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BISHOP IN THE ACT OF ANOINTING A CONSECRATION CROSS.
(Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 18,143, fo. 55b.)

CONSECRATION CROSSES AND THE RITUAL CONNECTED WITH THEM.¹

By the REV. E. S. DEWICK, M.A., F.S.A.

In the present paper I propose to treat of the consecration crosses which were painted or carved on the walls of our old churches, and were solemnly anointed with chrism by the bishop who performed the ceremony of Consecration or Dedication. Crosses of this kind must once have been common enough in England, but the hand of time has been gently but surely engaged in obliterating them, successive coats of whitewash or yellow-wash have concealed not a few, and during the last sixty or seventy years the "restorer" has been actively at work, destroying some and falsifying others by the substitution of new work.

The attention of English ecclesiologists has been directed to these crosses from time to time, but the accounts given in our popular handbooks are meagre and sometimes misleading. Without attempting to go fully into the bibliography of the subject, I may notice that Mr. John Gage (afterwards John Gage Rokewode) called attention to these crosses in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1833.² He refers to the crosses on altar-stones, and also to the crosses "once inlaid with metal, cut in the external walls of some churches," which he thinks "were intended to mark the spots anointed with chrism." It is curious that he speaks only of external crosses, for of the four churches which he enumerates, Salisbury cathedral, Edington in Wilts, Cannington in Somersetshire, and Brent Pelham in Herts,³ at least two have also internal crosses. He

¹ Read before the Institute, 6th March, 1907.

² The Anglo-Saxon Ceremonial of the

Dedication and Consecration of Churches, *Archaeologia*, xxv, 235.

³ *Ibid.*, 243.

adds that "on one of the Norman pillars in New Shoreham church are two Jerusalem crosses probably graven on the occasion of the Dedication."¹

The *Handbook of English Ecclesiology*,² includes a brief notice of dedication crosses, in which only one addition is made to the short list given by Mr. Gage. It is stated that "in England they would appear generally to have been on the outside, abroad in the inside." We shall find in the sequel that there are plenty of English examples on the inside walls as well as on the outside, but that the *Handbook* seems to be right in confining those abroad to the inside walls.

Bloxam³ gives examples from five churches, but refers to them as if they were found on the external walls only. Pugin⁴ refers to examples of external crosses at Salisbury and Uffington, but he does not venture to go further than to say that he is "inclined to believe from the fact of their being outside the church, that the external walls were anciently anointed in this country." His knowledge of modern Roman ceremonial had made him familiar with crosses on the inside walls, and he was not easily convinced even by the evidence of crosses on the external walls that they, too, were actually anointed with chrism.

There are numerous notices of consecration crosses scattered about in various archaeological journals,⁵ but the only paper specially dealing with them which has come under my notice is one by the late Dr. J. H. Middleton⁶ in which he has described examples of these crosses from some thirty churches, and has given illustrations of many of them. This paper is of great value for the descriptions of crosses actually in existence in English churches, but it does not include any detailed account of the rubrical directions found in English Pontificals with regard to the crosses. This is my excuse

¹ On two recent visits to the church, I failed to find these crosses; even with the help of the sexton, who told me that he had never seen or heard of them.

² Published by the Ecclesiological, late Cambridge Camden Society, London, 1847, p. 264.

³ *Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th ed., 1882, ii, 155.

⁴ *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament*, 3rd ed., 1868, p. 97.

⁵ See especially *The Ecclesiologist*, xii, 154; *Norfolk Archaeology*, vii, 186, 352; *Archaeological Journal*, xlv, 56; *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xliii, 220-248.

⁶ *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 456.

for bringing up the subject again, and I may add that whilst Dr. J. H. Middleton's examples are largely drawn from the West of England, my own will mostly be taken from other parts of England or from Scotland.

I propose to commence with a history of the ritual connected with the crosses. When the peace of the Church was established by Constantine, churches began to be built and solemnly set apart and consecrated for divine service. At first there was an entire absence of the elaborate ceremonial which distinguished the later service of consecration. Eusebius tells of the consecration of several churches in the first half of the fourth century. From his accounts we gather that the early churches were consecrated by the solemn performance of divine service in the presence of as large a congregation as possible. The attendance also of a large number of bishops was invited. When the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was consecrated in A.D. 335,¹ the bishops assembled at the council of Tyre were summoned to attend, and they came in large numbers. We read of the prayers offered and the discourses delivered on this occasion, but there is no record of any ceremonies or symbolical rites.

Between the fourth century and the eighth there grew up a complicated set of ceremonies for the dedication of churches.² They consisted of the lustral sprinkling with holy water of the external and internal walls of the church, of the thrice-repeated knocking at the door by the bishop, of the *abecedarium* or writing of the Greek and Latin alphabets in two lines of ashes strewn on the floor of the church in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, of the consecration of the altar, and of anointing with chrism the walls of the church.

The greater part of these ceremonies, with the important exception of the *abecedarium*, is common to the rituals of both the Greek and the Latin Church, and must, therefore, be dated back to a time before their

¹ Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Consecration of churches."

² See Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chretien*, Paris, 1889, 385-403; Dr. John Wordsworth, bishop of Salisbury,

On the Rite of Consecration of Churches, Church Hist. Soc., 1899; Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, art. "Consecration of churches."

formal separation in the eighth century.¹ This is confirmed by the evidence of documents.

I will now confine myself to the last of the ceremonies which have been enumerated, and, after examining the written directions in English Pontificals, it will be possible to see how far the crosses which remain on the walls of our churches agree with the rules laid down in the books.

The earliest English Pontifical which has survived the accidents of time is that which bears the name of Egbert, archbishop of York (A.D. 732-766), and which is known to us by a copy made in the tenth or eleventh century. In the order for the dedication of a church contained in this book, there is no mention of any crosses painted or carved on the walls, but the bishop is directed, before completing the consecration of the altar, to make crosses with his thumb dipped in chrism on the walls of the church.² This anointing appears to have been applied to the internal walls only, and the rubric does not define the number of the anointings, nor does it give the words to be used by the officiant, but only the anthem which was to be sung.³ The outer walls as well as the inner were sprinkled with the mixture of salt, ashes, wine and water, known as Gregorian water,⁴ and twelve lighted candles were placed around the church on the outside before the ceremony commenced.⁵

The Missal of Leofric, bishop of Exeter (1050-1072) now in the Bodleian Library, consists of a Gregorian Sacramentary, written in Lorraine in the early part of the tenth century, with later additions. The book was in use in England, and may, therefore, be noticed here. The manner of dedicating a church is briefly described, and the direction is given that the walls of the church, the pillars and the doorway are to be anointed with the same chrism as the altar.⁶

¹ In 729 Pope Gregory II. excommunicated the Emperor Leo, which led to the great schism between the Eastern and the Western Churches.

² Deinde in circuitu ecclesie per parietes de dextra in dextro faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso chrismate. *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York*, Surtees Society, 1853, p. 40.

³ O quam metuendus est locus iste, vere non hic alius nisi domus Dei, et porta celi. *Ibid.*, 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁶ Angulosque ecclesie et postes ostium eadem unzione linientur. Sequitur antiphona. *Unxit te dominus oleo latitie.* (*The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E.

The next Pontifical to be considered is one belonging to the end of the tenth century and known as *Pontificale Lanaletense*, because although its script points to Winchester as the place where it was written, it afterwards belonged to a bishop of Alet, now St. Malo in Brittany. It is now in the public library at Rouen. In the *Ordo ad dedicandam Basilicam* of this Pontifical the directions for anointing the walls are nearly the same as in Egbert's, but we are supplied with the words to be used when anointing them.¹

A further development of the ritual is found in a Pontifical written at Winchester about the end of the tenth century, and now known as the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert. Like the last mentioned, it is now in the public library at Rouen. In this Pontifical the officiant is directed to go outside the church after anointing the internal walls, and to anoint the external walls.² The anthems *O quam metuendus* and *Lapides preciosi* are appointed to be sung at the internal and external unctions respectively. On the other hand, the Pontifical known as that of Dunstan, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, has only one anointing, apparently of the internal walls.³

The Ramsey Pontifical,⁴ written about the end of the eleventh century, orders the anointing of the external as well as of the internal walls, and gives an alternative

Warren, Oxford, 1883, p. 219.) The exact meaning of the above is not quite clear. I have ventured to understand *anguli* as meaning the walls of the church, on the strength of a passage in the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H.A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, p. 97, in which the twelve candles of the Dedication ceremony are ordered to be placed *terni et terni in iiii^{or} angulis ecclesie*. Here *anguli* apparently means the four walls of the church, not its four corners. Cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*: "Angulum pro Cingulum, Ambitus, Gall. *Enceinte*. Charta Philippi comit. Flandr. ann. 1211, ex Cam. Comput. Insul. 'Omnes qui ghildam habent et ad illam pertinent et infra Angulum villæ suæ manent liberos omnes facio.'"

¹ Deinde in circuitu ecclesie per parietes a dextro et a sinistro faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso chrismate dicens. *Sanctificetur hoc templum per*

istam unctionem et nostram benedictionem in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. I quote from Mr. John Gage's print of the *Ordo* in *Archaeologia*, xxv, 259.

The anthem is: *O quam metuendus, followed by: Lapidis pretiosi omnes muri tui et turres Hierusalem gemmis edificabuntur.*

² Tunc demum presul egrediens hoc ipsum extra cum crismate in circuitu ecclesie faciat. *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903, p. 86.

³ The *Ordo qualiter domus Dei consecranda est* has been printed in Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Venetiis, 1783, ii, 255.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 28,188. For a description of this manuscript, see W. H. Frere's *Pontifical Services*, Aleuin Club, London, 1901, i, 96, 97.

anthem to be sung at the anointing of the external crosses if the church should be built of wood.¹

The English Pontificals of the twelfth century require the anointing of the external as well as of the internal walls, and it is now expressly ordered that the anointing is to be done in twelve places. The rubric of the Magdalen College manuscript² closely follows that of the Benedictional of Robert,³ and the Ely Pontifical⁴ does the same.

In the thirteenth century we come across numerous complaints that the consecration of churches had been neglected by the bishops. The difficulties and dangers of travel and the great fatigue of the actual ceremony⁵ seem to have combined to deter many prelates from undertaking the duty of hallowing churches. At any rate the higher powers endeavoured to force the unwilling bishops to perform this duty. The constitutions of Cardinal Otho in 1236⁶ regretfully set forth that many parish churches, and even some cathedral churches, had remained without consecration, and it was ordered that all should be consecrated within two years. Again, in 1268, the Constitutions of Othobonus⁷ renewed the complaint, and enacted that any bishop called upon to consecrate a church and deferring the performance of the duty for more than a year, unless excused by the excessive number of churches requiring consecration, or by other legitimate cause, should be deprived of the use of dalmatic, tunicle and sandals, and not be allowed to resume the use of them until actually engaged in the service of dedicating the

¹ If the church was of stone, the anthem was *Lapides preciosi*, as usual, but if of wood (*si vero lignea fuerit*) then the anthem was *Vidit Jacob scalam*.

² I am indebted to my friend the Rev. H. A. Wilson, librarian of Magdalen College, for a transcript of the words: "*Deinde circumeat intus ecclesiam per parietes incipiens a sinistro angulo orientis faciens crucem cum pollice de ipso chrismate in xii^{cim} locis.*" The second rubric, relating to the external crosses, is the same as in the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert. (See above, p. 5).

³ MS. 226.

⁴ Cambridge University Library Ll. 2, 10.

⁵ With regard to a recent consecration of a church in England after the Roman manner, I have been told that the service occupied no less than six hours, from 8.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. In this case only one altar was hallowed. It must be remembered too, that fasting was enjoined upon the officiating prelate.

⁶ Printed at the end of various editions of Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, and in Wilkins' *Concilia*, i. 649.

⁷ *Tit.* 3. See Lyndewode and Wilkins, ii, 3.

particular church which had been the cause of the deprivation.

Similar efforts were made in 1239 by Cardinal Otho in Scotland to enforce the consecration of churches; and on the fly-leaves of the Pontifical of David de Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews (1239-1253),¹ we have a most interesting record of the activity of one bishop in response to this appeal. During the fourteen years of his episcopate he dedicated no less than one hundred and forty-four churches, the years of his greatest activity being 1242, when he hallowed forty-one churches, and 1244 when he performed the same office for forty. In some cases the churches had been long awaiting consecration. For example, the well-known Norman church of Leuchars, in Fifeshire, was not consecrated before August, 1244.

The quickened activity of the bishops in consecrating churches finds a counterpart in the greater precision of the rubrics in the Pontificals of the thirteenth century. In David de Bernham's book it is ordered that twelve crosses are to be painted on the outer walls and the same number on the inner,² ready for unction by the bishop, and both sets of crosses are to be censed after the anointings. In the Coventry Pontifical³ it is further said that the words of consecration are to be repeated at each of the twenty-four crosses. The Pontifical of Anian, bishop of Bangor (1267-1305), is said to follow the Coventry Pontifical very closely, but I have not had the opportunity of examining it.

Of the fourteenth century we have the Pontifical of De Martivall, bishop of Salisbury (1315-1329), but unfortunately it does not contain the office for dedicating a church.

In the British Museum there is a manuscript (Lansdowne MS. 451), which was originally written for a bishop of London about the end of the fourteenth or

¹ The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and has been edited by the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth under the title, *The Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews*, Edinburgh, 1885.

² Hæc sunt quæ ad dedicationem

ecclesiæ preparanda sunt. Duodecim cruces pictæ foris et duodecim intus. *Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham*, 1.

³ Cambridge University Library, Ff. 6, 9.

the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹ This manuscript has a feature of especial interest, inasmuch as it describes two modes of consecrating a church, the Roman and the Anglican. A long rubric describes the Roman manner, for which it was necessary to have painted beforehand on the four internal walls of the church twelve red crosses at equal distances, with twelve branches of iron for twelve large candles.² For the English manner (*modus Anglicane ecclesie*) it was required that there should be twelve painted crosses on the outside and twelve on the inside.³

The Pontifical of Lacy, bishop of Exeter (1420-1455), was given by his executors to the cathedral church, where it is still preserved. It agrees with the Pontificals we have lately been considering in ordering the anointing of twelve crosses on the outside and twelve on the inside, and adds the direction that the crosses are to be within circles,⁴ and that the branches for the candles are to be fixed to the upper part of these circles. An English Pontifical of the same century in the Bodleian Library,⁵ has rubrics in almost identical words.

In the University Library at Cambridge,⁶ there is a fine and complete fifteenth-century Pontifical, which Maskell used extensively for his *Monumenta Ritualia*, and which he considered to be written for a bishop of Salisbury, but the late Henry Bradshaw has written upon a fly-leaf the word "Lincoln." The preliminary rubric of this Pontifical agrees closely with that of Lacy, but the rubric for the anointing of the crosses adds

¹ The Pontifical of Richard Clifford, bishop of London (1407-1421), now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, closely agrees in its contents with Lansdowne MS. 451. It has the most complete set of illuminations of any English Pontifical. They have been reproduced in W. H. Frere's *Pontifical Services*, Alcuin Club, London, 1901.

² *Depingantur in circuitu ecclesie introrsus per quatuor parietes duodecim cruces rubee eque distantes iuxta quas affigantur duodecim uncini ferrei quibus imponantur duodecim candelae grosse.* Lansdowne MS. 451, fo. 115.

³ *Hec sunt que ante dedicationem preparanda sunt, scilicet duodecim cruces pictae deforis duodecim deintus cum cereis vel candelis.* Lansdowne MS. 451, fo. 115b.

⁴ *Provideatur . . . quod xii cruces depingantur in circulis in parietibus infra ecclesiam, et xii deforis : et xiiii cereoli et totidem clavi ferrei, figendi in superiore parte circulorum in quibus dicti cereoli figantur.* *Liber pontificalis of Edmund Lacy, bishop of Exeter*, ed. Ralph Barnes, Exeter, 1847, p. 11.

⁵ Tanner MS. 5.

⁶ *Mm.* 3, 21.

that the anointing of these was to commence near the altar.¹

The last of the English Pontificals to which I have occasion to refer is one which was used by Cardinal Bainbridge, archbishop of York (1508-1514), though it was not originally written for him. In this, again, we have the two sets of crosses,² with detailed directions that, after the anointing, the officiating bishop is to cense the twelve crosses on the interior walls of the church, and that afterwards, while the bishop remains seated inside, a deacon, with some of the clergy, is to go and cense the twelve crosses on the outside.³

We have evidence that twenty-four crosses and candles continued in use in England in the sixteenth century. A late entry on the fly-leaf at the end of Bishop Halam's register at Salisbury, gives a list of "thynges that been necessary for the halowing of a church," and we find in it "Item xxiiij wex candelles everych of .i. foote longe or more"⁴ (evidently for burning before the twenty-four crosses). Again, James Calphill, in his *Answer to John Mariall's Treatise of the Cross*,⁵ when drawing a contrast between the simplicity of church hallowing in the time of St. Augustine, when they needed no more than a sermon and prayers, or at the utmost "the sign of a cross with a finger," goes on to enumerate the things required for a church consecration in modern times, ending up with "twenty-four crosses, twenty-four

¹ Deinde inchoata antiphona, *Lapides*, eat pontifex in circuitu ecclesiæ intus et faciat crucem cum pollice suo de ipso chrismate, in duodecim locis signatis cruce introrsus, incipiendo juxta altare ad meridiem a dextris, ita dicens in qualibet unctione. *Sanctificetur hoc templum* . . .

Postea pontifex egrediens hoc ipsum extra cum chrismate in circuitu ecclesiæ, choro canente antiphonam. *Unxit te Dominus oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus tuis.* (Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1882, i, 220).

² Hæc ad ecclesiæ dedicationem sunt necessaria. Duodecim cruces pictæ foris et duodecim intus; viginti quatuor cereoli et totidem clavi quibus cereoli infigantur, duodecim foris et duodecim

intus super singulas cruces. (*Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge*, Surtees Society, 1875, p. 53.)

³ "Dehinc episcopus a sinistro orientali angulo ecclesiæ inchoans singulas cruces de chrismate in circuitu incenset . . . Tunc levita, sumpto thuribulo de ecclesia (cruce, candelabris et textu præcedentibus) cum parle cleri exeat, et duodecim cruces a præsule in circuitu ecclesiæ deforis cum chrismate factas incenset; præsule interim in ecclesia cum quibusdam residente," *Ibid.*, 74.

⁴ Chr. Wordsworth, *The Precedence of English Bishops*, Cambridge, 1906, p. 24.

⁵ Printed in 1565. I quote from the reprint issued by the Parker Society in 1846, p. 208.

candles." On the other hand, Thomas Becon, in describing the ceremony of church consecration, speaks of the twelve crosses on the walls which the bishop must anoint "with chrisme, commonly called creame."¹ Here Becon is describing a consecration after the Roman manner, following Durandus, whom he cites as his authority.

The results of an examination of the English Pontificals may now be briefly summarised. The earliest up to the eleventh century prescribe the anointing of the inside walls only, the only exception being the Pontifical of Archbishop Robert, which orders the anointing of both inside and outside walls. These early Pontificals agree in making no mention of painted crosses prepared on the walls ready to be anointed. From the end of the eleventh century, the English Pontificals order external as well as internal anointings, and in each case the anointing is to be in twelve places, and it is not unlikely that these places would be marked beforehand by crosses. In the thirteenth century we find the mention of the painting of crosses on the walls as a necessary preliminary for consecration, and a little later it is ordered that the crosses are to be red, and to be placed in circles, with branches for candles above them. I think it is highly probable that some of these directions were embodied in practice before they found their way into the written books.

We have already seen that one English Pontifical (Lansdowne MS. 451) refers to the Roman mode of consecrating churches, which was presumably sometimes followed in England; and it may be interesting to compare the rubric in the printed Roman Pontifical of the sixteenth century.² Mention is made of twelve crosses on the inside walls only. The height of the crosses from the ground is defined as ten palms (about

¹ Becon, *The Reliques of Rome*, London, 1563, fo. 256.

² Item depingantur in parietibus ecclesie intrinsecus per circuitum duodecim cruces, circa decem palmos super terram, videlicet tres pro qualibet ex quatuor parietibus. Et ad caput cuius-

libet crucis figatur unus clauus, cui affigatur una candela unius uncie vel circa. Scala vel aliud edificium super quo ascendens pontifex possit attingere ipsas duodecim cruces. *Pontificale secundum ritum Romanum*, Venetiis, Giunta, 1520, fo. 108v.

7½ feet), and a ladder or some other structure is to be provided so that the bishop may be able to reach the crosses. The woodcut which accompanies the rubric shows the bishop on a ladder¹ in the act of anointing one of the crosses (see Fig. 1). The same is also



FIG. 1.—BISHOP ANOINTING A CONSECRATION CROSS.
From *Pontificale Romanum*, Venetiis, 1520.

well seen in an illumination of the Gospel Book of Philip de Villiers de Lisle Adam, Grand Master of the Hospitalers from 1521-1534,² reproduced in Plate I. The crosses are painted on oval medallions, ready for the bishop's anointing. They are crosses potent between four crosslets, or, the field of the medallions being alternately blue and red. Of course, these colours are purely conventional. Apart from the tinctures, the arms are those of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

All manuscripts of the Roman Pontifical with which I am acquainted agree with the printed book of 1520 in mentioning internal crosses only; and the same holds good with regard to the arrangement of it by Durandus, bishop of Mende, which was adopted by many Gallican bishops, and formed the basis of the later editions of the Roman Pontifical.

The *Ordo Romanus*, which has been made known to us by Hittorp's print,³ largely influenced the Gallican

¹ In the later illustrated editions of the Roman Pontifical, a platform on wheels, with steps at each end, is generally substituted for the ladder.

- Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 18,143, fo. 55b.

³ *De Divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Officiis*, Paris, 1624, p. 127.

and Anglican Pontificals of the eleventh and three following centuries. It defines the position of the places to be anointed as being on each of the four interior walls.

The various Dedication Orders in Gallican Pontificals, of which many have been printed by Martene in his great collection,¹ follow Roman use in having only the internal crosses, and, without going further into details, I may say the same of many manuscripts both in the British Museum and in private possession. There is, however, one remarkable exception in Martene's *Ordo viii* (by a misprint *vii*) taken from a Narbonne Pontifical assigned to the eleventh century. In this the bishop is directed to anoint the inside walls on the right side, and then on reaching the west door, to anoint the lintel and two door-posts *or else the whole of the outside* of the church, and then, after making the round of the church, to re-enter and finish by anointing the internal walls on the left side of the church.² I have not met with any other non-Anglican Pontifical which directs the anointing of external walls.

I bring to an end this brief notice of foreign forms of consecrating churches by observing that the earliest which is known to us seems to be that in the Sacramentary of Angoulême,³ assigned by M. Delisle to the end of the eighth or the commencement of the ninth century.⁴ In this the directions for the crosses are similar to those in Egbert. The bishop is to mark the walls with crosses of chrism (*per totum templum in circuitu faciens cruces de ipsa chryisma*).

The Milan Pontifical, assigned to the ninth century, recently edited by Dr. Magistretti, has similar directions, but defines the number of anointings as twelve.⁵

There is also an Irish tract concerning the mode of

¹ *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Venetiis, 1783, ii, 240-284.

² Postea unguat pontifex parietem in dextra parte templi cum chryisma signum crucis faciendo, donec perveniat ad ostium . . . Episcopus regrediens extrinsecus signat superliminare et utrumque postem chrysmate, sive totam ecclesiam exterius. Cum autem introgressus fuerit, peracto exteriori ecclesiæ

circuitu, signet crucis signaculo chrysmate interiorem templi sinistram partem usque ad specular orientale. (Martene, *loc. cit.* 266.)

³ Printed in Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chretien*, Paris, 1889, p. 464.

⁴ *Memoire sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires*, Paris, 1886, p. 91.

⁵ *Pontificale in usum Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Milan, 1897, p. 9.

consecrating a church, which has been brought to light by the late Rev. T. Olden.¹ It occurs in the famous *Leabhar Breac*, which was the compilation made about the end of the fourteenth century by an Irish archaeologist, who was anxious to preserve the scattered relics of the native literature. The manuscript was published in facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy in 1876, but we are indebted to Mr. Olden for providing us with a printed text with the abbreviations expanded, and also a translation. The age of the tract is doubtful, but the rite described differs so much from the Roman that it may be very early. The account is extremely confused, and it is difficult to get an exact idea of the nature of the ceremonies. But one point stands out clearly, that the bishop was to cut crosses with his knife on the pillars and other parts of the church, which crosses are afterwards to be sprinkled with holy water.

With regard to the cult of these crosses which had been anointed with the sacred chrism, very little can be said so far as England alone is concerned. Indeed, I have not been able to find any directions on the subject in English books, not even in the minute rules about candles and lights in the smaller Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, belonging to the library of Caius College, Cambridge,² which has a section entirely devoted to the question of lights on different festivals. I have, however, found mediaeval directions on the subject in a manuscript Customary of a house of Augustinian Canons in the north of France written about 1500. In this it is distinctly laid down in the chapter relating to the duties of the sacristan that twelve candles on the walls of the church are to be lighted at vespers and mass on the annual festival of the dedication.³

There is also a similar rule in the *Consuetudines* of the

¹ *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, iv, 98, 177.

² This has been printed as an appendix to Sir Edward M. Thompson's edition of the *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of St. Augustine, Canterbury, and St. Peter, Westminster* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 2 vols.,

1902 and 1904). The account of the lights at St. Augustine's occupies pp. 268-289 in vol. ii.

³ "In dedicatione ecclesie ad vespervas et maiorem missam duodecim cerei in parietibus accenduntur." MS. *penes me*, fo. 38.

Canons of St. Victor of Paris, adapted to the use of the monastery of St. Evurtius.¹

In other Customaries there is merely a direction that candles are to be lighted on all the altars of the church at the annual festival of the dedication, and nothing at all is said about lighting candles on the walls before the twelve crosses.

In later times it was distinctly ordered by the church of Paris that candles should be lighted on the festival of the dedication before the crosses anointed by the bishop,² and the custom still holds in some parts of Switzerland, and elsewhere. In such places painted crosses are generally renewed when a church is re-decorated, but in England, even before the Reformation, the crosses seem to have been treated with neglect, for they were often concealed by furniture, or destroyed in making additions to the buildings.

I now pass on to the symbolical meaning of the crosses and candles as explained by mediaeval ritualists, and instead of summarising the explanations of Remigius of Auxerre³ and Durandus, I shall avail myself of the account ready to hand in Caxton's translation of the *Aurea Legenda* which closely follows the latter:⁴

"Y^e crosses ben paynted in y^e chyrche: & y^t is for thre causes. The fyrst is to fere y^e devyll for wha they haue ben put out/ they ben a ferde & dare not entre/ for they doubte & drede moche y^e sygne of y^e crosse: And herof sayth Crysostome. In what place they shall see the sygne of the crosse they shall flee. For they drede the staffe of wyche they have ben hurte. Secondly fer to shewe y^e sygne of y^e victorie of Ihesu cryst: for thyes crosses ben sygnes and baners of Ihesu cryst and of hys victorie. and therefore ben there paynted y^e crosses for to shew y^t y^e place is diuine subget to god: & also it is of custome to emperours and to other prīces that whan a towne or cytee is take or yolden for to set up wythyn y^e baners & thensignemens of y^e lordis to sygnefye y^t is subget to they. Thyrdly⁵ for to represent

¹ "In dedicatione duodecim [cerei] per parietes ecclesie." Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, Venetiis, 1783, iii, 264.

² Dum cantatur officium, ante duodecim cruces ab Episcopo inunctas ardent totidem cerei, et super quodlibet altare duo cerei. (*Ceremoniale Parisense . . . Cardinalis De Noailles . . . Archiepiscopi Parisiensis . . . consensu editum*. Parisiis, 1703, p. 146.)

³ Printed in Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Ritibus*, lib. ii, cap. 13.

⁴ I quote from the edition of Wynkyn de Worde, 1498, fo. xxxvii verso.

⁵ The "Golden Legend" really omits the third reason for placing crosses on the walls, which is thus given by Durandus in his *Rationale*, lib. i: "Tertio ut earum inspectores christi passionem quae suam ecclesiam consecravit et passionis fidem ad memoriam

thappostles it is used for to set up .xii. lyghtes : tofore the crosse for to represent y^e .xii. apostles/ whyche by y^e fayth of god crucefyed/ they enlumined all y^e worlde."

It is now time to look at the crosses themselves. One of the most complete sets is at the cathedral church of Salisbury; the Use of which served as a model to other churches in England, and enjoyed no small fame even in foreign countries. I have already noted with regret the absence of a Dedication Service which can be referred with certainty to a bishop of this diocese, and it is, therefore, all the more satisfactory to be able to see what was actually done at Salisbury. The crosses have already been described and figured by Dr. J. H. Middleton,¹ and my account of them will be as brief as possible. They are so important that I cannot afford to pass over them in silence.

Eight crosses remain at Salisbury on the outside of the choir and transepts, and the same number on the inside.² Of the former, seven consist of crosses quadrate in the centre with trefoiled extremities, *botonnee*, incised into the stone; and the stumps of metal pins, generally sixteen for each cross, show that the indents were once filled with metal crosses, probably of latten. They are enclosed in a quatrefoiled circle of stone in relief. (Plate II.) The eighth cross is not incised, but is of stone set in the middle of richly carved foliage. About 3 inches below each cross there is a hole by which a metal branch was attached to the wall to hold a candle, which was lighted

reducant." And then he adds, "Duodecim vero luminaria ante cruces ipsas posita significant xii apostolos qui per fidem crucifixi totum mundum illuminaverunt." Compare the Sarum sequence of the Common of Apostles: "Hi sunt candelabra ante Deum lucentia." So also the *Gemma Animæ* (Hittorpius, *De Div. Cath. Ecc. Off.*, 1,220) regards the unconsecrated church as the heathen world ignorant of God ("gentilitas Dei ignara"), and the lighted candles as the twelve apostles. At the Sainte Chapelle, Paris, the consecration crosses are carved on roundels held in hands of full-length standing figures of the twelve apostles; but I do not know how far these are really mediæval or merely "restorations" of Viollet-le-Duc. A coloured illustration of one of the figures may be

seen in Paul Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1869, p. 402.

If the inside candles represent the twelve apostles, the twelve candles on the outside would be taken to symbolize the twelve prophets. Compare the rubric in the Sarum Breviary prefixed to FERIA V, in Cena Domini: "xxiii candelæ ante altare præparentur juxta numerum duodecim prophetarum et duodecim apostolorum."

¹ *Archæologia*, xlviii, 458.

² In *Archæologia*, xlviii, 463, Dr. Middleton has given a plan of Salisbury cathedral showing the position of the consecration crosses, and another is furnished by the Rev. Chr. Wordsworth in his *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 72.

on the day of the dedication. As regards the position of the crosses, there are three on the external buttresses at the east end, one on the north-east transept, and two on each of the greater transepts. The west front of the church has been much "restored." There is now no cross in the gable of the central doorway, but there are marks of one in each of the gables of the doorways leading to the aisles. Dr. Middleton regarded them as modern forgeries; but after careful examination I am disposed to regard the one on the north side as genuine. The stone is much decayed. There are traces of an indent for a metal cross, which would appear to have been fixed by twelve pins, instead of by sixteen as in the case of the crosses at the east end. The stone of the gable of the doorway on the south has perished to such an extent, that the details of the cross can no longer be distinguished.

The interior crosses, as far as they remain, correspond in position with the external crosses, but differ from them in being enclosed within a painted circle of black and red, instead of a stone circle. Their height above the floor is about 7 feet 6 inches, and they measure more than 2 feet across the arms. No crosses are to be seen on the north or south walls of the nave, so that the choir and transepts would seem to have been consecrated first with their complete number of nine crosses on the east, north and south walls; the remaining three crosses may have been on a temporary wall at the west end.

The crosses on the choir and transepts were doubtless anointed in 1225. Then when the nave was completed, six new crosses were probably added at the west end, and these must have been touched by the thumb of Archbishop Boniface when he re-consecrated the church in 1258, as recorded in the old Martiloge Book at Salisbury cited by Leland.¹ Dr. Middleton thought that the eighteen older crosses would have been anointed again on this occasion,² but this is doubtful, if we take account of the mediaeval dislike to repeating unction.

¹ "Nova Ecclesia Sarum dedicata fuit a^o 1258 a Bonifacio archiepiscopo Cantuar. presente Rege et Regina tempore Egidii episcopi." (*Itinerary*

of John Leland, ed. Thomas Hearne, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1769, iii, 95.)
- *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 458.



CONSECRATION CROSS ON BUTTRESS AT EAST END OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

Showing matrix for metal cross, and sixteen marks of pins for securing it.
Below is a hole for fixing a metal branch to hold a candle.

Of the crosses on the inside at the west end, one remains over the central doorway at a height of about 15 feet from the ground. It is painted, and not incised for receiving a latten cross like the older ones. Modern inner porches conceal the places where we should expect to find the two other crosses of the west end.

At Uffington, Berkshire, there is an almost perfect set of external crosses.¹ The church, which is cruciform, was built in the thirteenth century, and has remained till our day with very little alteration. Just below the string-course on the outside, at the height of 7, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground, there are several sunk circular panels, exactly 1 foot in diameter, set in a frame of deeply moulded stonework 4 inches wide. On each of these sunk panels there are remains of five pins by which metal crosses, of which the outlines may be seen in some cases, were secured.² There are three at the east end, the same number at the west end, and one on the south side of the chancel, one on each end of the transepts, and one on each side of the nave. Thus there are eleven still remaining, and the missing one on the north side of the chancel is accounted for by the building of a sacristy, which has, however, now disappeared, though the weather moulding remains as a proof of its former existence. The walls of the church are covered with rough-cast, so that it is not possible to see where the branches for candles were placed. Of the interior crosses there is nothing to be seen. They were probably painted on the plaster of the walls.

At Edington church, in Wiltshire, which was consecrated in 1361 by Robert Wyville, bishop of Salisbury,³ there is an almost complete set (lacking one only) of the twelve internal crosses, whilst two only are wanting out of the full number of the external ones.⁴ The church is cruciform, and the crosses occupy the same position as at

¹ Described in 1851 in the *Ecclesiologist*, xii, 154.

² The pins appear to have been of iron, and as there are no indents for receiving latten crosses, it is possible that the material of the crosses was lead, which may, perhaps, have been gilt, like the leaden stars on the ceiling of the chapel at Hampton Court Palace.

³ See a paper by Mr. C. E. Ponting on Edington church in *Arch. Journ.*, xlv, 43, where the crosses are noticed.

⁴ Curiously enough, Dr. Middleton speaks only of "two crosses carved in stone, under west windows of aisles." *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 463.

Uffington. They are incised into the ashlar of the walls, at the height of about 7 feet from the ground, and the remains of metal pins prove that the indents were once filled with crosses of metal. When I visited this church in the spring of 1906, I saw, to my horror, that one of the indents on the south inside wall of the church had been filled with a modern piece of brass as a memorial tablet, and that another at the west end had also been filled up, thereby falsifying the history of these indents.

We accordingly find that both at Salisbury and at Edington in that diocese, the crosses were not painted on the walls, but were composed of metal, probably of latten.

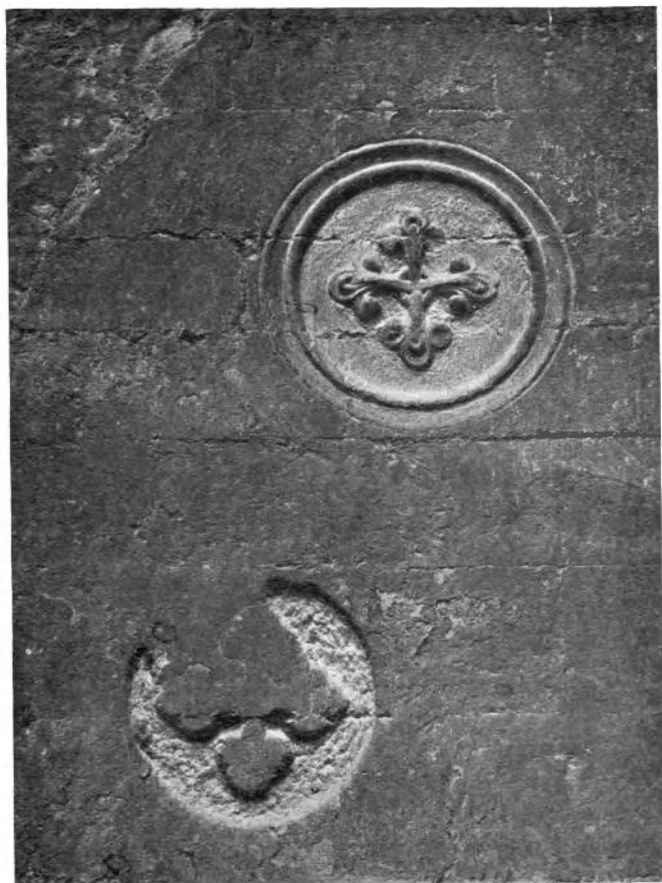
The use of metal may, perhaps, be explained by the desire to avoid the unseemly greasy patches which are sometimes to be seen on the walls of a church recently consecrated in the Roman manner. If the crosses were of metal they might have been wiped dry after the anointings, by means of tow or *bombyx*, which would afterwards have been burnt. The preliminary rubric in the Roman Pontifical, which relates to the preparations for a consecration, does, indeed, mention two pounds of silk for wiping the crosses anointed on the walls,¹ but this is not sufficient to remove the appearance of grease when the anointing is applied to stone or plaster.

The three sets of carved crosses just described are probably the most perfect which remain in England. In Salisbury cathedral and Edington church it is evident that they once complied exactly with the rubrical directions in being twelve on the outside and twelve on the inside, distributed by threes on each of the four walls. As the crosses were of metal, they could not have been painted red to obey the rubric, but it is possible that those of latten were enamelled.

It is rarely that such complete sets of crosses remain as those described above. In some cases only two or three have survived the accidents of time and of rebuilding.

In Exeter cathedral church the lower part of the old south wall has been incorporated in the later fourteenth-

¹ "Duas librae bombycis pro extergendis crucibus in parietibus ecclesiae."



CONSECRATION CROSS ON SOUTH SIDE OF EXETER CATHEDRAL, WITH ANOTHER UNFINISHED BELOW.

century aisle, and two crosses of the thirteenth century remain on the older work. They are carved on the ashlar masonry, and are about $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. Two feet below the westernmost of the crosses there is another cross, roughly blocked out and unfinished (Plate III.) Possibly it was abandoned because it was not at a sufficient height above the ground.

In some cases the crosses are no longer *in situ*, but have been saved when the church, or a portion of it, has been rebuilt. At Stoke Prior, in Worcestershire, a single incised cross of the consecration type has been built into the north wall of the nave. At Kildale, in Yorkshire, three carved crosses were saved when the church was rebuilt in the last century. Two are now inserted on each side of the porch, and a third is built into the wall of the churchyard.¹ At Foscott, near Buckingham, there is a carved cross shown in a drawing by Mr. Buckler² which appears to be of the consecration type.

I now proceed to notice some painted crosses of which we have very perfect examples close at hand in Westminster Abbey. When the church was re-consecrated in 1269, after its rebuilding by Henry III., crosses were unquestionably painted on the walls as ordered by the rubrics of the thirteenth century, but no traces of these can now be seen. The important addition at the east end of the church, known as Henry the Seventh's Chapel, was consecrated separately, as if it were a church complete in itself; and in the inside of this we have at least nine crosses still remaining. On the south wall of the south aisle there are three red crosses within circles about 4 inches in diameter, evidently limited in size by the rich panelled decoration. (See diagram, Fig. 2.) They are about 8 feet from the ground, almost the exact height prescribed by the Roman rubric. In the centre of each there is a round hole about an inch in diameter, which in most cases has been plugged with wood; and about 20 inches below there is another hole of similar size, also plugged with wood. The plug in the centre of each cross was perhaps used

¹ For knowledge of the Kildale crosses I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 36,358, fo. 161b.

for fixing a metal disk or cross, and the hole below was certainly intended for fixing a metal support for the candle which was lighted before the cross at the dedication.

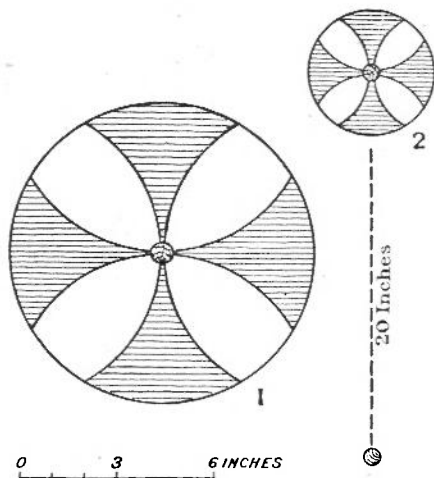


FIG. 2.—CONSECRATION CROSSES IN HENRY THE SEVENTH'S CHAPEL.

1. Cross at the west end of the chapel. 2. Cross in the aisle, showing the position of the hole for fixing a metal branch.

On the north wall of the north aisle there are three similar crosses; and on the ashlar at the west end where there is no panelling there are three much larger ones, about 10 inches in diameter and at about the height of 20 feet from the ground. In order to anoint them, the officiating prelate must have made use of a ladder to reach them, as prescribed in the Roman Pontificals. There are no holes below these western crosses, but the candlesticks placed before them may well have stood about 5 feet below on the stone shelf supported by angels.

The crosses at the east end are no longer to be seen, but at the east end of each aisle there is a hole, at the same height from the ground as those below the crosses in the aisles, which probably marks the position of a branch for a candle below crosses which have now disappeared. If this be so, we have accounted for eleven out of the twelve crosses which were required by the rubric.

The outside of the chapel was refaced about the beginning of the last century (1807-1822), and all original detail was ruthlessly swept away. Nothing, therefore, can be said about the external crosses. It is not impossible that the consecration was performed in the Roman manner, without crosses on the outside.

It is seldom that a church offers such a complete set of painted crosses as Henry the Seventh's Chapel. But in many cases a few remain, sometimes only one or two.¹ At Arundel, in Sussex, five internal crosses remain, and these, on principles of symmetry, are sufficient to show that the nave alone had three crosses on each of the south, west, and north walls.²

A large proportion of the painted crosses have arms of equal length, of a form which could be easily drawn by compasses, and are contained within a circle, the colour of them being nearly always red.³ This type is shown in the Westminster crosses of Fig. 2. The early ones, such as those at Chaldon and elsewhere are generally plain. Later crosses become more elaborate, as at Darenth in Kent, at Holy Trinity, Cambridge, where the red cross is encircled with a green garland, and at Worstead and other places in Norfolk.⁴ The simple form, however, was used from time to time even for late crosses, as we have seen at Westminster. Occasionally the crosses have unequal arms, and are placed within oval medallions, of which there is an example at Upton Grey, Hants.⁵

In the rubrics of the later Pontificals we have seen

¹ The index to Mr. C. E. Keyser's most useful *List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having Mural and other Painted Decorations* (3rd ed., London, 1893), gives a list of no less than 79 churches with painted crosses. My own notes have references to nearly 170 English churches, including some in which the crosses are carved or incised and do not now show traces of paint. This list is obviously incomplete, and I should be glad to receive additional examples.

² In addition to the internal crosses at Arundel, there are on the outside of the west end two patches of plaster on the flint facing, on which it is not unlikely that crosses were painted, though no traces of colour now remain. Several

churches in Norfolk, such as North Repps, Catfield and Ovington, had patches of plaster on the outside walls for receiving the twelve consecration crosses; but I am afraid that most of them have disappeared under recent "restorations." See *Archæologia*, xlviii, 458; and *Norf. Arch.*, vii, 352.

³ On the development of this type of cross out of the Chi-Rho monogram, see J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, London, 1897, p. 94.

⁴ Sometimes texts were added, such as "Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum domine," which is found at Norwich, St. John de Sepulchre (see *Norf. Arch.*, vii, 352).

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Druce for a photograph of one of these crosses.

that it was directed that the iron branches for tapers should be fixed in the upper part of the circles containing the crosses.¹ In many cases it is not now possible to see where the branch was fixed. At Salisbury and Westminster it was certainly below the cross. In other cases there is a hole in the centre of the cross which may have been for the attachment of the branch² or as at Westminster for fixing a small plate of metal to receive the unction. In the inside of Chichester cathedral church on the east wall of the north choir aisle there is a plain incised cross, 5 inches in height, immediately above which there are remains of 8 metal pins, arranged in a circle 10 inches in diameter, which seem to have supported a metal scone for a candle.³

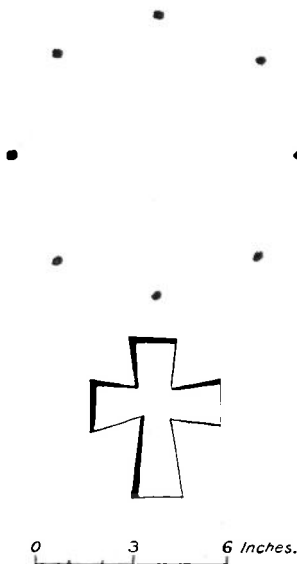


FIG. 3.—INCISED CROSS IN CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.
Showing marks of metal fixings for a scone above it.

¹ "In superiore parte circulum," Lacy. "Super singulas cruces," Bainbridge.

² In some churches of Switzerland the branches now in use for candles are fixed in the centre of the cross. I have noticed examples at Hospenthal, Illanz, Fluelen, Zermatt, Visp, and elsewhere; but very often the branches are fixed below the crosses, and rarely above them.

³ Dr. Middleton regarded the pins "as if for the attachment of another metal cross, added probably on the occasion of the second consecration." *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 460. According to Professor Willis, the cathedral was consecrated in 1199, and as far as we know, the building was not afterwards sufficiently altered to require a "second consecration." See Willis, *Arch. Hist. of Chichester Cathedral*, 1861, p. 23.

(Fig. 3). In this case the position of the light agrees with the rubrical direction of the later Pontificals. There is another similar cross at Chichester at the east end of the south choir aisle, but, I think, without the circle of metal pins; and there is a third on the outside on the south wall of the choir.

Having described some normal examples, I proceed to notice some cases which offer peculiarities. At Ottery St. Mary, where Bishop Grandison commenced his work of reconstructing the church in or about 1337, there are thirteen crosses on the outside, whilst six remain on the inside. Here they are plain crosses, about 3 inches across the arms, carved in stone, borne by half-length figures of angels, placed within quatrefoiled circles, enclosed in square panels; the sides of which measure about 20 inches¹ (Plate IV). Immediately below the angels there are traces of iron stumps, being all that remain of the branches for candles. The number of crosses is not normal. On the outside there are only two at the west end, whilst there are five on the south side. They have all suffered much from the weather, but they have not been "restored." On the inside the "restorers" are probably responsible for the destruction of half of the original set, and those which remain are not in genuine condition. Some of the panels are inserted into Bishop Bronescombe's work of the thirteenth century. Evidently, the church was so much altered and rebuilt that it required re-consecration, as prescribed by Durandus in his *Rationale*.

On the outside walls of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the crosses take the form of crucifixes, and each one is placed in the centre of a *rose-en-soleil*, carved in stone, one of the badges of Edward IV. The best preserved specimen is on the north side of the nave (Plate IV). These crosses were doubtless prepared in readiness for a consecration, which appears never to have taken place.² No traces

¹ I do not know of any similar examples in England, but in the Liebfrauenkirche at Trier, the dedication crosses are said to be "very beautiful, being circles containing angels who bear the crosses." B. Webb, *Sketches in Continental Ecclesiology*, London, 1848, p. 75.

² For information with regard to the fact that St. George's Chapel was never formally consecrated, I am indebted to Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, who has paid much attention to the history of the building.

of crosses on the interior can be seen. They would probably have been simply painted on the walls shortly before the day appointed for the dedication.

At Fairstead church in Essex, several painted crosses were discovered in 1890. Two on the south side and two on the north side are in the form of Latin crosses (12 inches high and 9 inches across the arms, with slightly expanded ends and fitchée below), all about 8 feet from the ground. On the south side there are also two crosses of the normal type with equal arms, painted in red, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, about 4 feet from the ground and not placed exactly below the others. As far as I could see, the two sets appeared to be of the same date, and as the church is without aisles, I could find nothing to suggest that there had been reason for re-consecration. I leave the case as a puzzle.

The above examples must suffice for English consecration crosses. Before leaving these, I may say that I have found no certain examples of Saxon consecration crosses,¹ and the documentary evidence leaves it doubtful whether in those early days crosses were painted to mark the spots intended to receive the unction. But we have seen that the twelfth-century Pontificals require that the anointings should be applied to twelve places, and the painted crosses which once existed on the walls of the late Norman churches of Barfreton,² Upton, near Slough, and others, may well have been of this date. In the thirteenth century, and afterwards, both painted and carved crosses, and crosses inlaid with metal, become fairly common both on the inside and the outside. Of the fourteenth and

¹ A pre-Conquest date has been claimed for some crosses, including one at Ford, Sussex, discovered by Mr. P. M. Johnston, and described and figured in his paper on "Ford and its Church" in *Sussex Arch. Collections*, xliii, 143, fig. 18. The cross is enclosed in a quatrefoiled circle, and certainly looks like thirteenth century work. It is said to be partly under decoration of the same century, but even this does not necessarily lead to the belief that the cross is of much earlier date, for I have come to the conclusion that consecration

crosses in England were soon neglected and covered up with later paintings.

² Drawings of the three painted crosses at the east end of Barfreton church are in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. They are of the usual plain type. They were discovered on removing the whitewash, but have been destroyed. The paintings on the walls of the chancel are assigned to a date about 1170, and in the coloured drawings the crosses appear to be partly covered by the general decoration.

fifteenth centuries, there are both carved and painted crosses, but inlaid ones are seldom found.

I now turn to Scotland. The Pontifical of David de Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews, 1234-1253, has been already noticed. There is hardly anything to differentiate it from an English Pontifical, except the invocation of St. Kentigern in the Litany.¹ We shall, therefore, be prepared to find the consecration crosses in Scotland not unlike those of England.

Of the 139 churches which are actually recorded on the fly-leaf of de Bernham's Pontifical as having been consecrated by him, the greater number have been either rebuilt or so much altered that it is useless to look for the crosses which were anointed by his thumb. At Leuchars church, near St. Andrews, of which the chancel still remains as one of the most beautiful specimens of late Norman work in Scotland, there are traces of large wheel crosses, outlined by compasses upon patches of plaster on the ashlar of the interior walls. The most perfect is on the north side. The nave was pulled down in the last century and replaced by a building suited to the tastes of Presbyterian worshippers. Although the fabric of the building is Norman, it was consecrated by David de Bernham on September 4th, 1242;² and we thus have a salutary warning that the date of the consecration of a church does not necessarily afford any clue to the date of its building.

Of other churches consecrated by the same bishop, there are two incised external crosses still left at Crail in Fifeshire, where the fabric of the church is mainly of the thirteenth century, and may, therefore, have been dedicated soon after the completion of the building. The dedication took place on June 21st, 1243.³

These examples of crosses at Leuchars and Crail are

¹ We know that at least one English Pontifical was actually used in Scotland, for Cotton MS. Tiberius B. 8, originally written for a suffragan of the province of Canterbury, afterwards passed into the hands of a bishop of Glasgow, for the abbot's oath of obedience has been altered to make it apply to that see. See facsimile of the page showing the

alteration in *Coronation Book of Charles V. of France*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899, Plate 41.

² "Ecclesia de Locres, eodem anno [1242], ij. Non. Sept." *Pontifical Offices used by David de Bernham*, p. xvii.

³ "Ecclesia de Karal, xi. Kal. Julii, eodem anno [1243]." *Ibid.* p. xv.

of special interest. We are able not only to assign a date to them and give the name of the consecrator, but we also know exactly what ceremonies were used, and we are able to point to the book, now at Paris, which was probably used when these crosses were anointed.

Consecration crosses also remain at the church of St. Michael, Linlithgow, at the church of the Holy Trinity, St. Andrews, and at St. Vigean's, Forfarshire, all of which were consecrated by de Bernham, but most of them seem to belong to later consecrations—when the churches had been rebuilt.

At the east end of St. Andrews cathedral church, there is a cross of unusually large size, formed of four arcs of circles intersecting within a complete circle, which is enclosed in a square, the sides of which measure 32 inches. The lines are shallow grooves cut into the ashlar masonry. No other cross can be found on the building, the greater part of the outer walls having been destroyed. The rest of them were probably smaller and perhaps were only painted. This eastern cross which remains was probably the chief of the crosses, and corresponds to the large cross inlaid in flint below the east window at Westham, Sussex, and to the carved medallions with crucifixes or other subjects sometimes found at the east end of English churches, as at Ashford, Kent, and elsewhere.

On the fifteenth-century piers of Dunkeld cathedral church, there are small incised crosses, *pommée*. They are so small (about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches across the arms) that I should not claim them as consecration crosses if it were not for the regularity in which they occur, on alternate columns, three on each side of the nave. Five of them are at the height of about 6 feet from the ground, but the one on the easternmost pier on the south side is 3 feet higher, being perhaps so placed on account of some fittings which have now disappeared.

The church of St. Michael, Linlithgow, is fortunate in preserving the noble figure of its patron saint at the west angle of the south nave aisle, and has also no less than six external dedication crosses. They are, each of them, an incised cross *pattée* without surrounding circles,

and are 7 inches in diameter, and about 6 feet from the ground. There are at present two at the west end of the aisles, one on the south wall of south aisle, one on the south porch, one on the wall of the north aisle, and one on the north transept. The walls of the church are original, and I think it possible that further search would discover some traces of the missing six.

In the interior of the Chapel Royal in Linlithgow Palace there are seven incised crosses of the same character and size as those on St. Michael's church. There are two at the west end about 5 feet above the floor, and five on the south wall, arranged as follows : one between the west wall and the first window, and four placed in pairs one above the other between the windows, at heights of 6 feet or $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the floor. The chapel is on the first floor of the palace, and at a considerable height above the ground. No dedication crosses can be seen on the outside, nor is it likely that they were ever there. The date of the building of the chapel is assigned to the time of James V. (1513-1542).

The priory church of Pluscardine, near Elgin, offers some good examples of crosses. The house belonged to the order of Val de Choux, an offshoot of the Cistercians. The existing ruins are principally of the thirteenth century, and no less than nine crosses remain on the inside, which are of the usual cross pattée type, carved in low relief within circles, sometimes on a single stone, sometimes on two.¹ They are distributed as follows : three on the south side of the choir ; two on the north side (the wall has been damaged in the place where the third must have been) ; two in the south transept, one being on the south wall and the other on the west wall, and two in north transept, one on the north wall, and the other on the west wall. The other two crosses were, I suppose, at the east and west ends of the church ; and in this way all the twelve crosses are accounted for, though it is to be noticed that the crosses which should have been on the east walls of the transepts have been placed on the north and south walls respectively,

¹ A plan of the ruins is given in Macphail's *History of the Religious House of Pluscardyn*, Edinburgh, 1881,

p. 159, and one of the crosses is figured on p. 167.

probably on account of the east chapels. As some of the crosses are on blocks of stone partly filling up the early lancet windows, it is probable that they belong to a deferred consecration or to a re-consecration.

In the neighbouring cathedral church of Elgin, we find crosses of similar form to those at Pluscardine. At present there are four still remaining on the inside walls, one above the great west entrance of the nave, one on the south transept and one on the north and south sides of the choir. The ruined state of this fine church, perhaps the finest in Scotland, accounts for the eight crosses required to make up the full number. The church was dedicated on July 15th, 1224, by Gilbert, bishop of Caithness,¹ and the crosses which remain are probably those which were anointed by him.

There are crosses also at the Grey Friars church, Stirling; in Brechin cathedral church; in Iona cathedral church, where they occur both on the buttresses at the east end and also on the inside of the south transept.

The church of Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, founded in 1462, was pulled down in 1848 to make way for the North British Railway, and a portion of it was re-erected in Jeffrey Street. The stones were numbered as the building was taken down, in order that they might be put together in proper order. But the dedication crosses, of which there were several, both on the inside and outside, have been misplaced, and in some cases lost altogether. It is a wonder that two or three may still be seen on the outside. Of one, the half has gone astray and is not now to be seen.²

At the well-known chapel of Roslin there is a complete set of twelve incised crosses on the inside. Two are on the west wall, and the other ten are disposed on the piers of the choir, which is the only part of the church that was completed. They consist of cross crosslets varying in size from 3 to 5 inches across the arms. On the outside there are also numerous crosses on the

¹ Walcott's *Ancient Church of Scotland*, 1874, p. 140.

² An account of the church, written before its removal and partial destruc-

tion, will be found in Muir's *Descriptive Notices of some . . . Churches of Scotland*, London, 1848, p. 17.

buttresses, some of them simple crosses, others cross crosslets.

Looking at the Scotch examples as a whole, it will be noticed that a large proportion of them are incised, and also that they are not always placed by threes on each of the four walls. But this need not cause surprise. In Switzerland a large number of the churches in the Valais are of no great antiquity, and in them it is usual to find the consecration crosses placed according to the exigencies of each church. In aisleless churches they are often placed five on the south wall, five on the north, and two on the west. Yet the rubric still remains in the modern Roman Pontifical that the crosses are to be arranged by threes on each of the four walls. As far as mediaeval England is concerned, I have found few cases where the rule has been neglected.

The crosses now actually found on the walls of churches agree with the descriptions of them in the rubrics of Pontificals, and we may be satisfied that they are the crosses which were ordered to be painted on the walls to receive unction from the bishop's thumb. But in addition to those on the walls there are sometimes to be found crosses incised on the jambs of doorways, of which the significance is not quite certain. The crosses themselves are usually smaller and simpler than those on the walls. Some are merely incised crosses pattée. The number still left is considerable, but when a church has been "beautifully restored," it is generally found that the jambs of the doorways have been either scraped or replaced by new stone. In any case, the result is the same: all the markings and scratchings which told that the church had a history are irrevocably gone.

These doorway crosses are often spoken of as "consecration crosses," or "dedication crosses,"¹ but in any case they must not be confused with the twelve principal crosses, and I do not think that they can claim to be in any way connected with the consecration service.

There are well-known examples at Boston in Lincoln-

¹ Several of these doorway crosses, including examples from Ilfley, Shurdington and Elkstone, Gloucestershire,

are described and figured as consecration crosses by Dr. J. H. Middleton in his paper in *Archaeologia*, xlviii, 456-464.

shire¹ and at Tideswell in Derbyshire. At the former place the cross is incised to the depth of nearly half an inch into the east jamb of the south door. It measures about 3 inches across the arms. The doorway on the east side of the south transept of Uffington has two incised crosses on its jambs, and there is one now filled up with plaster on the east jamb of the south doorway of the nave.

In Wells cathedral church both jambs of the three western doorways seem to have been marked with crosses, three of which still remain where the stonework has not been repaired. Other good examples may be seen at Whitchurch Canonorum, at Pevensey and elsewhere. There are two small crosses within circles on the outside of the Norman south door of Southwark cathedral. At Southminster, Essex, the doorway crosses are also within circles.² These doorway crosses were very easily worked, and in many cases imitations of them have been scratched by idle hands, but there is seldom any difficulty in distinguishing these imitations from the originals, which are generally cut with a chisel by a trained hand. At Elton in Huntingdonshire, there is "let into the east jamb of the south doorway . . . a small diamond-shaped piece of Purbeck marble, about the size of a window quarry; on this a cross fleury has been sunk."³ This last example is sufficient to show that the doorway crosses were placed there with deliberate intention.

The usual position of these doorway crosses is on the east jamb of the south doorway, at the height of about 4½ feet from the ground. Those at Uffington and Wells cathedral, which are placed on each side of the door, are exceptional.

Their form is often that of a cross pattée, sometimes with the arms of equal lengths, but more commonly with a long vertical arm. Occasionally the crosses are

¹ Murray's *Handbook for Lincolnshire* (1890, p. 124) speaks of this as "one of the dedication crosses."

² These have been described and figured by Mr. G. E. Pritchett, F.S.A., in his paper on "Early Consecration

Crosses in St. Leonard's Church, Southminster," *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.*, N.S. iv, 284, 285.

³ Bloxam's *Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th ed., London, 1882, ii, 156.



NO. 1.—RESTORED CONSECRATION CROSS AT
OTTERY ST. MARY, DEVON.



NO. 2.—ROSE-EN-SOLEIL WITH CRUCIFIX IN CENTRE,
ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR.

PLATE IV.

To face page 30.

pommée, and more rarely they are formed by intersecting arcs of circles. Sometimes they are small, as at Bere Regis, Dorset, where a cross pattée on the east jamb of the south doorway only measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the arms. On the other hand, in Romsey Abbey church, the east jamb of the north doorway has a deeply cut indent of the form of a plain Latin cross above, but pointed below, which is 7 inches in height. At Ridge, in Hertfordshire, a jamb of the south doorway has an incised pattern of interlaced work, which probably was intended to serve as a doorway cross. (Fig. 4.)



FIG. 4.—INCISED PATTERN AT RIDGE, HERTFORDSHIRE, PROBABLY INTENDED AS A DOORWAY CROSS.

Scale half full size.

A careful consideration of the rubrics in English Pontificals seems to lead to the conclusion that these doorway crosses are not in any way connected with the ceremony of consecration. There is no mention of them in the preliminary rubric among the things to be prepared in readiness for the ceremony, and there is no direction that doorway crosses are to be anointed.¹ Further, the

¹ The only exception is the abnormal rubric in Leofric's Pontifical (see above, p. 4), which directs that the doorway is to be anointed with chrism, but even this does not make mention of crosses. In Lacy's Pontifical (p. 32), when the

relics to be enclosed in the altar are brought into the church, the bishop makes the sign of the cross upon the door, but nothing is said of chrism, or of incised or painted crosses. The Roman Pontifical, however, does order the door

position of the crosses is such that they would be easily exposed to desecration and injury, whereas the true consecration crosses were normally placed at such a height that they would not readily be touched.

The probable reason for cutting these doorway crosses may be expressed in the words which the Roman Pontifical puts into the mouth of the officiating bishop when he enters the church, after his thrice-repeated knocking, and makes the sign of the cross with the lower end of his crozier on the threshold :

Ecce crucis signum fugiant phantasmata cuncta.

At Staplehurst, Kent, in the wrought-ironwork of the south door,¹ there are two crosses, one of them within a circle, the motive for which was probably the same as for the incised doorway crosses, namely, to keep off evil influence from the church.

I think it not unlikely that these doorway crosses were descended from the crosses which in early times Christians were accustomed to place on the entrances of their churches. In Ireland many rudely constructed churches have the lintels of their doorways marked with a cross, as at the church of St. Fechin at Fore, co. Westmeath.² Sometimes the cross is on the soffit of the lintel as at Glendalough and Killiney, co. Dublin.³ At Skellig Michael the bee-hive cells are "stamped as Christian by a cross formed by white quartz stones over .

of the church to be touched with chrism, though there is no mention of marking a cross to receive the unction. The prayer used at this point is : "Porta sis benedicta, consecrata, consignata et Deo commendata : porta sis introitus salutis et pacis . . ." In some Gallican Orders, the bishop, instead of anointing the door, merely makes the sign of the cross with his crozier, as described in a manuscript Pontifical *circa* 1500, which once belonged to a bishop of Bethlehem, and is now in my possession : "Tunc secundum aliquos episcopus signat cum chrismate ostium ecclesie vel secundum alios cum gambuca." In Plate 48 of the *Metz Pontifical*, Roxburghe Club, 1902, the bishop is seen to be anointing with his thumb the lintel of the doorway, but there is no cross marked upon it, and it may be noticed

that the place anointed would not be liable to be touched by those making use of the door.

¹ See illustration in *Arch. Cant.*, ix, 191.

² See illustration of this doorway and its cross in Petrie's *Eccl. Architecture of Ireland*, 1845, p. 171, where the following passage alluding to the cross is quoted from Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, 22nd January, cap. 23, p. 135 : "Dum S. Fechinus rediret Fouariam, ibique consisteret, venit ad eum ante fores ecclesie ubi crux posita est, quidam talo usque ad verticem lepra percussus."

³ Illustrations of these, and of the cross above the doorway of the Round Tower of Antrim may be seen in Petrie's *Eccl. Architecture of Ireland*, 1845, pp. 168, 398.

the doorway."¹ The crosses, which are often carved on the tympana of Norman doorways,² are also probably the descendants of these early crosses, and are not true desecration crosses, for there is no reason to think that they were ever anointed with chrism like the wall crosses.

In addition to the doorway crosses which do not seem to have been anointed in England, there are other crosses which are not likely to have received unction, but seem to be merely decorative and intended to emphasize the triumph of the Cross. The crosses on the Byzantine capitals of churches in Ravenna, go back in some cases to times when unction was unknown. They are found in Merovingian capitals.³ The tradition went on and shows itself in the Tau crosses on the capitals of the chapel of St. John the Evangelist in the Tower of London. The crosses on the outside of the Saxon tower of Earl's Barton also belong to the class of non-consecration crosses, as well as those in the tympana of the triforium arches in Rochester cathedral.

In later times decorative crosses of inlaid flints appear in churches in the south of England, as at Seaford, where, on three sides of the tower, there are Calvary crosses about 3 feet in height. At Broadwater in Sussex, on the outer wall of the north side of the clerestory, there is a cross of the same type and the same size. And at Stanwell in Middlesex there are two crosses between the windows of the clerestory on the north side.

I should also hesitate to give the title of consecration crosses to those of which a single example is found on one of the piers of the nave arcade, as at Clavering in Essex and Carshalton in Surrey. Some such are carefully worked and even painted, but they are found singly in cases where the other pillars remain intact. They are often only 3 feet from the ground, which also

¹ Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, ii, 21.

² Numerous examples with illustrations may be seen in C. E. Keyser's *Norman Tympana and Lintels*, London, 1904. See also *Archaeologia*, xlvii, 161. The very curious tympanum at South Ferriby, Lincolnshire, where a bishop

is standing in the attitude of benediction between two crosses, has been claimed by Dr. Middleton as giving examples of consecration crosses.

³ For examples, see De Caumont, *Abecedaire d'Archeologie*, 4^{me} ed. Paris, 1859, *Architecture Religieuse*, 11, 12.

mitigates against the probability of their use as consecration crosses.

Occasionally, upon the furniture of churches, crosses are painted or incised which must not be mistaken for consecration crosses. Thus at Wensley, Yorkshire, there is an incised cross on the stone credence table, and at Cheltenham there is a small six-leaved cross on the piscina.¹ Many fonts have crosses carved in relief of the consecration type, as at St. Mary's church, Bideford. I am also inclined to think that the red cross, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, at the back of the sedile, on the north side of the sanctuary of St. Mary de Crypt, Gloucester, is not a true consecration cross. Its position would be most unusual, and there are no other crosses to be seen in the church.

The five crosses on altar stones are true consecration crosses, inasmuch as they were incised on the spots which were to be anointed with chrism when the altar was consecrated, but it is not here necessary to make more than a passing allusion to them. The larger wall crosses which we have been considering have supplied more than sufficient material for a single paper.

¹ This has been figured as a consecration cross by Dr. Middleton in *Archaeologia*, xlviii, pl. xxxiv, fig. 16.