

VI.—ANGLIAN REMAINS AT ST. PETER'S, MONKWEARMOUTH.

BY EDWARD GILBERT.

The remains of the early Anglian monastery, on this site must be considered the most important *locus criticus* in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon architecture. In estimating development literary records are most valuable, followed by churches containing more than one date. Here we have both to a degree greater than for any other Anglo-Saxon church. On the one hand are the illuminating comments of Bede, and on the other a complex of deposits as will be shown, of many different periods. Baldwin Brown, in *Arts in Early England*, vol. 2 (2nd ed.), deplors this fact, complaining of the difficulties it creates and welcoming a church like Escombe "obviously of one date." The writer cannot understand this attitude, for the difficulties here are also opportunities, and in short we may say that if we cannot get a line on the development of the Anglo-Saxon architecture from this church, the sole remains of the monastery, then we shall have to give up all hope of a proved as opposed to a conjectural development.

It may be helpful to the reader to understand what axioms are used in this study, and of these the most important may be reduced to two. Firstly it is throughout assumed that difference of technique in openings of equal importance implies a difference of date, and secondly it is assumed, following this, that there is no *a priori* objection to assuming quite a number of different Anglian dates. In so far as the nature of our axioms is the most important element in the picture we obtain, it may be said that not the

least valuable consequence of this study, is to substantiate the axioms here assumed. Neither of these axioms has always been assumed by previous investigators, and if any are surprised at the novelty of the picture which results, let them in charity put it down to such considerations as these and not to bad motives. Before leaving the question of assumptions it must also be stated that the writer accepts the underlying assumption of Sir Alfred Clapham's book, namely that Anglian architecture is a branch of European, even if a backward one, and he may say that he regards the liberation offered us in that book *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* from the rather narrow ideas of previous writers as the foundation of any scientific study of the architecture of the period. Where the writer differs again however is that his general conception of development is not that of a unilateral development of stone architecture, but rather of a complex development of stone and wood architectures running side by side and continually influencing each other.' This may be called the theory of the double development.

When the present study was written and had gone to the Editor, Mr. Milburn of the Sunderland firm of architects who did the restorations of 1924 introduced the writer to Mr. Hall's study of 1924 in *Antiquities of Sunderland*, and also produced documents from the aforesaid restorations, together with some most valuable photographs, which cannot be here published, of both restorations, those of 1924 and 1866. The text has been rewritten to include references to Mr. Hall's paper, which was of importance, while the essential facts from the architect's report of 1924 are included in the form of an *addendum*, and the writer wishes to offer his cordial thanks to Mr. Milburn for his generous help.

The actual remains concerning us here are only those of the west wall of the nave and the west porch with a tower built over it, the plan of which is shown in fig. 3 (p. 155), after Messrs. Milburn's by kind permission. Before considering these remains a short summary of the oft-told

history may be helpful. It is possible that an early Hiberno-Saxon monastery stood on the site. Whether that was so or not, the first stone building must be assumed to be that built by Benedict Biscop in 674. Bede tells us that it was quickly built, that Biscop had Gallic masons and also glaziers, and finally mentions that it was built *opere Romano* in a manner, he says, in which Biscop ever took delight (*Historia Abbatum*). This same Biscop was an Anglian noble who, like Wilfrid, had become dissatisfied with the Scottish religion and had gone to Rome to imbibe fountains of religious truth. Like Wilfrid also he seems to have been a friend of Kenwalch, the king of Wessex, and to have spent some time in Kent. In fact, it is supposed that it was he who brought the new archbishop Theodore over to England in c. 668, and that he administered the school at Canterbury until the arrival of Hadrian. However that may be, Biscop was no friend of Wilfrid, with whom he quarrelled when they were jointly going to Rome. Considering that Wilfrid had been given into his charge it is remarkable that he should have just left him en route, and implies a very serious quarrel. According to Eddius, Biscop was too *austere* for Wilfrid's tastes. This fact must always be remembered; Biscop had his roots in the period governed by the austere Irish, and from his whole history and from his dying speech where he denounces the practice of nepotism in the inheritance of monasteries, and which should be compared with Wilfrid's dying speech, we get the impression of a true and serious minded monk, half-way in spirit to the Scots, even if he had broken with them on certain points.

He was succeeded in the abbacy by his friend Ceolfrid. Biscop died about 690 and Ceolfrid abdicated to go to Rome in c. 716. The following abbot, named Hwaetberht, probably innovated, as Bede remarks that he did one thing which pleased everyone. *One* is not of course very many, and the whole tone of Bede's references, in the writer's opinion, are characteristic of the faint praise which damns.

After Bede ceased to write about 730, the next known event concerns the ravages of the Danes in 794. At this period it is related by Symeon of Durham and the *Chronicle* that "Egfrith's minster at the mouth of the Don" was sacked. This may well have been the Wearmouth monastery. It is assumed that the monastery came to an end in 875. It is fairly clear that monastic life was at a low ebb under the Danish rule, but the interpretation put on some remarks of Symeon of Durham, that there was no revival before 1074 seems to the writer unwarranted, though we must admit that there is no literary evidence of the post-Danish restoration. The point will be further discussed in the text.

THE NAVE.

We will now consider in detail the actual remains of the first period of building here, namely the west wall of the nave and some other features. This work is in uncut rubble measuring 19" for four beds, and is marked by the well-known bonding stones set diagonally and appearing in plate IV, fig. 2, on the left of the door. They pass right through the wall. The west wall measures 31' to the springing of the gable. Within the tower there is a horizontal band of cut stone from c. 27' to c. 35' up and measuring about 25" for four beds. Above this the rubble wall continues to c. 42', and then the walling of the superimposed tower comes in. Fig. 1 gives the nave elevation.¹ The apex of the first nave was high, at about 52'. Outside the tower, the walls have been refaced on the north from about 26', and on the south as is visible in pl. IV, fig. 2, from somewhat lower. Internally, however, the original wall is unbroken. In the middle of the band of cut stone patching surviving inside the tower, is the deep hollow moulded string course, measuring 12" deep. We must therefore assume that it is an insertion, going with the cut stone

¹ The figure is in this respect schematic that the band of cut stone has actually been lost outside the tower in restoring the wall.

patching, shown on fig. 1. Outside the tower this string course has been cut away, though still visible, as seen again on fig. 1, but it should be noted that it does not reach the quoin, so that when the quoin was built the string was not part of the scheme, and this alone proves that the upper

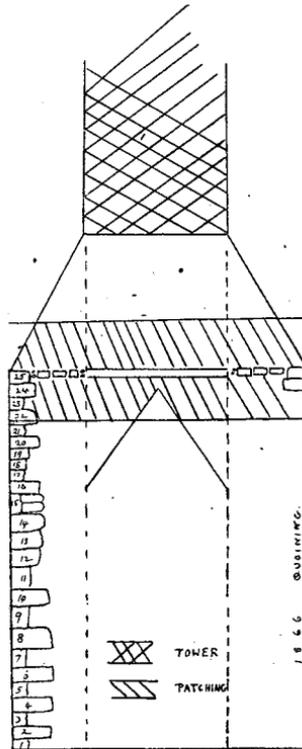


FIG. 1.

quoins are not original. It is definitely stated by Symeon of Durham that Aldwine in 1074 rebuilt the "half-ruined walls," but it is here shown that the rebuild of the upper part of the wall outside the tower and the rebuild of the quoin cannot be contemporary, for the upper part of the wall undoubtedly contained the string course, and there would be

no point in including it in order then to cut it away. Which work then is Aldwine's?

Before answering this question let us consider the quoins: That on the south is a rebuild; that on the north is ancient and is shown stone by stone, but not to scale, in fig. 1. The first ten stones working up are in beautiful side alternate, using the terms worked out in my paper in this journal in 1946. Baldwin Brown makes the curious error of saying they are not megalithic; but they certainly are, measuring 73" for four beds with a cubic content of *c.* 5,400 cubic ins. as against 1,000, or 2,000 cubic ins. in the ordinary Norman quoin stone. The fact is that the megalithic character is masked by the beautiful proportions of these quoins, which are the high water-mark of early megalithic quoining in the north from which all the other quoins derive in an increasing series of barbarism. It may be mentioned that in the figures given for quoins it is always assumed for convenience that the inner sides correspond to the outer, but no judgement on this point is intended.

Above the first ten stones the quoining is degraded and formless. We get first three stones showing their sides and then three stones showing their faces. Above this again the work reverts to a kind of side alternate, lacking, however, the beautiful proportions and regularity of the lowest stage. It must be mentioned here that this quoin was perhaps interfered with, in part during the restoration of 1866. A photo from the Milburn collections shows the lower quoins as described here; then comes a stretch which may have been interfered with, and on top comes the poorish side alternate, the fourth and fifth stones being too small while the seventh appears to be laid on face. None of the present quoin stones were however inserted in 1866, and all are ancient, while however we interpret this photograph, which cannot be shown here, there is the same difference between the lower and upper quoins, as in the quoin to-day. The upper quoining, containing some reused material, is just what we find in the eleventh century, and since, moreover,

we have no evidence of a rebuild at a later date, we are forced to assume that the upper quoin is the work of Aldwine, as described by Symeon. In that case his work came far short of the rebuilding of the upper walls, merely rebuilding the quoins in their upper part. The Normans were inclined to exaggerate and in some cases perhaps to invent what they had done, and there is no difficulty in accepting the natural interpretation of the evidence, fraught as it is with important consequences. In that case it was Aldwine who hacked away the string, a proceeding just like the irreverent Normans.

WEST WINDOWS.

The two parallel windows in the west wall are original except for their downward splay, and of the greatest interest.

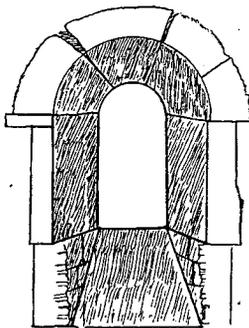


FIG. 2.

An internal view is shown in fig. 2, taken from the Commissioners' view. They are about 11' apart and 23' from the sill to the ground, an altogether abnormal height. The later group of churches such as Jarrow, Escombe and Corbridge have windows only about 12 or 13' from the ground. These windows measure *c.* 18" across externally and 51" high, 65" high and 33" wide internally according to the Commissioners of 1866.² The character of the external arch is not

² D.N.A.S. Transactions, vol. 1.

certain, but it has a curious little pseudo-impost, and certainly has monolithic jambs. Internally it can be seen that the arch is in three through voussoirs, while the jambs are through-stones. The downward splay is treated quite differently; it has not got through-stones in the jambs, and it has a moulded and balustered arris, which belongs to the period of the *Romanesque anticipation* described below. They are plainly an addition to the first simple conception.

WEST PORCH.

Belonging to the *first period* of building, though probably a few years subsequent, was the first west porch, which as will be shown was one-storied, and to which belongs the blocked door in the east wall of the present porch. The first porch was not in bond with the nave, but was in existence when Easterwine was buried there about 685. It was built of the same material as the nave, and the fabric survives to-day under the later porch. The quoins of this first porch are probably lost.

The blocked door mentioned above was a noble portal 12' high and 4' wide.³ It was turned in a true arch, but one of the simplest kind, with stones similar to those of the fabric and mortar joints nearly 2" thick. The jambs are lost, but would probably have been similarly made. A noticeable feature of this door is that it is not central, being 27" from the north wall and only 12" from the south wall of the porch. Such non-centrality seems to be designed to facilitate an altar, and marks the porch as one of the seventh-century type which may be called a *porticus*. The present door from porch to nave is built in the blocking of this early door.

ELUCIDATION.

We have now put on record the essential facts of the first building period here, and the question comes up of how much we can say about the church built by Biscop. Very

³ These are strange proportions. Where did they come from?

little really emerges directly from the evidence, only that we have confirmation and interpretation of the meaning of the *porticus* to which Bede refers. Bede refers altogether to three appendages to the church, one of which he calls the *porticus ingressus*, and that must be the west porch of which we have remains; secondly he mentions a *sacrarium* to the south, and finally the porch of St. Peter to the east, which would correspond to the sanctuary. Apart from this we have evidence of the remarkable height of the walls. From this point we have to go on to ask questions. Firstly we may ask what was the length of the nave of Biscop's church. It is usually assumed that this question was settled by the Commissioners of 1866, and that the Anglian nave underlies the present one which measures about 65' x 19'. Actually this is more than the Commissioners say. "The foundation of the Saxon north wall of the church was uncovered for us, running in the line of the arcade mentioned above." This statement hardly closes the question, but we can assume that the normal interpretation is correct from the evidence of St. Peter, Bywell. At this church are remains of an early Anglian church which not only has the same general measurements as Monkwearmouth church, but also the same high windows and of which the east quoins remain.

In regard to the east end of the original church, this was stated by Bede to be in the form of a *porticus*, viz. a chapel with an altar, and of the nature of this we are once again helped by the invaluable St. Peter's, Bywell. In his paper of 1946 the writer was only concerned with the nave of this church. Subsequent investigation there has shown that the first 16' of the north wall of the chancel is in fabric absolutely identical to the inch with the old walling of the nave. This is the piece containing the blocked door with L and S jambs figured in the previous paper. Moreover the walling here is the full height of the walling of the nave, *c.* 26'; which is very 'unusual' in a chancel. In short there can be little doubt that the chancel wall is here a relic of the first church.

It measures 17' long, and we can probably assume that the internal measurements were c. 17' square. The remarkable thing here is the spacious size, plainly more in keeping with large sanctuaries of the south than the attenuated ones derived from Celtic traditions. The southern apsidal sanctuaries were about 20' each way. Such a spacious chancel may have had some ritualistic significance. It may be here mentioned that the assumption made by J. F. Hodgson in his little book on the churches of Jarrow, Escombe and Monkwearmouth, that the altar stood clear of the east wall, in order to account for the burial of Biscop east of the altar is not necessary. More probably Biscop's tomb was actually built into the wall, for there is warrant from the remains at Jarrow, where the altar was in its normal position.

Let us now ask another question, namely whether we can say anything of the arrangement of the *porticus*. Once again the priceless remains at St. Peter's, Bywell, come to our rescue. Over the blocked door with L and S jambs in the north wall is the mark of a low gable, the peculiarity of which is that it is neither central over the door, nor with the apex against the east wall of the nave. This door, be it remembered, adjoins the east wall of the nave, at the extreme end of the chancel. The apex of the gable is in fact about 18" from the east wall of the nave, and the inference seems to be that it was continued on the north wall of the nave, and in fact that we have here the traces of one of those *porticus* which existed at the east end of the nave and overlapped the chancel. The door therefore is *in situ* and marks the entrance from the *porticus* to the chancel. Moreover, in the light of this finding we must attribute the strange way in which the south aisle overlaps the chancel by 11' to the pre-existence of a similar *porticus* on the south. Evidently then the Kentish *prothesis* and *diaconicon* did reach Northumbria, and were used in spite of the awkwardness when the chancel was considerably narrower than the nave. Moreover again, it is plain that at St. Peter's, Bywell, the northern chapel was the one used for the clergy, and the

southern must therefore have been the sacristy, so that we have direct evidence that the arrangements at the two churches corresponded.⁴ The importance of the evidence thus disclosed is enormous and cannot fail to elevate St. Peter's, Bywell, into one of the most important Anglian churches in the country, as it is already the most beautifully situated.

The evidence suggests that there were two eastern flanking *porticus* at Monkwearmouth as well as a square-ended chancel and a single west porch. We can assume that the arrangements at the two churches were similar. The analogy would explain why no remains of the Anglian chancel were found when excavations were made in the chancel at Monkwearmouth, viz. the Anglian chancel was as wide as the present one. Naturally the inference from one church to the other is not absolutely certain, neither is the original length of the nave at Monkwearmouth. Excavation can carry the problem further.

Let us now conclude our elucidation of the nave of Biscop's church with a last question, viz. : What was the meaning of the high walls and windows? In the writer's opinion the natural interpretation of this feature is that there were two floors, the west windows lighting the upper floor. Even with the downward splay these windows would perform their function better at a lower height, if it was to light the nave. We may mention here that it seems that certain Irish churches had this feature. Thus Mlle Henry Françoise in her book on Irish Art, figures a section of churches at Kells and elsewhere, which she says were divided not into two but even into three floors. The date she gives for these churches is about the beginning of the ninth century, so that, if the feature occurred at Monkwearmouth, it could not be derived from the Irish examples, but rather the reverse. At any rate the feature was an element of western barbaric architecture in the Dark Ages, and according to the theory of double complex development there need be no

⁴ The reader is reminded that Bede states the sacristy was on the S.

difficulty in seeing it at any early date. We cannot, of course, assume that it occurred at Monkwearmouth unless further evidence appears, but it needs to be borne in mind. In that case the lower floor must have had another set of windows. The first floor would be about 21' up, if it existed; below which, with sills about 14' up, might have come the lower windows, and below that again the pictures which we are told Biscop put on the walls. We might mention, too, that no such high windows can be traced in southern England, which suggest some barbaric cause for them.

INTERPRETATION.

In interpreting this monument we may consider together the features of the long nave and the high walls which may have a common origin. According to Baldwin Brown they may be regarded as having separate origins. The long nave he thinks may be a Saxon peculiarity. This view seems strange as the feature occurs primarily in the Anglian and not the Saxon parts of the country. Sir Alfred Clapham is inclined to assume a Gallic origin, presumably because of the Gallic masons mentioned. It is doubtful, however, whether masons invited to the country would carry out their own ideas, and if so only by permission. It seems rather that their function was to carry out Biscop's ideas, but to render them in stone. Therefore a Gallic origin cannot be accepted without proof that the feature did exist in Gaul and at a date prior to that of this church. This evidence not being forthcoming Baldwin Brown's view seems more acceptable. The feature is certainly not classic, nor derived from Irish barbarism, and we seem driven toward the view that the Anglians may have had some influence on their own architecture, from the wooden work which must be assumed behind this stone work. In regard to the high walls, Baldwin Brown wanted to see a derivation from fear of the Danes, but the originality of this feature here is almost certain and certainly must be assumed. Here again we seem driven toward some Anglian influence.

The general plan of the nave with flanking *porticus* is unquestionably Kentish, a fact which shows that Biscop got his masons to do what he wanted. And equally classic is the form of the openings, for at this date the turned arch would be an absolute symbol of classicism to the Angles. The vousoired window is indeed more classic in nature than ever occurred again in round arch work in England, for normally such small openings are made from the arched lintel even in Norman times. The deep splay of the early windows is interesting, and this may perhaps have had an Irish origin, but it shows that we cannot in architecture make the kind of assumptions which Brondsted has made in the sculpture, viz. a gradual devolution from classic to barbaric forms. It will be seen that the least splay here occurs in the latest work. Assumptions of the type made by Brondsted are therefore shown to be too abstract. The fabric may be considered to be Gallic, for this is the feature which the Gallic masons were brought over to do. According to Strykowski such rubble is the characteristic work of the teutonic tribes left to themselves in stone building.⁵ The origin of the quoins is a complete mystery, and may be supposed to be Gallic.

On the whole, therefore, the general character of this work is classic, in its Kentish form, and we can see perfectly the significance of Bede's reference to the work being in *more Romano*, not perhaps the work an Italian would recognize as such, but the work which a Kentishman would hold for such. It is true the classic work here is absolutely plain and unadorned. This is what would be expected of the austere Biscop. And what is very remarkable is the almost total absence of Irish influence. Yet the same thing is true of the sculpture of the age. It is quite possible that in building a west porch Benedict was making an innovation, and if so one of the most significant in the whole range

⁵ *Church Art in N. Europe*, a technique "of field stone and mortar . . . was also used, I think, in Gaul, in addition to the *opus Romanum*, being the original *opus Gallicum*," p. 26.

of Anglo-Saxon architecture. There is no evidence that a west porch was built in Kent by this date, since the west porch at Bradwell may well have been addition. On the contrary in the undoubted work of 669 at Reculver, only five years before Biscop built, there was definitely no west porch, unless of wood. It was added after. Thus there seems some reason for ascribing this feature to Biscop, and once again the origin is neither classic nor Irish.

To conclude, the main significance of Biscop's church was to be a witness to the classic and catholic mode of life. The numerous barbarisms included would probably have been taken for granted, whatever their source.

SECTION B. THE WEST PORCH.

Before going on to consider in detail the two-storied west porch under the tower, it will perhaps be best to give the evidence that this porch was preceded by a one-storied porch. This one-storied porch is suggested by the fact that the line of the roof of the two-storied porch seriously fouls the west windows of the nave. This also the proof that these windows are original. This can be seen from within the tower where the gable line of the porch roof on the west wall of the nave comes in just under the impost level of the windows. The position is shown in fig. 7. (p. 159). This fouling of the window obscured some of the light to the window, and it is unlikely that it should have been original. There would be no need to doubt this fact were it not that in the valuable elevations of the Commissioners of 1866 it is made to look as if the windows were clear of the porch roof or nearly so. This appearance has been attained by making the windows nearer the outside walls of the nave than they are really. In the Commissioners' elevation the outer jambs of the nave windows are put outside the line of the porch walls. Anybody can verify without trouble that these jambs are really almost wholly within these lines. It is apparent to the eye from the ground. The writer suggests that the real position is shown in his own elevation. It may be re-

marked here that in this elevation only these nave windows are in their lateral position. On the strength of this evidence the assumption seemed forced that the original porch was one-storied, and the two-storied porch was added later. This view is also borne out by the technique, for, to anticipate, the earliest work in this new two-storied porch is quite different both in technique and character to the work we have been describing. The plan is shown in fig. 3.

In conclusion on this interesting point, it may be mentioned that there is a half-round stone in the west wall of the nave at about 20', and central, which Mr. Hall roundly declares is the saddle stone of a porch. If that is so, it cannot be of the two-storied porch, whose apex was nearly 30' up, and must have been that of the one-storied porch, which would thereby be given walls, about 12" high, which is quite reasonable. If therefore Mr. Hall's verdict is accepted, the one-storied porch is proved. If not, a better explanation must be given of this curious stone which is plainly not merely building material.

The famous west porch survives two stories high under the later Anglo-Danish tower. Its total height was some 28' 2", and it consists of two stories and a gable. The two stories are separated externally in the west wall by what appears to have been a frieze. It is 12" deep and was once covered with carvings of naturalistic animals in cable-moulded panels. The upper edge corresponds to the internal floor, the elevations being shown in fig. 7 (p. 159). The second stage terminates in a hollow moulded string which must date with that on the nave, and is only 6' 10" high. Thus the stories are unnaturally divided. See fig. 7. The second stage has now no roof to it, but is open to the tower built on it. The gable of the porch contains remains of a life-size carved Rood.

The porch is not in bond with the nave. It measures 9' 5" E.-W. and 8' 2½" N.-S. Its fabric internally is much like that of the nave, while externally, particularly on the south and to the west end, there is much patching in a

small, square-cut stone. The patching is blackened equally with the original fabric. The quoins do not equate with those of the nave. They are smaller and have a considerable tendency for the square-sectioned stone to appear. On a small scale they resemble rather the quoins of Jarrow and Escombe. They average 63" for four beds, and have the significant peculiarity that they correspond in their irregularities, as can be seen in plate IV, fig. 1. It is probable that

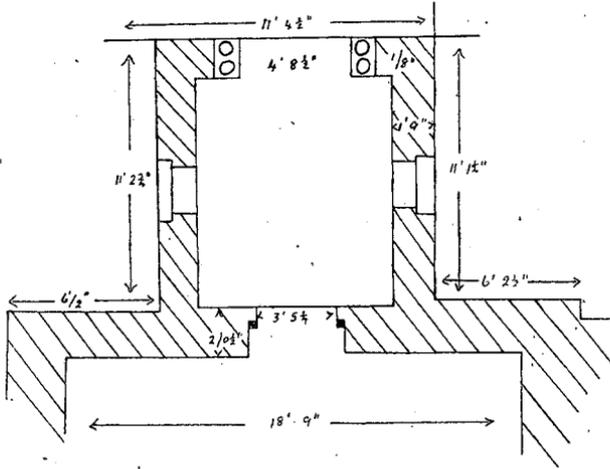


FIG. 3.

the same detail occurred at Sockburn in the early work, probably *c.* 780.

The ground floor has four centrally placed arches (fig. 3). On the east is a doorway 7' high and 43" wide. It is rebated for a door opening to the nave, and has an arch of voussoirs, pseudo-imposts, and on the inside monolith jambs measuring 51" high. The side doors are similar in technique, and the mortar joints are as fine as $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The nave door is shown in plate IV, fig. 2, where the diagonally laid beds also appear. The west arch has the most remarkable details, including a two-ordered arch, chamfered imposts, arris rolls to the imposts, and L and S jambs, and the lower long

stone has a barbaric carving,⁶ while the upper one is set back to take two moulded balusters of an Anglian type. This arch is $9' \times 5'$. It is shown in plate IV, fig. 1. The ground floor is arched with a plain barrel vault of well cut stone.

The upper floor is amazingly interesting. It is entered to-day from the nave at the height of $14' 2''$ by an opening measuring $18'' \times 50''$ externally where it is modernized, and $30'' \times 60''$ internally (fig. 4), where it has an arched lintel $42'' \times 31''$ and jambs of one long and two small stones which may be called *hen and chickens technique*. The interesting thing is that the external face is to the nave, so that it lights the porch from the nave. It has been called a door, but originally was plainly a window, the measure-

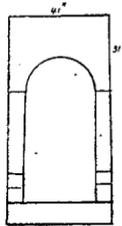


FIG. 4.

ments should be compared with those of the original windows of the nave and with those of St. Peter's, Bywell, namely $19'' \times 50''$ externally and $30'' \times 66''$ internally. No Anglo-Saxon door was ever splayed to such a degree, and the writer counts few things more certain in the uncertain science of Anglo-Saxon architecture than that this opening was built as a window. It is placed very nearly on the floor of the upper stage, and it was this fact which first prompted the enquiry whether there was not originally a lower floor, heightened for the insertion of the vault. The test of this is whether the original door can be found. Now it so happens that there is a blocked door in the north wall of

⁶ The carving is serpentine, but the serpents have beaks with which they grip one another. Their bodies form flat mouldings to the arris of the jamb.

the porch. Its sill level is *c.* 134" above the ground and therefore about 3' below the present floor, just the height which the window would naturally demand. This door is shown in fig. 5 and also in fig. 6, the plan of the upper stage. It will be seen it is flat-headed and has three stones in the jambs, a very unusual feature, which are irregularly laid. Internally the lintel of door shows and is in the roughest work, and moreover is only 24" above the floor (fig. 7).

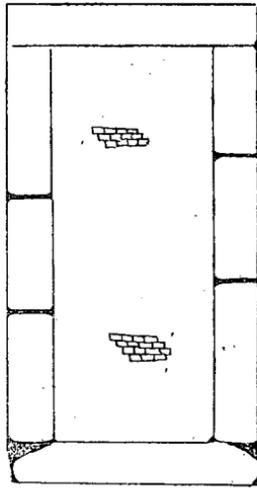


FIG. 5.

This is the conclusive argument given by Mr. Hall, showing that the door is anterior to the floor, and so to the vault, and conversely that the vault is subsequent to the door and inserted. There is much supporting evidence, which may be summed up thus, the blocking is of the small square stones of which much of the fabric of the porch is made, and is equally blackened, while the tower is not so blackened, and the position at the extreme end of the wall is most unlikely in later times, but is found at the Anglian, Deerhurst. The flat-headed door is itself an early feature of the Anglian period, and occurs in Jutish work at Canter-

bury, at St. Martin's, and Saxon work in Essex at St. Peter's on the Wall. It may be mentioned also that the door is shown in one of the Milburn photographs, and it is plain that it was in its present state anterior to 1866.

In the south wall of the upper stage (fig. 6) is a blocked window of some interest. Internally it is 30" wide and 25"

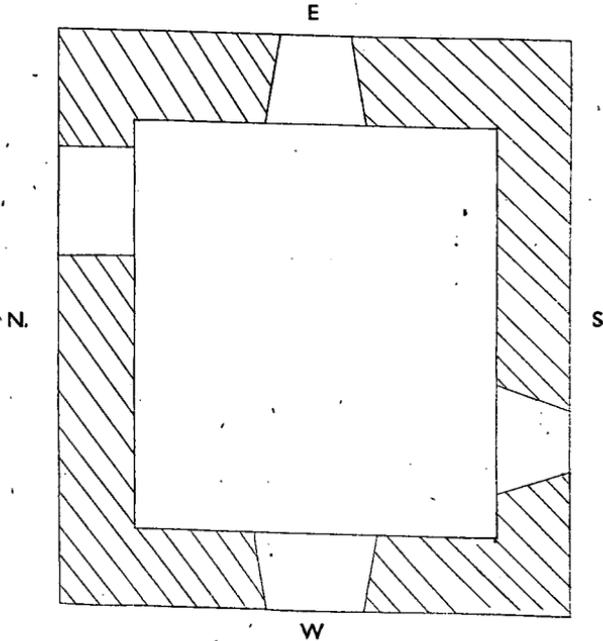


FIG. 6.

high and flat-headed with narrow plain stone dressings, while externally the lintel and sill have gone while the similar jambs remain and show it was *c.* 17" wide and 25" high. It has therefore the significant detail that there is no upward or downward splay. This window is some 20" from the present floor, and would do well to light the floor, but not to serve its normal function in relation to the present floor, and is moreover far nearer the floor than the top of the upper stage.

On the west is yet another window, fig. 6, measuring 28" across externally by 43" high, but modernized, and 33" x 60" high internally, where it has a cable moulded arris carried down the jambs which obviously equates with the other ornate work here.

ELUCIDATION.

The relation of vault and door discussed above plainly

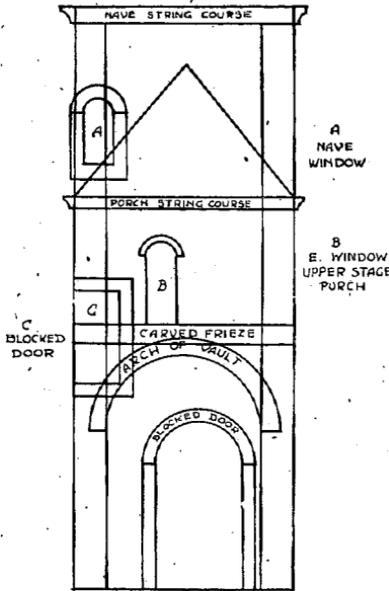


FIG. 7.

indicate two dates in the two-storied porch. On the ground floor it is to be assumed that all the present openings belong to the second date.⁷ On the upper floor, the east window and door plainly go with the early date, and so does the south window, while the west window, which upsets the early arrangements, must be late. The natural explanation of the door placed at the extreme end of the wall is to

⁷ For all show the *Romanesque anticipation*.

facilitate an altar, and the remarkable thing is that that altar must have been at the west. Also suggesting this is the blocked south window, which from its position seems to have been arranged to light a west altar, and from the coincidence of the evidences, the west altar may be assumed. The significance of the east window is hard to understand, but it is certainly an Anglian feature occurring at Brixworth and Deerhurst in much later forms. This seems to be quite the first traceable feature of the kind, and is useful as being a sign that we are dealing with an early two-storied porch.

In connection with the evidence of an altar here it is interesting to note the statement in Baldwin Brown that Eginhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, had in his church at Seligenstadt, a *coenaculum* or upper chamber over the western choir, which contained an altar and which he used for his own accommodation during the services.⁸ It appears that during the period when this upper *porticus*, as we may call it, was in use, the arrangements on the ground floor were not altered, for the *porticus* arrangement above suggests the *porticus* arrangements below, and the technique of the inserted doors on the ground floor is quite different from that of the early upper stage.

INTERPRETATION.

We have come to the conclusion that the two-storied porch, itself not original, is of two dates. The first work marks a very decided recession from classical principles. The flat headed door, with thin dressings, plainly suggests woodwork influence, and the new feature of the arched lintel is just what a barbarian would do when building in stone. Thus we seem to have here the work of the Angles when the foreign masons had gone, and when, moreover, the controlling intention of classicism was weakened. The same may be said of the quite amazing form which the work took,

⁸ The example here suggested would much ante-date the Carolingian church.

for the new feature is practically the beginning of the tower. It is nearly 30' high, and its nature cannot be disguised by calling it a "porch." Such a feature cannot be derived from classical sources, nor either from Irish; the nearest thing being the twin staircase towers of Syria. But this is not a flanking but a central tower to the west façade, and the suggestion of Syrian origin ill accords with the obvious barbarous character of the technique. In fact we seem here once again to be forced to the conclusion that the Angles must have had some influence on their own art. In regard to the date of the work (that is of the earliest work); the identity of the fabric with that of the earlier nave makes it impossible to give a date of more than fifty years after the nave, and since some time must be allowed for the revolution of feeling here implied, we can date pretty well between 716 and 734 in the abbacy of Hwaetberht. There is also another line of thought coming to the same conclusion, viz. the first period when foreign workmen were introduced is associated with Wilfrid, Biscop and Aldhelm. They were all dead by 710. At the other end it is quite probable that the accession of Egbert to the archbishopric and the assumption of the pall in 735 marks the beginning of what may be called the second wave of classicism, no longer depending on foreign masons. It would be wise therefore on these grounds too to place the work between 710 and 735. Whether we place it from 716 to 730, or from 730 and 740 depends on what we think about Bede's silence regarding it. It is doubtful, however, whether Bede would have approved of this work, which plainly subverts the intentions of the founder, and Bede had a habit of being silent about what he disliked.

ELUCIDATION OF LATER WORK.

One thing which is obvious about the insertions in the two-storied porch is that they entirely swept away the *porticus* arrangements both on the ground floor and the upper floor. All the new openings on the ground floor are

central while the new west window on the upper floor implies that the altar had gone. It seems that the rood must belong to this later period, of which the general character is elaboration and the carved frieze, and also the hollow strings, the proof of which is interesting. If the reader will look back to fig. 1 (p. 144) he will see that in the cut stone patching associated with the hollow string inside the tower there are the marks of a gable in the ancient material. This can only mean that the porch was already standing to two stories when the patching (and hence the strings) were put in, and so the strings cannot be taken to belong to the erection of the two-storied porch any more than they can be taken to be original. The principal insertion in the porch here was doubtless the vault in the sense that this was the primary cause of rebuilding. It appears that the upper story, now reduced to only 6' 10", was much diminished in importance, as there was no effort to make a new door for it. On the other hand, the upper stage was still used and even an elaborate window put in for it. The significance of the four openings in the ground floor seems to be that a west aisle was built, and from the analogy of the Jutish Reculver, this would imply the creation of side aisles too, so that the church was surrounded with aisles. It should be noticed, too, that the rebuilding of the quoins implies that the porch had been badly ruined.

INTERPRETATION.

The character of the work here inserted is undoubtedly the most remarkable in the whole range of Anglo-Saxon architecture, and is so extraordinarily advanced that the writer proposes for it the name of the *Romanesque anticipation*. It is utterly different from the simple unassuming work with which it has been associated. Whether we look at the splendid Rood,⁹ or the double ordered arch or the array of decorated details, we find ourselves in the presence of an artist of amazing virtuosity absolutely sure of himself

⁹ In imagination of course.

and delighting in what he can do. That the character of the work as a whole is high classic is obvious, yet we see a work so unlike that of the timid copyists who built the first work here, that there is not the least hesitation in incorporating features which are very barbaric in effect. Such are the balusters and the carved jambs, and such, too, the cable moulds and arris rolls which do not come out of the classic formula of the period, but derive through the crosses no doubt and then probably from pagan work.

To establish the date of all this brilliant work is clearly a matter of great importance. That it cannot be taken to be twelfth century is suggested by its place under the eleventh-century tower and also by the incorporation of the purely barbaric details of baluster and carving. It equally cannot be late eleventh century, unless all our ideas of that age are hopelessly wrong, and still less early eleventh century. It may be mentioned that the beautiful stone-work of the vault is far beyond even the not negligible standard of the early eleventh century. Moreover, and this is probably the strongest argument, as stylistic arguments never seem to convince anyone, the ornate window on the upper stage is symmetrically placed in relation to the truncated upper stage. But whatever date the first post-Danish work was done, it included the tower, and when the tower was built the top of the porch was opened up and the new floor was at *c.* 26'.¹⁰ We must assume therefore that this amazing work is really pre-Danish in spite of all appearances, and a sign of pure Anglian work. It cannot be earlier than 760 from its relation to the earlier work giving time for the new revolution to take place, while there are many arguments to put it about 800. First of all there is the fact that the vault is naturally equated with the disastrous Danish raids of 794, so that there is no doubt at all that that is the best date for the vault. Next come two arguments connected with history. It is generally agreed that a great change

¹⁰ Perhaps: but certainly at a height which makes this window out of all relation.

came over the north and over England in the early years of the ninth century, and that it was then that England began to lose her moorings and to cease her tutelage to traditions which had governed her since 675. The written record of the north ceased to be kept about 803; and it was about this period that the crosses and manuscripts begin to tail off badly. The same thing is seen in the field of learning. It might almost seem as if English learning migrated with Alcuin. We may think therefore that the work here discussed lies somewhere between 760 and about 810. Granted this, then there are still reasons why we should put it rather towards the end of the period than towards the beginning. Firstly, it contains very noticeable tendencies to barbarism, of an extremely dangerous kind for a civilized people, for whom flirtations with barbarism are death. That is more probable at the end of the series, when on the threshold of the strange but unmistakable collapse of classicism in England, than early. For the kind of barbarism flirted with in the early period is shown us in the work of what may be called the *second period*, and it is plain, simple, austere, sober and quite unlike the brilliant and showy barbaric work of the *third period*. It is plain that barbarism itself had changed out of all knowledge during the interval between the second and third periods of architecture here, and that again is an argument for a date towards the end of the possible period. Attention, too, must be called to the religious values of this ornate work. Baldwin Brown has called it the work of a "wealthy connoisseur," and whether it was so or not, he has hit on the essential character which is secular rather than religious. The carved image is really a sign of a weakening religious sense, and here again the late eighth century is better suited than the early part. It is possible that the Rood had something to do with the triumph of the image-worshipping party towards the end of the century, and we may perhaps consider that while the issue of the dispute was uncertain, the assertion of the image, which must have been very offensive to the members

of iconoclastic sympathies, in this very blatant way, would be unlikely.

A word must now be said about the sculpture here involved. The ornament, in the form of cable arrises and roll mouldings, is well known on the crosses, the date of which is still extremely uncertain, depending on *a priori* theories of artistic development. The roll-mould occurs on the Bewcastle cross, the cable-mould perhaps first on the Easby cross, and the carved rood on the Ruthwell cross. Collingwood, with far the most intimate personal knowledge of the crosses, put this work in late eighth century, which, of course, would suit the writer's views extremely well. Brondsted put them early eighth, but the validity of his theory of development has here been questioned. Baldwin Brown put them in the seventh century. It is evident therefore that at present sculpture cannot help us. One thing, however, must be mentioned, and that is that Collingwood dated the serpents on the jambs out of the Anglian period altogether. It is doubtful whether this need be accepted. He was obviously influenced by the fact that the serpent is not an Anglian form on the crosses at any date. However, what was proper on the crosses need not have been proper on the church. The animal is the same type as that on the Colerne cross, but more purely serpentine. It certainly argues Irish influence. The date of the Colerne cross is equally disputed, Brondsted putting it to seventh and Baldwin Brown to tenth century, but the fact that so great an authority as Brondsted should put it in the seventh or early eighth century proves that it was possible then in general type.

We can probably assume therefore a date about 800 for this ornate work of the third period. Such an assumption may be wrong like any other assumption, but in the present light of the evidence no better conclusion seems available. From the architectural point of view the dating thus given to the string course is as important as any other consequence; with it will go plinths. Much of the work is *sui*

generis, but it is most interesting to see that this work of the *Romanesque anticipation* belongs to the age of Alcuin, not of Theodore.

SUMMARY:

It may be convenient now to see where we have got to before going on to the post-Danish work. It is claimed that there is adequate evidence to prove three dates of building, the first being Biscop's, the second from *c.* 716 to *c.* 736, and the third being probably about 800.

It is claimed that Biscop's church was like that at St. Peter's on the Sea, Bradwell, both from Bede's evidence, which mentions or implies east, west and south *porticus*, and also from the analogy of remains at St. Peter's, Bywell. Other hypotheses are far from ruled out, nor is it suggested that the view here taken is necessarily final. New evidence might at any time involve a revision.

It is claimed that we can assume that the second work consisted in the raising of the porch by a stage, and the third by the insertion of advanced details, including the vault, and by the abandonment of the early arrangement of *porticus*.

It is claimed similarly that we can assume the consequences which flow from this view. Perhaps the most important concern methodology. The assumption that, other things being equal, difference of technique means difference of date, is definitely assisted. On the contrary, the assumption that we need expect one date only in an Anglo-Saxon church, and very occasionally two, when one will be early and the other late, is materially hindered. There are four waves of building here before 810.

The inferences of greatest importance in regard to architectural development are that the one-storied porch need not be expected before 680 nor the two-storied porch before about 720. Conversely, the building without a porch should not be expected after 680, nor that with a one-storied porch after *c.* 720. We are offered in fact a yardstick with which

to measure development. Next in importance might be put the placing of the hollow moulded impost or string *c.* 800.

In regard to art-history we are given a definite sequence independent of theories of stylistic development. We get first of all a classic phase depending on imported masons, second a reversion to much more barbaric forms, when presumably the imported masons had gone, thirdly a wonderful development of what must be assumed to be native classic work, which is marked, however, by striking barbarism in certain details and also by amazing Romanesque anticipations. It would, of course, be most improbable that this sequence was unconnected with the contemporary sculpture, for art history is a unity in essence. We must say therefore that the sequence here indicated is vastly different from the majestic unrolling of classic into barbaric postulated by Brøndsted in his book *Early English Ornament*. We may perhaps ask, "Does nature really proceed in a continuous development? Is not a process of gain and loss, forward and backward, really nearer to the true biological processes?" It would be extremely interesting to interpret the crosses in the light of the sequence here indicated, but that, of course, is far outside the scope of this study. What must be said, however, is that in the light of the developmental sequence here indicated we cannot assume that the features appearing in *c.* 800 had come to stay. We cannot say for instance; "The hollow moulded string course appeared about 800 and can be expected to develop continuously from that date." What we have rather to ask ourselves is this: "In what direction did development proceed after about 800? Was there a development of classicism, or was there now a second reversion to barbarism, which, of course, would be a different barbarism to the first barbarism of the early eighth century, for history never exactly repeats itself?" The answer to these questions cannot be sought here.

Finally, the evidence elucidated here undoubtedly bear

on the vexed question of the relations of classic and barbaric in the developmental process. The subject is too big and too controversial to enter upon here, but the writer cannot refrain from pointing out that it is not a little disconcerting to the apostles of the unilateral classic development to find that the most pregnant development of the whole series we have discussed, namely the tower form, occurs right in the middle of the barbaric phase, and, moreover, that the second most striking development, namely the curious Romanesque anticipations, occurs at a period when there is a very strong admixture of pure barbaric detail in the work.

SECTION C. THE TOWER.

Our task is now to elucidate the fine Anglo-Danish belfry tower, which can be seen rising from the porch on which it is built in plate IV, fig. 4. It is evident that here we are at the end of a long developmental process which we saw beginning so far back in the barbaric phase of the eighth century. Such a tower is neither classic nor barbaric, but the product of the fused style which we call Romanesque. The belfry tower here seen with the un-recessed double-headed belfry window is one of the most characteristic products of Anglian Romanesque. Before discussing it a word must be said about axioms. The axiom of Baldwin Brown, which I have ventured to call rather narrow, was that the Anglo-Saxons had no part in the general developmental process of Europe in the Dark Ages, and therefore that these towers can only come in with the Normans. Faced with the difficulty that they are quite un-Norman in detail, he compromises and ascribes them all to the Confessor. Sir Alfred Clapham, on the other hand, frees us from this narrow outlook and treats the Anglo-Saxons as an integral part of European development, although rather behind hand. Thus he makes the English belfry tower begin about a century after the Italian, in the late tenth century. This view, with its characteristic breadth, clearly needs implementing, and this is the work

of the specialist in a given field. The ensuing study may be regarded as the beginning of the process of implementing the wide view handed down to us, by study of the actual monuments.

Let us first begin by assessing the facts. The tower is built on the porch and shares its ground plan, fig. 3 (p. 155). In its (plate IV, fig. 4) elevation it consists externally of a floor made by taking down the porch roof and carrying up the wall to the level of the nave string course. Here the first added stage of the tower finishes and is marked by a square-cut string course. Above this another storey of about the same height, viz. 17', is added, and finishes again with a square string course; then comes another stage containing the belfry windows, the upper part of which has been extensively rebuilt. Now the remarkable thing is that the evidence of the floor levels internally do not correspond to this stage division at all.

Internally there is the sign of an early looking blocked door in the E. wall, not quite central, at 26', and above this on the level of the string course at 31' there are apparently signs of another door. Neither of these doors have kept any of their dressings, and the indications are but faint. It was Mr. Hall who called attention to these doors, and as he saw the place under more favourable conditions than anyone else, it is obvious that their existence cannot be entirely ignored. Moreover, beside the lower door there appears to be the mark of an opening, of which some of the dressing survives, and is of narrow stone on end, not in the Romanesque manner, whereas the upper door, if the indications are really such, had jambs in the ordinary Romanesque manner. Next comes the present third stage with a floor at 35', and the old walling of the gable of the nave terminates at c. 42', above which comes the new E. tower walling in fairly good technique. Centrally placed in this east wall of the tower walling thus added, and on the lowest course, is a Maltese cross, which was doubtless placed there when the tower was added, as a sign of luck, much as a

horse-shoe might be put in to-day. Perhaps it also indicated a consecrated building. This cross has a central round, with lightly hollow curved expanding arms to each side.¹¹ An identical type exists somewhere in Billingham tower, which will have to be checked up, and possibly elsewhere too. Finally comes the belfry tower stage from c. 46'.

FABRIC AND QUOINS.

The fabric of the super-added tower is in beds of roughly cut stone measuring 33" for four beds and not of the long type. On the whole this work is much better than would be expected, and while it is not ashlar, yet it is not much degraded, and contrasts strongly with those fabrics, irregular sizes, lengths and bed heights improperly bedded which are sometimes put down to the late tenth century. The quoins are from their position not measurable, but they are of normal size, not megalithic, and with the alternate rhythm both irregular and also exceptionally unemphasized. In fact, prior to study in detail, the writer thought the type was a non-alternate clasping quoin, which does exist in Anglian times. One thing which can be stated categorically is that whoever built these quoins did not build those either of the ultimate or the penultimate period at Jarrow; they are in different worlds. Unfortunately for our peace of mind, we cannot be sure that the fabric of the tower is uniform throughout. The belfry stage to-day has a fabric measuring 26" for four beds internally and far more irregular in the beds. Externally it appears to have been renewed, and there is presumably just the possibility that the whole belfry stage has been reset in modern times. In regard to its quoins, these too are largely modern, but there remain four stones towards the bottom which appear to be absolutely identical with those of the rest of the tower.

OPENINGS.

There is a remarkable dearth of openings. In fact the only ancient opening below the belfry stage is on the west

¹¹ It is in clear relief on a square bed.

face, and lit the third floor. Externally this single-splayed lancet is cut from a monolith, but internally it is flat-headed and has jambs in the ordinary Romanesque manner. It is seen in plate IV, fig. 4. The belfry windows are characteristically Anglo-Danish, as shown on plate IV, fig. 4. The opening measures 28" x 57", and the arch is in arched lintels measuring 19" x 13". The jambs are Romanesque in four stones and have hollow-moulded imposts, and the shaft is a plain cylinder with neither cap nor base. The purlin is also hollow moulded at the lower arris. Externally the ancient hood has been restored. It is a Mercian hood, carried down the jambs. There are cubical corbels just above impost level and sill level, and doubtless originally at the crown of the arch also. The sound holes are restored, perhaps on the original lines. They are single-splayed port-holes, one on each face.

ELUCIDATION.

This tower was evidently run up on the old porch, but the nature of the arrangements is puzzling. The second floor is not original at 35', the lighting of the second stage so obtained being by a window cut in behind the string course at 31' on the south wall.

In the first arrangement was there a floor at 26', or was it at 31'? Mr. Hall was positive that he could see the put-log holes for the floor at 31', which he contends was supported by the string course on the east wall. With this, of course, agrees the evidence suggesting an east door at 31'. The floor of the belfry stage seems to have been always where it is at present. The difficulty, of course, is the apparent remains of a door with sill at 26'. Not only the present writer, but also Mr. Hall found signs of this. It is clear that a floor level of 26' could not have co-existed with that at 31'. Therefore, if this door is accepted, either we have some traces of a tower anterior to that of the present belfry tower, or else the 31' floor level was inserted at some time between the building of the tower and the creation of the present

floor levels. This latter assumption is far from being as easy as it appears, for the floor at 26' makes a second stage of only 12' high, and this is quite wrong for the period when these belfry towers were a-building, moreover the arrangement does not correspond with the external strings. These strings usually were meant to mark a stage of the building, and the arrangement which has a second floor at 31', making a stage of 17' high, and corresponds to the external strings is the one which must naturally date with the building of the tower. We must premise therefore, that the present tower may not have been the first to have been run up from the porch, but may replace something earlier, of which, if it existed, all trace has been lost except perhaps the enigmatic doorway at 26' in the east wall, and the opening beside it.

In regard to the change of fabric in the belfry stage, this may be due to modern interference. If this is not accepted, then the belfry stage is later, but the identity of quoins shows that the same person who built the belfry stage built the tower. Finally we may say that the doorway evidence is so slight that we cannot base any arguments on it, and while the original floor at 31' can be assumed from other evidence, the existence of an early tower cannot be assumed. If there was such a tower, the second floor of 12' high implies that it was not a very high tower, and the most probable guess is that it might have been a three-storey tower, with floors of 14', 12' and 12', making 38' in all. This would be called by the architectural writers a three-storied porch. We may say, therefore, that there are very faint traces which may suggest that there may have been something which might have been a three-storied porch, anterior to the present tower, and the little opening at the side of the door may be the remains of something which might have been an altar, as at Skipwith, or a squint as at Bosham and Deerhurst. In fact we may leave this evidence with a question: Was the two-storied porch raised into a three-storied porch in the ninth century?

DATES.

Symeon of Durham makes some remarks which have been taken to imply that there was no stone building and no revival of the monasteries between 875 and 1074, when the Mercian monks headed by Aldwine restored the sacred rites.

He states: (1) That after the pagan invasion all the churches were reduced to ashes. (2) That Christianity nearly perished. (3) That no churches were rebuilt except in wood.

It is a little surprising that these statements have been given the interpretation they have, since they cannot possibly have the meaning they are given, for (1) Some churches certainly survived the Danish raids. (2) The bishoprics were not interrupted. (3) Stone buildings began at least by 1000 at Durham.

It seems amazing that the lurid tales of destruction told by the Norman historians about the events from 867 to 873 are treated as evidence. In regard to Symeon, his remarks, if they apply at all, apply to the first years after the Danish invasions.

It is, of course, quite certain that Aldwine found the sacred sites in ruin and desolation, but this could be blamed on the raids of the Conqueror and Malcolm five years previously. The evidence for the restoration of the monasteries has been given by Boyle and others, and in any case the evidence for the resumption of stone building by at least 1000 is so strong and the probability of the restoration of the sacred sites at an early date so great, that the writer hardly thinks it necessary to spend much space proving the possibility, and, moreover, what is proposed here is to see where the architectural evidence leads, and the writer by no means admits the right of historians to forbid this evidence to be put forward on the ground that it conflicts with the historical evidence. Perhaps it is the historical evidence which needs revision.

The first evidence to be called concerns the relation of

the tower to the wall against which it is built. This evidence is highly complex, and it can only be hoped that clarity has been reached. If fig. 1 (p. 144) is consulted it will be seen that the wall has the string course cut away, while the quoin has no string course. Admitting that the two top stones of the N.W. quoin are rebuilt, it is impossible to suppose that the very conservative restorers of 1866 interfered with the arrangements they found. Now the wall with the string course in it seems itself to be a restoration externally to the tower, and the alteration of fabric in it at c. 26' does not correspond to what is under the tower. The inference seems to be that the wall was twice extensively restored while the tower was standing. The cause of these restorations would include the destruction by Malcolm in 1070, while the earlier restoration would have to be assumed to be the product of either 867 or else of 995, when the sea had to be moved.

We cannot assume that the tower was standing before 867, although we must just bear in mind that enigmatic evidence suggesting that there may have been a three-storied porch anterior to that date. We are therefore forced to the assumption that the earlier restoration, in which the string course was kept, was the result of events happening in 995, and that the tower was standing at that date. Now we cannot assume that the tower predates Aldhune, since as far as we know he was the first to build in stone after the Danish ravages. Therefore it would seem as if we must assume that the tower was built while the bishopric was still at Chester-le-Street, and can be closely dated to the years between 990 and 995. This is what we must assume; but that little piece of evidence suggesting the three-storied porch makes us very wary of putting full faith in the assumption. We would certainly like to see this tower as one monument of great work done by Aldhune in the north, and eventually this might be proved.

We can also, in dating, take cognizance of other evidence, viz. the quoins are not the work of Aldwine; moreover, the

undoubted work of Aldwine, viz. the bases of the chancel arch, has bulb bases equating with work at Jarrow, and fifty years at least in advance typologically of the work in the tower.

INTERPRETATION.

The character of this work is not in doubt; it is Romanesque and fully so, and we are forced to assume therefore that the Romanesque movement was well under way in the closing years of the tenth century in the north. The Romanesque movement in England is historically connected with the monastic movement, and that a person who built this tower would, if he was able, try and revive the ancient monastic traditions and sites is inherently probable. In face of the public opinion of the north, the restoration of Benedictine monasticism in the north in c. 1000 was no doubt impossible, and what Aldhune would probably have done, if he did it, would be to put in seculars, but anyhow to revive the old associations. There is just this to be mentioned also. The worthy Symeon, with all his monkish prejudices, could not help respecting Aldhune, but he seems not to have really approved of him; his enthusiasm is reserved for the monkish successor, Eadmund, who no doubt did what he could to revive monasticism. The disfavour in which his two successors Egelric and Egelwine lie with Symeon suggest that they allowed the work to lapse. If, therefore, a second hypothesis is wanted for the work here, the bishopric of Eadmund has historical considerations in support of it.

Admitting the Romanesque character of the work in general, some comments may now be offered. The work is good for what one would expect, and we must assume that this regular work marks the turn of the century. Similarly, it is suggested that regular side alternate quoins cannot be placed at this date. The dearth of windows suggests that this was a mark of the early belfry towers and entirely supports the suggestion of the writer that the small windows

at St. Andrew's, Bywell, are insertions (*Arch. Ael.*, 1946).

The hollow mouldings of the impost and purlins suggest some sort of continuity with the work of what we have called the *third period* in c. 800. It would be quite easy, probably by a close scrutiny of the Anglo-Danish towers, to give a date for the period in which the hollow mould gave way to the straight chamfer. It was before the Conquest, as Bywell St. Andrew already has the straight chamfer. The absence of a tower arch is primarily due to the previous existence of a porch; yet this evidence supports much other evidence that the tower arch was not thought of much importance in the early phase of the belfry towers. Had it been considered so, probably the early porch door and the window above it would have been replaced by some monstrous arch as at Corbridge. The question of who started the tower arch and how it arose is not worked out, but it probably could be. The Mercian hood is in contradistinction to the general character of the work; it is a barbaric feature, and it is somewhat doubtful whether the marked barbaric detail in the north went far into the eleventh century; certainly by Kirkdale in 1056 it is unthinkable. I should be inclined to take this feature as marking a date at least before 1020, but again the history of the feature is not made out. What induced Aldhune to take up this southern and barbaric feature we do not know, but it became, or was, normal to the early northern towers. Another noticeable feature is the absence of the external doorway to the third floor as at Bywell, Billingham and Ovingham. Whether this indicates a later date, or the existence of previous porch arrangements, or whether the outer door comes in the middle of the tower development we cannot say, because it has not been worked out. The belfry tower is one of the darkest parts of Anglo-Saxon architecture in both senses, because no doubt it is difficult of access, as it was intended to be when it was built. We can hardly doubt that the third stage of these towers under the belfry stage was intended as a sacristy, where the treasures of the church could

be moved in times of danger, and which was difficult to get at or to burn because of its height from the ground. There is a description in the Chronicle of robbers stealing precious goods from the upper part of the tower at Peterborough, *s.a.* 1070.

I would like to conclude by thanking the Rev. T. Romans for his kind loan of the figs. 1, 3 and 4 on plate IV, and to mention that my regular illustrator being unavoidably absent, some indulgence is begged for the other figures, though they are believed to be adequate to their purpose. I wish to express my sense of gratitude to the Editor, who has borne with much patience the almost entire rewriting of the manuscript after the discovery of the new evidence from Mr. Milburn, and whose kindness has been inexhaustible. Thanks are also due to the vicar of Monkwearmouth, the Rev. J. M. Scott, M.A., who has facilitated the study of the church, in which he takes a great interest, and there can be no doubt that this wonderful old building has passed into good hands.

It is hoped that increasing knowledge brings increasing reverence, a faith in which the writer always works.

ADDENDUM.

The report of Messrs. Milburn on the work done in 1924 is mainly concerned with the details of pointing and grouting, but there are embedded some important references.

1. It is confirmed that the view taken in the text that the porch was not bonded into the nave is correct.

2. A remarkably interesting statement concerns the plaster removed from the upper parts of the tower. It runs as follows: "With respect to the inside of the tower, above the floor over the barrel vault of the porch, the whole of the walls from top to bottom were plastered, which was either black with age, or had been done with some form of colour wash. On sounding this plaster we found that a very large part of it was loose."

This statement confirms the view that the blocked door in the

north wall, which was behind this plaster, had not been opened for some time. An interesting fact is that the vault and walls of Wilfrid's crypt at Ripon also has an ancient colour wash of a dark colour. It is suggested there that the funnels of the lamp recesses were put in when the wash was added, and as they are of the same form as those at Hexham, this would suggest a very early date. The writer can only regard it as a catastrophe that the plaster should have been disposed of without ascertaining what the colouring was really due to, but the blame does not lie with Messrs. Milburn. It is extremely improbable that the plaster was black with age, since the outer stonework is, in the upper part of the tower, as yet unblackened. It might, however, have been black with smoke from a Danish fire, and it is a great pity that we cannot know for certain.

3. "In examining the inside of the east wall of the tower we noticed that there had been practically an opening left where the large figure is built into the outside, and the stonework had been backed up behind the figure."

This fact certainly suggests that the figure was inserted as the evidence in the text assumes. It would not be the normal way to make a hole in the wall, put the carved figure through to the outer face, and back up the stonework behind it. In fact this piece of evidence alone would force the assumption that the carved rood was inserted.

4. "We may say that the springing of the vault arch is cut into the tower wall."

This suggests that the vault is inserted.

5. The balusters of the nave west windows were turned round in 1866.

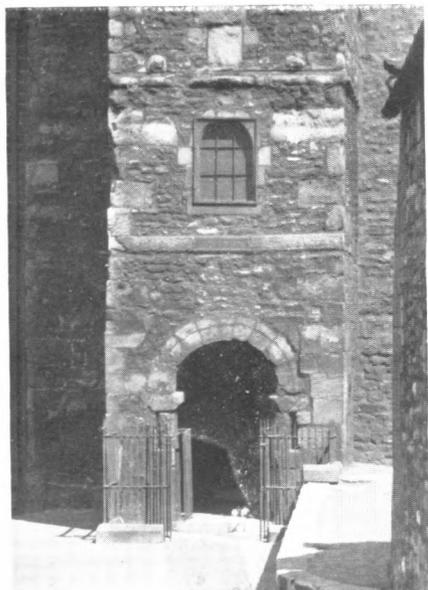
Messrs. Milburn also made a cast of the baluster in the nave window.



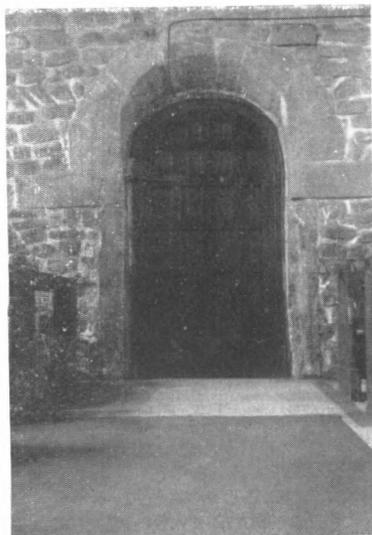
3. North jamb of porch W. arch.



4. Tower from west.



1. Porch from west.



2. West door of nave from east.

