About five and a half centuries after St. Benedict had founded his new monastery, under his new rule, on Monte Casino in Italy, certain monks of the Abbey of Molesme, in Burgundy, discontented under the relaxed discipline of the Benedictines, and following the example of the Cluniacs and Carthusians, established in A.D. 1098 the Abbey of Cistercium, or Cisteaux, in the bishopric of Chalons, in Burgundy.

Thus the great Cistercian order arose; taking its name from the place of its first foundation.

The Cistercians were also called the "White Monks," from the colour of their habits, and sometimes "Bernardines," from the great St. Bernard, who was Abbot of Clairvaux, in the diocese of Langres, about A.D. 1120, and whose great learning and piety brought his order into favour and prominence.

Their rule was based upon that of the Benedictines, but was much more severe in character; and they maintained for two centuries, at least, their rigidity of discipline with a consistency which secured for them great popularity. Their first establishment in our country was founded in A.D. 1128 at
Waverly, in Surrey; and at the time of the dissolution they had seventy-five monasteries and twenty-six nunneries in England.

Their code of regulations affected not only their form of worship, restrictions as to diet, and all the internal economy of their establishments; but just as strictly directed the selection of sites for their houses, the disposition of the various monastic buildings, and the degree of their ornamentation, both external and internal.

It is to the latter portion of their "rules" that we wish to draw attention; and after remarking on the most prominent of these regulations, we shall see how far the remains at Whalley represent the arrangements and architectural peculiarities of a Cistercian church and conventual buildings of the orthodox type. In this we shall be assisted by the diagrams and sketches of the remains as they exist at present.

It is necessary to remark here that the facts before mentioned have been brought to light mainly by the efforts of Edmund Sharpe, Esq., M.A., of Lancaster, who commenced his study of Cistercian architecture thirty-two years ago, when in possession of one of the travelling fellowships of the University of Cambridge.

From that time Mr. Sharpe has given very close attention to the subject, and has accumulated a mass of information from actual observation of most of the important abbeys of the order in Europe. The results of his researches have been set forth in various works, and Societies' papers; and his views (which have been adopted and enlarged upon by many writers, who have also added important confirmatory evidence), are now pretty generally accepted.

Mr. Sharpe being struck by the peculiar uniformity in the planning and construction of Cistercian abbeys, concluded
that it must have been the result of positive regulations. He then, at great pains, obtained access to the early chronicles of the order, and was rewarded by the discovery of the rules just mentioned;—and we refer those interested in this portion of the subject to his paper on Cistercian Architecture, read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, in June, 1871. In this paper, after remarking on the fact that 1200 abbeys were founded, erected, endowed, and added to the order, within 230 years from the foundation of Citeaux; Mr. Sharpe says:—"Now of these 1200 monasteries, I do not know one the general plan of which is not in accordance with that of all the rest; nor a single church which does not bear in its details the impress of its Cistercian origin." We cannot do better than repeat also the words of Mr. Sharpe in a paper read at Furness Abbey, in August, 1850, before the British Archæological Association. In reference to these rules he says:—"As the whole of these were borne out and confirmed by all the examples with which I am acquainted—as there appears indeed to be scarcely a single case in which a variation from these rules occurred, within the first two centuries of the existence of the order—I conceive that so interesting a fact, established as it would appear by the concurrent testimony afforded by the internal evidence of the buildings themselves, and the external evidence of contemporaneous historical record, and unnoticed, as I believe it hitherto to have been, is worthy of peculiar mention and illustration."

And now let us turn to the rules themselves, or at least to those which most materially affect our subject.

First, then, as to the selection of sites. It was distinctly enjoined that their monasteries should be built in remote situations, "severed from all conversations and habitations of men." They were generally situated in the narrowest
part of some valley, and it is only in a few cases that this rule was departed from.

In recalling to mind some of the localities in this country most celebrated for their natural beauty, we shall find that they have become invested with an additional charm from the fact of the existence amongst them of monastic ruins; and these chiefly Cistercian. In illustration of this we need only to name the abbeys of Furness, Rievaulx, Tintern, Netley, Calder, and Fountains.

It is to this rule that the present state of the abbeys of this order is chiefly attributable; for when the monks were driven from their homes, there was no population in the immediate vicinity to sustain them; and whilst there are to-day many glorious churches, of the orders of St. Benedict and St. Augustine, in a fine state of preservation, and in which divine service has never been interrupted, there is not a Cistercian church in the country that is not utterly ruinous and deserted.

The rules relating to the disposition of the various buildings could not be laid down with exact precision, on account of the peculiarities of site, &c.; but that there was a uniformity of observance in this respect is easily proved from the close similarity of the plans of all the early abbeys of the order. The buildings were arranged round a cloister court, and with very few exceptions the church stood on the north side. The form of the church was that of a Latin cross:—from the south arm or transept ran a range of buildings in a southerly direction, the first of which was the sacristy, next the chapter house, then a passage connecting the quadrangles, and lastly, extending beyond the line of the cloisters, the fratry or day-room of the monks. Along the south side of the court came first a staircase leading to the monks' dormitory, which ran over the whole of the last-mentioned apartments;
then came the kitchens, principal refectory, butteries, offices, &c. The western side was occupied by one long building, which has until recently been named the hospitium, or guest-house, and of which we shall have more to say hereafter. This is the normal type of the central block of a Cistercian monastery. The other buildings, including abbot's house, the gateways, &c., the relative positions of which could not be brought so distinctly under regulation, we shall leave at present, and consider the rules concerning the building of the conventual churches. The most important of these were;—that they should all be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin—that they were to be built in the form of a cross—that they (as well as all other buildings) should be rigidly plain—that no lofty towers should be erected—that elaborate carvings or "representations of the human form" should be forbidden—as were also all features simply of an ornamental character, e.g., pictures, stained glass, tesselated pavements, gold ornaments, coloured decorations, and the like. Thus, in their extreme simplicity, the early abbeys of the order depend for their effect upon the excellence of their proportions and the variety and purity of their details; and for this reason they may be studied with the greatest advantage by the architect of the present day.

In reference to the rule concerning towers, wooden bell-turrets were permitted over the "crossing," and sometimes the four walls of the "crossing" were carried up one stage above the ridge of the nave and covered with a low pyramidal roof. Portions of these lanterns remain at Kirkstall, Calder, Buildwas, Melrose, &c. The towers of Fountains and Furness were late additions, at a time when the Cistercians had become less strict in their adherence to the original rule. In reference to the rule concerning carvings of the "human form," Mr. Sharpe says—"We accordingly find in none of the abbey
"churches of this order the representation of a human head or figure carved in stone, whereas they abound in the contemporaneous buildings of the other orders. I do not remember to have seen—and I have searched for it—a single exception to this rule in the numerous abbey churches of the Cistercians that I have visited in Europe, constructed during the first two centuries of the existence of the order." This absence of carvings is sometimes strikingly contrasted with the richer treatment of the abbeys of other orders; take, for instance, as noticed by Mr. Sharpe, the Benedictine abbey of Whitby, and the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx, within thirty miles of each other. In the former we find grotesque figures, heads, and the utmost profusion of carved ornament, and in the latter extreme simplicity in these respects.

It must be understood that these rules were carried out with the utmost rigour down to the end of the 13th century, not only in our own country but on the continent of Europe. After that time there grew up in the order a certain laxity in their practice; they employed a greater degree of ornament in their erections and insertions; and made many deviations from their rules, which further illustrate this degenerate tendency, and make it difficult to determine with certainty the exact significance of many features in their later structures.

It must also be borne in mind that the foundation stone of the Abbey of Whalley was not laid till A.D. 1296. The neighbouring Cistercian Abbey of Sawley had then been in existence about 150 years. The monastery was founded at Stanlaw in Cheshire in A.D. 1173; but the encroachments of the sea made a change of situation necessary. They had acquired considerable property in Lancashire, and in A.D. 1173, Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, granted to the monastery the advowson of Whalley; the translation was, however,
delayed for thirteen years; and such was the restless character of the monks, that a second translation was contemplated at the beginning of the 14th century to Toxteth. This, however, never took effect. The Abbey of Whalley was not completed till A.D. 1438 (a period of 142 years from its foundation), and before this time many of the departures from the original regulations had taken place; but we shall find that the more important features fully bear out the foregoing rules; and though we may also meet with much to illustrate the laxity of the order (which is not to be wondered at considering the lateness of the erection), yet a close study of its arrangements will be of advantage both to the architect and the antiquary.

We will now apply the rules before quoted to the site and conventual buildings.

The site of Whalley Abbey is in one sense eminently Cistercian in character, being situated just where the valley of the Calder contracts and presents some of its loveliest scenery. The abbey stands, as is usually the case, on the north bank of the river. Its situation is not now so secluded as that of some of the Cistercian abbeys; but at the time of its foundation very few houses would surround the spot where the Church of Whalley had existed, under one form or other, for more than six centuries.

We will now turn to the plan of the abbey, prepared from recent measurements, and respecting which it will be necessary to explain that the parts in black indicate existing remains; the parts etched from right to left, portions destroyed; and the parts etched from left to right, recent additions. The last applying to portions of the abbot's house only.

Commencing with the church, which is of course the most important of all the conventual buildings, we find that it has almost entirely disappeared. There are a few fragments left,
however, and though they are only fragments, they throw great light upon its original condition. The width across the nave and aisles, and the length of the choir, are taken from Dr. Whitaker's plan in his *History of Whalley*; and the process by which these dimensions were obtained is there explained. Nothing remains above the ground to test these proportions; but there is no reason to doubt their correctness, except that in churches of this order, built at so late a date, the choir was much longer than is there shewn. There are, however, one or two points in Dr. Whitaker's plan which require alteration. (1) There is an irregular arrangement of nave, pillars, aisles, and buttresses, which would be impossible under merely constructional considerations; (2) to the east of the transepts, both north and south, two chapels are shewn of an inordinate length. We usually find three chapels in these situations extending the whole length of one of the bays of the choir. The peculiarity of this portion of the plan led to a personal investigation of the ruins, and the evidences of the third chapel were discovered. The jamb and sill of its south window are still remaining; and the closeness of the jamb to the internal angle, along with the confirmation obtained from plans of other churches of the order, will justify the contraction of its length as shewn on the plan now presented.

The pier-respond in the south wall of the south transept remains, and indicates the moulding of the rest. In this wall too is a low arched door leading to the sacristy. Nothing further is left of the church to the east. A portion of the wall of the south aisle is still standing; and where it adjoins the range of buildings to the west of the cloister court, a portion of the jamb and sill of the aisle window, and string course under it, is seen at a height of eighteen feet from the ground. The jamb of the aisle window of the west front is
still in existence; it is composed of a succession of simple splay, and extends the whole width of the wall which is 5ft. 4in. thick above the base course. Adjoining this window is the stone corbel and moulded springer of the aisle vaulting. This corbel is at a height of twenty-four feet, which will also give the height of the nave piers; so that although we have but a few details now remaining of this once noble church, yet they teach us much. They shew in the western portion, by the exceeding plainness of the details, how at that time the severities of the Cistercian regulations were enforced; and in the eastern portions the more elaborate moulds of the transeptal chapels tell of the distinctions they made in the more sacred portions of their edifices. In the fragmentary mouldings of pier, and vaulting, and window jamb, and string, we have sufficient material, with reference to other existing portions of the abbey, to work out a tolerable restoration of the original fabric, and reproduce, on paper, a building, severe in outline, strikingly simple in its details, but grand in its very simplicity, and dignified in its repose;—presenting in its fine proportions one of the best examples of Cistercian architecture in the United Kingdom.

Taking the plan as laid down to represent the original building as nearly as possible, from the evidences remaining, we have in it a Cistercian church of the orthodox type:—its internal length being 255 feet; that is, one foot longer than Furness, thirty-eight feet longer than Kirkstall, twenty-seven feet longer than Tintern, forty-five feet longer than Netley; and its width across the transepts (about 142 feet) is exceeded by that of very few churches of the order in this country.

Next to the south wall of the south transept we find the sacristy, which was usually approached from the church;—the doorway still remains. It is lighted from the east, but the window is an insertion of Late Perpendicular character. Then
follows the chapter house. Next to the church, this building was most highly decorated; and in this instance we find the usual arrangement of a central doorway, flanked by two smaller arched openings, the sills of which are some two or three feet from the ground. These openings were never glazed, and are a standing proof of the austerity of the Cistercians, who were thus unprotected, in their deliberations, from the severities of our climate. This western triple-arcade is exceedingly beautiful, the moulds of the central doorway being enriched by numerous carved pattera of a very spirited character, the hood-moulds being foliated. The side arches contain tracery of an Early Perpendicular character, and are deeply moulded, having treble shafts. The eastern doorway, which is over seven feet wide, has also a very effective arch mould. On either side of this doorway there is slight evidence (in the discontinuation of the base mould) of the existence of other buildings to the east, but of this there is no certainty. Next the chapter house is an apartment that, from the large size of its arched doorway (6ft. 3in. wide), must originally have been the usual passage connecting the quadrangles. The east window is evidently an insertion.

Other apartments are sometimes found in this range; one being a penitentiary, another a locutorium, or parlour for consultations; so that this room may at one time have been assigned to either of these uses, probably the latter. The next is a long apartment extending far south of the cloister court, called the *fratry*, or day-room, of the monks;—it invariably occupies this position. At its north end are two doorways, and it is not at all improbable that the one on the east side has been removed from the before-mentioned passage; in fact, the passage door and the fratry window have changed places, thus creating an additional room in the east walk of the
cloister, the communication from the outer quadrangle now being through the north end of the fratry. It appears that the south end of this room was in some abbeys exposed to the outer air, the openings for light being unglazed. There is no indication of this in the present instance; on the contrary, we have the evidence of the relaxed discipline in the fireplace, a portion of which is still to be seen in the east wall, and the flues from two of the other rooms may also be seen in further illustration. In this room the holes for the floor beams of the upper storey are clearly visible; also the stone corbels under beam ends, and other corbels, five feet lower, from which doubtless sprang the wooden curved brackets to support the floor, which would be about fifteen feet above that of the fratry. Light is obtained at the sides, from segmental-headed windows of two lights, containing simple tracery of Transitional Decorated character. The south window, which had three lights, was of a more elaborate design, and is restored in the diagram shewing the general view of the abbey. An idea of the external character of the buildings last described may be obtained from the views of the chapter house, fratry, &c., which form a portion of a series of sketches, published in 1870. From the south-east corner of the fratry a passage runs out to the mill stream, originally terminating in the “necessaria” of this portion of the establishment.

Taking the remains on the south walk of the cloister, we find first the staircase, so usual in this position. Access is obtained through a moulded archway, springing from clustered shafts. This was the means of approach to the monks' dormitory, which ran over the entire length of the buildings last mentioned, with the exception of a portion reserved for the scriptorium, which was generally over the chapter house. Here, however, we find a separate room connected with the
dormitory by a passage to the S.E., corresponding to that on the ground plan, and it has been thought that this would be the scriptorium; but the smallness of the windows throws discredit upon this idea, and since the building is unusual, its exact purpose will probably remain doubtful for some time. It may possibly have been the infirmary. It has a fire-place in the east wall, and large openings are found, which, from certain indications, were doubtless made for the reception of modern windows. This room is directly over the mill stream, and its east and west walls are supported upon bold pointed arches in one span. It is very probable that a flight of steps would connect the dormitory with the south transept of the church, a very usual and necessary arrangement for nocturnal services, but this portion of the building has been destroyed.

Continuing our investigations on the south walk we find, next the staircase, a door leading to what is now the kitchen garden. This was the site of the kitchens, principal refectory, butteries, &c., which generally occurred in the order named; and in almost every case the axis of the principal refectory was north and south; but from the position of the doorways alone it is pretty evident that in this case it ran east and west. Very little can be gathered from the existing remains as to the exact disposition of these rooms. There are indications of a division wall about sixteen feet from the staircase, and the north wall is still perfect, with its doorways, to the height of ten or twelve feet. This range was not erected till the end of the 14th century, and at that time many of the original regulations were disregarded. A portion of the south wall of this block remains at each end, as shewn on the plan; it does not follow of necessity that they were connected in a straight line as indicated, but on making special inquiries from an old servant, long connected with the abbey, he told me
that he dug up almost the entire length of the wall, as it is now shewn; and he had good reason to remember it, being, as he said, "a varry tough job." It is much to be regretted that so little is to be seen of the principal refectory, a building next in importance to the chapter house, and usually of a more ornate character than its surroundings. In the north wall of this refectory and on the cloister side near the stair-case, is the lavatory, covered with a low segmental arch. This was erroneously described by Dr. Whitaker as "a tomb;" but it is a very common feature in this wall. The leaden water pipe was in its place up to a very recent date.

It is certain that some portion, at least, of this range of building had a second storey, and, though it is against the rule, it is probable that it ran the entire length. Its uses, if it had any beyond that of an additional dormitory, (access to which would be easily obtained from the staircase before mentioned,) would be matter of mere speculation.

We now come to a very important building, occupying the whole of the western side of the cloisters. This has been generally called the hospitium, or guest house, for the reception and entertainment of travellers, and is thus named on Mr. Sharpe's "model plan," as given in his paper two years ago. Various uses have been assigned to it by different writers, however, Mr. Sharpe in a recent communication, after mentioning the discovery of documentary evidence of a "very new and interesting nature;" states that he now believes the building to be the "domus conversorum," a name frequently occurring in Cistercian chronicles. We shall look forward with interest to the publication of the evidence on this point, which he has in preparation, as it does seem very unlikely that the visitors would be allowed to overlook the very heart of the monastery from their dormitory windows.*

* Since this paper was read, Mr. Sharpe has published his views on the
This building is in two stories throughout, and is lighted by two-light windows, with segmental heads, having cusped openings, and rather later in style than the windows of the fratriy. The doorways occur as shewn on the plan, and one of those to the east has a very effective and elegant arch-mould.

We must not omit to mention the existence of a curious staircase in the south wall of this building, terminating at the top in a narrow window. Some writers have thought this to be a cell, and, considering that its length is about thirty feet, its width about three feet, and that it contains about twenty-four steps, the idea is curious. It is not at all improbable, considering the facts just stated, that it was used as one means of communication to the dormitory above; indeed, at present, it is the only visible means of access to the whole of the higher storey at the west end of the cloister.

The cloister walk here, as in most other cases, would probably be covered with a simple roof, supported on wooden posts, and not in the style of the elaborate stone erections, some of which are most exquisitely beautiful, as at the Bene-

question in a paper entitled "The Domus Conversorum, containing the Day Room and Dormitory of the Conversi of a Cistercian Monastery." Mr. Sharpe, in reference to the title "Hospitium," given in the model plan attached to the paper read before the "Royal Institute of British Architects" in 1871, says—"Accumulated documentary evidence which has fallen into my hands since then, has satisfied me that the designation is an erroneous one, and that this building was really constructed for a use that has more than once been applied to it." There has been no positive proof, however, and it has been by a diligent research, extending over two years, that Mr. Sharpe has elicited the information which caused him to substitute the title above indicated. The evidences are chiefly derived from the Libellus Antiquarum Definitionem Ordinis Cisterciensis of 1289, and in a second edition of this in 1316, and a full account of the Rule of the Converts at Clairvaux, published by Martenus, in his Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum, in 1647. We can only add here that the Conversi were a distinct class of inmates, subordinate to the Monks, and performed "all the agrarian, artificers, and menial work incidental to the cultivation of the land, and the clothing and daily service of the whole community."

For further information on this interesting subject we refer the reader to the paper itself, the arguments of which are most conclusive.
dictine churches of Worcester, Canterbury, Gloucester, and those of the secular canons at Lincoln and Salisbury. The stone corbels formerly supporting the rafters are still to be seen in the walls at regular intervals of seven feet. To the Cistercian practice of construction in wood, the absence of this interesting feature in their monastic architecture is due.

We have now made the circuit of the buildings forming the central block of the abbey, and, taking into consideration the lateness of its erection, the various buildings illustrate, in a remarkable manner, the uniformities of the Cistercian plan and the various peculiarities of their architectural regulations.

Dr. Whitaker, in his History of Whalley, has not assigned the names to the whole of the conventual buildings on his plan, for at that time little was known of these special characteristics of Cistercian architecture; but in the fourth edition of that work, now being published, these deficiencies have been supplied: a plan has been substituted similar to the one here exhibited. The letterpress has also been revised in accordance with these recent discoveries; and Mr. Nichols, whose recent death is a source of general regret, has taken an especial interest in this important portion of the work.

We will now briefly notice the block next in importance on the plan, situated about forty-four yards to the east of the chapter house. This was the abbot's house, and of it we need say very little. Its apartments were arranged round a small quadrangle, about fifty-two feet square, but they have been so cut up and sub-divided that it is now difficult to trace the original plan. The kitchen is almost entire, and contains three arched fire-places, two of them being about fourteen feet six inches, and the other about eight feet wide, speaking eloquently of the bounteous hospitality of the abbots of Whalley. Above this portion of the house ran the long
gallery, said to have been 150 feet long. The abbot's private chapel, lighted by a most elegantly traceried window of Early Perpendicular character, stands further to the east, and is situated in the second storey. The whole group, as now remaining, presents a most picturesque appearance, owing to its many mullioned windows;—those to the long gallery being especially fine. The abbey mill stood still further to the east. It is now destroyed, but its position is taken from Dr. Whitaker's plan.

It remains to notice the gateways, of which there were two. That to the north-west, which is eighty yards further to the west than shewn on the plan, was first erected. It is of noble proportions, and is the more imposing in all respects. It consists of two storeys, the second one being supported on stone vaulting. Its detail is very simply treated, springing from wall corbels, but it has an exceedingly fine effect. The higher storey was well lighted by seven three-light windows, containing the elegant flowing tracery peculiar to the Decorated Period of about A.D. 1350. The foundations of extensive buildings have been traced to the north and south, but especially on the former side, access being obtained by doorways still remaining. There is also an arched doorway to the higher storey on the north side. Corbels occur in the side walls at regular intervals, apparently for the support of roof timbers. It has been difficult to assign a use for these buildings, beyond that of porter's lodge; but assigning the long building on the west of the cloister court to the "domus conversorum," it is not at all improbable that, at Whalley, the hospitium or guest house would be connected with this western gateway; the higher storey (its internal dimensions being 65ft. x 26ft.), being used as the guest's dormitory.

The other gateway, much further to the east, and approached through an avenue of fine lime trees, is of much later date.
It also has a second storey, gained by means of a spiral staircase. The embattled parapet is almost in its original condition; and as a whole, this is perhaps one of the most perfect, being certainly one of the latest, erections of the abbey. This latter fact will explain the appearance of a niche containing the figure of some royal personage over the arched entrance.

The view representing a restoration of the abbey as seen from the south-east, has been produced from measured drawings of the existing portions and the best authorities concerning what is lacking, namely, the more perfect abbeys of the order. I have chosen to represent the orthodox central tower, rather than adopt the idea of a western tower, of the existence of which there is no positive proof.

Ornamental fragments of this once magnificent monastic pile are scattered about on all sides. Some of its traceried windows are to be found at Langho Church and Samlesbury Hall, and numerous houses in the immediate district are almost entirely constructed from its ruins. Other portions have been applied to worse purposes; and it is a matter of astonishment that so little of the richer tracery, ornamental carving, and the various ancient art-work, introduced at the later periods of its erection, is to be found. We see specimens of stall carving in the venerable parish church; stained glass at Holme, and elsewhere; heraldic carvings at Downham Hall; and various oak carvings, ancient tiles, and smaller shields of arms built into the houses at Whalley and the neighbourhood; but much more of this ornamental work must be thrown together somewhere within or near the abbey grounds. I can only, in conclusion, echo the wish of the present vicar, the Rev. R. N. Whitaker, M.A., expressed in a lecture delivered in 1869, that excavations might be made, not only to test certain statements that much of the ornamental
work is buried in a sort of rampart in the abbey grounds, called the "terrace;" but to trace out the eastern portions of the conventual church, and various other doubtful points of the ichnography of the abbey, especially about the refectory, western gateway, and elsewhere.

Under the conviction that this abbey, formerly one of the most important of the Cistercian houses in the country, has not received its due share of attention; I shall feel amply repaid for the preparation of this paper, if I can enlist the sympathy of antiquaries, and excite such an interest in this "Locus Benedictus," as shall lead to the unravelling of some of the mysteries which still shroud its remains. It must not be forgotten that its situation is eminently Cistercian in character, and that the beauties of its surrounding scenery will contribute in no small degree to the enjoyment of a few days' exploration amongst the antiquities of Whalley.