THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AS RECORDED IN HER CATHEDRALS

By

HELEN DOROTHY DAVIES

A.B., Macalester College

A Thesis

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TRIFORIUM OF ANGEL CHOIR
Cathedral, Lincoln

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GOTHIC (Decorated)
XIII CENT.

Fig. 1

To my Mother and Father
from whom I learned
the joy of Christ in life

and

To Mrs. Wood
with whose help I discovered
the beauty of Christ in art

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. Purpose of This Thesis

"Architecture is the printing press of all ages, and gives a history of the state of society in which it was erected."[1] If this be true, it is the most permanent history written, for Roman libraries may disappear with Roman togas while a Colosseum stands; Thucydides be unheard while an Acropolis charms; or a race be lost in the shadows of immemorial time leaving only a Stonehenge whispering echoes of voices which it once heard. To the initiate, architecture may also be more accurate history than that of the calligrapher. For all history is but the story of past events recorded in the mind of individual or nation, and, of necessity, colored subjectively by those who relate it. "Bare fact" is impossible to the most erudite scribe of human history, for even though he were an automaton, human passions surge and throb throughout the smallest details of world events and require understanding and interpretation ere the truth be realized. If architecture be the epitome of the age giving it birth then intelligent understanding of it should, perforce, reveal the mysteries of human activity and thought behind it.

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1. Fletcher, Sir B. F.: A History of Architecture, title page.

All phases of expression assuming concrete form are thus molded by the life of the whole social order. Such forms combine the work of many men of different grades of talent. "History ... shows that nearly every truth or mechanism is the fusion of a large number of original ideas proceeding from numerous collaborators, most of whom have been forgotten."[1] This is especially true in the field of art. The awed respect and admiration granted a Michaelangelo and a Leonardo da Vinci too often ignores the toiling multitude from whose passionate love of beauty and cultivation of talent their genius blossomed. At least one modern architect, outstanding in his field, makes such an interest in art on the part of the whole society a real necessity.

> "Now this beauty is not, either as beauty or as a mode of expression, a matter of personal idiosyncrasy. Specific individuals, ... precipitate it, give it form, infuse it with an element of their own personality ... This does not make the art their own: the beauty with which they deal is not the emanation of their own idiosyncrasies, it is as universal and immutable as right and wrong or the law of gravitation ... For unless there is behind him a communal self-consciousness, unless the air is quick with impulses and desires of the whole people eager for the expression of their own spiritual experiences and emotions, or at the least for the visible manifestation of that beauty in which they themselves can find pleasure and content, then the art of the individual, however great he may be, is a fond thing, vainly imagined, and no part of any life save only his own."[2]

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1. Ames, E. S.: The Psychology of Religious Experience, p.340.
2. Cram, R. A.: The Substance of Gothic, pp.9-10.

Architecture, that daughter of art and the practical sciences, finds this doubly a reality with her beauty dependent on not one but many artistic craftsmen, even as her very inception and form is determined by their more practical needs. Architecture, then, arising out of the communal life, should of necessity be imprinted with its characteristics.

As architecture is the expression of a whole people, so is religion the central integrating factor of their common life, constantly reflected in their architecture.

> "It is a significant indication of the important place that religious ideas, religious influences, religious conceptions, have exercised upon humanity that much the larger part of the architectural remains of any people, of any race or time, are buildings that have been put to a religious use, either as temples of gods or connected with forms of worship. There seems to be a general or primitive idea that a temple, a house, a covering of some kind, is a fit symbol wherein to express the conviction of religious thought."[1]

Because both religion and outward expression unite the community, that picture of a whole race enthusiastically bringing its choicest treasures for a wilderness tabernacle[2] is repeated again and again throughout the life of mankind. The group functions as one centering its attention on that which in all ages has claimed the dominant place in man's life, namely, worship. Here is recognition that all gifts such as,"cutting of stones for setting, and in carving of

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1. Feree, B.: Christian Thought in Architecture, p.8.
2. Cf. Exodus 25-40.

wood,"[1] find their greatest expression in the building of a place of worship. That recognition is based on the belief that the Creator of those gifts was the One worshipped and had dedicated them to that purpose.

Wherever this happens it is to be expected that not only will the life of the whole people, particularly its spiritual life, be found incorporated in the building, but the spiritual life of that people at its best. It is likewise to be expected that investigation will reveal something of the life and thought of those who labored, certainly, at least, in the religious aspect. The purpose of this thesis is to discover in what ways and to what extent the religious life of one nation is recorded in the buildings it constructed for purposes of worship during a specific period of time.

B. Definition of the Subject

Nations even as individuals live through cycles of rise and decay, with hemispheres wakened from light slumber to strenuous activity only to lapse again into comparative quiescence. The thirteenth century proved to be far removed from such slumber and out of its pliable mass of seething thought and action rose such institutions as were to be the basis of a new age, the beginning of

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1. Ibid., 31:5.

a modern era. It was a child of the middle ages and as such turned to the manual arts for expression, finding its field of greatest productivity in the erection of those ecclesiastical structures that continue to excite amazement of the world. Here, if anywhere, the religious life of the people should be manifest in its architecture, both in the larger cathedrals and the smaller parish churches. For limitation of the field the architecture and religious life of England alone will be considered: other countries will be mentioned only when such mention will contribute to a clearer understanding of the English situation. The field has been further limited by selecting the cathedrals for special study. During this century there were seventeen edifices containing the sedes episcopalis, or bishop's throne. Of these, Canterbury and Carlisle have little of architectural interest for this period, while old St. Paul's has disappeared. Those remaining are of interest to this study. They include York, Lichfield, Winchester, Hereford, Worcester, Wells, Durham, Exeter, Norwich, Lincoln, Salisbury, Chichester, and Ely. In addition, the Benedictine Abbeys of Westminster, Gloucester, Peterborough, and Chester which became cathedrals in 1514-42, and St. Albans, promoted to a see in 1877, will deserve consideration as structurally belonging to this period and definitely contributing to an understanding of it. The problem concerns the manner in which the architecture arose out of the life, not the consideration of the correlated fact of how

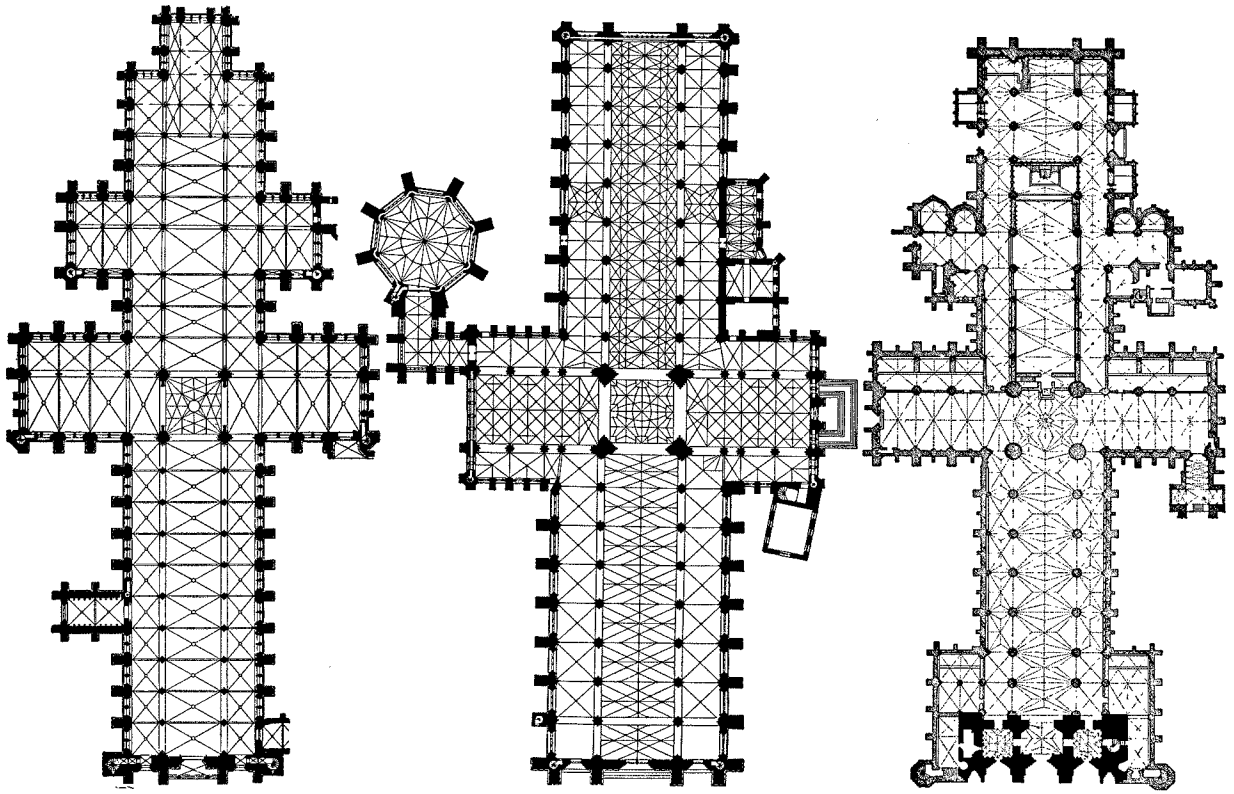
life is affected by architecture.

C. Plan of Procedure

Any study of architecture involves consideration of two problems. One concerns discovery of the purpose for which the building was created. Reconstruction of the life of a past era from the architecture can be accomplished only by questioning every space-arrangement and article of furniture found in the building. From proper understanding of all portions of the plan grows the record of all activities and their relation to each other. The other problem deals with the extent to which the structure manifests the spirit of its purpose. This is indicated in form and decoration. Chapter I of this thesis will deal with the general plan of the English cathedrals, including both arrangement and surroundings, in an attempt to determine their true usage and significance for the religious life of the whole people. The second chapter will be devoted to the form and the building process. It will include a survey of the general characteristics of the thirteenth century English cathedral style, its origins, the building process, and an examination of details of form - all with the purpose of understanding the religious life. An interpretation of that religious life as revealed by both plan and form will correlate the two in the third chapter. The purpose of the whole is to determine how the religious life of the people of the period is expressed in the cathedrals which were under process of construction during the period. The concluding summary will discuss the general conclusions reached.

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AS RECORDED IN THE CATHEDRAL PLAN AND SETTING



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PLANS OF CATHEDRALS

ENGLISH

G 421

Fig. 2.

CHAPTER I

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AS RECORDED IN THE CATHEDRAL PLAN AND SETTING

A. Introduction

Any attempt to reconstruct the life of a period from its architecture must include an understanding of the arrangement of the buildings with the aim of discovering their purpose. To be assured of accurate results and full information this examination must include observation of the arrangement of internal furnishing as well, together with the relation of each part to the whole. The resultant findings will be even more complete when viewed in connection with that larger architectural community which forms the local setting. In this study of the English cathedrals of the thirteenth century certain definite characteristics are found to be common to the entire group. When correlated, these similarities form a type plan which reveals much of vital significance concerning the religious life. In this chapter the type cathedral plan will be determined and the implications of this plan revealed, first, from the plan of the cathedral proper, and second, from the setting. The latter has two aspects: viz., the cathedral close and the cathedral town.

B. The Religious Life of Thirteenth Century England as Recorded in the Cathedral Plan

The most cursory survey of the ground plans of these cathedrals reveals striking similarity in cathedral design. Even the presence or absence of attached buildings, dividing the group into monastic and secular organizations, does not vitally affect the arrangement of the cathedral proper. This uniformity is in itself of significance. It speaks of religious affiliation of cathedral with cathedral, it confesses usage and purpose of all to be the same. To the student of architectural history it admits even more. In the rectangular form of the nave he sees the Roman basilica adapted for ecclesiastical use by the early Christian church; in the cross formed by the transepts he notes the Latin rather than the Greek influence; choir, narthex, - all component parts sing of the past from which they have emerged. Although changed in detail, even as expression of religion changes, they are fundamentally the same and testify to a religion firmly grounded in the past.

Stripped of individual differences, the cathedrals set forth as type plan a long narrow structure, with single or double transepts. The transepts usually are so placed that the eastern arm is shorter than the western. In the former is located the sanctuary with chancel, presbytery, and choir. The Lady Chapel is likewise here, usually at the extreme eastern termination. The western arm is for the larger nave with aisles on either side.

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CHOIR, LOOKING EAST
Cathedral, Ely

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GOTHIC
XIII CENT.

Fig. 3.

These frequently extend the full length of the building. The plan of Salisbury may be regarded as typical.[1] It differs from the rest of the cathedrals in that it was erected entirely within this period. Most of the others added thirteenth century construction to that of previous years and supplemented this with still later work. The similarity of the type plan is even more striking in the light of this fact. The evolution of the cathedral structure is but another evidence of that relationship to the past already mentioned.

Almost without exception the eastern arm underwent enlargement and alteration of form during this century with subsequent rebuilding of the nave. Evidently the eastern end was more urgently needed than the larger nave. This importance was due to chancel and Lady Chapel.

1. The Chancel

The chancel,[2] differing from place to place in minor details, invariably contains three parts: the sanctuary proper with its high altar is at the eastern end, the choir is at the west, and the presbytery with its open bays lies between. The whole is separated from the rest of the church by reredos and choir screen.[3]

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1. Cf. Fig. 2.
2. Fig. 3 indicates arrangement of chancel at this time, although furnishing pictured is of later periods.
3. Note this division in figs. 12 and 13, and, less apparent, in fig. 11. These screens are of later date.

In this separation lies one principle of the religious life. The great mass of the people are evidently not to have access to the whole of the cathedral structure. The most holy place is to be reserved for a special group. The religious organization is a sacerdotal type, with only the priestly group seated near the high altar.

This high altar itself is located at the extreme eastern end of the chancel and is of plain dressed stone, long and low. Sometimes concealed on north and south by curtains, it usually remained unadorned save for rich frontal and elaborate reredos. Above the altar suspended from a flat canopy was the vessel containing the sacrament.

> "The custom of hanging the reserved sacrament above the altar in this way was universal in England, although the alternative use of keeping it in a locked cupboard near the altar came in during the later middle ages."[1]

Thus the eucharist possessed the place of highest honor in the church even as it did among the sacraments. And as it was found with the separated clergy rather than in the more public places, so was the benefit held to lie in its consecration by the priest rather than in its use by the people. The priests prohibited the cup to the laity and placed the eucharist in position of highest honor.[2] The people, hence, looked upon the elements as in them-

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1. Thompson, A. H.: The Cathedral Churches of England, p.112.
2. Schaff, Philip: History of the Christian Church, vol. 5, part 1, p.175.

selves being powerful and capable of producing miracles. They were used as charms for arousing passion in the breast of indifferent lover, or for discerning and correcting the power of witches. Thus the symbol of our Lord's love and death degenerated into an object of superstitious awe.

Inasmuch as the sacraments were all held in veneration as the center of the theological structure, and, moreover, as they are reflected in other parts of the building, they deserve some attention here. Besides the eucharist they consisted of baptism, confirmation, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage. Belief in these was considered essential to salvation. "Hugo of St. Victor said, "God might have saved man without the sacraments but no man can be saved who rejects them."[1] Scholasticism, powerful factor in the thinking of the middle ages, centered its attention upon them in the attempt to realize its aim: namely, "to establish theology as a science on the basis of philosophy, and to show the essential concord of divine revelation with the ripest fruits of human reason."[2] It was around the eucharist that speculation waxed the greatest and in the development of theories, as that of trans-substantiation, the Schoolmen used all the metaphysical weapons at their command. Questions as, "Does a mouse, in eating the consecrated host, actually partake of its consecrated sub-

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1. Ibid., p.708.
2. Cowan, Henry: Landmarks of Church History, p.132.

stance?"[1] reveal the trends of thought indulged by scholars of the time. The fact that taste, color, dimensions, and weight remained the same did not hinder belief that the real substance of the eucharist became the body and blood of Christ.

That the celebration of the Mass was one of the chief purposes of the high altar is indicated by the seats near the altar upon the south side. These were called the sedilia and were for the celebrant and his assistants, usually three in number, although occasionally four or five seats are to be found. Located near them is the piscina used for ablutions in connection with the ceremonial. All this again reminds of the sacerdotal ritual.

Near the high altar on the north side the founder's tomb or that of one of the saints is customarily found. Names as, Saint Etheldreda of Ely, Bishop Chad of Lichfield, or Saint Oswald and Saint Wulfstan of Worcester, again link with the past. They suggest, too, national pride and appreciation of those whose lives were connected with the development of Christianity in England.

When one considers not only the founder's tomb but the number of others scattered throughout the cathedral it is apparent that veneration of saints and reverence for relics was characteristic of the age. Relics were considered so powerful that they were separated and sent to different chapels. Martyrs, and later all

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1. Schaff, op. cit., p.725.

Holy persons, were honored and invoked in times of need. Not only cathedrals, but counties and towns, chivalric orders, gilds, crafts, and even villages - all delighted in their respective patron saints. With all this went a growing desire to emulate their example, attended by a tendency to pray to them rather than to Father or Son. Around these saints gathered tales of miracles, as contemporary chronicles indicated. The following account of the funeral of William Longsword is an example:

> "But it happened that when his corpse was being carried out about a mile to the burial, from the castle to the new church, the wax tapers, which, according to custom, were lighted, and borne with the cross, though there was a heavy fall of rain, and violent gusts of wind, could not be extinguished; so that, as it happened likewise in the case of the blessed Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, and confessor, they plainly showed that the earl, who had repented so bitterly of his sins, had his place among the sons of light."[1]

Belief in miracles reported to have happened at the shrines led hundreds of pilgrims to visit them. It was to accomodate this group that the enlargement of the east end was required in many cases. Occasionally the space east of the high altar, set apart for these relics and called the feretory, was unusually large, as at Winchester. But whether large or small, together or scattered throughout the church, the relics were present. It has been questioned whether the idea of miracles connected with the shrines did not find impetus from the priest of not-too-sensitive conscience as he

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1. Matthew of Westminster: The Flowers of Westminster, p.150.

watched the fame and money they produced.[1] Be that as it may, they were universally accepted.

Among these tombs along the north side of the chancel are to be found those of kings and nobles. By their very presence the fact that here was a national religion is once more substantiated. When present they are frequently considered second in importance to the founder of the church. Noting this, the student of history cannot but reflect on those conflicts between churchmen and statesmen so common in this century. In life, even as after death, it was frequently the representative of the church who came off victorious. Nor is this surprising when one recalls that it was the Pope of this same thirteenth century who proclaimed upon his inauguration: "The successor of St. Peter stands midway between God and man; below God, above man; Judge of all, judged of none."[2] That not only the great mass of people but nobles as well accepted the validity of this claim was evidenced by the support of Innocent against King John in the Investiture Conflict. A similiar acceptance prevailed in other lands. The nobles in Germany stated in 1278-1279:

> "He (the emperor) is that lesser luminary in the firmament of this world which shines by the reflected light of the great luminary, the vicar of Christ. He it is who draws the material sword at the command of the Pope, to support the spiritual sword."[3]

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1. Cf. Parkhurst, H. H.: Cathedral; A Gothic Pilgrimage, p.94.
2. Cowan, Henry: Landmarks of Church History, p.122.
3. Thatcher, O. J. and McNeal, E. H.: A Source Book for Mediaeval History, p.264.

Close to the monument which was, or took the place of, the founder's tomb, on this same north side of the chancel, the Easter sepulchre was set up for its part in the ceremonies of Holy Week and Easter morning.

> "Usually this was a movable structure or a pyx of precious material in which the Host was put during the period corresponding to our Lord's sojourn in the grave, and it was probably deposited beneath the canopy of the tomb."[1]

The sight of this pyx calls before the mind one of the most interesting phases of medieval religious expression - the religious drama. Fostered by the clergy, and to the end of the thirteenth century performed within the churches, the earlier plays were derived from the convent and the liturgical ritual for the festivals of Easter, Good Friday, and Christmas. To make the impression of the service vivid and dramatic, tableaux were introduced, the cross being placed in the "tomb" on Good Friday and removed Easter Day with solemn ritual. But other realistic elements soon crept in, as, for example, the addition of the angels and the women at the sepulchre. Then the songs and burlesque of the wandering minstrels exerted their influence and more and more the desire to entertain became apparent. It appears most in the characters of Judas, the Jews, and the devil. The last especially held the part of a clown.

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1. Thompson, A. H.: The Cathedral Churches of England, p.115.

> "He tempts Eve by his flatteries, he holds the glass before Mary Magadalene while she makes her toilet before going out to dance with every comer, wheels the unfortunate into hell on a wheelbarrow, and receives the lost with mock ceremony into his realm."[1]

Such plays deal with the theology of the great mass of common folk. In them appear the ideas which permeated everyday life with the thought of the supernatural colored with the lively fancy of the time. It is from such scenes that a recent student of the period decides it may be best characterized by its "childlikeness".[2]

Two other observations may be made from the account of these festivals. One is the fact that Jews and Gentiles were sharply differentiated and the former were ridiculed and persecuted. The other is that the clergy themselves appear to have joyfully participated with a zeal not wholly devout. In the Festival of the Fool, a young lad elected as bishop or pope for the day, rode on an ass to church and was clad in bishop's vestments and seated on the platform. The merriment which followed was so hilarious that later it, together with the other festivals, was forbidden because of improprieties and revels which became connected with them.[3]

In all these ceremonies the love of ritual was constantly manifested. Just so is it silently attested by the presbytery. These few empty bays between the sanctuary and the nave,[4] always

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1. Schaff, Philip: History of the Christian Church, Vol.5,Part 1, p.874.
2. Cf. Parkhurst, H. H.: Cathedral;A Gothic Pilgrimage, pp.92-99.
3. Cf. Schaff, op. cit., p.875.
4. Cf. fig. 3.

present no matter how large the choir, leave ample room for stately ritual. The necessity for the presbytery will be evident when, having studied the cathedral plan, the routine of daily and special services must logically be considered for proper interpretation of the whole.

The choir is enclosed on three sides by stone or wooden screens which separate it from aisles and nave. Between presbytery and choir are the choir gates and just inside these on the south side is the bishop's throne. Usually a canopied seat, at times it became very elaborate. In that ornateness there is suggestion that those who occupied it were not always adverse to display and extravagence nor free from a sense of their own importance. Such qualities are certainly attributed to medieval bishops in the writings of their contemporaries. Said Robert de Greystone in his fourteenth century characterization of Anthony Bek, Bishop from 1283 to 1311:

> "Nothing was too dear for him if only it might magnify his glory. He once paid forty shillings[1] in London for forty fresh herrings, because the other great folk there assembled in Parliament said they were too dear and cared not to buy them. He bought cloth of the rarest and costliest, and made it into horse-cloths for his palfreys, because one had said that he believed Bishop Anthony dared not buy so precious a stuff."[2]

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1. About forty pounds modern money.
2. Coulton, G. G.: Life in the Middle Ages, Vol. iii, pp.93-94.

Such extravagence appears to the chronicler to have been almost a virtue, for he continues:

> "He scarce ate in company; he lived most chastely, scarce gazing fixedly on any woman's face; wherefore, when the body of St. William of York was translated, while the other bishops feared to touch his bones, their conscience pricking them for past sins, he laid his hand boldly on the holy relics, and wrought reverently all the matter required."[1]

But the extravagence of bishops was not always thus lightly regarded. Pope Innocent III openly lamented its prominence and those who paid for the extravagence lamented it even more! In many cases it led to open conflict with canons of local cathedral chapters.

> "1220. This year also, when the season of the Advent of the Lord was drawing near, a violent contest arose between Richard, bishop of Durham, and the monks, because the bishop was an indiscreet and extravagent waster of the property of the church. On which account the bishop protected himself by an appeal, and lavishing his treasures with even more profusion than usual, he went to Rome, when he burdened his church with an expenditure of more than thirty thousand marks. And as this contest continued some time, both the priory and the diocese incurred inestimable injury."[2]

Such injury would be both financial and spiritual!

The western part of the choir had wooden choir stalls arranged in rows along northern, southern, and western screens. Frequently the backs of these stalls, beautifully carved and decorated, dispensed with screens on the north and south; in themselves they formed sufficient separation from the aisles. Although most

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1. Ibid., p.94.
2. Matthew of Westminster: Flowers of History, p.137.

of the thirteenth century stalls have been replaced by those of a later date, the arrangement remained the same. Placed in rows, on steps one above another, the lower stalls were broken into blocks by the staired gangways which led to the continuous upper rows. The terms decani and cantoris, so frequently applied to the two sides of a choir, are derived from the seats reserved for the dean and the precentor or chanter.[1] The former sat in the south-west corner of the choir. He was elected by the chapter and confirmed by the bishop, and he acted as president for the local chapter. The precentor, or chanter, occupied the stall in the north-west corner of the choir, opposite the dean. He was responsible for the ordering of the services and the music. In the north-east corner was the treasurer whose duty "was to keep the treasure, the plate, vestments and relics of the church, to see that the altars were properly arranged for services, and generally to look after the clock, bells, etc."[2] Opposite him the chancellor held the stall in the south-east corner, next the bishop's throne. He, as the secretary for the chapter, properly drew up its documents and was the custodian for its common seal. The remaining upper seats were occupied by the regular canons, the lower ones being for vicars-choral and other lesser clergy.

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1. Cf. Thompson, A. H.: The Cathedral Churches of England, p.20.
2. Ibid., p.21.

From this it can be seen that the occupants of the choir constituted a local organization, even as the presence of the bishop indicated a religious organization binding together all such cathedral chapters.

Thus the chancel, the heart of the cathedral, shows that the religious life of thirteenth century England had a priestly class separated from the great mass of people. For this group the high altar and the ceremony of mass formed the pivotal point of religious expression in the cathedral; the eucharist just above the altar hints at the reverence in which it was held by priest and people. Worship of the saints and relics, expression of emotion in great festivals, religious class consciousness, character of bishops, organization of local chapter and relationship of various chapters, - all are indicated in the arrangement and furnishing of that portion concealed from the remaining part of the building by screens.

2. The Lady Chapel.

The enlargement of the eastern end permitted not only the extension of the choir and made possible the saint's shrine just behind, but it also afforded space for more chapels and altars. This space east of the high altar was usually dedicated to the Virgin and from her altar it received the name Lady Chapel. At times its position varied. At Peterborough and Ely the Lady Chapels were entered from the north transept, at Durham it formed the

Galilee at the west end of the cathedral. At Worcester the dedication of the whole church was to Mary and the high altar was her altar. From all this it is evident that devotion to the Virgin in the thirteenth century was at a zenith. Since she was the mother of Jesus and as a mother might command rather than request, her power and influence with her Son was often invoked. Adoration of her rose to such heights that "One of the (medieval) Popes said that Mary was the only hope of reconciliation for men, the main cause of eternal salvation."[1] The belief that if one were careful of his devotion to the Virgin he could not be lost, whatever his sins, led to many admixtures of strange morality. The mother of Christ gave aid not only to monks and nuns who had broken vows, but also to those who had committed terrible crimes but who remained faithful to worship of her.

The enlargement of the eastern end and attendant expansion indicates that here was a period of developing religious idea. It was not a static form of religious expression which had no will nor inclination to change. The attendant substitution of square chapels for round apses at the eastern termination records a nationalistic tendency, drawing away from the French influence of the heretofore prevalent round form. Westminster alone retains the French style.

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1. MacColloch, J. A.: Medieval Faith and Fable, p.113.

3. The Transepts

The origin of the transepts is hidden in the dim past of the early days of the church. They may have arisen from the need to seat a growing number of clergy, or for antiphonal singing.[1] Be that as it may, thirteenth century England considered them indispensible in the plan of her cathedrals and everywhere they are apparent. There may be one or two. If two, the position of the second one varies. Frequently both appear near the central portion of the building as at Rochester and Salisbury, again, as at Wells, there is one eastern and one central crossing. Here is expressed once more that variation in conformity which bespeaks a religion changing in expression but grounded in the past.

The chief use of the transepts was largely to be found in the chapels connected with them. The ritual centering about such chapels will be considered with the nave. Frequently north or south doors were placed in the transepts.

4. The Nave

From the study of the chancel it is clear that the cathedral church of the middle ages was not intended for the large congregation. Hence the permanent seats found in the choir are lacking in the nave. Even in the churches, as Lincoln, where necessity required the use of a portion of the nave as a parish church, it was considered more advisable to keep the church as much as possible

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1. Cf. Prentice, Sartell: The Heritage of the Cathedral, p.43.

for the clergy. The various parish churches springing up in the shadow of the abbeys and cathedrals during this and following centuries are mute witnesses to this fact. The contribution of these parish churches to the religious life of the time lies outside the scope of this thesis, but it should be noted in this connection that exclusion of the great mass of common people from daily cathedral services did not eliminate them from religious worship. It merely relegated that worship to another place.

The nave, like the chancel, was for the saying of masses, but here instead of one high altar there were many.

> "Apart from the avenues which it was necessary to leave clear for processions and for access from the main doorways, the whole available space in a large medieval church was divided into chapels, screened off from each other by structures of stone or wood. The aisles of the nave could be occupied in this way."[1]

The outer aisles at Chichester were added in order to provide room for the series of chapels, separated from each other by stone walls. In other places, as at Salisbury, tombs and chapels were combined. Often altars were present just north and south of the door leading from the nave into the choir. Priests were to be found at these altars and chapels at all hours of the day, saying masses for the souls of those who had contributed to the cathedral support. It was to assure themselves of this perpetual remembrance before the Throne of Grace that even those whose families could least afford

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1. Thompson, A. H.: The Cathedral Churches of England, p.104.

it left money to the church. A portion of the will of one poor serf indicates this:

> "In Dei nomine Amen. Vicesimo octavo die mensis Novembris, Anno Domini Millesimo cccIxiii. Y Custans Pothys, hoole & fresch, make my Wille in this maner. First I bequeth my sowle to Almyghty God, to owre blessed Lady, and to all the Holy Company of hevyn; My body to be beryed in Chalke chirche. Also y bequethe to the hy Auter viii d. Also to the Rode lyght a Cowe with v Ewes. Also to owre Lady of Pete iii Ewes. Also to the Lyght of Seynt John Baptyste iiii Ewes. Also to a torch vi s. viii d. .."[1]

Such sources indicate how it was financially possible for so many men to devote themselves exclusively to religious services.

While chantry priests were occupied with masses the regular services were going on. There were seven canonical hours to be said every day, beginning with Matins at sunrise, and interspersed with the saying of the daily portions of the psalter which all canons, absent or present, were required to recite privately. In addition the celebration of masses was frequent, including morrow mass in the early morning for travelers and workers, the mass to our Lady, and the high mass. Shortly before high mass the chapter meeting was held in the chapter house with its commemoration of the saints and benefactors, the lesson, and the transaction of ordinary chapter business. On festival days this was shortened and was followed by the processional before high mass.

It was this processional which largely determined the plan of the

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1. Coulton, G. G.: Life in the Middle Ages, Vol. ii, p.147.

whole church.

> "On Sundays and great festivals before high mass the altars of the church were visited in turn by a procession which started from the high altar and the choir and went round the whole building in a fixed order."[1]

This processional started from the high altar and choir with celebrant and assistant ministers passing through the north gate between the chancel and choir, followed by the monks from the choir stalls. Proceeding to the northernmost altar of the transept, then to the other altars in turn, the celebrant sprinkled each with holy water while the procession halted at each station. From the transept, the altars in the apse of the north aisle were visited. Where an ambulatory was present the procession passed by it to the other transept by a passage space always left between the chapels and the shrine behind the high altar. Where this was lacking the west end of the chancel was again used. After having visited the altars at the end of the south aisle and in the south transept, it passed along the south aisle of the nave where, if a monastic cathedral, it visited the conventual buildings in turn. The concluding position was in two rows in the nave in front of the great screen, or rood-screen, across the nave one bay west of the choir. This position was marked by a series of stones inserted in the floor in two parallel rows. Traces of these stones are still to be found in many churches. After the celebrant had censed the altar which

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1. Thompson, A. H.: op. cit. p.100.

stood against the middle of the rood-screen, the two rows went through the doorways which pierced the screen on either side and returned to their places in the choir.[1]

It has been suggested that the term "Galilee", applied to the western chapel at Durham and to some others in like position, has come from this ceremony.

> "Sunday was the weekly festival of the Resurrection, and in the symbolism freely associated with ritual, the celebrant, walking in front of the procession recalled the Risen Lord followed by his disciples."[2]

Since the celebrant passed from the nave into the chapel before the others, the words of our Lord, "I will go before you into Galilee," were illustrated.

In all this the ritual and symbolism were but outward evidence of that belief which lay at the heart of medieval church power and life, the belief that salvation lay in vicarious intercession. Chantry priests droning Latin phrases, canons chanting in the choir, relics carefully guarded, Lady Chapel with all it stood for, yea, even the very plan of the cathedral itself and the piling of stone upon stone to produce it - all were motivated by the idea of intercession for souls, both living and dead. In this idea of vicarious intercession and the intense belief of all classes in its efficacy is alone to be found the real understand-

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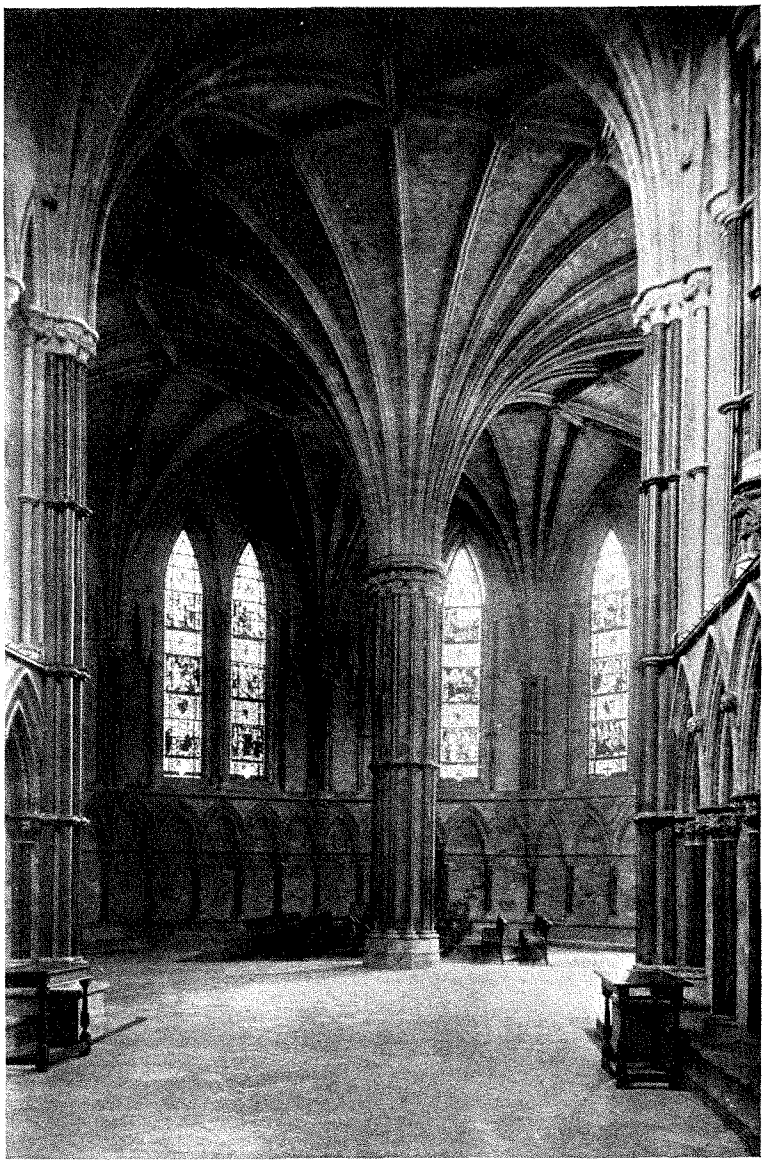
1. Cf. Ibid., pp.100-101.
2. Thompson, A. H.: op. cit., p.102.



CHAPTER HOUSE
Cathedral, Lincoln

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

GOTHIC
XIII CENT.

Fig. 4.

ing of thirteenth century religious life and thought.

The study of the nave is not complete without mention of the fount. Standing near the west end, or wherever else convenient, it speaks of the importance of baptism in the religious life. This sacrament was necessary for the entrance into spiritual life. As with the other forms of worship, an elaborate ritual was worked out, filled with symbolism. Exorcism, expulsion of demons, unction with oil and salt, were all essential to the real baptismal rite.

5. Other Portions of the Cathedral Proper.

Chancel, transept, and nave are always present in the cathedral plan. While differing in detail and in dimension their relative positions are always the same. Other portions of the plan, of lesser importance, vary more. The chapter house is characteristically octagonal, as at Lincoln:[1] it is oblong at Chester, Exeter, Gloucester, and Norwich. In monastic foundations it frequently appears not as a separate building but merely a room. In like manner does its location vary. Used for meetings of the chapter, its presence indicates organization of the local group.

The sacristry, or vestry, provides a place for the robes and sacred utensils used in ritual and ceremony. Many of these reflect the love of display and luxury. Of four medieval copes at Durham an eighteenth century writer reports: "They are so rich with

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1. Cf. fig. 4.

embroidery and emboss'd work of silver, as needs must make it uneasy for the wearers to sustain."[1] Some by their oriental grandeur were reminders of the Crusades; others were remade from gowns of fashion-loving nobles who courted priestly favor. The Close Rolls of 1242-1247 tell of a gift of white samite from the Pope to the King which the latter ordered to be made into two choir copes, bordered with gold and with little silver bells. These, and others equally elaborate, were to be gifts of the king to his favorites.[2] The liturgical colors of white, red, green, violet, and black contributed to this display.

Of the porches and crypt little need be said. The use of the large western portal was commonly reserved for important occasions. Hence doors with attendant porches appeared on north and south. By the thirteenth century the use of crypts in the ritual had largely passed and that of Hereford built together with the Lady Chapel about 1220 is the last instance of one in England.

6. Summary of the Religious Life as Recorded in the Cathedral Plan.

The plan of the cathedral records much of the religious life of the period by it arrangement and furnishing. Uniformity of plan in the different cathedrals speaks of religious affiliation and similarity of purpose and usage. The general arrangement indicates relationship to a religion of the past. The chancel reveals

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1. Bumpus, T. F.: The Cathedrals of England and Wales, p.243.
2. Cf. Hennings, Margaret A.: England Under Henry III, p.237.

organization of a sacerdotal hierarchy with the bishop as head of the cathedral. Belief centered around acceptance of seven sacraments with the eucharist given special place. Around these Scholasticism wove an intricate theology. The basic principle underlying this theology was that of vicarious intercession which led not only to adoration of Mary and the saints but determined the whole religious expression of the age. This expression was developed into elaborate ritual, involving use of music, of drama and of colorful processional: its practice was largely confined to the priestly group for whom the cathedral was primarily erected. In all this expression the love of wealth and magnificence is apparent.

C. The Religious Life of Thirteenth Century England as Recorded in the Cathedral Setting

To be complete, a consideration of the setting must include both the immediate surrounding and those environs forming the larger community. In this case the former includes the cathedral close while the latter is concerned with the cathedral town.

1. The Cathedral Close.

The plan of the cathedral proper by no means exhausts the study of architecture in the cathedral close. For on that broad expanse of greensward which separated thirteenth century cathedral from town are to be found other buildings which tell more completely the life of those who occupied the choir. These buildings have two types of arrangement, indicative of distinct kinds of organization.

With nine of the cathedrals the buildings are grouped around the cloisters and attached to the cathedral proper. The rest have, or had, independent buildings scattered around the close. The first nine represent monastic organization; the others were secular cathedrals.

Norwich is one of the monastic group. Here almost the entire shell of the original fabric is present today. Dormitory, kitchen, refectory, and lavatories supplied living quarters for a large number of individuals. Evidently here was a communal life of no small number of inhabitants. Courtyard surrounded by cloister reiterates the seclusion utilized for meditation and study. At a bench table in the north-east corner, close to the door leading to the prior's hall certain holes are to be found bored in the stonework. Evidently novices reserved this portion of the cloister for their recreation games, for excellent examples are generally to be found save where they have been taken away. They appear likewise at Westminster, Gloucester, and Salisbury.[1] Off the cloisters on the western walk is to be found the parlour or locutorium where tradespeople or visitors might be met. This is divided into two parts.

> "The 'private parlour' was for intercourse with strangers; the 'regular parlour' was identical with the calefactory, a room provided with a fire for the use of the monks in cold weather; by the Cisterian rule two monks might converse with a prior in it, during reading time."[1]

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1. Bumpus, T. F.: Cathedrals of England and Wales, p.188.

Life in the monastery was a combination of balanced community life with additional spiritual exercises. Extant contemporary records reveal division of labor so arranged that each had the necessary variation prohibiting monotony. Abbot, Prior, Sub-Prior, Precentor, Sacrist, Hospitaller, Infirmarer, Almoner, Master of the Novices, Porter, Kitchener, Seneschal, Artificers, Servants, all were present each with his own definite duties to perform.[1] Each was expected to aid the enforcement of discipline by the command "to cry out against any other who transgressed the rule."[2] Some of the stricter orders elaborated sign codes that speech might be unnecessary.[3] Throughout every phase of life and activity in the monastery was woven the belief that separation of churchmen from everyday life was to be desired above all else.

Since preceding centuries had made of monasticism a powerful organization, the strength of this group of ecclesiastics is merely hinted by the nine cathedrals under consideration. The number of orders was many and all had a multitude of adherents. The Benedictines, in control of the monastic cathedrals, were the aristocrats. By this time they were disregarding, in practice, their rule of seven hours' manual labor each day. They were influential not only for broad

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1. Cf. Hennings, M. A.: England Under Henry III, p.234 for the statutes of Newstead Priory giving these duties.
2. Cf. Power, E. E.: Medieval People, pp.62-64 for an interesting account of this and other events of convent life compiled from contemporary records.
3. Ibid., pp.66-67.

possessions, but for the fact that nearly all the literature, art, and science of the period were found in their body.[1] The Cistercians with seventy-five monasteries and twenty-six nunneries devoted more time to manual labor and stressed severe simplicity. The Carthusians, stricter still, observed perpetual silence within their houses, while Clugniacs, another branch of Benedictines, were never very popular in England, erecting less than twenty houses.

The Canons Secular and Canons Regular were of the milder Augustinian rule. The former were clergy for the secular and collegiate churches. From their ranks were recruited the greater number of cathedral bishops and other leaders, inasmuch as the church organization was not monastic, and Canons Secular found it far easier to work with canons of other cathedrals than did the monks. The residences of these secular canons were scattered throughout the cathedral close, but the organization of their life and the church services they rendered were similar. Vicars-choral and chantry-priests often formed separate corporations, being subject to the chapter in matters concerning the church, but having their own statutes and privileges. They were frequently provided with a habitation which had a common hall and separate sleeping chambers. Cloisters are present in all of the secular cathedrals except York and Lichfield. Arrangement reveals such

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1. Cf. Cutts, E. L.: Scenes and Characters from the Middle Ages, p.9.

cloisters were for beauty; life was not organized around them as it was in the monasteries.

The cathedral chapters, whether monastic or secular, were alike in the order of daily church service, in their idea of separation, and in the requirement of celibacy. This latter fact is evidenced by the architecture where no provision is made for family life. There was another similarity in the method of finance. To each canonical stall in the choir was attached a prebend or regular source of income. This was provided for each canon out of estates, manors, and churches, granted to the chapters out of the episcopal property or by other benefactors. Some proportion of these was retained, to be held by the chapter in common: but each of the separate prebends was a local unit, divided from the rest and set apart for the canon of a special stall. It was this financial aspect of its life that drew the church into close relationship with feudalism.

During the medieval period industrialism was still hidden in the secret future; land was the great medium of wealth. Possession brought with it necessity for defense and thus developed a system of class distinctions involving a graduated series of fees and service in return for protection. All England was divided into manors of which the tenant-in-chief was the king. By passing through the various stages of subinfeudation the manor came into control of the one who farmed it by aid of those freemen and serfs

who owed him definite labor obligations. With the accumulation of wealth the church became a landowner. Through her great authority she collected not only feudal rights, but aids and levies required for the repair of the cathedral, the bishops's visits to Rome, or for other ecclesiastical needs. With the desire of chapters to gain as much as possible, oppression was inevitable. Because of her strength the oppression of the church was the more severe.

> "There is plenty of evidence that of all landlords the religious houses were the most severe -- not the most oppressive, but the most tenacious of their rights; they were bent on the maintenance of pure villein tenure and personal villeinage. The immortal, but soul-less, corporation with her wealth of accurate records would yield no inch, would enfranchise no serf, would enfranchise no tenement . . . We find that it is against them (the monks) that the peasants make their loudest complaints."[1]

A century which rarely faced peasant insurrection against the harsh treatment of lay proprietors felt the discontent of its serfs against excessive ecclesiastical fiscal extractions even to the point of arms and tumults. Revolt against the Abbey of St. Albans in 1274 required the king's intervention to put it down, and, even so, it was quenched only temporarily. Hugh of St. Albans spent about $250,000.00 modern currency for his confirmation as abbot[2] and this extravagance was as fuel to the flame.

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1. Thompson, J. W.: Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages (300-1300), p.681.
2. Whetstone, J. W.: The Theory and Practice of Church Property in England in Medieval Times, p.119.

It was because of this financial policy that much of the corruption entered the ecclesiastical organization. The more valuable prebends were carefully watched by both Crown and papacy; appointments led to constant struggle between church and state. The fact that it was possible for a non-resident canon to retain his prebend by having a resident vicar or deputy occupy his place in the choir led to even greater corruption. As time passed sons of nobles increasingly entered the church because of its income rather than through any spiritual desire. With power, wealth, and large numbers of canons dominated by material motives the spiritual life of the church must inevitably suffer. The abnormal life developed by a policy of separation and widespread celibacy would likewise weaken understanding and sympathy on the part of the churchmen for those in other walks of life. Finally, with the church upholding an economic system which held many in bondage of some degree, opposition from other classes was to be expected. In spite of all this it must be constantly remembered that such opposition was always against certain individuals or houses, never against the whole church nor the accepted faith. Nor must it be forgotten that within the cathedral close were many like Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, who saw clearly the faults of the church and endeavored earnestly to correct them.

2. The Cathedral Town

Just outside the cathedral close grew up the cathedral

town. It originally consisted of artisans recruited from the secular ranks for work with the cathedral and its accompanying buildings, but as time went on trade increased and other occupations were added:

> "Each quarter of the dwellings was devoted to a special occupation and it might be interesting to catalogue the various groups represented. We find gardeners, drivers, herders, plowmen, hostlers, butchers, foilers, fullers, carders, weavers, copper and iron smiths, wheelwrights, carpenters, masons, tile-makers, millers, fishers, fowlers, bakers, bee-keepers, foresters, and last but not least, the brewers. Then the fine crafts were represented by the wood and stone carvers, gilders, painters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, and parchment makers."[1]

With commerce newly awakening, with feudalism pouring wealth into the hands of nobles who could pay for luxury, with crusades stimulating new desires, the development of towns was rapid. Charters were often granted by king or nobles, and when denied there was rebellion against the over-lord, frequently a bishop or abbot, and the forming of a commune. This was adminstered by a merchant gild and granted fixed rights of self-government. It reflects the desire for liberty kindling in the hearts of Englishmen during this century, a desire which developed into constitutional government and signed the death warrant for feudalism.

To all this beginning of change the church was greatly opposed. It feared the organization of craftsmen into gilds, even as those gilds resented the competition of the church's shops of

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1. Thompson, J. W.: Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages (300-1300), p.98.

servile workmen.

> "For the practice of the abbots and bishops, especially the former, was to sell the surplus of their manufactured wares upon the local market, where naturally they could undersell free production owing to the fact that they paid low wages and were exempt from taxation, market dues, etc."[1]

That trade gilds were frequently both religious and economic did not prevent the rising of strong anti-clerical feeling among the industrial classes of the thirteenth century.

This anti-clerical feeling was not the only result of the churchmen's participating in trade. Whereas monastic walls and close presented a cul-de-sac through which there was no thoroughfare, the surroundings of a secular cathedral were open in the daytime and the laity used them freely. With parish priests keeping sheep, pigs, cows and other animals in the parish cemetery and with some churchmen willing to discuss business in the nave itself, the church lost spiritual appeal through its worldliness.

> "The people treated it (the church) as did the clerics themselves. Markets were held in the graveyards and on the porches of the cathedrals. Business was carried on in the pews of the churches, even of the smaller country parishes. There came the petitioners to seek favors of the lords, and many times one could not hear the divine service for the noise. Contemporary accounts bear witness to this fact."[2]

Here too were to be found many of the amusements of the day and traveling jongleur and wandering minstrel found favor with the

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1. Whetstone, John: op. cit., p.102.
2. Ibid., p.104.

crowds who gathered for trading purposes.

With organization in initial stages and no strong state authority, lawlessness was current in the medieval town. That police protection was lacking is the plaint of one bewildered countryman, John Lydgate, who has recorded his sensations when he lost his hood at one end of the city in the morning and before sunset had recognized it hung up for sale at the other end. "I knew it as well as I knew my creed," says he.[1] The nearby open close made a popular place for malefactors to roam at night. It was this danger that led the dean and chapter at Lincoln in 1285 to apply for a license to enclose their precinct with a wall twelve feet high.[2] York, Exeter, Wells, and Lichfield soon followed this example, and the end of the next century found Hereford the last cathedral to take this precaution. Many cathedrals insisted that all parishioners of churches within the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter be buried in the cathedral churchyard, in order that the mortuaries might belong to the cathedral. This was an additional incentive to the protection of the close from violation as no crime was more common in the middle ages than the pollution of graveyards by bloodshed.[3]

The church not only aroused hostility of townsmen by competing with them: its policy of a separated clergy deprived the town of those finer personalities which it needed. States one

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1. Cf. Stuart, D. M.: Men and Women of Plantagenet England, p.130.
2. Thompson, A. H.: The Cathedral Churches of England, p.157.
3. Ibid., p.158.

student of the period:

> "In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the towns of England, France, and Germany were sheer industrial centers, and the townspeople were taken up with trade and handicraft. They had scant intellectual interests, but were very practically religious or superstitious, with dashes of coarse scepticism . . . Their thoughts did not represent the intellectually and spiritually best in the world, did not touch the higher reaches of the saint, the theologian-philosopher, or the romantic poet."[1]

But contact of churchman and townsman was not limited exclusively to the sphere of the manual arts nor secular business. There was surging throughout western Europe a "spirit of restlessness, of inquiry, of impatience with the older traditions of mankind."[2] That spirit was expressing itself in desire for learning, a desire that was quenched by an education which owed its very existence to the church.

> "We now find three schools attached to the great churches, the theological school under the chancellor, who is generally required to be a master in theology, a doctor of divinity; the grammar school under the grammar schoolmaster, generally required to be an M. A., appointed by the chancellor, whose deputy he was; and the song or music school under the song schoolmaster, appointed by the percentor, whose deputy he was, for whom no special qualification was laid down."[3]

Such schools were preliminary and preparatory; they were required by the Lateran Council of 1215 to give teaching gratis. The thirteenth century found also the establishment of the university in England. Of these Oxford and Cambridge were the most important, and were so

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1. Taylor, H. O.: The Medieval Mind, p. 344
2. Green, J. R.: A Short History of the English People, p. 132
3. Leach, A. F.: The Schools of Medieval England, p. 158

closely linked with the life of the time that they were considered barometers of political and ecclesiastical feeling. "'When Oxford draws knife', ran the old rime, 'England's soon at strife'."[1] A secession from Oxford in 1238 produced a university at Salisbury which after giving rise to two of the earliest university colleges in England died out by 1325. With the beginning of this collegiate system began the separation of education and the church which was to reappear in later centuries. As yet, however, the two were indissolvably linked.

> "The only difference between the university college, with its church attached, and the collegiate church, with its schools of grammar and song attached, was that the latter were primarily for religious services and secondarily for education, and the former were primarily for education and secondarily for religious services. The collegiate church was ad orandum et studendum, the house of scholars at the university ad studendum et orandum. Both were indifferently spoken of as colleges."[2]

Only a church comparatively wealthy could have given as dominant a place to education as did the medieval church. Yet her greatest contribution lay not in the establishment of places of education, but in the leadership she furnished. In this leadership, paradoxical as it may seem, it was the mendicant orders which led into the deeper studies of theology and established it on an equal with medicine and law. These mendicant orders, Dominicans and Franciscans, had arisen in opposition to a monasticism grown worldly.

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1. Green, op. cit., p.134.
2. Leach, A. F.: The Schools of Modern England, p.167.

It was to them, with their vows of poverty and service, that the townspeople turned for practical demonstration of what the Christian life meant. In spite of St. Francis of Assisi's opposition to education it was the Franciscan school at Oxford that did much to turn the thoughts of scholasticism into those critical channels which, in spite of frequently trivial subject, laid a firm basis for the scholarship of later centuries.

In all this both secular and monastic ecclesiasticism played a part in developing the educational life of townsmen. But it must be borne in mind that those participating in higher education were of necessity few in number, and that although the cathedral chapter might have its schools, and cathedral canons might be contributing much to intellectual leadership, there were scattered throughout England many parish priests of little education. These, while not affiliated with cathedral chapters, formed a part of the ecclesiastical organization to which they belonged, and coming in more direct contact with the people, had definite influence upon the religious life of the time.

Besides the educational privileges it offered, the cathedral made other definite contribution to town life. The buildings around the cloister numbered among them an infirmary and a stranger's hall. Here many of the sick were cared for and travellers found shelter. As the thirteenth century progressed this work was greatly supplemented by that of the friars. That it was a necessary work

is apparent when one considers that sanitation in the medieval town was of the poorest, and that medical science was in its infancy.1

The cathedral town owed its very existence to the presence of the ecclesiastical structure. Its growth began with those who were artisans for the cathedral, but its organization and government were bitterly opposed by those who feared change. Business competition between church and town led to bitter anti-clerical feeling and the use of the church and close for commercial purposes. By its policy of separation the church kept town life on a relatively low level. However it did provide educational privileges and sometimes aided the ill and the stranger.

From all this the truth of the following is evident:

> "The church in the early and middle ages, is not an institution which was working silently in the background while events were going on independently; she was the central figure in the drama -- the power most active in moulding events. Being not only the medium through which we inherited the civilization of the past, not only the great moral educator of the ages of which I am writing, but also a secular power of the highest social and political importance, her influence penetrated every side of life."2

3. Summary of the Religious Life as Recorded in the Cathedral Setting

Monastic life in the close centered around the cloister. Here dwelt a group of men in a community life, bound together by

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1. Cf. Walsh, J. J.: Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries, Chapter XXI, and Coulton, G. G.: Life in the Middle Ages, Vol. iii, pp.62-72
2. Armitage, E. S.: The Childhood of the English Nation, Preface, p. vi.

vows of separation from the world for the purpose of spiritual exercise. From past centuries of organization monasticism had gained great wealth and power in all phases of life and throughout the country. Secular cathedrals, with houses for canons scattered over the close, patterned life and service along the same lines. The financing of both groups involved the church in the feudalistic system and led it into oppression and corruption.

The cathedral close gave rise to the cathedral town. Such towns were peopled largely by artisans and merchants who frequently used the cathedral close and porch for business and amusement, even while they resented the competition of churchmen in commercial affairs. Trade gilds developed strong anti-clerical feeling as a reaction to the church's hinderance of progress. The lawlessness of the towns is evident from high cathedral walls erected during this and the following century. At the same time it was the church which fostered the great educational movement having its rise in this century, and frequently provided succor for ill and needy.

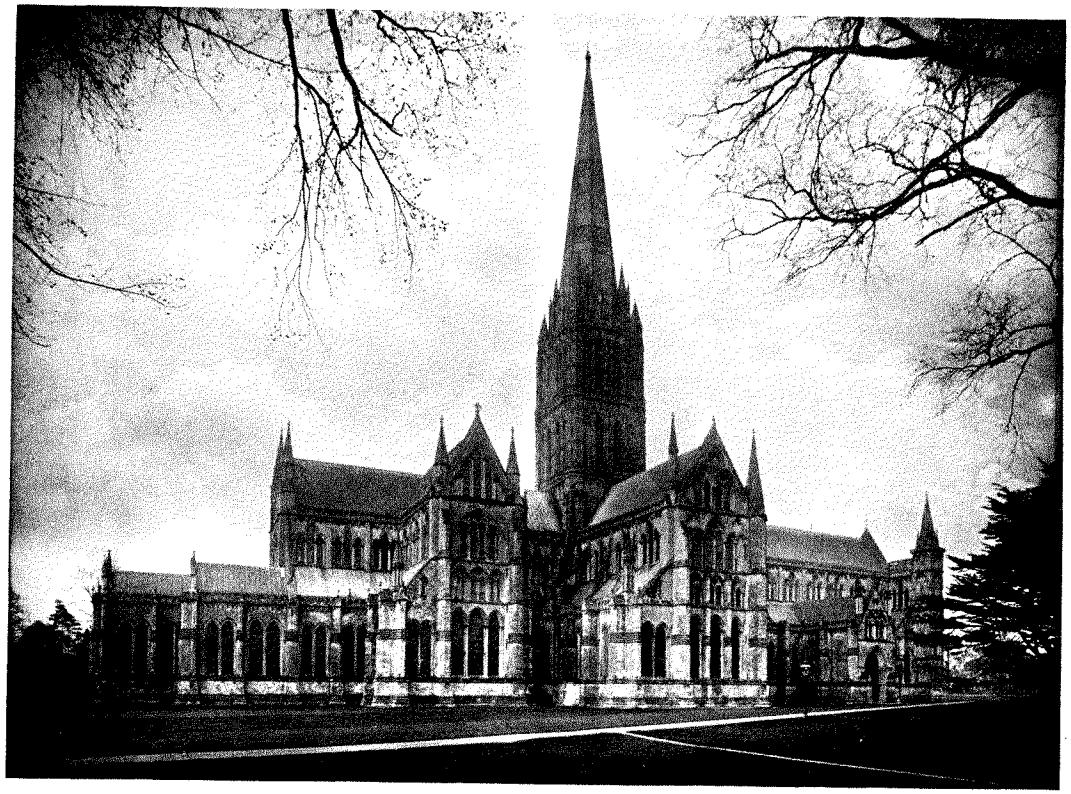
D. Summary and Conclusion for Chapter I

To the prosaic mind cathedral plan and setting have to do with the obvious. But he who knows the magic of interpretation conjures out of the shadows of the past those who peopled them; those who gave them purpose and significance. Here are cowled monks and stately bishops, humble friars and parish priests, ever disputing among themselves, ever acknowledging the authority of the church over

all. By that ecclesiastical organization to which they all belong they bind England together. Through that other unifying institution of feudalism, with which they are so greatly entangled, they touch the lives of all. The strength of the church lies in the universal acceptance of her power in vicarious intercession. For that intercession rich and poor bring their gifts, sometimes voluntarily, sometimes because of compulsion. To make the intercession men leave all walks of life. Hence the church becomes that paradox, a democracy and a hierarchy. Around that intercession gathers worship of saints, of Mary. Those who pursue such intercession follow lives of celibacy, of separation. The form of intercession utilizes elaborate ritual, frequent festival, complicated ceremonial for each of the sacraments. As form becomes more important, as wealth increases, as separation from everyday life makes intercession increasingly mechanical, corruption more and more permeates the lives of religious leaders. Even so, opposition to corruption opposes practice rather than theology. Churchman, townsman, scholar, craftsman, merchant, lady, baron - all believe that which the church presents as truth. The church molds the thought of the age.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AS RECORDED IN THE CATHEDRAL BUILDING AND FORM



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VIEW FROM NORTHEAST
Cathedral, Salisbury

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

GOTHIC
XIII CENT.

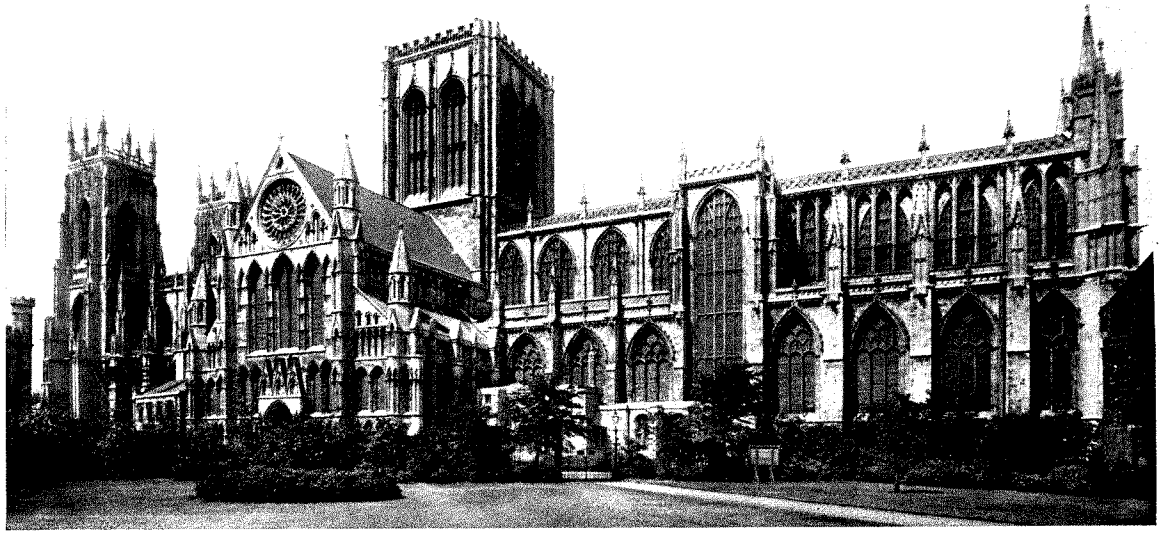
Fig. 6.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AS RECORDED IN THE CATHEDRAL BUILDING AND FORM

A. Introduction

The planning of architecture has primarily to do with the practical; the form can deal in fuller measure with the aesthetic. Here creative idea is given expression, wholly in the purely decorative features, partially in structural style. Because of this the "substance" of architecture, that indefinable spirit which marks a structure as completely fulfilling the purpose for which it was created, has source here. Yet architectural form is never the product of one generation alone. Always, as in the plan, the contribution of the present is molded by the heritage of the past; without understanding of that past there can be no complete knowledge of the present. This is especially true of the structural characteristics. So, having discovered those characteristics for thirteenth century English cathedral form, it will be necessary to determine origins. Likewise, since the number of workers and manner of building affect the expression of life and thought in architecture, the building process will be considered. Final concentration will center about the decorative elements where is opportunity for greatest freedom of expression.



VIEW FROM SOUTH
Cathedral, York

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

GOTHIC
XIII-XV CENT.

G 418

Fig. 7.

B. The Religious Life of Thirteenth Century England as Recorded in the Cathedral Structural Form

As with the cathedral plan, the study of cathedral form reveals certain characteristics common to all. In these and in their origins lies much of the expression of the religious life.

1. Structural Characteristics of the Thirteenth Century English Cathedrals

Nearly the entire group of structural principles as well as other general characteristics can be ascertained from the external views of the cathedrals. Salisbury may again be considered typical, save for its complete erection during this period. Brief examination of the exterior view[1] shows a long narrow structure, low in comparison with French cathedrals, but with a high central tower; two much smaller towers on the western façade; moderately pitched roof; two boldly projecting transepts; square apsidal end; few chapels; simple lancet windows arranged in groups of twos and threes; heavy pinnacled buttresses with flying buttresses on transepts; and fenestration suggesting an internal arrangement of three stories. Other cathedrals concur in these features, save that transepts are often single as at York,[2] flying buttresses may not be present, and some windows become decorated.

The study of the plan has given reason for the long,

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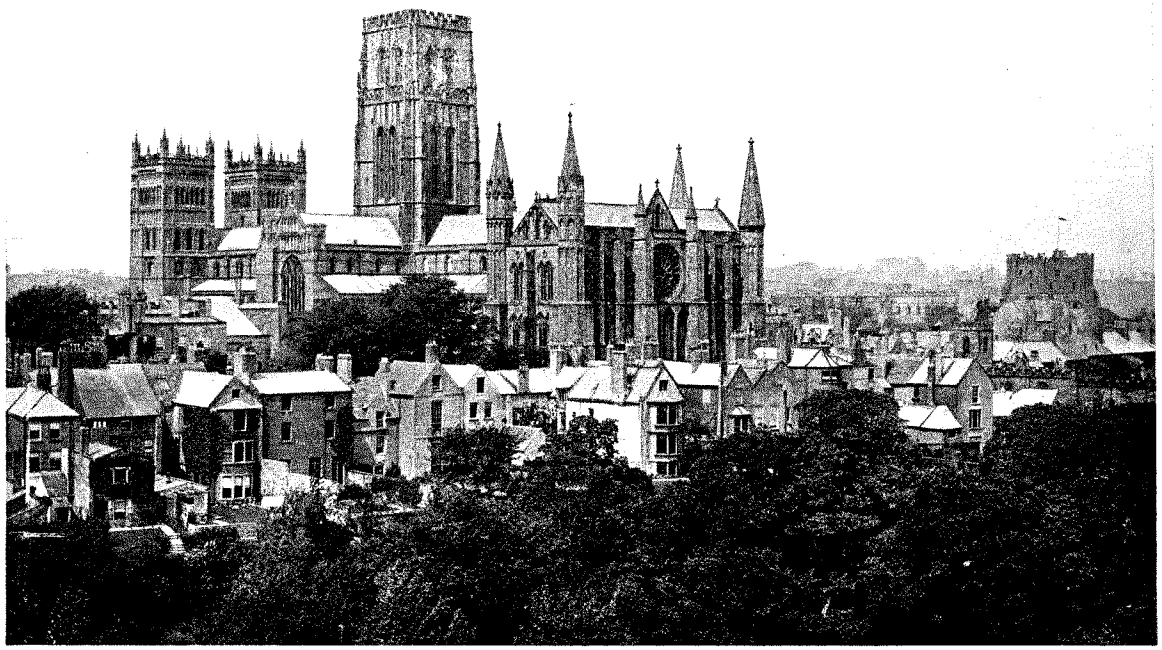
1. Cf. fig. 6.
2. Cf. fig. 7.



G 361

VIEW FROM SOUTHEAST
Cathedral, Durham

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ROMANESQUE (Norman) AND GOTHIC
XI-XIV CENT.

Fig. 8.

narrow structure. That expansion of the eastern end for choir and Lady Chapel, frequently supplemented a lengthy nave. York, the longest of all with four hundred and sixty-eight feet, beautifully illustrates this.[1] With reason for the enlargement already given in connection with the services, nothing need be added here.

Interest centers chiefly in those massive buttresses, pinnacled and flying; in moderately pitched roof; in lancet windows and their arrangement. Curiosity is increased by the appearance of interiors. How can a slender central pillar bear the crushing weight of chapter house roof?[2] What withstands the tremendous downward thrust of heavy vault when there are "walls of glass" and, below, pier arcades of fragile shafts?[3] He who would understand the cathedral must know something of the answers to these questions. For it is in structure as well as in outward adornment that the secret of the Gothic lies.

> "The evolution of the Gothic . . . may be traced by the gradual acceptance of structural character, even sometimes when more apparent than real, as the most important aid to aesthetic effect."[4]

In the narrowest sense the organic Gothic is a system of vaults, supports, and buttresses, with the supports merely strong enough to bear the weight of the vaults, with stability of the structure guaranteed

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1. Cf. fig. 7.
2. Cf. fig. 4.
3. Cf. figs. 11, 12, 13.
4. Kimball, F. and Edgell, G. H.: A History of Architecture, p.281.

EAST END
Cathedral, Exeter

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MAINLY GOTHIC. XIV CENT.
TOWERS NORMAN. XII CENT.

G 871

Fig. 9.

by thrust and counterthrust.[1] Not only was the vault weight lessened by decreasing thickness until it became a web of several inches, but the pointing of the arch shifted the pressure on the individual stones so that each stone partially rested on the stone below. The ribs carried the weight of the vault to points high up on the clerestory wall where several met. Their combined lateral drive could be offset by the arch which carried it across side-aisle roof and wall to the external buttress and the ground. Thus the flying buttress came with its pinnacles adding additional strength and decoration. Such buttressing, together with the pointed arch, made possible increased height of clerestory with attendant diminution of triforium. This permitted the use of vast areas of walls for windows, the changing of piers to slender shafts and clustered columns, in short, opened the way for that "aerial immateriality" which characterizes each of the structures under observation.

The relation of this development to the religious life of the time is a matter of dispute. Says one authority:

> "It cannot be affirmed too strongly that the general adoption of the pointed in place of the round arch was the result of its practical convenience in vaulting. Many fanciful explanations of its origin are to be found, but this is the only one which really accounts for it."[2]

This is undoubtedly true, not only for the pointed arch but for that whole Gothic structure which it so frequently symbolizes. At the

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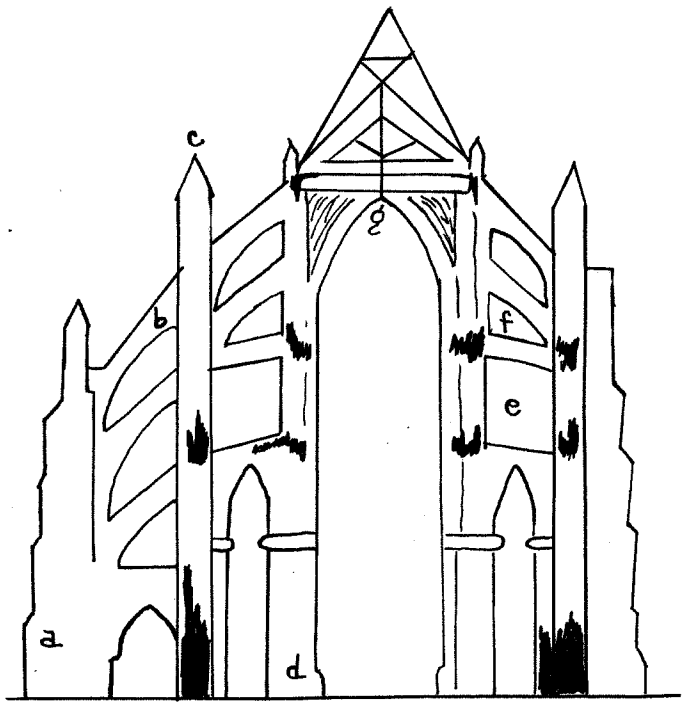
1. Cf. fig. 10.
2. Thompson, A. H.: The Cathedral Churches of England, p.41.

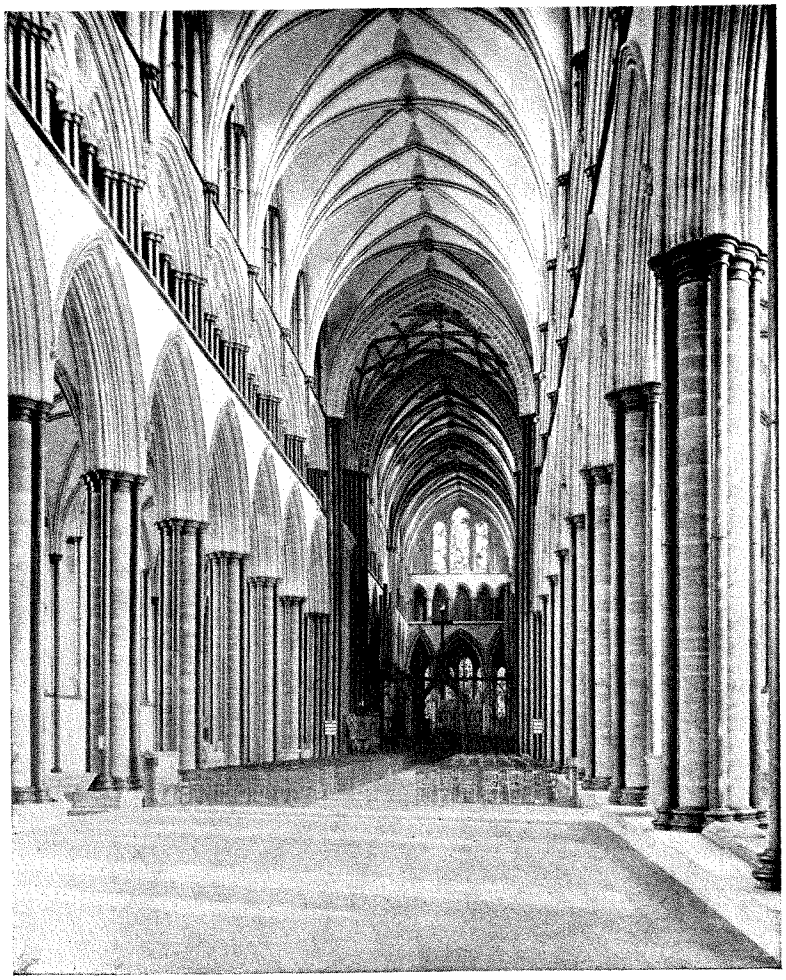


a. BUTTRESS.
b. FLYING BUTTRESS
c. PINNACLE
d. PIER ARCADE
e. TRIFORIUM
f. CLERESTORY
g. VAULT.

Fig. 10. CROSS SECTION of GOTHIC CATHEDRAL

same time it may be questioned whether the use of the pointed arch and the attendant structural development would have given rise to such magnificent architectural concepts as these in an age where there was less of restlessness. Medieval life was, paradoxically enough, a longing for adventure and for spiritual stability. True, the church had its monks quietly meditating, but it had likewise its wandering friars and itinerant priests. Scholars, impelled by resistless desire for learning and change, wandered from school to school. Merchants, musicians, nobles, jongleurs, all yielded to that inner urge which led them down many roads to many localities. Only an age dominated by such restlessness could have sent out thousands from all classes and occupations to a distant Mediterranean land. Only an age which united that restlessness with the desire for spiritual security could have centered all such seeking in the religious realm. For so it did. Love of adventure, avowedly at least, was transmitted by the Crusades into love for Christ and His land; desire for learning was clothed with the religious habit of Scholasticism. The cathedrals themselves, with their never ending intercession for salvation, are massive memorials to a desire for something not yet attained. To declare, then, that there is no relation between these qualities, so apparent in the architecture and so outstanding in the lives of those creating it, is unthinkable. One can scarcely imagine the Greeks with their concept of perfection producing a Gothic cathedral, even with the knowledge of the pointed

G 406



NAVE, LOOKING EAST
Cathedral, Salisbury

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Fig. 11.

arch and all it meant. The "substance" of the Gothic style, whatever the architectural reasons for the existence of that style, epitomizes the spirit of the centuries which brought it into being.

2. The Origins of Thirteenth Century English Cathedral Form

The relationship of life and thought with the style is even more apparent when individual differences in the cathedrals are noted. Observation soon reveals that English cathedrals are not entirely of organic Gothic. Choir at Ely,[1] naves of York[2] and Lincoln,[3] may speak of thrust and counterthrust, but others as Norwich retain massive round pillars and round, not pointed, arches.[4] At Peterborough choir, ribs meet on shaft extending from floor to clerestory, but both shaft and ribs are merely additions having no organic purpose. Chichester, Rochester, and Durham naves make no pretense of altering round arcades to pointed ones. In almost every cathedral with the exception of Salisbury there is present an earlier form of architecture than the Gothic. And in that other style is to be found the parent of the thirteenth century form. For even as law and constitutional rights came out of the racial heritage of Norman, Saxon, and Teuton - the ancestry of thirteenth century England - so her architecture emerged in splendor from the plain chrysalis of the Romanesque. Huge massive walls, many feet thick, supporting ponderous vault and

* * * * * *

1. Cf. fig. 3.
2. Cf. fig. 12.
3. Cf. fig. 13.
4. Cf. fig. 14 for an example of the round arch.

G 419

NAVE, LOOKING EAST
Cathedral, York

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GOTHIC
XIII-XIV CENT.

Fig. 12.

permitting only the narrowest of splayed windows characterized the architecture of the earlier monasticism. But this Romanesque, even as the monasticism from whence it came, prohibited great change. To be stable the round arch must be half as high as it was broad; therefore height and breadth were both limited.[1] And then, out of the cloisters themselves came the understanding of those laws which released the cathedral and sent it soaring up and up and up to the new heights. Just a few struggles to release the newly formed wings, just the briefest possible period of adjustment, and from the chrysalis emerged the Gothic butterfly, no longer bound tightly in darkness, but filled with light and graceful beauty.

Such change was due not to England, but to France.[2]

> "It was the monks of Cluny who, in the splendor of vision and faith, first worked out the principles of the Gothic style in building . . . It was the Cistercian monks who first carried the principles of the Gothic into several other countries . . . 'Normandy in the eleventh century,' says a well-known writer on Gothic architecture, 'was simply Cluny in action, and during this period the structural elements in Gothic architecture were brought into being'."[3]

The following century found the same principles well established at Lincoln. The rapidity of all this reveals several things about the religious life. First of all, there must have been an international religion with similarity of expression. Otherwise that which suited one country would be of little architectural value to another. But

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1. Cf. fig. 14.
2. Cf. Bumpus, T. F.: The Cathedrals of England and Wales, p.228 for conflicting opinion.
3. O'Hagan, Thomas: With Staff and Scrip, pp.58-59, 62.

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NAVE, LOOKING EAST
Cathedral, Lincoln

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

GOTHIC
XIII CENT.

Fig. 13.

with this similarity there must also have been the inter-communication of ideas, both architectural and religious. The Norman conquest made French-Anglo contact inevitable; but that in itself would not account for similarity of ecclesiastical structure. Nor would mere commercial or political contact suffice. Geographical proximity would have some influence in heightening those contacts, but the rapidity of this movement must depend upon more than that alone. That there was this necessary religious contact is, of course, evidenced by history, and equally by the names of the architects in charge of the first Gothic buildings in England.[1] There is some debate as to whether the style was initiated through the building of Canterbury choir by William of Sens, the work of Goeffrey de Noyers at Lincoln, or whether the first complete Gothic of England commenced with the Cathedral of Wells under Reginald Fitzbohun. But these very discussions merely reiterate the fact that English Gothic received impetus from foreign sources.

Comparison of French and English cathedrals leads to the conviction that there was by no means a blind following of French ideas. Everywhere the national character of the English architecture is apparent. Strangely enough, this tendency came likewise from a French source firmly established in England before the century under consideration: viz., the Norman building of previous years. The patient,

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1. Cf. Britton, J.: The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. 5, Appendix II for complete list of architects.

G 368

PRIOR'S GATEWAY
Cathedral, Ely

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ROMANESQUE (Norman)
XII CENT.

Fig. 14.

industrious, resourceful, yet poetic Saxon constantly manifested a "stubborn conservatism of principle which gave to the nation individuality and originality."[1] Saxon architecture, while revealing this in its simplicity and decoration, remained small in structure and relatively unimportant in quantity. Only when reinforced with the superabundant energy released in the Norman genius for war, organization, and building, and motivated by purposes and zeal of monasticism were there produced the rich gems of the English Romanesque.[2] In the sparkle of the new style England remembered the value of the old and hence the combination of old and new found in the cathedrals.

So it is that England did architecturally what she did in every other phase of life, she retained old tradition adapting it to new idea. Even as the desire for individual freedom and constitutional government made advance during the century by constantly reiterating and enlarging previously acknowledged rights; even as churchmen clung to feudalism while they themselves were composed of democratic groups, even as papal power was based upon new aggression for traditional claims, so the Romanesque with slight alteration fused its personality with that of the Gothic that an architecture characteristically English might result.

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1. Godfrey, W. H.: The Story of Architecture in England, p.29.
2. Cf. fig. 14.

3. Summary of the Religious Life as Recorded in the Cathedral Structural Form

The structural characteristics of thirteenth century cathedrals reveal the development of the Gothic form. The adoption of the style was for architectural reasons; the conception of its use for such cathedral structures could come only from a people of emotional restlessness with a passionate desire for spiritual security. That the religious life was one of international contact and organization is manifest from the origin and spread of the Gothic. Behind retention of the old Romanesque with the new form lies the characteristic English combination of tradition with progress. Thus the architecture, as the religion, has both national and international characteristics.

C. The Religious Life of Thirteenth Century England as Recorded in the Cathedral Decorative Form

Decorative form through its very purpose permits freedom of expression to its creator. In architecture the manner of construction and liberty given to those who labor, will greatly affect the interpretation of such decoration.

In this study just and complete interpretation also requires consideration of all phases of decorative art present in the cathedral structures.

1. The Building Process

The number and size of cathedral structures required a

multitude of workers and a widespread interest in the work.

> "There was intense rivalry between these various towns. Each tried to surpass the other in the grandeur of its cathedral and auxiliary buildings. Instead of lending workmen to one another there was a civic pride in accomplishing for one's native town whatever was best."[1]

In this, churchman, monk and common laborer often worked side by side. The monks of Gloucester "with lively zeal" helped to complete the vaulting with which their flat Norman roof was replaced and it is recorded that St. Hugh, when bishop of Lincoln, carried hod-loads of hewn stone and of mortar during the building of the glorious angel-choir.[2] For the most part, though, while the churchman was the architect or at least vitally concerned with planning the work, the actual labor was done by skilled artisans and regular workmen. The number of these and their wages is revealed in an extant "Roll of Payments of Wages, and of purchases for the Works at Westminster, 37 Henry III." which contains the entire accounts of the building works during thirty-two continuous weeks from April 28 to December 6, 1253. A translation from a typical week's report is as follows:

> "Second week after Easter, containing on Tuesday the feast of St. John ante portam Latinam, which belongs to the King:-
>
> "To wages of 49 cutters of white stone, 15 marblers, 26 stone-layers, 32 carpenters with John and his partner at St. Albans, two painters with an assistant, 13 polishers, 19 smiths, 14 glaziers with four plumbers, 15l 10s 1d. (This will give an average of 1s. 10d. per week.)
>
> "To wages of 176 inferior workmen with overseers and

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1. Walsh, J. J.: The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries, pp.8-9.
2. Cf. Stuart, D. M.: Men and Women of Plantagenet England, p.100.

and clerks, and two two-horse carts daily, 9l 17s 2d. (About 9d. a week.)
"Sum of wages, 25l 7s 2d. (About 9d a week.)"[1]

A list of emptions follows revealing the various prices for different materials needed, bringing the sum total expenditures for the week to 53l and 1½d. While the accounts for the church and those of the King's chambers in the adjoining palace are so confused that they cannot be separated, it is estimated that the expenditure for Westminster during this period was from 20,000 to 40,000 pounds in present-day English currency.[2] This is in spite of the ridiculously low wages of the workers. Masons received clothes and sometimes food in addition to their earnings. As can be noted from the above quotation the holidays were equally divided, part of them belonging to the laborer, holidays, part of them belonging to the King, workdays.

They were an interesting group, these workmen, as scraps of information hidden away in ponderous documents reveal. A roll of slightly later date than the one quoted above states that the head mason received "nothing for his dress this year because he refused to receive it on account of delay in its delivery."[3] Another, slightly more independent, refused to work at all unless he happened to feel like it; while Robert Goodgroom was such a stickler for his dinner-hour "that never would he begin work until the clock should

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1. Scott, G. G.: Gleanings from Westminster, p.233.
2. Cf. ibid, p.253.
3. Ibid, p.257.

'smyte'."[1] Such happenings would be increased by the fact that "the usual method, in the thirteenth century, was to command the Sheriff of a county to provide so many masons."[2] Hence he was usually more interested in number than in quality. Again, while evidence would indicate that in a time when hatreds flared swiftly they were generally stilled while working on the sacred edifice, now and then they flared forth. There is at least a hint of feeling as well as humor in the scene at Ely of a fox, garbed in amice and stole, preaching to a flock of geese from the text "God is my witness how much I long for you all,"[3] especially when one recalls the prevalent anti-clerical feeling. They were very human, these workmen.

This building process required skill and labor of many types of workmen. The stone-mason had the greatest amount of labor; he it was on whom responsibility rested not only for placing of "grossis rotundis" (great round stones) and "maignanz" (large stones), but also for work with "cerches" (curved stones), "excus" (those cut with a bevel edge) and the score or more of other shapes and sizes which comprised taskwork for doors, windows, arches, vaults, which by his very skill were transformed into beauty from plainess. To some masons would likewise fall the task of turning the shafts of native Purbeck marble on the lathe, rounding capitals and bases as well.

* * * * * *

1. Stuart, op. cit. p.101.
2. Anderson, M. D.: The Medieval Carver, p.10.
3. Prentice, Sartell: The Heritage of the Cathedral, p.120.

Intermingled with the masons would be the hurrying carters of the stone or other inferior laborers.

Another interesting and exceedingly important artisan was the creator of the "walls of glass." In making a window the glass-worker would first draw the design in full size upon the whitened boards of his bench indicating lines for lead and those heavier ones for the bars of iron that held the window together. Workmen bending over great pots of molten color with mineral content of sand making color uncertain but rich, supplied him with the large sheets of glass from which he cut small pieces with hot iron or diamond point, always binding together the bits of mosaic with lead and constantly bearing in mind the final harmony when the light filtering through should blend reds and blues, whites, yellows, and greens into a unified whole. Sometimes, with artist's skill, he gained the best effect by placing two colors in juxtaposition letting the eye mingle them into one.[1]

But in the glorifying of God through the cathedral all the decorative arts were called into cooperation. Rows of statues in graceful dignity across western façades spoke of the clever chisel of sculptor. The metal worker set his molds of sandy substance to cast the metal for hinges, locks and grilles, or hammered them into form from flat sheet metal. Workers in lead fashioned roofs or more decorative weathervanes which stood with audacity on high spires.

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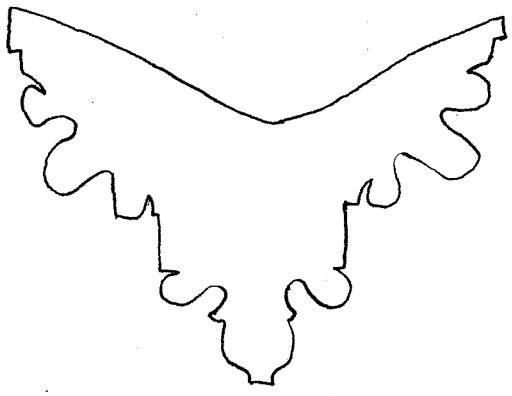
1. Cf. Gardner, Helen: Art Through the Ages, p.219

Weavers labored steadfastly at the loom that tapestry might vie with stained-glass in giving brilliance of hue to somber stone walls. Woodcarvers cut and polished the rugged oak until its satiny finish made it worthy of choir stall, and then, to enhance its beauty carved curious figures in out-of-the-way places. Finally, with skillful fingers, masters of work in gold and silver fashioned dinanderie profusely decorated with filagree, precious stones, and cloisonné enamels, or plated the work of others with their Midas touches. Then, as stone-mason and glass-worker, as wood-carver and tapestry-weaver finished with a shout of triumph or stole away in quiet content, the cathedral, adorned with these their offerings, stood erect to tell of their worship to those of later ages.

This widespread building program and the large number of workers involved required a widespread interest in architecture and all forms of art. That such interest was expressed in the erection of many ecclesiastical structures evidences a society aware of the importance of the religious element in life. In the building process the churchmen were generally supervisors, while dozens of workmen recruited from the secular ranks were responsible for construction and detail. Hence the plan and structural characteristics revealed clerical ideas; the mind of the people should be indicated more in the decoration.

2. The Kinds of Decoration

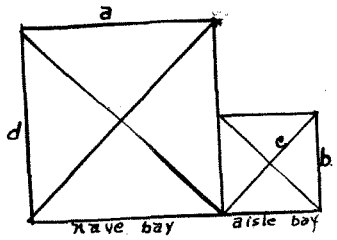
From the building process it is evident that the decorative element is a great factor in the form of the completed whole.



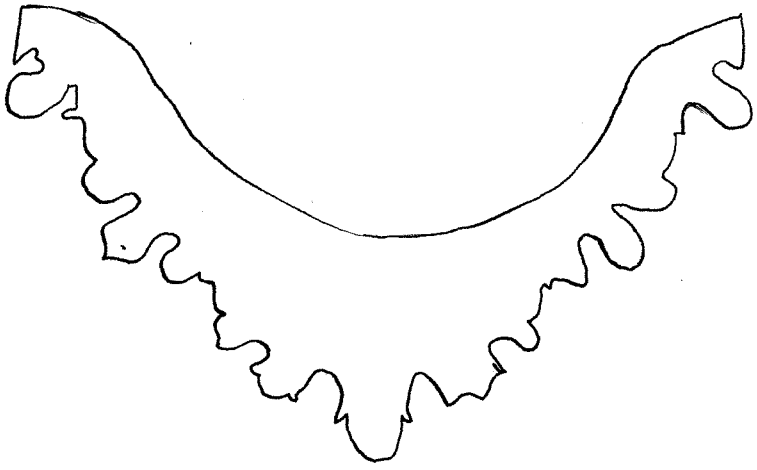
a. TRANSVERSE RIBS

b. SCOINSON ARCH AND WALL-RIB — AISLES

c. DIAGONAL RIB AISLES



e. LOCATION of MOULDINGS



d. PIER ARCHES

Fig. 15. SECTIONS of MOULDINGS

In the cathedral such decoration includes treatment of vaulting, pillar and arcade arrangement, stone sculpture, iron work, wood carving, stained-glass, painting, and geometric ornament.

Vaulting for early Gothic of this period was of the simplest, with the commonest form that of the quadripartite as at Salisbury.[1] Even when it became more elaborate[2] it may still be considered simple as compared to the fan-vaulting of later periods. This same simplicity is to be noted in the mouldings which at this time reached the peak of development as concerns grace. Bold mouldings of previous years were transformed into a multitude of delicate lines separated by deeply undercut, shadow-filled hollows.[3] "Though still arranged in recognizable 'orders' the mouldings softened and enriched the pointed arches, large and small, and their contours were exquisitely conceived."[4] Pillars and shafts likewise possessed simplicity and grace, but here there is even more variety. Everywhere small engaged shafts are to be found clustered around larger piers. At Lincoln nave there are eight such shafts around each pier, at Wells there are four clusters of three each, at York nave such pillars alternate between large and small, while Worcester varies clusters with single. Shafts which are used to support the transverse ribs sometimes extend from floor to ceiling[5] increasing the

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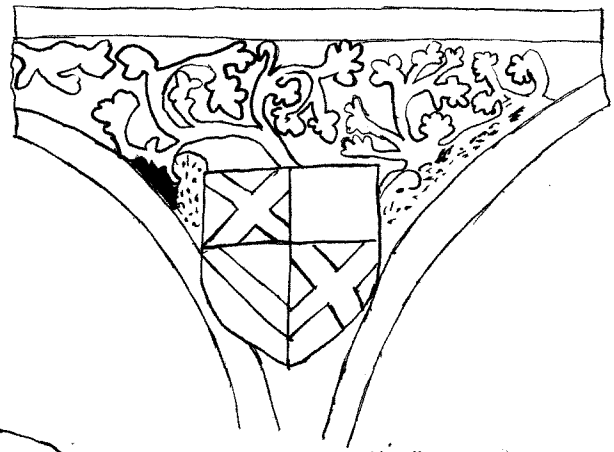
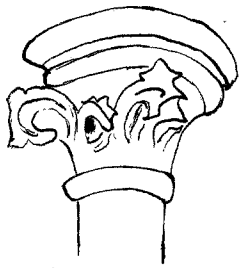
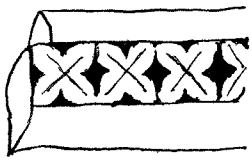
1. Cf. fig. 11.
2. Cf. fig. 3.
3. Cf. fig. 15, a,b,c.
4. Godfrey, W. H.: The Story of Architecture in England, p.75.
5. Cf. fig. 12.



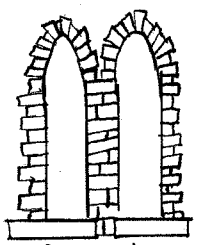
a. SPANDREL WITH SHIELD



b. FOLIATED BELL CAPITAL (MOULDED ABACUS)



c. DOG-TOOTH DESIGN



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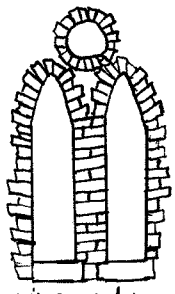


primary form. E.E.

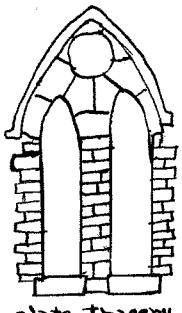
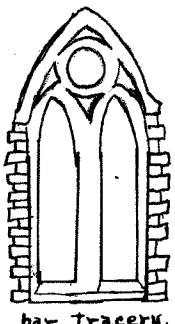


plate tracery E.E.



bar tracery. transitional.

d. DEVELOPMENT of WINDOW

Fig. 16. TYPES of FENESTRATION and DECORATION.

sense of height, again, they rise from corbels between piers,[1] or even from triforium.[2]

It was during this time that the bell capital, originating in England, made its appearance. Foliage here and elsewhere harmonizes in its chaste gracefulness with mouldings and piers.[3]

In all of this the variety in conformity noted in the other phases of life is everywhere evident. The dominant note is that of simplicity in unity which was also the characteristic of the time. Throughout western Christendom there was one faith with beliefs clearly defined, acknowledging one supreme papal head. The best intellects of all lands met at one papal court and used one common language for formal interchange of thought. One economic system separated England into classes and made all the members of a given class kin. Such classes consisted of a sovereign, a few bishops and nobles and a great uneducated mass of people. As a nation it had little influence on its neighbor nations and mingled seldom with their quarrels.[4] Complexity, as the modern world finds it, was unknown; simplicity reigned.

It is in the sculpture that many beliefs of the great mass of common folk are revealed. Such work includes little figures found in the spandrels, like those in the angel choir at Lincoln,[1]

* * * * * *

1. Cf. fig. 1.
2. Cf. fig. 11.
3. Cf. fig. 16b.
4. Cf. Henderson, E. F.: Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, Preface, pp.7-8.

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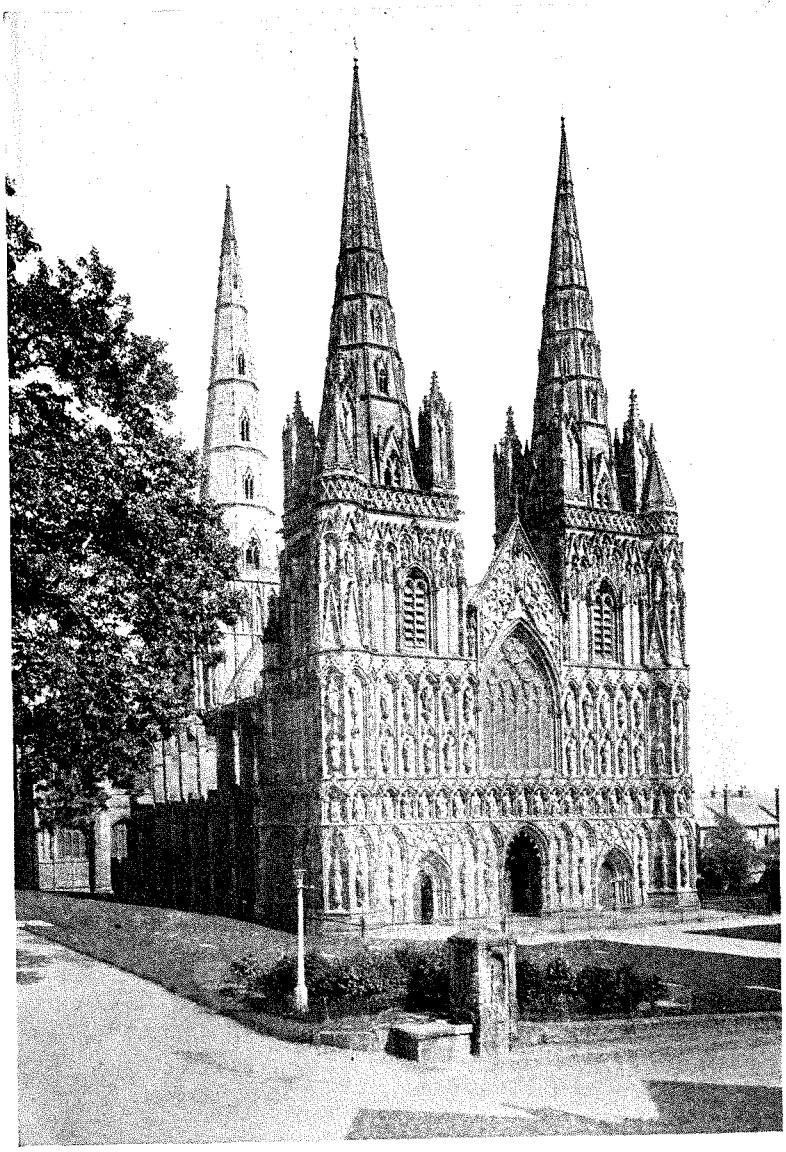

VIEW FROM NORTHWEST
Cathedral, Lichfield

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

GOTHIC
c. 1280; FINISHED XIV CENT.

Fig. 17

or the tiny heads peering out from foliage on many a stone capital. Of even greater importance were considered those stately figures on western façades,[1] or occupying other conspicuous niches. Gargoyles, too, made their appearance on the cathedral exterior during the time of this early Gothic, and, although less conspicuous, are just as important in showing the thoughts of those who wrought. Judging by the profusion of sculptured forms, the medieval mind reveled in concretely pictured rather than abstract thought.

Close observation of the façade statues at Wells[2] and Peterborough[3] reveals a difference in style. Those at Wells, of which two are shown clearly in the detail,[4] are conspicuously elongated; those above the portals at Peterborough are short and stubby. It has been suggested that goldsmiths and ivory carvers were asked to enlarge their figures, producing the latter type, while carvers of sepulchral slabs could make only the attenuated forms even when they were for western front.[5] Be that as it may, the aspiration so evident in all phases of life here found reward in the constant development of form. Early statues frequently have decidedly angular lines; later work is characterized by more grace. All find commendation for that simplicity and breadth which mark them as belonging to the century.

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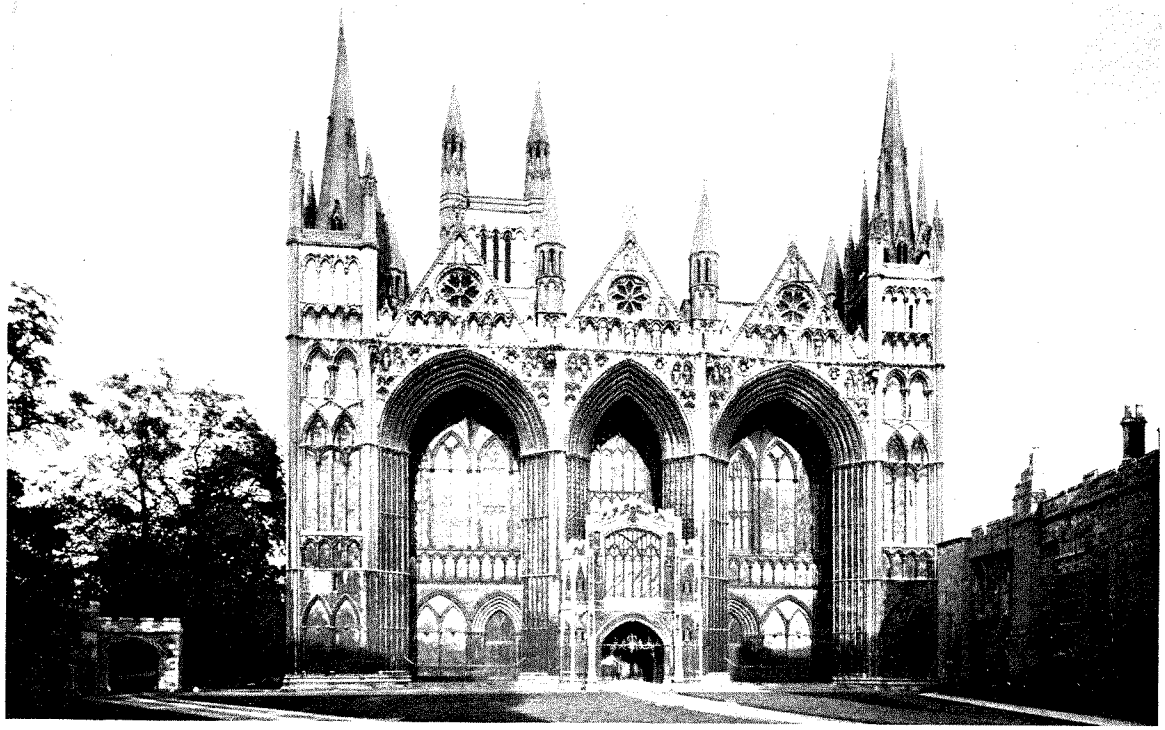
1. Cf. figs. 17, 18, 19, 20.
2. Cf. fig. 19.
3. Cf. fig. 18.
4. Cf. fig. 20.
5. Cf. Addison, J. de W.: Arts and Crafts in the Middle Ages, p.243.



WEST FRONT
Cathedral, Peterborough

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

GOTHIC
XIII CENT.

G 402

Fig. 18.

The most significant message of this sculpture, however, lies not in its location, nor in the style, but in the subject presented. These may be roughly divided into three groups: viz., scenes and characters from the Old or New Testament, scenes and characters from contemporary life, and figures of legend and fancy.

Salisbury chapter house presents splendid examples of the Bible stories. Carved in low relief just above the arcade are scenes from the creation and murder of Abel to the passage through the Red Sea and the breaking of the tablets of the law. That the sculptor knew little of Palestine is evidenced in the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah where the falling architecture has Romanesque and Gothic form! Likewise at Worcester in the south-east transept is the scene of the expulsion from Eden and from a Gothic chapel in that Garden. Another scene at Salisbury pictures Noah entering the ark at one end of the boat and welcoming the dove at the other end. The animals gaze out peacefully through eight Romanesque arches in the side of the ark. Such presentation must come not only from an imagination as fertile as a child's, but likewise from a mind untutored save for the skill in the craft.

That the purpose of such sculpture was primarily the education of those who gazed upon it may be deduced from the arrangement of the western façade at Wells.[1] The lowest tier of

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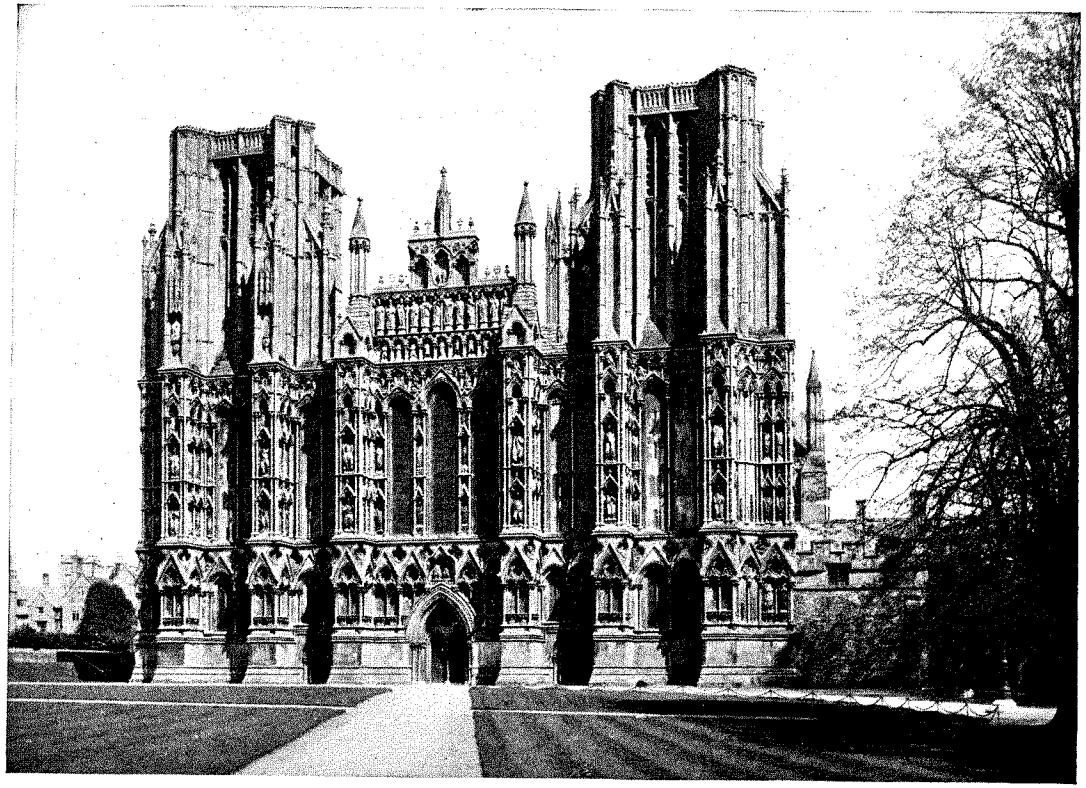
1. Cf. fig. 19.



WEST FRONT
Cathedral, Wells

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

GOTHIC
c. 1190 AND LATER
FAÇADE. c. 1280 AND XIV CENT.

G 409

Fig. 19.

statues are the prophets, above them saints and confessors, then the dead rising from their graves, the nine orders of the angels, and the twelve apostles. In the gable Christ stands alone in majesty flanked by two empty niches, probably meant to frame the Virgin and St. John. Interspersed in the lower stages are scenes from the Bible.

> "Through this complex hierarchy of stone we can trace the builder's intention to represent the natural and spiritual descent of Christ; then the scenes of His life on earth, balanced by those of the Old Testament which foreshadowed His coming; rising finally to the scene of His glorious Second Coming, surrounded by the Heavenly Host while the apostles sit in judgment upon the twelve tribes of Israel."[1]

Thus the Bible of the middle ages was written in stone where the whole of medieval theology was presented to eyes which read it nowhere else.

This desire to teach led to presentation of parallel scenes from Old and New Testament. For example, the fall and captivity when placed next to scenes of Christ's birth or the crucifixion were to portray the idea of redemption through atonement. The theology of all these scenes is that already learned from the cathedral plan. Mary is worshipped and Christ is frequently considered as Judge. The existence of Heaven and Hell is accepted fact. From the frequent appearance of the Second Coming it evidently was earnestly anticipated. This anticipation may have grown from the parallels from Old and New Testament. It was based on the belief that as the world was created in six days and God rested on the seventh, and as

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1. Anderson, M. D.: The Medieval Carver, p.52.

one day is with Him as a thousand years, therefore the year 1000 A. D. should mark the end of His rest and His coming would be then. When that year passed, all felt with every disturbance that the coming was near. It was this doctrine that enabled the church to become a part of feudalism without qualm of conscience. With the end so near there was no need to attempt to make a better world here. In fact present economic structure was divinely ordained![1]

Scenes and figures from contemporary life were also common especially those of royalty and nobility. At Wells, where so much of the statuary of this century is to be found, representatives from most of the groups composing thirteenth century England are present. King, hermit, lady, bishop, and warrior are all here. The carefulness with which costume is depicted prevents any belief that the religious life eliminated interest in dress. Such statues are undoubtedly of individuals, but in many cases the hardness of the Purbeck marble produced a bold, firm style of treatment which led to type faces of rare strength and beauty.

It is with the figures of legend and fancy that the soul of the medieval carver lies bare. Angels appear in the triforium of the Lincoln angel choir;[2] in various poses, some scriptural, others merely for beauty, are to be seen the angel of the crowns, the angel with the hawk, the angel of the expulsion, the angel of the

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1. Cf. MacColloch, J. A.: Medieval Faith and Fable, p.299.
2. Cf. fig. 1.

scales, the angel of the Resurrection, and others similar. It is interesting to note these angels are twice the size of the people with them. With the full figures of a similar group of angels in Westminster Abbey the "high water mark of English sculpture"[1] is attained. The saints are likewise widely represented, national ones as well as those the whole of Catholicism honors. With each cathedral having its own patron it is interesting to note the interchange, with St. Thomas of Canterbury appearing at Wells. In all of these, familiar legends are as real as truth. Queer creatures slyly hiding around the corners of capitals remind one that the realm of fancy is not always pleasant, but they appear also on the misericords, and shall be studied there. The humor with which they so often appear is present in the allegorical figures, as the doorway around the Salisbury chapter house where the Virtues and the Vices come to grips. Here, among others, Truth is pulling out the tongue of Falsehood, while Chastity is hanging Lust with a very long rope. Scenes from everyday life with no spiritual significance are often grouped as a calendar with one scene for each month. Again, such isolated scenes are presented with no purpose save to adorn and amuse. With the laborer, spiritual fervor might at times be lightly set aside.

Metal work is very closely related to the sculpture, at least as far as tombs are concerned, for many effigies were composed

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1. Cf. Gardner, A.: English Medieval Sculpture, p.162.

STATUES FROM NORTH TOWER
Cathedral, Wells

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
BOSTON

ENGLISH GOTHIC
XIII CENT.

Fig. 20.

of latten instead of marble. This latten was a mixture of yellow metal, covered with gilding, painting and enamel. Much of the iron work of the time has disappeared; most of it was a product of the last part of the century and was formed by the process of casting. Ornaments in iron were sometimes cut out of flat sheet metal and then hammered into form. In nearly all cases and especially for smaller pieces as knockers, locks and hinges, the design was executed to fulfill the function not only of usefulness but of beauty. The skill that lay back of it was not developed by the cathedral alone. Chivalry with its love of battle masquerading under vows of devotion to God and the weak, the Crusades with high courage finding excitement in opposing the "enemies of Christ," feudalism with need for manorial self-sufficiency, all required armor and the other products of the forge. Every local smith was called upon to furnish many things: ". . . a clip for rushlight, a box to hold a miser's hoard or a king's alms, a hook for a butcher to hang a joint of beef upon, or a traceried grille for the tomb of some fair dame with folded marble hands."[1] While it may be questioned from this whether true worship had anything to do with the production of cathedral metal work, it may be answered that as knight's armour and crusader's lance were frequently used with mixed motives, but assuredly with some religious zeal, so here, too, there must have been present something of that same fervor. If not true in every case, at least

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1. Stuart, D. M.: Men and Women of Plantagenet England, p.96.

it was in many.

Wood carving, far less durable than stone sculpture, is almost entirely gone save for the group of misericord seats at Exeter.[1] Like so many of the stone reliefs, they were evidently produced by untutored individuals of keenly alert mind. Few, but vigorous, strokes bespeak that activity pulsating through the life of the age. Originality is everywhere present coupled with vivid imagination concerning objects not yet seen. Here is a lion with a mane whose curls resemble that of a new permanent, and a centaur holding a bow. Here is a knight in armor and helmet, kneeling on his right knee. He holds a sword plunged almost to the hilt in the breast of a beast. This ferocious animal has an extremely short body, a tail ending in a fleur-de-lis, and an enormous head held tamely by the slightest touch of the knight's left hand. In all of these is reflected the influence of crusader's tales. Then there are many and varied little demons like the one holding sword and crown. Here, and in the stonework, they constantly appear as unexpectedly as they were assumed to appear and disappear in life. The gargoyles, originating with the Gothic, were likewise materialized conceptions of these invisible creatures.

Such demons filled medieval life with uncertainty. They were considered to be everywhere present ready to attack the souls

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1. Cf. Hasluck, P. N.: Wood Carving, pp.425-430 for excellent photographs of many of these seats.

and bodies of the unwary, to deceive and trick even those who were attempting to be saintly. They were able to take the forms of men and women, of dragons and serpents, even of angels of light or of Christ Himself. They possessed enormous power and great knowledge enabling them to transport men through the air, to raise storms, destroy crops,

> ". . . unsettle men's senses and arouse their passions, disorder life, cause terrors in sleep, produce disease and deformity, fill the mind with fear, control the casting of lots and by trickery pretend to give oracles, lurk in images, tell lies resembling truth and assume different forms."[1]

Magic was to be feared as done by men influenced by demons or by the demons themselves in disguise save as God directly interfered with their machinations. The result of this constant fear on sensitive souls can be readily imagined; when fancy led devout folk, demons often appeared. The Chronicle of John of Worcester though written in the twelfth century reveals how whole monasteries were held by such beliefs. Under the year 1138 he tells how the cellar of a monastery revealed a cask of wine empty every morning. When anointed with holy water a small boy was found clinging to it and when the monks frocked him and put him with the schoolboys

> "he never took food nor drink nor spake to any man, whether openly or in secret; and while the rest slept at night-time or at mid-day, he would sit on his bed weeping and sobbing, without rest or intermission."[2]

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1. MacCollough, op. cit., p.62.
2. Coulton, op. cit., vol. i, p.28.

Only upon the visit of a neighboring abbot who recognized the danger, ordered the lad unfrocked, and watched him disappear into thin air was the monastery freed from the danger that was present in it. That such beliefs did not cease with the condemning of the seventeen common superstitions by the Council of Agde[1] is revealed in the number related as true by Walter Map. One of the most prevalent ideas affecting common life in a tragic manner was the view that demons enticed women and often demon children were born. While discredited among the scholars, the people added to this the possibility of the exchange of a normal child for a demon or foundling which led to cruel practices of determining whether the suspected child were human or not.

Even science concerns itself with the subject of demons. Roger Bacon in his discussion of experimental science states:

> "Lastly, this most noble science lays bare all magic arts, and considers what is possible by nature, what by industry of art, what by man's deceits, what by the working of spirits, what charms are worth, and prophecies and incantations and conjurations . . . And this science condemns all invocations of demons, for not theology only, but philosophy also, warns us to shun these. Every wise man knows that demons, who are bad angels, cannot do good, nor can any dealings with them be for the good of mankind."[2]

Accompanying belief in demons was vivid consciousness of the hell from whence they came.

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1. Cf. ibid., pp.33-35.
2. Hennings, M. A.: England Under Henry III, p.239. (From the Opus Tertium of Roger Bacon.)

The misericords permitted greater freedom of expression than did more conspicuous portions of the cathedral and with the devils appeared gluttons, backbiters, or misers in various poses. The alewife charging her exorbitant prices frequently received punishment, and at times the unlucky lady is found being carried away on the back of a demon with her head down while another imp gleefully records her sins on a scroll. In such cases the vices portrayed are those commonly accepted as being both prevalent and frowned upon. But the humor with which each is presented has nothing of horror at sin that one might expect to be present. Nor is this surprising. For together with the idea of intercession by prescribed ritual had come the practices of indulgence and penance. Sin, when easily wiped out by the use of money or meritorious works, was not too much to be hated. With churchmen themselves sometimes indulging in those which they considered pleasant it was not to be expected that unlearned carvers of misericords should regard at least its more common aspects with humor rather than abhorrence. While recognizing this it must be remembered there was great fear of sin when unforgiven by the church. Hell was to be feared.

The same strangely contrasting fantasy and realism of sculpture and carving is to be found in the stained glass windows. St. Thomas a Becket is conducted to heaven by a band of angels even as he carries his head in his hands.[1] St. Hugh of Lincoln is borne

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1. Cf. Saint, L. B. and Arnold, H.: Stained Glass in the Middle Ages in England and France, p.80.

to his last resting place by three archbishops and three kings.[1] Although history records only two of the latter no man deserved three more than Saint Hugh and of course there was symmetry to be considered. The popular "tree of Jesse" windows place figures from Christ's geneology amid the foliage of a tree proceeding from the recumbent Jesse. Again, it is not always the subject matter itself, but the manner of presentation that reveals the mind of the creator. For example, there is the medallion of Salome dancing before Herod, "not in the languorous Oriental fashion that one would have expected of her, but turning a somersault worthy of the music-hall stage with a lavish display of red stockings."[2] If such a figure seems incongruous to the modern eye it would not to those who watched the antics of devil or Jew in the festivals which formed a part of cathedral life. For the more proper there were always those numerous other figures standing streight and erect under glass canopies.

The greatest contribution of stained glass to cathedral lay not in medallion figures, discernable only at close view, but in the vivid coloring. Strength of color was used to stimulate strength of substance: otherwise the church would have seemed but a stone scaffolding.[3] In the blending of these colors to form a vivid unity lay the greatest proof of artistic skill. The "Five

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1. Cf. ibid., p.81.
2. Saint, L. B. and Arnold, H., op. cit., p.81.
3. Cf. Bond, Francis: Gothic Architecture in England, p.61.

Sisters" window at York[1] is remarkable in that, while it omits the ruby and blue so characteristic of the century, its silvery grisaille and composition becomes a unified part of the whole cathedral structure as does, perhaps, no other window arrangement. While cathedral figures may sometimes appear childish, the artistic emotion which produced them was of the highest. That emotion likewise included the intellectual ability which in other phases of life was laying foundation for the government and the educational system of coming centuries. This fact is evidenced in this faculty of producing unity by seeing relationship of part to the whole.

The splendor of the cathedral was enhanced by lavish use of color. The same love of display which made ritual and festivals brilliant bits of pagentry was everywhere present. Lavish use of gold and silver characterized the ceremonial vessels. Gilding adorned effigies and appeared in diaper work. Large portions of wall space were covered with paintings. Mosaics appeared in pavements and elsewhere as a result of contact with the East. To all this, tapestry added its gay hues, while light through stained-glass windows converted grey stone to rainbow effects.

Much of the unification of the whole cathedral lay in the use of geometrical forms and other minor ornament in every type of cathedral decoration. Thus the circles and foils found in many

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1. Cf. fig. 21.

windows[1] are reflected in stone and in wood. The trefoil, represented by those in the spandrels of Lincoln choir[2] or in slightly different forms framing the statuary at Wells façade,[3] was a general favorite. Quatrafoil appearing in the clerestory just above was likewise common.[4] Dogtooth ornament[5] was everywhere present. Shields in various places remind of crusades and chivalry.[6] Most of these geometrical forms had great significance for the medieval mind of all countries. Forms of three symbolized the Trinity, the circle meant everlasting life, two windows under an enclosing arch spoke of the dual nature of Christ. The desire to express these ideas in one window may have influenced the development of window structural form from the simple lancet through the grouping of several such lancets to the later forms of plate and bar tracery.[7]

Multitudinous forms were given symbolic meaning but symbolism was not confined to geometric ornament. To the medieval mind every portion of the church had its own message. Humble serf might gaze at small and insignificant stones and be reminded of the multitude of individuals composing the company of heaven. Clergy seeing the space immediately around the high altar thought of the

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1. Cf. fig. 21.
2. Cf. fig. 1.
3. Cf. fig. 20.
4. Cf. fig. 19. Also present in the window at the left in fig. 20.
5. Cf. fig. 16c.
6. Cf. fig. 16a.
7. Cf. fig. 16d. Note especially bar tracery window.

small number of those living virgin lives; seated in the choir they remembered that larger group living in the self-discipline of chastity; passing to the nave they were reminded that the largest group of all were those outside holy orders who were married. Circular stairways, concealed in the depths of walls, whispered the hidden wisdom of climbing spiritual heights by prayer and meditation. Towers represented ministers and prelates standing as a bulwark against the enemy. The columns and piers were the apostles and bishops who by their doctrines upheld and sustained the church. Floor, roof, doors, windows, even the cornerstone and the dimensions of the building held some religious truth for those who beheld them. Nor was such symbolism confined to the cathedral and parish church alone. Perhaps it was because lack of individual contact with the Bible made hearts hungry for spiritual truth in nature, perhaps secluded cloisters gave free reign to religious imagination, at any rate, it is certain that all of life was permeated with such symbolism.

> "In the Thirteenth Century all men knew that God, in creating, had made every created thing a symbol of His purposes. He had commissioned the eagle, bearing his young upon his wings, to declare the strength of the Everlasting Arms; the pelican, feeding her young from her own veins, to proclaim the sacrifice of Christ; the lion, breathing life into his dead cubs, to pledge our resurrection, and the fox, to warn us of the wiles of Satan . ."[1]

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1. Prentice, S.: The Heritage of the Cathedral, p.163.

Thus for a nation that made all nature a chorused litany it was only to be expected that the cathedral should unite all parts in the great anthem of salvation. And, to the thirteenth century, it did.

The opinion has been expressed that to the average individual these symbols had not the significance they possessed for churchman and for the student of today who investigates the subject. States one who has considered this question; "That the ordinary citizen did not, in fact, possess a thorough knowledge of the symbols by which religious subjects were often represented, I am fully convinced."[1] He hastens to add, though, that in each parish church the priest would in all probability pass on the tradition of the symbols of that particular church so that the local congregation would understand. Thus, whether "thorough" or not, the average individual at least partially understood the symbolic meaning which lay veiled in every portion of the cathedral.

This survey of the decorative form of the thirteenth century cathedrals in England has, of necessity, been exceedingly sketchy. Each cathedral boasts those who have spent long years on the study of its contribution to the world of art. But at least one fact stands out clearly as being of deep significance for an understanding of the religious life. In every kind of decorative form

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1. Anderson, M. D.: The Medieval Carver, p.47.

the craftsmen are as interested in the things of everyday life as they are in the spiritual realm. Even when dealing with religious subjects they often reveal by the manner of treatment that their religion had not the deeply spiritual appeal which it had for many of those who created the plans for the structure. They might understand the symbols they used, but the symbols for the most part would not have originated with them.

> "Art, which is a skilful craft, is connected with industrial training, and perhaps the town's financial contribution might be needed for the building and decoration of a cathedral. But the inspiring thought and plan and meaning of the structure had more to do with cloistered meditations; nor did the manifold intricacy of symbolic meaning guiding the sculpture and glass painting spring from the daily joy and stir of concrete unsymbolic incidents which furnish thought for the townsfolk."[1]

3. Summary of the Religious Life as Recorded in the Cathedral Decorative Form

The chief characteristics of the mouldings, piers, and vaulting, in fact in the whole of cathedral decoration, are those of simplicity and grace. Simplicity has its counterpart in the whole political, economic, religious, and social structure of the day. Grace is another expression of the love of beauty which led uneducated but alert and imaginative minds in the constant search for greater perfection of expression. The products of their hands and minds, whether formed from stone, wood, or glass, center about the Bible, contemporary life, and products of the imagination. The Bible

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1. Taylor, H. O.: The Mediaeval Mind, p.344.

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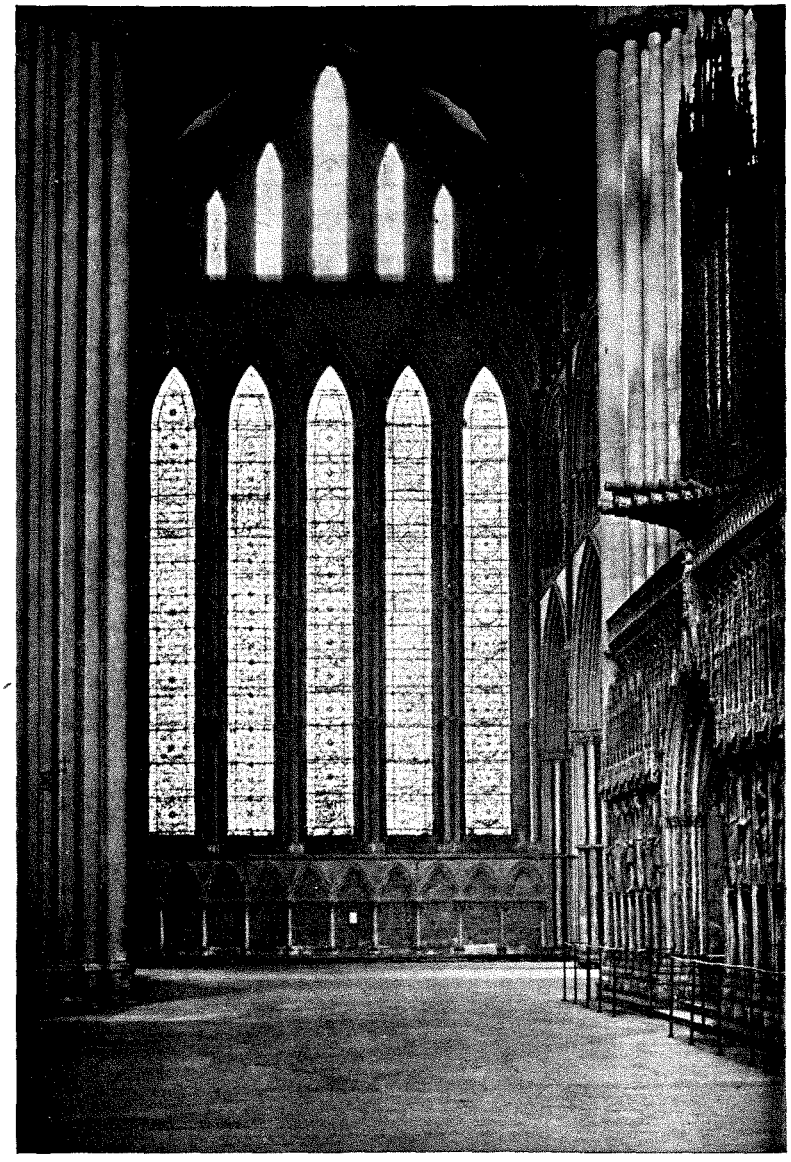

FIVE SISTERS WINDOW
Cathedral, York

THE UNIVERSITY PRINTS
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GOTHIC
XIII CENT.

Fig. 21.

scenes are presented with the purpose of instruction as well as ornament. Contemporary life is of interest entirely apart from its spiritual significance. Vivid imagination leads to convincing portrayal of weird demons, strange animals, or scenes from various legends. Geometric forms, as all portions of the cathedral and of life, become vested with symbolism which the common folk partially know. Throughout the whole of the decoration it is apparent that the religious life of the craftsmen is not as spiritualized as is that of those churchmen who supervise the planning and construction. To both groups, however, the theology is real and heaven and hell, demons and angels, sin and virtue, punishment and forgiveness are all realities of life.

D. Summary and Conclusion

Out of a time of transition, of shifting centers of commerce from eastern to western Europe, of mingling of Nordic and Teuton zest for life with Frankish cleverness and Mediterranean heritage of culture arose new style in architectural expression. Its heritage, the inorganic, massive simplicity of the Romanesque; its contribution, skillful balancing of thrust with counterthrust, accompanied by pointed arch, flying buttress, and "walls of glass," the Gothic sprang, Minerva-like, from its predecessor. The close political and geographical proximity of England with France, birthplace of the new form, made influence of the latter inevitable on

the Isle. At the same time loyalty to the past, national conservatism and independence produced a national architecture in England rather than mere imitation of another. The thirteenth century was a time of intense building activity, most of that activity being ecclesiastical in purpose. The building process involved the assistance of hundreds for each of the larger buildings, with cleric or monastic often supervising, or at least initiating, but with skilled labor producing results.

The architecture of the period involved the skilled labor of those from all walks of life; it was corporate rather than individual. It was national in form. It was largely religious in purpose. The wide diversity of various cathedrals as to combination of forms together with freshness and originality of decorative elements produced a living quality to the whole. That quality arose from lives of those who wrought. Beliefs, thoughts, superstitions of the great mass of common folk were recorded in decorative ornament as truly as the churchmen revealed their personalities in symbol and plan.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND AS RECORDED IN HER CATHEDRALS

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A. Introduction

The cathedral plan and setting have been discussed, the structural and decorative form have been surveyed: all record much of value concerning the religious life. Nor is the relationship found here an isolated occurrence. As far as has been ascertained in the study for this thesis there is no dissenting voice among architects of note that architecture is the expression of the life from whence it comes. One in an address to a group of architects makes the claim:

> "Architecture is a human idea, a product of the human mind; it is not a creation of the fancy, not the deliberate design of the draughtsman, not the outcome of a moment's inspiration. Originating in the need of man for shelter it has been the most human of the arts, closely associated with human life and thought, advancing with human civilization, retrograding with man's backward steps. To a very great extent, though perhaps not wholly so, architecture is a correct index of man's mental, social, political and religious state."[1]

Another, treating the more limited field of stained glass and in the process surveying the field of art as a whole, reaches the conclusion that art must be treated not as detached activity but as a form of expression taking on characteristics and ultimate value from the

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1. Ferree, Barr: Christian Thought in Architecture, p.5.

general content of the environment.[1] This conclusion is heartily in accord with that of one who approaches the whole question of art as experience from the standpoint of the psychologist and educator and who in a recent tome on the subject states as his thesis

> "It is to indicate that theories which isolate art and its appreciation by placing them in a realm of their own, disconnected from other modes of experiencing, are not inherent in the subject-matter but arise because of specifiable extraneous conditions."[2]

In regard to religious architecture and to the specific time under consideration opinions likewise agree:

> "The indication of Christian thought in architecture is no fanciful product of the imagination. Christianity, its forms, doctrines, ceremonies, lay at the foundation of Christian church architecture; its influence upon the art was persistent and marked until the beginning of the Renaissance. It is not something that needs to be searched out, for it exists in the most evident manner. Christianity exercised quite as much influence upon the development of architecture as did progress in construction, or the social and political state of the builders. Apart from this, the study of architecture from this standpoint directs attention to the wonderful illustration of Christian ideas in the great churches of the thirteenth century, in which the architectural manifestation of Christianity reached its culmination."[3]

Another adds with authoritative simplicity, "People of the medieval period hid their real thoughts in symbols and ceremonies; they revealed them in their art."[4]

Practical application of all this to thirteenth century

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1. Cf. Read, Herbert: English Stained Glass, p.14.
2. Dewey, John: Art as Experience, p.10.
3. Ferree, op. cit. p.32.
4. Godfrey, W. H.: The Story of Architecture in England, p.68.

English architecture leads to revelation of the amount and intensity of religious feeling prevalent at the time, involving both amount of building and underlying motives for it; the type of religion indicated; the content of religious thought expressed; and finally, a criticism of the religious life of the period as a whole.

B. Amount and Intensity of Religious Feeling

The amount and intensity of religious feeling will be indicated, in general, by the proportion of architecture produced by a given period set aside for religious purposes. Such conclusions as are drawn must be checked by evidence of religious or other motive behind such building to reveal a just estimate of the spiritual life of the people as a whole.

1. Proportion of Architecture Devoted to Religious Purposes

In addition to the cathedrals a multitude of other church buildings were springing up in England during this century. York in 1377 had a great cathedral and 44 other churches not counting her chapels. At the same time her population was about 11,000 persons. New York City would need today not less than 40,000 churches to supply her population as that of York was supplied. In England as a whole, where the population was not over five million, the people of the Middle Ages erected more than 10,000 churches.[1] During this period

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1. Cf. Stuart, D. M.: Men and Women of Plantagenet England, p.131.

the construction in other phases of architectural activity was comparatively slight. Houses and shops in towns were relatively small and simple, manor houses left from earlier feudal days required little addition, the whole building activity of the people centered in those structures which needed the contribution of all the arts to make them complete. This very usage of wide diversity of talent even as much as the number of buildings erected indicates prevalent religious interest.

2. Motives for the Building

But it must not be immediately assumed that the one and only reason for such widespread activity was the glorification and worship of God. Other factors contributed.

There had been a long period of comparative domestic peace. Peace is essential for the development of artistic pursuits. Out of that period had arisen an everyday life centered around the creation of all which appealed to the aesthetic sense. "From the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries the one vital principle at work was the production of beautiful things."[1] The church had the wealth to pay for thoughts caught in silver and gold; for delicate tracery in stone. Therefore they became a part of an ecclesiastical structure. But, even so, that love of beauty had been fostered in the church. Those who had followed the call to lives of quietness in convent, in monastery, had nurtured that very love of beauty which was later reflected

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1. Godfrey, op. cit. p.68.

in the lives of those without the walls. The cathedrals but received what religion had developed.

The rapid growth of city and community life formed another of the underlying motives. Rivalry was strong, desire to excel others was to be found with both large and small groups. Gilds sought to outdo neighboring gilds in arts and crafts. Such a spirit would inevitably center around those structures which would be the largest visible results of the labors in the community as a whole. But the form those buildings took was not of municipal courts, not imposing secular edifices, but those which housed the group while worshipping. Religion, not town regulation, made the group one.

> "The cathedrals of the Middle Ages express the lofty rivalry of city against city to bring the best gifts to God; they reveal the zeal of countless unknown masons, carving with devout care and skill, not merely where the eyes of men might see but high up on the walls, in darkened corners beneath the vaults and eaves where only God can see."[1]

Perhaps the motive which has been most strongly set forth as opposing real religious feeling on the part of the group has been that of the church's love of power and of display. The papacy was strong, taxes were high and levied throughout Christendom, the coffers of the various orders were full, priest vied with priest and abbot with abbot, even as bishop with bishop in magnificence of dress and luxury of life. Did not this same love of display enter into the erection of church properties? Had it not been for the great

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1. Prentice, Sartell: The Heritage of the Cathedral, p.152.

wealth of the church the buildings themselves would not have appeared ed. In an age when crusades and chivalry were utilized as means of gain or access to power, when feudalism veiled her passion for cruelty under guise of noble deed, when the church was hated for oppression and anti-clerical feeling arose righteously against flagrant sins of lust, avarice, and selfishness evidenced in the leaders of the church itself, is there not sufficient warrent for belief that the very cathedrals, loved by a more recent generation, stand merely as monuments of a church which rose to triumph and glory through the lack of love for her people rather than her devotion to her Lord? There is enough truth in the charge to require pause for thought. But again the answer must be that while here is one factor in the building, a factor which cannot be ignored, it is not the whole of the motive. For all churchmen were not unlovely. Many, deeply sincere, ministered to the multitude even as did their Master. Many, hidden in monastery, used recognized ritual as the means of expression for earnest sincere prayer. Often these, even as common laborer, poured out strength and talent that the cathedral might be a fitting dwelling-place for the Most High. Even though this were not true, and men like Hugh of Lincoln had not labored, the church's power had only one real basis, without which all glory would soon have disappeared. That basis was the belief of her people. Only the living reality of a fear of hell, or an equally vivid looking to Mary or Christ for salvation from death could have

made possible mortuary bequests for the saying of masses for the dead. The great weapons of ecclesiasticism, excommunication and interdict, required the same faith on the part of the whole people. The foundation of all was belief. With unbelief dissolution would be inevitable.

In all these motives there is some truth; none of them is sufficient unto itself to explain the results that were achieved. Without love of beauty, an architecture so dependent upon beauty could not have arisen. Without the will to devote labor and wealth to excel others, results might not have been as perfect. Without wealth and power of the church such gigantic structures, perfect in detail, would have been impossible. Yet under all of these, stronger than each or all, was the faith of a multitude of average men and women believing firmly and devoutly that which they were taught concerning spiritual matters and revealing that belief in their work.

3. Summary

Hundreds of churches were in process of building in England during the thirteenth century; no other phase of architecture was pursued with the same interest. Back of such interest lay a variety of motives including love of beauty, competitive feeling, and the desire of churchmen to display wealth and magnificance. But when the foundation of these motives is unearthed it is found in every case to derive its strength from the fact that this was a time of firm religious belief on the part of all classes.

C. The Type of Religion Revealed

From the structures themselves certain definite conclusions can be drawn concerning the type of religion accepted by the group.

1. A Religion Based on Tradition

The plan of thirteenth century cathedrals in England, while possessing adaptation to national design in minor details, was largely an outgrowth of previous architectural form. It was a Christian religion; it retained those elements of structure the years had found best suited for the expression of Christian worship as it developed. Apsidal end was modified, transepts became single or double, other changes ensued, but the basilican form still told of an early church adapting Roman law court to meet its needs for a group gathering place. Choir for singers, chancel for clergy, transepts of uncertain primary usage - each reminded of those who in other lands and other times carried on the faith.

2. A Religion of Highly Organized Ecclesiastical Form

The presence of the Gothic cathedral in England at this time is traceable to the international contact brought about by a religion organized under one supreme head, the Pope. Within England itself the ecclesiastical structure was nationalized under a hierarchal group with archbishops and bishops at the head. Within this organization were many monastic orders, friars, and secular clergy. Each group was more or less sufficient unto itself, but each acknowledged the authority of Pope and church as supreme over it. It

was this organization which permitted the amassing of great sums of wealth and which involved the church so inextricably in the whole social and economic structure of the day.

3. A Religion Ritualistic in Expression

The entire plan of the cathedral was prepared with a ritualistic expression of worship in mind. The days of the clergy were organized that praise and prayer might follow a regular order prescribed by the church. Even intercession for the souls of dead and living was chanted by priest in the wording approved by the ecclesiastical body. Accompanying ritual were elaborate processionals, with festivals now and again injecting gayety, but always following traditional ceremony.

This ritual, however, was not static but growing, as the enlargement of the eastern end of the cathedral so clearly reveals. It offered opportunity for development in expression. Internationally this was true. England as a whole adapted that which she received from France to suit her own needs. The frequent little chapels, so common in the southern country were not necessary where each church was built with one patron saint largely to be honored. At the same time Lady Chapel and feretory were expanding. With the apsidal chapels gone the eastern termination might become square, which it did. Likewise within the nation there was local variation manifesting itself both in plan and form. Romanesque might be replaced by Gothic, it might be slightly adapted to resemble Gothic,

or it might remain beside the Gothic. Each church felt at liberty to experiment, even as each Order varied slightly in organization and life from other Orders. But all this was merely development within the organization, not leading the religious expression or organization itself to drastic change.

4. A Religion Combining the Emotional and Intellectual

> "Because perception of relationship between what is done and what is undergone constitutes the work of intelligence, and because the artist is controlled in the process of his work by his grasp of the connection between what he has already done and what he is to do next, the idea that the artist does not think as intently and as penetratingly as a scientific inquirer is absurd."[1]

Especially is this true of Gothic architecture with its whole stability dependent upon an understanding of those forces which are constantly at work exerting pressure. "More daring objective mastery of material, without mechanical aids has never been achieved."[2] That is the statement echoed again and again in the minds of those who behold. The architects who thus conceived so grandly were in many cases those who led their people in religious things. They had among them those others who were masters in intellectual guidance among the educated group. A religion which did not appeal to reason could have found no consistently strong place with them. Nor was there to be found a God expressed in image within the cathedral itself. Obviously

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1. Dewey, J.: Art as Experience, p.45.
2. Ibid, p.48.

the worship was to be that of the mind and thought, rather than of the sight. Decoration involving image was used for education and what it taught involved both intellect and emotion.

For emotion, too, was present in the building. "Craftsmanship to be artistic in the final sense must be 'loving'; it must care deeply for the subject matter upon which skill is exercised."[1] That this was true then as now is apparent in every detail of the cathedral. The chief emotion expressed is that of aspiration and striving to attain greater perfection, present in both structural and decorative form. This sense of aspiration, of earnestly seeking for that not yet attained is an impression entirely befitting the Christian life. Thirteenth century England, vibrant with the joy of creation, was yet free from that complacency which takes unto itself the glory and ignores a goal not yet attained. In the love of beauty workers sometimes boasted: "Ut rosa flos florum, sic est domus ista domorum -- As a rose among the flowers so is this chamber among buildings."[2] Pride striving to attain constantly higher goals was everywhere present.

That emotion and intellect were combined likewise in the religious life is nowhere more apparent than in the love of symbolism. Intellect gave symbols meaning, but emotion brought that meaning into everyday experience. It is this same emotionalism that has led later

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1. Ibid, p.48.
2. Godfrey, W. H.: The Story of Architecture in England, p.77. (From the floor of the Westminster chapter house.)

generations to characterize the middle ages as "childlike," forgetting that foundations of modern institutions, especially those of state and education, were laid during this same period.

5. A Religion of the Whole Group

Of one other phase of its faith the cathedral tells. Here was no isolated religion for a few selected individuals, but a nation united in one worship. Even with the separation of clergy manifested in the choir, and the relegation of the great mass of secular workers to the parish churches, the group was one in that which it believed and in the form of expression of that belief. The individual churchmen chose to follow the life they did, but only because the common people accepted the validity of that calling was it possible for such great numbers to enter therein. That this was a corporate worship is indicated by the similarity of cathedral plans and in the great variety of craftsmen engaged in the process of erecting the cathedrals.

6. Summary of the Type of Religion Revealed

The religion of thirteenth century England was possessed of certain definite qualities. It was based on past tradition as indicated by the plan of the churches; it had a highly organized ecclesiastical form; this form found expression in ritual; the religion combined emotional and intellectual as did the cathedral; lastly, it was corporate with the whole people accepting and contributing to its authority and work.

D. The Religious Beliefs Recorded

Where any great mass of individuals from all walks of life and with differing degrees of education are considered as a group, widely divergent views will be held by the various persons included. With the contributions of scholasticism and the learning of the universities bringing new vision to many, with feudalism holding others in poverty and ignorance, such diversity in thirteenth century England was necessarily great. The study of the cathedral form and decoration reveals that, in spite of much corruption, the churchmen as a group possessed deeper insight into spiritual truth than did the laymen. Such was to be expected. But if belief of the laymen was more tinctured with superstition and bound by materialistic attitudes, it nevertheless was a common denominator for all other portions of life. Nor can this division in religious intensity be considered anything but general. Many priests had little real comprehension of the significance of that for which the church stood, while many laymen incorporated spiritual truth in heart and life. With all this clearly in mind it will be well to consider the definite beliefs maintained.

The theological fact about which medieval theology centered was the acceptance of the atonement of Christ. This is everywhere evidenced in the pictured scenes and the symbolism so dear to the medieval heart. But around this belief there had accumulated the desire for unending human intercession which led to the hier-

archical organization and was the strongest factor in determining cathedral plan and arrangement. Linked with this was the universal faith in Mary's authority and power in intercession; a belief which was rapidly growing during the early part of the thirteenth century. In all the cathedral this position of Mary is evident. She appeared in splendor in many of the windows, her marble image smiled down from façade, shrine or even chancel, while in the Lady Chapel she reigned supreme. The saints likewise were greatly revered, and numerous legends developed attesting the power of both living and dead saints to perform miracles. It was the desire to see these miracles that led great throngs to cathedral relics and necessitated the rebuilding of larger eastern ends for the cathedrals. With the power of intercession so fully in her hands, the church added to her authority by emphasizing the importance of the sacraments for salvation. Around these - the eucharist, baptism, confirmation, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage - were woven elaborate rituals; the acceptance of them as divinely ordained was universal.

With the Bible available to only the very few, and with a great deal of illiteracy, superstition developed a tremendous hold upon the lives of all. Such superstition especially delighted in tales of demons; those demons which in the cathedrals did not openly confront the saints but remained under misericord seats gloating over unhappy victims, or gambolled about consoles with serpents or dragons. Demons were not to be feared when one was under the protection of the cathedral itself, but they made life a constant terror

for those outside its walls. Fancy took other turns, too, many of them more delightful. Fairies might appear just as easily as demons and angels even as saints guarded and protected and occasionally appeared to human beings. Superstition, gathered about the sacraments and fused with the doctrine of transubstantiation, led to uses of the sacrament for magic.

Two other great ideas ran through the life of medieval England, even as they did through all Christendom. One was fostered by monasticism. Celibacy even for those outside holy orders, was held as ideal for all; marriage was a lesser state. The other was the constant expectation of the return of Christ. That expectation led to the increased interest in spiritual things. It motivated the desire to regain the Holy Land, it added impetus to the building of the cathedrals. It was the thought of Christ as Judge, so constantly portrayed in stone and glass, that forced many desiring mercy to worship at the feet of the Virgin. It was this same belief that aided in the lack of desire for social reform, although the chief reason back of the acceptance of the social order was, as has been seen, the relationship of the church to feudalism.

In concluding this brief glance at religious belief, the presence of religious doubt and indifference must be mentioned. Doubt was augmented by contact with Arabian and Averroistic philosophy through the crusades, and by questioning engendered in university thought. Indifference grew from general church attitudes and interest

in other matters. Both doubt and indifference were proportionately small.

Thus was woven the fabric of religious thought from the threads of Biblical tale illustrated on cathedral wall and pillar, and Biblical theology interpreted by sacrament and legend. Superstition entered every phase of thought since there was no constant and universal access to the Word, and inasmuch as ritualistic form offered little to counteract the superstition. Doubt and indifference appeared. But everywhere faith and belief in that which the church taught was present.

E. Criticism of the Religious Life

Seldom, if ever, has religious life and thought so permeated the whole structure of life as it did during the Middle Ages. Opinion differs greatly as to the real value of the religious experience which underlay outward manifestation. There are those who look back longingly toward the zeal and enthusiasm that was here.[1] There are others who consider that religious experience so perverted that it were almost better to not to have had it, inasmuch as the church stopped "for itself the light which it should have transmitted to others."[2] The lives of medieval churchmen were far from attaining unto that

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1. Cf. The attitude of Walsh, J. J. in: The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries.
2. Trench, R. C.: Lectures on Medieval Church History, p.409.

perfection which is the anticipated result of the Christian faith. Nor does the student of history discover that creation of beauty for cathedrals prevented craftsmen from indulging in some of those practices which his carvings condemned. Throughout the period there was divorce between religion or outward devoutness and morality, a divorce which not seldom appears in lands where the medieval tradition is strongest today.[1] Hence it is not fair to conclude that, since life was so thronged with religious observances in thirteenth century England, the individuals living those lives were following Christ more closely than are many today. Nor is it fair to judge the thirteenth century in the light of today's religious knowledge and state that real spirituality was at a far lower ebb then than now. Only as the age is viewed in the light of its own time does its contribution to the religious faith of the world stand forth:

> "The real greatness of this period lies not in its relative moral and religious perfection, as compared with our own, but in a certain imposing grandeur of conception and of faith, as shown in the Crusades, the cathedrals, the Scholastic systems, and even the mistaken ideal of papal supremacy. Its institutions were not in a settled condition, and its religious life was not characterized by repose . . . It would be an ungracious and a foolish thing for this generation, the heir of twice as many centuries of Christian schooling as were the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to boast as though Christian charity and morality and devotion to high aims had waited until now to manifest themselves. The Middle Ages, from 1050 to 1300, offer a spectacle of stirring devotion to religious aims in thought and conduct."[2]

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1. Cf. ibid., p.412.
2. Schaff, P.: History of the Christian Church, Vol. 5, Part I, p.896.

F. Summary and Conclusion for Chapter III

England in the thirteenth century gave religion central place in architecture and in life. That religion was the expression of those who accepted it. It clothed new forms with tradition; it manifested characteristic organizational ability in highly systematized hierarchy and ritual. A period of keen interest in education, one which saw the foundation of school and university system, and the beginning of the scientific method of study, required an intellectual element in its religion; a century where religious enthusiasm could lead to the Crusades, would infuse emotion into any religious life. So the religion of thirteenth century England was not apart from life, but grew out of life. In turn, the whole of medieval theology became incorporated into life, with legends and superstitions a part of reality and truth to the average mind of the day. It was this permeation of religion through all of life that led to the great contribution of medieval times. Education produced scholasticism, feudalism produced chivalry, only because of this religious reality. Superstition was rampant, corruption was widespread, but faith was universal. And although frequently perverted by ignorance, it was sincere. In that sincerity of faith alone lies the greatness of thirteenth century English religious life and the greatness of her cathedrals.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The life of a people is woven into its architecture; the religious life of thirteenth century England is revealed by those cathedrals which rose from her midst to the glory of the God she worshipped.

In the first chapter the religious life of the period as recorded in cathedral plan and setting was considered. Chancel with its sanctuary, presbytery, and choir; Lady Chapel; transepts; nave; and minor portions of the cathedral proper all reveal much of the beliefs, organization, ritual, and character of churchmen participating. The whole function of the church was found to center in the necessity for vicarious intercession. Such intercession required elaborate ritual and the services of a large number of separated clergy. The cathedral setting disclosed the life of this separated clergy and their relationship to members of the cathedral town. Monastic orders lived a more communal life than did the secular clergy; otherwise they were largely alike. It was through her financial policy that the church became enmeshed in feudalism, where she was even more firmly held through chivalry and the crusades. Out of that enmeshment came her extravagence and oppression of those already underprivileged. Town life found her the opponent of progress through fear of short-lived power, although indirectly she aided commerce by her wealth, crusades, and building program, even as she initiated some

towns by that very program. Educationally, the church led the way, furnishing wealth for schools, influencing through churchman professors, centering interest in theology. Thus the church, in spite of corruption, dominated the whole of English society.

In the second chapter it was discovered that the cathedral building and form confirmed and supplemented the previous information concerning the religious life. Structurally, the Gothic form was fit vehicle to express the restlessness and desire for spiritual security so characteristic of the century. Origin and national form were due to international religious contacts and the typically English propensity for conserving the old while developing the new. The building process required the labor of hundreds of artisans of different kinds. Concerned chiefly with the decorative form, they left record of their beliefs in stone, wood, metal, and glass, whereon appeared scenes from the Bible, saints, contemporary figures, and creatures of fancy or everyday life cleverly tucked away in unobtrusive places. Evidently there was a thought-life which centered in Mary even as in Christ, which made demons, visions, and miracles a part of everyday living, and which constantly expected the end of the world. Through the symbolism so familiar to the medieval mind, the architecture reveals the very doctrinal thought of the church. In all this the plane of spiritual experience attained by lay craftsmen does not seem to be as high as that of the churchmen.

With the third chapter the general relationship between

life and architecture was emphasized: the findings of the first two chapters were correlated. Interpretation of the religious life of the century under consideration, as revealed by the architecture of the period, indicated widespread and deep interest in the structure of ecclesiastical architecture. The motives for such building - love of art, rivalry among communities, desire of the church for power and display - all found common source in and were exceeded by depth of religious interest. The cathedrals revealed this religion to be one based on past tradition, of highly organized ecclesiastical form, ritualistic in expression, combining emotional and intellectual qualities, and involving the whole group in corporate worship. The evaluation of this religion cannot be based upon comparision with that of a later day. When viewed in the light of its own environment its great contribution is to be found. That contribution lies not in moral perfection of life, nor even in elaboration of great theological truth, but in the tremendous spiritual concept which made the erection of the great cathedrals a fact, and underlay the whole of life.

They were not unusual people, these medieval souls unto whom we look with wonder and curiosity and even compassion. Think not they were all saints, far from it! The miller cheated when he could, the beggar stole, the cottager carried his charms to ward off evil, the scholar doubted whole-souledly, even the churchman was oft so dazzled by the light of present gain he ignored future reward.

But, in spite of it all they were a people of faith. Confused, no doubt, in many ways, as what human is not, they steadfastly wove into all existence the golden thread of the joy and hope of a future life with the saints and Mary unto whom they so ardently prayed, and her Son of Whom they were slightly afraid. And they were a people who loved beauty. Dreaming in terms of delicate line and thrust opposing thrust, of grey-blue stone or shimmering glass, they chose the medium of architecture to express that which other nations hide within heavy tomes, imprison in careful script. Because among those who so dreamed and so builded there were many who, ignoring temptation to cheat and steal and pillage, sought the truth that they might walk therein and lead others to do so, even while they labored at menial tasks; because of that fact the love of architecture and all it involved united with the faith that filled their daily lives to build the "temples of the Lord."

So they stand; Salisbury, Lichfield, Lincoln, Peterborough, York, St. Albans, Wells . . . on throughout the great list which this century, wholly or in part, marked with that indefinable quality which marks them as belonging to all ages, all races, all men. So they stand; enduring testimony to the lives of those who created, uniting in their very essence once and lastingly the two great forces of the thirteenth century -- Beauty and Faith.

APPENDIX

PRINCIPAL CATHEDRAL CHURCHES UNDER CONSTRUCTION
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

(Compiled from lists by John Britton in The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. 5, appendix ii; and Francis Bond in Gothic Architecture in England, pp. 113-122. Where dates disagree those by Britton will be indicated by ____.)

Chester:- Chapter house before 1220.

Chichester:- St. Edmund's chapel, 1245-1253; Lady Chapel.

Durham:- Nave and Nine Altars 1242-1290; east transept 1242-c.1280.

Ely:- Galilee 1198-1215; presbytery 1235-1252.

Exeter:- Choir commenced and two towers of the former structure converted into the transept 1288 (eastern chapels and retrochoir 1270); choir vaulting finished 1308-1326. Chapter house 1224-1244.

Gloucester:- Vault of east nave 1243.

Hereford:- Lady Chapel.

Lichfield:- Nave and choir 1235. (choir 1211); south transept 1220; west front.

Lincoln:- Presbytery.

Norwich:- Cloisters 1297.

Peterborough:- West front; transepts rebuilt c.1210.

Rochester:- Presbytery and east transept begun 1200; Choir finished 1227 (1240); north transept 1240-1255; south transept 1280.

Salisbury:- 1220 to 1260 (Upper portions finished in 1266, chapter house and cloister 1263-1284.)

St. Albans:- John de Cella's porches 1195-1205; Trumptington's work 1214-1235; choir clerestory begun 1257; retrochoir c.1270.

Wells:- Nave finished and choir dedicated 1239; west front 1218-1239.

Westminster:- Choir, transept, and four eastern bays of nave 1245-1269; chapter house 1253.

Winchester:- Lady Chapel and retrochoir begun.

Worcester:- Choir and retrochoir 1202-1218. (Choir begun in 1224.)

York:- South transept 1227. (1230-1241); north transept 1260; nave 1290-1330 (1291-1345).

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