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The Rev. Precentor Venables

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THE SHRINE AND HEAD OF ST. HUGH OF LINCOLN.

By THE REV. PRECENTOR VENABLES.

Of all the possessions of Lincoln Minster none was more highly prized than the remains of its saintly bishop, Hugh of Avalon. Prized not merely as the mortal tenement of one of the noblest and purest spirits which have illustrated the see of Remigius, but, on lower grounds, as the source of a stream of wealth which flowed in uninterruptedly at his shrine until the fierce storm of the Reformation scattered all such "monuments of superstition" to the winds. Although Hugh in his lifetime deprecated all credit for miraculous power, and indeed, as his biographer tells us, was no great admirer of so called miracles, regarding the popular craving after them as an evidence of the want of true faith,¹ miraculous powers began to be attributed to his body immediately after his decease. During the four days' journey from London to Lincoln, though the weather was wet and stormy, the wax torches borne before his bier were never all extinguished at once, and when the corpse rested for the night at Biggleswade, a man who had had his arm broken in the crush believed that the saint appeared to him in a vision and by a touch restored the fractured limb. On reaching Lincoln miraculous cures at once began to testify to his sanctity. While the body lay in the Minster before burial, a knight of Lindsey was healed of a cancer by placing his diseased arm upon it; at the mere touch of the sacred corpse a blind woman received sight, while, *en revanche*, a thief who had eased a woman of her purse as she knelt in prayer was struck with instant blindness.² As was to be expected a plentiful

¹ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, pp. 97, 98, 245; Girald. Camb. vii, 181.

² *M. V.* 365-6, 375-6, Giraldus Camb. vii, 182, Hoveden iv, 143.

crop of miracles followed Hugh's burial. Over these we need not linger much. They are of the ordinary type which we are familiar with in mediæval hagiology. Their chief interest lies in the side-light they throw on the life of the period, and the local names preserved in the narratives. Wigford, *i.e.*, the southern portion of the city beyond the river, appears several times in connection with crippled and lunatic girls and a tongue-tied boy, and Pottergate as the home of a dumb lad, all cured by passing the night by the tomb. We have a curious picture of the condition of the present decorous Minster-yard, or "*atrium ecclesiæ*," in the thirteenth century, when a palsied lad builds himself a hut outside the precentor's gate, and is supported by his alms and those of the other canons, until he too receives healing at the tomb. There is a curious reference to Eustace, Abbot of Flay, who, it will be remembered, came on a mission from his Abbey in Normandy in 1200 to preach the better observance of the Lord's Day and other reforms in England. In 1201 he came to Lincolnshire where, as in Yorkshire, his words, backed with the coarse imposture of a letter from heaven, had a powerful but transient effect. Divine judgments fell, it was believed, on the heads of those who scorned his admonitions. Among those stiff-necked folks whose cases are recorded by Hoveden¹ and Giraldus,² was a woman of Kent—"incredula nimis et indevota"—who was guilty of the heinous crime of winding the thread she had spun into balls after 3 p.m. on Saturday, at which hour, by the rules of the Church, the sanctity of the Lord's Day began and lasted till the Monday morning, and in spite of the remonstrances of her husband and her neighbours continued her wicked work. Suddenly both her hands stiffened. In dismay she came to St. Hugh's tomb for relief. The penitentiary, sub-dean William of Bramfield—the same who was murdered by a Vicar of the Church, four years afterwards, as he knelt in prayer at St. Peter's Altar (his murderer meeting with "lynch law" at the hands of the sub-dean's servants—"statim membratim discerptus est"), gave no credence to her tale and turned her out of the Church. In her despair, beating her head with her closed fists, she journeys to Canterbury, if perchance St. Thomas might do for her what St. Hugh would

¹ Vol. iv. p. 170-1.² Vol. vii. p. 121.

not. But he too refuses her aid, and tells her to go back to Lincoln with all speed, for there she would be cured. She obeys the supernatural voice which issued from the martyr's tomb; retraces her steps; finds the incredulous sub-dean celebrating mass close to St. Hugh's tomb, on which she lays her hands and is forthwith cured.¹ The hint this story gives of the relations between the elder and the younger saint as a wonder worker, of which the narrative of St. Hugh's miracles supplies several examples, is instructive as indicating the rivalry existing between miraculous shrines; the guardians of each extolling the efficacy of their own shrine at the expense of others.

The fame of the miraculous cures worked at St. Hugh's tomb, for as yet, properly speaking, he had no *shrine*, brought together such large numbers of sick and impotent folk that the Chapel in which he had been buried would not receive them. This Chapel was that of St. Hugh's patron saint, St. John the Baptist, the northernmost of the two apsidal chapels which project from the east side of the north-east transept, close to the cloister-door. It formed part of Hugh's own building, then only just completed. The last directions given by him to his architect, Geoffrey of Noiers, on his death bed, at the Old Temple in Holborn, were for the finishing and decoration of the altar in it. "He had hoped to have consecrated it himself, but since God had willed otherwise, it must be done by other hands. He named the Bishop of Rochester as his representative²." The tomb, according to his own directions, was not placed conspicuously in the middle of the chapel, but close to the side wall to the south, where there would be less danger of persons tripping over it and falling. He had sought not to be a stumbling block to his brethren in his life time; he would be sorry to be a stumbling block to them when

¹ We have other instances in the 'legenda' of St. Hugh, as well as in Hoveden, of the punishment with which the violation of the strict rule of Sunday observances laid down by this fanatic was visited, e.g., a woman washes her child's clothes after 3 p.m. on Saturday, and hangs them out to dry on Sunday, and is struck with paralysis in the left hand and fore-arm. A dream warns her to go to St. Hugh's tomb, where she is cured. (Giraldus vii., 185.) A woman persisting to go on weaving after the same hour at

Nafferton, Yorkshire, is paralysed at her loom. (Hoveden iv., 170.) In Lincolnshire one woman who, in spite of her husband's remonstrances, puts her dough into a hot oven at the forbidden time, finds it still unbaked when she goes to take it out; while another good woman who, though the dough is kneaded and the oven ready to receive it, refuses to violate the sanctity of the Lord's day, is rewarded by having her bread baked by miracle (*ib.* 171).

² *Magna Vita*, p. 387.

dead.¹ It was consequently found necessary greatly to enlarge the chapel. The apse was therefore taken down, and the side walls carried out fifty feet, and the apse replaced with a square end after English fashion, fully quadrupling the area. It must have been at this time that the first translation of the body of St. Hugh took place. A larger chapel having been provided where there would be no such risk of stumbling over the low *dos-d'ane* tomb as in the cramped area of the earlier chapel, the objection to a central position would be done away, and the tomb would be made to occupy a place worthy of it. We may suppose it set up in the middle of the chapel, like that of the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, and those of St. Alban in the church which bears his name, and of other canonized saints. We can hardly be wrong—(the architecture of the chapel as seen in Hollar's prints in Dugdale points that way)—in regarding this enlargement and the consequent translation, as contemporaneous with the canonization of St. Hugh. This we know took place in 1220 by a decree of Pope Honorius III., who, in the second and third of the series of bulls announcing the canonization, gives directions for the transference of his body to a more honourable place. The third special bull, addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, expressly orders him to summon the prelates and others, and have the translation carried out with due solemnity, and the sacred body placed with all worthy honour.²

The late Canon Dimock allows that there is no "actual evidence that this order was carried into effect," either in 1220, or at any other time before the great translation in 1280. But it is not at all likely that the papal mandate remained entirely disregarded for sixty years, and it is

¹ *Ib.* 340, 377.—That St. Hugh's directions as to the position of his tomb were faithfully carried out is shewn by the following passage in Giraldus' "*Vita S. Hugonis*," vol. vii., p. 123 :—"Altare sancti Johannis Baptistæ quod tumbam viri sancti collateralalem et proximam habet."

From a few words in the narrative of the woman who had her hand paralysed for washing her child's clothes after 3 p.m. on Saturday, and was cured at St. Hugh's tomb, we see that the tomb—like the majority of mediæval shrines—had recesses or apertures in its sides to enable the devotees to bring themselves as near

as possible to the sacred remains.—"Videbatur ei in somniis quod quidam dixit ei ut iret ad tumbam . . . et poneret se in medio foramine tumbæ. (Giraldus vii., 189.)"

² "Cum venerabile corpus beati Hugonis a loco in quo est transferendum sit et dignius collocandum, paternitati tuæ per apostolica scripta mandamus quatinus convocatis prælatiis et aliis quos videris convocandos, corpus ipsum in locum opportunum cures cum debita solemnitate transferri, faciens illud cum digna honorificentia collocari," Giraldus, vol. vii., p. 246, Appendix I.

only reasonable to suppose that the new enlarged chapel was erected upon or soon after his canonization,—the period to which, as has been already said, the architecture belongs,—in order to meet the necessity of larger space for the shrine of the new saint and his devotees.¹ It may be remarked in passing, that towards the latter part of the last century, when it was the habit of Deans and Chapters to remove decayed parts of the Cathedrals entrusted to their guardianship to save the expense of repair, the enlarged quadrangular chapel was pulled down under the direction of “the ingenious Mr. Essex²” and the original apsidal shape restored; the work, it may be added, being done so cleverly, the old stonework being adapted to its new position, as to deceive the most experienced as to its date. The two lancets which light it are evidently the same which appear in Hollar’s view at the east end of the elongated chapel, and the other architectural features belong to that fabric.³

As has been said, we may place the enlargement of St. John Baptist’s Chapel, and the presumed former translation of the remains of St. Hugh about the year 1220, or a little later. But after all that had been done, the position occupied by the shrine appeared inadequate to the dignity of so great a saint, as well as too narrow for the crowds who gathered at the sacred spot, especially on the day of his death and other solemn anniversaries, to obtain healing of their physical maladies and spiritual benefits. Within thirty years the Dean and Chapter undertook a much more magnificent and costly design, to do honour to one the fame of whose sanctity had spread so widely, and had received papal confirmation by his admission to the roll of canonised saints within twenty years of his death. This was no less than the demolition of the apsidal termination of St. Hugh’s Choir, if not still in its first newness hardly yet fifty years old, and the erection of an eastern limb, of far larger dimensions and richer design, for the reception of the shrine. This was the origin of the far-famed

¹ Giraldus *u. s.* p. 222.

² Chapter Orders Sept. 10, 1771, that “St. Mary’s Chapel [an error for St. John the Baptist’s] be taken down next spring and the breach made up by a building similar to the other small chapel.”

³ By the removal of the earth a few

years since, the foundations of this Chapel were brought to light and it awaits reconstruction. It will be observed that the Chapel occupies the same relative position to the Choir of the Minster as the destroyed Lady Chapel at Peterborough and that still standing at Ely.

"Angel choir" pronounced by one of our ablest architectural judges,¹ "one of the loveliest of human works, simply perfect in its proportions and details."

This stately work was commenced in 1256 or the following year, and was so far finished as to admit of the translation of the saint's body to the newly erected shrine, on October 6th, 1280. It was not however fully completed till the fourteenth century was well on its way. The work evidently lagged; episcopal appeals, letters of indulgence, and injunctions to the Rural Deans for its completion were issued by Bishop Oliver Sutton in 1297 and 1298, and by Bishop John of Dalderby, at various dates between 1301 and 1314. In 1306 a contract for the "novum opus" was entered into between the Chapter and Richard of Stow, or, Gainsborough, "cementarius," the plainwork to be done by measure and the carved work and sculpture by the day.

To describe the ceremony of the translation at any length would be beside the purpose of this paper. It was in all probability the most magnificent function ever witnessed in Lincoln Minster, dignified with the presence of Edward I. and Queen Eleanor (who ten years later breathed her last but a few miles from Lincoln, and had her first monument in the Minster, and her first cross erected by the above-mentioned Richard of Stow, just outside the south-gate of the city), his brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (the nominal king of Sicily) and his wife, the queen of Navarre, and a host of nobles, archbishops, bishops, and other high dignitaries of church and state. Two conduits ran wine at the west entrance of the Bishop's palace from 3 p.m. to curfew. The whole expense of the translation was borne by Thomas Beck who was on the same day, when the function was over, consecrated Bishop of St. David's. It is interesting to notice that four years later his more famous brother the mighty clerk, Antony, Patriarch of Jerusalem and King of Man, when appointed to the Bishopric of Durham, emulated his younger brother's munificence, undertaking the entire charges of the translation of St. William of York on the day of his own consecration in York Minster, Jan. 9th, 1284.

For the reception of the Saint's body a metal *feretrum* or portable shrine had been provided, ornamented with

¹ E. A. Freeman *English Towns and Districts*, p. 225.

gold and silver and inlaid with precious stones. This, was placed upon a lofty stone base in the centre of the free space behind the back wall of the reredos.¹ Such was the customary position for the shrine of the chief saint of any great church. The structure was generally raised to a sufficient height to be visible to the priest celebrating mass at the high altar on the other side of the reredos wall, with the intention of elevating his thoughts while ministering and stirring him up to emulate the virtues of the holy man there entombed. The only example still existing in England² is that of the Confessor behind the altar at Westminster Abbey; but, to omit the world-famous shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, we know that such was the position of the shrines of St. Etheldreda at Ely, St. William at York, St. Swithun at Winchester and many others. Beyond the fact that it was elevated on a stone base, doubtless pierced with canopied arches and richly adorned with carving, and that it was cased with plates of gold and of silver gilt, and encrusted with gems, and it was protected by a *grille* of curiously wrought iron trellis work, we have no knowledge of the form or design of the shrine.³ The place where it stood was in Sanderson's time⁴ marked by iron clamps in the pavement, probably the fastenings of the grille just mentioned. These were still to be seen in the middle of the last century when

¹ "Tandem sacrum corpus in theca auro argento et pretiosis lapidibus ornata reconditum est; ipsa que theca loco congruo satisque sublimi e marmore structo honorifice collocata est." Surius, ed. Venet, 1581, tom. vi.

² That at St. Albans is a reconstruction made up of fragments discovered in different parts of the Church.

³ From the following extracts from the Chapter records we see that the shrine, like the building which contained it, was not all finished at once. The *grille* was made about 1308, by Simon the Smith, and a new lid, inlaid with images in gold and silver, by London goldsmiths in 1310. "Venit Simon Faber et petit quod cum per custodes feretri beati Hugonis, viz., Magistrum, T. de Ferrariis et Dominum R. de Wynchcombe fuisset conventum cum eodem de quadraginta marcis pro opere feretri in faciendum unum Traylicium ferreum circa feretrum antedictum, et

inveniendi sibi carbones et ferrum quod quinque marcae, xij solidi iiij denarii non solverentur" (Chapter Acts, fo. 15, verso).

"Die veneris proxime post Epiphaniam (A.D. 1310) Dominus Reginaldus de Southwick missus fuit London. ad tractandum cum aurifabris et aliis operariis de novo coopertorio pro feretro beati Hugonis cum diversis imaginibus aureis et argenteis noviter faciendis decorando et ornando" (*ibid.*). See Appendix D.

"North of Dalyson's tomb was the shrine of St. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, which you may find by the irons fastened on the pavement. It was made of beaten gold, and was in length eight feet and four feet broad, as is now to be seen. It was taken away by virtue of a Commission in K. Henry VIII. time, the thirty-second year of his reign. The irons only now remaining." Sanderson, *Ancient Monumental Inscriptions in Lincoln*, W. & B. Brooke, 1851.

they are referred to by Sympson, the Lincoln antiquary, but they have now entirely disappeared.

On the destruction of the shrine at the period of the Reformation, what remained of the venerated body was believed to have been interred in a grave in the floor of the retro-choir, a little to the north of the original site. The spot is marked by a table-tomb set up by Bishop William Fuller (Sanderson's successor) after the Restoration, and bearing a copy of Latin elegiacs, commemorating the supposed fact. But when the grave was opened on the repaving of the retro-choir in 1886, the lead coffin, enclosed in one of stone, was found to contain nothing but decaying vestments, without any trace of human remains, as if, for fear of further sacrilegious indignity, the body had been reverently removed by the pious hand of some votaries of the old faith.¹

Up to the time of the Translation no hint is given of any divorce between the head and the body of St. Hugh. As the narrative of the ceremonial speaks of a considerable quantity of oil flowing from the jaw, while Bishop Oliver Sutton was reverently holding the head in his hand before the actual translation began, it is clear that the two were disunited but that both were still in the Chapel in which St. Hugh had been originally interred.²

It is seen from the narrative that the whole of St. Hugh's remains, including the head, were translated, but that when the ceremony was over the head was taken back again to the place from whence it came, St. John the Baptist's Chapel, and replaced there by the altar. The advantage of this arrangement is apparent. The church gained two sacred spots instead of one, and a double opportunity was afforded

¹ For a fuller account of this discovery see *Arch. Journal*, vol. xlv., p. 201.

² "Cumque sanctissimum ejus caput—quod a corpore separatum postea auro argento et gemmis inclusum est—Oliverus Lincolnensis Episcopus in manibus reverenter teneret, ex ejus maxilla non parum olei distillavit." (Giraldus, vol. vii., p. 222.) The same narrative records, also, the discovery of a large quantity of the purest oil—"magnam olei purissimi copiam"—in the coffin, and the fact that the Saint's body was not at all decomposed—"quasi integrum repertum est corpus ejus"—to which

Dorlandus (d. 1507) adds—the marvels always increasing the further one gets away from the event—that on the opening of the "loculus" a delicious odour ("odor suave fragrans") burst forth and pervaded the whole church. There is not the slightest allusion to any of these wonders in the contemporary account of the translation, "probably written by some member or retainer of the Beck family who was himself present," which, proving, far too simple and free from the marvellous for later biographers, has been thus dressed up. (Dimock, *apud Giraldus u. s.*

for the offerings of the faithful, the source from which prior to the Reformation so large a portion of the income of the clergy, parochial as well as cathedral and monastic, was derived.¹ The head was subsequently enclosed in a case of metal, adorned with plates of gold and silver and beautified with precious stones, such as those which are to be seen on the altars, and in the sacristies and treasuries of continental churches.² In England there were not wanting examples of this duplicated reverence paid to the relics of a saint. The earliest recorded instance is that of St. Edwin "King and Martyr," the first christian sovereign of Northumbria. When slain by Penda at the battle of Heathfield, A.D. 633, his head, Bede tells us³ was carried to York, and deposited in the Chapel of St. Gregory, in the Church of St. Peter which he had begun building, while his body was buried subsequently in his grand-daughter's abbey of Whitby. Edwin's successor Oswald, also "King and Martyr" supplies a second example in the same period. After the battle at Maserfield, A.D. 642, in which he fell, the same savage conqueror severed the young king's head from his body, and set it up on a pole. It was rescued, carried to Lindisfarne and buried by St. Aidan. It was afterwards exhumed and carried to Bamborough where it remained till St. Cuthbert's time. In 875 when the monks retired before the Danes, the head was placed in St. Cuthbert's coffin and accompanied the wanderings of his body. On the translation of St. Cuthbert's relics in 1104, the head was found in the coffin and left there, where it was discovered when the grave was opened in 1827.⁴ Oswald's body was deposited by his niece Queen Ostryth in the church of the Abbey of Bardney, in Lincolnshire,⁵ whence on the destruction of that monastery by the Danes, it was removed to Gloucester and placed in a shrine.

¹ The narrative so often referred to, after speaking of the depositing of the body "*loco congruo*," goes on to say that it was "*non longe a sanctissimo ejus capite quod juxta altare beatissimi Johannis Baptistae reposuerunt*." Mr. Dimock remarks: "The *re* of this verb indicates that in placing his head in the Chapel of St. John Baptist they restored it to the place that his whole body had, until now, occupied."—*Ibid*.

² According to the late Precentor Mackenzie Walcott, there is a fine re-

liquary head of St. Candidus in a church of Geneva. One of St. Eustace, from Basle, of the thirteenth century, is in the British Museum. *Sacred Archaeology* p. 145 *sub voce* Chef.

³ *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii, c. 20; lib. iii, c. 24.

⁴ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 12. Reg. Dunelm. c. 42; W. Malmesb. *Gest. Pont.* iii., 134; Raine, *S. Cuthbert*, p. 187. Bishop Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 184.

⁵ Bede *H.E.* iii., 11.

Several of our Cathedrals furnish still closer parallels. In Lichfield Cathedral there was a special altar called "the altar of St. Chad" on which the head of the saint, probably enclosed in a metal case adorned with gold and jewels, was placed as an object of devotion. The head, like St. Hugh's at Lincoln, had its own special "keeper," "*custos capitis sancti cedde.*"¹ Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Dean Heywood among other benefactions to his Cathedral gave an altar cloth of twill to St. Chad's altar. Mr. Hewitt quotes from the Cathedral muniments, "*mappa data altari ubi restat caput sci cedde. Item prefatus Decanus dedit altari sci cedde in capella ubi caput ejus mirifice honoratur unam mappam bonam de panno bilicino et tradita fuit manibus dñi Will. Hukyns ejusdem capelle custodi.*" Mr. Hewitt remarks "what became of this relic at the time of the Reformation has not been ascertained. If decorated with gold and silver, as we may well believe it to have been, its fate on falling into the hands of the Tudor emissaries may well be imagined."

A still nearer correspondence is shewn at Chichester. Bishop Richard of Wych, who died in 1253, was canonized in 1263, and on June 16, 1276, his body was translated from its original place of sepulture to a newly erected shrine, standing almost certainly in the retro-choir, at the back of the high altar, in the presence of Edward I., by the primate assisted by many bishops, attended by a large concourse of people of all ranks. But, as at Lincoln, the head of the saint had a different resting place from the body, where it was the object of special offerings. In 1286 and 1299 Edward was again at Chichester, and gave gifts at the shrine of St. Richard, which on the latter occasion were divided between, the shrine, the place where he was first buried, *the head*, and the chalice of St. Richard. Again, in November, 1297, when engaged in the Scotch campaign, he sent offerings from Newcastle to do honour to St. Richard. The advantage of having several distinct centres of devotion is shown by the distribution of the king's gifts on this occasion; besides a clasp and cloth of gold, seven shillings were offered at St. Richard's shrine, seven

¹ See Mr. Hewitt's paper on (Arch. Journal, vol. xxxiii., pp. 71-82.)
 "The Keeper of St. Chad's Head."

shillings at the tomb, and the like sum "at the head of the saint."¹

When we turn to York with its great local saint St. William, we find the correspondence even closer. St. William, who succeeded to the primatial see in 1143, died in 1154. His canonization did not take place till the pontificate of Nicholas III., A.D. 1277—1281. As in St. Hugh's case and that of other mediæval saints,² oil was deemed a sure sign of sanctity. His tomb, according to the Bull of Canonization, had been "enriched with the fruitfulness of an oil by which many sick persons, being anointed, had been cured," while after his translation at Whitsuntide 1308, the tomb "sweated forth a glorious oil" which healed the sick and put the incredulous to shame by burning with a steady light when put into the Minster lamps. The translation took place as has been already stated, January 4, 1284. The feretrum as at Lincoln was carried on the shoulders of Edward I., assisted by eleven prelates, his queen being among the company attending. But as with St. Hugh and St. Richard, the head of St. William had a separate reliquary to itself, to which offerings were made. This, we gather from contemporary accounts, was of silver gilt, supported by angels, and surmounted by a rich canopy adorned with jewels, the gifts of the faithful. It was kept in a silver chest, and furnished with a belt enriched with silver for carrying it in processions. When, in 1503, Margaret the daughter of Henry VII. visited York, on her way to Scotland, to join her bridegroom, the head was brought to her to kiss. We are able to trace the fate of this relic more clearly than in most other cases. When the storm of the Reformation burst over the church, the infamous Layton, the monastic

¹ Stephens' *Memorials of the See of Chichester*, p. 97. June 28, 1299, "In oblation of the king at the shrine on one side of St. Richard 7s, and on the other side 7s, and at the mitre of the same saint 7s, and to the head of the same, and to the tomb where he was first buried, and to the mitre of St. Edmund, and to the Chalice of St. Richard 7s each, total 42s "Nov. 1297." In offerings sent by Roger de Barneby, together with a clasp and cloth of gold; at the shrine of St. Richard 7s, at the tomb 7s, at the head

and other reliques 7s, total 21s, to Roger de Barneby for his expences of his journey, 6 marcs.

² "A.D. 1312 a wonderful oyle issued miraculously from the sepulchre of St. John of Beverley by the space of a whole day, which was very medicinal and sovereigns against manie diseases." "From the relics of St. Walburga at Eichstadt issued a sacred oil which by the Grace of God and the intercession of St. Walburga gave sight to the blind." Porter's *Lives of the Saints*, p. 419, 185.

commissioner, who had been rewarded for the thoroughness of his work by Henry VIII. with the deanery of York, and his subservient chapter, decreed that "the casket or chest in which were lately contained the bones of the head of St. William, together with the jewels and ornaments of the said chest, should be broken up and converted to the use of the said church." Layton with the unscrupulousness characteristic of the man would seem to have converted the whole to his own use. On his death it was found that he had pawned plate and jewels belonging to the Minster, which the Chapter had to redeem out of their common fund.¹

To return to the subject of this memoir, the costly materials in which St. Hugh's head was enshrined at one time endangered the loss of this precious relic. Although one keeper by day and two by night were specially deputed to watch over its safety, the Church was broken into and the head carried off by thieves. This was in the year 1364, the latter part of the reign of Edward III. Acts of sacrilegious depredations of this nature were frequent at this time. It was a period of great national disorder. The Black Death, which not long before had swept away so large a proportion of the population, kept returning again and again. All social and moral ties were relaxed. There was a general outbreak of lawlessness. Piers Plowman's "waster that will not work, but wander about," turned readily into the thief. Nor was there any portion of the community whom it seemed more natural to rob than the clergy and the Church. When the nobles were casting greedy eyes on the wealth of the clergy, from whom the worldliness and selfishness too generally prevalent among their ranks had alienated the minds of the laity, and bitter envy deepening into hatred prevailed among the commonalty, it had come to be looked on almost as a religious duty to ease them of the riches of which they made so little use for the general good of the State. What the Baronage was seeking to effect by Act of Parliament, the lower orders, taking the law into their own hands, effected by sacrilegious pillage.

¹ Raine *Fasti Ebor.* i. 227-230 Dugdale vi. 1206; Browne, *York Minster*, i. 53, 57, 62, 243, Transactions of Yorkshire

Archæological Society for 1875, vol. iii, p. 257.

Thornton Abbey was broken into and robbed. The images of Our Lady—presumably of precious metal—were carried off from the Lady Chapels at Merivale, Monks Kirby, and other places. Leicester Abbey was entered by a window, but the sacristan raised an alarm, and the robbers fled away without securing any booty. Many of the thieves were caught, convicted, and hung. Still the rapine continued and spread. To judge from the space it occupies in the pages of the *Chronicle*, none of these sacrilegious thefts created a greater impression than that of St. Hugh's head. The story, as told by Knighton,¹ is a curious one. Having broken into the Minster and carried off the head, the thieves stripped the case of its gold and silver and precious stones, and threw it down in a field. Here, to their astonishment, a crow or raven—"corvus quidam"—miraculously appeared as its protector, and kept guard over the sacred relic until it was picked up and carried back to Lincoln. The thieves made their way to London, where they disposed of their booty, it was said, for twenty marks. On their way back to Lincoln they were robbed of the money, and after a while, suspicion falling on them, they were brought before the Coroner, confessed their crime, and were hanged. We learn from Rymer that the head having become judicially forfeited to the Crown, Edward III., in token of his devout reverence as well to the Blessed Virgin and the church of Lincoln placed under her protection, as to the body of the blessed Confessor Hugh—"forisfactura non obstante"—restored the head to the Dean and Chapter "to remain for ever in the aforesaid church to the honour of God and the Confessor aforesaid."²

¹ *Decem Scriptores* p. 2628. "Eodem tempore invaluerunt fures et latrones in regno et spoliaverunt Ecclesias, feretra sanctorum et reliquias asportaverunt scil., abbatiam de Thornton; imaginem de Domina apud Meriwale in capella sua; imaginem de Domina apud Monkys Kyrby, et pluribus aliis locis, et multi eorum capti sunt et suspensi. Caput etiam Sancti Hugonis Lincolnienensis furati sunt, et, captis argento et auro lapidibus que pretiosis, caput projecerunt in quodam campo, et quod dictu mirum est quidam corvus, prout fama laboravit, custodivit donec cognitum erat per eosdem latrones et Lincolniam aeportatum. Latrones predicti abierunt Landonias ad venden-

dum sua prædicta latrocinia et vendiderunt dicebatur pro xx marcis, et redeunt in patriam suam spoliati sunt de dicta pecunia, postea de dicto scelere prodientes se ipsos, capti sunt et apud Lincolniam suspensi. Ecclesiam quoque abbatiæ nostræ Leycestrensis per quamdam fenestram super altare S. Johannis Evangelistæ intraverunt fures, sed cito per sacristam percepti sunt et absque damno illato fugerunt."

² Rymer *Fœd* iv. 433, A.D. 1364, "Rex omnibus, &c., sciatis quod cum ecclesia B. M. Lincoln. nuper per quosdam latrones fracta, et caput sci Hugonis, gloriosi confessoris auro et argento exornatum per dictos latrones furatum et

The damage was repaired and the ornaments replaced by the munificence of John of Welbourn, at this time treasurer of the Cathedral, to whom also the church was indebted for the groined vaults of the central and western towers, the magnificent series of choir stalls, the clock, and, what could have been well spared, the row of awkwardly carved statues of kings seated in niches above the great western Norman portal, on the outer mouldings of which they intrude. This benefaction is thus recorded at the close of the Welbourn chantry book; "Qui etiam post furacionem et spoliacionem capitis sancti Hugonis de novo fecit cum auro et argento et lapidibus preciosis ornari et reparari" (fol. 79).

We now lose sight of the head, except in the half-yearly accounts of the money gathered in the collecting-boxes attached to it and to the shrine, till just before the time when it was to disappear for ever in the melting-pot of the royal despoiler. In the Chapter Acts of 1520¹ we have an account, somewhat mutilated, of "relikes, jewels and other stuff belonging to Seint Hugh's head." The head itself was enclosed in an enamelled case of silver gilt, and had a mitre of the same material, with a gold ring set with a sapphire on its apex. Four other gold rings, set with precious stones, are mentioned as "belonging to the head," and another jewelled ring with the motto "Ecce lignum." Three "old nobles" and two "ducats of gold" were "nailed upon the breadth of the head." Mention is made of a "shrine" as connected with but distinct from, the head, furnished with plates and branches of gold and a branch of coral. The paraphernalia of the head included other jewels—"a pale sapphire," a "little blue stone," and three "stones in beryl." In the altar furniture were a silver gilt chalice and a broken paten, two sets of "cruets

abinde asportatum fuisset, et avulsis ab eodem capite auro et argento quibus sic ornabatur, post informationem dictorum latronum qui furtum illud coram coronatoribus nostris Lincolnie fatebantur, inventum fuit et ea de causa nobis forisfactum existit, nos de gracia speciali et ob devotionem quam, tam ad gloriosam V. M. et ecclesiam suam predictam, quam ad corpus Sancti Confessoris antedicti gerimus et habemus, caput præ-

dictum prædictæ ecclesiæ et dilectis nobis in Christo decano et capitulo ejusdem ecclesiæ dedimus et restitimus, in eadem ecclesia ad honorem Dei et dicti confessoris perpetuo remanendum, forisfactura prædicta nobis in hac parte competente non obstante.

Teste Regi apud Westmin. x^o die Februarii."

¹ See Appendix A.

of beryl, closed in silver gilt;" an altar cloth of yellow silk, and two cushions, one of red satin embroidered in gold with birds and beasts; two candlesticks of pewter and others of wood, with "a case to carry wax candle in." Apart from the head, there was a tooth of St. Hugh "closed in beryl with silver and gilt." The books in the catalogue are a "legenda de temporalibus" and "de sanctis," the latter incomplete; a "Collectorium"; a book called *Cum animadverterem*, with a commentary; a book of St. Hugh's life, chained; and a book of sermons. We may remark that there is no mention made of the alms chest, which was an essential feature of every such saintly memorial, which we know, from the accounts still extant in the Chapter Muniment Room, was opened twice a year, on the morrow of St. Denys, October 9th, and at Pentecost. These accounts of the half-yearly *apertura*, with the receipts and expenditure at each opening, exist for nearly two centuries, with a break of sixty years between 1450 and 1510. They are written on parchment from 1334 to 1450, from 1510 to 1517 on paper, and from 1520 to 1532 (a rough draught only) also on paper.

The "*apertura*" of the shrine and head, as has been stated, took place at Pentecost, and on the morrow of St. Denis, Oct. 9. Each account of receipts and disbursements generally follows the same order. First comes the date of the "opening" with the names of the two dignitaries by whom it was superintended. One of these in the first extant account, that of 1334, was Thomas Beck, who it will be remembered was the munificent person who in 1380 defrayed the whole charge of the "Translation," and was the same day consecrated to the Bishopric of St. David's. The sum of money found in the Chests is then usually given, a distinction being drawn between "*pecunia numerata*," i.e., silver coin, and smaller monies, "*oboli et quadrantibus*;" special mention being made of any gold coins given, e.g., in 1341, "*duo florentes aurei*." For a series of years in the earlier portion of these accounts, i.e., from 1339 onwards the gross total of the money found is omitted, and it has to be arrived at by adding to the sum of the various payments the balance remaining, e.g., Oct., 1337. "*Summa allocatis allocandis et solutis solvendis, xxxj^s vj^d. Item in obolis et quadrantibus vj^s vij^d; de*

remanencia." Whitsuntide 1340, "Summa, deductis deducendis et solutis solvendis, de duobus aperturis premissis remanent in deposito xij^l xvij^s x^d et de obolis et quadrantibus x^s vj^d. Inde solutis lx^l debitis tumbae beati Johannis remanent iij^l xvij^s x^d." This last item has reference to the shrine of the popularly canonized John of Dalderby, in the South Transept, from the offerings at which a loan had been contracted which had now to be discharged. Again, Whitsuntide 1341, "Inde allocatis lx^l pro cera emenda et aliis allocandis, remanent de apertura ista, iij^l viij^s, et oboli et quadrantes vij^s ix^d, et sic computatis vj^l vij^s v^d, de priori aperture proxima, remanent penes custodem ix^l xv^s v^d, et duo florentes aurei."

The gross total, when given, is followed by the items of its expenditure. With the exception of the purchase of wax, bought sometimes at Hull, sometimes in London, or some other chief market, the whole proceeds were divided among the canons of the church, and the other officials, those fulfilling any duties connected with the shrine having also an additional allowance of sixpence for wine, and their subordinates threepence. In 1334, twelve canons keeping the Great Residence, and the keeper of the Altar of St. Peter had £4 6s. 8d, divided between them, and two other canons, "percipientes medietatem," ij^s viij^d. The catalogue of payments supplies us with a list of the officials, great and small, connected with the Minster and its services; not those alone who had any special duties in connection with St. Hugh's shrine. It begins with the chaplain who celebrated mass at the shrine, together with his chaplain, deacon, and sub-deacon, and eight singers "cantantibus organum." Then follow the keepers of the shrine--two principal keepers who have 10^s between them, and 1^d for wine—their chaplain and their clerks; the day-keeper of the shrine and head, who has 20^s and 6^d for wine, and a clerk to help him; two night-guardians who have 40^s between them and 6^d for wine, the same sum being given for wine to the keeper of St. Peter's Altar. The list closes with the vicars' choral, the four clerks, the choir boys, "those who wore the habit but were not vicars," the succentor, the sacrist and his clerk, the clerk of the "communa," the chapter clerk, the clerk of the fabric, the masters of the grammar school and song school, the master-masons and carpenters, two

thurificators, the organ-blower, the doorkeeper of the Close, and comes down to the candle lighter, the sweeper, the bell-ringers, the wax-candle maker, and two officers appointed to "rouse the people," "*duobus excitantibus populum*." This last is a somewhat mysterious office, which calls for explanation. Was it their province to wake up sleepers, or was it rather to make a circuit of the city, and summon the people to the function about to be held? In the Whitsuntide accounts there appears regularly "the clerk who brought the dove," "*clerico ducenti columbam*" who received 1^s for his pains. This introduction of a pigeon in the Whitsuntide ceremonial, as a symbol of the Holy Ghost, may be illustrated from the ritual history of many Cathedrals, both English and Foreign. It may suffice to give this passage from Lambard relating to St. Paul's:¹ "I myself being a child, once saw in St. Paul's Church at London at a feast of Whitsuntide, when the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon that was let to fly out of a hole that is yet to be seen in the inside of the roof of the great aisle." Examples of these accounts from the beginning and the end of the series are given in the Appendix B and C.

It may be interesting to compare the amount of these collections for groups of years at different epochs :—

		£	s.	d.
At Pentecost 1539, the sum was	...	27	6	8
" " 1360, "	...	25	0	0
" " 1361, (illegible)				
Oct. 8, 1361, "	...	28	3	8
" 1362, "	...	13	9	1½
Pentecost, 1364, ² "	...	36	2	3
" 1365, "	...	37	14	8
" 1366, "	...	34	15	11
" 1367, "	...	37	10	8
" 1368, "	...	32	2	10
" 1369, "	...	22	4	4
" 1370, "	...	25	4	3
" 1371, "	...	30	10	4

Forty-six years later the accounts were also regularly taken half-yearly, the October date being calculated by the Festival of the Translation of St. Hugh, the 7th, instead of

¹ Quoted by Precentor Mackenzie Walcott, in his "Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals," p. 195.

² The rise in the amount of the offerings corresponds with the theft and recovery of the Head.

that of St. Dionis ; and we find a great falling off in the offerings, even when the two amounts are added together :—

			£	s.	d.
1417, Oct.	...	...	9	2	2
1418, Pent.	...	...	6	9	9
„ Oct.	..	...	11	2	8½
1419, Pent.	...	...	7	7	0
„ Oct.	..	...	11	16	0
1420, Pent.	...	...	6	14	0½
„ Oct.	...	...	11	4	11½
1421, Pent.	...	...	6	6	0½
„ Oct.	...	...	11	7	8½
1422, Pent.	...	...	6	5	4
„ Oct.	...	...	11	10	3

At this period it will be noticed that the summer half-year was much more productive than the winter half-year, and that the amounts at each opening range almost equally. When we enter the sixteenth century the gatherings in the two half-years are more nearly equal, the total shewing a still further shrinking :—

			£	s.	d.
1510, Pent.	..	...	7	6	8
„ Oct.	..	...	7	0	0
1511, Pent.	.	...	4	8	0
„ Oct.	...	...	4	15	5
1512, Pent.	..	...	3	11	3
„ Oct.	...	...	6	1	10½
1513, Pent.	...	...	3	9	7
„ Oct.	...	...	4	10	0
1514, Pent.	...	...	4	16	10
„ Oct.	...	...	4	10	0
1515, Pent.	...	...	2	17	5½
„ Oct.	...	...	4	8	8
1516, Pent.	...	...	1	12	2
„ Oct.	...	...	5	8	7
1517.					

The accounts, rough drafts on paper, are very imperfect in this closing period. We have these for—

			£	s.	d.
1550, Pent.	...	...	3	11	0
„ Oct.	...	...	5	0	0
And 1551, Pent.	...	...	2	2	2
„ Oct.	...	...	3	2	4

The series closes with—

			£	s.	d.
1531, Oct.	...	...	6	0	0
And 1532, Pent.	...	...	2	2	5
„ Oct.	...	...	4	2	0

A total for the year of only £6 4s. 5d.; a sorry amount compared with the liberal offerings of earlier years. Relic worship had had its day, and was nearly played out. The time was fast approaching when, and that not without the general approbation of the more thoughtful and enlightened of his subjects, "the Supreme Head of the Church," in his godly zeal for their spiritual welfare, would, with his terrible thoroughness and all-mastering greed, "abolish" this and all such "monuments of superstition," and transfer their costly caskets to his Royal Treasury and Jewel House. Such, though they do not occur in the long lists of plate, jewels and vestments printed by Dugdale, occupying fourteen double column folio pages,¹ was doubtless the end of the shrine and head of the sainted bishop of Lincoln, and the jewels with which they had been adorned by the real, though misdirected piety of earlier ages, and their gratitude for benefits sincerely believed to have been received through the intercession of one of the holiest of God's servants, by the medium of his relics.² "It may appear to an enlightened age, like ours, that the whole of the religion of rags and bones was nothing but the invention of rascality playing upon folly. And yet, before dismissing this trumpery with contempt, it might be worth while to enquire whether there might not have been sincerity not only in the worshippers, but in the ministers of such a cult."³

EDMUND VENABLES.

¹ *Mon. Angl.* vi., pp. 1278-1292.

² "Memorandum that by force of the above wrytten comysshion there was taken out of y^e sayd Cathedrall Church of Lincoln at that tyme in gold ij^m vj^s xxj oz (2621 oz.), in sylver iij^m ij^c iij^j xx oz (4285 oz.), Besyde a greate nombre of Pearles & precious stones wch were of greate valewe as dyamondes, saphires Rubyes, Turkyes, Carbuncles &c. There were at that tyme twoe shrynes in the sayd Cath. Church, the one of pure gold

called St. Hughes shryne standinge on the backe syde of the highe aulter neare unto Dalyson's tombe. The other called St John of Dalderby his shryne was of pure sylver standinge in the southe Ende of the Great Crosse Isle not fare from the dore where ye Gallyley Courte ys used to be kept." C. Wordsworth, *Notes of the Shrines*, Communications of Soc. of Antiquaries.

³ Dixon, *Hist. of the Ch. of England*, vol. ii, p. 47.

APPENDIX A.

CHAPTER ACTS, LINCOLN CATHEDRAL (A. 35): UNDATED, BUT COMING IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CHAPTER ACTS OF A.D. 1520. [*Mutilated*].

"Relikes jewels and other stuff belonging to seint hughs head delivered to Sir William Johnson the xxvijth day of November. . . . And ffurst the hede of seint hugh closed in siluer gilt and enamelled. *Item* the mytre of [seint] hugh of siluer gilt and enamelled. *Item* the pontifical of seint hugh of gold with certeyn stones and relyks. *Item* a ring of gold with a ston and written *Ecce lig[um]*. *Item* iiij ryngs of gold with iiij preciose stonce belonging to the same hede. *Item* . . . of gold. *Item* thre old nobles and two ducates of gold nailed upon the br[edth of] seint hughes hede. *Item* a ryng of gold with one oriant saphyr standing [upon the] top of the mytre of seint hugh hede. *Item* two plaites of gold . . . three stones [In margin, "These two plaites of gold with vj stones in them or putt upon the shrine"]. *Item* two branches of gold with a branche of corall . . . shryn. *Item* a chales of Seint hughes, siluer and gilt with the paten broken. *Item* a toyth of seint hugh closed in birall with siluer and gilt. *Item* two crewetts of birrall closed in siluer gilt with couers, the one lowse. *Item* two crewetts of birrall closed in siluer gilt with ij caises for them. *Item* iiij stones of birrall. *Item* a saphyr paile. *Item* a litill bl[ue] ston. *Item* ij qwushyns of silk, one of them of red satten browdered with byrds and bestes of gold. *Item* legenda de temporali et de sanctis incompleta. *Item* a booke called collectarium. *Item* a booke called *cum animadverterem cum commento*. *Item* a chist with one old cloth upon it, with collers rede bleu and gren. *Item* one old cloth called seint hugh bede cloth. *Item* one alter cloth of yelow silk. *Item* ij candelstickes of pewter. *Item* [blank in orig.] candilsticks of wod. *Item* a bake stoill. *Item* a case to carry wax candile in. *Item* a booke of seint hugh life cheyned. *Item* a booke of sermons called . . .

APPENDIX B.

OCTOBER, 1334.

Apertura feretri et Capitis beati Hugonis facta in crastino Sancti Dionisii Martiris Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} tricesimo quarto per Magistrum Walterum de Stauren Thesaurarium et Thomam Beek, canonicos.

In primis in pecunia inventa.	xj ^{lib} .	xi ^s	vij ^d .
Inde, Capellano celebranti missam ad feretrum	-	-	xij ^d .
It. Capellano ministranti, Diacono et Sabdiacono	-	-	ix ^d .
It. viij Cantantibus organum	-	-	ij ^s .
It. ij principalibus custodibus	-	-	x ^s .
It. eisdem ad vinum	-	-	xij ^d .
It. Capellanis eorundem	-	-	ij ^s .
It. Clericis eorundem	-	-	xij ^d .
It. Custodi feretri et capitis de die	-	-	xx ^s .
It. eidem ad vinum	-	-	vj ^d .

It. clerico adjuvanti ad capud (<i>sic.</i>)	-	-	xij ^d .
It. eidem ad vinum	-	-	iiij ^d .
It. duobus custodibus de nocte	-	-	xl ^s .
It. eisdem ad vinum	-	-	vj ^d .
It. duobus custodibus magni Altaris ad vinum	-	-	vj ^d .
It. vicariis de choro	-	xiiij ^s .	iiiij ^d .
It. pauperibus clericis	-	-	xxij ^d .
It. pueris choristis	-	-	xviiij ^d .
It. portantibus habitum non vicariis	-	-	xx ^d .
It. Sacristæ	-	-	v ^s .
It. clerico Sacristæ	-	-	iiij ^d .
It. clerico Communæ	-	-	xij ^d .
It. clerico Capituli	-	-	vj ^d .
It. magistro scholarum grammaticalium	-	-	v ^s .
It. magistro scholarum cantus	-	-	xij ^d .
It. succentori	-	-	vj ^d .
It. clerico fabricæ	-	-	iiij ^d .
It. magistris cementariis et Carpentariis	-	-	vj ^d .
It. duobus servantibus precedentibus Incensantem	-	-	xij ^d .
It. illuminanti candelas	-	-	vj ^d .
It. duobus excitantibus populum	-	-	xij ^d .
It. Janitor clausuræ	-	vj ^s .	viiij ^d .
It. trahenti organa	-	iiij ^s .	iiiij ^d .
It. facienti ceram	-	iiiij ^s .	vj ^d .
It. scopario et ij. pulsantibus	-	-	ix ^d .

Summa vj^{li}. x^s. vj^d.

Item xij. Canonicis facientibus magnam residentiam et custodi Altaris Sancti Petri iiiij^{li}b. vj^s. viij^d.

Item magistro Simoni de Islep et magistro Johanni . . . percipientibus medietatem vj. viij.

Summa iiiij^{li}b. xiiij^s. iiiij^d.

Summa totalis xj^{li}b. iiij^s. v^d.

Memorandum quod aperturæ factæ remanent post distributionem factam vj^l. et in obolis et quadrantibus iiiij^s.

WHITSUNTIDE, 1335.

Apertura feretri et capitis beati Hugonis facta ad festum pentecostes Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} XXX^{mo} quinto per Magistros Walterum de Stauren Thesaurarium et Thomam Beek canonicos se extendit ad xv^{li}b xiiij^s ij^d. Item in obolis et quadrantibus v^s ix^d.

De quibus omnibus necessariis solutis remanserunt de claro xl^s uno denario excepto.

De quibus eciam solvebantur postea sacristæ ij^s vj^d.

Memorandum quod de duobus aperturis prædictis remanent viij^{li}b, iiiij^d exceptis.

OCTOBER, 1335.

Apertura feretri et capitis beati hugonis facto in crastino Sancti Dionisii Martiris Anno Domini Millesimo CCC^{mo} XXX^{mo} quinto per Magistru Walterum de Stauren Thesaurarium et Radulphum de Erghum Canonicos se extendit ad xij^{li}b x^s. In obolis et quadrantibus ij^s vj^d.

Inde computatur solum capellanis et ceteris ministris et officialibus ut prius in anno precedenti vij^{lib} x^s vij^d. Item xiiij canonicis facientibus magnam residentiam et custodi altaris beati Petri iiij^{lib} xiiij^s iiij^d.

Item domino Archidiacono Lincolniensi facienti medietatem iiij^s iiij^d.

Summa xj^{lib} vij^s iiij^d.

APPENDIX C.

WHITSUNTIDE, 1520.

Incipit primo anno Archidiaconi Stowe.

Apertura capitis et feretri sancti hugonis Lincoln epī in Ebdomada Pentecostes anno dni MDXX^{mo} ad quod repertum est in pecunia numerata iiij^{lib} xx^d.

Summa rept. lxx^s xx^d.

Unde pro feodo magrō Edwardo Darby, Archidiacono Stowe principali magistro scī hugonis

Item eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	v ^s
It. capellano custodienti in die	-	-	-	vi ^d
It. eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	viiij ^s iiij ^d
It. coadjutori suo	-	-	-	iiij ^d
It. custodi summi altaris	-	-	-	iiiij ^d
It. custodi in nocte	-	-	-	vi ^d
It. eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	xx ^s
It. clericis	-	-	-	vj ^d
It. ducenti columbam	-	-	-	vj ^s viij ^d
It. scribenti computum	-	-	-	vj ^d

Summa xliij^s v^d

It. solum Johi Galley pro j quart. ceræ	-	xxij ^s viij ^d
It. sol. dno Johi Sargeant pro xij ^{lib} ceræ	-	xij ^d

Summa xxxvij^s viij^d

It. solum Thome Evynwode pro factura j quart. ceræ, xij^{lib} ceræ et xij^{lib} veteris ceræ . . . ij^s ij^d.

Summa ij^s ij^d.

Summa totalis solut. iiij^{lib} iiij^s iiij^d

Et sic in excessu ad istud computum xxj^s vij^d. Reman^t ad istud computum^m in cera facta xij^{lib}.

Et debitum Scī Hugonis per Thomam Evynwode in duobus . . . xij^{lib}. in cera non facta.

Memorandum quod Recept xxix^o die Julii anno dñi. MDXX in cista scī hugonis per magistrum Arch. Stowe pro purificatione ceræ, et solut. eodem die dno Johi Sergeant custodi capitis scī hugonis pro vj^{lib} ceræ purificatæ iiij^s. Et solut. eodem die Radulpho Smyth pro empt. apud Hull pro iiij. petr. et quart. ceræ viz. xxxiiij^dcm lb. ad ix. ob. lb. ; ut ix^d. hinc in toto cum xx^d. pro expensis et in Regard. iiij^{lib}. xvij^s. iiij^d.

Summa lxxxiiij^s. vij^d.

OCTOBER, 1520.

Apertura capitis et feretri scī hugonis Lincoln. Epī. facta iiij. die Octobr. Anno dni MDXX. ad quod repertum est in pecunia numerata et moneta remanente in cista scī hugonis ad istud computum v^l.

Summa Rept. cxvij^s. iiij^d.

Unde pro feodo Mro. Edwardo Darby Arch. Stowe principali magistro sci hugonis. [mutilated.]

Iten eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	vj ^s .
It. celebranti missam	-	-	-	vij ^d .
It. diacono, subdiacono et cantantibus missam	-	-	-	xvj ^d .
It. capellano custodi in die	-	-	viiij ^s .	viiij ^d .
It. eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	iiij ^d .
It. coadjutori suo	-	-	-	iiiij ^d .
It. custodi summi altaris	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. custodi in nocte	-	-	-	xx ^s .
It. eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. janitori clausi	-	-	vj ^s .	viiij ^d .
It. eidem ducenti columbam	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. clerico vestiarii	-	-	-	ij ^d .
It. pulsantibus campanas	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. scribenti compotum	-	-	-	vj ^d .

Summa pro feodis xlvj^s. v^d.

The last remaining account (in rough draught and mutilated) is that for 1532. It is as follows:—

Apertura capitis et feretri sci hugonis iiiij^{to}. die Octobris anno dni MD xxxij ad quod Repertum est in pecunia numerata iiiij^l. ij^s. et Remanet ad ultimum compotum in moneta iiij^l. xvj^s. v^d. Summa

Inde pro feodo mro ... principali magistro sci hugonis	-	-	-	v ^s .
Et eidem mro pro vinis	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. celebranti (altered into <i>celebraturo</i>) missam	-	-	-	xij ^d .
It. diacono et subdiacono et cantantibus missam	-	-	-	xvj ^d .
It. clerico vestiarii	-	-	-	ij ^d .
It. capellano custodi in diem	-	-	viijs.	viiij ^d .
It. eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	iiij ^d .
It. coadjutori suo	-	-	-	iiiij ^d .
It. custodi summi altaris	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. custodibus in nocte	-	-	-	xx ^s .
It. eidem pro vinis	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. janitori clausi	-	-	vj ^s .	viiij ^d .
It. ducenti columbam	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. scribenti compotum	-	-	-	vj ^d .
It. pulsantibus campanas	-	-	-	vj ^d .

APPENDIX D.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LINCOLN CHAPTER ACT BOOK, ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE SHRINE AND CHEST OF ST. HUGH.

I.

THE ARCHDEACON OF STOW APPOINTED KEEPER OF THE CHEST, 1306.

Die Jovis prox. post Festum Epiphanie fuit dn̄s W. Archidiaconus Stowe deputatus custos ciste¹ beati Hugonis una cum dn̄o Thesaurario et incontinenter fuerunt sibi tradite claves in capitulo, presentibus, &c.—*Chapter Acts*, 1306, fol. 4, verso.

¹ By a clerical error "custos" and "ciste" are run into one, "custe."

II.

ONE HUNDRED MARKS BORROWED BY THE TREASURER FROM THE CHESTS OF ST. HUGH AND ST. ROBERT, 1307.

Die Lune prox. ante Festum Sci Gregorii Pape . . . Magister Robertus de Lacy fuerat personaliter installatus in Thesaurariam, et consensum fuit . . . quod dictus Magr. R. de L. . . ad suum specialem rogatum haberet ex mutuo ex cistis beatorum Hugonis et Roberti Grossetesté eorum per liberacionem custodum pecunie dictarum cistarum pro quibusdam arduis suis negotiis expediendis centum marcas viz. de pecunia Epi hugonis quadraginta li. et Epi Roberti xxvj^{li} xiiij^s iiij^d que pecunia fuerat tota eodem die dco magr. R. de L. per dcos custodes liberata . . . traditis per dcm R. de L. duabas literis patentibus per quas . . . promisit bona fide et fidelitate quod reddet dcm pecuniam totam custodibus dcarum cistarum qui pro tempore fuerint in festo Sci Michaelis proxime venturo absque omni ultiori dilacione, &c.—*Ib.*, 1307, fol. 10, *verso*.

III.

R. DE LACY, THE TREASURER, APPOINTED KEEPER OF ST. HUGH'S CHEST, 1308.

In festo translacionis Sci Martini recepit Magr R. de Lacy thesaur. ecclie Linc. ex electione capituli custodiam ciste beati hugonis et habuit claves incontinententer ex traditione dni subdecani. *Item*, eodem die tradidit dnus subdecanus claves ciste beati Roberti ad custodiendum in sua absentia. *Item*, eodem die commisit dñs dnus subdecanus vices suas Dñis Cancellario et Thesaurario in sua absentia.—*Ibid*, 1308, fol. 11.

IV.

TEN MARKS LENT TO THE VICARS CHORAL FOR THE REPAIR OF THEIR HOUSES FROM ST. HUGH'S CHEST, 1308.

Die lune prox. post festum Assumptionis beate Marie propositum fuit coram capitulo per dn̄m Archid. Stowe ex parte communitatis vicariorum de choro quod mutuatum fuit eidem per dnos R. de Hiltoft et R. de Wendale tunc prepositos dicte communitatis quod quedam domus ad eandem communitatem spectantes minantur ruinam, ad quarum reparacionem ita celeriter sicut oportuit faciendam dca communitas non sufficit in illo instante nisi alicubi pecuniam ex mutuo poterit recipere, et quod prepositi dicte communitatis nomine omnium de eadem memorato capitulo supplicarent quod vellet concedere eis gracie x marcas ex mutuo de cista beati hugonis per particulas . . . persolvendas, oblata inde bona securitate juxta decretum ejusdem capituli ordinanda—Demum dni de capitulo perpendentes dictorum vicariorum necessitatem et rei suggeste videntes utilitatem concesserunt gracie communitati dcrum vicariorum decem marcas ex mutuo de cista beati hugonis sumendas, solvendas integraliter et fideliter pro equalibus portionibus infra biennium, &c.—*Ib.*, 1308, fol. 12.

V.

CONTRACT FOR THE PAYMENT FOR THE IRON GRILLE ROUND ST. HUGH'S SHRINE, 1308.

Die Sabbati prox. post festum Epiphanie videlicet iiij Id. Januar A.D.

MCCC^{mo} octavo canonicis in capitulo congregatis venit Simon Faber et petiit quod cum per custodes feretri beati hugonis videlicet per magrum T. de Ferariis et dn̄m R. de Winchecomb fuisset conventum cum eodem de quadraginta marcis pro opere fabrilī in faciēdo unum Treylicium ferreum circa feretrum antedictum et inveniēdo suos carbonēs et ferrum, quod quia opus, colligacione ejusdem et erectione seu stacione duntaxat exceptis, se asseruit complevisse, quod quinque marce et duodecim solidi et quatuor denarii sibi pro opere hujus et septem trays carbonum debiti juxta convencionem predictam solverentur vel satisfaceret sibi de eisdem. Unde constante de premissis per talliam remanentem in custodia dictorum custodum, continentemque solutiones de dicta convencione sibi factas, et quesito ab eodem pro quanto colligatio seu conjunctio, erectio atque statio dicti Treylicii, ad quas idem Simon tenebatur, fieri possent, respondit quod pro j marca vel pro minori; et consensum fuit quod subtractis sibi de premissis duodecim solidis et quatuor denariis pro dicto opere adhuc faciēdo, ac dicto Simone se semper fore paratum pro tanto illud pro fide fideliter promittente, quinque marce ad præsens sibi solverentur per custodes dicti feretri, ita tamen quod si contingat dictum Treylicium ad alios usus quam circa dictum feretrum transferatur quod eisdem custodibus responderetur de pecunia antedicta.—*Ibid*, 1308, fol. 15, verso.

VI.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR A NEW LID TO ST. HUGH'S SHRINE, TO BE MADE IN LONDON, 1310.

Die Veneris prox. post festum Epiphanie dni ordinatum fuit expresse et consensu unanimi quod custodes feretri beati Hugonis fieri facient novum coopertorium ad opus ejusdem et nihilominus idem feretrum diversis imaginibus aureis et argenteis noviter faciendis decorari et ornari, et postmodum pro hujus ymaginibus et coopertorio subtiliter faciendis, et pro pacto muniendo cum aurifabris et aliis operariis utilibus pro hujus opere complendo, et missus fuit per Thesaurarium de custodibus feretri prædicti dnus Reginaldus de Southwicke London, præstito ab eodem coram Decano et Capitulo de fideliter serviendo Capitulo in hac parte apertis evangeliiis juramento corporali.—*Chapter Acts*, 1310, fol. 30.