HEXHAM ABBEY

N

0	5	10	20
0	1	2	3

METRES / FEET

Saxon

pre–C13

C12

C12 or C13

C13
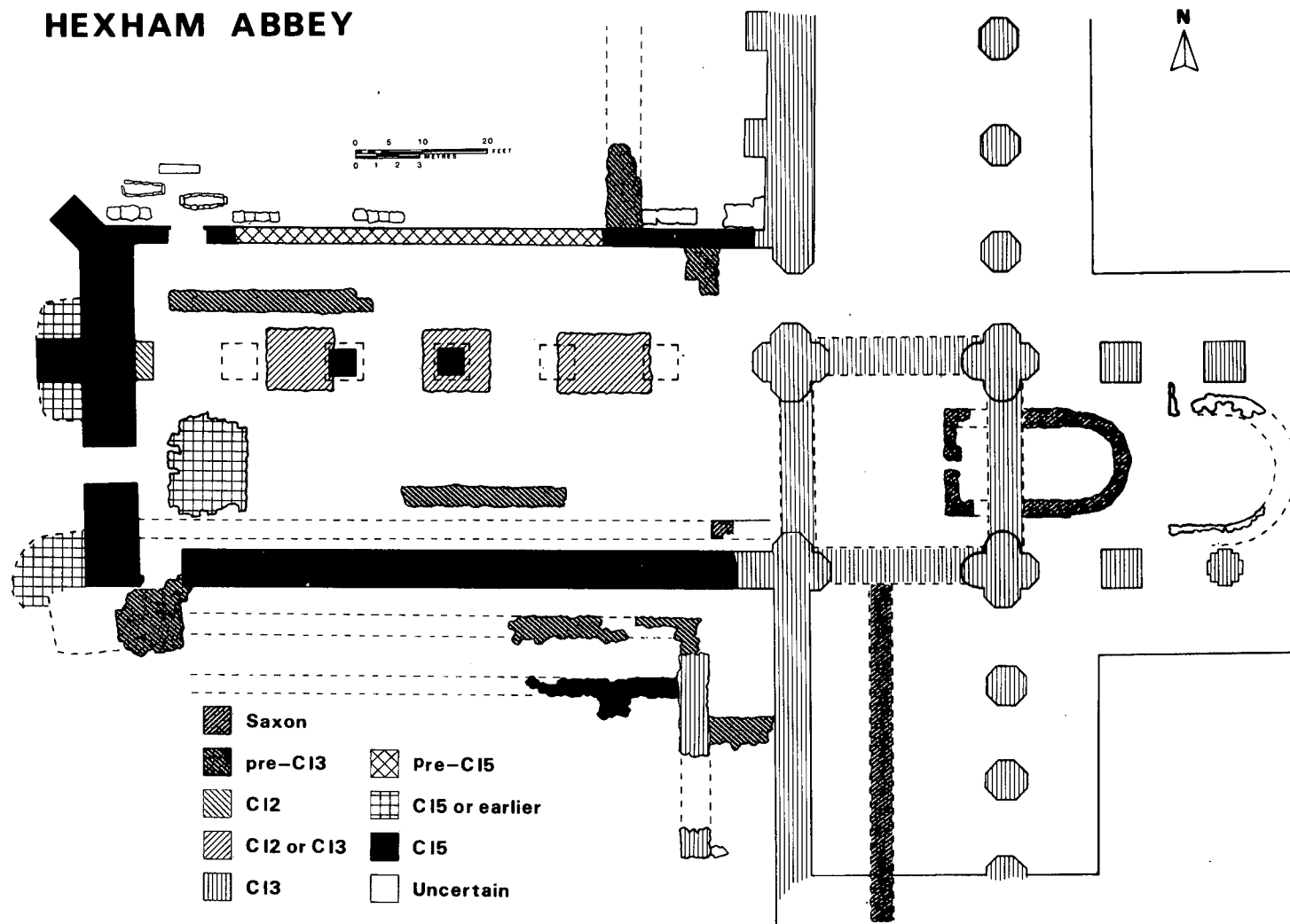
Pre–C15

C15 or earlier

C15

Uncertain

Hexham Abbey: suggested building-phases.

VI

C. C. HODGES AND THE NAVE OF HEXHAM ABBEY

Eric Cambridge[1]

THOUGH THE excavations in and around the nave of Hexham Abbey have attracted much scholarly attention since they were first recorded and interpreted by C. C. Hodges, subsequent work has been concentrated almost exclusively on those features which he judged to be of pre-Conquest date.[2] This has tended to obscure the fact that Hodges' analysis of the archaeological evidence was part of a comprehensive history of the nave, itself largely conditioned by his interpretation of the relevant documentary evidence. But the framework within which Hodges constructed his account is nothing like so sound as he and later writers have supposed, and a critical assessment of this implies in turn the necessity of an entirely new evaluation of the date and significance of the archaeological data.

The essential features of Hodges' theory were already present in its earliest formulation: the bulk of the pre-Conquest church stood on the site of the present nave. It survived until 1296, serving as the nave of the Augustinian priory church, the eastern arm of which had been rebuilt in the thirteenth century. It had been intended to rebuild the nave also but, just after the work had been begun at the west end, it was burned by the Scots. Because of the poverty of the monastery in the later Middle Ages, the nave subsequently remained ruinous, though an unsuccessful attempt at rebuilding was made, beginning in the late fourteenth century.[3] The inferences that the pre-Conquest church was still in existence in 1296 and that it was burned by the Scots in their raid of that year are drawn from a passage in the Chronicle of Lanercost:

> "In ecclesia vero Augustaldensi, quam inclytus Domini archipraesul exstruxit Sanctus Wilfridus, reposita erant scrinia plura ab antiquo sanctorum patrum pignora reservantia, quorum dignitates et opera pertractat Sanctus Beda De Gestis Anglorum. Ipsa vero basilica Romano opere insignita, ad honorem mitissimi Apostolorum Sancti Andreae, ac spiritualis patroni Scotorum, Beati Wilfridi ministerio exstitit dedicata."[4]

Hodges translates the second sentence thus: "Indeed, the church itself, celebrated for its Roman work, dedicated by the labours of the Blessed Wilfrid to the honour of the most gentle of the apostles, St. Andrew, and the spiritual patron of the Scots, remained."[5] But can *exstitit* possibly mean "remained" here? In medieval Latin, *existere* is regularly used as a synonym for *esse* in all its senses and constructions,[6] and the word-order surely requires this meaning here—*exstitit* is to be taken with *dedicata*, and is equivalent to *esset dedicata*, "had been dedicated". This removes

an insuperable syntactical problem in the way in which Hodges construes this sentence, whereby the participle *dedicata* is required to stand outside the clause to which it belongs, after *exstitit*, which is taken as the main verb of the sentence. There is still a difficulty in this passage however: the preceding sentence ("In the church of Hexham, which ... St. Wilfrid erected ..." *etc.*) may seem, *prima facie*, to suggest that Wilfrid's church was still extant. The sentence is not concerned to state anything about the condition of the church however, but to indicate the venerable antiquity of the relics which were pillaged by the Scots. The point is that the *relics* had survived from Saxon times, not that the church had. Similarly, the point of the following sentence is that St. Andrew had been the patron of the church for centuries, and yet the Scots decapitated his image, even though he was their patron saint. In this context, the phrase *Romano opere insignita* implies nothing about the survival of Saxon remains, but is merely an incidental cliché, in precisely the same vein as the boast that the saints whose relics were kept at Hexham had been mentioned by Bede. Their function, like that of the whole passage, is to build up a picture of a church with long and venerable traditions which had been barbarously desecrated. Thus, the Lanercost Chronicle implies neither that the Saxon church survived until 1296, nor that the Scots raid affected the nave of the church in particular. Though the reference in the account to what was burned is remarkably vague (... *aedificia sacrata* ...), damage to the church as well as the priory buildings is specified in a letter of Archbishop Newark, probably of 1298,[7] and suggested by a commission for the consecration of newly constructed or repaired altars in the church in 1310.[8]

Hodges supports his interpretation of this document by arguing that no roofs were ever attached to the west wall of the tower, nor to the south end of the west wall of the north transept, and hence that the nave had never been built. The argument depends on four structural considerations: the weatherings for both nave and aisle roofs survive on the west side of the church only, but have disappeared from the other three faces of the tower: the walls beneath these weatherings show no signs of fire-action, whereas those of the other three faces do: the weathering of the wall-surface on the west side is equal above and below the roof-line: the short stretches of the nave walls built to abut the west piers of the central tower stop vertically, whereas one would have expected "... a ragged, sloping line" if the nave had been intentionally demolished, or had collapsed.[9] It is not clear exactly what the first observation is meant to prove, but in any case the first two need only imply that the history of the choir and transepts has differed from that of the nave in some respects. In particular, the evidence of fire-damage in the choir and transept roofs need only imply that the nave roof survived unburnt, rather than that no nave existed at all. The lack of differential weathering seems explicable by the fact that, on any hypothesis, the church lacked a roof on this side from sometime after the dissolution until the western vestry was constructed in 1869–70,[10] i.e. for at least as long as it can ever have been roofed. The other three limbs of the church have presumably been roofed continuously ever since they were built. The fourth point deserves more detailed examination: there is no reason to think that the demolition or collapse of the nave would result in "... a ragged, sloping line", at least as a

permanent feature. Though a large buttress was added on the north side in 1725,[11] Carter's drawing of *c.* 1790 apparently shows the eastern stump of the medieval south wall dressed back vertically to act as a buttress on this side.[12] The presence of occasional very short ashlars in the western edge of the wall confirms this. But similar short ashlars also occur in the lower part of this wall, at its junction with the surviving fifteenth-century part of the south wall. Moreover, the thirteenth-century stump is not quite vertical, but has a slightly ragged edge. Both of these features suggest that the thirteenth-century wall was toothed for bonding when the fifteenth-century wall was constructed.[13] Furthermore, the survival of the jamb of the east window of the south clerestory arcade indicates the intention at least of continuing the wall westwards. Hodges' assumptions that no more of the thirteenth-century nave was built than what survives abutting the tower, and that the vertical western edge of the stump of its south wall is an original feature, thus proves groundless. So, none of these considerations support the hypothesis that the church lacked a nave from the thirteenth century onwards. On the other hand, one might have expected traces of a flatter-pitched fifteenth-century roof-line to have survived beneath the thirteenth-century weathering, associated with the later rebuilding of the nave. But it is possible that traces of a roof-raggle for the north aisle roof of this date do survive;[14] while the construction of the western vestry may have obscured the evidence for that of the nave.

Hodges advances two more pieces of evidence which are held to demonstrate that the fifteenth-century nave was never finished, rather than having been completed and subsequently destroyed: the foundations of the north aisle wall peter out east of the door at its west end: and excavations on the site of the nave showed an absence of loose masonry, as opposed to moulded stones.[15] The former contention was of course subsequently disproved by the excavations for the present nave, which revealed an aisle wall, whatever its date or dates, running the whole length of the nave; while the latter could easily be explained as the result of post-dissolution robbing of the site. By contrast, the clause in Roger Thornton's will of 1429, which excuses the convent repayment of the four hundred marks (£266, 13s 4d) which it owes him, provided that this amount be spent on building their church, can only refer to the rebuilding of the nave.[16] Assuming that the offer was taken up by the convent, the amount involved is so substantial as to make it highly unlikely, on these grounds alone, that the rebuilding was never completed. Moreover, Hodges' use of the supposed extreme poverty of the convent in the later Middle Ages to explain its inability to undertake major building-works seems somewhat exaggerated. Though the economic effects of the Scots wars were undoubtedly severe, particularly in the short term,[17] the only surviving rental, for the 1470s,[18] suggests a moderate recovery before a further decline at the end of the Middle Ages.[19] Furthermore, the priory was sufficiently prosperous to undertake at least two substantial alterations to its fabric in this period by the erection of the five eastern chapels in the second quarter of the fourteenth century,[20] and the insertion of a large Perpendicular east window, probably in the fifteenth century.[21] Finally, what of the ultimate fate of the nave? There is no positive evidence of any kind which dates its disappearance, but it seems

likely that it was abandoned shortly after the dissolution. Though it was usual for a parish to retain only the nave of a formerly monastic church, the acquisition of the eastern arm instead occurs, besides Hexham, at Pershore (Worcestershire), Abbey Dore (Herefordshire), Boxgrove (Sussex), and at St. Bartholomew the Great (Smithfield, London).

Hodges modified his 1888 account of the post-Conquest history of the nave in only one respect, to take account of the twelfth-century date proposed for the west respond of the nave arcade by Bilson and St. John Hope.[22] This indicates the intention of rebuilding the whole church, though the only contemporary documentary evidence, of a translation of relics in 1154,[23] need only imply the completion of the choir at this time. Thus, the history of the nave in the high Middle Ages is much more complex than Hodges supposed. That there was a fifteenth-century rebuilding seems almost certain: whether or not the romanesque nave remained incomplete until the thirteenth century; or was completed in the twelfth, and survived until the fifteenth-century rebuild; or was completed, but replaced in the thirteenth century, it is impossible to ascertain. What is clear, however, is that the archaeological remains on the nave site must be interpreted not, as Hodges supposed, as belonging either to the Saxon period or to the fifteenth century, but as evidence of a structure with at least two, and possibly three post-Conquest phases.

Before attempting to reinterpret the archaeological remains recorded by Hodges in the light of this general interpretation of the history of the nave, one example of his above-ground analysis is worth considering for its methodological implications: from 1907 onwards, he regarded those courses of the exterior of the west wall, south of the west door, which contain Roman stones,[24] as *in situ* Saxon masonry,[25] arguing that the clearly high medieval plinth and the masonry between this and the supposed Saxon work represent a beginning of the nave cut short by the Scots raids. When the fifteenth-century rebuilding commenced, the supposed Saxon masonry at this point, which had survived the general ruination, was retained and built over.[26] Yet his earlier account of the south-west corner of the nave refers only to the re-use of materials from the Saxon building.[27] Hodges' failure to mention the survival of *in situ* Saxon work here implies that the 1907 account represents a reinterpretation— but was it justified? Apart from the inherent improbability that the earlier wall would have been replaced by shoring a section and inserting new walling beneath, rather than simply by demolishing it, it is clear that Hodges' earlier interpretation is the correct one, not only because of the occurrence in the fifteenth-century work of at least one apparently Saxon fragment which must be re-used,[28] but also because of the use of thirteenth-century grave-covers as roofing-slabs in the south passage at the west end.[29] All this suggests that Hodges' enthusiasm for recovering the remains of the Saxon church in 1907 led him to equate the re-use of Roman stones with the survival of *in situ* Saxon walling, even when his own common sense had previously produced a much more convincing interpretation.

Though the line of the nave arcade was not extensively investigated until 1907, earlier limited excavations had taken place in 1881, which revealed the "concrete cores of the foundations of two of the bases of the piers (*sc.* 'of the fifteenth century

nave')".[30] The interval between these implies that they are the remains of the second and third piers (counting from west to east) of an arcade of six bays. Unfortunately, Hodges' subsequent writings never explain how these remains related to what was found in 1907. However, the position of one of these relative to the foundations marked "g" (fig. 1, p. 146) does imply that they were different from the latter:[31] the third pier lies on the central section of "g" (fig. 1, p. 146), but the second lies immediately east of the western section of "g", and its core measures 3 ft 9 in (1·14 m) from east to west, while the core of this section of "g" measures 6 ft 2 in (1·88 m) east to west.[32] It seems that traces of another fifteenth-century pier were also found in 1907, since the "mass of foundation"[33] which must be identified with the eastern section of "g",[34] is said to have had fourteenth-century work upon it.[35] This could refer either to the fifth pier, the western edge of which would overlap the east side of the eastern "g" by c. 1 ft 2 in (0·35 m), or to the fourth, which would overlap the west side of the latter by c 3 ft (0·915 m), or to both. Thus, the remains of at least three of the five piers of the fifteenth-century arcade had been located by 1907.

Fortunately, the evidence may be supplemented by a photograph taken during the 1907 excavations,[36] which shows two large square foundations on the arcade line. That in the foreground is directly opposite the shoring to the left, which lies just north of the north aisle wall. Comparison of the other two photographs in which this shoring appears with Hodges' plan (fig. 1, p. 146) implies that it lay east of the five graves outside the west end of the north aisle wall[37] and west of the single grave to the east of these.[38] Thus, it must have been exactly opposite the western "g", which must therefore be identified with the nether foundation. This looks about 6 ft (1·83 m) square in the photograph, which accords roughly with the east–west length of the "cores of bases" in Hodges' section, which forms the only evidence of the dimensions of the *upper* parts of the two western "g". Since the farther foundation is apparently of similar dimensions, it is presumably the central section of "g". But a small additional feature is visible on top of this foundation which is absent from the one in the foreground. Since this is the only point at which the centres of a fifteenth-century pier and a section of "g" coincide (fig. 1), this feature must be the core of the base of the third pier of this date. The photograph therefore provides the only direct evidence for the stratigraphic relationship between the fifteenth-century piers and foundations "g".[39] But this raises a further problem—why do none of the fifteenth-century remains appear on Hodges' plan and section? A clue lies in the west respond of the nave arcade, the foundations of which are also absent from the section, though the trench visible in Plate XVIII of Savage and Hodges makes it certain that they must have been investigated in 1907. It cannot but be significant that, at that time, Hodges still considered this respond to date from the fifteenth century.[40] The only possible inference is that Hodges' plan and section can no longer be presumed to preserve an unbiased record of everything which was revealed in 1907, but that those features which he regarded as high medieval have been deliberately omitted.

Though Hodges clearly thought foundations "g" were Saxon by 1919,[41] he may

have had doubts earlier, since only the eastern section is mentioned in 1907. This he thought was Saxon because it underlies "fourteenth century" work, incorporates Roman stones and is constructed with "Saxon mortar".[42] The first of these may be discounted, since it only provides a *terminus ante quem*; while Hodges' use of the second as a criterion is open to serious reservations.[43] Moreover, one cannot be sure that Hodges' identification of mortars as Saxon did not involve a circular argument, since his interpretation of the site required that everything which pre-dated the fifteenth-century work *had* to be Saxon. For example, the "lump from the floor of the eastern part of the church"[44] which, for Hodges, represented the floor of St. Wilfrid's church,[45] can hardly be primary in view of the recent excavations.[46]

It has been suggested that the form of the two western "g" in Hodges' section implies that they were originally associated with a floor-level substantially lower than the present one.[47] This presupposes that foundations "g" are Saxon, but both the utter dissimilarity in width and depth between "g" and the demonstrably Saxon wall recently excavated[48] and the probability that there was at least one post-Conquest phase on this line besides the fifteenth-century one[49] make a high medieval date much more likely; nor need the stepping-out towards the bottom imply a floor-·level, since the latter is a common feature of medieval footings. The over-all depth of "g" beneath the modern floor-level of *c.* 6 ft (1·83 m) is likewise typical. Though the tops of the two western "g" are drawn 2 ft (0·61 m) beneath this floor-level, the discrepancy could perhaps be explained by supposing a robbing of their uppermost courses, associated with the construction of the fifteenth-century arcade.

Though the omission of the footings of the west respond from Hodges' section suggests that they were somehow different from foundations "g", his reasons for doing so may well have been *a priori* rather than empirical.[50] Foundations "g" may therefore be twelfth century. This receives *prima facie* support from the dissimilarity between the wide spacing of "g", *c.* 24 ft (7·31 m) centre to centre and the much narrower bays of the extant thirteenth-century arcades, *c.* 15 ft 7 in (4·75 m) centre to centre, which suggests that they differ in date. However, there are indications that the thirteenth-century nave would have differed from the eastern arm in other important respects: there is no trace of a triforium stage in the stump of thirteenth-century wall abutting the north-west crossing pier. Moreover, had a triforium been intended, one would expect it to have opened into the north transept above the arch into the nave aisle, yet there is a solid wall at this point; while the absence of a raggle above the west side of this arch shows that no provision to vault the nave aisle was ever made.[51] All this implies a two-storeyed elevation with an unvaulted aisle and prominent arcades; which accords well with the wide intervals of "g". The type is common in the north in this period, occurring in the naves of Lanercost Priory (Cumberland), Darlington church, and throughout Finchale Priory (both County Durham). Thus, "g" would fit a twelfth or thirteenth century context equally well, and may be of either date.[52]

Though Hodges' identification of the north aisle wall of the nave as Saxon in 1907[53] depends on the presence of "Saxon mortar" and Roman stones, neither of which can be regarded as reliable indicators of its date,[54] there is no reason to doubt the

validity of the distinction which he later drew between the bulk of this wall and the fifteenth-century work at its east and west ends.[55] The latter must refer to the masonry associated with the north door and the north-west angle-buttress. It is less clear what is meant by the former, but it most probably refers to the course of ancient stonework abutting the plinth of the stump of thirteenth-century aisle wall which survives at the junction with the north transept.[56] Assuming that this is *in situ*, it may pre-date the plinth, but is more likely to be fifteenth century, since the surviving portion of the plinth of this date at the west end of the wall is at a higher level than its thirteenth-century predecessor, so would presumably have entailed the removal of the latter and its replacement by a course of plain walling-stones. The bulk of this wall must thus be pre-fifteenth century, but its most probable absolute date remains problematic: since the thirteenth-century stump indicates that the aisle wall of this period would have been the same width as the present one, the bulk of the foundation may also be of this date. Yet it is only 2 ft 8 in (0·81 m) thick, which is unusually slender by high medieval standards, and suggests that Saxon foundations may have been re-used here. On the other hand, the width of the north aisle wall of Finchale Priory provides an exact parallel in a thirteenth-century context,[57] and this seeems particularly significant since its arcaded elevations would probably also have resembled those of Hexham nave.[58] Earlier work may also survive beneath the extreme east end of the wall, since Hodges describes the thirteenth-century stump as itself resting on Saxon work,[59] though his criteria are not stated. In any case, the date of the west respond implies that the possibility of a twelfth-century phase must also be considered. Finally, the apparent absence of buttressing along this wall, unusual for the thirteenth century and virtually inconceivable for the fifteenth, requires some explanation. One must assume that any evidence of buttresses which survived post-dissolution demolition and robbing was either destroyed, perhaps unwittingly, during the 1907 excavations or, bearing in mind the deliberate omission of other late medieval features from Hodges' evidence,[60] not recorded by him.

In his 1907 account, Hodges describes the discovery of a foundation on the south side of the nave:

> "At a short distance from the inside of the North wall, and near its Western end, is a length of foundation 3ft. 2ins. wide, and composed of Roman worked stones. One yard from the inner face of the south walls of 14th century date, is a similar foundation of the same width, running the whole length of the Nave."[61]

It is clear from the description of its position and width that the foundation mentioned at the beginning of the passage with which that on the south is compared, can only be the one marked "f" on Hodges' plan (fig. 1, p. 146). This wall is referred to again later in the same book:

> "The foundation (*sc.* 'of the south wall of the nave') is shown as exposed, and the band of higher tint than the rest on the ground level, is the upper surface of the foundation of a wall of S. Wilfrid's Cathedral described on P.39..."[62]

The "band of higher tint" here must mean the lighter strip which forms the northern lip of the trench exposing the footings of the nave wall. Significantly, nothing is said in either passage about the date of the foundations of this wall, which are explicitly distinguished from those of the Saxon wall. In the account of 1919, however, it is the foundation of the south wall itself which is described as Saxon, while the foundation described as Saxon in 1907 is not mentioned at all:

. "The foundation (sc. 'of the south wall of the nave') is of St. Wilfrid's time and bore one of the main arcades of his church."[63]

Moreover, Hodges' plan (fig. 1, p. 146) supports this description rather than those of 1907, since the foundations marked "j" have only a northern edge, which implies that they run under the south wall. In addition, the description in the key of the plan, "Foundations disturbed, seen", implies something quite different from the apparently clearly-defined feature which could be compared to foundation "f" in 1907. Which of these accounts is to be preferred? The decisive evidence has been provided by the recent excavations, which revealed a seventh-century wall immediately north of the present south wall, and quite distinct from it.[64] There is a slight problem in identifying this with what was described in 1907, since Hodges' foundations would lie c. 14 in (0·35 m) further north from the face of the south wall than does wall "3". However, Hodges' measurement of "one yard" may be imprecise, especially since he was only dealing with a foundation, while the recent excavations located an actual wall.[65] How, then, is Hodges' change of mind between 1907 and 1919 to be explained? A clue lies in the explicit comparison of the foundations of the south wall with foundations "g" in 1919, which Hodges did not identify as Saxon until after 1907,[66] probably as part of a major reinterpretation of the excavated features following the discovery of wall "l" in 1909.[67] This made it possible to interpret other features excavated in 1907 as part of a double-aisled basilica—an hypothesis which required foundations on the line of the south wall to correspond with "g" on the north side. But it now seems that foundations "g", wall "b" and foundation "l" are probably also high medieval.[68] Thus, much of the basis of Hodges' hypothesis disappears, and with it any reason to prefer his later account of the south side of the nave to that of 1907.

Several of the other features of Hodges' plan which make sense in relation to the thirteenth-century and later ground-plan may themselves be of a similar date. Thus, the three broad foundations running between the crossing-piers on the north, south and east sides make excellent sense as sleeper-wall foundations for the latter. If so, "q" may be the east face of the fourth of these, though it may represent an earlier wall incorporated into a medieval foundation: Hodges regarded foundations "u" as Saxon, since they contained "great Roman stones",[69] but the northern section and part of the southern may simply be the footings of the buttresses of the fifteenth-century west front, or of one of its post-Conquest predecessors. The remainder of the southern "u" is much more problematic however, and the section outside the south door of the nave makes no sense in relation to the medieval cloister, so may well be pre-Conquest: some at least of the walls south of the church must have formed

part of the medieval cloister. The rebuilding of the south wall of the nave in the fifteenth century would almost certainly have entailed the rebuilding of the adjacent north walk, which may be represented by wall "l". Wall "n_1" could perhaps be a buttress associated with the latter. Similarly, the east walk of a thirteenth-century phase associated with the construction of the present church may be represented by the southern part of wall "m_3" and by wall "n_2", though these could also be earlier walls re-used: lastly, paving "t" need not be early, since it could be associated with any of the post-Conquest phases of the nave. The remaining features of Hodges' plan do not relate to the ground-plan of the present church, so are certainly pre-thirteenth century, while some at least must also be pre-Conquest. They are: "s", "m_2", "f", "h", "k", "o_1", "o_2" and "p".

While the general line of interpretation here advanced means that the plan of the pre-Conquest church remains enigmatic in many respects, it does at least make the post-Conquest history of the nave much less unusual than that proposed by Hodges. Moreover, subsequent treatments of the interpretative problems connected with the excavated features illustrate in a particularly acute manner the dangers of failing to offer a chronologically comprehensive account of any archaeological site. Hodges' conclusions may be wrong, but the soundness of his basic method in this respect cannot be doubted. It is a principle which his successors have ignored at their peril.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

[1] The following abbreviated references have been used: *Bailey 1976* for R. N. Bailey, The Anglo-Saxon Church at Hexham, *AA*[5], IV, 1976, 47–67: *Hodges 1888* for C. C. Hodges, *Ecclesia Hagustaldensis: the Abbey of St. Andrew, Hexham* (privately printed, Edinburgh, 1888): *H and G 1919* for C. C. Hodges and J. Gibson, *Hexham and its Abbey* (Hexham and London 1919): *Raine 1864, 1865* for (ed.) J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham ...*, 2 vols., 1864–5 (*Surtees Society* XLIV, XLVI): *S and H 1907* for E. S. Savage and C. C. Hodges, *A Record of all Works connected with Hexham Abbey ...* (Hexham 1907).

[2] Bibliography in *Bailey 1976*, 67.

[3] *Hodges 1888*, 42–4.

[4] *Raine 1864*, no. XVII, pp. xxiv–xxvi, where all extracts relating to Hexham are printed in full.

[5] *Hodges 1888*, 43.

[6] J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden 1976), 395.

[7] *Raine 1864*, no. XIX, p. xxviii.

[8] *Ibid.*, no. XXXI, pp. xlv–xlvi.

[9] *Hodges 1888*, 42.

[10] *S and H 1907*, 31.

[11] *Ibid.*, 39.

[12] *Hodges 1888*, pl. 6. The stump of the north aisle wall has been similarly treated (*S and H 1907*, pl. XLII).

[13] I owe this observation to Miss R. B. Harbottle.

[14] *S and H 1907*, pl. XLII, extreme top centre.

[15] *Hodges 1888*, 43.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] R. B. Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400–1450* (Cambridge 1973), 274–6. A. B. Hinds, *A History of Northumberland, Volume III Hexhamshire: Part I* (Newcastle and London 1896), 143, estimates the reduction in income after 1296–7 at a minimum of one third. Cf. *ibid.*, 147.

[18] *The Black Book*, printed in *Raine 1865*, 1–82. Hinds, *op. cit.*, 154, estimates the annual income at between £400 and £500.

[19] *Ibid.*, 157.

[20] *Hodges 1888*, 40–1.

[21] *Ibid.*, 41 and pl. 7, reproducing King's engraving from the first edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

[22] *H and G 1919*, 61.

[23] Aelred of Rievaulx, *De Sanctis Ecclesiae Haugustaldensis ... Cap.* xi, in *Raine 1864*, 194.

[24] Marked "a" on fig. 1, p. 146.

[25] *S and H. 1907*, 36 and caption to pl. XVI.

[26] *H and G 1919*, 33–4.

[27] C. C. Hodges, *An Historical Guide to Hexham and its Abbey* (Newcastle 1889), 88. Cf. *Hodges 1888*, pl 54 for other Roman stones re-used in this area.

[28] —as a step in the newel stair behind the west respond (*S and H 1907*, 40).

[29] *Hodges 1888*, 43 and pl. 54.

[30] *Ibid.*, 43 and "A" "A" on pl. 8.

[31] *contra Bailey 1976*, 50 n. 15.

[32] *Bailey 1976*, fig. 2, p. 51.

[33] *S and H 1907*, 39.

[34] *Bailey 1976*, 50.

[35] *S and H 1907*, 40: "fourteenth century" is Hodges' usual term for the latest phase of the nave, described throughout this article as fifteenth century.

[36] *S and H 1907*, pl. XXVII.

[37] *Ibid.*, pl. XXV and caption.

[38] *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI.

[39] *Cf. supra*, and n. 35.

[40] It is shaded "*c.* 1400" as late as the ground-plan published in *H and G 1919*, facing p. 108, which had been revised in 1913.

[41] The description of the main arcades of Wilfrid's church in *H and G 1919*, 41 must refer to "g".

[42] *S and H 1907*, 40.

[43] *v. supra*, 162.

[44] *S and H 1907*, 39.

[45] *Ibid.*, 40.

[46] R. N. Bailey, p. 152 of this volume.

[47] E. Gilbert, "Saint Wilfrid's Church at Hexham" in *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (ed.) D. P. Kirby (Newcastle 1974), 92, 96, *Bailey 1976*, 54–5.

[48] R. N. Bailey, p. 145.

[49] *v. supra*, 162.

[50] *v. supra*, 163 and note 40.

[51] *S and H 1907*, pl. XLII.

[52] Cf. *supra*, 162.

[53] *S and H 1907*, 39.

[54] *v. supra* and p. 162.

[55] *H and G 1919*, 34–5, 61, confirmed by the plan (fig. 1, p. 146), in which only the central section, labelled "b" is shown as Saxon work. That the eastern end is at least partially later medieval is confirmed by the discovery in it of a late-twelfth century stoup (*ibid.*, 69), now in the easternmost recess in the aisle.

[56] *S and H 1907*, pl. XLII.

[57] Plan in J. T. Perry and C. Henman, *Illustration of the Mediaeval Antiquities in the County of Durham* (Oxford and London 1867), pl. 18.

[58] *v. supra*, 164.

[59] *H and G 1919*, 61.

[60] *v. supra*, 163.

[61] *S and H 1907*, 39.

[62] *Ibid.*, pl XXII and caption, and p. 64, in which the cross-reference guarantees that this and the previous passage both refer to the same foundation.

[63] *H and G 1919*, 32.

[64] R. N. Bailey, p. 150 and his figs. 3 and 5.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *v. supra*, 163–4.

[67] Marked "seen 1909" on the plan (fig. 1, p. 146).

[68] For the latter, *v. infra*, 167.

[69] *H and G 1919*, 34.

Northumberland and Durham and on Tyne and Wear. Each section is opened with an account of the industry and each photograph has a full informative legend.
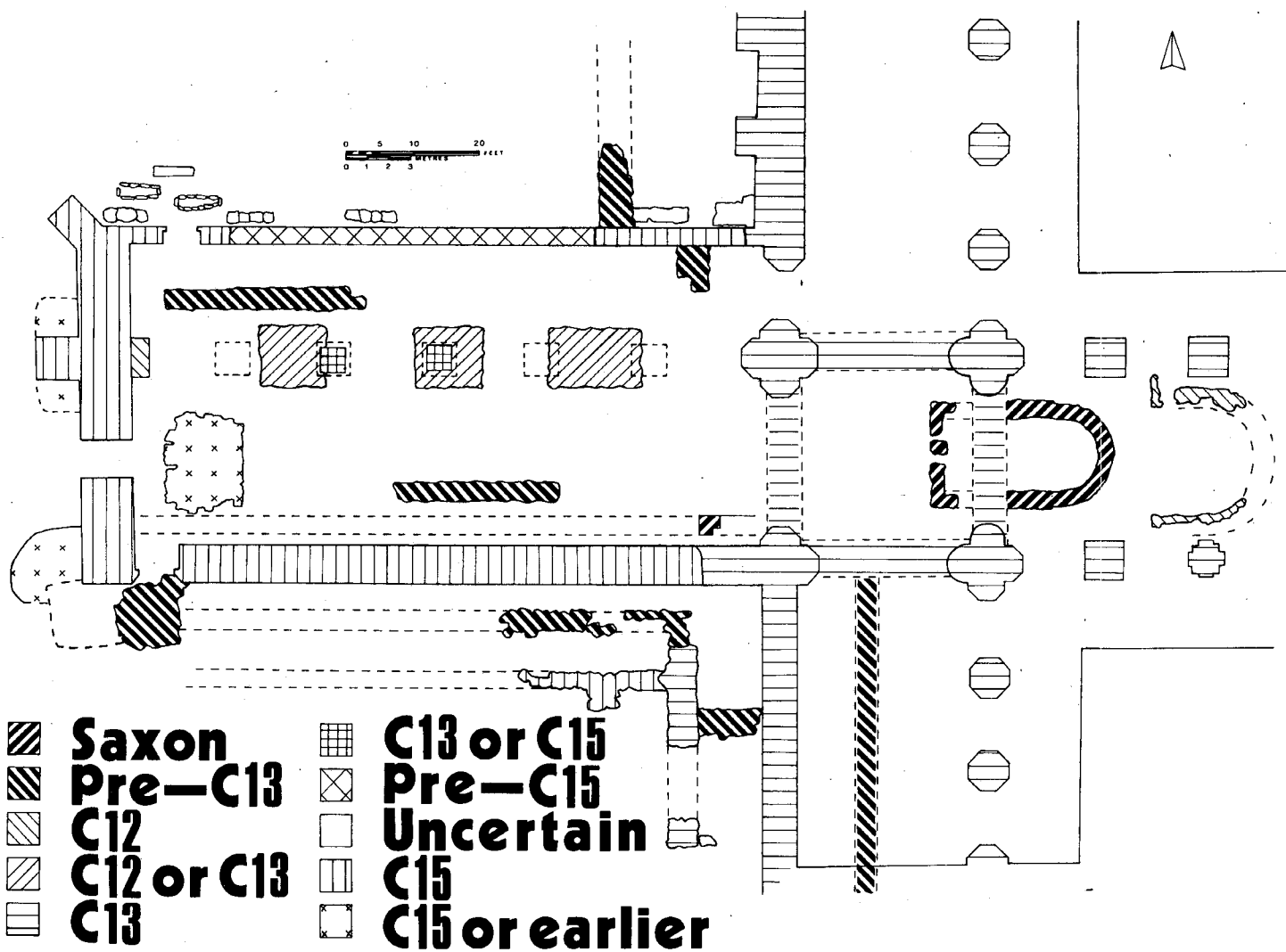
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In 61 pages Dr. Breeze gives a pithy and up-to-date account of the contact between Rome and the area we now know as Scotland followed by a gazetteer of the visible Roman remains, all very relevant to the study of the Tyne–Solway Roman frontier.

CORRECTION TO VOLUME VII (1979)

Editors Note

Some errors crept into the reproduction of Mr. Cambridge's plan of Hexham Abbey on page 158 of the last volume of *Archaeologia Aeliana* (AA^5, VII) and it is accordingly reproduced again on the opposite page. It may be added that the reference on p. 163, line 6 of the same volume to "fig. 1, p. 146" should refer to the plan on the page opposite.

Hexham Abbey: suggested building phases

Legend:

- Saxon
- Pre—C13
- C12
- C12 or C13
- C13
- C13 or C15
- Pre—C15
- Uncertain
- C15
- C15 or earlier

Scale: 0 5 10 20 FEET / 0 1 2 3 METRES