tomb of Thomas de Langton, lord of Wynyard, and Sybill, his wife, the one in a suit of plate mail, the other wearing the horned head-dress ; but now, through modern stupidity, or worse, made to lie, not Christianly, as of old, east and west, but heathen-wise, north and south. East of the chapel come the sedilia, which may be best described, perhaps, as a long, low, rectangular recess, presenting exactly the front aspect of window with mullions and tracery, the latter taking the form of three

uncusped ogee-headed lights or apertures with pierced trefoils in the spandrils, and all enclosed within a label which terminates eastwards in the head of a king, and westwards in that of a bishop. Whether the ecclesiastics may have intended to afford a practical lesson in humility, as those who, though 'sitting by themselves,' were yet 'lowly in their own eyes,' or not, I cannot say; but the stone seat, after a fashion which I never either saw, or heard of, elsewhere, is only six and a half inches above the floor—an arrangement which, since the canopies themselves are unusually low, gives the whole a very singular and surprising appearance. The head of the bishop, with its deep scowling brows and great mouth, protruding like that of a baboon, is well worth notice on account of its phenomenal ugliness. Like two other, but much smaller, label terminations on the outside, however, it shews very considerable, if untutored, skill and power of expression.

Immediately opposite, to the north, is another very unusual and also very well preserved recess of another kind, a combined tomb, and, as I think can hardly be doubted, Easter sepulchre. Beneath a hooded roll and filleted circular-segmental arch is the flat grave-cover of a priest, sculptured in very low relief, with an extremely narrow shaft carrying a chalice, and terminating in a perfectly plain cross within a sunk circle. Altogether, a very striking and unusual arrangement, for the grave slab lies flat upon the floor.

But chiefly interesting as regards this enquiry, is that to which the foregoing constitute but a mere prelude—the mortuary light, in the usual south-west corner of the chancel. Outside, it is absolutely perfect, though, unfortunately, blocked. Like all above described, it too is a late insertion, yet, in its way, quite as exceptional as the sedilia and the Easter sepulchre. It is a broadly chamfered, perfectly simple parallelogram, two feet wide by two feet nine inches high, in the full; but set only about three inches from the angle, and barely six above the excavated and original surface of the soil. Thus the 'confession,' 'lychnoscope,' 'hagioscope,' 'lighting the reader of the lessons,' 'hand-bell ringing,' 'leper-communicating,' and 'watching the advent of the priest' theories fall to the ground, and receive their mittimus. But light, symbol of the Divine effulgence, would flow forth unrestrainedly, illuminating, far and near, the surface of the graves.

RYTON.

With the single exception of that of Winston, perched precipitously above the brink of Tees, and possibly of Coniscliffe, though the latter lacks its umbrageous setting, Ryton church enjoys the advantage of the most ideally beautiful site in the county. In respect alike of date, size, and general outline, it may be compared—and greatly to its own advantage—with that of Boldon; both consisting of chancels, naves, with north and south aisles, and western towers and spires—the latter features, though in the one case of wood and lead only, and in the other of stone, being equally well designed and admirable. But there all pretence of equality ceases; for, both in design and execution, Ryton church is incomparably superior. It affords, moreover, one of those very rare instances in which, as at Gainford, the whole structure was carried out at a single effort, and, saving the loss of the original high roofs, with little or no after-changes. Especially noteworthy are the fine proportions and excellent details of the chancel, which, originally, as at Easington, had an east window of five lancet lights. These, long ago destroyed, had been succeeded, through the miserable greed of some unknown rector, by a single square-headed one, which, during the incumbency of the late Archdeacon Thorpe, was in its turn replaced—before the restoration of the original high roof and gable—by a small and utterly despicable triplet.

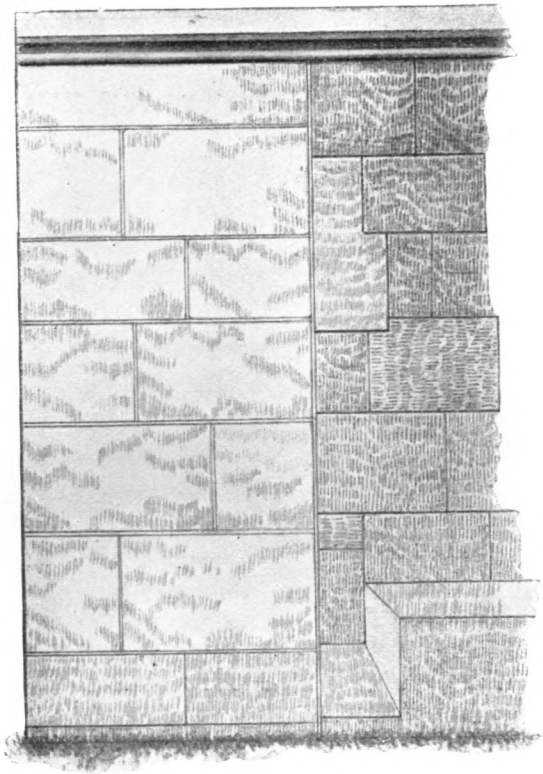
But, perhaps, the most interesting, if not beautiful feature of it is found in the slight, and all but imperceptible, remains of its mortuary, or 'low side window.' These are in several ways remarkable. In the first place, with respect to its position, which is not, as usual, merely towards, but actually in, the south-west angle. Secondly, in its plan, which, in the interior, takes the shape of a deep, square-headed recess, five feet ten inches high by three feet three inches wide, reaching from the floor to the string course below the windows. Thirdly, in the extraordinary pains, which, as the illustration, in which every stone is carefully drawn to scale, will show, have been taken to obliterate all trace of its existence; and fourthly, in the fact that, like all others hitherto delineated, it too has been a latter insertion. Of this, we have the slight and fragmentary, but sufficiently

convincing evidence in the carefully-chiselled-away return of the eastern end of the hood-mould; and which points, probably, to the fifteenth century. Save in the case of a smaller one on the south side of the church of S. Margaret Walmgate, York, this is, I think, the most elaborate instance of the blocking and obscuring of these openings that I have anywhere met with.

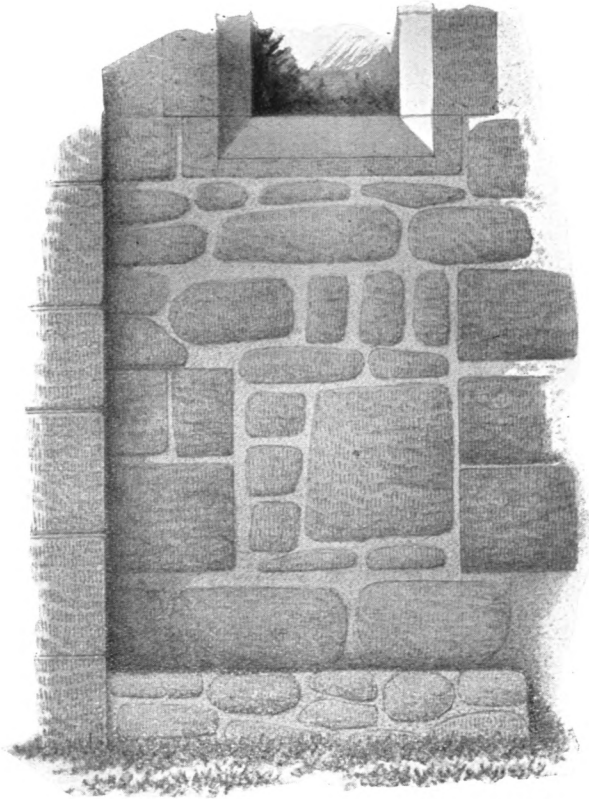
SEAHAM.

Seaham, or Old Seaham church, as it is now commonly called, is one of those 'hoary haunts of sweet antiquity' which, sheltered among trees, seem only the sweeter and hoarier from standing all isolated and alone in the midst of intensely modern and unsympathetic surroundings. It also enjoys the distinction of being one of the two or three unrestored old churches in the diocese of Durham. Not, however, that its condition by any means warrants a continuance in that category; for, though the outside of the building seems generally in fair condition, the interior presents as exact a replica of the unprosperous, poverty-stricken dissenting meeting-house of seventy or eighty years ago as can well be imagined. Outside, its most salient features are seen in the low Early English western tower, with its surprisingly long lancets; and in the two eastern round-headed windows of the chancel, with their indented Transitional hood-moulds: inside, in the pointed tower and chancel arches—all of early and striking character.

Of the mortuary light which once existed traces only are discernible in the south-west angle of the chancel; and these too slight, perhaps, from which to form any exact or certain ideas of its appearance. But that it also was an insertion there can hardly be a doubt, since the remains of its outline indicate that it was, as nearly as possible, of the same shape and dimensions as that at Redmarshall —a square, two feet in width by about two feet eight or ten inches in height, and, like it, set both close into the angle, and low, though not quite so low, down in the wall. Why puritanical hatred and contempt of all ancient Christian offices of reverence and affectionate solicitude for the dead should have gone to the virulently fanatical length of all but sheer obliteration of such evidences, as they have taken in the present, and other instances, would be altogether



RYTON.



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

OLD SEAHAM.

inexplicable, were it not, unhappily, equalled in so many other directions. Probably even yet, however, if only the inside could be examined, conclusive evidence both of the form and details would be forthcoming—a result much to be desired, and as easy of accomplishment.

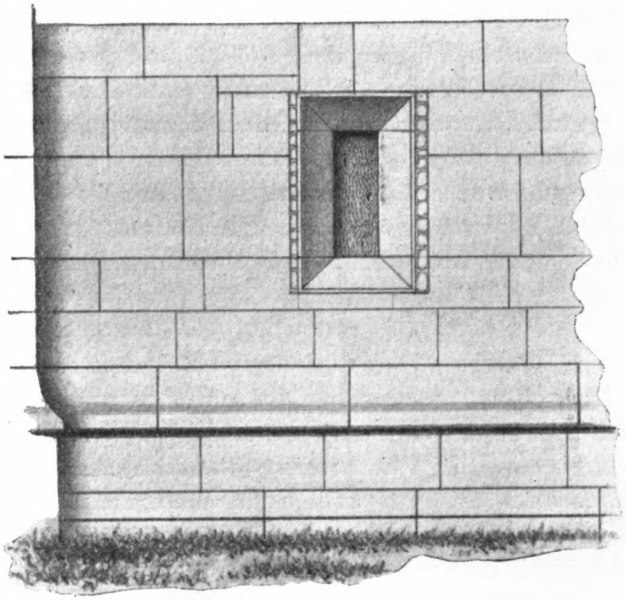
But, if the opening itself has suffered so exceptionally, the curious stone seat or platform, of rough rubble—for the covering slabs are gone—which was erected underneath it, remains,—the only one, unless that at Medomsley be another, that I have met with either in Durham or elsewhere. What the exact purpose of this platform may have been cannot now be said, though that it had some connexion or other with the opening above it can hardly admit of doubt. It is certainly much longer than necessary for trimming a lamp upon, like the little shelves attached to the Lanternes des Morts; but it might serve very well for either sitting or kneeling on, seeing it is only eight inches high, by watchers or others, who, like those mentioned in Cornelius à Lapide, burned lights, and offered prayers at night-time for the dead.

STAINDROP.

Though of considerable size and dignity, the church of Staindrop, like so many others in the county of Durham, is unquestionably more interesting than beautiful; for notwithstanding that its several parts are, or were, well enough in themselves, the whole cannot be called attractive. Of its many and varied features one of the finest and most remarkable was the Nevill chantry which, built entirely anew in 1343, formed a highly developed and picturesque south aisle to the nave which, while fully equalling in height, it very greatly exceeded in breadth. And of the same aisle one of the most interesting, though by no means beautiful, details is discovered in the little opening, of which an exact and carefully measured reproduction may be seen in the accompanying plate. It is interesting in a double sense: first in respect of its situation, which is to the west of the porch; that is to say, in the south-west corner of the aisle—a position exactly analogous to that usually allotted to others of its class in chancels: and secondly, in the fact that it formed no part of the original design, but was cut clean through the wall at a later time, the four front stones only,

which compose its face, being then inserted new—a circumstance which accounts for the side joints being filled in with chips, where the stones did not quite fit.

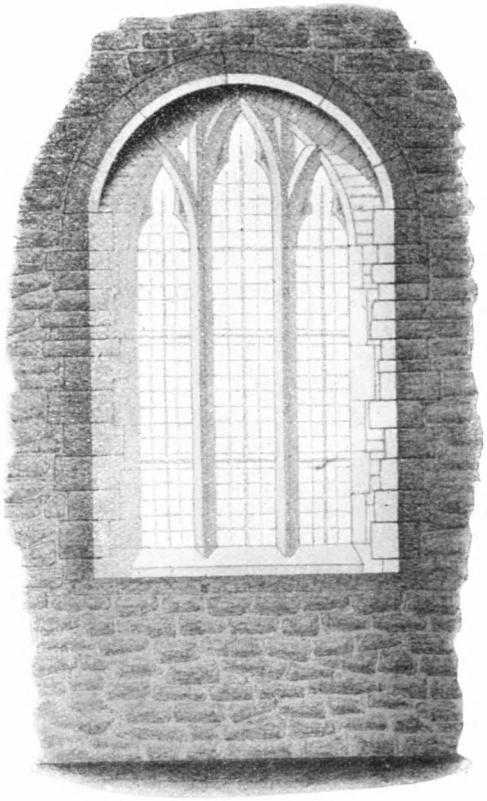
Two other openings of exactly the same size and shape, but built along with the walls, occur in the west and east sides of the closely adjoining porch, where they are set as close to the aisle wall as possible. Curiously enough, they have long—time out of mind—been carefully built up, while the 'low side,' contrary to universal custom, has been



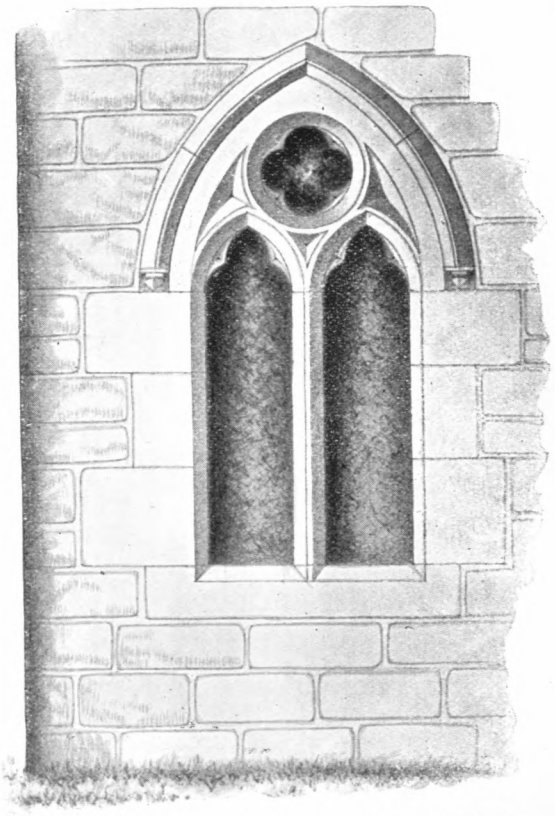
J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

STAINDROP.

left open. What the precise purpose of these two openings, unless similar to that served by the one in the aisle, might be, viz., to throw light in those several directions as well, seems difficult to say. As the archway of the porch is very large—of its full dimensions indeed—they certainly could not be needed for the purpose of *admitting* light, for such as entered, would be practically imperceptible in a place literally flooded with it. In the north porch of Broadwater church, Sussex, which also has a large entrance archway, is a curious little



STANHOPE



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

WHITBURN (see page 231).

unglazed window, with a flat sill (closely resembling a 'low side' one at Coombes in the same county) set close to the archway, and which, like these at Staindrop, cannot possibly have been required to admit light. The question is an interesting one, whether these openings, as well as many others in different places, as notably at Bishop Middleham, where they are of thirteenth, or early fourteenth-century date, may not also have been designed for use as 'lanternes des morts,' for which, from their position, they seem so well suited. In all these cases, as at Staindrop, the sills are flat, and perfectly adapted for standing lamps upon.

STANHOPE.

Far off and away in the wilds of Weardale, Stanhope church is as well worth visiting as it is suitable to its situation. In general form and outline it recalls that of Gainford, with its low, squat, western tower, and long-aisled, but unclearstoreyed nave and chancel. And both are of much the same simple and early style—Stanhope, which may, perhaps, in its earlier parts, reach as far back as the closing years of the twelfth century, being somewhat the earlier. Originally consisting of an aisleless nave and chancel, with a western bell-cot only, its first additions were evidently those of the tower and south aisle, with a massive, round-arched arcade. Then, a little later, another aisle with a similar but much lighter arcade towards the north; the introduction of Early Decorated windows to the east and south of the chancel; the erection of a chantry at the eas tend, and in continuation of, the north aisle; and the insertion of larger windows into the older aisle southwards.

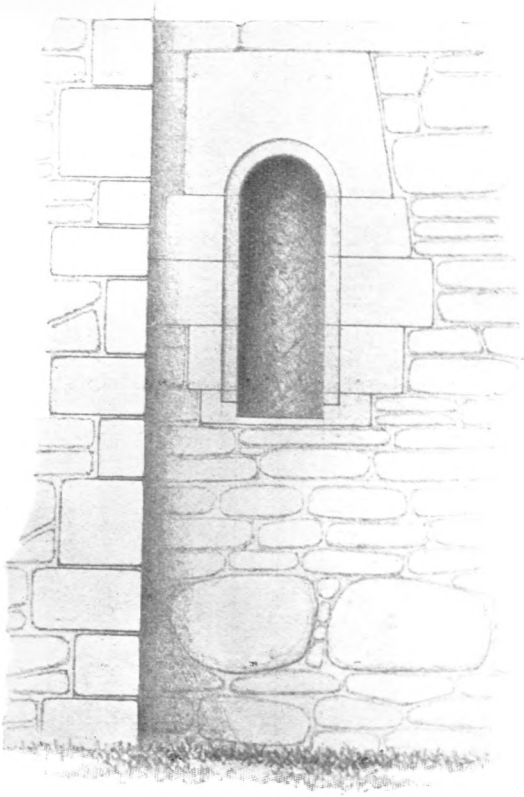
Of the two inserted south windows of the chancel, the lower and westernmost, like that at Norton, would seem to have been very well adapted for the exhibition of a mortuary light; though, as often happens in such cases, there is no distinct evidence of the fact. Though modern, the sill, which there seems no reason to think in any way altered from the original, is, as in that case also, flat. One, or more lights could, therefore, conveniently be placed upon it.

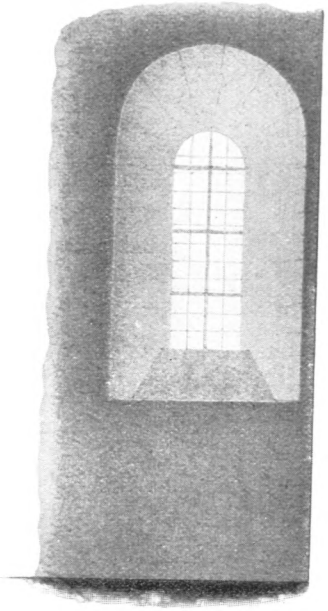
The tracery, as in some other early instances of the style, exhibits, as can hardly fail to be observed, a sort of anticipatory suggestion of Perpendicular principles, in the fact of the mullions being carried up

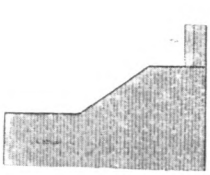
straight into the arch. This premature development of verticality—observable in all the rest, though with variations—is to be referred, however, as is abundantly evident, not to any abnormal precocity, but purely to the untutored ignorance, and want of skill on the part of the 'local practitioner.' Various highly curious instances of the application of the same methods by far abler and more scientific men are to be met with elsewhere; though, through originating in mere expediency, and offering an easy way out of instant difficulty only, they came to nothing, and died a natural death. Interesting examples of what the Stanhope mason was driving at may be seen in the restored south windows of the Galilee chapel at Durham, and still better in the south-west one of the chancel at Lanchester, introduced by, or in the time of, bishop Bek, when he made that church collegiate in 1283. An admirable interior view of the latter, shewing the remarkable splaying of its head, is given by the late Mr. Billings, in his *Architectural Antiquities of the County of Durham.*

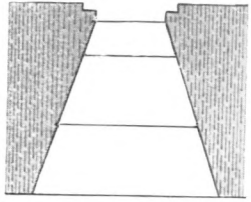
TRIMDON.

Whatever advantages may accrue to such churches as those of Ryton, Winston, or Coniscliffe, in regard to position, have certainly been denied to that of Trimdon. But if set in the midst of the dismal and depressing pit district, the old village of Trimdon is yet, happily for itself, at some distance from the vast and hideous colliery that bears its name. Historically interesting as the starting-point of king Cnut's famous barefooted pilgrimage over Garmundsway moor to S. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, it consists of a long, wide, straggling, and irregular street, clambering steeply from east to west, with its ancient church, scarce larger or more important than a cottage, and as mean and poor as one itself, at the lower end beneath the shelter of some trees. They serve, at least, to impart some slight sense of dignity and seclusion to a situation which is probably unique among others in the county, by occupying a central space. Consisting originally of an aisleless nave and chancel only, it has, during a comparatively recent restoration, been extended, like those of Witton Gilbert and Medomsley in modern, and Witton-le-Wear and Coniscliffe in ancient times, by the addition of a single aisle towards the north. With the exception of some very few









TRIMDON.—EXTERIOR AND INTERIOR.

J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

details, however, there is nothing either to attract attention or deserve notice. Of these, by far the most important are the chancel arch and 'low side window,' which occupies the usual place. The latter has commonly been described as Norman. This, however, is quite a mistake, since the contemporary arch, about which there can be no doubt whatever, is clearly of the Transitional period. In point of design it closely resembles those at Witton Gilbert and S. Margaret's, Durham, and, like both these examples, as well as the now vanished one at S. Giles's, was doubtless due to the self-same architect, William the engineer, who built the Galilee. Yet, just as in his works at those places, so here again, we see the same too evident signs of weakness and constructive incapacity in the considerable spreading that has occurred, accompanied by the necessary flattening of its curve, and pushing out of its supports. But though not Norman, the window may still claim the distinction (apart from the Saxon fragment at Jarrow) of being the earliest of this class of openings that we possess, and what is more, has not only always been used as a window, pure and simple, but is of the original construction, and not, like all the rest so far described, an insertion. It thus, apparently, bears out the conjecture that, previous to the introduction of special apertures contrived, either within, or apart from, the ordinary windows, the common plan was, as in the present instance, to utilize one or more of them for the like purpose. The same relative positions, I may remark, are observable here as are found, generally, in later instances, the sill being just four feet above the ground, and the jamb ten inches from the angle; while the clear width of the light is about a foot, and the height three feet. As the section shews, the sill is flat, both towards the glass, and the interior surface of the wall, so that a lamp could quite easily be placed on either one side of it or the other.

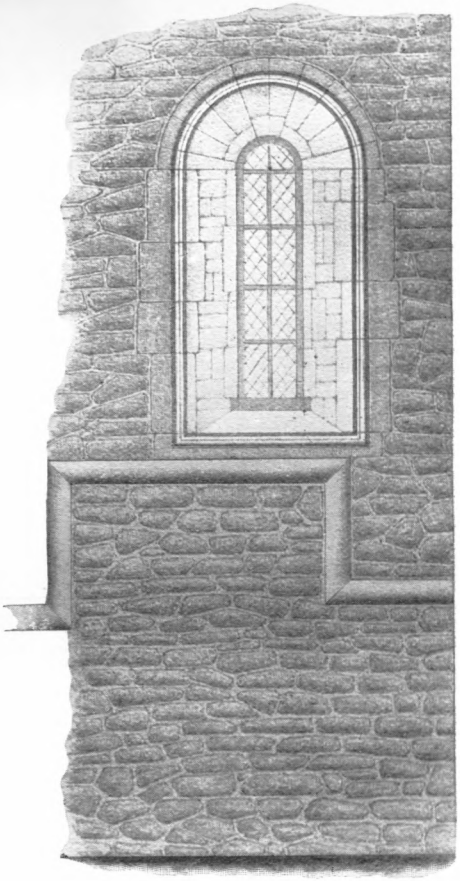
WHITBURN.

The village of Whitburn, pleasantly situated on the sea, possesses a church which, though well-nigh restored to death, still retains many interesting features, notably the tall western tower, with its very effective coupled ogee-headed and trefoliated lights, and short, wood and lead-covered spire. It may be said to occupy the last place

among the five ancient remaining ones of the county; for while those of Chester-le-Street and Ryton are both lofty and imposing, the two others of Boldon and Coniscliffe, though on a much humbler scale, are yet not only larger, but of stone. The church itself is also noteworthy, as having, unlike most others, arcades of five bays on either side of the nave, both alike, and consisting of two plain pointed orders carried on round pillars; that opening to the tower, which is of the same early thirteenth-century character, having three, with the inner one carried on corbels. As also happened at Staindrop, when this tower was very considerably heightened in the fourteenth century, the original belfry was converted into a ringing loft, which its windows, now filled with glass, serve to lighten. All the rest throughout the church are at present modern in every part, save, happily, the hood-mould of the most interesting of all—the 'low side' of the chancel. That itself, though also modern, is yet, to all appearance, an exact replica by the then restoring architect, the late Mr. Dobson, of Newcastle, of what he found there, and, if so, interesting, not only from the singularity of its cusping, but from the fact of its very early insertion. It comes unusually low down, its sill being only about two feet above the ground, while those of all the four lancets, which are original on the inside, are at a level of over five feet. Its jamb is also within two feet of the south-west angle. But, though nearly the whole of the outside of it is new, the inside is old and, though much boarded up and hidden by the stall backs, apparently untouched. The curiously rough and irregular method of insertion in this part can hardly escape notice, for while the space between the hood-mould and the segmental pointed arch is no less than ten inches at the springing, eastwards, and only three near the top, it is four directly opposite, and seven and a half below. An exploration of this opening, which would be as easy as inexpensive, is much to be desired.

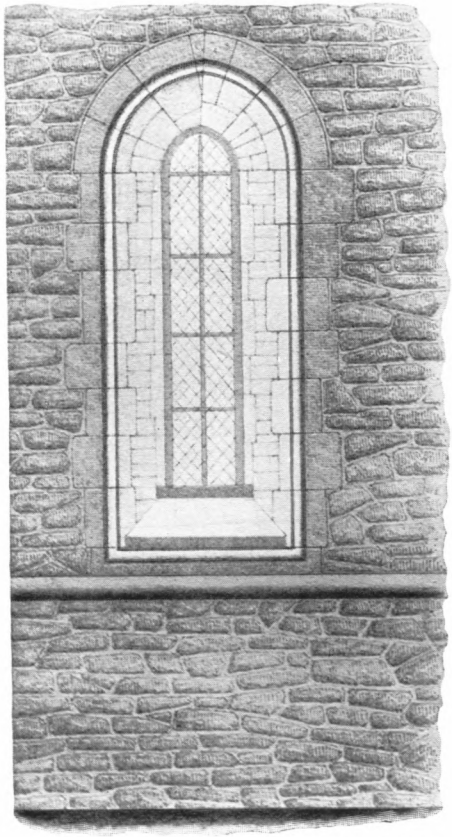
WINSTON.

Of all the churches in the county of Durham, not one can compare for beauty of situation with that of Winston—a pastoral spot of perfect loveliness. Crowning the verge of a lofty wooded brow descending precipitously to the Tees, glimpses of whose sparkling waters, murmuring ceaselessly on their way, peep out far below; well



South-west window of chancel, with blocked priest's door beneath.

WINSTON.

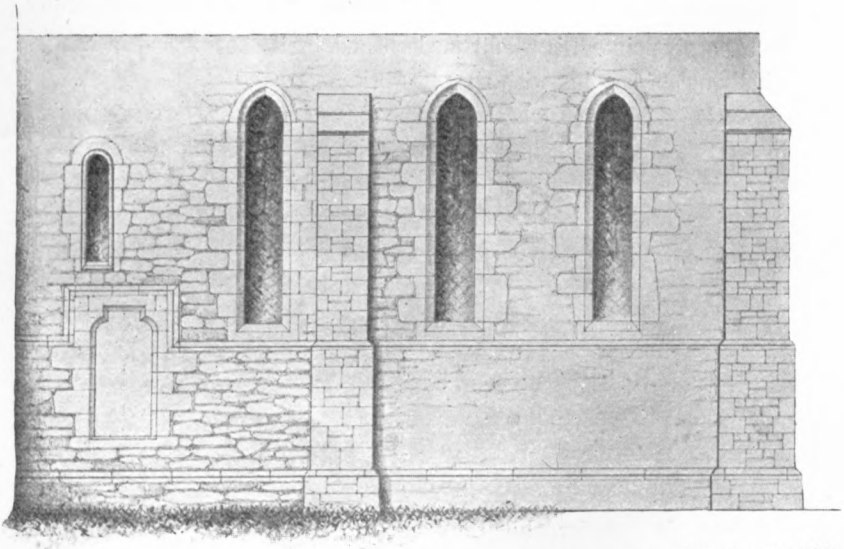


J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

North-west window of chancel.

sheltered by massive groups of trees to the east and north, the vast fragments of one of which—an enormous ash—carry us back straightway to mediaeval times, it forms the culminating point of one of the most exquisitely beautiful and diversified stretches in that romantic river's course.

Never, save perhaps for its chancel, of any architectural note, and very badly and unsympathetically restored above fifty years ago, the church itself is much less attractive than its site. Bold and massive in its scale and details, the chancel, however, still possesses, notwith-



J. F. H. *mens. et delt.*

WINSTON CHURCH.—Elevation of South Side of Chancel.

standing the loss of both its ancient roofs, high pitched and flat respectively, much to repay examination. First, the many stones of Roman broaching to be found in its walls, as in those of Lanchester and Escomb, and brought probably from Piersebridge ; then the great size of its broad and lofty lancets, two to the north, three each to the south and east, and the irregular way in which the last are spaced ; after that the elaborate thirteenth-century gravestone, covered all over with birds and foliage built up—like another, and still finer, in the neighbouring church of Wycliffe—edgeways and lengthways in its

southern wall; and last, but chiefest of all, its two strikingly distinct and much smaller windows, westwards of all the rest, and which, though undoubtedly 'side,' are yet quite the reverse of 'low.' In proportion to the body of the church, the chancel, as so frequently the case at that time, is exceedingly large; the nave, of much the same length, having only a single small aisle towards the south. Of this, the two eastern bays have evidently once formed a chantry, their arches, of two plain pointed orders, characteristically obtuse, being carried on a tall circular column, while the western one, of the same date and style is separated from them by a broad flat pier. The chancel arch, thin and sharply pointed, is wholly modern, and, besides being bad in itself, wholly out of keeping with the old work.

Interest, however, whether externally or internally, centres chiefly in the two smaller chancel windows—the most striking and original of their class I have ever met with. Striking, from the evidently intentioned and violent contrast they present to the rest; and original, equally in respect of their architectural treatment, and date of construction. That they are not the sole surviving remains of an earlier chancel, as some more ingenious than scientific person has supposed, is plain from the fact of the earth table, and set-off below the sills, which, on the outside, run below the whole of them; and on the inside, by the bold and singular string course—very similar to that at S. Andrew Auckland—which is continued round both sides and end, without a break. A striking difference, moreover, is observable between the two, for while the southern one, which is the smaller, is round-headed, the northern, which is both broader and higher, is pointed, and while the surrounding internal moulding of the round-headed one is pointed, that of the pointed-headed one is round. Another point also worthy of notice is that whereas the sills of all the other and larger windows slope steeply and without a break from the glass downwards to the string course, those of the two smaller ones do not; but have, in the southern one, a flat space or platform, eight and a half inches broad on the inner side; and in the northern, two, one of six inches next to the glass, and a second, of six and a half next the string course. Unlike the rest, too, both of them are checked or rebated, internally; the smaller one being in the clear,

about one foot broad by five and a half high; and the larger, one foot and a third by about seven and a half respectively. Attention should further be given to the level at which these windows are placed, the sill of the northern one being quite eight and a half feet, while that of the southern one is no less than ten and a half above the soil. Thus, since the walls are three feet thick, 'confessions,' of which, from the provision made, we must suppose two—to the great confusion of all concerned—to have been going on at once, would not only have to be shouted; but the 'hand-bell ringer'—whose double duties could only have benefitted the birds and fishes—as well as the priests and the communicating 'lepers,' for whom again, even in this minute place, a double provision was made, would need the aid of ladders; the 'distribution of alms' being necessarily conducted in the same fashion; while the 'watchers for the priest'—since the rectory adjoins the churchyard to the east—would have their labour for their pains, since his advent would be quite invisible from either one or other of them.