ON SAXON CHURCHES OF THE ST. PANCRAS TYPE.[1]

By C. R. PEERS, M.A., F.S.A.

The study of the earliest types of our ecclesiastical buildings has of late increasingly engaged the attention of antiquaries. Now that the later phases of our national architecture, from the twelfth century onwards, have become in their general outlines matters of common knowledge which anyone may acquire if he will, it naturally results that those buildings which cannot be arranged under any of the well-known headings have attracted more general and more careful notice than was formerly the case. It is not now necessary to contend for the existence of buildings which date from Saxon times as it was in the early days of the Institute; the question may be regarded as finally settled in their favour. But beyond this there is much to be done. Five hundred years of the history of English architecture, from 600 to 1100, have yet to be written, and though in a few instances materials exist for dating buildings belonging to this period within a few years, yet in the main comparison, and conjecture more or less probable, are the only guides.

Five years ago, at the Canterbury meeting of the Institute, Mr. Micklethwaite read a paper on Saxon church plans (printed in Vol. LIII of the *Journal*), which first put the subject on a sound and reasonable basis, and though in no way professing to be final, gave a working hypothesis which has so far stood the test of recent discoveries. The present paper is to some extent an enlargement of part of his argument, and deals with a class of buildings which he put at the head of his list, as representing the earliest non-Roman ecclesiastical buildings of which we have any remains still in existence.

Briefly, then, there is a small group of churches connected with each other by peculiarities of plan and detail

[1] Read at Nottingham, July 25th, 1901.

and by tradition with the earliest days of the reintroduction of Christianity to the South of England by Augustine in the last years of the sixth century. These have become known as the St. Pancras type, from the church of that name at Canterbury, the most representative example of the group; a more appropriate name would be the Augustinian type, but as this would lead to confusion with monastic buildings of a later time, the accepted title must stand till a better is found.

The churches in question are as follows :—

Four in Kent—St. Martin's, Canterbury; St. Pancras's, Canterbury; St. Ethelburga's, more correctly St. Mary's, Lyminge; St. Andrew's, Rochester.

One in Essex—St. Peter's on the Wall, Ythanchester, near Bradwell. And possibly

One in Suffolk—the Old Minster at South Elmham.

And if the excavations now in progress at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, prove as successful as it is hoped they will, two more examples may be added to the list—Augustine's church of Sts. Peter and Paul, and Edbald's church of St. Mary.

The characteristics which connect them with each other and distinguish them from all other early churches in this country are :—(1) The use of a group of three arches in place of the usual single arch between nave and presbytery, a feature only found outside their number in two English churches—one of which, merely an adaptation of their typical plan to an aisled church, is Reculver, founded by Bassa, the mass priest, in 669, and the other is Brixworth, built about 685 by a colony of monks from Medehamstead; (2) the short and broad nave, and the small *porticus* or chambers opening from it; (3) their approximation to Roman detail, and the complete absence of all the characteristics of later Saxon work.

It may be here mentioned that they are all built on Roman sites, and with the exception of South Elmham are largely or wholly composed of re-used Roman material.

For historical references to them we are indebted chiefly, and indeed nearly entirely, to Bede, in his

Ecclesiastical History of the English People, written about 130 years after the coming of Augustine.

King Ethelbert of Kent, he says,[1] had a Christian wife, of the royal race of the Franks,[2] by name Bertha, whom he had received from her parents on this condition, that she should be allowed to preserve inviolate, with the assistance of a bishop named Luidhard whom they had assigned to her as a spiritual helper, the observance of her faith and religion.

In fulfilment of this condition Ethelbert gave to his queen the church of St. Martin, near the city of Canterbury, to the east, built of old while the Romans still dwelt in Britain.[3] We are not told anything of its state of repair at the time, which after at least a hundred years of disuse can not have been very good. At any rate Augustine and his companions found it in use as a place of Christian worship, and installed themselves there, making it their headquarters till after the King's conversion, when they had greater freedom for preaching in all places and for building or restoring churches, and Ethelbert gave them within the city a place of abode suitable to their rank.[4] This was perhaps the site of the present cathedral, which is thus described by Bede[5] :— "Augustine consecrated in the name of the Holy Saviour our God and Lord Jesus Christ a church which he had learnt was made of old within the city by the work of Roman believers, and there he fixed a dwelling-place for himself and for all who should succeed him."

He also built a monastery outside the walls, not far from the city, to the east, and in it, by his counsel, Ethelbert erected from the foundations, and endowed with various gifts, the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, in which the bodies of Augustine himself and all the Bishops of Canterbury and the Kings of Kent might be laid. This church, however, Augustine did not consecrate, but his successor Laurence.

Augustine died in 604, and his body was buried close to the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, outside the building, because it was as yet neither finished nor

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 25.
[2] She was a daughter of King Charibert of Paris.
[3] *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 26.
[4] *Ibid.*, *l.c.*
[5] *Ibid.*, I, 33.

dedicated. But soon, when it was dedicated, he was brought inside and buried in the south *porticus* in a fitting manner.[1] Here also, while there was room, his successors were buried. This church, says Bede, has almost in its midst an altar dedicated in honour of the blessed pope Gregory.

The monastery and church of Sts. Peter and Paul were the first beginnings of the great abbey of St. Augustine, the site of whose church is now being explored, with the hope of perhaps coming on some traces of the very buildings which Augustine saw rising from their foundations but did not live to consecrate, and of that other church of St. Mary built some twenty years later by Edbald to the east of Ethelbert's church, and dedicated by Mellitus, who succeeded Laurence as archbishop in 619.

The church of St. Pancras is not mentioned by name in Bede's history, though it may be one of those which he says were built after Ethelbert's conversion, and the first reference to its early date comes from a mediaeval source, the chronicle of William Thorn, monk of St. Augustine's, written at the end of the fourteenth century. Being of so late a date, its value as a record is not great, but at any rate it tells of what was the accepted history of St. Pancras's at the time. There was, says the chronicler, not far from the city to the east, about midway between St. Martin's church and the city wall, a temple or idol-house, in which King Ethelbert was wont to pray after the manner of worship of his nation, and with his people to sacrifice to devils rather than to God. Which temple Augustine on his return from his consecration by Etherius of Arles purged from the pollutions and defilements of the Gentiles, and breaking in pieces the image it contained, changed this synagogue into a church, and dedicated it in the name of the martyr St. Pancras; and this was the first church dedicated by Augustine. There still is to be seen in the south porch of the same church the altar at which Augustine used to celebrate, where formerly the statue of the King had stood. This account, which is in form an adaptation from Bede's history, only altered to suit the

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 3.

context, is the source of the legend, current by the end of the fifteenth century, that Augustine's first mass in England was said at this altar, and that the devil, seeking to tear down the building, left the marks of his claws on its walls in the shape of two deeply cut grooves in the masonry, drawings of which dated 1755 are to be seen in Vol. II of Grose's *Antiquities*.

The establishment of the first church of St. Andrew at Rochester is chronicled by Bede,[1] who says that King Ethelbert built it from the foundations in the year 604, and that Paulinus was there buried *in secretario beati apostoli Andreae* in 644.

The city of Rochester was sacked by Ethelred of Mercia in 676, during his invasion of Kent, when it is specially recorded that he defiled the churches and monasteries.[2] Putta, Bishop of Rochester, fled from his see and never returned, and his successor Cuichelm found it impossible to remain there "*prae inopia rerum.*" So that it is probable that Ethelbert's church did not escape damage at this time, but it seems clear that it was not destroyed. In 726 Bishop Tobias was buried "in the *porticus* of St. Paul the apostle, which within the church of St. Andrew he had made into a place of burial for himself."[3] The church is mentioned in 788 as the place "where the holy Paulinus rests," and again in 823. There is no further history of the building, and it cannot now be definitely settled whether the old cathedral church which Gundulf destroyed at the building of his new church about 1080, and from which he with great pomp translated the relics of the most holy confessor Paulinus, was Ethelbert's church of 604 or a successor of which we have no records or remains. Perhaps the traces of an early building discovered in 1876 underlying the wall of the south aisle of the nave of the present cathedral may some day throw light on the point.[4]

The story of the church at Lyminge is as follows :— When Edwin of Northumbria was defeated and slain

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 12.
[3] *Ibid.*, V, 23.
[4] See *The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of St. Andrew at Rochester*, by W. H. St. J. Hope, p. 21, and Plate II.

at the battle of Hatfield by the pagan Penda king of Mercia, Paulinus bishop of York fled for refuge to Kent, taking with him Ethelburga, Edwin's widow, the daughter of Ethelbert of Kent and Bertha his wife. Edbald, the then King of Kent, Ethelburga's brother, gave her his royal villa of Lyminge as a residence, and there she built a monastery in, or soon after, 633, and there died in 647, and was buried in the north *porticus* of the church, as was afterwards her niece and successor St. Mildred.

The monastery was raided by the Danes, but, as at Rochester, the church can have been only partly destroyed, for in 1085 Lanfranc, requiring relics for his new foundation in Canterbury, St. Gregory, caused the bodies of the two saints to be translated from the north *porticus* of Lyminge Church to the church of St. Gregory, and thereby started the great and long-lived squabble between the monks of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and the canons of St. Gregory's as to which house possessed the authentic relics of St. Mildred, the details of which may be read in the polemic of Goscelin, monk of St. Augustine's, "*Contra inanes beatae Mildrethae usurpatores*," written about 1098, and now in the British Museum (Cott. MS., Vesp. B, xx, f. 260). Goscelin, who seems to have been present at the removal of the relics, speaks of Ethelburga's tomb as still existing, "*eminentius monumentum . . . in aquilonali porticu ad australem parietem ecclesiae arcu involutum.*" And again, speaking of Ethelburga, he says, "*cujus in limingis eminentius et augustius creditur monumentum.*"

The position of the tomb, in an arched recess in the north *porticus* against or near the south wall of the church, is not clear, unless the north porch and the south wall are understood as belonging to two different buildings. This would, at Lyminge, fit the case very well, as the present church is built just to the north of the old foundations, so that a north *porticus* of the older church could very well abut on the south wall of the later. Canon Jenkins claims to have discovered the site of both grave and *porticus* in the north wall of the apse just to the east of the triple arcade, but the evidence is inconclusive, and points rather to a later interment.

Historical references to the chapel of St. Peter on the Wall, Ythanchester, near Bradwell in Essex, will be given in the detailed account of the building, and need not be mentioned here. The Old Minster at South Elmham, Suffolk, has been connected with the mission of Bishop Felix, the Apostle of East Anglia, who gained the favour of King Sigebert, and set up his bishop's seat *in civitate Domnoc*, probably Dunwich, about 630. Here he remained for seventeen years. The fourth bishop in succession to him was Bisi, at whose retirement in *c.* 670 the see was divided and two bishops consecrated, Aecci to Dunwich, and Baduini to Elmham.

The reasons for considering that this Elmham was South Elmham in Suffolk, and not North Elmham in Norfolk, are set forth by Mr. Henry Harrod in the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, IV, 7, and my purpose here is not to offer any criticism on his arguments, but to consider whether the character of the ruined building known as the Old Minster affords any grounds for the supposition that it belongs to the early days of the East Anglian see.

Passing to a detailed description of the remains of these buildings, it will be well to take first the church of St. Pancras at Canterbury. Until last November only the southern and western parts of the site had been thoroughly examined, these being in the grounds of the Kent and Canterbury Hospital. The chancel and north half of the nave were in private possession, and the owner considering that pigs were preferable to antiquaries as occupants of the ruins, no further explorations were possible. But fortunately this desecration is now a thing of the past, and the whole area is in the hands of trustees and has been thoroughly and carefully excavated under the supervision of Mr. Hope and Canon Routledge, with the result that the plan of the whole building, with the exception of the eastern apse, which has been destroyed to the foundations, is now clearly to be seen, and much valuable evidence as to the details of the masonry, etc. has been brought to light. The church consisted of an apsidal presbytery about 30 feet 6 inches long by 22 feet wide, opening into a nave 42 feet 7 inches long by 26 feet 7½ inches wide by a

colonnade of four Roman columns, of which the base and part of the shaft of the southernmost remain *in situ*.

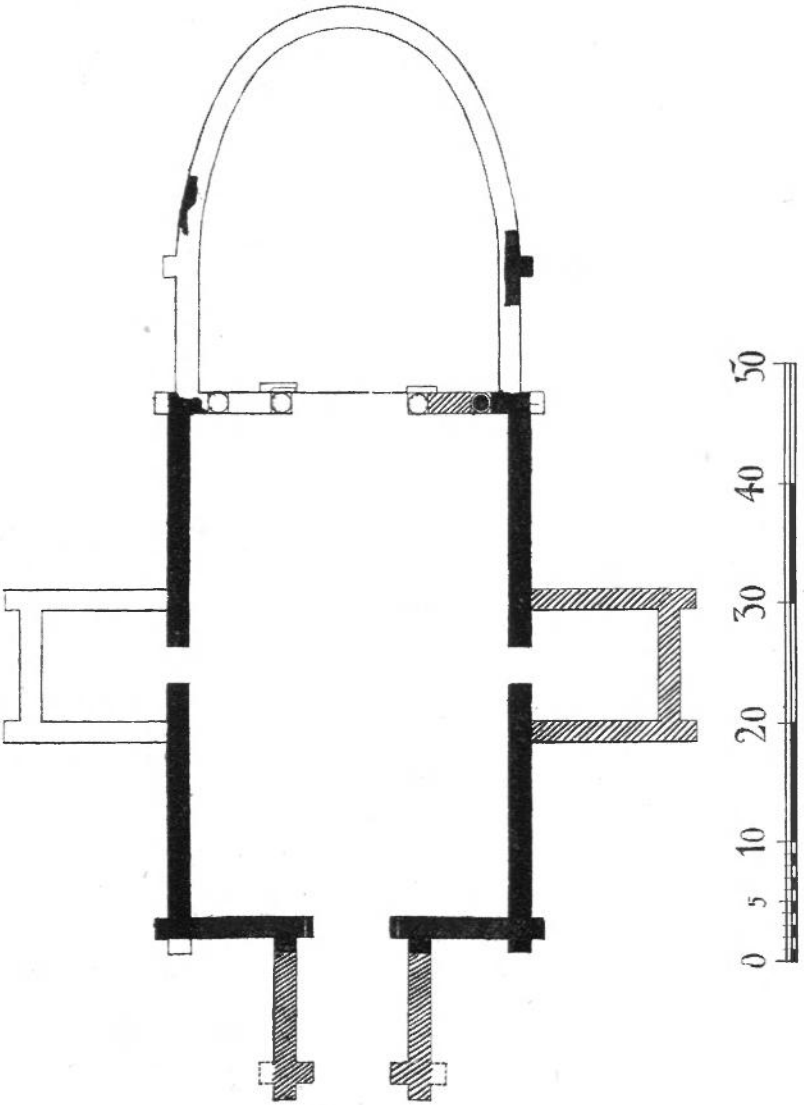

FIG. 1.—ST. PANCRAS'S, CANTERBURY.

In the centres of the north, south, and west sides of the nave were doorways leading into small rectangular

buildings, that at the west being an entrance porch, the other two chapels, probably entered from the nave only. These latter are clearly adjuncts of the type called *porticus* by Bede, and will be so referred to in this account. The thickness of the walls in all parts of the building is 1 foot 10 inches. The walls of the nave remain to a height of about 1 foot to 1 foot 10 inches, and are built of Roman bricks in regular courses, five courses to a foot, set in a yellow-brown mortar, and have been plastered inside and out. Courses of herring-bone brick occur in both north and south walls externally, in the north on both sides of the doorway to the northern *porticus*, within the space contained by its walls, and in the south to the west of the west wall of the south *porticus*. The mortar is of good quality and hard, and several large pieces of walling from the upper part of the walls are lying where they have fallen, in good preservation, though unfortunately nothing has yet been found which gives any evidence as to the windows or architectural features of the upper part of the walls. At the north-west and south-west angles were pairs of buttresses 1 foot 10 inches wide and of 1 foot 2 inches projection, of brick like the nave walls. There were similar buttresses on either side of the western doorway, of which more hereafter, and one at each of the eastern angles of the nave. All three doorways have plain square jambs, and may have had arched heads, though no evidence remains on the point. Those on north and south are 3 feet 1½ inches wide. The western doorway as originally set out was 7 feet 9 inches wide, but was altered during the building of the church to 6 feet 6 inches. It was further narrowed in the end of the twelfth century.

In the eastern wall of the nave is a colonnade of four columns having a central opening 9 feet wide, spanned by a brick arch, part of which still lies on the floor as it fell, and two narrower side openings, 4 feet wide, which may have had arches or flat lintels. These side openings were blocked up very early in the history of the church with a wall 1 foot 10 inches thick of Roman brick in white pebbly mortar. Of the columns only a fragment of the southernmost remains *in situ*, namely, the base

and about 2 feet of the shaft—enough to show that they were of a good period of Roman work, of 16½ inches diameter at the base, and therefore probably about 11 feet high when complete; they had doubtless formerly adorned one of the public buildings of Durovernium, and are the only wrought stonework in the Saxon building.

The presbytery was almost entirely destroyed, either at the rebuilding of the eastern part of the church in the fourteenth century or at an earlier alteration in the twelfth, if the many fragments of that date now to be seen in the ruined chancel walls may be taken as evidence for such an event; but sufficient remains to show that the side walls ran straight for about 10 feet to a buttress similar to those in the nave, from the eastern side of which the apse started. Within the space enclosed by the walls of the fourteenth century chancel no traces of the apse remain, its foundations having been destroyed in the interests of its late occupants the pigs, but externally enough of the springing exists to show that the plan must have been a half-ellipse, like that at Rochester, rather than a half-circle.

The northern *porticus* has completely disappeared; it was taken down in mediaeval times and its doorway walled up, but the marks of its abutment against the nave wall are clearly to be seen east and west of the blocked doorway, by breaks in the external plastering. The walls, or at any rate the lower part of them, were not bonded to the nave walls, and were built after them, though forming in all probability part of the original design.

The southern *porticus* measures 10 feet 6 inches by 9 feet 4 inches internally. The walls remain to a height of about 2 feet 6 inches and are built of Roman brick in white mortar, with joints wider than elsewhere in the church, four courses going to a foot instead of five. At either end of its south wall are buttresses of the usual projection. As in the northern *porticus*, its walls are not bonded to that of the nave. The remains of an altar against its eastern wall, though of a much later date, are of great interest as being the subject of the legend given by William Thorn, quoted above. The

walls of this *porticus* were standing in the eighteenth century, and are shown in illustrations to Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 1722, and Grose's *Antiquities*, 1755, the buttresses finishing with sloping brick heads about two-thirds up the height of the walls.

The western porch is of exactly the same dimensions as the southern, and doubtless the northern, *porticus*, but owing to the fact that its north wall formed part of the boundary between the monks' and lay folks' cemeteries of St. Augustine's Abbey, which boundary was not altered at the Suppression, this wall still stands to the height of 11 feet and more, and affords most valuable evidence as to the erection of the various parts of the church. It is built, as is the south wall, of which only a few courses remain, against the buttresses flanking the west doorway of the nave. These, in common with all remains of the nave walls now standing, are set in yellow mortar, as mentioned above. The porch walls show the white mortar, previously noticed in the southern *porticus* and the blocking of the eastern arcade, and are not bonded to the nave buttresses in their lower part. But at 3 feet 4 inches from the floor level the straight joint stops, and the nave buttress and porch walls are bonded together in such a way that it is clear that the porch was begun when the western nave wall was only 3 feet 4 inches in height, and that after reaching that level both walls were carried up simultaneously in the white mortar, which is to be seen overlying the yellow at the point of junction. If two other facts are added to this, namely, that the fallen fragment of the presbytery arch is built in yellow mortar, and that the mass of masonry lying on the floor of the nave abreast of the north and south doorways, and clearly being from the upper part of the nave walls, has white mortar, the story of the building of the church is clear. It was begun from the east, the presbytery and eastern wall of the nave built to their full height, the west nave wall built to about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and the north and south walls to full height at the east, sloping down to the level of the west wall at their junction with it. Then came a break, in all probability a very short one, and building was resumed with the

white mortar, the nave walls were finished and the three porches built, and the church was complete.

Returning to the west porch. The north jamb of the western archway remains to a little above the springing, and shows that the arch was turned in brick, and was 6 feet 4½ inches wide by about 11 feet high, of one square order. Two courses of bricks are set out at the springing of the arch to form an impost, and the whole was plastered inside and out. It is to be noticed that the external plastering consists of a coat of the mortar used in the walling, brought to a fair face. The internal plaster is not sufficiently preserved for an accurate description, but it may be noted that on one of the fallen masses of masonry in the nave a smooth white plaster ¾ inch thick remains, though it is not possible to say whether this is as old as the wall it covers. There were pairs of buttresses at the west angles of the porch, but of these only the two western appear to have been carried up.

A small piece of what may be the original flooring remains in the nave, close to the north wall, and west of the north doorway. It is of smooth white plaster, 6 inches thick, and although showing a reddish surface, in no way resembles *opus signinum*, a scratch through the surface coat at once showing the white plaster beneath.

The next example to be described must be that well worn battle-ground of antiquaries, St. Martin's, Canterbury. The church stands to the east of the city of Canterbury, outside the walls, on a site which rises rapidly from west to east. The parts of it with which we are now concerned are the nave and the western portion of the chancel. Taking the latter first, it will be found to consist of the side walls of a building 14 feet 4 inches wide and extending 18 feet eastwards from the present chancel arch, with walls of Roman brick 2 feet 2 inches thick, the courses measuring five to a foot. The north wall has been almost destroyed to give access to a vestry, and shows no features of special interest. In the south wall are two blocked openings, of which that to the east is a doorway 2 feet 2 inches wide cut straight through the wall, with brick jambs and semi-circular arched head with ragstone *voussoirs*,

set back at the springing line about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch from the jamb face. The original plaster remains in part behind the blocking wall on the soffit and jambs, light brown in colour and of a fairly fine texture. A break in the masonry all round this opening shows that it is not a part of the original building, though from its character it must be of Saxon date. Into the outer face of its western jamb is built a small piece of a fine-grained oolite, bearing part of a dedication inscription, perhaps

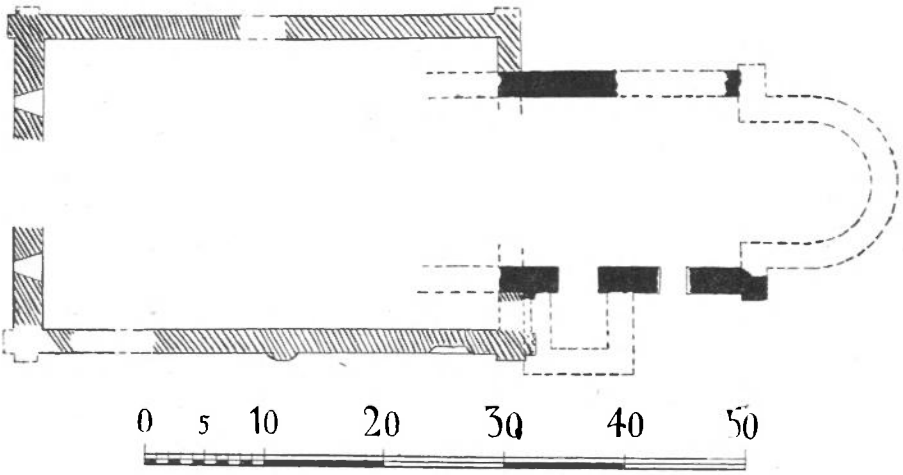

FIG. 2.—ST. MARTIN'S, CANTERBURY.

that of an altar, in good and well preserved lettering of an early type:—

/////N HONORE SCÆ . . .
ЄT OMNIVM SCORVM

The second opening in the south wall, some feet west of the preceding, is contemporary with the wall, 3 feet 3 inches wide, with brick jambs straight through the wall, and a flat head with a heavy ragstone lintel. It formed the entrance to a small southern *porticus* now almost completely destroyed, though traces of the bonding-in of its east and west walls remain on each side of the opening to the height of the lintel,

and show that it was built of brick like the rest, with walls 2 feet 2 inches thick. Its width east to west was 4 feet 9 inches, and if the proportions of the remaining *porticus* at St. Pancras may be taken as a guide, it was probably a square or something like it, but no traces of its southern wall are to be found. The only fragment of the little building now to be seen above ground is a strip of brickwork of about 5 inches projection in the re-entering angle formed by the south wall of the chancel and the east wall of the nave. It seems to have been left when the rest of the *porticus* was destroyed, and formed the western half of the thickness of its west wall at this point, the eastern half being cut away, as the rough ends of the broken bricks show. It is now level with the face of the eastern buttress of the nave. When excavations were being made some years ago on this site, part of a floor of *opus signinum* was found near the sill of the flat-headed opening, the only remains of the *porticus* floor.

Returning to the main building—the present chancel—the evidence for the form of its eastern end is scanty. In the south wall externally the early brickwork stops with a straight joint just beyond a modern pilaster buttress, which is, however, the successor of an original buttress of somewhat similar form, and this straight joint runs through the wall and clearly marks the termination eastwards of the side walls of the early building. A rough brick inner face to the wall on the line of this buttress, and foundations projecting some 2 feet from this face under the chancel floor, suggest that there was a return here as shown on the plan, the central space being taken by an apse, though this last is purely a matter of conjecture.

A most important discovery which practically settles, if not the date, at any rate the relation of this building to the present nave of St. Martin's, was made some years ago by Canon Routledge, when he found under the floor of the nave traces of the continuation of the north and south walls of the chancel westwards from the chancel arch. Owing to graves, these could not be followed for any great distance, and so the plan of the western end remains unknown; but whatever it may have been, it is

quite clear that it could not have existed at the same time as the present nave, and must therefore either have disappeared before the building of the latter, or, which is more probable, have been destroyed when it was added.[1]

The only other point to be noticed is that in the north wall, just east of the present chancel arch, below the floor line, are several projecting courses, as if there had been a cross-wall at this point.

The nave of St. Martin's is irregularly set out, being 24 feet 9 inches wide at the eastern end, and 24 feet 5 inches wide at the west; the north wall also is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches shorter than the south. The west wall is 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, the other three 1 foot 10 inches thick, built chiefly of Roman brick and chalk blocks, with pairs of buttresses at the north-west and south-east angles and a single buttress somewhat east of the centre of the south wall. The masonry, rough and irregular in the first instance, has been much patched and repaired at various times, especially at the south-west angle, which has been rebuilt without buttresses, and in the middle of the north wall, where a doorway now blocked and destroyed has been inserted. But enough remains to show the construction, which is of courses of chalk blocks with bands, generally single, of Roman brick, at irregular intervals, and not continuous throughout the length of the walls, and in many cases not running horizontally.[2] The mortar joints are very uneven, in places as much as 4 inches thick; the original mortar seems to be whitish, full of small pebbles, like that at St. Pancras. The buttresses are tall and shallow, of 10-inch projection, having courses of chalk in their lower portions, and sloping heads of brick; that in the middle of the south wall is unlike the rest, being much shorter, and in plan a flattened segment of a circle, but was perhaps once similar to the others, as it shows signs of having been cut back to its present shape, and a patch of brickwork remains in the wall above it, at the level of

[1] There is a very good reason why the nave should have been built as far eastward as possible, cutting off the west end of the chancel for that purpose. The ground falls so quickly westwards, that a building placed ten, or even five feet farther west, would have needed a great deal of extra walling and levelling up.

[2] The nearest approach to this kind of masonry occurs in the ruined chancel walls of the little church of Stone, by Faversham, though in that instance the work is much better and more regular.

the heads of the buttresses at the south-east angle, which looks like the bonding of a similar head. The building was doubtless plastered externally, but whether any of the original plaster remains it would be hard to say. A patch on the south wall, white, with pounded brick in it, looks early. All the mediaeval plastering has been taken off the inner faces of the walls, and by this means many important details have come to light, especially in the west wall, which has a central opening, long ago blocked up, 7 feet wide and 17 feet high, flanked by two windows now blocked on the outside by the walls of a fourteenth century western tower, and filled up with masonry flush with their inner face. Enough of this has been removed to show that they are splayed, though whether this splay runs right through to the outer face of the wall cannot be seen. Their jambs are of blocks of chalk, and ragstone. Their heads have had semi-circular arches in brick with wide joints; but of these only the springing remains, as the windows have been heightened by cutting away the heads and continuing the jambs upwards. The tops of the heightened openings are rounded, cut out of the substance of the wall, with no built arch. The 17-foot central opening before mentioned is of the same sort, having no dressings to the jambs and no arch in the head. It has either lost an ashlar lining or was finished with thick plaster to cover its irregularities. The upper part of the west gable has been rebuilt, and part of the head of the central opening has been destroyed in the process. The mortar in the jambs of the two windows is white, but in what remains of the brick arches it is pink, and identical with that used in Roman work. There also remain patches of plastering of the same colour on the wall near the windows, and on the south wall of the nave; and it seems probable that the whole interior was once covered with it. No traces of any windows in the north and south walls exist, though the present fourteenth century windows may be some guide to their position; nor is anything left to show whether there was a western *porticus*, or what was its plan. The heightening of the western windows seems to have taken place at an early date, and suggests the

addition of a western gallery entered from a room over the porch, which may at the same date have been carried up as a tower. The central opening may thus replace a western doorway with a window over it, as at Ythanchester. In the south-east angle of the nave, in the east wall, is a square-headed opening, blocked, having a brick north jamb, but otherwise very rough. It would give on to the site of the south *porticus* of the present chancel, but cannot have been connected with it, as the angle buttresses adjoining, which must be part of the original building, could not have been built if the *porticus* had been standing at the time. No

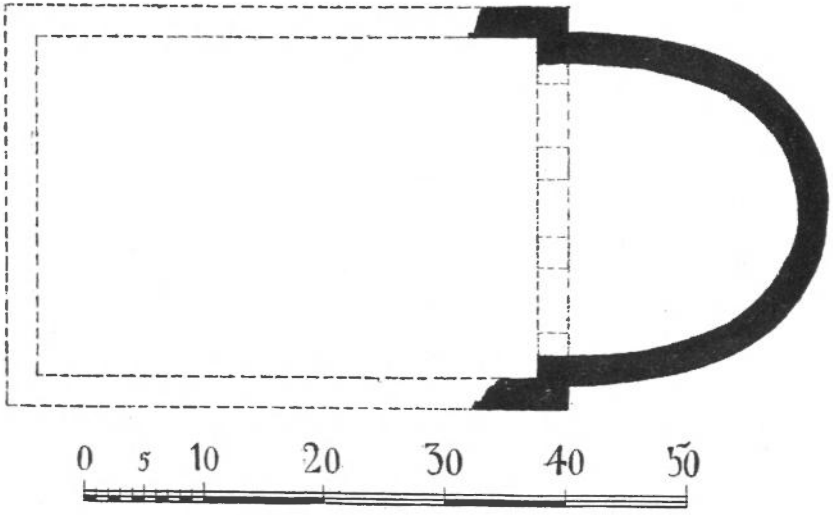

FIG. 3.—ST. ANDREW'S, ROCHESTER.

additional light can be thrown on its possible use from an examination of the outer face of the wall, as this is too much patched to be used as evidence of anything.

Of the two other Kentish examples, St. Andrew's, Rochester, and St. Mary's, Lyminge, little can be said, as little remains; but both by plan and historical evidence they can claim to be included in this group of churches.

In *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XVIII, 264, is a description by Mr. Livett of the finding of the Rochester building, in which he says that the walls remain at highest to

only 20 inches, of irregular masonry, with sandstone quoins and wide mortar joints, the mortar being hard, of sand, with a few shells and a little charcoal; there were traces of herring-bone work, and of the apse walls only two courses of Roman brick remained—not enough to show whether the whole wall was of Roman brick, or merely banded with it. The thickness was 2 feet 4 inches, with a foundation course of tufa and ragstone, on concrete full of small pebbles and blocks of ragstone. The plan shows the curious elliptical shape of the apse, which can now be paralleled by that of St. Pancras's. The west front of Rochester Cathedral crossed the site of the presbytery of this little building, but the east

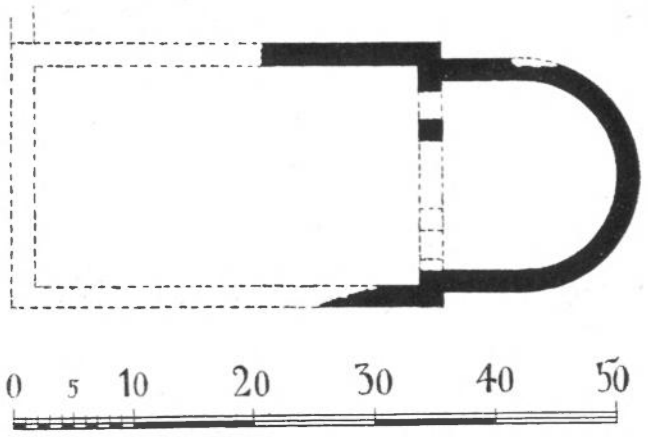

FIG. 4.—ST. MARY'S, LYMINGE.

part of its nave was completely uncovered, and showed a strong foundation wall across the chord of the apse, giving good grounds for the presumption that the triple arcade existed here as elsewhere. The western half of the church could not be excavated, and so no traces of the *porticus* mentioned by Bede have come to light.

St. Mary's Church, Lyminge, has likewise nothing but the lowest courses of its walls to show; they are 1 foot 10 inches thick, of Roman materials, and the evidence for the triple arcade is good, as may be seen from the plan. No trace exists of the *porticus* in which St. Ethelburga was buried with St. Mildred, which, as before noted, seems to have been standing at the end

of the eleventh century. Traces of Roman buildings abound on the site, and a Roman foundation underlies the western end of the nave.

The chapel of St. Peter on the Wall, Ythanchester, in the parish of Bradwell in Essex, is built, as its name implies, across the line of the wall of the Roman fortress of Othonae, which guarded the mouth of the Blackwater. It consists of a nave 54 feet 3 inches long by 26 feet 3 inches wide,[1] formerly opening at the east by an arcade of three equal arches into an apse of the same width, and rather more than a semi-circle. At the west of the nave is a doorway 5 feet wide, once covered by a

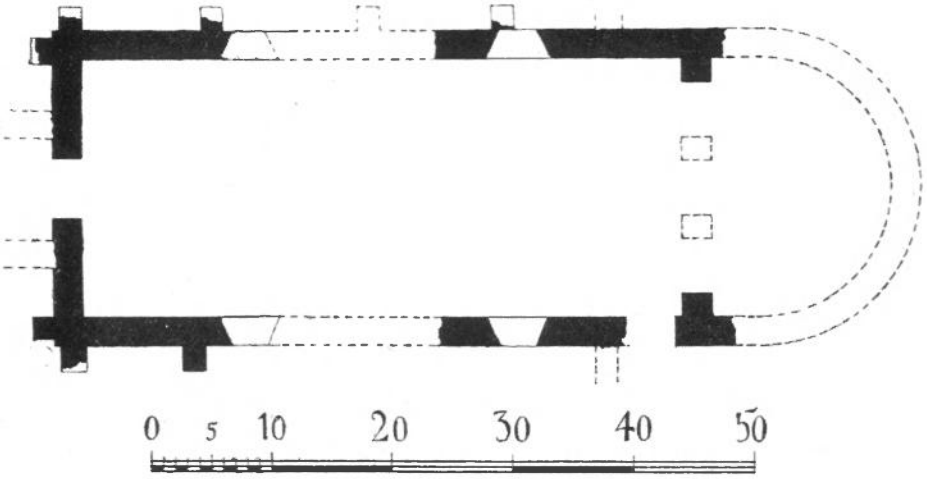

FIG. 5.—ST. PETER'S, YTHANCHESTER

western porch, which in later times was carried up as a tower, and has now entirely disappeared. This building has been claimed as one of those referred to in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 22, where an account is given of Cedd's work among the East Saxons about 653, when he was consecrated Bishop of East Saxony by Finan of Lindisfarne. "He made," says Bede,[2] "churches in various places, especially in the city which in the Saxon tongue is called Ythancaestir, as also in that which is named Tilaburg; the first of these places is on the bank of the river Pent, the second on

[1] These are external measurements. [2] *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 22.

the bank of the Thames." At Tilbury it would, perhaps, be unreasonable to expect to find any relic of this early time, but the lonely situation of Ythanchester, on the estuary of the Pent or Blackwater, has preserved for us, in a more perfect state than any other building of this type, what may with considerable reason be identified as the church built by Cedd for his Essex converts from the ruins of the Roman Othonae. The apse has disappeared, and of the triple arcade only the responds and part of the side arches remain—sufficient, however, to determine their span. The western porch has gone, and the church having in recent times been used as a barn, a cart-way has been driven across the nave, destroying some 12 feet of the middle of both north and south walls. But a great deal of the original building is left, the nave walls exist to their full height, about 25 feet, and the east and west gables are only slightly lowered. And owing to the fact that the place seems to have been deserted early in mediaeval times—in 1442 it is mentioned as burnt with fire and evidently not at that time repaired—there are practically no mediaeval alterations to obscure the early work.

The materials are a coarse oolite, septaria, and Roman bricks, chiefly if not entirely taken from Roman buildings. The mortar is brown and very hard, containing sand and pebbles and fragments of brick. At the western angles of the nave are pairs of buttresses of irregular width, 1 foot 10 inches to 2 feet 3 inches, and of 2 feet projection, of stone rubble with a few brick courses at their base, and heads of brick in horizontal courses, sloping back to the wall face at an angle of about 50 degrees. Remains of similar buttresses exist on the north and south walls, two on the north and one on the south. They are all about 14 feet high, and die into the wall at the level of the sills of the windows. The western angles of the nave are built in their upper part with blocks of oolite and bands of brick, and below with heavy quoins of Roman ashlar, and as the buttresses come to within 6 inches of the angles, their sides next the angles are built with a straight joint against the ashlar face of the quoins, bonding being, of course, impossible; and this has led to the

statement in Vol. XLI of *Archaeologia*, pp. 451–452, that these buttresses are additions, which, however, is clearly not the case. An examination of the masonry of the walls shows that the coursing is irregular and uneven; for 8 feet from the present ground-level are stretcher courses of Roman wrought and squared stones; above this the stones are smaller and uneven, as if no more facing stone was available on the site, and the hearting of the Roman work was used; mortar joints are very wide and the stones often laid on end, as if to make them go as far as possible. But the chief interest of the building, apart from its plan, centres in the windows. Of these parts of five remain, two in the north wall, two in the south, and one in the west, over the west doorway. The west window, which originally looked over the roof of the west porch, and must have afterwards been blocked by the tower raised on the porch walls, is 4 feet 5 inches wide internally, with a semi-circular arched head, both jambs and head being built in brick and splayed right through the wall, being 3 feet wide at its outer opening, which is now blocked with modern brickwork. The bottom course of the jambs, internally, is of ashlar cut to the splay. The other four windows have splayed jambs similar in all respects to the western window, but have flat heads with wooden lintels, which, though probably not the originals, are at any rate their successors. The width of the openings at the outer wall face is 3 feet, and 5 feet 3 inches inside, and they must have been filled with pierced woodwork screens or *transennae*, either fixed or in the form of shutters; the mid-wall planks which are still to be seen here and there in our later Saxon churches are an adaptation of the same idea. The sills are of brick, stepped in horizontal courses, and were no doubt finished with a plastered splay.

Remains of two doorways exist, both with jambs straight through the wall. The western doorway is 5 feet wide; it is blocked with modern brickwork and has lost its head, which may have been either arched or flat. The second doorway is in the south wall just west of the presbytery arches. Only the lower part

remains, and shows that it was 4 feet wide, with ashlar jambs. It may have opened into a small *porticus*, of which there is no trace beyond the bonding of its west wall. There may have been a similar arrangement on the north of the nave, where the wall has been altered and marks of bonding are to be seen externally.

Of the triple arcade, as before mentioned, only the responds and part of the side arches are left. The responds are of 2 feet projection and 2 feet 5 inches wide, of brick, with a stone base course and another halfway up. At the springing of the arch two courses of brick are set out on the soffit, and the arch, which is of brick, semi-circular, and apparently slightly stilted, is set back from the face of the responds at its springing. From the curve that remains it seems that the three arches were of equal span; whether they were carried by stone columns or brick piers does not now appear. On the wall face above the arcade, and elsewhere inside the nave, are patches of a fine white plaster, very thin, which may be the original finish. There is no evidence as to the nature of the floor.

Of the eastern apse nothing can now be seen, but its roof was lower than that of the nave.[1]

The internal western angles of the nave show a curious system of bonding, by sections and not by courses, which produces an alternation of straight joints between the west and side walls which might be very misleading if the building were not as well preserved as it is, and in any case is an interesting commentary on the straight joints between practically contemporary pieces of masonry at St. Pancras's, Canterbury. The walls of the west porch give another instance, being built without bond against the west wall of the nave for some 4 feet, and then bonded regularly as far as traces of them can be seen.

The last on the list is the ruined building known as the Old Minster, South Elmham, Suffolk. It stands within a quadrangular enclosure of some four acres called the Minster Yard, surrounded by a bank and ditch,

[1] See *Archaeologia*, XLI, 447, and for a description of the building in *Archaeological Journal*, XXXIV, 218, 1867.

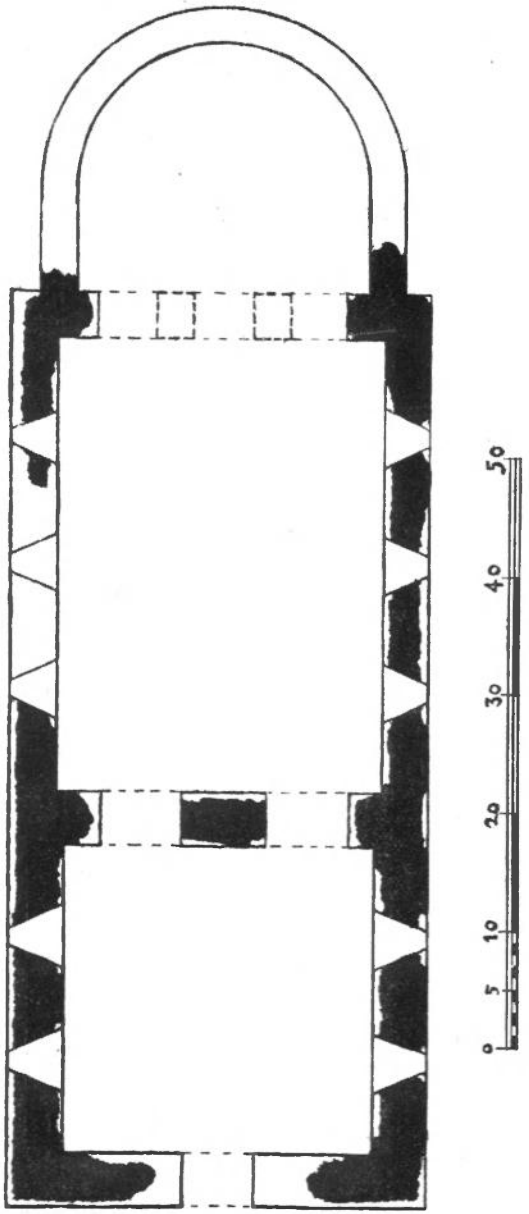

FIG. 6.—THE OLD MINSTER, SOUTH ELMHAM.

and possibly of Roman origin. Mr. G. E. Fox, in his paper on "Roman Suffolk" (*Archaeological Journal*, LVII, 110) considers it to be Roman in form, but says that the evidence of Roman occupation or use is not established, as although Suckling speaks of "urns filled with burnt ashes and bones" having been found there, another authority, Mr. B. B. Woodward, says definitely (*Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, IV, 4), that nothing whatever has been discovered within the enclosed area, though it has been cultivated and drained throughout. Nor is there any definitely Roman material to be found in the walling of the "Minster." The building consists of three parts, an apse to the east, a nave, and a western chamber. It is 101 feet 5 inches long and 35 feet wide, built of flint rubble set in exceedingly hard mortar; the facing, both internal and external, has been of flints and pebbles brought to a fairly even face, about 6 inches thick. This facing, together with all salient angles, has been extensively stripped off for building material; it remains chiefly on the upper part of the outer face of the south wall, and at all re-entering angles throughout the building. The whole outer face of what remains of the north and west walls has been removed. Of the eastern apse nothing but foundations is left, and a short piece of the west end of the south wall, 3 feet thick. The apse was slightly stilted, 21 feet 3 inches deep by 24 feet 5 inches wide in the clear. The nave has walls 3 feet 10 inches thick on north, south, and east. The north wall is almost entirely destroyed, with the exception of 6 feet at the west end, which remains to a considerable height, and contains the western jamb of a window. The south wall is better preserved, and retains parts of three windows, the easternmost of these being left to nearly its full height, and showing part of the head. All arrises are gone, and all facing, except a little on the splayed jambs. The south-east corner externally is in better condition than any other piece of the outer face; the salient angle has indeed been picked off, as elsewhere, but otherwise the walling is in good order, though much overgrown with ivy, and a certain amount of plastering, of the same quality as the mortar, remains. And here a question

arises as to what was the character of the angle dressings. Owing to its excellent quality, the mortar surfaces exposed by the removal of the designs remain sharp and unaffected by weather, and show accurate casts of the bonding ends of the materials used. These casts by no means suggest wrought stone quoins, but rather flints and rounded pebbles, the removal of which has, in some cases, not destroyed more than 3 inches of the angle. In one of the windows of the western chamber, to be mentioned below, so little of the external angle of the jambs is missing that it is very difficult to imagine that anything but flintwork dressings have been used. Against this it must be mentioned that very small ashlar quoins are common in the neighbourhood, and that the appearance of the window jambs in the north wall of the western chamber suggests that wrought stone has been there employed.

The opening from nave to apse is 20 feet 9 inches wide, the responds being square, of the full thickness of the wall, 3 feet 10 inches. The south respond has lost its salient angles, but retains some 5 feet of its facing on all three sides. A foundation of the full width of the responds runs from one to the other, at a higher level than the presumable line of the nave floor, so that there may have been a step here.

The western chamber is an exact square of 26 feet internally, with walls 4 feet 6 inches thick on all four sides. All stand to a considerable height, in places as much as 14 or 15 feet. In the eastern wall are two openings with square jambs on either side of a central pier, giving access to the nave. There is no evidence whether they were arched or square headed. They are 6 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and retain parts of their jamb facing, in one case, up to 6 feet from the ground, but have lost their angles. In the north and south walls the window openings remain, two on each side. The eastern window in the north wall, and the western in the south, exist to their full height, except for a little masonry at the crowns of the arches. Heads, jambs, and sills are all splayed through the wall from inside to out, the splays of the sills being flatter than the rest; they retain at their junction with the jambs some

of the plastering with which the whole surface of the opening was originally covered. The sight-line of the sills is about 7 feet above the present ground level, and the window openings when perfect were 5 feet high to the springing, with semi-circular heads, and 1 foot 7 inches wide in the clear. There is no trace of built arches in the heads; the destruction of the wall surfaces makes it impossible to say whether there were facing arches on either or both sides; what remains of the heads is formed in the flint rubble, laid, no doubt, on centering as the walls went up.

As before mentioned, there are some indications of wrought stone dressings on the inner face of the jambs of the windows in the north wall, but the outer face of the west window in the south wall, where the wall surface is perfect to within a few inches of the window opening, certainly suggests that here, at least, they did not exist. The west wall has lost much of its central portion, especially up to 5 feet from ground level; above that, where the wall is more out of reach of the casual spoiler, it overhangs considerably, being held up by the strength of the mortar, and shows part of the jambs and springing of a large arched central opening 6 feet wide, the springing being 10 feet above the ground level, and the opening not splayed, but square through the wall as far as it is left.

Throughout the building the putlog-holes are a most noticeable and curious feature. Roughly speaking, they are triangular, with the apex of the triangle upwards in the lower part of the walls, and reversed, *i.e.* with the apex downwards, in the upper parts. They are also unnecessarily close together vertically, four rows occurring in less than 14 feet of height, so that the scaffolds would have been not quite 3 feet 6 inches apart; but this can be paralleled elsewhere in ancient work. They go about 14 inches into the walls, generally tapering inwards, and in many instances those on the inner and outer faces correspond exactly in level and position. Nearly all have a coating of mortar, and their greatest width averages 8 inches. Those with the apex downwards, occurring chiefly in the upper part of the walls—there are two such lower down at the east of the nave—

naturally have a flat stone or the like above them; in some cases they seem to have had thin tiles or boards in this position, now gone, but leaving casts of their shapes in the mortar coat which surrounded them.

As will at once be noticed, the Old Minster differs considerably from all the buildings just described, both in plan and in the great thickness of its walls. Nor is the character of its masonry like any of the rest. The question therefore arises, Is it to be counted as one of their class, or is it of a later date? If of a later date, the shape and proportion of the windows is quite unlike any later Saxon or early Norman examples,[1] both in height and width of the opening, and as there are besides none of the ordinary and characteristic later Saxon masonry details, it follows that the earliest assignable date will be 1140 or thereabout. The masonry might also belong to such a date, and the stone dressings, if they existed. Even the very hard mortar would not be impossible, though very exceptional at the time. But with the plan it is a different matter. Let it be granted that at this date the chancel arch of a country church might be as much as 20 feet 9 inches in span, and that the 7 feet 2 inches of abutment, considering the excellent quality of the mortar, is sufficient. But where is there another instance of a middle twelfth century church with entrance doorways like the present, all with jambs neither rebated nor splayed, with a western entrance of so unusual a character, or with a western chamber such as this? Again, if an early date is to be assigned to the church, the following resemblances are to be noted:—It has only one entrance doorway—at the west end, and of considerable width (6 feet). The three "St. Pancras" churches whose west ends remain, St. Martin's, St. Pancras's, and Ythanchester, are entered by a doorway in the same position of considerable width (St. Pancras's 7 feet 9 inches, altered during building to 6 feet 6 inches; Ythanchester 5 feet; St. Martin's destroyed, but there is 7 feet between the rough faces of the early work) and have no other entrance. The proportions of the nave of the Old

[1] That is, in small churches like this. The case of a large late eleventh or early twelfth century church does not apply here.

Minster are in round numbers 38 feet by 27 feet; St. Martin's nave is 38 feet by 24 feet, St. Pancras's 42 feet by 26 feet, and Rochester 42 feet by 28 feet. The wide foundation across the eastern end of the nave is just what one would expect to find if the triple arcade had existed, and is hard to explain satisfactorily on any other hypothesis. A sleeper wall as massive as this, to carry nothing more important than a stone step, or to steady the jambs of an arch on which no great weight can ever have been placed, is, to say the least, an unusual arrangement.

The windows are all splayed right through the wall, as are all windows in the "St. Pancras" type and in other early Saxon buildings, as Jarrow; and all other openings have square unrebated jambs, a characteristic of Saxon work of all dates. The great height of the western entrance suggests that it cannot have been an outer doorway, but must have opened on to a porch, another regular feature of early Saxon work, as at St. Pancras's, Ythanchester, Monkwearmouth, Corbridge, and Brixworth.

There remain the two points in which the Old Minster differs from all known Early Saxon churches—the thickness of its walls, and the western chamber. Thinness of wall is a marked feature in all "St. Pancras" churches, and generally in all Early Saxon buildings. The western chamber is a very rare feature in England; I only know one instance of anything like an exact parallel to this at South Elmham. It is to be found at Daglingworth, Gloucestershire, where there is a late Saxon church of nave and square chancel, with at the west of the nave a chamber exactly 16 feet square, externally of the same width as the nave, and with walls 3 feet 9 inches thick, as against 2 feet 8 inches in the nave and 2 feet 4 inches in the chancel. Only the south wall of this chamber remains intact; the west has been destroyed at the building of a fifteenth century tower, the north "restored" into modern smugness, and the east, which opened to the nave with a central arch of some width, completely removed. The entrance doorway of the church is in the south wall of the nave, just east of the site of the east wall of the western chamber, and the north

nave wall is destroyed for an arcade, so that no evidence of a north doorway remains, and whether the western chamber had a western doorway is equally beyond discovery. Another western chamber is to be found at Boarhunt, Hampshire, again a late Saxon church, entered by north and south nave doorways, east of the line of the east wall of the chamber. This east wall has been destroyed, and nothing can be said as to its opening to the nave. Here the chamber is not square, nor are the walls thicker than the nave walls. It has a modern west doorway, and it is not clear whether it replaces an original opening. Foundations of a western chamber at Methley, Yorkshire, are said to have been lately found, but I have not been able to get any description of them. The curious Norman church of Gillingham, Norfolk, is sometimes given as an instance of a building with a western chamber, but is not really a case in point. Its tower, narrower than the nave, is planted across it some 20 feet from the west end, and is carried by two massive walls 4 feet thick pierced with arches 6 feet 8 inches wide, thus cutting the nave into two parts, but the western part is intended to be part of the nave, and has the regular north and south doorways into it, and also a west doorway.

Here I must leave the question for the present, in the hope of getting sufficient evidence to come to a definite conclusion some future day. The many early features shown by this building make it impossible to ignore its claims for consideration in a paper dealing with these earliest of our Saxon churches; but the presence of other details consistent with a later date make it equally impossible to decide absolutely in its favour.

Summary.

Such, then, are the characteristics of these buildings, and it only remains to sum up the evidence they give.

Here we have a group of churches, all on sites historically connected with the time of Augustine and his immediate successors, and all on just such sites as would naturally be chosen under the circumstances, as

being either centres of population or at any rate rich in building material other than wood. They are not only like each other in plan, but they have common features which no other building in England has, with the two exceptions before mentioned, both of which date from the end of the seventh century. They show none of the well-known details of later Saxon work, long and short, double splays, rib work, balusters, and so forth, but clearly belong to an earlier and simpler age, when Roman tradition was everything, and a locally developed style a thing of the future. Their plan is an adaptation of the small rectangular building with an apse at one end which became common in the fourth century, and of which the basilica of Junius Bassus in Rome is a typical example. When this is applied to a larger building, the size of the arch in front of the apse creates problems which have to be solved—first, the increased thrust, secondly, the increased height of the arch, whose crown must be kept below the flat ceiling, or at any rate below the level of the tie beams of the roof. These difficulties are got over in a way which suggests the inexperienced and timid builder—not by accepting the difficulty and providing for it, but by avoiding it. In place of one arch three are built, with of course less height and less thrust. In St. Pancras's, indeed, this development seems to be in the experimental stage, for when the triple division had been made, the builders were, as it appears, not satisfied with its stability, and to further buttress the central arch walled up the side openings almost immediately after their erection. And this might be taken as evidence that the triple arcade is an invention of the time, and the first step towards a native style. We should, perhaps, expect to find its prototype in Gaul, or even in Rome, but so far I have not been able to find any parallel sufficiently close to be given here.

Another special and remarkable detail is the use of buttresses, hitherto considered to be a definitely non-Saxon feature. They occur at St. Martin's, St. Pancras's, and Ythanchester, and also in the nearly contemporary Reculver. The complete examples at St. Martin's and Ythanchester have sloping heads of brick in horizontal courses, and St. Pancras's had the same, if the illus-

trations of 1722 and 1755 are to be trusted. They are of one projection throughout their height, as much as 2 feet at Ythanchester, and about 14 inches in the other three examples.

The only two doorways which remain to their full height have flat heads, though the outer opening of the west porch at St. Pancras's and the west doorway at South Elmham were arched. As far as the evidence goes, there were no external north or south doorways; all were in the west wall, and probably all opened into a west porch, the nucleus of the later west tower.

The lateral chapels or *porticus* are another special feature, and contain no doubt the germ of the transept of later times. Some of them at any rate were built as places of burial, and whether they had altars at first does not appear. Evidences of them exist at St. Martin's, St. Pancras's, and I think Ythanchester, and there are records of them at Rochester, Lyminge, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and elsewhere, all with reference to burials.

Walls are thin, those at St. Pancras's and Lyminge being of the regulation Roman thickness of 1 foot 10 inches; but as thin walls were built throughout Saxon times, no stress can be laid on this point. Floors are of plaster, wherever traces of them remain.

Of windows there are naturally few examples remaining. All agree in having a single splay from inside to outside, but otherwise are not much like each other, except in being closely related to Roman work. The masonry details of those in the west wall of the nave at St. Martin's are like those of the undoubtedly Roman windows in the Pharos at Dover; and the wide openings at Ythanchester, though the great rarity of Roman windows in England makes it impossible to give a parallel to them from this country, have many prototypes in Roman churches, whose wide window-openings are filled with the pierced slabs called *transennae*. The same may be said of their flat heads, though the idea of having the windows as near the top of the wall as possible no doubt was a factor here in the discarding of an arch; for in the west wall, where the gable end gave

height and to spare, the window over the western opening has the arched head.

From all this it will, I think, appear that these buildings are just such as would naturally be built at the date which is on so many grounds claimed for them—full of details borrowed from Roman work, the only architectural tradition of the time, but having distinctively non-Roman features. The nave of St. Martin's, Canterbury, has, both from Bede's writings and from the details of its west windows and the pink plaster on its walls, been claimed as actually of Roman date; but I

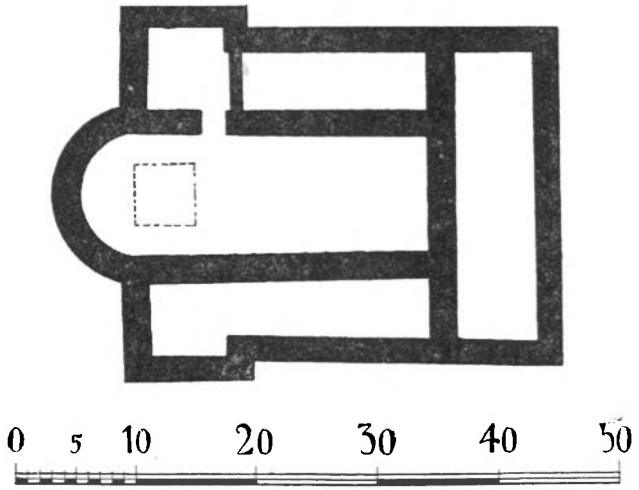

FIG. 7.—SILCHESTER.

must here confine myself to giving a few objections to the Roman theory shortly:—First, that if so, the chancel, being undoubtedly earlier, must also be Roman, and with it the church of St. Pancras, which it too closely resembles to be many years apart in date, and which is in plan and arrangement unlike any known Roman building; second, that it is not good enough for true Roman work, but is just what a non-Roman imitator might build; thirdly, that Ythanchester gives a parallel to its buttresses with brick heads, and the proportions of its nave are very much those of Rochester, South Elmham, and

St. Pancras's; and fourthly, that its close resemblance to Roman detail in the two respects before mentioned tells no more for than against the argument; for Reculver, built in 670, showed lacing courses of brick as regular as any Roman work, and a floor of *opus signinum* throughout.

We have only one possible instance remaining of a Roman Christian church, namely, the little basilica of Silchester, whose plan, Fig. 7, in no way resembles that of St. Pancras's or St. Martin's. The first cathedral of Canterbury on the present site, as described by Eadmer, may have been a Roman building, and certainly in Bede's time the idea that Roman Christian churches had been reconsecrated and used by Augustine and his followers was strong. There would be a charm, too, in the thought of a tangible connection between the earlier and later Christianity, which might count for something. Compare for this Bede's *Life of St. Vedast*, where it is recorded that the saint when sent on a mission to Arras made it his first business to discover and reconsecrate the abandoned church of the Roman Christians.

For the present, I think the churches of the St. Pancras type may be arranged thus:—

Before 600.	St. Martin's, Canterbury, chancel.
,, ,,	St. Pancras's, Canterbury.
604.	Rochester.
633.	Lyminge.
? 650.	St. Martin's, Canterbury, nave.
653.	Ythanchester.
? 670.	South Elmham.

It only remains to me to make some small acknowledgment of the invaluable help given me during the writing of this paper by Mr. Micklethwaite and Mr. Hope, by the free use of all their notes and plans of these buildings and everything connected with them; and in particular I must thank Mr. Micklethwaite for coming with me to Ythanchester last autumn, and Mr. Hope for his timely notice of the excavations at St. Pancras's, which enabled me to see all his discoveries there in their first freshness.

To face page 435.

WOLLATON HALL. FRONT ELEVATION, 1901.