ANGLO-SAXON ARCHITECTURE IN THE 7th CENTURY

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I have undertaken this evening to say something about some aspects of Anglo-Saxon architecture. That is a large subject. It is, indeed, too large. Hitherto it has been thought possible and convenient to treat of Anglo-Saxon architecture as if it were a separate organic whole. I doubt whether that approach is any longer desirable, if, indeed, realistic.

The Anglo-Saxon era covered roughly six centuries, from the mid-5th to the mid-11th century. Anglo-Saxon church architecture covered four-and-a-half of these centuries. It started with the coming of Augustine in 597, and lasted till the Norman Conquest in 1066. That is a span as long as from the reign of Henry VII to the present day. There have been many changes in architectural styles between, say, Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster and the new Coventry Cathedral. In the same way there were distinct differences between 7th-century buildings and those of the 11th century. I am therefore going to enter a strong plea for the study of our 7th-century buildings as a separate subject.

Indeed, the recognition of any pre-Conquest buildings as such is of comparatively modern origin. Thomas Rickman, whose *Gothic Architecture* appeared in 1817, was the first to essay a classification of English architectural styles. He put forward the names still in common use—Saxon, Norman, Early English, decorated, perpendicular, flamboyant. He lists twenty churches that he thought had been erected before 1000 A.D., and distinguishable from works of Norman date by their masonry, their forms, and their details. The list included Barton-on-Humber, Barnack, Wittering, Brigstock, Brixworth, Earl's Barton, Worth and Sompting. Others were added to this list in subsequent editions of Rickman, although the chapter on Anglo-Saxon Architecture was relegated to an appendix, until the sixth edition appeared in 1862. In the meantime, J. H. Parker, who published his *Introduction to Gothic Architecture* in 1849, contended that with the apparent exception of Bradford-on-Avon, there were no surviving churches in England earlier than the year 1000, but that immediately 'the long dreaded millennium had passed, the Christian world took a new start, and was seized with a furore for erecting stone buildings.'

In 1903 Professor Baldwin Brown published Volume II of his monumental work on *The Arts in Early England*. This Volume, considerably revised and re-published in 1925, dealt exclusively with ecclesiastical architecture in England before the Conquest. It forms the basis of all subsequent research and study. It was followed in 1930 by Sir Alfred Clapham's *English Romanesque Architecture*. It would be difficult to exaggerate the achievements of those two authors, who pioneered the identification and study of pre-Conquest buildings.

But over thirty years have elapsed since those works appeared. Considerable progress has been made since 1930. A number of monographs have appeared on individual churches. It has been possible to resolve some of the doubts expressed by Baldwin Brown

about particular buildings which he examined. Significant traces of other pre-Conquest structures have been revealed as a result of air-raid damage during the war. New light, in particular, has been thrown on some Anglo-Saxon monuments that were suspected, but could not previously with certainty be identified, as belonging to the 7th century.

Baldwin Brown has put forward a tentative chronology of Anglo-Saxon architecture, which substantially still holds good. He divided the four-and-a-half centuries of Saxon building into three periods: an early period *A* covering the 7th century and most of the 8th; an intermediate period *B* corresponding with the Viking invasions, and covering the 9th century and part of the 10th; and a third period *C* beginning with the monastic revival under Dunstan in the middle of the 10th century, and extending to the Norman Conquest. These three periods correspond with three reasonably well-defined phases of Anglo-Saxon history. The 7th century, running into the 8th, witnessed the spread of Christianity through the missions of Augustine in Kent, Birinus in Wessex, the Celtic mission in Northumbria, and the enthusiastic establishment of monasteries, minsters and mission stations under the inspiration of Wilfred, Aldhelm, Benedict Biscop and others. In the intermediate period of consolidation and Viking warfare, there was an inevitable reduction of architectural effort. A new era of vigorous development began in the middle of the 10th century under the inspiration of Dunstan, Oswald and Ethelbert.

Perhaps the most serious cause of confusion among previous writers, including Baldwin Brown, was their inclination to ascribe any particular church of pre-Conquest date to one or other of these three periods. There was a tendency to assume that the whole fabric of any surviving pre-Conquest church was a unitary construction, that is built at one and the same time. Such an assumption is, indeed, contrary to the current of probability. A church of the 7th century that has survived is at least as likely to have undergone modifications before the Conquest, as is the case with so many Norman churches that have been adapted, enlarged and changed through successive generations down to our own day. It is, however, more difficult to discern the changes that took place to a building within the pre-Conquest period. Detailed examination and survey during recent years has shown that a number of pre-Conquest churches contain features dating from more than one of the three periods of Baldwin Brown's classification. This is the case with such well-known structures as Brixworth, Bradford-on-Avon, Deerhurst, Wing and Bishopstone, all of which can now be claimed, with reasonable certainty, as 7th-century foundations. Moreover, since Baldwin Brown's time, new information has been contributed about the important early sites of Glastonbury and Jarrow. Evidence of other 7th-century buildings has been revealed—either in significant fragments, as at All-Hallows-by-the-Tower and St. Mary's, Prittlewell; by excavation, as at Whitby, Yavering, and Burgh Castle; or by research, as at Hexham and St. Mary, Wareham. Excavation on other 7th-century sites is in contemplation, notably at Winchester, and at Much Wenlock.

The progress thus made in recent years has emphasised the vital architectural distinction between an early Saxon church of the 7th century, and a late Saxon church of the century before the Conquest. To speak simply of a Saxon church has become an ambiguity. The need to keep this distinction clearly in mind is all the greater when we recall that there are no buildings to be found in England today, the foundation of which can surely be ascribed to the 8th, 9th or early 10th centuries. There is a gap of over 200 years. This is not to assert that nothing was built during that time, but that nothing then built appears to have survived.

What then are the architectural distinctions between an early Saxon church and a late Saxon church? And what is their significance? I am mainly concerned to put before you the accumulated evidence about Saxon architecture in the 7th century. But a 7th-century building cannot be recognised as such without a considerable acquaintance with the techniques of late Saxon as well as of Norman architecture. How does one identify a 7th-century church? One proceeds backwards. We know that a Norman church has definite characteristics, whether built in Norman England, or Normandy. All later types are identifiable. If a church contains no Norman or later characteristics, it is Anglo-Saxon. If a church, such as Barton-on-Humber, has a belfry of early-Norman workmanship, superimposed on a tower of quite different workmanship, with features unknown in any Norman church, then the main structure of the tower is pre-Conquest. If an early-Norman arcade pierces a nave wall, as at Arreton or Greens Norton, the fabric is almost certain to be Anglo-Saxon.

In addition to this, certain definite features of Anglo-Saxon workmanship are noticeably absent from the earlier post-Conquest churches. Such features include: 'long and short work', double-splayed windows, mid-wall shafts, through-stones, hood moulds, triangular-headed doorways and windows, western towers of the distinctive Lincoln type, relatively thick walls, and high naves. These characteristics of Anglo-Saxon workmanship which are seen in such perfection and charm at places like Earls Barton, Colne Rogers, Corhampton, Holy Trinity, Colchester, and elsewhere, were no doubt slowly evolved through long processes of trial and error, through the intermediate *B* period from which nothing survives. It is possible to reconstruct the stages through which this evolution took place. This in itself is a fascinating exercise, but it is not germane to a study of the English church in the 7th century. For my present purpose, I must stress that all these well-recognised and distinctive characteristics of late Anglo-Saxon architecture are absent from the early Saxon churches of the 7th century. Indeed, it has become a canon of interpretation, paradoxical though it may seem, that a 7th-century church is often to be identified by the absence of what have hitherto been thought of as normal Saxon characteristics.

Furthermore, churches containing some of these normal Saxon characteristics, of the century before the Conquest, can sometimes by careful survey, analysis, and, where possible, excavation, be shown to have been 7th-century churches rebuilt or modified in later pre-Conquest times. This has occurred at Brixworth, Wing, Bradford-on-Avon, Deerhurst, Bishopstone.

Let us take Bradford-on-Avon by way of example. The church, as we see it today, is substantially as it has existed for many centuries, but the building had long been put to secular uses until it was romantically discovered in 1858 as a church of great antiquity. William of Malmesbury, writing in 1120, recorded that in his day there was a church at Bradford-on-Avon generally stated to have been built by St. Aldhelm, who died in 709. Expert opinion was very dubious of the claim that this little church could be identified with the structure built by Aldhelm, standing in the days of William of Malmesbury. Baldwin Brown, for example, said that although 'Bradford-on-Avon appears in general character a singularly early church, when we observe its double-splayed windows and reckon up its pilaster strips, we begin to distrust the impression of great antiquity'. A careful examination of the fabric has revealed that the existing double-splayed windows are later adaptations of single-splayed windows of an early type, and that the pilaster strips are also later modifications on the flat surface of a very early church. This *ecclesiola*

in its original form can, therefore, now be identified as the 7th (or very early 8th) century church built by St. Aldhelm.

It would take too long in this paper to explain the process of reasoning whereby, as a result of close examination, similar conclusions have been reached at Wing, Deerhurst and Bishopstone. In each case detailed accounts have been published. There are no doubt other Saxon churches which require, and will repay, minute examination from this standpoint. At random, I would instance Great Paxton; Ickleton; Repton; St. Martin's, Canterbury; and Much Wenlock.

With our present state of knowledge we can list the following churches, or foundations, as providing reliable evidence of 7th-century foundations in this country. They are: St. Augustine's, Canterbury; St. Mary, Canterbury; St. Pancras, Canterbury; St. Martin, Canterbury; St. Andrew's, Rochester; Reculver; St. Mary, Lyminge; Lydd; Glastonbury; St. Peter-on-the-Wall, Bradwell; Brixworth; Deerhurst; Wing; Bradford-on-Avon; Bishopstone; Jarrow; Monkwearmouth; Escomb; Corbridge; and Hexham. There are other instances where, although the plans cannot be drawn with certainty, considerable parts of the original structure remain, e.g. St. Mary, Wareham; All Hallows; St. Mary, Prittlewell.

Apart from these buildings that have survived, we know from Bede and other literary sources, of a great many other foundations before the death of Bede in 735. These have been listed in an unpublished Thesis submitted in 1957 to the University of London by Mr. R. T. Timson for the degree of M.A. Mr. Timson's list does not pretend to be exhaustive. It includes minsters or churches at: York; Lincoln; Bardney, Lincs.; Coldingham; Medehamstede (Peterborough); Breedon; Ovington; Lichfield; Bermondsey; Woking; Ely; Barking; Wimborne; Dover; Folkestone; Beverley; Malmesbury; Frome; Sherborne; Chertsey; Barrow-on-Humber; Minster-in-Sheppey; Minster-in-Thanet; Burgh Castle; Elmham; Dunwich; Worcester; Hereford; London; Nursling; Towcester; Evesham; Croyland; Abingdon; Winchester; Wilton; Ramsey; Exeter; Wells; St. German's; Crediton; Winchcombe; and Selsey.

It is not difficult to indicate why there is such a wide divergence, in architectural plan and technique, between the 7th-century churches and those of the later Saxon period. The 10th-century churches were indigenous—whatever they may have owed to Carolingian or other influence from the Continent, and I believe this influence has been largely exaggerated. They were built by native craftsmen, who over the years, by a process of trial and error, had acquired a pragmatic, though not a scientific, skill in the construction of stone buildings. The churches of the early period, on the other hand, were largely built by, or under the guidance of, foreign masons and craftsmen, whether from Gaul or Italy, or in Northumbria, from Ireland. The Anglo-Saxons in their pagan days built only in timber. The poorer buildings were of wattle and daub. The nobility had timber halls. The Anglo-Saxons had no experience of stone building. Although there were plenty of splendid stone structures remaining in the Roman towns for them to see and admire, the art of stone building is not something that comes naturally without an apprenticeship. We know from literary sources that Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, in the latter half of the 7th century, brought masons and glaziers from the Continent. It is reasonable to assume that Augustine, Justus and Birinus did the same. In time, the unskilled Saxons would acquire the new technique and expertise, but no architect, without considerable experience, could design such churches as were built at Canterbury, Reculver, Brixworth,

Jarrow, or Wing. Whereas the Saxon churches of the later period enchant by the curious and distinctive characteristics of Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and whereas each has a unique distinctiveness of its own, they generally lack the scale, competence and workmanship of the 7th-century churches.

Before attempting a classification of the 7th-century churches in this country, we should notice the claims that there are even earlier survivals of Christianity in these islands. The situation in Celtic Ireland, where Christianity has a continuous history from the time of St. Patrick, is outside the scope of this address. A number of Ninianic sites have been traced, including those at Whithorn in Galloway, and St. Ninian's isle in the Shetlands. We shall find that the influence of Celtic construction, and arrangements derived from Celtic monastic traditions, predominate both in the north-east and in the south-west of England. Christianity had been introduced in the later years of Roman Britain, but the surviving material evidence is regrettably scanty. The small basilican building excavated at Silchester may or may not have been built as a Christian church. There is nothing that can plausibly be recognised as such at Uriconium or Caerwent. Excavations have not revealed any church at Verulamium. The evidence from Lullingstone and Frampton in Dorset suggests that one or more rooms in a Roman villa were appropriated as the venue for meetings for Christian worship. In the south-west of England, as in Wales, Celtic Christianity produced monastic establishments which have been carefully excavated in modern times—such as those at Glastonbury, Tintagel and St. Piran's in Cornwall. Bede records that King Ethelbert, after his conversion, allowed Augustine and his monks to 'build and repair churches in all places'. Gildas also indicates that there were several churches in Roman Britain in his day, circa 630. The word 'repair' suggests that there were in Kent some Romano-British churches that had survived two centuries of paganism sufficiently to be capable of restoration. The strongest candidate is, of course, St. Martin's Canterbury. A detailed re-survey of this historic building is overdue. The indications are that parts date from the Romano-British period, and that it was reconstructed by St. Augustine for the worship of Queen Bertha. There is also a small basilica at Lydd, on Romney Marsh, now incorporated in the modern parish church, which may date from the Roman period. If that suggestion is thought too fanciful, Lydd must be included in any catalogue of 7th-century or early 8th-century churches.

It will now be convenient to summarise our existing knowledge about these 7th-century Saxon churches in England. I will leave aside the Celtic foundations of the same or earlier date at Tintagel, St. Piran's, St. Helen's in the Scilly Isles, and Heysham Chapel on Morecambe Bay.

1. There exist today twelve Churches which in whole or in part date from the 7th century, namely, St. Martin's, Canterbury; St. Peter-on-the-Wall; Brixworth; Wing; Deerhurst; Lydd; St. Mary, Wareham; Bishopstone; Jarrow; Monkwearmouth; Escomb; and Corbridge.

2. There are eight others which survive in ruins, or of which the foundations have been exposed by excavation, and which, with two exceptions (Peterborough and Rochester), can still be visited—namely, St. Pancras, Canterbury; St. Augustine's, Canterbury; St. Mary, Canterbury; Reculver; Rochester; Glastonbury; Peterborough; and Lyminge. To these Yavering may now be added.

It is therefore possible to draw layout *plans* of some twenty Saxon churches of the 7th century.

3. There is literary evidence, supplemented by some excavation and research, which would justify the production, if not of accurate plans, at any rate of partial or provisional plans, of Christ Church, Canterbury; Hexham; and Ripon.

4. There is literary evidence of some value about the churches built at Abingdon and at York. There are also surviving structural fragments of 7th-century churches at All-Hallows-by-the-Tower, London, and St. Mary, Prittlewell, from which certain inferences can be drawn about the type of the original construction. Finally, there is Repton in Derbyshire awaiting a detailed survey in the light of knowledge gained elsewhere.

Meagre as is at present our total information, architectural and literary, of church building in the 7th century, yet it enables us to attempt various alternative lines of classification. Of these, the most generally accepted is the distinction between the southern or Kentish type of building, due to the Roman mission of St. Augustine, and the northern or Northumbrian type, some half-century later, inspired by Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop. It will be remembered that St. Augustine's mission arrived at a time when Italy had been overrun by barbarian invasions, and Italian art and architecture was in a state of decadence and decay. We know very little of the architecture existing in Gaul of the 6th and 7th centuries, which were probably the immediate source from which the Kentish builders derived their models. There are at least three distinctive features of these Kentish churches (including Bradwell in Essex) which appear to be without exact surviving parallels anywhere in Western Europe. Two of these are the triple arcading which divides the nave from the apse, and the stilted shape of the apse, the terminal curve being struck from a point well to the east of the chancel-arch. The third and most remarkable characteristic feature of the group is the lateral porticus. Broadly speaking, all the 7th-century churches listed above are either basilican in plan, or non-basilican. The large majority are non-basilican. They conform to the pattern of an aisleless nave, a chancel, and one or more lateral porticus. The form and position of these lateral porticus call for explanation.

Following the conversion of Constantine in 312, there was a prolific outburst of church building in the Roman Empire—at Rome, in Ravenna, throughout Italy, in Gaul, in North Africa, in Palestine and Asia Minor. They all followed a uniform Roman pattern, modelled on the Roman civil basilica. The design of St. Peter's at Rome was the same as that of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Basilicas, large and small, were built with single or double aisles flanking a rectangular nave, and terminating in an eastern apsidal sanctuary. In Roman Britain we may reasonably suppose that the Constantinian pattern was followed for the seats of the British bishops from London, Lincoln and Colchester who attended the Council of Arles. It is on these grounds that the small basilican building discovered near the Forum at Silchester is commonly regarded as a Christian Church.

But there was an interval of nearly 300 years between Constantine and Augustine. By the end of the 6th century the basilican church had ceased, certainly in the west, to be the prescribed pattern. The standard plan in 7th-century England was a nave without aisles, with a western porch of entry, and one or more lateral porticus sometimes at the east end of the nave (e.g. St. Augustine's, Canterbury), sometimes at the west end of the nave (e.g. Bradford-on-Avon), but always entered from within the church. Of the churches listed above, this was the plan adopted not only in the Kentish group, St. Augustine's Canterbury, St. Pancras, at Reculver and Lyminge, but in other southern examples, as at St. Peter-on-the-Wall, Bradwell, at Glastonbury, Bradford-on-Avon, Bishopstone,

and Deerhurst. Nor is this characteristic confined to the south and west of England. It also occurs in the north, at Escomb and Monkwearmouth.

One reason for this fundamental change in plan from the tradition of church building in the 4th and 5th centuries, may have been the introduction of the monastic life based on the Rule of St. Benedict. The basilican church of the 4th and 5th centuries throughout-out the Empire was essentially congregational. The nave, chancel and porticus church of the 7th century was monastic. All 7th-century churches in England were monastic in the sense that they were served by monks, and were the centres or outposts of monastic life. The parochial system had not begun. There were, of course, different types of monastery, and the internal arrangements of the churches we have been considering are reflected by these differences.

The basic distinction between a basilican and a non-basilican church has until recently been obscured by a curious circumstance. Some churches that were originally built on a nave and porticus plan, such as St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Reculver, were by the subsequent additions of further lateral porticus at both the north and south of the nave, transformed into churches which, on plan, judging from the foundations, resemble basilicas. On the other hand, at Brixworth, originally built as a basilica, the aisles were subsequently divided by cross-walls into a series of lateral chambers, or porticus.

Now one may well ask: what was the significance of the porticus? First, we must distinguish a porticus from a porch. A porch is used for entry into a church from outside. In the 7th century, entry into a church (apart from Celtic churches) was invariably from the west. Sometimes there was merely a west door leading into the nave. Sometimes there was a western adjunct, or porch, giving access to the church. By a confusion of terminology this porch was called a *porticus ingressus*. But the distinctive features of the 7th-century churches which concern us are the lateral porch on the north and south sides. Their situation relative to the nave and chancel is not uniform. At Reculver and Bradwell they are symmetrical, and overlap the nave and chancel. At Reculver they were both entered from the chancel. At Bradwell the north porticus was entered from the chancel, and the south porticus from the nave. The provision of adjuncts to serve the subsidiary purposes of the church and its services was common in North Africa and Syria throughout the 5th and 6th centuries, but seems to have ceased in the west.

We know that the lateral porticus at St. Augustine's Abbey were used for specific funerary purposes. St. Augustine and his successors were buried in the north porticus; King Ethelbert and his successors in the south porticus. Subsequently additional porticus were added each side of the nave. We also know that St. Ethelburga was buried in the north porticus at Lyminge, and Tobias, Bishop of Rochester, in the north porticus at Rochester. There was a reason for this. Until at least a date towards the middle of the 7th century, it was uncanonical for a burial to take place within a church—i.e. *in ipsa ecclesia*. Yet there was a natural desire to bury saints and kings as near to a consecrated shrine as possible. Technically, a lateral porticus, though connected by a doorway with a nave or chancel, was not for this purpose deemed part of the church itself. Hence the provision of a lateral porticus for sepulchral purposes. But a lateral porticus could serve other purposes. That projecting from the centre of the nave at St. Pancras has an altar at its eastern end, which shows that it was used as a chapel. This must also have been the purpose of a lateral porticus at the western end of the nave, which occurs at Bradford-on-Avon and

Bishopstone. Neither of these churches was built before the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th centuries.

It would appear that at some date after the middle of the 7th century, the rule prohibiting burials inside a church was relaxed. Perhaps an authority on early canon law or the customs obtaining in Rome, could give us a precise date. Or perhaps there was only a gradual relaxation of the rule. The provision of the additional porticus at Reculver and Deerhurst after the original foundation suggests that, with the extension of the monastery, it became necessary to accommodate the growing numbers of the community with additional chapels. This can be the only explanation of the transformation of the aisles at Brixworth into a series of adjacent chapels.

Brixworth was until recently thought to be not only the finest, but the only surviving example in England of a 7th-century church that does not conform to the standard pattern of aisleless nave, chancel, and porticus. Indeed, until some excavation was undertaken in the former north aisle at Brixworth, it was uncertain whether Brixworth was originally constructed with undivided aisles, or whether the aisles were originally divided into a series of porticus. It is now established that Brixworth in its original 7th-century form followed the pattern of the Italian basilica of the 5th century. But it is not the only surviving example of this type of construction. We now know that Wing in Buckinghamshire is also a 7th-century basilica. In addition, Wilfrid built or restored four churches in the north at Ripon, Hexham and York, and there is contemporary evidence from his biographer Eddius indicating that the churches at Hexham and Ripon were of basilican type. In the case of Hexham this has been confirmed by excavation. The evidence with regard to Benedict Biscop's foundations at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth is less clear, but it would appear that one at any rate of the early 7th-century churches at Jarrow was also a basilica.

For these reasons we can no longer say without qualification that the main division in 7th-century churches is between the Kentish and the Northumbrian group. Rather it is between the basilicas, and the non-basilican churches. The 7th-century basilicas are not confined to one geographical area. They occur in the north, at Hexham and Ripon, in the Midlands, at Brixworth and Wing, and possibly in the south as well, at St. Mary, Wareham, in London and at Lydd.

The basilicas at Hexham and Ripon were built by Wilfrid. It has been conjectured that those at Brixworth and at Wing were also due to his inspiration, even if he did not actually design and build them. Wilfrid had made four visits to Rome, was familiar with the classical churches of 5th-century Italy, and anxious to introduce Roman customs and ceremonial into England. It is significant that there is a crypt under the apse of the churches Wilfrid built in his monasteries at Hexham and Ripon. Crypts are also found under the apse at Wing, and, more doubtfully, at Brixworth. The only other known crypt is at Repton. The provision of a crypt would seem to exclude the necessity of a lateral porticus for sepulchral purposes.

The elaborate construction of Wilfrid's crypts at Hexham and Ripon indicates that they were designed partly for the protection and display of relics, and partly for processional purposes. At Wing, and probably elsewhere, the relics were housed in a walled chamber at the west end of the crypt immediately under the altar. In those days the altar was not a table at the east end of the chancel, but was a small, low, square altar built in the chord of the apse, or just within the stilted arch of the apse. The clergy sat on a stone bench

(*synthronos*) running round the apse. Remains of such a stone bench were found at Reculver, and a whole tier of such benches in the apse are still to be seen in the 5th-century Coptic church in Cairo. The celebrant probably stood behind the altar facing west. Great importance was attached to the relics being in close proximity to the altar. In the 8th century and later, when it had become permissible for burials to take place inside the church, we have numerous accounts of the body of a saint or founder originally buried in a porticus, or indeed outside the church altogether, being 'translated' or 'raised' to an altar within the church.

It would be interesting to develop a classification of 7th-century churches according to the purposes for which they were built. Some were cathedrals, and designed as the minster of a bishop's see, as at Canterbury; some were minsters of Benedictine monks, as at Ripon or Peterborough; some were churches in a royal residence, as at Reculver; some, and perhaps the most interesting, were the churches of double monasteries, often presided over by a royal princess, and perhaps serving administrative as well as religious purposes; others again, like St. Aldhelm's *ecclesiola* at Bradford-on-Avon, were small mission stations, used as centres for missionary propaganda in the surrounding area. If one attempts to obtain a synthetic or comprehensive picture of what conditions were like at a large Saxon monastery of the 7th century, one has to supplement partial knowledge of one site with partial but different knowledge of another, with indications from a third. Thus, the church at Jarrow has survived, but we know nothing of the domestic quarters in which Bede's remarkable library was housed, and where his literary masterpieces were written. On the other hand, excavations at Whitby and Llantwit Major tell us something about the disposition of the conventual buildings of Hilda's famous monastery, but nothing of the church itself.

As far as we know, nothing in the nature of a mediaeval cloister existed in England as early as the 7th century. The Anglo-Saxon monasteries were more akin to those of the Eastern and Celtic churches. The larger monastic institutions consisted in the multiplication of small churches, the provision of a separate cell for each monk, and a number of buildings for communal purposes, all included in some kind of compound. Monastic life was not essentially contemplative, or even enclosed: it was missionary and administrative. The multiplication of churches within the same enclosure followed both Celtic and Roman prototypes. There were three churches at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, three both at Monkwearmouth and at Malmesbury. There were a series of churches in London and at Glastonbury. Wilfrid built two at Hexham. There are indications that there were three churches at Much Wenlock. Sometimes churches of the same foundation were built on the same axial plane from east to west.

We would give much to know more about the material conditions in which English monasteries blossomed and flourished in the days of Wilfrid and Aldhelm and Bede, and of the kind of life pursued in such monasteries as Whitby and Jarrow and Glastonbury. A clearer picture must await further archaeological excavation and research, and would moreover take us into the wider field of ecclesiastical history, to which a study of Anglo-Saxon architecture is an essential ancillary.