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UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

ANCILLARY SPACE IN ANGLO-SAXON CHURCHES

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

BY

KELLEY MARIE WICKHAM-CROWLEY

1992



22 DEC 1992

Kelley Marie Wickham-Crowley Ancillary Space in Anglo-Saxon Churches M.A., Archaeology, 1992

This thesis examines documentary, architectural and archaeological evidence for ancillary space and its range of possible uses. Ancillary space (additions to the basic church form of nave and chancel) would be added based on liturgical or secular need and available resources. Three areas of additions are classified by form and correlated with possible uses. An appendix after each chapter gives detailed descriptions and speculations on specific churches. Notably, all three groups seem to have both autonomous and integrated functions, but autonomous functions predominate.

Chapter one deals with porticus, aisles and transepts. Uses include burial chambers, chapels, meditation chambers, libraries, lodgings, and places of sanctuary and storage. These forms are those most likely to be restricted to clerical use or shared by clergy and laity. Chapter two examines the development of the west end and its use for burials and chapels again, penitents, catechumens, baptism rites, and liturgical elaboration centering on increasing attention to relics. The acquisition of relics emerges as the single most important factor in the development of the west end. Chapter three deals with the tower, a singularly symbolic form in Christianity that invokes, among others, the images of the Last Supper and the heavenly Jerusalem. The range of uses makes it the addition most likely to have combined secular and religious functions.

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No material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in this or any other university, nor does it contain any results from joint research.

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My deepest gratitude remains for my husband Tim. He accompanied me to England with no promise of employment or access to collections in his own academic specialty. He has continued to help and support me during the years of completing this research amidst my Ph.D. work at Cornell and several necessary but less than satisfying jobs. For his faith and generosity, I dedicate this thesis to him.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

METHODS AND OBJECTIVES

The special focus of this thesis is ancillary space in Anglo-Saxon churches, that is, rooms and levels added to the nave and chancel presumably to answer a particular need in a given church. The most basic form of a church requires space only for the clergy (chancel) and for the laity (the nave). Any other space would be added based on liturgical or secular need and available resources in a given area or time. I have examined both documentary and archaeological information in the hope that integrating the two would explain more about the remains than their physical examination allows. By the term documentary, I mean to include not simply the histories of individual churches and sites, something usually incorporated into archaeological investigation, but also sources which provide more of the Anglo-Saxon and Christian cultural outlooks. Among these I number the laws, church canons and pastoral letters, saints' lives, and synod records. While such sources may arguably be questioned at times as too general or irrelevant to architecture, by placing the sources next to isolated portions of a church (porticus, towers, narthex) I attempted to correlate possible uses with surviving evidence. The results are not always to argue that such places in a particular building were used as described, but to make concrete the possible range of uses in the churches for which we have remains, based on contemporary sources and their implications.

To date, the development of the form of Anglo-Saxon churches, their evolution, remains more a series of inferences from the published scholarly works than a topic examined in detail. While Continental scholars such as Heitz attempt to reconstruct the relationship between liturgy and architecture, much of the effort in the study of Anglo-Saxon churches as a whole has been centered on determining which churches of those remaining actually belong to the period and what their chronology might be. Some scholars (e.g. Gem 1975; Taylor 1975b) have tried to look at specific periods of building, relating the circumstances of an historical era to the remnants and facts we have. As yet, however, a synthesis of liturgical and historical with archaeological information for the Anglo-Saxon periods of building (600-1100) as set out by Taylor and Taylor does not and may never exist, due in large part to the scarcity of early English liturgical material. Hence my attempt to check other sources for information.

The basic text and list of Anglo-Saxon churches remains Taylor and Taylor's massive survey, and I use their work as the basis for my lists. I note here, though, that as the Taylors themselves mention, their work with few exceptions deals only with stone remains. Wooden structures were the native British heritage, the more Scottiorum, but the tradition of building in wood continued throughout the period, as shown by excavation evidence and the late Anglo-Saxon church of Greensted, Essex. (For a recent discussion of the contrast between wood and stone building, see Cambridge 1984.) The archaeological remains discussed, therefore, give an indication of trends in stone but

may not necessarily dictate trends in wood, and certainly cannot be said to give a completely valid picture of what was possible at any given time. Fortunately, large numbers of churches do survive, and the number seems sufficient to give a reasonable depiction.

INFLUENCES ON THOUGHT AND ARCHITECTURE

When examining possible influences on Anglo-Saxon architecture, scholars have looked to German, Roman, Far Eastern (especially Syrian) and Gallic/French examples. In the time of Wilfrid and Biscop in Northumbria, for example, the Gallic influences were perhaps strongest (Fletcher 1980), while in the south, the Roman mission of Augustine and Theodore's archepiscopate seem to have produce Roman- and Eastern-influenced architecture. At times, these "foreign influences" have instead been shown to have come from Britain, as in the case of pilaster strips (Taylor 1970); at other times scholars argue the proportions of various influences on the West (e.g. Krautheimer on the influence of Rome, 1942a). What is perhaps missed as an important point is the significance of united traditions. It is not at all established that these "separate" influences were known or considered significant as separate by the Anglo-Saxons. Detailed study of the liturgical heritage (e.g. Bishop 1918; Frere 1940; Wellesz on Eastern elements in English music, 1942) has shown something of the degree to which different influences were interwoven, but the vital point for the Christians of the period

would be Christianity itself. Variations in observances and elaboration of ritual, rather than a program of liturgical elements chosen according to origin alone, would more likely be the norm.

Attitudes towards the oneness or identity of imitations and originals in architecture help to explain this point, as well as what has been seen as a lack of discrimination among Anglo-Saxons. Krautheimer (1942a) examined something of the way in which models or originals were used in the medieval period (defined by him as dating from the fourth to the end of the twelfth century), maintaining that while function, construction and design may be the contemporary world's primary considerations in architecture, to assume the same for the medieval period is incorrect. Similarly, to assume that when a particular church is meant to imitate an original it will conform as closely as possible to that original is also incorrect. "Apparently mediaeval writers felt perfectly justified in comparing buildings with one another as long as some of the outstanding elements seemed to be comparable" (Ibid., 15) and builders felt similarly justified. General resemblance only was necessary, for the associations it could raise. Number and its significance--the number of columns or piers, of altars, of doors, etc.--was also important (Horn and Born 1979, I:118-25). Definitions of geometrical shapes were not well-established or well-considered, with an octagon once described as a circle with eight angles by Gregory of Nyssa (fourth century); centuries later, Arculf and Bede still describe the octagonal church of the Ascension and Hagia Sophia as

refs. rotundas. Similar "distortions" occur in illustrations of the period, showing more sides of a building than would be visible from any angle, as if a plan were collapsed. Yet the inaccuracy we perceive was inconsequential to the Anglo-Saxon mind because among the main considerations were spiritual evocation and sacred enhancement. Whether eight signified beatitudes, resurrection or any other idea is less important here than the fact that eight itself could be spiritually significant, that the number could evoke subjects for meditation. What seems to have been important was that a visitor to a church modelled on a famous original could, with minimal information (such as knowing that the Anastasis was round, contained the Holy Sepulchre, eight columns and twelve piers), recognize the attempt to imitate the original. In addition, by recognizing the harmony of the numbers of architectural additions, he could be reminded of aspects of his faith, such as the twelve apostles and their example, or the eight beatitudes.

In a way, such constructions were akin to the more obvious use (in our modern view) of painted scenes put up in churches to teach and guide the illiterate or the meditative; the more learned the viewer, the more evocations such aids caused. By imitation, some of the sanctity of a holy place was recreated; a church could partake of the virtue of the original, much as relics did, and transmit that virtue to believers. Similar imitations or parallels were common in written sources such as saints' lives. As long as a life were written in imitatio Christi, showing a holy life combined with miracles before and after death, the facts of a

saint's life were not the main point. The imitation of Christ was vital, the fact that even if the events narrated did not occur, they might have and would have been worthy acts. Instead of implying a lack of truthfulness, such evocations and resonances of a saint's life with Christ's were suggestive of a model for living in this world. The parallel between such evocations in written sources and similar parallels in evocations behind architectural elements should not go unnoticed.

M Krautheimer discusses some of my points above in terms of early European churches, but the more elaborate or unusual Anglo-Saxon churches have yet to be examined in such a way. (I will not attempt it here, except briefly, as it is outside the focus of the thesis.) The idea of imitation, of "copies" as described above, allows much leeway in the interpretation of forms, possibly a dangerous amount from the scholarly viewpoint, but the possibility still exists that certain devotions and the resulting interest and dedications may have influenced the form and the variations on a given form of a church in Anglo-Saxon England.

The literary sources available to early Christians in Britain are not often discussed when considering archaeological remains (for exceptions see Thomas 1981 and Taylor's work). The assumption seems to have been that travels of important clergy and their possible transmission of influences were more concrete occurrences than literary sources. Yet Adamnan's De Locis Sancta (1958), for example, is a prime candidate for influencing the architectural thought of Early Anglo-Saxons in the ways discussed above. The ninth abbot of Iona (679-704)

model
 and perhaps better known for his life of Columba, the Irish Adamnan was admired by Ceolfrid and Bede. His book is a travelogue based upon the notes Adamnan took while interviewing the Gallic Bishop Arculf concerning the Holy Land. Most important for our purposes are the "blueprint" depictions of some of the churches discussed: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its surroundings (including the Church of the Holy Mary, the Church of Golgotha, and the Basilica of Constantine); the basilica on Mount Sion; the Church of the Ascension; and a church on the site of Jacob's well at Siche^m. While sketchy, the illustrations show us the interest taken in the form of the holiest churches and a need to be able to picture the layout in the mind's eye. They also demonstrate the types of values discussed above concerning imitation: what to us seems sketchy and minimal, to the minds of the time would have given the most significant aspects. While the forms depicted in Adamnan's work did not detectably influence the designs of Anglo-Saxon churches en masse, centers such as Canterbury seem to have adapted and based some of their buildings on these models. Wulfric's octagon is perhaps modelled on the Anastasis, while later parallels to Siche^m exist at South Cadbury and Wilton Abbey. The details of form in the important Christian places of the world interested the Anglo-Saxon community as much as it did the rest of the Christian world.

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS OF THE PERIOD

The amount of surviving architecture is quite large given the

800-1100

800?

eight hundred years which have passed since the last buildings of the Anglo-Saxon period. The Taylors' work on churches gave us the first thorough and dependable list and descriptions from which to extend our knowledge. Lacking dates for most of the surviving material as far as written records were concerned, the Taylors divided the period from 600 to 1100 into three (A, B, C), and where possible, further divided each category into three, with each division encompassing a fifty year span, denoted by the numbers 1, 2, and 3 after the letter. (When a period is designated only by a letter, a building cannot be assigned to anything less than a one hundred fifty year period.) Unfortunately, of course, history has a way of not fitting neatly into fifty year clumps, but the general trends given by the Taylors' analysis hold true.

Following are lists of the churches found in each of the Taylors' periods. When a particular site had several periods of building, it was entered under each period, as it was when two periods were named as possible (as in "B3 or C1"). The working principle was that each church listed under a period had, according to the Taylors, produced some evidence for building activity during that period. In addition, the Taylors frequently designated churches Saxo-Norman or Period Unknown; the former are listed separately, the latter pulled together in a general category of "Anglo-Saxon."

When the lists are tabulated, one can immediately see a strong bias of material towards the late Anglo-Saxon period. Nevertheless, a good amount of early material remains.

Taylor and Taylor's Periods

600	A1	650	A2	700	A3	800
800	B1	850	B2	900	B3	950
950	C1	1000	C2	1050	C3	1100

Note: "Or" designates a church which the Taylors placed in one period or another (e.g., B2 or B3); the terms "possibly," "probably" and "perhaps" are taken directly from their dating. Because such terms imply doubt, these churches are described after the tabulation below.

600-800

A= 25 (6 "or," 5 "possibly," 2 "probably," 1 "perhaps")
 A1= 8 (1 "probably")
 A2= 22 (2 "or," 2 "possibly")
 A3= 10 (3 "or")

TOTAL: 65

800-950

B= 15 (5 "or," 1 "possibly," 1 "probably")

B1= 3

B2= 0

B3= 3 (all 3 "or")

TOTAL: 21

950-1100

C= 126 (3 "or," 6 "possibly," 6 "probably")

C1= 22 (5 "or," 2 "possibly")

C2= 12 (1 "or")

C3= 135 (3 "or," 4 "possibly," 1 "rather doubtfully")

TOTAL: 295

Saxo-Norman= 41

(7 "possibly," 1 "doubtfully")

Anglo-Saxon= 44

(2 "possibly")

Despite a number of assignments with doubt expressed, only period B has scanty material with which to work (indeed, B2 does

not exist). The traditional view has been to see the B period, 800-950, as a period of devastation and destruction, certainly not of construction, due to Viking harassment, though this view is changing. Possibly the Taylors themselves were influenced by similar considerations when deciding the dates of their churches. While the sample remaining is incomplete, if it is representative, then 21 or as few as 13 stone churches have remains from the entire one hundred fifty year period. Recent excavations at Repton, however, have shown that the church there was used as part of the fortifications built for the wintering of the Viking army there in 873-4; the incorporation of standing remains into adapted forms could therefore account for some of the imagined lack, as could an increased number of wooden churches, presumably faster to build, to replace damaged stone ones. *any evidence for this*

Contrasting with B, period C virtually overflows with churches according to the Taylors' reckoning, fitting in with the stabilization of the church after the Vikings and the tenth century reforms. C2 also matches well with Gem's period of architectural recession, c. 1005-1050 (Gem 1975). Are the lessons learned from the Viking threat a factor considered when building during this period? How extensive is the liturgical influence on architectural plans, and can we link the reform fervor with increased complexity? If the sample given by the Taylors and added to in the following text is representative of the amount of building in stone and of the changes in perceptions regarding the religious and secular functions of a church, concentrating on the additions to churches as ancillary space, and on the more careful

regulation of church policy (as traced in synods and the laws), should yield a clearer idea of what church architecture became to the Anglo-Saxons through the centuries. Heitz, writing of Carolingian architecture, said, "Des considérations avant tout spirituelles ont dû être à la base de modifications aussi importantes. La pierre n'était, à ce stade de l'architecture européenne, que l'enveloppe d'une pensée" (Heitz 1963, 70). This thesis attempts to begin opening that envelope, to recover the thought of Anglo-Saxon builders.

NOTES ON FORMAT

The first part of chapters one and two classify the remains of churches by form; they then proceed to discuss the range of uses in light of textual evidence. The sections on uses each end with a list of churches eligible for such uses; criteria for choice are included. Chapter three, dealing with towers only, required an additional section, and I therefore discuss form, the symbolic parallels for towers, and then individual functions in light of that symbolism.

At the end of each chapter, and appendix gives a detailed description with some commentary for each church discussed, focussing on the specific addition in isolation. These appendices are single-spaced to save room and in abbreviated syntax for the same reason. I used a comparison of basic texts and illustrations to compile the listings, then evaluating unusual aspects. The surprising result was the amount of disagreement among the sources on details; while Taylor and Taylor remain the

most accurate, their work is sometimes demonstrably wrong^h and while Fisher is often sketchy or inaccurate, at times his accounts are better. Contradictions in interpretation and in basic descriptive evidence are noted in the appendix when they occur.

The following texts were used to compile descriptions:

Butler, L. A. S. and R. K. Morris. 1986. The Anglo-Saxon Church.

Fernie, E. 1983. The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons.

Fisher, E. A. 1962. The Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches.

Fisher, E. A. 1969. Anglo-Saxon Towers.

Morris, R. 1983. The Church in British Archaeology.

Taylor, H. M. and J. Taylor. 1980. Anglo-Saxon Architecture,
vols. I and II.

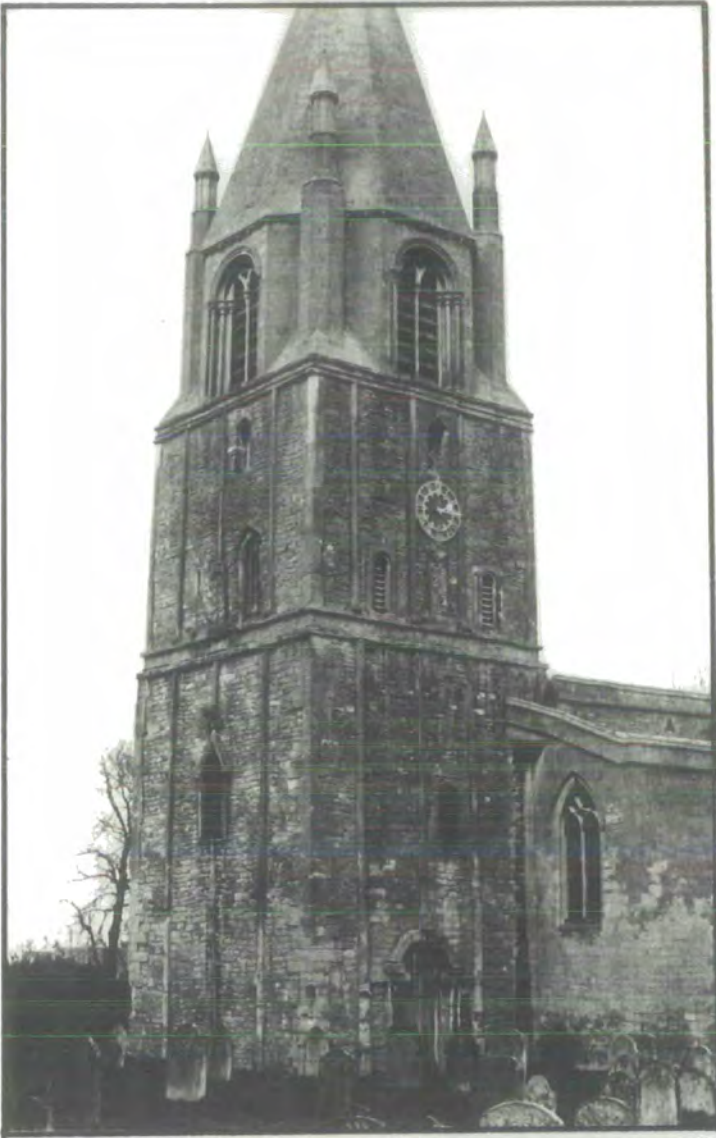
Taylor, H. M. 1984. Anglo-Saxon Architecture, vol. III.

Some publications were unavailable to me in America, most notably the Bulletin of the Council for British Archaeology Churches Committee and Taylor's privately printed works on Deerhurst and Repton Studies I.

I have regularized Old English eth and thorn to "th," and I have noted in the appendices those churches I have visited. Certain abbreviations occur in the appendix and text to save space on terms repeatedly used.

- 7 = and
- AS = Anglo-Saxon
- ASC = Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
- E = east
- H = high
- H.E. = Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica
- N = north
- S = south
- Sq = square
- T and T = Taylor and Taylor
- W = wide
- ' = foot, feet
- " = inch, inches

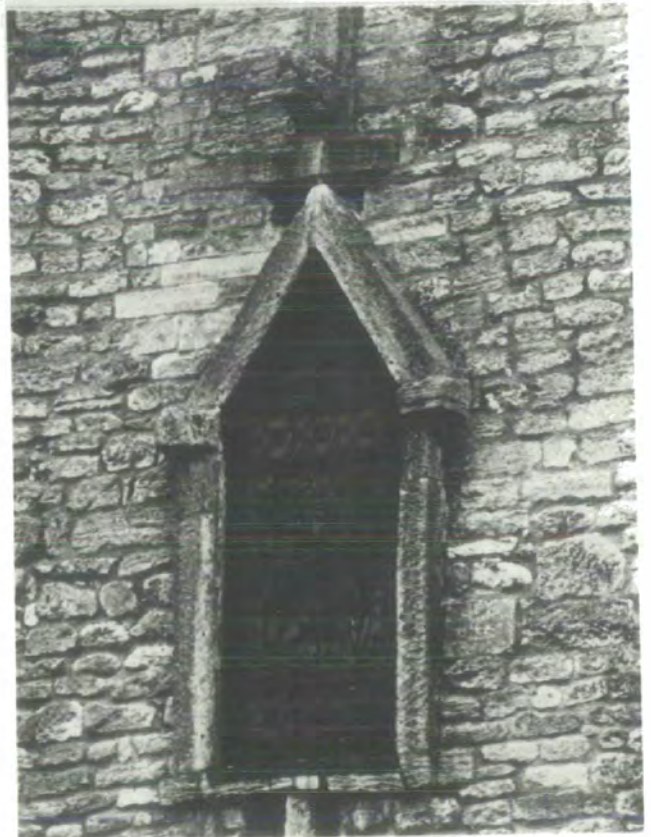
Finally, county designations are, in the main, those of the Taylors' original list, as I could find no comprehensive source for changing them to the more recent designations effective under the Local Government Act of 1972.



BARNACK



**West face,
first stage**



BARNACK



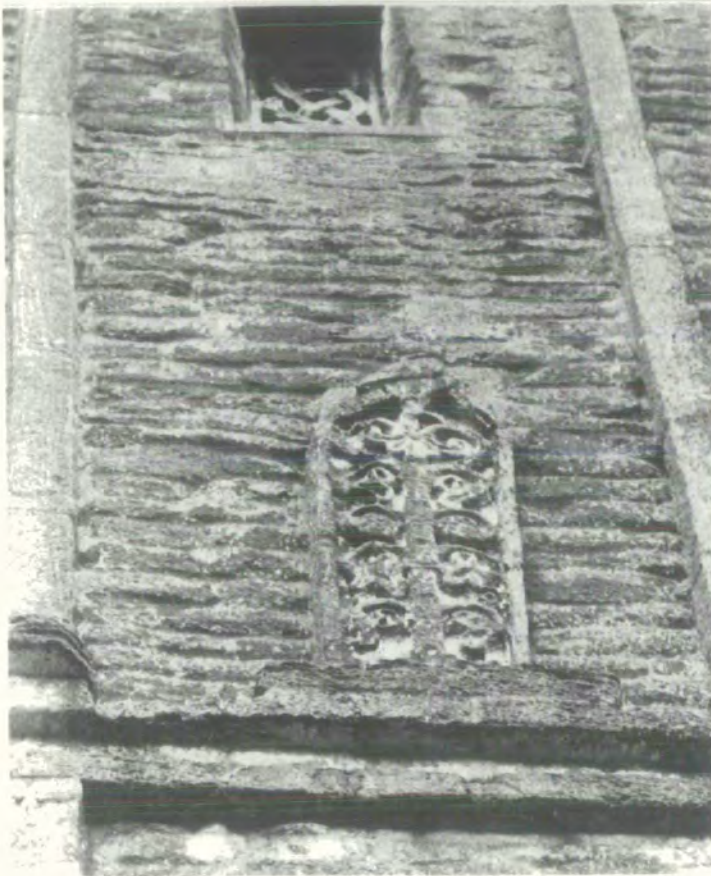
← South face,
first stage

↓ South face, second stage



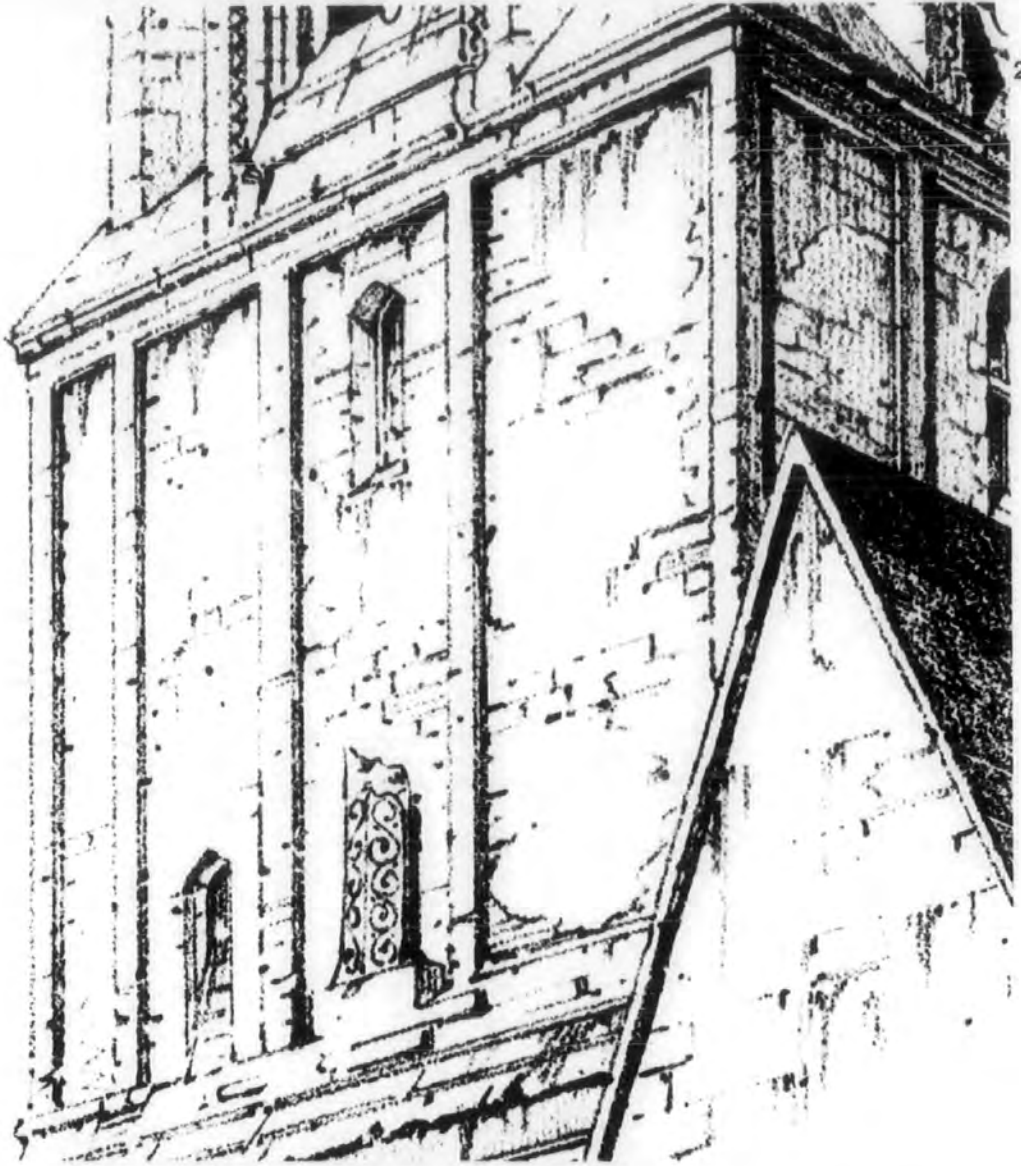


↑ West face,
second stage



← North face,
second stage

BARNACK



From Johnson,
1858

BARNACK

West end



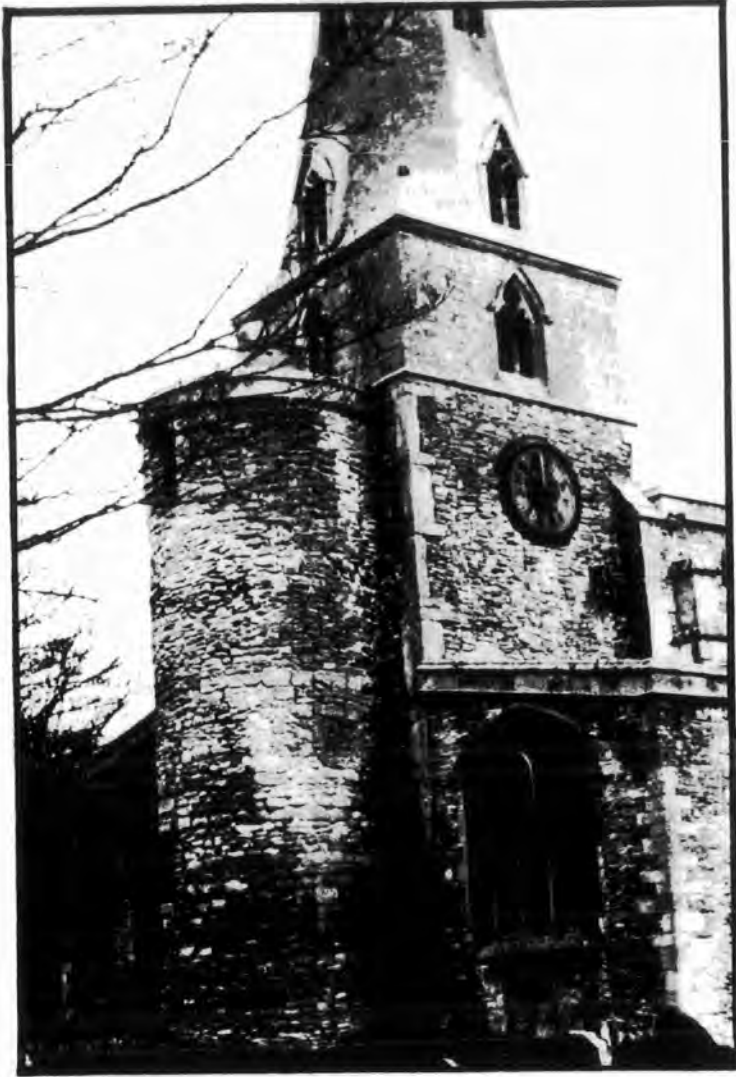
BARNACK

West wall interior:
 niche or seat
 North wall interior:
 aumbry



South wall interior:
 aumbry





BRIGSTOCK

Detail of tower's south face: blocked opening





BRIGSTOCK **South aisle stones and bench**



CORBRIDGE

West door(s)

(T. Middlemass)



Lower tower and stair turret, south face

BRIXWORTH

South wall of nave



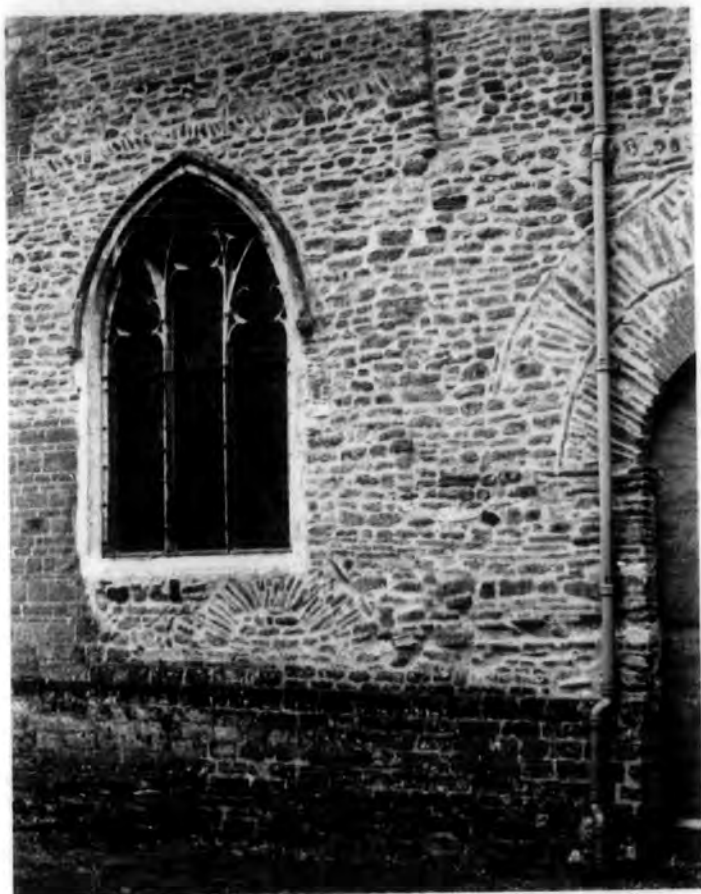


North side: Vestiges of narthex chamber

BRIXWORTH

North side: blocked door, wall remains, stair turret





North wall:
doorway and change
in offset for
porticus

BRIXWORTH

North wall:
lower offset for
porticus





**View from western
first floor chamber**



BRIXWORTH

**Detail: chiselled column of
chamber**



First floor chamber interior: windows to nave, detail



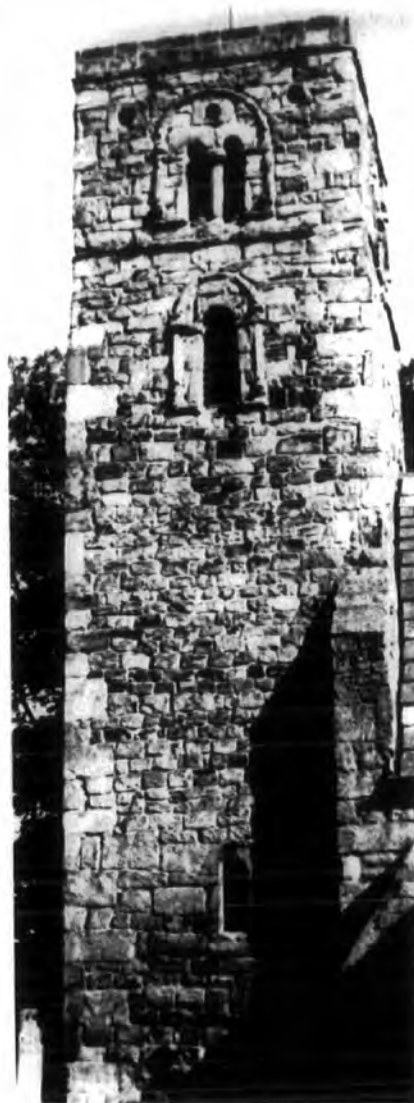
BRIXWORTH

Chamber's west wall,
south side: aumbry?

BYWELL



ST PETER North porticus:
gable line and doorway

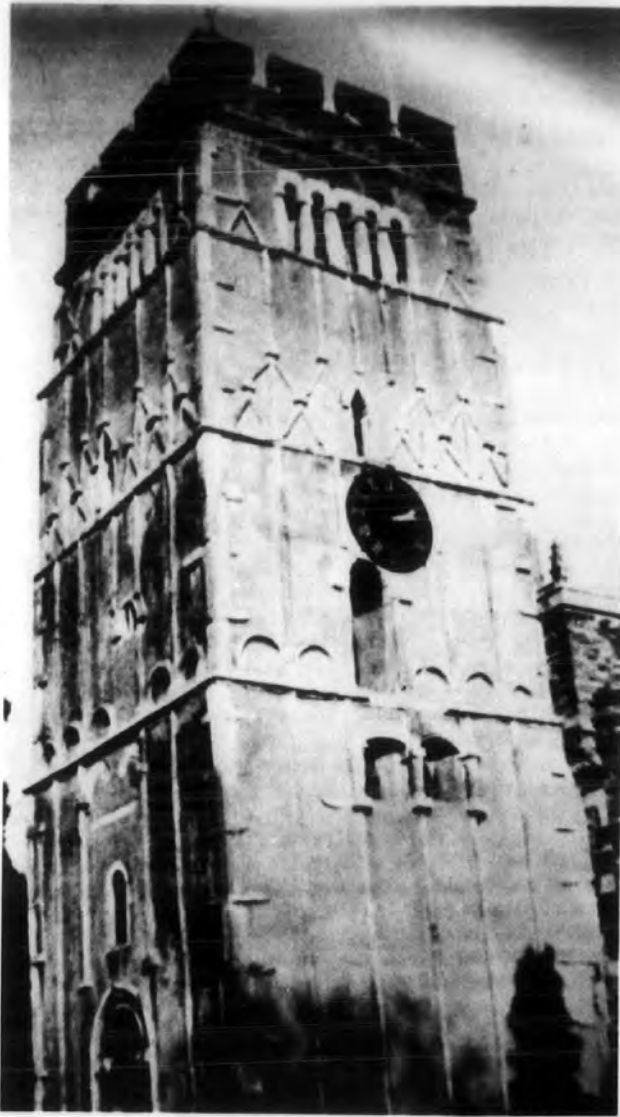


South face of tower



Detail: upper doorway on south

ST ANDREW



EARL'S BARTON

KIRK HAMMERTON

South doorway
(to porticus?)



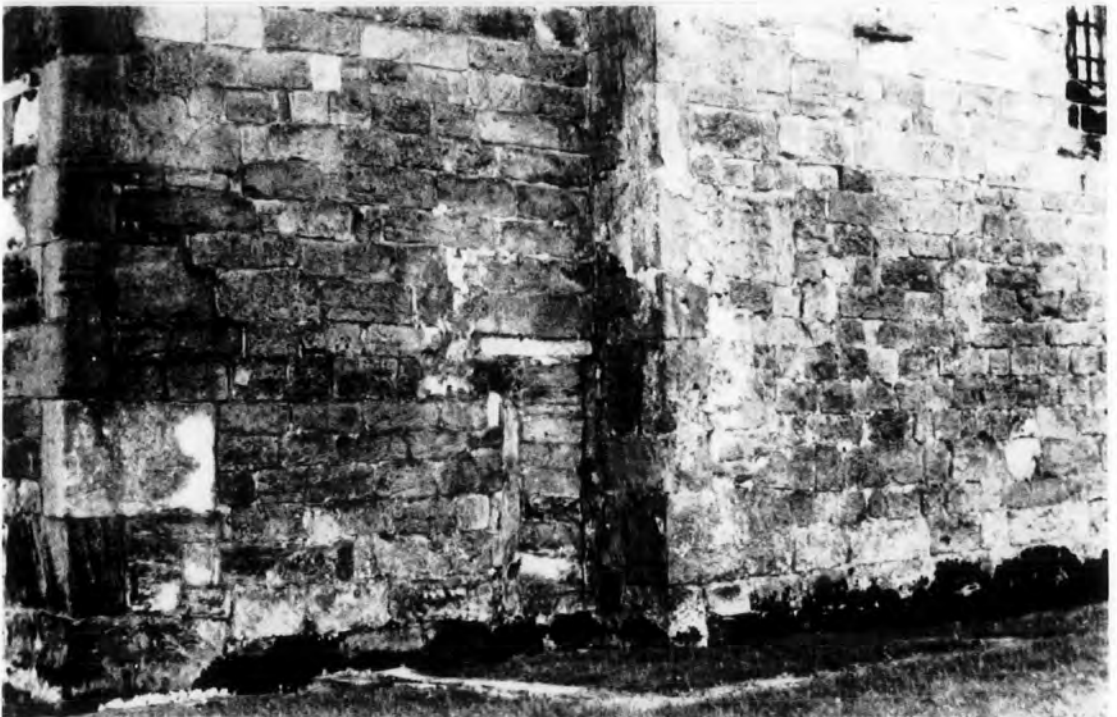


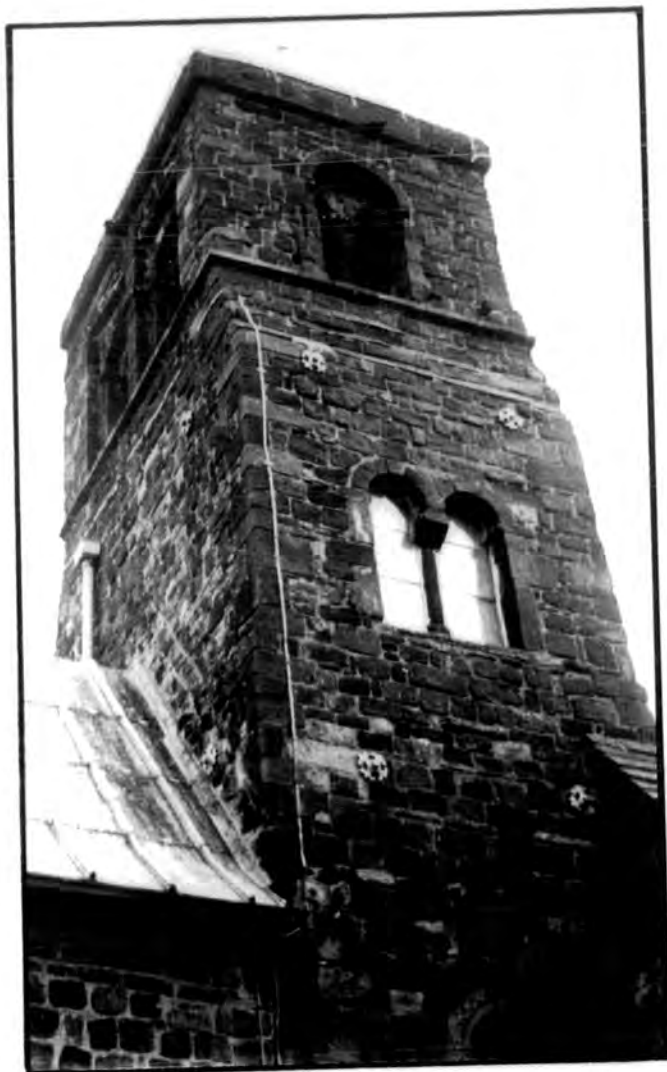
Altar, curtained and
canopied (early 11th
century)

In Victoria and Albert Museum

ESCOMB

North porticus site





Tower from north

JARROW

North wall: tower window and gable lines





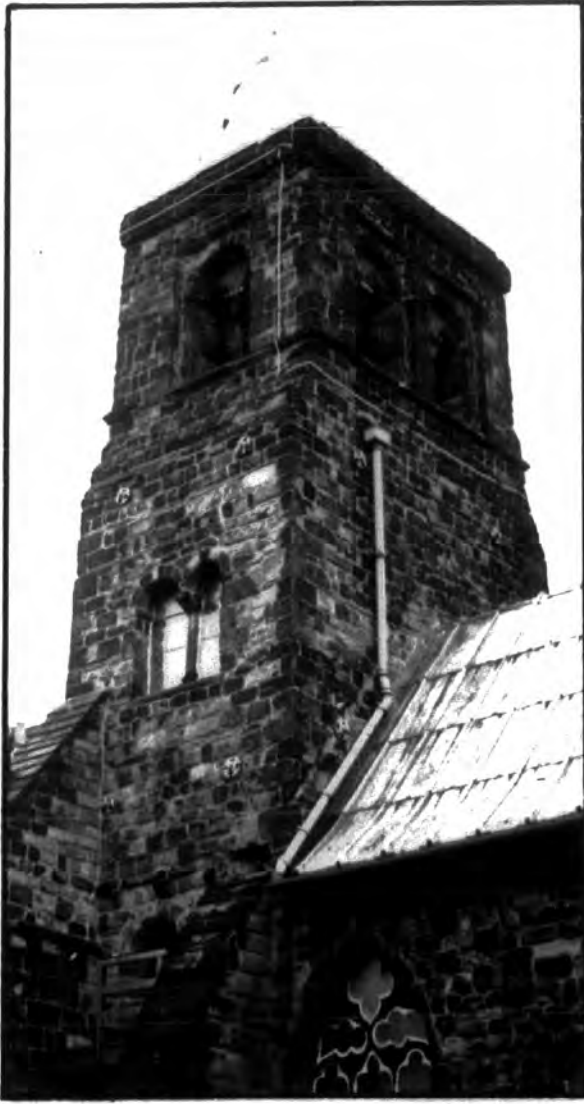
North wall

(T. Middlemass)

JARROW

North doorway





Tower from south

JARROW

South window

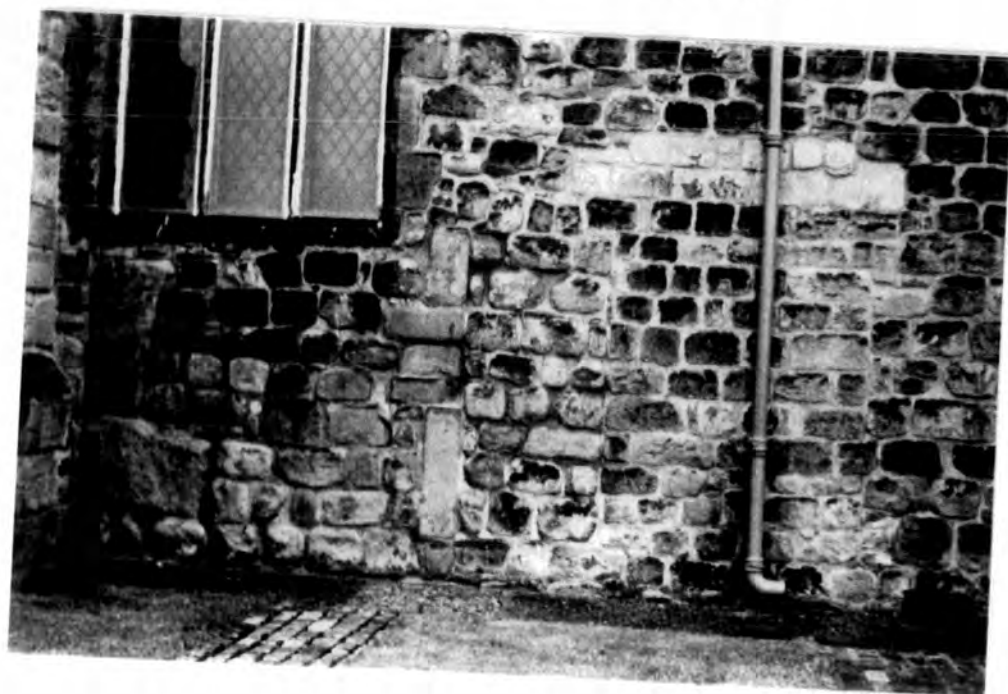




South wall exterior: upper doorway

JARROW

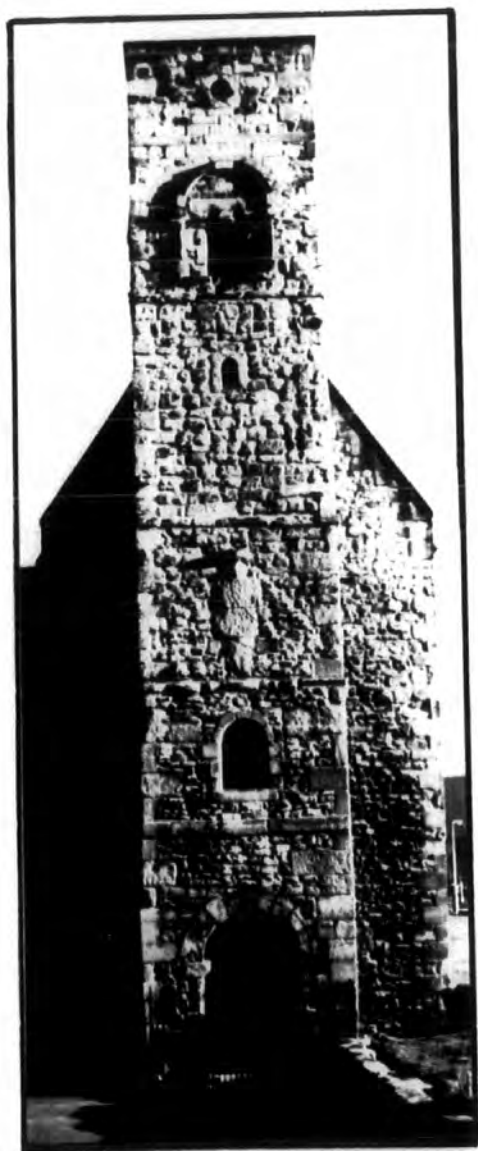
South wall exterior: lower doorways





JARROW

Interior: upper south doorway



MONKWEARMOUTH



STAINDROP

View to west end

HOUGH-ON-THE-HILL

South tower entrance



...A people without history
Is not redeemed from time, for history is a pattern
Of timeless moments. So, while the light fails
On a winter's afternoon, in a secluded chapel
History is now and England.

T. S. Eliot

"Little Gidding," Four Quartets

CHAPTER ONE: PORTICUS, AISLES AND TRANSEPTS

I. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE AND CLASSIFICATION

Porticus, aisles and transepts are not generally grouped together for discussion, but I have done so here because I believe them interrelated to a degree. The distinction now made between aisles and continuous north and south porticus was not one recognized by William of Malmesbury when describing Dunstan's additions to Glastonbury as "alas vel porticus" (Jackson and Fletcher 1956, 3, and Parsons 1969, 180); indeed, Parsons notes he was "not prepared to make the precise distinction of the modern architectural historian." Such lack of precision (in our view) may well have characterized earlier, Anglo-Saxon attitudes. Similarly, both lateral porticus and transepts make a church cruciform, and from the exterior might very well appear alike. On the interior, if both open from the nave or crossing, current terminology seems based on the width of the doorway or arch leading to the nave/crossing with no relevance attached to doorways to the exterior, though Jackson and Fletcher maintain that a porticus was "approached from inside, i.e. some apartment or division within the church, yet distinct from the church" (1956, 2). At a place such as Wareham, however, the distinction between porticus and transepts seems blurred (Taylor and Taylor 1980, 634-7). In theory, at least, lateral porticus could have evolved into transepts as a result of a change in ritual, such as a need for more space for opposing choirs, as noted by Taylor, or

for the Easter Passion reenactments described in Regularis Concordia (Symons 1953, 44-50) and probably depicted on a walrus ivory pyx in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Heslop 1981, 157-60 and Plates 19a-d; see photograph herein, p. 39).

On the following pages of this section, I list evidence for the additions discussed in this chapter according to placement and form, followed by any general comments such lists suggest.

AB ?
 Details of individual church remains appear in the appendix to this chapter, which the reader should refer to in conjunction with the lists for any clarification about choice or description, and then read fully after completing the chapter. As stated, in the context of this chapter I grouped porticus, aisles and transepts together because I believe them somewhat interrelated. By citing modern definitions of these three areas I can perhaps point out a vagueness shared by modern and earlier writers alike. In the recent CBA publication Recording a Church: an Illustrated Glossary, the following entries occur:

Aisle (lit. wing): subsidiary space alongside the nave, choir, or transept of a church, separated from it by columns or piers

Porticus: in pre-Conquest architecture, a subsidiary cell, opening from the main body of a church.

Transept: transverse portion of a cross-shaped church (Cocke et al. 1982, 10, 31, 40)

Clearly, from such definitions, a north and south porticus at the east end of a church could be called transepts, just as a row of porticus separated from the nave by an arcade could also be termed an aisle. Taylor and others have done better in defining such terms for our period, for instance,

considering the size of openings from a crossing when deciding if chambers are porticus or transepts. Yet when the openings suffered damage, such differentiations become more difficult, and they are never certainly those an Anglo-Saxon would recognize in any case. To attempt here to make more limiting and specific definitions then would not benefit us much. These additions to churches were for increasing available space in the main church without cluttering or reducing the focus of that central space, and in no way were these terms meant to denote specific, exclusive uses. Transepts could house altars as easily as rows of lateral porticus, while aisles might well contain altars or alternatively provide access around a nave which might itself contain multiple altars.

NORTH PORTICUS

NOTE: Parentheses indicate unclear or questionable evidence remains.

	<u>door from nave</u>	<u>from chancel</u>
(Barnack, Northants.)	X	
(Bibury, Gloucs.)	X	
(Billingham, Dur.)	X	
Canterbury/Peter and Paul, Kent	access: St. Gregory's porticus	
Escomb, Dur.		X
Ickleton, Cambs.		X
(Jarrow/Unknown [chancel], T and W)	X	
Little Abington, Camb.	X	
Lyminge, Kent		X
(Prittlewell, Ess.)		X
St. Albans/St. Michael, Herts.		X
Shorne, Kent	X	
(Whittingham, Northumb.)	X	
<hr/>		
TOTAL: 13	7	Other: 1 5

The six questionable north porticus all open from the nave. The main problems in interpreting such doorways consist in whether the openings are simply entrances, whether they open to space accessible only from within the church (porticus), or whether a nave entrance could convert to a porticus entrance during the

existence of a church. Clearly, excavations could help settle the questions, but not all churches have excavation evidence available. Where they did, it was taken into consideration (see appendix). Significantly, the only sure indication of a porticus seems a doorway opening from the chancel, as a nave opening could lead to a porticus or not. The evidence at Escomb clearly indicates that a north nave entrance and a porticus opening from the north chancel wall could exist concurrently.

SOUTH PORTICUS

*indicates porticus overlap both nave and chancel

+indicates apsidal porticus

Parentheses indicate unclear or questionable evidence

remains

door from nave from chancel

Bishopstone, Suss.	X	
Bosham, Suss.		X
(Burghwallis, Yks. WR)		X
Canterbury/St. Martin, Kent		X
(Coln Rogers, Gloucs.)	X	
(Corhampton, Hamp.)	X	
(Cricklade, Wilts.)	X	
(Daglingworth, Gloucs.)	X	
+(Kingsdown, Kent)		X
*Kirk Hammerton, Yks. WR	X	
Ledsham, Yks. WR	X	

(London/All Hallows by the Tower)	X?	
(London/St. Bride, Fleet St.)		X
+*Muchelny, Som.		X
+Much Wenlock/St. Milburga, Shrops.		X?
*Potterne, Wilts.	X	X
(Walkern, Herts.)	X	
Weybourne, Norf.		from tower?

TOTAL: 18 10 Other: 1 8

While at first glance, south porticus seem overwhelmingly to open from the nave, seven of the ten porticus listed as opening from the nave have questionable evidence. Once again, doorways from the chancel are much more reliable indicators of chambers, which suggests greater flexibility for porticus opening off a nave, and more specific uses of and needs for rooms off chancels. The three apsidal south porticus (Kingsdown, Muchelny and Much Wenlock) constitute an interesting subgroup. The Taylors date Kingsdown as Saxo-Norman and Much Wenlock as C3; Muchelny's foundations are undated but Saxon. Given the late dates here, it is tempting to wonder if such apsidal rooms indicate Norman influence and possible forerunners of Lady Chapels[?]. The outstanding site here is Potterne, Wilts. Its southeast baptistery (attested by font outlines matching a surviving font) has access from nave and chancel both, showing shared access of laity and clergy.

NORTH AND SOUTH PORTICUS

*indicates porticus overlap both nave and chancel

Parentheses indicate unclear or questionable evidence
remains.

In totals of chambers here, X = 2.

For Deerhurst and Glastonbury, numbers in parentheses refer
to relative chronology of additions; see appendix
entries.

	<u>doors from nave</u>	<u>from chancel</u>
Bitton, Gloucs.	X	
Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.	X	
*Bradwell-on-Sea, Ess.	S only	N only
Britford, Wilts.	X	
*Bywell/St. Peter, Northumb.	S?	N
Canterbury/St. Pancras, Kent	N, S	S
Canterbury/Peter and Paul, Kent	X	
Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs.:		
2 pair		
(1)westernmost N & S porticus	X	
*easternmost N & S porticus	access:	W porticus
(Derby, Derbys.)	S	N?
Glastonbury/Peter and Paul, Som.		
(1) *Taylors' porticus A, B, c.700	access	unknown
(2) Taylors' P, Q 700-950	X?	
(3) NE porticus (John/Baptist) c.950:	Dunstan's tower;	

upper level?

	<u>doors from nave</u>	<u>from chancel</u>
SE porticus (Andrew)	"	"
Gloucester, Gloucs. (early stage only)	X	
Monkwearmouth, T and W		N, S: entrances unknown
N. Elmham, Norf. (ii)		access unknown
Potterne, Wilts.	X	
*Reculver, Kent (7th cen.)		X
Tredington, Warks. (2 storeys)	X	and from gallery
Wareham/Lady St. Mary, Dors. (2 st.)	X	
Winchester/Old Minster, Hants. c.993-4	X	
<hr/>		
TOTAL: 17	26	Other: 12 6

The list of churches with north and south porticus may be substantially misleading due to a number of factors. In the first two lists of churches above (either north or south porticus), further excavation may show that a church once had a pair of porticus instead. In addition, many churches added north aisles in the later middle ages, destroying previous walls; as a result, the standing evidence within a Saxon north nave wall would disappear and only excavation in and around the church might now show the previous existence of a north porticus. Hence, the current list should be regarded as minimal, listing only those churches with definite evidence. If all three lists above (north and south porticus, and each separately) were combined, we might

in fact have a more accurate display of plans commonly used in the Anglo-Saxon period. Some evidence suggests that north porticus were preferred early on for the burial of holy persons (Biddle 1986, 11). However, a cursory glance at the above lists shows that, whether single or paired porticus are considered, most seem to open from the nave, implying public access. Perhaps then the number of porticus (one or two) is simply a reflection of local relics or favorite saints, and we should understand single porticus on the north, south or both sides as variations of one plan and function.

Of the 17 churches with possible evidence for 18 chambers opening from the chancel, 9 chambers open from the south, 9 from the north, showing no preference for location. The main differentiation in function would seem to center on placement of doorways. If a porticus opens only from the chancel, we can assume that access was restricted; the corollary would be that whatever the chamber contained was probably sacred as well as valuable and pertained to the clergy. An interesting clue to use and placement may also exist in churches where porticus overlap both nave and chancel. Bradwell and possibly Bywell/St. Peter and Derby indicate that while one porticus had public access (south) with a doorway from the nave, that on the north was reached through the chancel. Such a clue may indicate that pairs of porticus which overlapped nave and chancel were designed to have one public, one restricted. The most striking point here, however, is the implication that far more public space was created (25 chambers opening from the nave) than restricted space.

AISLES AND LATERAL PORTICUS

I list these two together because archaeological evidence often does not allow us to distinguish between them.

Brixworth, Northants., c. 725, C14 dating

Canterbury/Cathedral, Kent

Cirencester, Som.

Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs., added to early church

Glastonbury Abbey, Som., c.950 under Dunstan

Great Paxton, Hunts.

Hexham, Northumb.

Jarrow/St. Paul, Tyne and Wear, c.685

Lydd, Kent

Lyminge, Kent, Dunstan's church

Reculver, Kent, 8th cen. additions enclose nave and W end

Ripon, Yks. WR

Sherborne, Dors., 11th cen.

Stow, Lincs.

Wareham/Lady St. Mary, Dors.

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp.: aisles opening to 3 lateral

porticus perpendicular to nave on NW and probably

SW. c. 910-30

Wing, Bucks.

(York/Cathedral: conjectural)

(York/Alma Sophia: conjectural)

TOTAL: 19

All sites listed are major ones in the Anglo-Saxon church and often monasteries, and so it comes as no surprise that arrangements of porticus are more elaborate and more numerous. If, however, we can say that proliferation of added space directly relates to importance or to some aspect of devotion (such as relics), then the number of porticus in smaller churches could be more significant than thought.

TRANSEPTS AND PORTICUS OFF CROSSING

Again, numbers in parentheses for Deerhurst refer to chronology in appendix.

Bakewell, Derbys.

Bedford/St. Mary, Beds. (evidence for S only off crossing)

Breamore, Hamps.

Britford, Wilts.

Dover, Kent

Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs.:

(2) -central N & S porticus,

 formerly westernmost, now access from crossing

 -new westernmost N & S porticus, access from crossing

(East Bridgford, Notts.) no clear evidence for any chambers

Glastonbury/Peter and Paul, Som.:

Taylor's A, B, now off crossing/chancel

Gloucester/St. Oswald's, Gloucs., II on

Great Paxton, Hunts.

Hadstock, Ess.

Hexham, Northumb.

Ickleton, Cambs.

Milborne Port, Som. (only S survives)

Newton-by-Castleacre, Norf. (N much less likely)

North Elmham, Norf. (Heywood's iii: continuous transepts)

North Leigh, Oxfs. (N)

Norton, Dur.

Norwich/St. John de Sepulchre, Norf.

Peterborough, Northants.

Repton, Derbys.

Romsey, Hamps.

(Sherborne, Dors. [pre-11th cen.])

Sherborne, Dors. (11th cen.):

E and W transepts, with claustral ranges extending to N
(Shrewsbury/Old St. Chad's, Shrops.) evidence on N only

Stanton Lacy, Shrops.

Stoughton, Suss.

Stow, Lincs.

Wheathamstead, Herts.

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp., c. 648-980

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp., c. 993-4:

additional NE and ?SE apsidal transepts

Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp., off E end; crossing?

Wooten Waven, Warks.

Worth, Suss.

TOTAL: 33

By far the largest group of additional side chambers opened from the crossing. The distinction between lateral porticus and transepts often seems unclear, though when exceptionally large arches or openings exist, we tend to use the term transept. Certainly the CBA glossary definition implies that whatever makes a cruciform church cruciform is a transept. The confusion between lateral porticus and transepts seems a telling one, and I would suggest that transepts are a development of lateral porticus. It is not simply a question of the cross as symbol influencing a church's space. Additional space allowing more people near the altar seems to have been a factor, possibly because of larger opposing choirs, larger monastic communities, a growing sensitivity to separation of clergy and laity, or simply an increase in the regularly practicing Christian population, who needed more room to receive the Eucharist. Whatever the reason, the development of transepts which eventually replaced lateral porticus did occur. The often-noted Anglo-Saxon crossing which is wider than the four arms opening from it ("salient crossing") may be a clue to the development. The influence of lateral porticus

kept the transepts smaller than the width of the central crossing, and the crossing remained larger because of the need for space before the chancel and altar as well as for emphasis on the more important area instead of on subordinate space.

II. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The use of porticus as chapels and/or places of burial constitutes perhaps the best known reason for the Anglo-Saxon construction of porticus, and generally, we assign such uses to porticus which open off the nave of a church, just as we usually term porticus opening off the chancel area vestries or sacristies. But while evidence for other uses is not great, citations exist in Eastern, Continental and Anglo-Saxon sources for the use of such rooms as places of meditation and possibly for the reading of sacred texts and commentaries; the possible (but, I think, improbable) use of extra chambers as a priest's living quarters or, somewhat more likely, as places for visitors or pilgrims to stay; the use of side chambers as places of "imprisonment" or confinement, as in the case of sanctuary; and finally, for the storage of the bread and wine, vestments and other objects connected with ritual.

A. Burial and Chapels

The early church in the East seems initially to have buried only the holiest men within their churches or "porches," with

even important secular rulers buried outside the church. St. Chrysostom states that at Constantinople, "it was thought honour enough by those that wore the diadem, to lie buried, not with the apostles, but before their porches, and kings themselves were the fishermen's door-keepers" (Bingham 1856, 274, citing Demonstr. quod Christus sit Deus, t. 5). A bit later in the West, the council of Nantes in 658 (c. 6) specifically prohibits burial within a church, but allows it in the atrium, porticus or exedrae: "In ecclesia nullatenus sepeliantur, sed in atrio, aut porticu, aut in exedris ecclesiae" (Ibid., 290).

Clearly, from this statement the porticus was not considered part of the church proper. Some fifty years before this, in England, Augustine's body was buried south of the altar in St. Gregory's porticus on the north of the church of Peter and Paul, after an interim period of burial outside the church while it was completed and consecrated. That the porticus contained an altar does not seem to have precluded burial. The next five bishops of Canterbury were also buried in the north porticus (Hope 1914-15, 392-9), but when it was unable to take more, Berthwald (+731) and Theodore (+690) were, according to Taylor and others, probably buried just outside the south wall of the porticus, within the nave of the church (Taylor and Taylor 1980, 139). (The south porticus had contained the kings of Kent, so that a distinction was made between secular and clerical rank.) By the late seventh century, then, at least the south of England probably allowed restricted burial within the main body of a church, since we can reasonably consider Canterbury as likely to discourage any

questionable practice.

In the north, early records give a slightly different impression, with Biscop (+690) buried in what has been called an "east porticus" of Monkwearmouth, a description which has puzzled scholars and prompted suggestions of burial within an apse or chamber, under an apse, or in an ambulatory or chamber behind the apse. The crux lies in the translation of the text, not in the original terms used, as further burials make clear. Eosterwine (+694) was also reburied in the eastern part of the church after burial in the west porch (on the use of the west porch as a chapel see chapter 2) as was Sigfrid (+697), who was, however, originally buried in the south section of the open burial ground. Bede's Historia Abbatum confirms burials in an apse, if one existed, in a square-ended eastern chamber, or at least to the east of the altar, for

sepultus in aecclesia beati apostoli Petri...ab huius reliquiis et altari post mortem nec corpore longius abesset. ...sustulit ossa Eosterwini abbatis, quae in porticu ingressus ecclesiae beati apostoli Petri erant posita, necnon et ossa Sigfridi abbatis ac magistri quondam sui, quae foris sacrarium ad meridiem fuerant condita, et utraque in una theca sed medio periete diuisa recludens, intus in eadem aecclesia iuxta corpus beati patris Benedicti composuit (Bede 1975, 378, 385).

An anonymous author confirms this:

Sepultus est autem Benedictus in porticu beati Petri, ad orientem altaris, ubi postmodum etiam reuerentissimorum abbatum Easterwini et Sigfrid sunt ossa translata (Ibid., 394).

While Bede's terms are more precise to us, both authors appear to

speak of the same place, making the porticus and altar of the blessed Peter part of the church, not separate, as we consider porticus, and therefore probably the main altar of the church, given its dedication and Benedict's devotion to Peter. The eastern porticus is therefore most probably the chancel, behind an altar set a distance from the east wall (for similar examples, see Taylor 1973b). The lack of precision in terminology supports the earlier suggestion that Anglo-Saxon architectural terms vary according to author and/or period.

The custom of burying important clergy and royalty within churches apparently continued throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. In 735, Bede was buried in the north porticus of Jarrow church, and despite Danish raids, a memorial (described by Symeon) apparently survived over the grave and was still there in the eleventh century, until a monk of Durham stole the bones (Symeon 1882, 1, 42). The custom of burial in churches was not observed consistently, though; for example, Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne for fifty years, was buried in the churchyard at Sherborne (ASC, E, for 867 [866]). Aethelflaed, however, the Mercian queen who died in 918, was buried at Gloucester in the east chapel of St. Peter's church (ASC, C, 918), and Sideman, Bishop of Devonshire until 977, was buried on the north side, in St. Paul's chapel, at St. Mary's in Abingdon (though he wished to be buried at Crediton) (ASC, B and C, 977). In 1010, the martyred archbishop AElfheah (Alphege) was buried "in St. Paul's church," though in an unspecified place (ASC, E, 1010).

The evidence for porticus as chapels to some extent coincides

with that for their use for burial, as shown in the above citations. Such chapels need not exist merely as mortuary chapels, however; many were for particular veneration of relics contained in them. From 709 on, Acca built many altars for the relics he obtained, and Bede states that the altars were placed "distinctis porticibus...intra muros eiusdem ecclesiae" (Bede HE V.20). Wulfstan, describing Aethelwold's additions to Winchester's Old Minster, says that he added many chapels with sacred altars, porticus and diverse arches, so that a stranger would be confused coming upon them. Gocelin states that at Canterbury, besides the altar to Gregory in the north porticus, a further altar existed at Augustine's head, that is, at the west end of his tomb. Presumably the altar is Anglo-Saxon, though it could date from any time between burial and Augustine's removal in 1091. In addition, an unknown person had been buried under Gregory's altar; when the tomb was opened, such a sweet scent pervaded the air that those present were convinced of the presence of a saint (due to the "odor of sanctity"), and not knowing his identity, called him Deonotus (Hope 1914-15, 392).

As relics became more popular and prestigious, and public veneration increased as well, altars for relics were likely to proliferate, though the Council of Chelsea (Celchyth), c. A.D. 816, contained instructions for the consecration of a church should relics be scarce ("Et si alii reliquias intimare non potest," Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 3:580, Cap. II). The relics themselves were frequently contained in portable reliquaries (e.g. Oswald's hand and arm in a silver casket, Bede HE III.6;

Cuthbert's hair in a casket, HE IV.32) for carrying in procession. Reliquaries also allowed easy removal to a place of safety at night or in times of danger, if a porticus could not be locked. While particular saints of an area or great saints such as the apostles were venerated individually, groups of relics could also be brought together, as when Germanus visited St. Alban's tomb (HE I.18) and had it opened so that he might deposit

omnium apostolorum diuersorumque martyrum...reliquias...
arbitrans oportunum ut membra sanctorum ex diuersis
regionibus collecta, quos pares meritis receperat caelum,
sepulchri quoque unius teneret hospitium.

relics of all the Apostles and various martyrs;...He thought it fitting that the limbs of saints which had been gathered from near and far should find lodging in the same tomb, seeing that they had all entered heaven equal in merits (Bede 1969, 58-60).

Thus pilgrims could venerate and gain virtue from several saints in one place, and that place would have to provide for such public veneration and prevent theft.

Relics were also part of the ritual for dedication of an altar, whether in a porticus or not, and may have been so as far back as the fifth century. (The Invention of the Protomartyr Stephen's relics occurred in 415). Whether such relics were open to view or for touching when placed in altars in Anglo-Saxon churches is uncertain, though various altar types existed which allowed this: a hollow rectangular altar or chest with a window-like confessio in its base, or in the ninth century and later, a small cavity in the mensa enclosed with stone (tabula or sigillum) (Frere 1940, 147-9). Frere cites the phrase from the synod of Chalchythe cited above as lamenting the scarcity of relics. The

synod directed that consecrated Hosts be included when dedicating altars with relics, or, if no relics were available, replacing relics with Hosts. The Lanalet Pontifical confirms that such rituals existed in the second quarter of the eleventh century (the manuscript's date, c. 1031 to 1046) and quite possibly earlier (abbreviations not expanded):

trans
Ipsa expleta suscipiat ipsas reliquias a presbytero. et portet eas cū letania sup altare nouū. extenso uelo inter eas et populū recondat pontifex propria manu ipsas reliquias in confessione altaris et antequam recludantur ponat crisma intus in confessione per angulos IIII. in modum crucis ita dicendo. In nomine patris & filii & Sp̄s Sc̄i. pax tibi. & cum spu tuo. Deinde ponit tres portiones corporis d'ni intus in confessione altaris et tres de incenso. et recluduntur intus reliquie canentes...Subponat̄ etiam tabula sacra sup quā infundatur oleū sacratū et p̄ea p. iiiii or angulos altaris ex ipso Crux figuret̄ (Gage 1834, 272).

with evidence for
Churches with evidence for burials and/or chapels in porticus

The specific evidence for a site is given after each, and varies in quality. Excavation evidence for burial or for an altar is present at times; at others, access from the nave suggests public use and therefore implies the possible presence of relics and/or an altar. Other evidence consists of unusual elaboration of an entrance, evidence for relics, complexity of the site (implying a wide range of devotions), squints which imply some need to keep track of occurrences outside the chamber, or an apsidal form.

Bakewell, Derbys. N? (sarcophagi)

Bishopstone, Suss. S (displaced doorway)

- Bitton, Gloucs. S (squint), N (access from nave)
- Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts. N, S? (description, stripwork on doorway,
possible lower chamber on S)
- Bradwell-on-Sea, Ess. S (access from nave)
- Britford, Wilts. N (vinescroll ornament)
- Brixworth, Northants. (complexity of site, possibly site of
Clofesho, crypt and relics)
- ?Bywell/St. Peter, Northumb. S? (analogous to Bradwell, monastic)
- Canterbury/Christ Church Cathedral, Kent (relics, complexity of
site)
- Canterbury/St. Pancras, Kent N and S (access from nave, ?altar
on S)
- Canterbury/Peter and Paul, Kent N (clerical burials), S (royal
burials)
- Cirencester, Som. N, S (very long porticus, complex site with
crypt)
- Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs. (complexity of site, monastic)
- Derby, Derbys. N? (3 burials), S (access from nave)
- Glastonbury, Som. (2 and 3) (complexity of monastic site,
relics)
- Gloucester, Gloucs. (crypt on site, porticus become transepts)
- Hadstock, Ess. III S (shallow grave in porticus: sarcophagus?)
- Hexham, Northumb. (description, relics)
- ?Kingsdown, Kent (apsidal form of S porticus)
- Ledsham, Yks. (possible chapel containing cross?)
- Lyminge, Kent N, then S (description: Dunstan's church)
- Monkwearmouth, T and W S (location near other graves,

description)

Peterborough, Northants. S (altar foundations)

Reculver, Kent (monastic, complexity of site, relics)

Repton, Derbys. (monastic, complexity of site, relics)

Ripon, Yks. (description, relics)

Sherborne, Dors. N (floor and plaster platform as for
sarcophagus)

Stow, Lincs. S (ornament, evidence for latch on window)

Tredington, Warks. N, S (gallery, evidence for chapels over
entrances)

Wareham/Lady St. Mary, Dors. N, S (chapels over entrances)

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamps.

c. 648-980 N (well, for liturgical use)

c. 910-30 N, S? (cult of Swithun, relic collections)

c. 993-4 N, S (apsidal form of E transepts)

Wing, Bucks. N (doorway in E aisle wall offset to S)

York/Cathedral and Alma Sophia, Yks. (descriptions, relics)

B. Separation of the Sexes

Having established the well-documented use of porticus as burial place and chapel, we can proceed to the less certain areas. In the early Greek churches, internal space was divided into sections specific to one sex or the other, with hierarchies within each. Wooden rails or walls (cancelli, hence "chancel") separated men and women, with the north or right side for the

women, the south or left side for men (Bingham 1856, 294). The people apparently entered by separate doors according to sex, as in the Eastern church, doorkeepers stood at the men's gate and deaconesses at the women's (Constitutions of the Apostles, II.57, VIII.20, 28). Deaconesses were ordained possibly as late as the eighth century in the west also, and even in the tenth, the title "diaconissa" was one taken by abbesses on the continent. (One even used the title "metropolitana," Wemple 1985, 173.)

Given that the position of deaconess existed in the west, it is possible that physical separation of the sexes also took place, and that in turn might affect access to side chambers, at least during services. We have no documentary evidence of ordained deaconesses in Britain; recent work on Frankish society, however, shows that deaconesses were ordained with the same ritual as that for deacons (Wemple 1985, 272, n. 68) from early times, and that it was not until the sixth and seventh centuries that continental councils began to limit the power of these women. As a deaconess, a woman belonged to the only clerical office open to her sex, and her role was to give instruction to female catechumens and to assist in the baptism of women. The Council of Orange (A.D. 441) stated that no more deaconesses be ordained, from which Wemple says "we may conclude...that, sometime between 394 or 396 and 441, the ordination of deaconesses had become common practice in the churches of Gaul" (Wemple 1985, 138). She records that in 511, two Breton priests, Lovocatus and Catiernus, were noted as celebrating mass with conhospitae, female co-celebrants, who may perhaps have been their wives. Married clergy were not yet

prohibited from orders and wives of priests were often ordained as deaconesses, participating in pastoral affairs. Wemple notes further that in the seventh century, despite increasing attempts to limit the activity of deaconesses, nuns "assisted priests in the distribution of the sacraments and looked after the altar....In double monasteries, abbesses...heard confessions and gave benediction to both female and male members of the community" (Ibid., 141).

Whether such practices survived in early times in England is uncertain, though it is quite possible that double monasteries may have had abbesses with similar liturgical roles and that the Kentish links to Frankish royalty brought such influences also. We know from the life of Guthlac that he received the tonsure from Abbess AElfthryth at Repton. If we try to document the possible role of women, however, and their inclusion or exclusion from parts of the church in the archaeological floor levels, the type of evidence which could indicate division of the church perishes easily, and may even leave no traces. The addition of a division within the nave or the introduction of an altar rail where previously none existed could be added without marking a floor surface. Indeed, if tradition were strong enough, no physical division would be necessary to keep the sexes separate. On the Continent, Boniface reasserted episcopal authority, and his views were surely not out of place among his fellow Anglo-Saxons: because of renewed emphasis on ritual purity and alleged female moral weakness, continental councils insisted on celibacy and the exclusion of women from ecclesiastical authority or active

participation in sacred rites. Charlemagne ruled in 789 that abbesses could not bless male members or veil nuns, nor could even nuns approach the altar. Linens needing washing were removed by clerics and handed over to women at the altar rails. At these same rails, offerings of women were given to priests (Wemple 1985, 143). Though by the tenth century, clerical concubinage was common again, and as mentioned before, the term diaconissa came into use once more, no widespread restoration of liturgical roles accompanied the title.

The archaeological results of these changing roles would be measured in limitations on sacred space around the altar, and the possible internal divisions within the nave to separate the sexes. As shown, comparative evidence suggests that the separation of the sexes in Britain is problematic. Churches with continuous porticus along the sides of the nave might have had to restrict access to women or to men, depending on the situation of a given porticus, though if a porticus were not considered part of a church, this need not be a problem. However, if a porticus contained an altar, women would not have been allowed near. In practice, such separation seems cumbersome and would not allow easy procession by pilgrims to various relics. We might also expect comment on restricted access if it existed, or perhaps mention of parallel shrines, one for each section.

Returning to the mention of doorkeepers above, however, doorkeepers feature in AElfric's Pastoral Letter (1) for Wulfsige III, Bishop of Sherborne (993-c.995):

trans?
 (30) Hostiarius is thaere cyrcan durewerd. Se sceal mid bellan bicnigan tha tida 7 tha cyrcan unlucan geleaffullum mannum 7 tha ungeleaffullan belucan withutan.

(30) Ostiarius is the doorkeeper of the church. It is his duty to indicate the hours with a bell and to unlock the church for believing men and to lock the unbelievers outside (Whitelock et al. 1981, 202).

His duties appear more involved with making sure "unbelievers" (non-Christians, penitents and catechumens?) are not present when they should be absent than with separating the congregation as it enters or once it is inside. The only further information occurs in the later so-called Canons of Edgar, dated 1005 to 1008. "(44) 7 riht is thaet aenig wifman neah weofode ne cume tha hwile the man maessige. "(44) And it is right that no woman come near the altar while mass is being celebrated" (Ibid., 328-9), echoing canons of several earlier continental councils. While valid as showing a distinction between the rights of men and women in a church, it gives very little definite information. Is it, for example, meant to end a former practice of female subdeacons/deaconesses, or to suggest that women were kept away from the front or altar area of the church? Does it mean that women could nevertheless approach the altar at other times, to clean cloths and vessels or to place offerings there?

The closest parallel in the British Isles for separation of the sexes concerns the Irish wooden church of Kildare, rebuilt in the second quarter of the seventh century and fortuitously well-described by Cogitosus in his life of St. Brigit:

In which one wall, decorated and painted with images and hung with curtains, stretches from wall to wall across the

not in following

width of the church in the eastern part. The which has at each end a door. And through the one door on the right side is the entry to the sanctuary of the altar, where the High Priest (the metropolitan of Leinster), with his monastic choir and those appointed to administer the holy mysteries, offers the holy sacrifices of the Lord. And through the other door, on the left side of the aforesaid transverse wall the Abbess enters, with her maidens and the faithful widows, so that they may enjoy the feast of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. And another wall, dividing the floor of the church (domus) into two equal parts, stretches from the west wall to the transverse wall. And this church (ecclesia) has many windows and a decorated doorway on the right side through which the priests and the faithful peoples of the male sex enter the church (ecclesia) and a second doorway on the left side, through which the virgins and the congregation of faithful women are accustomed to enter. And thus, in one large church (basilica) a numerous people, separated into different places by walls, according to order and ranks and sex in different orders, but with one spirit prays to the Almighty Ruler... (Radford 1977, 5).

The statement which directly precedes the above passage is also interesting in this context, describing the church (ecclesia) as "having within three spacious churches (oratoria) separated by walls of planking under the single roof of the greater house (domus)." In England these oratoria might well have been called porticus in this period, but whether they were placed to the north, south and east, on a continuous line, or parallel to one another, the text does not say, just as it does not indicate whether such places were restricted to one or the other sex, according to their position. If the English church enforced any such restrictions (admittedly doubtful from present evidence), presumably the porticus on a given side would be for the use of the sex allowed on that side. Since in the Anglo-Saxon context, burials on the north seemingly were favored at first (Biddle 1986, 11), that would have restricted access for one sex and so is

unlikely.

Potterne, Wilts. may offer unique evidence for separation of groups in the nave. Four beam slots in the nave seem unlikely to support columns, as the nave is c. fifteen feet square (no larger than many towers) and the slots are deployed sideways (north to south) in the nave. In addition, a similar slot precedes the entrance to the south chapel ("chapel" due to the recess for a pedestal altar paralleled in Potterne's chancel). Such slots then suggest railings (cancelli) or other barriers.

C. Porticus for Meditation and as Libraries

Another possible but not well-documented use of sidechambers is as a place of meditation and/or for the reading of sacred texts. Paulinus, bishop of Nola (353-431), calls them cubicula, little chambers, and we know that his writings influenced Alcuin. (The original cubiculum was a chamber opening off the corridors of the Roman catacombs, for the burial of affluent individuals or families [Krautheimer 1981, 10] and in Anglo-Saxon times the term described small buildings on monastic sites.) At times, in the Greek or Eastern church, they were seen as part of the catechumenia, and used for secular or profane purposes, for the Council of Trullo (can. 97) and the emperor Leo (Novel. 73) both decreed that persons using such rooms as lodgings and living there with wives were to be expelled from the catechumenia.

In the St. Gall plan, to the north of the apse, the upper chamber of the church is set aside specifically as a library and

the lower as a scriptorium (Horn and Born 1979, I, 147). While nothing so definite exists for England, we know that Gospel books were kept upon altars and a church certainly seems the place in which to keep sacred (and valuable) texts. No more than hints remain, however; for example, in Bede's account of Acca's gifts to Hexham, he describes Acca's building work, his relic collecting and raising of altars, his provision of sacred vessels, lights and articles necessary for furnishing God's house, and his invitation to Maban to train the clergy at Hexham in the singing taught him by the successors of Gregory's disciples in Kent. In the midst of this description (HE V.20), however, Bede says, "He has also built up a very large and most noble library, assiduously collecting histories of the passions of the martyrs as well as other ecclesiastical books" (Bede 1969, 530-1). Placed as it is in a list of things exclusively related to the physical and liturgical richness of the church, we may reasonably suppose that such books were also for use within that church, for study, display and copying, as well as for direct use. A more specific reference comes from Paulinus in a letter (no. 32) to Severus, where he describes the left-hand secretaria (a room opening from the bema). This verse was inscribed in the chamber: "If a person decides to meditate upon the Law, he will be able to sit here and concentrate upon the holy books" (Paulinus 1967, 149). Whether these traditional uses of side chambers continued across the miles and centuries remains unclear.

No mention of such a use in Anglo-Saxon sources survives, though by c. 993-995, when AElfric wrote a pastoral letter for

Wulfsige III, Bishop of Sherborne, a priest was to have, before ordination, holy books:

[52] He sceal habban eac tha waepna to tham gastlicum weorce, aer than thè he beo gehadod, thaet synd tha halgan bec: salter 7 pistolboc, godspellboc 7 maesseboc, sangbec 7 handboc, gerim 7 passionalem penitentialem 7 raedingboc.

[53] Thas bec sceal maessepreost nede habban, 7 he ne maeg butan beon, gif he his had on riht healdsn wyle 7 tham folce aefter rihte wisigan, the him to locath. [54] 7 beo he aet tham waer thaet hi beon wel gerihte.

[52] He shall have also the weapons for that spiritual work, before he is ordained, namely, the holy books: a psalter and a book with the epistles, an evangeliary and a missal, songbooks and a manual, a computus and a passional, a penitential and a readingbook. [53] These books the priest must needs have, and he cannot be without them, if he wishes to observe his order rightly and to direct correctly the people who belong to him. [54] And he is to be careful that they are well corrected (Whitelock et al. 1981, 206-7).

The phrase "if he wishes to observe his order rightly" suggests the priest's personal obligation of prayer and meditation connected with his commitment. While he might very well have observed these obligations in private, whether he did so in an empty church or in a room where he would not be seen or easily disturbed remains unprovable.

Only two churches provide some evidence of the uses outlined. Breamore's inscription, HER SWUTELATH SEO GECWYDRAEDNES THE, referring as it may to Titus 1:3 ("Here is manifested the Covenant to thee"), could give a clue to the use of its south porticus, for this letter provides information on pastoral charge and on teaching the Christian life. The chamber could then have provided for meditation as well as for instruction of catechumens. It is very tempting to see here an imitation of inscriptions and uses

described by Paulinus of Nola above. Jarrow too may give some slight evidence of such uses on the south, for its side porticus seem to open to the exterior and not the interior. The south side would provide the most light all year round, and Jarrow's scriptorium and library were substantial in Bede's day. Finds of styli and/or parchment pricklers did occur in this general area.

D. Porticus as Lodgings

Briefly mentioned above were the decrees of the Council of Trullo and of emperor Leo against using side chambers as lodgings, especially as lodgings for husband and wife. Chambers called pastophorium, "a name taken from the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, Ezek. xl. 17, where it is used for the chambers in the outward court of the temple" (Bingham 1856, 312), were said by the author of the Constitutions of the Apostles to mean buildings on each side of the church toward the east end. He describes it as where deacons took the unconsumed Eucharist. Bingham takes it to be a general term encompassing the sense of diaconicum and treasury as well as being a place identified as the living quarters of the ministers otherwise called paramonarii, mansionarii and martyrii, keepers of the church. St. Jerome, commenting on Ezechiel (1964, 569), identifies pastophoria with cubicula, gazophylacium and exedra in a long passage, and adds that they were chambers of the treasury and habitations for the priests and Levites around the court of the temple, though he elsewhere (Commentariorum in Esaiam)

describes it as also the place where the ruler of the temple dwelt. While Jerome's interpretation seems to indicate separate buildings around the temple or church, the author of the Constitutions describes it in terms which make it sound more like a porticus, as it apparently communicates with the church (from which the unused Eucharist is brought) but is seen as separate from the church in a way that recalls the distinction of burial within a porticus as outside the church. Paulinus, in the same letter quoted earlier, mentions that the chamber on the other side of the apse from the room for meditation was "the place where the sacred food is stored; from here is brought forth the nourishing repast of the holy service" (1967, 149). Again, Paulinus' phrases were verses, inscribed in the chambers mentioned.

In general, people were forbidden to live, eat or drink in the church, except for overnight vigils, commonly kept in churches or their cemeteries near martyria or tombs. Even these vigils were not without limitations in the early Eastern church, however, as the Council of Eliberis (c. 35) did not allow women to keep private vigils for fear of secret sins: "Placuit prohiberi, ne foeminae in coemeterio pervigilent, eo quod saepe sub obtentu religionis scelera latenter committant" (Bingham 1856, 330). Feasts of charity, called agapae, were also discouraged. The Council of Laodicea (A.D. 320) forbids eating, or the preparation of tables for such a purpose, within the church, and only allows clergy to eat in church or cemetery when on a journey and unable to find any other place:

Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur. Populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis, quantum fieri potest, prohibeantur (Mansi 1759-1927, vol. III, col. 885).

Apparently the custom was discouraged because of a popular notion of celebrating a sacrificial meal with the dead, too close to pre-Christian practices for the early church.

In the early Anglo-Saxon church, we know that married clergy were not uncommon but that marriage for clergy was not encouraged. By the later Anglo-Saxon period, again in Wulfsgige's pastoral letter (c.993-5), the synod of Nicaea is cited as the source of a pronouncement that

[13] ...nather ne biscop ne maessepreost, ne diacon, ne nan riht canonicus, naebbe on his huse naenne wifman, buton hit sy his modor oththe his swustur, fathu oththe modrige, 7 se the elles do tholige his hades.

[13]...neither bishop nor mass-priest, nor deacon, nor any regular canon, is to have in his house any woman, unless it be his mother or his sister, his father's sister or his mother's sister, and he who does otherwise is to forfeit his orders (Whitelock et al. 1981, 198).

Further, according to The Northumbrian Priests' Law (c.1008 to 1023), "[35] Gif preost cwenan forlaete 7 othre nime, anathema sit!" "If a priest leaves a woman and takes another, anathema sit!" (Whitelock et al. 1981, 459).

That the house of a priest was separate from the church seems the case in England for the most part, though Cuthbert was supposed to have had a building which combined oratory and domestic quarters on Farne. St. Guthlac definitely did not live in his church, but had a separate house built over a cistern

(waeter-seath) on the side of an ancient burial mound, as recounted in chapter 28 of his Life:

Erat itaque in praedicta insula tumulus agrestibus glaebis coacervatus, quem olim avari solitudinis frequentatores lucri ergo illic acquirendi defodientes scindebant, in cuius latere velut cisterna inesse videbatur; in qua vir beatae memoriae Guthlac desuper inposito tugurio habitare coepit.

Now there was in the said island a mound built of clods of earth which greedy comers to the waste had dug open, in the hope of finding treasure there; in the side of this there seemed to be a sort of cistern, and in this Guthlac the man of blessed memory began to dwell, after building a hut over it (Felix 1985, 92-5).

From the account given, there was more than one house once his renown spread, for lodging followers and guests (as in the case of the holy man who leaves his house to pray in an oratory and who loses a document (cartulam) [Ibid., ch. 37, 116-9]; the occasion when a visitor's glove is dropped on a house's roof, [ch. 40, 124-7]; and when King Athelbald has his vision in the house where he had often stayed as a guest [ch. 52, 164-5]). Similarly, in Bede, when John of Beverly retires for Lenten prayer and seclusion with a few followers, he goes to an isolated house (about a mile and a half from Hexham church) which had its own church dedicated to Michael the Archangel (Bede HE V.2). The brief mention does not tell us if house and church are physically connected, but the evidence if accepted as a straightforward statement describes two buildings with distinctly separate uses. Excavation evidence for the late Saxon period at Barton-upon-Humber may give confirmation of separate living quarters for priests. The Rodwells found "a substantial foundation of mortared

rubble" measuring twelve feet across. They assumed the base was square, excavating only the western end and terming it the base for a tower or cross shaft." However, given the nearby siting of three wells near the building (one in fact possible timber-lined and dug against the foundation's north side), and of an oven apparently to bake bread, a residence is just as likely if not more so, especially if the base is not square (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982, 300 and fig. 6, 293).

As a possible parallel, housing for priests in Wales also seems to have been separate. In the laws of Hywel Dda, A.D. 928, concerning the priest of the household, "The lodging of the priest and the clerks, is to be in the house of the chaplain of the trev; and the queen's priest is to lodge with them." A trev is "a vill, a territorial division containing four gavaels or 256 erws" (Haddan, and Stubbs 1869, 226-7). Whether the law set a precedent for lesser priests, we do not know. No clear evidence exists then for living quarters in a church during our period, but despite this lack of evidence, Jackson and Fletcher state that Bradford-on-Avon, with its two-storied southern adjunct, "might have been a sacristy, chapel, or living-room for a priest" (1956, 5), though without citing any evidence for the latter use in the Anglo-Saxon period. (We should also note that the south porch is destroyed, and as far back as Irvine, exhaustive study produced no evidence for upper floors.)

Biddle suggested that Aethelwold's rebuilding of the atrium at Winchester, and his addition of many porticus around the court, was directly linked to the need for accommodation for pilgrims and

for a proper setting for St Swithun's cult (1968, 277), though whether he meant accommodation for processions only or as regular lodgings is not clear. I think it very possible that at Winchester, pilgrims could indeed lodge themselves here, as atria were generally considered as forecourts, separating the sacred and profane and encompassing a bit of both. (We know that monasteries had areas for guests.)

Churches with possible need or evidence for lodgings number only three: Cirencester, because of its unusually long and large side porticus and the implied pilgrims to its crypt; Jarrow, as its south chambers open to the exterior and if they did not serve as library and scriptorium (see above) might serve as analogous to St. Gall usages (see appendix); and Winchester, as described in the paragraph above, though such lodging may have been to the west of the church in the forecourt. Alternatively, the unusual perpendicular porticus at the west end might serve, especially as it could be such a form was intended to distance the chambers from the church itself.

E. Porticus and Sanctuary

Though the custom of sanctuary existed from early times, and is well documented in Anglo-Saxon Times, the place of confinement remains not as well-established. Pope Gregory II, in his second letter to Emperor Leo Isaurus, decided that the bishops should confine anyone who committed an offense using the secretaria, diaconia, or catechumena areas, which we have seen can be

identified with English porticus. Gregory wrote:

trans?

Pontifices ubi quis peccarit, eum tanquam in carcerem, in secretaria, sacrotumque vasorum aeraria conjiciunt, in ecclesiae diaconia et in catechumena ablegant (Bingham 1856, 312, n. 59).

Such places were then called decanica, the prisons of the church. We have no surviving records of bishops in England handing down similar decisions, but sanctuary provides an analogous situation. Less security would be necessary, of course, as it was in the person's own interests to remain in the church without benefit of food; where he might stay if the people needed to use the church has not previously been considered. Alfred's laws (c. 885-899) may give some indication, however:

(5) VI. Eac we settath aghwelcere cirican, the biscep gehalgode, this frith: gif hie fahmon geierne oththe geaerne, thaet hine seofan nihtum nan mon ut ne teo; gif hit thonne hwa do, thonne sie he scyldig cyninges mundbyrde 7 thaere cirican frithes, mare, gif he thaer mare of gefo -- gif he for hungre libban maege, buton he self ut feohte. (5.1) Gif hiwan hiora cirican maran thearfe haebban, healde hine mon on othrum aerne, 7 thaet naebbe thon ma dura thonne sio cirice.

(5) VI. Also we determine this sanctuary for every church which a bishop has consecrated: if a man exposed to a vendetta reaches it running or riding, no one is to drag him out for seven days if he can live in spite of hunger, unless he fights his way out. If however anyone does so, he is liable to (pay for breach of) the king's protection and of the church's sanctuary, more, if he seizes more men from there. (5.1) If the community have more need of their church, he is to be kept in another building, and it is to have no more doors than the church (Whitelock et al. 1981, 24-5).

Presumably, one man in church would scarcely impede the normal use

of that church, though conceivably, if he had committed a serious crime such as murder, he could not witness the celebration of mass because he would be excommunicate, or at best, a penitent. If such a man were kept in one of the smaller chambers of the church, such as a porticus (or a room in a western tower), he would for the most part be isolated and would not interfere with the normal use of the church. The unusual stipulation that any additional place of confinement should have no more doors than the church would be for security, presumably, implying that access to a church or a small side chamber was limited, as is indeed generally the case as we know it.

F. Porticus: Storage and Security

Perhaps the most generally accepted use of a porticus opening off the chancel concerns the storage of various items connected with the liturgy, including vestments, altar vessels, sacred books, and the reserved or unconsumed portion of the Eucharist. In the early Greek church, the conchas or rooms opening from the bema were used for storage, as well as for a vestry where the priest and his attendants robed for celebrating mass. It also received the offerings of bread and wine from the people to be used for consecration, and such a room often had a door opening to the nave or an aisle. Various terms used in the Greek and Roman churches for this room include prothesis, paratrapexis, oblationarium, paratorium, corban, sacrarium and secretarium. As noted before, Paulinus designated the right hand (north)

secretarium as the chamber where holy food is placed, and from which the provision of the altar is taken. The left-hand (south) secretarium could serve as a sort of vestry, and was also sometimes a skeuophylakion, storing the sacred vessels. It was also the place where priests retired to pray after mass, and the liturgies of St. James, St. Mark and St. Chrysostom contain prayers said specifically in this place. Texts also refer to it as the diaconicum because the deacons usually took care of the room and its contents.

We know that deacons did exist in the English church, for during Wulfsize III's time, his pastoral letter describes the seven orders of the church (c. 993-5):

(35) Subdiaconus is sothlice underdiacon, se the tha fatu byrth forth to tham diacone 7 mid eadmodnysse thenath under tham diacone aet tham halgan weofode mid tham huselfatum. (36) Diaconus is then, the thenath tham maessepreoste 7 tha offrunga sett upon thaet weofod 7 godspell eac raet aet Godes thenungum. (37) Se mot fulligan cild 7 thaet folc husligan. (38) Tha sceolon on hwytum album tham Haelende theowigan 7 thaet heofenlice lif healdan mid claennysse 7 eall dugende beon, swa swa hit gedafenath tham hade. (39) Sacerd, the bith wunigende butan diacone, se hafath thone naman 7 naefth tha thenunga.

(35) Subdiaconus is truly underdeacon, he who bears forth the vessels to the deacon and serves with humility under the deacon at the holy altar with the eucharistic vessels. (36) Diaconus is a servant, who serves the mass-priest and sets the offerings upon the altar and also reads the Gospel at God's services. (37) He may baptize children and give the eucharist to the people. (38) They shall serve the Saviour in white albs and lead the spiritual life with chastity and be entirely virtuous, just as befits that order. (39) A priest, who remains without a deacon, has the name but has not the services (Whitelock et al., 203-4).

In England, the storage of vessels and the storage of the

consecrated Hosts were treated separately, and I will consider them as separate topics here. For reasons of reverence, consecrated bread and wine were not to be kept in porous containers, perishable containers, or those which could not be leaned properly, possibly the reason behind the decree (c. 10) of the synod of Celchyth (Chelsea) in 787 that forbids the use of horn cups for celebrating mass, though an objection to pre-Christian Germanic ritual may have been part of the reason as well. In several cases, the use of glass chalices is recorded as well (Bingham 1856, 305), though not in England. The so-called "Canons of Edgar," actually written by Wulfstan, give an indication of later rules in Anglo-Saxon times: "[41] 7 riht is thaet aelc calic gegoten beo the man husel on halgige, 7 on treowenum ne halgige man aenig." "And it is right that every chalice in which one consecrates the eucharist be of metal, and that none be consecrated in a wooden one" (Ibid., 327-8). The Northumbrian Priests' Law (c. 1008 to 1023) makes the priest personally liable if the rule is not followed: "[15] Gif preost on treowenan calice husl gehalgige, XII or." "If the priest consecrates the host in a wooden chalice, twelve ores" (Whitelock et al. 1981, 456). In general, metal chalices are the favored vessels, and the archaeological record supports this (though wood and glass would be less likely to survive), as surviving chalices of the Anglo-Saxon period are all metal: the silver Trewhiddle chalice, a pewter chalice from Reading, Hexham's copper-gilt chalice, a lost lead chalice from Hagleton, Gloucs., and the Tassilo chalice, of silver-gilt and probably made on the Continent

by an Anglo-Saxon craftsman.

We know from descriptions of altar vessels that such vessels did exist in England, for example, the gold chalice and silver paten with markings and figures of silver given by Sigbald to the Lindisfarne cell described in De Abbatibus, (Æthelwulf 1967, ll. 449-50, 650-1). Given other notable cases, such as Wilfrid's and Biscop's generosity to their respective churches, we could expect similar gifts in other places, with similar needs of protection and storage. The tenth century records we have list additional wealth in vestments and vessels. In the will of Theodred, Bishop of London, for example, written 942-c.951, his bequests give some idea of what his church would have stored:

...and into sancte Paules kirke mine to beste messehaclen the ic habbe, mid all the thinge the thereto birith, mid calice and on cuppe; and mine beste masseboc and alle mine reliquias the ic best habbe, into Paules Kirke....And ic an Theodred min wite massehakele the ic on Pauie bohte, and al that therto bireth, 7 simbelcalice 7 there messeboc the Gosebricht me biquath. And ic an Odgar there gewele massehakele the ic on Pauie bouhte, 7 that therto birath. And ic an Gundwine ther other gewele massehakele that is ungerenad, 7 that the therto bireth. And ic spraec Acke the rede messehakele 7 al that the therto bireth.

...and to St. Paul's church the two best chasubles [messehaclen] which I have, with all the things which belong to them, together with a chalice [calice] and one cup [cuppe]; and my best mass-book and the best relics that I have, to St. Paul's church....And I grant to Theodred my white chasuble which I bought in Pavia, and all that belongs to it, and a chalice for festivals and the mass-book which Gosebriht bequeathed to me. And I grant to Odgar the yellow chasuble which I bought in Pavia, and what belongs to it. And I grant to Gundwine the other yellow chasuble which is unornamented, and what belongs to it. And I promised (?) to Aki the red chasuble and all that belongs to it (Whitelock et al. 1981, 77 and 80-1).

If one might expect sumptuous accoutrements for a bishop,

what was expected of the priest becomes clear in Wulfsgie III's pastoral letter:

[55] He sceal habban eac maessereaf, thaet he mage arwurthlice Gode sylfum thenigan, swa hit gedafenlic is, [56] thaet his reaf ne beo horig ne huru tosigen; [57] 7 his weofodsceatas beon wel behworfene. [58] Beo his calic eac of claenum antimbre geworht, unforrotigendlic, 7 eallswa se disc; 7 claene corporale, swa swa to Christes thenungum gebyrath. [59] Man ne maeg butan geswynce swylc thing forthbringan, [60] ac tha beoth on ecnysse arwurthe mid Gode the him wel theniath mid wisdome and mid claennysse.

[55] And he must also have mass-vestments, so that he can serve God himself honourably, as is fitting, [56] and his vestments are not to be dirty nor, indeed, worn out; [57] and his altar cloths are to be in good condition. [58] His chalice also is to be made of clean material, imperishable, and also the paten; and (he is to have) a clean corporal, as befits Christ's services. [59] One cannot produce such things without toil, [60] but those will be worthy of honour in eternity with God who serve him well with wisdom and with cleanness" (Ibid., 207-8).

The last sentence, the Anglo-Saxon version of "cleanliness is next to Godliness," presumably staved off any protests that a particular priest or parish might be too poor to afford the list given. The "toil" referred to was probably meant to include convincing the local nobility and people to give generously to provide such accoutrements.

Despite the richness of vestments, vessels and altar cloths as described, the subject of security in early churches remains a neglected one, though Taylor considers it in several individual cases. The sole article specifically on security treats our period only slightly (Oman 1979, 90-1). Considering the provision for punishment of those stealing from a church during the Anglo-Saxon period, however, the subject must have received more active

consideration in the past, especially after the Scandinavian raids. In Alfred's laws (c. 885-899),

[6] VII. Gif hwa on cirican hwaet getheofige, forgyldde thaet angylde 7 thaet wite swa to tham angylde belimpan wille, 7 slea mon tha hond of the he hit mit gedide.

[6] VII. If anyone steals anything in church, he is to pay the simple compensation and the fine normally belonging to that simple compensation, and the hand with which he did it is to be struck off. (Note: Simple compensation is the worth of the object; if the worth is less than 30s., the fine is 60s., but if 30s. or more, the fine is 120s.) (WHitelock et al. 1981, 25-6).

By the eleventh century, punishment was apparently much more cruel. In Waltham, Essex, the church received a miraculous cross which greatly enhanced its reputation. About 1060 (says a chronicler of Henry I's time) four thieves entered the church and stole silver vessels. When they reached London the next day, they took the pieces to Theodoric the goldsmith. Recognizing one of his own pieces, he excused himself to raise money, raised his neighbors instead, and challenged the thieves. Three were hanged, while the fourth claimed benefit of clergy and was burnt on the face with the heated key of the church (Oman 1979, 90-1).

We have little evidence of precautions taken against thieves in the Anglo-Saxon period, though later, iron-bound doors and treasuries were used and guards set. A guard is mentioned in accounts of St. Swithun's relics in a miracle dealing with a fettered woman slave who is made invisible and carried into the locked chamber where the reliquary and altar stand (Wulfstan 1950, 144, ll. 115-22).

Certainly English crypts seem constructed to allow but also

to limit access. The division of relics between crypt and the altar above it would prevent total loss if a theft occurred.

Taylor, in discussing Wing church, says of its crypt:

having in mind the risk of theft, the openings must surely have been protected in some way which yet allowed the recess in the crypt to be seen and revered. The stone slabs in the windows at Jarrow might perhaps provide an analogy for reducing the size of the opening to an area which could conveniently be glazed or could even be left open without risk of entry; alternatively the semicircular windows of the crypts might have been protected by iron bars (Taylor 1979, 50).

The Waltham thieves were described as subfodientes ecclesias, which Oman took to mean undermining churches, and so he postulated that the church mentioned was wooden, and that the thieves dug under the wall to reach the treasure. Wooden buildings would be particularly vulnerable and we know that the church was at least locked, since one thief was burned with its key. Perhaps the introduction of plinths was partly an attempt to make undermining walls impossible.

Though part of an account of a miracle connected with St. Edmund, a further description of attempted robberies gives several methods. In his Life (ll. 198-215), Edmund has been buried in a church honoring him, now full of rich gifts, when the thieves arrive. (The translation is mine.) ✓

Tha comon on sumne sael unge-saelige theofas
 eahta on anre nihte to tham arwurthan halgan
 woldon stelan tha mathmas the men thyder brohton.
 and cunnodon mid craefte hu hi in cumon mihton.
 Sum sloh mid slecge swithe tha haepsan.
 sum heora mid feolan feolode abutan.

sum eac underdealf tha duru mid spade.
 sum heora mid hlaeddre wolde unlucan that aegthyrl.
 Ac hi swuncon on idel. and earmlice ferdon.
 swa thaet se halga wer hi wundorlice geband.
 aelcne swa he stod strutigende mid tole.
 thaet heora nan ne mihte thaet morth gefremman.
 ne hi thanon styrian, ac stodon swa oth mergen.
 Men tha thaes wundrodon hu tha weargas hangodon.
 sumon hlaeddre. sum leat to gedelfe.
 and aelc on his weorce was faste gebunden.
 Hi wurdon tha ge-brohte to tham bisceope ealle.
 and he het hi hon on heagumgealgum ealle
 (AElfric 1970, 96).

Then there came on a certain occasion unholy thieves
 eight in a single night to the venerable saint
 [who] would steal the treasures that men had brought there,
 and they knew well the means by which they might get in.
 Some struck the fastenings violently with hammers,
 Some filed the outside of them with files,
 Some likewise dug under the door with spades,
 Some would unlock each opening of them with ladders.
 But they labored in vain, and suffered miserably,
 for the saintly man restrained them in a wonderful way,
 Each just as he stood, struggling with tools,
 so that none of them could accomplish that destruction
 nor stir from there, but they stood so until morning.
 Men then wondered on it, how the men hung,
 some on ladders, some bent to dig,
 and each in his work was fast bound.
 They were then all brought to the bishop,
 and he ordered them all hanged on high gallows.
 Certainly the account implies that no one remained in the

church to guard anything there, as the noise of eight thieves
 would surely have wakened him if the saint did not. What then did
 an ostiarius in the Saxon church do?

The ostiarius mentioned in Wulfsize's letter above was to
 lock unbelievers outside; doubtless he was also to make sure that
 the church was cleared and locked after use. No mention of a
 watch being kept exists, so that I suspect his only other role was
 simply to keep out penitents, catechumens and the like when they
 were not to be present, and to keep strangers of the disreputable

sort from free access to the church. (Incidentally, the doorkeeper's profession is the only one which might require him to live within the church. That Bede's remains could be taken from Jarrow to Durham implies, however, that full care was not given to securing a church's possessions and relics even in a monastery with brothers living close by [though perhaps clergy could be excused for not suspecting fellow clergy of lacking reverence].)

Turning from the wealth of a church, the protection of unconsumed Eucharist seems to have been more carefully provided for by the Anglo-Saxons, at least in the tenth century and after. In the early Eastern church, in times of persecution, a priest kept the Eucharist in his private custody. A bit later, an ark or a pyx held the Eucharist on the altar, sometimes at the foot of a cross, as in the decree of the second Council of Tours in 567 (c. 3) that the Eucharist is to be kept under the figure of the cross on the altar: "Ut corpus Domini in altari non in imaginario ordine, sed sub crucis titulo componatur" (de Clerq 1963, 178).

The Anglo-Saxon considered the holiness of a church in great part due to the consecration of the Eucharist which took place there, as when Bede describes angels hovering around the altar at such a time. While ordinary bread was perfectly acceptable for the mass, and the heathens and Bishop Mellitus both referred to it as "loaf" (hwitan hlaf and lifes hlaf respectively in Bede HE II.5), Bede is the first certain witness of the use of azyme (unleavened bread) and after him, Hrabanus Maurus (+856). "By the XIth century its use in the West was universal and the leavened bread was forgotten" (Fortescue 1953, 302). What has this to do

with porticus and internal division of the church? In Greek churches, the laity could leave offerings in a chamber opening off an aisle. Yet the continental penitential known as "The Judgment of Clement" (700-750) extended a sixth century prohibition, in which women could not touch the Eucharist, to include not touching unconsecrated hosts (Wemple 1985, 141). Whether this statement implies that leavened bread, made by the laity, was replaced by unleavened bread made by clergy is unclear. The coincidence of dates, however, between Bede's time and the writing of the penitential indicates that such an implication is wholly reasonable. Access to chambers near the altar was increasingly restricted, even to those who might once have had liturgical functions to perform, and certainly the laity could not enter without going through the chancel. Interestingly, in pre-Christian goddess religions, women baked sacred bread as part of fertility rituals; perhaps the prohibition was revised in part to take account of a non-Christian aspect that predated the mass (Berger 1985, 9 and Gimbutas 1982, 24, 29). Such rituals may be behind the Old English hlafdige, basis for our word "lady" and meaning "loaf-kneader," and hlaford or lhaf-weard, "loaf guardian," later "lord."

The excavations at Barton-upon-Humber may provide us with evidence for an oven for liturgical bread. Within a pit, an oven or kiln was constructed with four phases of growth, finally enlarged to an internal diameter of four feet. The Rodwells state, "In the absence of any slag, residues or other waste, we must conclude that the oven performed a function such as baking

which would leave no tangible evidence. An ecclesiastical bread oven is perhaps the most plausible interpretation" (1982, 300). If my suggestion that the nearby foundation is for a residence is correct, however, the oven could easily have served both secular and religious needs for bread. One other possible example of a liturgical oven occurs at Thursley, Surrey, but of a totally different type. A rectangular recess in the chancel north wall is noted by the Taylors (1980, 616-7), themselves citing a 1931 article by Johnston where the suggestion was first made for "a charcoal-oven, possibly for baking wafers." Without a flue, however, and given its placement just before the raised floor level at the east end, it may also be an aumbry or niche for a statue.

According to Frere, the old custom in England was to reserve the sacrament in sacrario or in sacristia, a side chamber of the church (1940, 157). Later on, it was kept in doves suspended over the altar, a revival in fact of an ancient Eastern custom (Bingham 1856, 303-4). The place where they were hung was later named after such figures made in silver or gold, peristerion, from peristera, "dove." The reserved sacrament for the sick (viaticum) was kept at the altar in a pyx (Bishop 1918, 25), a custom possibly described in Felix's life of Guthlac when the dying saint takes communion: "et extendens manus ad altare, munivit se communione corporis et sanguinis Christi," "and, stretching his hands towards the altar, he fortified himself by the communion of Christ's Body and Blood" (Felix 1985, 158-9). The editor/translator notes (Ibid., 193), "The saint had said his last

mass on the previous Easter Sunday and had doubtless 'reserved' the Sacrament on the altar for this his last moment, which he knew to be at hand." An ivory box found at Jarrow and now on display in the museum there ^{is} may be just such a pyx.

The "Canons of Edgar" (1005 to 1008) provide the best late Saxon evidence for treatment of the consecrated Eucharist, and indeed of all things relating to its consecration.

[38] 7 riht is thaet preost a geara husel haebbe tham the thearf sy, 7 thaet georne on claennysse healde, and warnige thaet hit ne forealdige. Gyf thonne hit forhealden sy, thaet his man brucan ne maege, thonne forbaerne hit man on claenum fyre, 7 tha axan under weofode gebringe, 7 bete with God georne se the hit forgyrne. [39] 7 riht is thaet preost aefre ne gethristlaece thaet he maessige butan he eall haebbe thaet to husle gebyrige: thaet is claene oflete 7 claene win 7 claene waeter. Wa tham the maessan onginth butan he aelc thara haebbe, 7 wa tham the thaer ful [thing] to deth; fortham he deth thonne gelice tham the Iudeas dydon tha hi mengdon eced 7 geallan togaedere 7 hit syththan on bysmor Criste gebudon. [40] 7 riht is thaet aefre ne geweorthe thaet preost maessige 7 sylf thaet husel ne thicge, ne man gehalgod husel aefre eft halgige; ne naenne man fullige oftor thonne aene. [41] 7 riht is thaet aelc calic gegoten beo the man husel on halgige, 7 on treowenum ne halgige man aenig. [42] 7 riht is thaet ealle tha thing the weofode neah beon 7 to cyrcan gebyrian beon swythe claenlice 7 wurthlice behworfene, 7 thaer aenig thing fulles neah ne cume; ac gelogige man thone haligdom swythe arwurthlice. 7 a sy byrnende leocht on cyrcan thonne man maessan singe. [43] 7 riht is thaet man ne forgyrne aenig gehalgod thing: ne halig waeter, ne sealt, ne stor, ne hlaf, ne gehalgode axan, ne gehalgod oflete, ne aenig thing haliges. Ac forbaerne hit man on claenum fyre, butan his man elles notian maege, 7 tha axan under weofode gebringe.

[38] And it is right that a priest have always ready the sacrament for those who need it, and keep it well in cleanliness, and take heed that it does not decay. If then it is kept too long, so that it cannot be used, it is then to be burnt in a pure fire, and the ashes are to be put under the altar [cf. Ps.-Theodore's Penitential, 34.5] and he who neglects it is eagerly to make amends to God. [39] And it is right that a priest never presume to celebrate mass unless he have everything which belongs to the eucharist: that is

a pure sacrificial wafer [oflete] and pure wine and pure water. Woe to him who begins the mass without having each of these, and woe to him who puts in anything dirty; for then he does as the Jews did when they mingled vinegar and gall together and offered it afterwards in insult to Christ. [40] And it is right that it never happen that a priest celebrate mass and do not himself partake of the eucharist, or that a consecrated eucharist be ever reconsecrated; or that anyone be baptized more often than once. [42] And it is right that all the things which are near the altar and belong to the church be in very clean and worthy condition, and that nothing dirty come near them; but the holy things are to be placed very reverently. And there is always to be a light burning in the church when mass is being sung. [43] And it is right that no consecrated thing be neglected: neither holy water, nor salt, nor incense, nor bread [hlaf], nor consecrated ashes, nor consecrated wafer (?) [oflete, emended from ofet], nor anything holy. But it is to be burnt in a pure fire, unless it can otherwise be used, and the ashes are to be put under the altar (Whitelock et al. 1981, 326-8).

In the slightly later Northumbrian Priests' Law,

[16] Gif preost buton wine maessige, gilde XII or. [17] Gif preost husl forgime, gilde XII or. [18] Gif preost anes daeges maessige oftor thonne thriwa, gilde XII or.

[16] If a priest celebrates mass without wine, he is to pay twelve ores. [17] If a priest neglects the host, he is to pay twelve ores. [18] If a priest celebrate mass more often than three times in one day, he is to pay twelve ores (Ibid., 456).

The requirement in Wulfstan's canons ("Edgar's") that all materials be ready for use implies adequate, clean storage space, safe from negligent or irreverent hands, while the disposal of burned, consecrated wafers under the altar recalls the placing of Hosts within an altar during its consecration as part of the relics put there. Priests are discouraged from celebrating numerous daily masses, perhaps because of abuse in order to avoid the duties of proper care for the Eucharist by consecrating small

quantities as needed, or to keep priests from travelling from their own parish churches to celebrate mass. The care shown in the above passages emphasizes the need for storage space above all other uses discussed for porticus. I would say therefore that in an Anglo-Saxon church, if only one porticus existed (as at Escomb), that porticus was provided for the proper storage of liturgical food, plate and vestments, in accordance with the duties of a priest. In addition, given the late date of these laws, and evidence that single porticus were often additions to earlier fabric, we might well say as a result that such porticus were dateable to the tenth and eleventh centuries.

which evidence for ↙
Churches with evidence for liturgical use, storage and/or security)

All churches listed as having transepts or porticus off crossings should be listed here, as should all churches listing chambers that open from the chancel. In addition, crypts, while not discussed here (see comments in introduction), would limit access and so provide security for relics, while upper levels of transepts and porticus could also control access and so provide relatively secure storage. Clearly, many more churches could be added based merely on the amount of space at the site; these choices, however, represent the ones with evidence that made such uses likely rather than simply possible.

Crypts

(Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.)

Brixworth, Northants.

Canterbury/Wulfric's Octagon, Kent

Cirencester, Som.

Glastonbury Abbey, Som.

Gloucester/St. Peter's, Gloucs.

Gloucester/St. Oswald's, Gloucs.

Hexham, Northumb.

Repton, Derbys.

Ripon, Yks. WR

Shrewsbury/Old St. Chad's, Shrops.

Sidbury/St. Giles, Devon

Wells, Som.

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamps. (two)

Wing, Bucks.

Other Categories

Bosham, Suss.

Bradwell-on-Sea, Ess.

Brixworth, Northants. (easternmost north porticus)

Bywell/St Peter, Northumb.

Canterbury/St. Martin, Kent

Canterbury/St. Pancras, Kent

Canterbury/Sts. Peter and Paul, Kent

Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs.

(Derby, Derbys.)

Escomb, Dur.

Glastonbury/Sts. Peter and Paul, Som.

Ickleton, Cambs.

(Kingsdown, Kent)

(London/St. Bride, Fleet St.)

Lyminge, Kent

Muchelny, Som.

(Much Wenlock/St. Milburga, Shrops.)

(Prittlewell, Ess.)

Reculver, Kent

St. Albans/St. Michael, Herts.

(Tredington, Warks.)

(Wareham/Lady St. Mary, Dors.)

(Weybourne, Norf.)

APPENDIX A

9 visited only!

NOTE: As in chapter lists, parentheses around placename indicate doubt about evidence.

Bakewell, Derbys. Transepts, foundations of which survive though only W ends of Saxon nave walls still stand after later reconstruction. Example of what Fernie (1983, 128) terms salient crossing, where crossing is larger than four arms, leaving "salient" angles. Notably, many carved stones survive from site, mainly found under N transept. Unworn condition of some, including sarcophagi, suggests placement within church (Cramp 1986, 103), possibly as part of burial chapel in N transept. (Barnack, Northants.) Possible N porticus, as 6 stones at E end of N aisle form part of round arch, showing present arcade cut through earlier wall. Taylors thought thinness of wall favored AS date. Rodwell suggested possible S porch of timber as well (1986, 167).

Bedford/St. Mary, Beds. Transepts or lateral porticus, of Saxo-Norman overlap, (Smith 1974, 97) dated c. 1075 to c.1115. Kuhlicke, in an intro to 1970 edition of C. F. Farrar's Old Bedford, suggested porticus. Standing evidence for only S transept/porticus remains, though a N matching chamber is likely, as we know of no central tower with a chamber on just one side.

(Bibury, Gloucs.) Possible N porticus? North aisle has only two continuous arches with remainder separated by solid walls; Taylor thought it unlikely that a previous porticus conditioned development of the aisle, but could not rule out the possibility.

(Billingham, Dur.) N porticus? Taylor suggests a porticus towards the east end of N nave wall due to length of solid walling east of four arches of Norman arcade, with later fifth arch replacing entrance to porticus.

(Bishopstone, Suss.) S porticus, doorways at either end replacing any of Saxon date. Displacement of doorways to W, however, probably preserves original position of interior doorway, indicating use of E wall of chamber. Porticus therefore was chapel. May well have been a N porticus, but wall destroyed for Transitional arcade to N aisle.

Bitton, Gloucs. N and S porticus opening from nave. On N, jambs of blocked arch survive, while on S, foundations run S from nave into vicarage garden, according to 1878 account by Ellacombe. Squint between chancel and S porticus blocked with 2 carved stones, usually dated as AS. If squint is contemporary with AS church, suggests use connected with that of chancel, hence liturgical. Perhaps it opened from the chancel instead of the nave, but no evidence survives. Use could have been as side chapel or storage area for liturgical items used and brought out during mass, and as such would have qualified as diaconicon. N porticus had apparent public access from nave, hence probably chapel.

Bosham, Suss. Possible S porticus. Taylors noted blocked, round headed doorway in S chancel wall, visible from exterior only. Monastery, mentioned in Bede (IV.13) as having 5 or 6 brothers

under an Irish monk named Dicuill; possibly, the same church is depicted on the Bayeux tapestry, though accuracy remains unlikely, as the embroiderers may never have seen the place and would depict forms they knew. Was AS royal manor of Edward the Confessor and possibly, Canute (Fisher 1962, 370), whose daughter may have been buried here, as skeleton of girl, c. 8 years old, found in 1865 near chancel steps in nave. Given history, porticus more likely, as both monastic and royal connections increase probable need for additional space.

Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts. N and S porticus, though only N survives. Taylor showed that Irvine's notes were reliable and accurate, and so, despite addition of later buttresses, Irvine's evidence proves previous existence of S porticus, possibly with cellar chamber or crypt of contemporary date beneath. N porticus had exterior doorway, offset as if to accommodate altar and/or burial near E wall. Both porticus opened from nave and both originally had dado around interior walls (Taylor 1973a, 159). While N porticus has stripwork on faces towards exterior of church, S porticus has no stripwork on either face (Ferne 1983, 148). This could indicate S porticus had no exterior entrance (and possibly was not public). Taylor suggests (1973a, 159) that S porticus, if provided with lower level chamber, could parallel use of S porticus at Sts. Peter and Paul, Canterbury, where royal family of Kent buried; Bradford was given to Shaftesbury nuns in 1001 as refuge and hiding place for bones of Edward King and martyr.

Bradwell-on-Sea, Ess. N and S porticus overlapping nave and chancel, no longer standing. S porticus entered from nave, as evidenced by surviving doorway, now blocked. N porticus entered from chancel, as W jamb of doorway survives. Evidence for a possible preference of function where 2 porticus exist and overlap public and restricted church areas. Rodwell has recently published evidence for scaffolding erected during building of the church (1986, 161-2), illustrating the S wall. I note here that evidence for the area that would have been covered by S porticus has no certain examples of putlog holes: most are presumed, and only 2 are probable, unless porticus extended up to eaves of nave.

Breamore, Hamps. N and S porticus opening off crossing. N porticus lost, but roofline and blocked doorway visible. S porticus has doorway unaltered, with large flat stone projecting from tops of both quoins on S face, Taylors note, "as though to carry a beam across base of gable" (1980, 95, and see their fig. 405 and Fisher 1962, pl. 223). Given Rodwell's recent comments on use of wood in churches (1986), such supports could have held a decorative wooden carving across the face of the gable. Alternatively, they could have functioned in some structural way as yet unclear, possibly connected with roofing. Rodwell notes Breamore's stepped pyramidal tower roof may "incorporate Anglo-Saxon elements" (Ibid., 167). In addition, we know church laid out according to Roman foot/Northern rod (Ibid., 157, and fig. 97), with porticus added as squares half the width of tower, but centered. Breamore possesses both a rood, now on S side, and an



incomplete inscription of c. 1020-30, perhaps paralleling models such as described by Paulinus. DES remains over chancel arch, nothing over N porticus opening, but over S porticus, HER SWUTELATH SEO GECWYDRAEDNES THE, with latter generally translated as "here is manifested the Covenant to thee," seen as reference to Titus 1:3. If true, allusion provides clue to use of chamber, for letter to Titus concerns pastoral charge and teaching Christian life. Chamber could be for study, meditation or instruction of catechumens.

Britford, Wilts. Indications of N and S porticus to W of present side chambers, confirmed by excavation on the N. Both arched openings survive, with strip work and hood moulding, while N opening also has vine-scrolls and interlace patterns to ornament it. Both openings also have plinths. Given difference in ornamentation, N porticus may have been chapel or chamber for storage of bread, wine and liturgical vessels, as suggested by vine scrolls with bunches of grapes. Former use seems more likely, as entrance was from nave.

Brixworth, Northants. N and S rows of lateral porticus of early 8th cen. date, according to radiocarbon dating of charcoal from porticus construction level, with calibrated center date of A.D. 725 (Sutherland and Parsons 1984, 63). Material may have been reused Roman brick, as a S arcade arch head dated to A.D. 200-600 (Parsons 1977, 186). N has 5 chambers. One opens from chancel area, associated with higher roofline visible on N exterior; doorway offset to W. Other 4 opened via arcades from nave. S row less certain, given lack of excavation and presence of later Lady chapel. Easternmost porticus may not have parallel on S, but if it did, might be accessible from nave given other such AS pairings (e.g. see Bradwell or Bywell/St. Peter). Four arches survive, though westernmost has Norman doorway inserted. Parsons noted that S wall may be of at least two periods, given that several arcade piers have non-brick, granite cores which may be "ends of north-south walls between a continuous line of south porticus...; these must therefore have become embedded in a south arcade wall wholly or partly secondary to themselves" (Ibid., 180). Alternatively, use of brick above may be rebuilding. Rodwell, however, demonstrated how the supposed irregularity of bricks in arcade arches can result from use of wooden staved forms (1986, 164-5 and illustrated on 166, fig. 109), so difference in material may be function of construction techniques. Audouy (1984, 22) also felt that porticus, nave and narthex were of one construction phase, based on 20 mortar samples. He notes that wider foundations and additional E doorway existed for easternmost N chamber (Ibid., 34); latter may correlate with higher roofline. Porticus apparently destroyed in 10th or 11th cen. when arches and N opening blocked (Ibid., 37). See photographs, pp. 32, 34.

(Burghwallis, Yks, WR) S porticus? Blocked opening from chancel has monolithic head cut to "somewhat pointed form" according to Taylors. Fisher (1962, 136) notes however "no indications of a south wing or chapel" but claims a north wing "open to the chancel by almost its whole width...[now] built up and a door

inserted." Description is most unusual and open to argument. Bywell/St. Peter, Northumb. (Visited; see photograph on p. 37) N and S porticus overlapping nave and chancel. N porticus has doorway offset to W and visible gable line. S porticus suspected since present S aisle overlaps chancel for c. 11'; Gilbert (1947) suggested this aberration due to rebuilding or survival of S porticus, originally entered from nave and so now lacking doorway evidence. Bradwell-on-Sea provides parallel. Taylors note however (1980, 126) "vestiges" of a blocked doorway to E of present aisle; being undated, it may or may not refute assertion for entry from nave to porticus.

Canterbury/Christ Church Cathedral, Kent N and S aisles or rows of lateral porticus. No major excavations beneath current cathedral. In 1973, trench opened in angle of nave and SW transept showed that to S of Norman foundations were massive blocks of ragstone forming NW corner of building oriented roughly EW and just E of Roman street line. Evidence showed "badly burnt threshold of a recessed entrance, an apparent socket for a timber upright and a rebate for a horizontal beam" while building "was floored with ragstone flags, also badly burnt" (Webster 1974, 179). Excavators dated remains to late Roman or Saxon; as Saxon cathedral burned in 1067, it may be AS cathedral is not beneath Norman one but off to S. Before Taylor, all published reconstructions showed aisles separated from nave by piers, "although Eadmer's text gives no authority for this" (Taylor 1969, 120). Taylor says he bases his own inclusion of rows of lateral porticus on examples such as Brixworth. Given the substantial collection of relics detailed by Rollason (1986, 34, 36), rows of lateral porticus containing them is not unlikely. Eadmer speaks of 2 towers which "prominentes ultra alas aeclesiae" (projected above the aisles of the church) (Willmart, cited in Taylor, 1969a, 129, 15[g]). Seal reproduced in Fernie (1983, 96, fig. 49) of pre-1107 cathedral does in fact show such a form.

Canterbury/St. Martin, Kent S porticus opening from chancel. Round-headed doorway now blocked. Porticus excavated 1895-1900 (most recent account in Jenkins 1965, 14); S wall destroyed by graves, but Taylors estimate size of chambers as square 4'9", making chamber quite small and so probably for liturgical storage given restricted access. Floor of opus signinum. Church connected with Roman or very early church used by Queen Bertha; Morris notes finds of Frankish gold and coins fitted with loops said to be from churchyard (1983, 60-1), in connection with "pagan" finds in churchyards. Fernie omits porticus from his plan, but notes church stood near Roman road leading E out of city and within or near Roman cemetery (1983, 38-9 and fig. 19).

Canterbury/St. Pancras, Kent (Visited) N and S porticus opening from nave, with additional porticus revealed by excavation as opening from S wall of chancel (Jenkins 1976, 4-5). Porticus opening from nave added to building at same time as S porticus opening from chancel, triple arcade to chancel and new W porch. Thomas sees St. Pancras in earliest form (no porticus) as "a genuine late Roman extramural cemetery church" (1986, 122), and

additions may well be Augustine's own. S porticus from nave frequently drawn with altar against E wall; N porticus would probably also be chapel, given placement for public access and lack of external entries.

Canterbury/Peter and Paul, Kent (Visited) N and S porticus opening from nave, with additional chambers to either side so that continuous ring around church is formed. Other chambers presumably open from porch area at W, however, and from chancel (though Wulfric's octagon obscures E end). N porticus (St. Gregory's) contained burials of Augustine and 5 others as well as altar against E wall. When full, porticus was extended northward (c. mid-8th cen.), for S porticus (St. Martin's) was for burial of kings and queens of Kent, as Bede writes (HE I.33 and II.5).

Cirencester, Som. N and S lateral porticus found during excavations in 1964-6; these probably contained altars, given complexity of site, which included elaborate W end and a crypt. Both church and side porticus are exceptionally long (church c. 160'), with perhaps 3 chambers on each side opening from the nave. Crypt implies important relics and possibility of numerous pilgrims expected, which might account for size of nave and chambers. Tempting to wonder if here indeed is site where some chambers at least could function as lodgings. A well to NE of church may possibly have been within building (Brown 1976, fig. 3.8 on 40; 41).

(Coln Rogers, Gloucs.) Possible S porticus functioning as porch, preceding current one. Plinth surrounding church interrupted for some distance on either side, moreso on W as shown in Taylor and Taylor.

(Corhampton, Hamps.) Possible S porticus as porch (see Coln Rogers), as plinth on S disturbed to E of current porch. As church set on mound, extensions out from church limited if not impossible on N side; see Taylors' illustration in fig. 440. Sundial nearby.

(Cricklade, Wilts.) S porticus from nave? Taylors noted that pilaster strip high up in S aisle has no horizontal string-course connected with it. They thought it possible it began this high due to "south doorway or...roof of a porticus" (1980, 183). Both pilaster and sundial placed to W cut back to form seating for lean-to roof, probably for aisle preceding current one.

(Daglingworth, Gloucs.) Possible S porticus used as porch for entry to nave. Taylors thought it looked early, as outer doorway has round head with non-radial joints, jambs are Escomb fashion of massive stones and quoins are also large. They suggest that these aspects may be due to reuse of AS W doorway when tower added (15th cen.). Sundial over interior S doorway shows porch at least later than nave. Also worth noting are numerous sculptured figures: 2 roods, a Christ in majesty and a Peter with key and book. Such elaboration may indicate a more important church than at first indicated.

Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs. N and S porticus (2 pairs) and later, N and S rows of lateral porticus. No definite evolution of which porticus came first in present church yet exists (and church may have had wooden antecedents as yet undocumented,

contemporary with burials predating current remains). From published reports of Butler, Rahtz and Taylor (1975) and Rahtz (1976) as well as an unpublished typewritten account by Taylor dated 6 August 1975 in the library files of the Durham University Department of Archaeology, the following seems not unlikely.

(1) S porticus opening off nave came first, possibly contemporary with wooden semicircular apse but uncertain. SE porticus added after apse, but may be contemporary with S porticus; reached from within S porticus (and from now lost doorway from first apse?). Then N and NE porticus added together, bonded to each other but not to nave or apse, with N reached from nave, NE from within N and again, perhaps from first apse. Initial porticus may have had wooden superstructure in first phase, as mortar changes above certain height; however, mortar change is matched in nave, though slightly higher there, and may represent exhaustion of initial mortar and mixing of new batch.

(2) In next stage, S porticus and nave walls raised to 2 storey height, with E wall of S porticus bonded to S nave wall. Radiocarbon date of ash scaffolding remnant at this height in NE quoin dated to 875 A.D. \pm 100 (Taylor 1975a, 3). Next, N and NE porticus had stone walls raised, replacing previous wooden ones.

(3) Later, apse and both NE and SE porticus were destroyed, probably together, and polygonal apse then built. Evidence of fire on S porticus E jamb may indicate first apse of wood burned, necessitating rebuilding.

(4) Further porticus now added, one each on N and S to W of those remaining, of 2 storeys separated by square string-course.

(5) Finally, porticus were added westward on N and S (number of chambers as yet unclear) to form rows of lateral porticus, though uncertain if both rows constructed at same time. In this stage, easternmost porticus open from chancel, next porticus on N and S opens from what seems a crossing, and presumably other porticus open from nave.

As Deerhurst was monastic, elaboration clearly reflects changing needs of community. Pairs of porticus through much of evolution suggest need for public and restricted chambers on each side; as church grew, number of chambers perhaps doubled for each need, suggesting one did not outweigh the other. Number of chambers may also suggest numerous relics at site, though Rollason says we have no (documentary) means of knowing whether they possessed major relics (1986, 36). Given two-storeyed porticus with wide openings to nave and E gallery over chancel arch with window to apse, seems likely masses could be celebrated concurrently at several altars. Processions such as those known on Continent could have occurred, as double openings (windows or doors?) over chancel arch suggest more than one person/priest. They could serve as squints for choirs housed in gallery supported by corbels. If instead they are doorways, choir might process from easternmost porticus to apse and up to gallery level. Fernie's suggestion of a chamber over the chancel (1983, 102) and its use for theatrical purposes (*Ibid.*, 104) seems farfetched. Earliest claim for religious theatre remains text in Regularis Concordia for Easter (c. 965-75). Fernie also assumes

opening is doorway, and mentions only one, instead of two that exist. Similarly, his terming of Deerhurst's apparently steady and planned evolution as "clutter and lack of organisation of the internal arrangements" is unjustified (Ibid., 161).

(Derby, Derbs.) Possible N and S porticus. Radford shows both N and S porticus in plan, but shows N opposite to that on S entirely without archaeological evidence and simply assumed as "probable" (1976, 30, fig. 2). Evidence for S porticus very limited, confined to masonry at supposed SE corner (but cut by later grave) and doorway opening from E end of nave. Doorway had post holes 1' across in recess at center of jambs. Clearly in same category as Barton-on-Humber and Hadstock as discussed by Rodwell in connection with timber doorcases (1986, 166-7). Remnants of another foundation to N of chancel (E of Radford's proposed chamber) dismissed by Radford as an enclosure. But given 3 regularly aligned burials between it and N chancel wall, as likely to be N chamber opening from chancel or nave, and perhaps overlapping nave and chancel. (If boundary, would run over wall of Radford's N porticus.) All relevant foundations for NE corner of chancel and overlap area of nave missing, so lack of doorway inconclusive. Burials in N chamber paralleled elsewhere, notably Canterbury, though not off chancel there. Of further note was find of sarcophagus buried in SE corner of nave (i.e. near altar if at E end of nave); Radford identifies it as Alkmund's, most likely candidate, and so justification for secondary burial found just to its N for favored person. But Biddle (1986, 7-8) notes that sarcophagus elaborately decorated on all sides; therefore, "coffin was intended to be seen and cannot therefore be in its original position." I would suggest this information strengthens my argument for NE burial chamber/chapel.

(Dover, Kent) N and S porticus/transepts off crossing, with original arches missing. Both had some sort of upper level, as indicated by 4 doorways opening from axial tower to all 4 arms. Access to upper levels was at least from N transept, I think, as it has exterior doorway in N side suggesting a need for entry here, most likely for bell-ringing. Radford (1973, 131-3) suggests might have been a minster, based on documentary evidence and implication, and I tend to agree, given elaboration of levels, two towers and presence of W gallery. Existence of large chambers off crossing implies need for more space near altar, especially perhaps for choir, though transepts are offset to E somewhat and N external doorway of N transept is in W corner, as if to give room for side altar.

(East Bridgford, Notts.) Possible N and S transepts, but very little remains aboveground; main evidence consists of SE quoin of nave, which creates salient angle showing southward extension, and remains of nave and chancel walls only sighted during restoration. Taylors' plan seems to show two AS churches indicated, though no comment to this effect is made; yet W end and E end of Saxon remains would be remarkably crooked right through middle of crossing. Alternatively, observed W foundations are incorrectly shown as skewed from still visible E

remains, but visible fragment at W end suggests not so (Taylor 1984, 99, fig. 43). On balance, evidence given not sufficient to claim transepts, though restorers felt Early English church may have been modeled on earlier AS cruciform church. Excavation desirable, but recent Remote Sensing survey (Brooke 1986, 211) may provide some answers.

Escomb, Dur. (Visited) N porticus opening from chancel through rebated doorway at W end of chancel N wall. Sometimes described as possibly of wood, yet excavators described 2 large stones at northern corners as quoins; combination of stone and wood walls in building unprecedented. Chamber also was apparently plastered in and out, from large amounts of plaster fragments found, again less likely if chamber of wood. Porticus may have had external doorway on W side near nave wall, but curiously, neither side wall extended to main walls of church. E wall had 9" gap, W wall 2'1" gap (hence possibility of doorway). Several other unusual notes: a quantity of AS window glass, some colored, found near doorway into chancel and along chancel wall within chamber, possibly indicating glazing within porticus. If so, chamber may have been more than sacristy. However, glass came from modern disturbance, so perhaps from another area of church, e.g. chancel, or from something else besides a window, as in liturgical vessels or reliquaries decorated with flat glass. Disturbance of chamber made interpretation of several stake and slot holes within and without difficult, but two stake holes existed close to E wall opposite what might have been W doorway, and several near N wall possibly associated with timber shuttering. NW corner peculiar: quoin extends beyond N wall line as shaped stone, and another stone sits next to it extending N; no further stones on this line discovered. Note: Morris mistakenly refers to two flanking porticus (1983, 99). See photograph herein, p. 39.

Glastonbury/Peter and Paul, Som. (1) N and S porticus (Taylors' A and B on plan) overlapping nave and chancel, usually depicted as extending E to chancel end. (2) To W, slightly later ("shortly after King Ine," Taylor and Taylor 1980, 253), N and S porticus (Taylors' P and Q) extend to W end of church on either side of nave. In W porticus, S chamber is larger and extends out from wall further than, N porticus. Places of entry unknown, but probably nave given position. Porticus were not part of narthex, as walls extended W from them to connect Ine's church to Old Church. Chancel extended to E, also between 700 and 950 according to Taylors. E porticus (Taylors' A and B) would then be opening off new crossing space or E end of nave. 3) C. 950, Dunstan added to E end of church, building tower to E of chancel. Also added flanking porticus to N and S of tower; N dedicated to John the Baptist, S to Andrew. These are porticus referred to by William of Malmesbury as making church measurements square (as wide as they are long) by addition of "alas vel porticus." They probably had upper galleries, as ASC E for 1083 tells how Abbot Thurston sent in armed men against his monks. These men climbed into a gallery and fired at monks huddled around (and hidden under) altar in sanctuary; cross standing above altar was

described as full of arrows. Rollason (1986, 36, 38) notes large number of relics at abbey, especially those from long distances away (Ibid., 35, fig. 16); stages 2 and 3 as described above likely to have some connection to relic collection.

Gloucester, Gloucs. N and S porticus opening from nave initially. Soon after, cross wall constructed in nave had them opening from crossing (periods 1, c. 890, and 2, 7918, respectively; dates from Heighway and Bryant 1986, 189-90 and fig. 129). While opening between nave and crossing seems to have evolved in periods 2 and 4 (c. 1000), no change in porticus form until period 5 (no initial date, range c. 1000-1086), when N porticus and presumably S porticus entrance widened to arch. Probably indicates integration of space in porticus from separate chamber to transept. At same time, beam slot appears N of chancel wall (which now has external doorway) and extending from N transept E wall eastwards for one-third of crypt's length. Enclosed mortar floor (Webster 1979, 237) "indicating a timber building added N. of the chancel." Most likely this was connected with crypt and pilgrims, as area encloses both N doorway of chancel area, leaves space around its E buttress to pass between it and wall represented by beam slot, and enter crypt by N doorway. Crypt N doorway only aspect of crypt enclosed by this wall. Crypt may have contained remains of Oswald, Aethelflaed and/or Aethelred (see Heighway and Bryant 1986, 193).

Great Paxton, Hunts. N and S transepts off crossing, with N and S aisles reached from nave by arcades. N transept confirmed in 1971 by excavation (Webster 1972, 156) as exactly where expected. Church unusual for being all of a period, c. mid-11th century; as such, might be used as example of expected form for period, helping to date range for such additions as aisles and transepts communicating by wide arches with crossing.

Hadstock, Ess. N and S porticus off crossing. (1) (?mid AS) N and S porticus of earliest church probably entered from choir through narrow doorways; Taylor in vol. III (1984, 1080) mistakenly says entered from nave, yet illustrates entrance from choir in fig. 735 (Ibid., 1010). N porticus had external doorway in N wall, well-used, as evidenced by worn pathway in each successive floor through 14th century. Perhaps access to central tower (wooden at this time) in N porticus; wear then could be due to regular use of belfry (see Dover entry). Evidence of burning to walls. (2) (?late AS) Still N and S porticus, but central tower created of wood with rebuilding of choir. External buttresses between arms added. Rodwell mentions "deep and substantial postholes flanking the doorway into the north porticus" (1986, 166) as evidence for timber doorcase, as at Barton-upon-Humber. (3) (late AS, 11th cen.) Tower rebuilt of stone with widened foundations and crossing of ashlar. Probable partial rebuilding of N porticus with side-alternate quoining. Grave in S porticus (#14) in center, against E wall and not more than 0.5 m deep, implying sarcophagus might extend above surface. Not dated. Rodwell says probably not Cnut's minster, dedicated 1020; Martin (1978) argues Iken, Suff. as most likely for that

minster. Fernie (1983, 72) argues on architectural detail that Per. 3 dates to 1060's or 1070's, and that inferior wooden structure of Per. 2 probably a temporary measure after fire.

Hexham, Northumb. N and S porticus/transepts, with 1 or 2 rows of lateral porticus on N and S. Excavation information and variety of possible interpretations allow for several forms to church. Certainly, it had upper floors, reached by stairways, a layout with winding passages, many side chapels with relics and a great deal of architectural sculpture. N transeptal area may have housed burials, given regular alignment of several stone-lined burials found there (#9, 10, 11 in Taylor and Taylor 1961, fig. 1). Additional burial in outermost S aisle, E end (#14), as if E altar set at E end. Fragmentary foundation and wall remains allow for arcades with 3 openings from nave; progressing outwards, next wall line could be a) solid wall separating porticus from outer area, itself either a passageway or another row of porticus/chapels or b) sleeper wall supporting colonnade. Gilbert (1974) depicts several possible forms, including one which alternates towered with single storey porticus along the church's length, based on Richard of Hexham (12th cen.). Upper storeys mentioned in early accounts need not be simply above transepts or lower chambers; galleries might well ring church nave on upper floor as well as passages on lower level. Excavations under the crypt, however, appear to indicate that the wall designated "g" on current plans (Taylors and others) is not part of AS building, and may even be post-Norman (Bailey and O'Sullivan 1979, 155); thus arcade posited for basilican type plan wrong. Gloucester plan may help illuminate complexity, as many features similar.

Ickleton, Cambs. N porticus off chancel and N and S porticus/transepts off crossing. Taylors noted "clear evidence" but left it unspecified, and stated that N transept previously extended further north.

Jarrow/St. Paul, Tyne and Wear (Visited) N and S lateral porticus along nave of St. Paul's. Excavations in 1960's produced patchy foundations matching 18th century plan produced before rebuilding, reproduced in Fisher 1962, pl. 12. Only AS building period attested is Ceolfrid's, with monastery probably burned by Vikings in 794 and abandoned some fifty years later, not to be rebuilt until c. 1072 by Aldwin. N side shows narrow area only 5' from N wall (Cramp 1976a, 222) which "may be like the narrow aisles at Hexham." N elevation of 18th century shows remains of 4 round-headed arches opening from nave (Cramp 1976d, 35, fig. 11), though when projected onto 18th century plan, easternmost would extend beyond juncture of nave and chancel where church narrowed. Hence, arches possibly secondary to narrower square-ended chancel. Narrow N aisle might then be earlier feature.

S side very fragmentary, but chambers seem to have opened to exterior and perhaps not interior, at least at west end.

Tempting in such a case to posit non-liturgical use, such as library or scriptorium, especially since orientation to S would maximize available sunlight. No parallels confirm such a theory, however; St. Gall's plan has its scriptorium at NE end of church on lower level, with library above. In similar placement to Jarrow's chambers on S, though, St. Gall has its a) hospice for pilgrims and paupers, b) lodging for master of hospice and c) monks' parlor, opening to exterior on S and extending E about half the length of nave. As an additional note, paintings brought back by Biscop from 5th journey to Rome and discussed by Meyvaert (1979) were displayed both in church and monastery of Jarrow, including a set of concordances showing Old and New Testament scenes. If N side was aisle instead of porticus, perhaps a useful location for continuous set of paintings. Also worth noting are Bede's comments on upper storeys, discussed by Meyvaert (Ibid., 65-6, n.3 and 74, n. 2); walls c. 30' high.

(Jarrow/Unknown, T and W) (Now chancel; visited.) Possible N porticus. Doorway exists similar to nave N doorway at Escomb, but no foundations discovered in excavations of 1975 (Cramp 1976a, 224). Traces of roofline do exist, however, to W (photographs, pp. 40-1), and a timber adjunct is not out of the question.

(Kingsdown, Kent) Possible S porticus S of chancel, apsidal in form. Earliest alterations were round-headed arches, now blocked, to S aisle, Norman in date (Taylor and Taylor 1980, fig. 502).

Kirk Hammerton, Yks. WR (Visited) S porticus opening from E end of nave (see photograph on p. 38) Round-headed doorway now blocked and more visible on interior, especially given stripwork there (none on exterior). No evidence for foundations, but stripwork does imply entrance from church to some chamber, as further west is doorway serving as church entrance and its stripwork is external. Note: Taylors give conflicting evidence about plinth and porticus doorway, noting in text (1980, 363) continuous line of plinth, yet directly above, in caption to fig. 162, they point out that doorway cuts through original plinth. Given position of doorway so close to E end of nave, porticus may have overlapped nave and chancel. Also, while Taylors date church to period A, excluding tower, Fernie sees it as of Overlap period (1983, 171, 178).

Ledsham, Yks., NR S porticus opening from center of nave through unusually tall doorway, or surviving top doorway of 2 placed one above other. From within chamber doorway was round-headed, flat-headed from within nave looking into chamber. Present porch/porticus dated as later than nave since not in bond, but similar to W porch construction and probably pre-Conquest. Doorway is rebated, with door opening southward, or into chamber. Opening is 2' wide but 14' high. Taylors think only one tall doorway since 2 doorways would "imply the need for upper windows in the porticus" (1980, 382) and none exist. Yet they note on next

page that any S window would have been destroyed with insertion of outer doorway to porch. They theorize that a tall doorway might feature in ritual involving tall processional cross, but that implies porcession took place entirely within nave and porticus unless a further N nave tall doorway is postulated. (A gap similar to one on S does exist above arcade on N and between 2 sets of window pairs, as on S.) Seems more likely that A) either tall doorway existed for viewing of something within porticus, as a rood scene or even the cross whose shaft sections are now built into the inner N wall of N aisle, or B) two doorways existed in S porticus, with upper floor of porticus used for storage or perhaps even access to now-lost gallery lit by windows at this level. I prefer the tall doorway for viewing a sculptured cross, but no parallels exist.

Little Abington, Cambs. Possible N porticus in middle of nave N wall. Taylors illustrate how imposts project in such a way that they think opening originally without a door. They therefore speculate that N porticus existed, and simple ornament on imposts could count as added evidence. If porticus existed, probably a chapel.

(London/All Hallows by the Tower) Possible S porticus, though evidence very fragmentary. Arch remains at W end of nave; in vol. III, Taylor comments, "So little fabric remains that it is not clear whether this represents part of what might be called a western transept...or...a nave flanked by porticus (as at Brixworth)" (1984, 1011). Third alternative is a single S porticus, possibly serving as porch. Fernie (1983, 178) dates church as pre- or post-Danish and comments that it might have been basilican (Ibid., 183, 5n4).

(London/St. Bride, Fleet St.) Possible S porticus. According to Grimes (1968, 184-7), earliest church on site may have been late Saxon or Overlap. Church may have incorporated earlier Roman remains and measured 93' long, with nave c. 30' wide and polygonal apse replaced by square-ended chamber. Evidence for S porticus limited to stump of walling projecting S from junction of nave and chancel and not in bond with it. It predates the 12th century tower. No matching N chamber was found. Pit at E end, c. 11' deep from surviving surface, took up much of apse and preceded it, as chord of apse was sunk into it. Fill contained thumb-print handle of late Saxon ware, hard and dark grey. Perhaps this was ablution drain similar to those discussed by Parsons (1986).

Lydd, Kent N and S aisles reached by arcades of 3 arches each if N and S symmetrical (only N evidence recovered). All internal levels destroyed when 1907 floor laid (Jackson and Fletcher 1968). Aisles would have been half width of nave, as they measured 8' wide internally, while nave was 16' X 30'. Excavators thought date possibly 8th century, no later than mid-8th, or Romano-British. Fernie (1983, 72) considers it "unlike anything Saxon and hence probably of

Romano-British date" due especially to large W vestibule and apse springing from within line of E walls of aisles. Closest parallel is Silchester. However, Lydd apse is postulated from limited evidence, a small, curved stump projecting from N wall.

Lyminge, Kent N porticus overlapping nave and chancel but opening from chancel/apse of St. Mary's and from nave of later church built to N. The original church was built over on N by Dunstan when new church erected. Hence, description quoted by Taylor (1969, 258) notes memorial enclosed by arch in N porticus beside S wall of church. Apparent contradiction clarified when understood that N porticus belongs to St. Mary's church, S wall to later church of Dunstan. Original use of chamber probably for liturgical storage given apse access, but later building converted it to relic room and possibly a chapel. Taylor notes a recess in S wall which he considers a fenestella to view relics in porticus. Later church seems to have had further chambers or an aisle to W of porticus described; hence, Dunstan's church is also listed at beginning of this chapter as having aisle or row of lateral porticus at least on S.

Milborne Port, Som. S transept survives off crossing, N transept rebuilt in 1867. Crossing "salient," wider than nave, chancel or transepts and so having 4 free corners. S wall of surviving transept rebuilt, but E and W walls original and ornamented with a string-course similar to one found in chancel. W wall contains single-splayed window in center. Fernie dates church to late 11th century (1983, 185 8n2). No comment is made in Taylor about recess cut into E wall of transept, toward S end and shown in fig. 200.

Monkwearmouth, T and W (Visited) N and possible S porticus. Evidence inconclusive given lack of stratification; features depicted in original publication (Cramp 1969, 32 ff.) and later reinterpretations differ (especially Cramp 1976c) based on mortar comparisons. W porticus on N and S (narthex) discussed in chapter two; here, only other evidence of porticus fragmentary. On N, collapse of vault in N transept in 1971 allowed some excavation. Uncovered fragment of AS walling, possibly of N porticus overlapping nave and choir/chancel, with a parallel S porticus suggested on basis of symmetry (Cramp 1976c, 231 and 233). If S porticus existed, could be fragments of walling shown in fig. 34 (Ibid., 232) as "period unknown." A similar undated fragment at W end of church and E of narthex/porticus might be further S porticus. Unfortunately, on S, not possible to excavate closer than 8' to wall; any chambers or aisle narrower than 8' would therefore be undetected. Some chamber did exist, as Abbot Sigfrid was buried in S porticus, though as Parsons notes (1986, 117) the most recent translation (1983) by Farmer of Bede's history of abbots describes burial place as "a spot just south of the sanctuary."

Muchelny, Som. Possible S porticus opening from chancel.

Fernie dates it to pre- or post-Danish period (1983, 178) probably partly from evidence of land grant given by Cynewulf to monastery there in 762. Refounded in 10th century either by Athelstan or by Dunstan (*Ibid.*, 40). Fernie does not note any S porticus, while Taylors allude to it only briefly, though their plan shows an apsidal S porticus overlapping nave and chancel. Such a form is paralleled at Kingsdown and at Much Wenlock's priory ruins, and implies liturgical use, perhaps as side altar or private chapel.

Much Wenlock/Holy Trinity, Shrops. Tall S porticus with lower aisle to W (Taylor 1984, 1075) survive, in predominantly Norman church, as shown by Jackson and Fletcher.

Much Wenlock/St. Milburga, Shrops. Remains of S apsidal porticus; as N not excavated, possibly a similar chamber there. Given that site was a priory, apsidal forms could indicate side altars.

Newton-by-Castleacre, Norf. Indications of transepts or side porticus off axial tower which served as choir/crossing. Evidence for S chamber more definite, as patches of walling show where S chamber torn away and a tall, narrow archway opened into it. On N, Taylors show no such opening, nor specify one, but say other "evidence is similar, but rather less definite" (1980, 460). S doorway cut through diagonally instead of perpendicular to walling. No evidence of opening to N exists. As a result, I list Newton as having S and possible N transepts, deferring to the Taylors' observations because they had seen the church itself; but I do wonder if disturbed walling as shown in their plan might not indicate that nave once extended further E at same width, and tower possibly replaced apse or walls before it. A further note: tower has no openings on 1st floor level on N either, and from evidence presented, N chamber seems much less likely.

North Elmham, Norf. Wooden church identified as second (ii) by Rigold (1962-3) and Taylor in vol. 3 had N and S lateral porticus at E end. Phase iii was of stone and had 2 small towers where porticus had been, as well as continuous transepts directly to E of towers. Heywood (1982) dates church as post-Conquest, 1091-1113, instead of late Saxon date (1020-40) given by Rigold, based on his theory that Herbert de Losinga built church. As evidence, he notes that only Elmham and Norwich Cathedral, also Herbert's work, use quadrant pilasters. In any case, phase ii church was AS, and did have N and S porticus. Taylor notes that his plans in vol. III (1984, 984) supersede those in earlier volumes. There is a remarkable degree of correspondence between phase ii and phase iii E end as far as transepts and porticus concerned; later towers fit so neatly into what were porticus that I wonder whether wooden walls could have been used as timber shuttering when stone walls erected (see Rodwell 1986 for discussion of technique).

North Leigh, Oxfs. N porticus/transept off former axial tower. Taylors (1980, 464-5) note W wall of later N aisle appears to be in bond with tower and is set in, c. 1', from line of tower's W wall. "This [aisle] wall may therefore represent a vestige of an original north transept." If so, only one level, as tower has windows in N and S faces just above level of aisle roofs.

Norton, Dur. N and S transepts, with arches slightly offset to E in crossing. W walls cut through later on to open into aisles, and S wall of S transept rebuilt. Upper doorways open to upper floor levels in each transept (as they do to those over chancel and nave); these levels were probably gable space, as gable lines of steeply pitched roofs exist still, and a window on either side of that roof would have lit space within axial tower. To light upper space of transepts, it is probable that windows existed in now-destroyed gable ends. As a final note, access to upper levels was apparently through S transept since a doorway still exists just below level of upper floor. Norton seems therefore not to have followed what seems a preference in other churches examined here, namely, access to upper levels from N chambers. Such access, however, was often paired with an exterior doorway in the N wall.

Norwich/St. John de Sepulchre, Norf. N and S transepts. Only side walls (E and W) survive. Each has blocked, round-headed window in center of W wall.

Peterborough, Northants. N and S transepts or lateral porticus, foundations only now. These still accessible via underground passageway. S transept apparently contained altar, as Taylors note indications of foundations for one against E wall. Given status of church as abbey, N transept may have served as chapter room, since stone bench runs along E wall there. Fernie, however, argues that if chambers are continuous transepts they would be 34' wide and so largest known until Norman forms (1983, 108). He suggests instead 2 porticus with axis EW instead of NS as in transepts. I disagree with his contention that both chambers were chapels, though, as bench seems to indicate otherwise. It is worth noting that abbey had major relics in its collection as well as the Hedda stone, so probability of further porticus to W of foundations uncovered is high.

Potterne, Wilts. N and S porticus and SE baptistery in timber church dated from 10th to 12th centuries. SE baptistery built first, nearly as large as nave area, with font marks matching font preserved in St. Mary's. Access from nave and chancel, showing joint use by clergy and laity. Area covered by flagstone, according to impressions left on floor (Davey 1964). Later, N and S porticus added, c. size of chancel (8' sq.), with access from nave. S porticus contained central recess for pedestal altar paralleled in chancel itself, and beam slot before nave access suggest railing or barrier. If this slot parallels those in nave (4 in all), Potterne may provide sole evidence

for separation or distinctions between groups of laity (women from men, married from unmarried, etc.). Both S chambers had access from exterior as well. N chamber not excavated on W half.

(Prittlewell, Ess.) Possible N porticus opening from chancel. Fragment of AS walling survives in chancel, containing round-headed doorway. Allowing for original ground level, doorway measured 9'6" high. Taylors compare fragment with plans of other Kentish churches that had flanking porticus, noting (perhaps not correctly) that N porticus "most often entered by a doorway near the western end of the chancel" (1980, 499).

Reculver, Kent 2 phases. 1) N and S porticus, 7th cen., overlapping nave and chancel, opening from chancel (Fletcher 1965, 25). Both had external doorways in E walls (Taylor 1969d, 225) perhaps used to enter church from monastic buildings (as opposed to doorways for laity's use). Since altar probably before chord of apse, side chambers, even though overlapping nave and chancel, were still within area probably restricted to clergy. N porticus external doorway rebated, and chamber had 2 windows along length. 2) 8th cen., porticus extended westward by a) N and S porticus opening from center of nave, and so open to public access and b) further chambers westward to include W end. Not narthex as we normally see it, for entrance was from within central porticus and these W chambers were L-shaped to enclose W end. No entry apparently from W porch area. NW chamber had 3 windows, with a 4th added later below previous middle window, perhaps because something obscured light from upper one, such as a ladder or stairway. Fletcher thought Reculver porticus "liturgically designed" (1965, 31), as opposed to for funerary use.

Repton, Derbys. N and S porticus/transepts off crossing of monastic church. Nave destroyed, so evidence for possible porticus along its length lacking. Monastery most likely dates from at least 7th century, and initially was joint male and female foundation under abbess, for Guthlac received tonsure there from Abbess AElfthryth. N and S porticus probably built in connection with new sanctuary above older mausoleum/crypt. Soon after (Taylor 1971, 385), stairways were cut from E walls of both porticus down to crypt, to regulate traffic of pilgrims entering one way and exiting the other. (Present top 3 steps in each stairway modern; AS steps did not obscure openings from crossing space.) Interior stairways probably represent increased security, as previous entrance had been from E external stairway. Biddle, summarizing results of excavations since 1974, notes that stairways and conversion of crypt to confessio type probably dates between burial of Wystan in 849 and supposed date of Viking winter camp, 873-4, which apparently was responsible for decline of monastery (1986, 16-22). Domesday records no monastery here, only 2 priests. Fernie suggests that condensing so much building into such a

small period is unlikely, and argues that Wystan's cult was still active in Cnut's time, for he translated saint to Evesham (1983, 120). Fernie dates church and its additions to 850-1035 "and probably between about 920 and 1020," due to analogous forms at Breamore and Dover. (Due to its private printing, Taylor's Repton Studies I was unavailable to me.)

Ripon, Yks., WR (Crypt visited) Aisle/lateral porticus. Only crypt survives, though Eddius speaks of church as supported by columns and side aisles or porches in ch. XVII. Church supposedly destroyed in Eadred's raids on Northumbria in 946-7. Two cross-heads of 10th cen. Viking date testify to sculptural enrichment of church even after Wilfrid. Route of crypt passageways suggests a S aisle or porticus contained opening to crypt (entrance of exit), but N passageway headed towards E, so arrangement not symmetrical. Excavations in 1974 (R. Hall 1977, 59-63) established that blocked end of N passageway was in fact exit/entrance, since remains of steps showed identical construction features to rest of crypt. If crypt under chancel, as at Hexham and other sites, N passageway led to 1) back of chancel area or 2) N chamber opening off chancel.

Romsey, Hants. N and S porticus/transepts. Foundations only. Abbey in existence since at least 967; two crucifixions survive, one, a rood with hand of God, now in S transept of Norman abbey. Fernie dates rood to last third of 10th cen. (1983, 150) and Butler notes (after Taylor) that dedication to Holy Rood was for nave altar accessible to laity (1986, 44). Therefore, placement in transept probably not original location, as more likely to be on chord of apse or just behind altar there. AS transepts measured c. 25' X 16'. Taylor's plan shows openings from crossing as more in keeping with porticus, i.e. not full width of crossing walls.

St. Albans/St. Michael, Herts. Possible N porticus; monastic church. N wall of chancel has round-headed doorway just to W of center. Smith (1973, 25) thinks this was entry to church from outside, as he considers an original vestry in such position not in accordance with general AS practice. This idea seems quite wrong given evidence from my survey here, especially as Smith dates church from 950 on (Ibid., 3).

Sherborne, Dors. N and S transepts in 11th cen. church at both E and W ends, as well as N and S aisles 10' wide (plan in Gibb and Gem 1975, 99). Evidence for aisled nave based on evidence from surviving seal and indirect evidence from fabric (Taylor 1984, 992). Excavations in NW transept uncovered mortar floor sealing iron key, several pins, a whetstone and a small pottery fragment. Also revealed evidence of rectangular platform of plaster with raised portions having smooth inner surface at right angles to floor and so supposed to be plaster covering for casket containing relics, possibly St. Wulfsin (+1001). Form

analogous to similar remains at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. To S of this area, doorway in E wall opened to N aisle. To N of church, extending from NW and NE transepts, were claustral ranges; NE transept had arcade of 5 bays (illustrated Gibb and Gem 1975, 93) while NW had entrance in E wall at S end of range (i.e. just outside transept's N wall). Fernie notes (1983, 123) that blind arches may have served as seats and so could imply space to N of NE transept used for meetings. NW transept survived 13th cen. rebuilding of claustral range. Pre-11th cen. church much less certain, but 2 forms have been suggested (Gibb and Gem 1975, 102-3): 1) Cruciform church with porticus flanking crossing on site of W tower; 2) Church with E tower and flanking porticus, and porticus along length of church on lines defined by aisle walls.

Shorne, Kent Possible N porticus. Taylors thought easternmost arch of 3 arch arcade might be Saxon, and that tradition of old foundations under N aisle might indicate N porticus opened from nave through this arch. Confirmation seen in Norman/Transitional respond on N face of nave wall, indicating aisle once spanned by arch. Taylors thought such an arch indicated westward extension of porticus and cutting of arch in its W wall.

(Shrewsbury/Old St. Chad's, Shrops.) N and S transepts? Taylors note that beneath N transept is still visible early crypt.

Stanton Lacy, Shrops. N and probable S transept. S transept destroyed in 13th and 14th centuries, but N survives except for S part of E wall. Side walls have pilaster strips matching those on nave wall, with small crossing strip c. 6' below eaves. N wall of transept has remains of blocked doorway, and as at other sites, this may have been for regular access to a belfry. Transept measures 14'5" X 17'7" internally, being longer on NS axis. Note: Fernie seems to include present crossing as part of AS church, listing it as salient crossing (1983, 163), though Taylors show crossing as insertion.

Stoughton, Suss. N and S transepts placed near E end of nave with no indication of crossing; perhaps area was divided by wooden railing. Chancel arch behind area of transepts, at juncture of chancel and nave. Both transepts retain double-splayed windows in W walls c. 12' up. Taylors note details in church similar to Bosham, and both were connected with Earl Godwin in time of Edward, which might help date buildings. Transepts measure 12' EW X 16' NS, with original arches since replaced.

Stow, Lincs. N and S transepts, N and S aisles. Transepts open from salient crossing, which is not in bond with Norman nave and chancel. Marked change in quoins c. 9' up; below, damaged with signs of fire, with pilaster strips on E quoins beside salient angles, while above, no pilasters or fire marks. S transept has surviving window in S wall, single-splayed, to E of center and decorated with palmette

ornament. Window has dowel-holes on exterior "as if for hinges and a latch for an external shutter" (Taylor and Taylor 1980, 588). N transept has somewhat altered window closer to center of N wall and rebated as if for shutter as well as remains of window jamb in W wall. Finally, N transept has doorway in W wall which may have led to aisle. Atkinson, rector during renovations in 1850-1, noted that traces of side wall foundations where they joined transepts indicated a nave over 50' wide, about 2 times wider than Norman nave. He deduced that as a result, aisles were very probable. Taylor noted too that such an aisle gave purpose to transept doorway, and traces of E doorway in E wall of N transept (1974d, 365). While S has slight traces to suggest similar form, Taylor thought them "scarcely positive enough to be accepted as evidence without independent support." Aisles may have opened from nave through arcades, as Atkinson saw what he felt were 3 piers on S side of Saxon choir (Ibid., 366). Note: Brooke has unpublished report of Remote Sensing survey (Brooke 1986, 211).

Tredington, Warks. Possible N and S porticus opening off nave. While Taylors suggest gallery covering half length of nave, Fernie (1983, 106) suggested that arched doorways were for upper chapels flanking the choirs, set over lost porticus. While I disagree with Taylors that gallery need cover half the church, I do think a narrow gallery along sides and W nave wall possible; such an arrangement may be partially depicted in Benedictional of Aethelwald. Even this gallery, however, does not preclude additional two-storeyed porticus reached through upper arches, and I think the combination more likely. Taylors' full gallery would have required additional central support, in form of colonnades perhaps, which seems unlikely given nave space taken over; laity would have been either under sanctuary or crowded into restricted space towards E end. A landing-type gallery would allow viewing but also restrict access, as clergy could process via side entrances on upper level. That might mean side porticus served as vestry and liturgical areas, much as E porticus opening from chancel would. Paralleled at Wareham.

(Walkern, Herts.) Possible S porticus as entrance porch. Taylors reconstructed doorway with decorated imposts and rood above it in S face of S nave wall. Would have been external door except that imposts project into doorway and hanging of door therefore problematic; hence, either doorway enclosed in wooden doorcase or led into chamber/porch. Decoration suggests either main entrance of church or, less likely, a chapel with rood facing into it. Given placement nearer to W end, porch probable.

Wareham/Lady St. Mary, Dors. N and S two-storeyed porticus centrally placed along N and S aisles. All AS fabric now destroyed, but drawing reproduced by Taylors (fig. 602) and plans studied by them (dated 1774) indicate N and S entrances to church through two-storeyed porticus raised

above level of N and S aisles. These aisles opened off nave through arcades of 6 narrow arches with piers; estimated height to crown, c. 16.5'. Clear-storey above aisle lit by 4 windows. Aisles measured 8'6" wide. Taylors call raised central porticus transepts, though they function as entry porches given N and S doorways on ground level midway along aisle. Upper levels may have held chapels, much as such chambers in W towers often did, as well as chambers over city gates. Fernie dates church to his pre- or post-Danish period and notes that Wareham was a new settlement, not Roman, with 2 main streets crossing near center and a rectilinear pattern, perhaps implying planning and grid system (1983, 25, 27). (Such central, two-storeyed porticus paralleled at Tredington.)

Weybourne, Norf. Possible S porticus. Unmentioned by Taylors, doorway in axial tower's S wall "may have led to a south porticus in the position now occupied by the present...chancel" (Fisher 1962, 341). Doorway was roundheaded, now blocked, and marked by recess in chancel N wall. Fisher states that excavation revealed no similar adjunct on N, but that 3 vertically disposed openings in tower visible on interior and those above ground stage lead to supposed porticus, implying more than one storey.

Wheathampstead, Herts. S and probably N transepts. Dated by Smith to 1000-1100 (1973, 3); S transept has blocked, round-headed doorway in S wall. External voussoirs not dressed, and internally, arch is elliptically shaped. Smith states that what Taylors call blocked W doorway is actually window, "clearly shown by an horizontal line between the blocking and the rest of the fabric representing the sill of the former window" (Ibid., 36).

(Whittingham, Northumb.) Perhaps N porticus. Jamb and part of arch at W of Norman arcade survives, clearly predating Norman work. Original church had no aisles, so arch could open to N porticus. Given placement near W end, however, could also have been external doorway.

Winchester/Old Minster, Hants. Many stages. 1) N and S transepts opening off space containing canopied altar, c. 648 through c. 980 (seven building periods; see Biddle 1986, 20-1). N transept contained well (though it may date only from early 970's), as did apse; probably associated with liturgical needs for water and so N transept probably contained altar. Alternatively, could have functioned as baptistery. Biddle noted that access to well was carefully maintained and that it was constructed of reused Roman tiles and stone blocks (1965, 253). 2) c. 910, narrow aisles extending perpendicular to nave walls at W end built to N and probably S; could have been part of façade. By c. 930, opens to 3 chambers westward on either side of nave. These may have contained relics and associated altars, as 8 saints buried at Old Minster (Biddle 1986, 22). 3) C. 993-4, E end extended by large apse and, to N and S, apsed chambers added opposite central area now over crypt, with a further

small crypt to E of main apse. Biddle comments that side apses may have been intended to mirror or imitate the short-lived W double-apsed martyrium containing Swithun's relics, and proposes that such imitation due to splitting up of relics between high altar at E, and W enclosure (Ibid., 25). Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp. N and S porticus, secondary to original church, added during Biddle's Period II (Biddle 1975b, 319). As Period I consisted of as many as 9 floor levels, quite some time elapsed before need for porticus felt. At same time as porticus added, font added as well as W chamber/gallery (see ch. 2 appendix discussion).

Wing, Bucks. N and S aisles reached through 3 arches on each side from nave; possible two-storeyed annexe at W end, given upper doorways in N and S walls giving access to probable W gallery. As doorways very near W corner, access must have been from within aisle/annexe as entry from within nave would have blocked westernmost arch of arcade. In E wall of N aisle is surviving doorway to exterior, offset to S as if to provide room for altar against E wall. In vol. III (1085), Taylor revised his opinion of N and NE wall. He considers only SE stump of wall now as AS. Stump and arches nevertheless support implied form of aisle, so no change in interpretation here.

Wooten Wawen, Warks. N and S porticus/transepts off crossing, opening from doorways offset to E. This offset can be explained as due to centering of N and S porticus on external tower walls rather than in relation to use of internal space (see illustration in Gem 1971b, 225). Stumps of walling for porticus survive still on N. Church belonged to monastery, founded as early as 716-37 and reorganized in 10th century, but at some time before Conquest became connected with man called Waga, whose name formed second element of place-name, Wawen (Radford 1979, 76-9).

Worth, Suss. N and S transepts/porticus, opening from crossing/E end of nave through arches c. 8'8" wide and 14'7" high. High in W wall of S transept is round-headed window, now blocked, which Taylors thought either original or early Norman insertion. Arch to S transept heavily restored and both N and S walls replaced in 13th century.

(York/Cathedral) Lateral porticus? Taylor notes in vol. III (1086) that his discussion of cathedral foundations in vol. II relates to what are now known to be Norman remains. We must therefore still rely on written accounts. Earliest stone church, of Edwin and Oswald, had porticus dedicated to Gregory the Pope; unlikely to be main altar given dedication, but other early churches with same dedication had such a porticus on N. Church renewed by Wilfrid, burned in 741, but some survived according to Alcuin's account, for he refers to Edwin's church.

(York/Alma Sophia): Lateral porticus? Although often combined with cathedral accounts and treated as if both were same, this church was probably separate, as Morris ably argues (1986, 80-9). Very likely that cathedral was seat of

archbishop, but monastery had separate site and so its own church, with archbishop as patron; hence, confusion and conflation of accounts. Archbishop Albert (767-80), trained in York monastery, built new church in honor of Alma Sophia, with many porticus, upper chambers and some 30 altars, according to Alcuin (see Morris 1986, 87, n.4 for text and translation). New church co-existed with cathedral, possibly sited across Ouse in area near St. Mary Bishop. Forms of both churches unknown, though likely to include rows of lateral porticus and so listed as such.

CHAPTER TWO: THE WEST END

I. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE AND CLASSIFICATION

WEST ANNEXES

The following list cites all western annexes that stand alone (no lateral or subsidiary chambers), whether of one or two storeys, excepting towers, here considered in the final chapter.

*indicates west annexe of same width as nave
parentheses indicate problematic evidence

(Ampney St. Peter, Gloucs.)

Bardsey, Yks. WR

Barton-on-Humber, Lincs.

Bedford/St. Peter, Beds.

*Boarhunt, Hamp.

Bradwell-on-Sea, Ess.

Breamore, Hamp.

Brigstock, Northants.

Bywell/St. Andrew, Northumb.

*Bywell/St. Peter, Northumb.

(Caistor, Lincs.)

Canterbury/St. Pancras, Kent

*Canterbury/Sts. Peter and Paul, Kent (earliest 2 W end forms)

Cheriton, Kent

Clee, Lincs.

Conisbrough, S Yks.

Corbridge, Northumb.

Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs.

*Diddlebury, Shrops.

*Ebb's Nook, Northumb.

Escomb, Dur.

Gloucester/St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucs.

(Heysham/St. Peter's, Lincs.)

Jarrow, T and W

Ledsham, Yks. WR

*London/St. Alban Wood St.

London/St. Bride Fleet St.

Monkwearmouth, T and W

*Muchelny, Som.

(Northchurch, Herts.)

*North Elmham, Norf.

(Old Shoreham, Suss.)

Reculver, Kent

Reed, Herts.

Seaham, Dur.

*Skipwith, Yks ER

*South Elmham, Suff.

Titchfield, Hamp.

*Tollesbury, Ess.

*Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp.

TOTAL: 40, with 5 having problematic evidence

While most annexes were apparently one storey, as many as eight were not:

TWO-STOREY WEST PORCHES

Conisbrough, S Yks.

Deerhurst, Gloucs.

(Dover, Kent)

(Escomb, Dur.)

Jarrow, T and W

Ledsham, Yks NR

Monkwearmouth, Dur.

(Titchfield, Hamp.)

TOTAL: 8, with 3 having problematic evidence

Possible functions of west chambers will be assigned in appropriate sections under textual evidence. However, the initial list above notes that twelve churches have western chambers of a width equal to that of their naves (marked by * in the list). The list below further details entrances to these chambers.

WEST CHAMBERS OF WIDTH EQUAL TO THEIR NAVESexternal entrances nave doorways

Boarhunt, Hamp.	none	N and S
Bywell/St. Peter, Northumb.	unknown: mostly foundations	
Canterbury/Sts. Peter and Paul	west	same
Diddlebury, Shrops.	unknown	N
Ebb's Nook, Northumb.	S	S
London/St. Alban Wood Street	unknown: foundations only	
Muchelny, Som.	unknown	west?
North Elmham, Norf.	none	S; (N?)
Skipwith, Yks. ER	none	unknown
South Elmham, Suff.	west	same
Tollesbury, Ess.	unknown	S
Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp.	west	N

I initially compiled this list to test whether such chambers might, from their form, be interpreted as baptisteries. Given that Barton-on-Humber had a west chamber reached only from the nave (but narrower than its tower nave), I wished to see how many such west chambers had no external entrances or were otherwise planned so as to indicate liturgical use. No clear indications emerge from the list. Three churches have west chambers entered only from the nave, but three, including Winchester/St. Pancras with its font at the west end of its nave, had western external entrances to these chambers. Five churches, frustratingly, had

evidence destroyed (missing walls, later insertions) or inconclusive. Yet two of these five did have external nave entrances attested (Diddlebury and Tollesbury), so that a western external entrance would have been unnecessary. Ebb's Nook, despite its south entrance to the western chamber, seems to show a separate and equal need for that chamber; not five feet away, the nave has its own south entrance, implying that the western chamber could be opened and used independent of the church. Overall, while no conclusive proof exists to say that these west chambers were baptisteries, I would say their form, of a width equal to their naves', indicates perhaps a chamber seen as on equal footing liturgically and needing space. (Compare the evidence of comparable nave and baptistery size at Potterne, ch. 1.) The majority of the (admittedly incomplete) evidence implies that these chambers had no external entrance and so were entered from the nave, suggesting autonomous but liturgical use. (At Ebb's Nook, even the external entrance implies this conclusion.) On balance, then, I consider the use of such chambers as baptisteries (or less likely, sanctuaries) quite probable, except where a west entrance allows use as a simple entrance. At St. Pancras, even this does not preclude the presence of a font. Clearly I cannot argue that this form always indicates baptisteries, nor that baptisteries must take this form; Barton and Potterne argue against me. As one form for this use, however, such a western chamber appears a most likely candidate.

Whether this form might carry over for upper chambers in two-storey annexes, given their lack of external entries, remains an

open question. Continental evidence certainly suggests that it is possible; Corvey had an upper altar dedicated to John the Baptist, and a star set into the floor possibly marked the site of a font (Heitz 1963, 39). The St. Gall plan, though, placed its font at the west end of the nave proper (paralleling the tiny St. Pancras) and similar font placement occurred at Halberstadt, Gernrode and Magdeburg (Horn and Born 1979, I:135). However, given that baptism could take place in portable wooden tubs, as Horn and Born show in an illustration from the Luttrell Psalter (Ibid., 146), such tubs could be placed almost anywhere, leaving no archaeological trace. Perhaps relevant here, Heitz noted in France that "[e]n revanche, on voit fréquemment l'autorisation baptismale dévoluée aux abbés des monastères d'où la présence de fonts baptismaux dans presque toutes les grandes abbayes (Centula, Corvey et même encore Saint-Bénigne de Dijon)" (Heitz 1980, 224, note). Certainly, several sites listed (Bywell, Canterbury, perhaps both Elmham, Winchester) as well as Deerhurst with its decorated font could claim monastic connections. A closer re-evaluation of the role Saxon monasteries played in baptism and conversion might be illuminating for their architectural development.

A final listing for western chambers concerns those which were raised to towers later in the Anglo-Saxon period. The list is perhaps only useful in a general way, confirming that towers postdate simple west entrances and entrance chambers and occur as a later development in Saxon architecture.

PORCHES RAISED TO TOWERS IN THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

Bardsey, Yks. WR
 Bedford/St. Peter, Beds.
 Brigstock, Northants.
 Brixworth, Northants.
 Bywell/St. Andrew, Northumb.
 Conisbrough, S Yks.
 Corbridge, Northumb.
 Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs.
 Monkwearmouth, T and W
 Skipwith, Yks. ER

NARTHEXES

Churches listed here include any with more than one chamber at the west end.

	<u># of chambers</u>
Bardsey, Yks. WR	3
Brixworth, Northants.	5
Canterbury/Sts. Peter and Paul, Kent	3 and forecourt?
Cirencester, Som.	3
(Clee, Lincs.)	2?
Corbridge, Northumb.	3
Deerhurst, Gloucs.	2 or 3
(Glastonbury Abbey, Som.)	3 and forecourt?
(Hexham, Northumb.)	3?
Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yks. WR	3?

Lydd, Kent	3
Monkwearmouth, T and W	2 or 3
Netheravon, Wilts.	4 including tower
Sherborne, Dors.	4 and forecourt?
(Staindrop, Dur.)	3?
Warblington, Hamp.	4
Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp.	2, then 4

TOTAL: 17, with 4 having problematic evidence

Not surprisingly, most sites are major ones, though a few appear here unexpectedly. The variety of form is notable, hidden by the predominant three-chamber count. While a central entrance chamber flanked by north and south chambers remains the most likely form, several churches have chambers only to one side, or preceding the central chamber to the west. The latter form can appear above as four chambers also, and the central chamber behind the entrance porch often is a tower. (Later terminology calls this form a western crossing, though it is not a term generally adopted in our period.) Several major sites apparently had forecourts at some point in their development, and these notably constitute major relic collecting sites. In fact, Winchester gives firm evidence that its west end developed only under the impetus of Swithun's cult, and the elaboration of the east end in turn takes place only when that saint's relics are split and placed at the east end. Given the status of most sites listed above, I would conclude that relic collections and their

eneration were the single most important influence on west end development. At sites for which no previous indication of relics existed (e.g. Netheravon, Wilts.), such elaboration of the west end can provide indirect evidence of an otherwise unknown aspect.

GALLERIES

(Barnack, Northants.)

Barton-on-Humber, Lincs./S. Humbs.

(Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts.)

Deerhurst, Gloucs.

Dover, Kent

Dunham Magna, Norf.

(Earl's Barton, Northants.)

(Hardwick, Bucks.)

Jarrow, T and W

Langford, Oxfs.

Monkwearmouth, Dur.

(Morton-on-the-Hill, Norf.)

(Northchurch, Herts.)

North Leigh, Oxfs.

Norton, Dur.

Stoke D'Abernon, Surr.

(Stowe-Nine-Churches, Northants.)

Strethall, Ess.

Tredington, Warks.

(Turvey, Beds.)

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp. c. 980 on

(Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp.)

Wing, Bucks.

York/Alma Sophia, Yks.

(York/Cathedral, Yks.)

TOTAL: 25, with 10 having problematic evidence

Thrown together in one list, the disposition of galleries listed above remains unclear. While the west end appears the most likely placement, the following breakdown, based on evaluations detailed in the appendix following this chapter, shows several other locations as possible. Because the west end has been considered the most likely location for galleries, and because the placement of exceptions is varied and problematic, all galleries are discussed in this chapter regardless of location.

PROPOSED PLACEMENT OF GALLERIES

*indicates evidence allows more than one interpretation, and so church listed in more than one place

<u>EXTERNAL</u>	<u>ALONG NAVE</u>	<u>C-SHAPED</u>
(Barnack)	*Winchester/Old Minster	Deerhurst
Deerhurst	*Wing	Tredington
(Earl's Barton)		*Winchester/Old Minster

<u>WEST END</u>	<u>CENTRAL/AXIAL TOWER</u>	<u>EAST END</u>
(Carlton)	Barton-on-Humber	Langford
Dover	Dunham Magna	(Northchurch)
(Hardwick)	Norton	
Jarrow	North Leigh	
Monkwearmouth		
(Morton-on-the-Hill)		
Stoke D'Abernon		
(Stowe-Nine-Churches)		
Strethall		
(Turvey)		
(Winchester/St. Pancras)		
*Wing		

York was unassigned due to insufficient evidence.

In reviewing the standing evidence, the most striking conclusion for me was that side galleries may have existed and been more numerous than previously considered, with the strongest cases at Deerhurst and Winchester/Old Minster. Archaeologically, it might repay re-evaluation of excavation evidence where a supposed previous timber church is found within the nave of a later stone church. Rows of postholes parallel to nave walls might well be supports for side galleries.

II. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

Documentary sources for the west end of churches are not as plentiful as for porticus, perhaps because most commonly, the west end was an entrance, an unremarkable use which needed no commentary. Considerable evidence exists for towers at the west, but due to the amount of material involved, towers here constitute a separate chapter. They should still be considered an integral part of west end development.

In Anglo-Saxon churches, the most common west ends consist of single chambers, which may later convert to towers, or simple narthexes, usually with three chambers. The best definitions for narthex and porch are those of the Penguin Dictionary of Architecture (Fleming et al. 1981, 224 and 249):

NARTHEX 1. In a Byzantine church, the transverse vestibule either preceding nave and aisles as an inner narthex (esonarthex) or preceding the façade as an outer narthex (exonarthex). An esonarthex is separated from the nave and aisles by columns, rails or a wall. An exonarthex may also serve as the terminating transverse portico of a colonnaded atrium or quadriporticus. 2. In a general medieval sense, an enclosed covered antechurch at the main entrance, especially if the direction is transverse and not east-west and several bays deep; sometimes called a Galilee.

PORCH The covered entrance to a building; called a portico if columned and pedimented like a temple front.

The western end of a church could have several uses: as a place of burial, or more likely, as a chapel, though neither use precludes the other; as an entrance porch or porticus ingressus; as a place for keeping various groups of penitents separate from the rest of the laity; as a place for instructing catechumens and

as a place of baptism. It also figures in the dedication ceremony and night offices and could contain a western sanctuary or western gallery.

A. Western Burials

Bingham noted (1856, 291) that, in the Eastern church, the narthex or pronaos/ante-temple is traditionally

allotted to the monks or women, and used to perform the offices of rogations, and supplications, and night watches in; here also they place dead corpses, whilst their funeral rites are performing.

As the narthex often opened off an atrium, or formed the fourth (east) side of an atrium, some of the quotations from the first chapter also apply here, such as the canon of the council of Nantes in 658 allowing burial within the atrium¹ and the statement of St. Chrysostom concerning kings buried before the porches of the apostles.²

Early documentary evidence for the exact burial place of specific Anglo-Saxons, however, is scarce. We have, for example, Bede's mention of Eosterwine's temporary burial "in porticu ingressus aecclisiae" after his death in 694 (Bede 1975, 385). Unfortunately, as his burial was temporary, and his bones later translated to the east end, we cannot be sure whether Eosterwine's bones were placed at the west because of a custom, or because of a wish to protect his remains within the church until permanently buried. A point in support of the latter exists in the architecture of the west porch at Monkwearmouth, where a central

doorway replaces what seems an earlier doorway offset from the center, due perhaps to an altar or burial. Any connection between this sequence and Easterwine, however, is speculative. Also, Bede does refer to the chamber as an entry porticus, suggesting that the original and main use for the chamber was just that. A further example perhaps exists in Swithun's burial, for which we have ample archaeological evidence due to the Winchester excavations. The original burial was apparently between two churches, though at the west end of the larger. As the church of Peter and Paul became more elaborate, it encompassed the tower of St. Martin, to the west of Swithun's burial, and so also encompassed the burial site as well, making it part of the complex west end. Notably, however, the burial was not in the westernmost chambers properly called the narthex, but rather centrally located between apse-like chambers to the north and south, and possibly under a central tower (see ch. 3 appendix entry). Evidence from Sherborne indicates a burial in the northwest transept, possibly that of Wulfsin (+1001), as a plaster covering for a casket projecting above floor level is indicated.

Continental evidence does suggest that Easterwine's burial at Monkwearmouth was in keeping with Gallic traditions. At Corvey, a small rectangular porch, 3.2 meters deep, preceded the entrance. Each of its three bays contained a tomb, including that of Adalgar, who between 873 and 885 helped to build the centrally planned antéglise (Heitz 1963, 31). Earlier, at St. Riquier, a porch between two stair turrets preceded the actual entrance, probably sheltering Angilbert's tomb and opening onto an atrium.

At Fulda, Boniface was buried at his own wish inside the west end of the church. When translated in 819, his bones were kept in the west choir, part of a great western transept (Quirk 1957, 53). At Rheims, when Adalbert rebuilt the westwork in 976, he placed the body of the martyred Pope Calixtus at the west entrance, according to the account of Richer (888-995): "Corpus quoque sancti Kalisti papae et martiris, debito honore in ipso aecclesiae ingressu, loco scilicet editiore collocavit" (Richer 1937, 2:28-31).

The Continental idea behind the great westworks, however, was that of a centrally planned but autonomous church, built to the west of another church with a nave between them. The different parts of the church were juxtaposed, what Hubert called a "groupe cathédrale." Francastel sees the change to the Romanesque, in fact, in terms of a change from Carolingian autonomous buildings (united architecturally but with separate functions) to a perfect subordination of parts to a symbolic ensemble:

...chaque pierre servira à souligner la parfaite subordination des parties à un dessein spectaculaire et symbolique d'ensemble, [whereas] [l]e carolingien...demeure attaché au principe opposé de la juxtaposition voire à l'interpénétration d'éléments aussi nombreux qu'il y a des services ou des besoins distincts à satisfaire (Francastel 1951, 254).

Heitz agrees, seeing the church porch as both a culmination and a point of departure, as the end of the Carolingian period witnesses a slow interpenetration of the various parts over at least four centuries. Aiding this change were the decline of the cult of the Savior, which shaped the development of the west end with its

elaborate celebrations of such feasts as Easter week, and the rise of dramatic presentations such as the scene of the three Marys at the tomb (Heitz 1963, 161-2 and 177).

The elaborate westworks of the Continent are, however, a far cry from what we have found thus far in England, with exceptions such as Glastonbury and Winchester. On the whole, the Anglo-Saxons seem to have seen their churches as collections of chambers, added on as needed without an overall or central plan. While these chambers seem to have had autonomous functions (that is, they could serve needs which required no other parts of the church), they frequently interpenetrated, as Francastel terms it, the larger space of the church; a western sanctuary would involve the nave and possibly other altars of a church, while a narthex used for penitents and/or catechumens would allow a limited degree of participation. Perhaps, rather than attempt to make any connections between English and later or earlier Continental developments, we might come closer to the truth if we recognized that the use of the porch to bury Eosterwine was simply a practical use of space not otherwise occupied, though perhaps Eosterwine's burial is evidence for a survival of Gallic custom (and Gallic liturgy?) which soon gave way to Romanization.

Sites with burials at the west are scanty: Escomb, Dur. (archaeological evidence); Hexham, Northumb. (if second crypt at the west); Monkwearmouth, T and W (textual evidence); Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp. (archaeological and textual evidence).

B. Western Chapels

The use of the west porch as chapel or church is better attested than its use as a burial place. If burials were more common than records show, it may well have been that masses were offered over the tombs of those buried in the west chamber. Burial is not necessary for the western altars described by Aethelwulf and by Eadmer, though. Aethelwulf, in his De Abbatibus, comes to the west end of the church in his dream and sees a porticus with a consecrated altar shining with gold, and in a chair set with sapphire and beryl sits abbot Wulfsig (Aethelwulf 1967, lines 765-80). These details of western altars and chairs are supported by archaeological and architectural evidence concerning such sites as Barnack, Canterbury and perhaps Hexham. While the church described is one of a vision, the poet describes an elaborate church which is nevertheless built like churches he knows outside his vision, and which resembles the factual account of Eadmer when he describes Canterbury Cathedral:

The western extremity of the church was adorned by the oratory of Mary, the blessed Mother of God; which was so constructed that access could only be had to it by steps. At its eastern part, there was an altar consecrated to the worship of that Lady, which had within it the head of the blessed virgin Austroberta. When the priest performed the divine mysteries at this altar he had his face turned to the east, towards the people who stood below. Behind him to the west, was the pontifical chair constructed with handsome workmanship, and of large stones and cement; and far removed from the Lord's table, being contiguous to the wall of the church which embraced the entire area of the building (Willis 1845, 12).

In a brief discussion of western sanctuaries, Taylor (1984, 973)

states that he believes the Canterbury sanctuary was on solid ground at a higher level than the nave, rather than located in a western gallery, as the mention of steps might suggest. Gem (1971a, 196) argues that a two-storey, tower-like porticus with an upper tribune is consistent with Eadmer's description, opening to the nave through an archway, as Brixworth does. Such a construction seems unlikely, however, given that a chair set into the west wall "far removed" from the altar does not sound possible given the size of western annexe chambers. Elsewhere, Taylor (1975, 154-8) supports his idea by linking such a western altar to the remains at Barnack, though Barnack's chamber is at ground level. (As Barnack's west chamber is a tower, with no external ground level entrance, consideration of its unusually large and elaborate lower chamber here is postponed until chapter three.)

Evidence from Anglo-Saxon churches such as Skipwith confirms that upper western chapels existed, both when a western annexe was only of two storeys and when a western tower existed. The liturgical significance of such a chamber was endowed with special symbolism. The earliest Christian place of worship known was the room in which the Last Supper was celebrated, "a large upper room" (Mark 14:15 and Luke 22:12). Traditionally, the Holy Spirit came here to the Apostles on Pentecost (Acts 2) and here Mary supposedly died. Such traditions existed at an early date; for instance, Cyril of Jerusalem, c. 315-386, describes the site of Pentecost:

...we know the Holy Ghost, who spake in the Prophets, and who

Lect. 1
 on the day of Pentecost descended on the Apostles in the form of fiery tongues, here, in Jerusalem, in the upper Church of the Apostles; for in all things the choicest privileges are with us....And in truth it were most fitting that as we discourse concerning Christ and Golgotha, so also we should speak concerning the Holy Ghost in the Upper Church (Cyril 1894, 116).

The edition of Cyril's catechetical lectures cited above also mentions Epiphanius' comment (De Mensuris et Ponder. c. 14) that Hadrian found Jerusalem nearly levelled, but that the exceptions included "the Church of God which was small; where the Disciples, on their return after the Saviour was taken up from the Mount of Olives, went up into the upper chamber" (Ibid., 116, n. 7).

Similarly, the Queen Mother of Constantine, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, built a church enclosing this upper room (Muncey 1930, 4) and the church was later restored or even rebuilt by Modestus about 625 (Adamnan 1958, 23). Bede mentions it briefly in his De Locis Sanctis Libellus (ch. 2). He describes it as a large church on Mt. Zion surrounded by monastic cells built by the Apostles, "because they received the Holy Spirit in that place, and Saint Mary died there. The place of our Lord's holy supper is shown within; and a marble pillar stands in the middle of the church, to which our Lord was tied when he was scourged" (Bede 1843, 408-11). In Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis, the church is described as a huge basilica, and the text states that Stephen died here and Jesus was scourged here (I.18). An accompanying sketch in the manuscript gives further information, with the following labels (abbreviations expanded):

Hand
 Locus hic caenae domini
 hic spiritus sanctus super apostolos descendit
 hic sancta Maria obiit

lapis super quem dominus flagellatus est.
 hic columna marm[u or o]re [damaged] acui adherens dominus
 flagellatus est
 (Adamnan 1958, plate facing 63).

At St. Wandrille, Abbot Anségise (807-833) added after 822 an ensemble that resembled the tower of the savior at Centula, and it was called "coenaculum" for its upper storey, the same name given to the room of the Last Supper (Heitz 1963, 28).

With the Last Supper in mind as a possible influence on the placement of chapels, we could now interpret one passage in De Abbatibus. The narrator ascends with his guide to a "high place" in the church which gives a view to the north. He finds a table of various foods, with vessels of gold and gems. Eadfrith takes up a cup made from "crystal ore" and pours "sacred liquid," giving the narrator a drink with suitable prayers (ll. 775-85). While possible that here in the visionary city, dreamers are entertained in the upper chambers of the church, the depiction of a wondrous feast, a vessel of wine blessed and offered with prayers seems more symbolic and significant than that. I believe it is meant to remind readers of the Last Supper and its setting, and to draw parallels between that meal and the celebration of mass in an upper chapel.

Such a connection, between the Last Supper and masses celebrated in upper rooms, may point to a particularly Anglo-Saxon form of the continental cult of the Savior in the Carolingian era. Until recently disclaiming any westworks in Anglo-Saxon England, scholars have looked for direct and exact parallels to the form found on the continent, generally that of a multi-storeyed tower

with two stair turrets, one to either side. They seem to have missed the essential parts, and their liturgical justifications, necessary to the development of western tower churches. The towers were, in the Carolingian period, the center for the cult of Christ the Savior, and as such, were the setting for elaborate liturgies of Christmas and Holy Week. At St. Riquier, for example, the masses of these two holy periods were celebrated in the church of the Savior, the upper western altar, and after the communion of the monks, two priests distributed Hosts in the aisles of the upper church. When mass was finished, each priest then went to an exit to give communion to those coming down from the galleries, then descended, and next to the bottom of the stairs, gave communion to those who had not received it (Heitz 1963, 27). The most important aspects of the placement of the liturgies were their celebration at the western end of the church, the specific dedication of the altar there, and their celebration in an upper room. The most exact parallel in Anglo-Saxon England is Winchester. Here, Swithun's cult is entirely responsible for west end evolution, and the complex created has every appearance of complete liturgical autonomy (see appendix entry).

Sites with evidence for chapels, excluding tower chambers such as Skipwith, may number five: Escomb, Dur. (if upper level existed over sunken level with burials); Gloucester/St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucs. (given apse at west end); Hexham, Northumb. (by analogy with Continental models it resembles and the complexity of the site and its numerous altars); Monkwearmouth, T and W (possible correlation of offset west doorway and an altar, or

perhaps, the placement of a cross in the east wall of an upper chamber); Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp. (the centrally planned west end evolving around Swithun's burial and doubtless the liturgies enacted there). In addition, upper chambers in porches later raised to towers may have held chapels, with the evidence destroyed in such alterations.

C. Penitents and the West End

refs ^
 According to early penitential practices, especially those documented in the East, three classes of penitents existed, each being less excluded from participation in the church but all sinners of sufficient seriousness to require an extended public repentance. The first class, sometimes called the mourners, were not allowed into any part of the church, and stood in the area we called the exonarthex, begging the prayers of the faithful. Eusebius describes this area of the church property in his history of the church as the mansion of those who were not allowed to enter further into the church (lib. 10, c. 4). The second group of penitents, called the audientes, "hearers," stood within the exonarthex, along with catechumens and any non-Christians who wished to listen. They were allowed here during the reading of the psalms, scripture readings and sermon, and then dismissed without a blessing. The third group of penitents was allowed into the church but at the very back of the nave, behind the lowest class of believers. They were called substrati because they prostrated themselves before the priest, when the sermon was

it in Bulding

ended, for his blessing, and joined in prayers said by the congregation for them. They then left before the Eucharistic sacrifice.

Given the number of early penitentials, we might expect that England observed something resembling the classifications of penitents, at least in the earlier centuries. In fact, however, Theodore's Penitential (I.13.4) specifically says that no public penance or reconciliation takes place here: "Reconciliatio in hac provincia publice statuta non est, quia et publica penitentia non est" (Haddan and Stubbs 1871, 187). Frantzen shows that Theodore was the first to introduce an English vs. an Irish system of penance, for while the Irish system, based on private penance, existed well before the end of the seventh century, its lists show the penitentials are collections of sins actually confessed, and the Irish never formalized public and private reconciliation as the Carolingians did (Frantzen 1982, 52. 56). Yet curiously, most of our evidence for English penitentials is Continental, as no English manuscripts of any penitential are known from the ninth century or before: all early manuscripts are from continental scriptoria (Ibid., 68-9) and Frantzen finds it "disturbing" that Theodore's penitential has no obvious consequences for his successors (Ibid., 77). It seems that in general, early law codes treat ecclesiastical penance as an addition to secular penalties; Frantzen cites the laws of Wihtrud (695), which punish violations of Sunday observances or illicit unions, and distinguish between punishments for laity and for clergy (Ibid., 79).

Yet Carolingian texts seem those which most strongly

ref

influenced the development of penance, such as Capitula a Sacerdotibus Proposita et Interrogationes Examinationis (802-3). This text instructed bishops to make sure priests knew how to hear confession and use a penitential, and provided guidelines for confession and penance. Many new penitentials, taking account of reforms, appeared after this on the Continent, and made their way to England. Indeed, Frantzen argues that the history of penance and penitentials in tenth century England is only understood in the context of Frankish reform. Homilies in the Vercelli Book and Blicking collections address the topic of teaching penance, though still no references are made to public penance. Still, the Anglo-Saxon Scriftboc has the penitent prostrating himself before his confessor (Frantzen 1982, 166), while from the ninth century on the Continent, an ordo confessionis details confession in the vernacular, the imposition of hands and the reconciliation of penitents on Holy Thursday (Ibid., 105, 113).

Confession is a duty of Christians by the time of Aethelred's laws issued at King's Enham (AEhnham):

[22] 7 aeghwylc Cristen man do swa him thearf is: gyne his Cristendomes georne 7 gewunige gelomlice to scrifte 7 unforwandodlice his synna gecythe 7 geornlice bete, swa swa him man taece.

[29] 7 gyf aenig amansumad man, butan hit frithbena sy, on thaes cynges neaweste ahwar gewunige, aer tham the he haebbe godcunde bote georne gebogene, thonne plihte he him sylfum 7 eallan his aehtan.

[22] And every Christian man is to do, as is needful for him: heed zealously his Christian duties and form the habit of frequent confession, and freely confess his sins and willingly atone for them, as he is directed.

[29] And if any excommunicated man, unless it be a suppliant for protection, remain anywhere in the king's neighbourhood before he has submitted readily to ecclesiastical penance, it is to be at the peril of his life and all his possessions (Whitelock et al. 1981, 355, 359).

In researches on treatment of the Eucharist in Old and Middle English, Cravens noted the story of St. Benedict told by Aelfric. The deacon cried out his customary warning "aertham huselgange" (before communion) that if any present were unworthy, they should leave the church. Two excommunicate monks, buried in the church (though one wonders how), rose from their graves and went out, but Benedict sent oflete (hosts) for a mass to be said for them, and the monks were never seen to leave again (Cravens 1932, 29). In a related treatment of sinners and communion, Wulfstan devotes two-thirds of the Sermo de Cena Domini to justifications for excluding sinners, especially public ones, "tha forsyngedan," from entrance into the church (Ibid., 50). This justification implies that by the tenth century, a firm division and knowledge at least between those worthy to participate fully in the sacraments and those not was observed.

The evidence, then, points to the possibility that the western chambers, if not the western part of the nave, could be used to separate penitents from the faithful. A view was not necessary, however, as the Eastern churches could separate the penitents by railings or by a wall from the rest of the church. What was important was that they could hear; given the size of the average Anglo-Saxon church, that should not have been difficult. Still, a great deal depends on how strictly the Anglo-Saxons observed the physical differentiation between the two groups, penitents and

believers, during the evolution of Saxon architecture. Whether they simply made sure that no penitent stayed beyond the portion of the mass to which they were entitled or whether they kept penitents under the watch of the doorkeeper who turned them out when the time came is unrecorded.

The possibility also exists, though not specifically documented, that those penitents seeking sanctuary might well have lodged in one of the chambers in western annexes, being just inside the door, and many times under the altar in an upper chapel. An early Roman law from the Theodosian code, issued on May 23, 431, may contain the hint of a later development in this direction:

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The temples of the Most High God shall be open to those persons who are afraid. Not only do we sanction that the altars and the surrounding oratory of the temple, which encloses the church with a barrier of four walls on the inside, shall be set aside for the protection of those persons who take refuge, but also the space up to the outside doors of the church, which people desiring to pray enter first, we order to be an altar of safety for those who seek sanctuary. Thus, if there be any intervening space within the circumference of the walls of the temple which we have marked off and within the outer doors of the church behind the public grounds, whether it be in the cells or in the houses, gardens, baths, courtyards, or colonnades, such space shall protect the fugitives, just as the interior of the temple does (Pharr 1969, 265).

The earlier Sirmondian Constitutions were more exact, in naming the vestibule near the entrance of the church and its doors as the place of sanctuary (issued November 21, 419, Title 13):

Emperors Honorius and Theodosius, Pious Augustuses. It is fitting that humanity, which was known even before Our times, should temper justice. For when very many people flee from

the violence of a cruel fortune and choose the protection of the defense of the churches, when they are confined therein, they suffer no less imprisonment than that which they have avoided. For at no time is an egress opened to them into the light of the vestibule. Therefore the sanctity of ecclesiastical reverence shall apply to the space of 50 paces beyond the doors of the church. If anyone should hold a person who goes forth from this place [church], he shall incur the criminal charge of sacrilege (Ibid., 483).

As a last note, in addition to penitents, non-believers and even heretics were allowed in as "hearers." In stricter places, heretics were forbidden, as the council of Laodicea (A.D. 320, c. 6) states: "Non permittere haereticis, ut in domum domini ingrediantur, si in haeresi permaneant" (Mansi 1759-1927, vol. 2, col. 565). But in Africa, the fourth council of Carthage (c. 84) decreed "Ut episcopus nullum prohibeat ingredi ecclesiam et audire verbum Dei, sive Gentilem, sive haereticum, sive Judaeum, usque ad missam catechumenorum" (Bingham 1856, 291).

As penance seems to have thrived late in Anglo-Saxon England, we might not expect architecture to show any developments specifically for this use until the end of the period. Such west ends as occur at South Elmham, Suff. and Muchelny, Som. might qualify, as a crosswall divides the west end from the nave but allows passage through openings at the north and south junctures with nave walls.

D. Catechumens and Baptism

The catechumens have already been mentioned in passing when considering the place of penitents, for the catechumens were also allowed to hear the psalms and readings for their instruction, as

well as the sermon. Their main instruction may well have occurred in the baptistery or that part of the church containing a font (but see ch. 1 appendix entry for Breamore for use of the south porticus). Not every church had a font, of course, or a separate room for it, but archaeological evidence at least presents us with some possibilities for western chambers. St. Ambrose mentions in a letter (33 ad Marcellin) that after the readings and his homily, he went to the baptistery of the church to teach the catechumens the Creed. As this would be a major interruption of a mass if the readings and sermon were part of a mass, the stop is a little more understandable if the catechumens are actually in a chamber of the church and are being instructed, before being dismissed, by learning a prayer and profession of faith. However, given the presence of wells at such sites as both a north porticus and apse east of the high altar at Winchester and the profusion of wells at Wells/St. Mary's, Somerset, the west end need not have been the only place within or near the church for locating a baptistery or font. At Canterbury, a new church was built to the east of the older one for several specific uses, among them baptism, while Potterne had a baptistery in a southeast porticus.

Further possibilities for baptisteries were mentioned in the archaeological evidence at the beginning of this chapter, when discussing western chambers with widths equal to that of their naves. A significant number seem to have autonomous design, that is, they do not simply serve as an entrance but exist as a chamber entered from the nave, or, as at Ebb's Nook, entered from a doorway set close to another in the same wall but serving the

nave, and so implying a need for the west chamber that need not involve the rest of the church. (See the list of such chambers at the beginning of the chapter for annexes that might serve as baptisteries.) Two churches at least provide evidence for western baptisteries, Barton-on-Humber and Winchester/St. Pancras, while Deerhurst's font and possibly that at Escomb qualify them for consideration here. As noted earlier, the St. Gall plan placed its font at the west end of the nave proper, the current placement of the font at Escomb. In addition, Old Shoreham, Suss. and Seaham, Dur. had no external west entrances and so might have served as well. One further note concerning indirect evidence for baptisteries: Muncey notes that burial on the north of a church was not liked and that often a font was placed with a north door nearby (Muncey 1930, 141). Known as the "devil's door," it was thrown open at baptism to let Satan escape. (Was this why a north door was added to the nave when the font appears at Winchester/St. Pancras?) The belief persisted even up to Milton's time, for his Paradise Lost (VI, lines 78-85) gives the north to the devil:

...At last
 Far in the horizon to the north appear'd
 From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd
 In battailous aspect, ...
 The banded powers of Satan hasting on.
 E. The West End and Church Ritual

In the ceremony of dedication used in the late Anglo-Saxon period, as shown in the Lanalet Pontifical, the bishop walks three times around the church, intoning psalms, and at the door he

intones and is answered by a priest or deacon (Gage 1834, 253). He also, in the Gallican form, knocks on the door with his crozier and enters, and this is illustrated in the Lanalet Pontifical. But this intonement of responses is perhaps not the only ritual in which the west end features. Bingham mentions that the modern Greek church observes certain offices here, including night watches, and perhaps a trace of a similar practice in the Anglo-Saxon church remains in *De Abbatibus*. In chapter XXI, the poet joins a brother watching the stars, after leaving the church at night with the other monks. The two witness a troop of angels who enter the church and divide into two bands to sing (Aethelwulf 1967, lines 669-73, 52-3).

intrans sidereo candentem luce delubrum
 spiritus, ac geminis distincti classibus ymnos
 tales concinnunt; quatitans ad culmina cantus
 ascendit caeli, insonuit laquearibus altis,
 et si non structura, tamen meritis micat almis.

The spirits entered the church, which was shining with starry light, and divided into two bands, they sang hymns which may be thus described: the song rose up to the high places of the sky and shook them, it resounded in the domes on high, and if it was not remarkable for its rhetoric [*structura*], it was for its blessed merits.

Lines 678-9 provide the clue that the angels sing by the door under the roof of the church in two bands: "diu geminis in classibus aulae/ culmine sub sancti sonuerunt postibus." While nowhere is the western end specifically mentioned, the only other likely places would be transepts with exterior doors (implying that the troop split up before entering the church, which is not

the case) or a door midway down the nave, an odd place to chant. As "doors" is plural, we might accept this as an indication of the angels performing an office just as the monks did, near the west entrance, possibly using side chambers there, or even the benches which are occasionally found against north walls. Another alternative remains, that the phrase "under the roof" indicates the use of a western gallery, but the straightforward description of entering the church and singing, without ascending by stairs, seems to preclude this choice and to indicate inside vs. outside. Given that they are angels, the phrase could also place them hovering in the air, as they were frequently imagined to do when mass was celebrated.

Two other architectural aspects of Anglo-Saxon churches require discussion here: upper exterior doorways in western annexes and galleries. The former occur entirely at the west end in surviving Saxon churches, while evidence for galleries indicates that a western placement was at least the most likely, though galleries in axial towers and at east ends of naves did exist. Upper exterior doorways were often designed as an aspect of towers, and as such are discussed in chapter three. Here, I limit discussion to possible functions.

I consider the two most likely uses for exterior upper doorways 1) the display of relics and treasures on feast days and 2) the possibility of preaching. The latter would allow smaller churches to accommodate larger crowds expected on feasts such as Christmas and Easter. We should recall how seriously Lent was taken as a religious season: those who failed to keep the Lenten

fast were fined 120 shillings in Alfred's day (Whitelock et al. 1981, 33), while by Aethelred's time (c. 1008), communion was required three times a year, at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, echoing a canon from the Concilia Turonense (c. 50) of 813 (see Ibid. 1981, 355, n. 2). Easter and Pentecost are perhaps especially likely, given inclement winter conditions, and the likelihood of processions outside the church, complete with relics.

Deerhurst may preserve evidence for an exterior gallery, as the Taylors noted patched holes in the west face of the tower at second floor level (1980, 195). Barnack too could have supported a gallery below its western doorway, as the unusual offset and double string course would allow a thick platform to fit between the strings; perhaps the animal head of the lower western window helped anchor supports, though it may serve symbolic purpose instead (such heads occur at Deerhurst as well; see ch. 1 discussion). Earl's Barton is the final instance where an upper doorway might serve for relic display (see appendix). In any case, relic display did occur on the continent, and continues at such places as Aachen and Kornelimünster, as Taylor noted (1984, 827). However, such displays occur at the east end of the church at Kornelimünster (Hugot 1968, 3), not at the west. Notably, while the lower chapel functioned as a sacristy, the upper chapel was expressly built as a reliquary chapel: "Die obere Kapelle war eigens als Heiligtumskapelle gebaut worden...Heiligtumskapelle und Kirchennordschiff sind durch eine kleine Fensteranlage miteinander verbunden" (Ibid., 140). This last point, concerning

a connecting window between reliquary chamber and a northern nave or aisle, suggests continental parallels for openings between nave and upper chambers and raises the question of whether openings such as those found at Deerhurst and Brixworth might have had a similar function.

If upper doorways are connected with preaching (which need not exclude their use for relics as well), they may have been used when the church was overcrowded for popular holy days. Occasions such as Easter, Lent and feast days of saints might call for the teaching of and preaching to large groups of catechumens and penitents, while the visit of important clergy might be another reason for increased crowds. Preaching to a crowd outside the church seems a logical development from the practice of preaching in a field near a cross, when priests went to people rather than vice-versa. Such preaching is also in line with suggestions of Gregory to Mellitus, c. 601. He stated that locals would build shelters out of boughs (Bede HE I.30) near churches specifically for such feasts as a day of dedication or the festival of saints whose relics are enshrined in the church. At Kornelimünster, Hugot noted a connection from about 881 in Aachen between displays of relics and events such as parish fairs, including markets (1968, 18). Surely such events would bring large numbers of people and merchants, and perhaps we should see upper doorways as evidence of an interrelationship between church festivals and the secular repercussions of such gatherings. At Barnack at least there is ~~is~~ some indication that a secular gathering might have preceded the church itself, as the name seems to come from Beorn-

ac, bear or warrior's oak, implying a gathering place of pre-Christian origin and possibly with legal connections.

F. Galleries

In Anglo-Saxon churches, galleries usually appeared over the west or sometimes the east end of the nave, though occasionally they formed an upper level in axial towers below belfries. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I concluded that galleries that extended along nave walls might exist at several sites, and something like this arrangement may be depicted in the Benedictional of Saint Aethelwold. (Previous interpretation of a west gallery there by some ~~seems~~ based on accepting a lack of perspective in the drawing that apparently does not exist.) Taylor does not rule out such a form. He considered that Eddius' phrase about the winding passages and spiral staircases of Hexham (Wilfrid 22) implied a "connexion with the ritual of the church," and included the passage as evidence of galleries in his Jarrow lecture (1961, 13). Alcuin's poem "De Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Eboricensis Ecclesiae" gives more detail on York's church (ll. 1507-14).

Wans

Ast Nova basilicae mirae structura diebus
 praesulis huius erat iam coepta, peracta, sacrata.
 Haec nimis alta domus solidis suffulta columnis,
 suppositae quae stant curvatis arcibus, intus
 emicat egregiis laquearibus atque fenestris.
 Pulchraque porticibus fulget circumdata multis,
 plurima diversis retinens solaria tectis,
 quae triginta tenet variis ornatibus aras (Godman 1982).

It resembles what we know of Continental examples from the same period, having thirty altars in porticus, with columns on the lower level supporting arches to the porticus and their elaborate panelled ceilings, while above the arches were many balconies/galleries (solaria) with diverse ceilings (of different heights, or of varied decoration, or denoting galleries in tiers?).

Taylor mentions only the likelihood of western galleries housing altars (1984, 829) though he does comment on the size of that at Deerhurst as providing elaborate ritual "only for a few." The probability that a liturgy celebrated in the gallery was for a small group may point to its function as a private chapel, perhaps added for a local thegn or benefactor and his family. The gallery might give a degree of privacy for such a group in the larger and more public masses, paralleling the continental Kaiserhalle or the arrangement Charlemagne had in his chapel at Aachen. It might also at times separate the laity from the clergy, a situation possibly depicted in the Benedictional of Saint Aethelwold: the celebrant reads from his benedictional to the monks standing before him, viewed by the laity, including a woman, gathered on an upper level (Wormald 1959). Alternatively, they may be special benefactors of the new church, with the gallery denoting their status.

Though the preceding point makes it unlikely at least in the later Saxon period, galleries may also have been used to separate men and women in the congregation, or perhaps, women from monastic groups when monastic churches were open on large festivals. In

the Greek church, women were placed in the hyperoia, or upper rooms or galleries, also called katechoumena, for "places of hearing." The Empress Eirene had her own upper apartment. At the time of the consecration, curtains hung between the pillars of the galleries were drawn before the women, as were the curtains of the sanctuary. While unlikely in parish churches for separating the sexes, it is not inconceivable that monasteries might so employ galleries when their churches were open to large public crowds including women.

More interesting in terms of the Anglo-Saxon church, however, is the practice of holding councils and possibly legal proceedings in galleries. Here we should picture large western galleries or more likely galleries extending over aisles, if not whole upper floors over naves. The Council of Constantinople of 1165 was held in the right-hand galleries of the church of Alexius according to Leo Allatius (De Consensu Eccles. II.11-12) and mentions that others were held in the same place. The use of galleries or upper floors for Anglo-Saxon councils seems quite inviting, especially given the Laud Chronicle (ASC E) entry for 978:

In this year the leading councillors of England fell down from an upper storey at Calne [Wessex], all except the holy archbishop Dunstan, who alone remained standing on a beam; some were severely injured there, and some did not escape with their lives (Garmonsway 1978, 123).

Unfortunately the entry does not specifically state that there was a council nor that it took place in a church, and the presence of Dunstan does not ensure that it concerns a religious council. The implication is, however, that the leading councillors were gathered for a purpose, in which Dunstan took an interest.

Dunstan's escape has an element of the hagiographical incident to it, but that does not make the accompanying details any less credible, namely, that the chief councillors assembled in an upper room. The "upper room" is in fact "in uno solario" in the Latin version of the Bilingual Canterbury Epitome (BM Cotton MS Comitian A viii; see Garmonsway 1978, 123 note), or a balcony or gallery. The word is the same used by Alcuin to describe upper galleries at York, as mentioned previously. Certainly, holding councils in galleries or upper rooms would not be difficult, nor present problems in accommodating the group, as, according to H. M. Chadwick, the number of councillors likely to attend seems rarely to have exceeded fifty and often to have been less (1963, 312-57).

The possibility of holding a council in the upper chambers or in a gallery might help to clear up some problematic details of Anglo-Saxon history as well as to provide us with likely specific settings, instead of a general town or city area. For instance, the traditional date for the Council of Winchester is 970, and Parsons (1975, 5) noted the problem raised in Symon's dating of the Council to 973, when rebuilding of the Old Minster began on the west end. The later date may not be incorrect, however, if we consider that upper chambers unconnected with the west end were available for use, or even upper levels of more central or eastern towers. Parsons noted Biddle's comment that the council in Winchester castle of 1072 was held in a chapel one-third the size of the Old Minster, a point worth considering when nominating possible areas used in a church. Certainly, it confirms the probable size of the group attending.

APPENDIX B

12 visited only!
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Note: As in the text, parentheses indicate problematic evidence.

(Ampney St Peter, Gloucs.) Possible porch. While W tower is later, Taylors dated church partly on basis of tower arch, which is unusually non-radial in jointing. It also is the full width of the later tower's interior; therefore, either porch or tower of AS period must have preceded present tower.

Bardsey, Yks. WR Possible narthex; porch in B becomes tower in C. Evidence for two periods in gable line on W and in change in quoins. Doorways to N and S in porch, but no trace of any in W wall. Above doorways are windows, so if side chambers existed, must have been only of one storey. Unclear if N and S doorways external or to chambers, as nave walls destroyed by later arcades. However, given that doorways are cut straight through walls with no rebates, more likely that church had three-chamber western narthex.

(Barnack, Northants.) (Visited) Possible external gallery on W, by analogy with Deerhurst. If anchored between two close string courses, gallery could have existed at level of upper W doorway. Might explain why bases of pilasters project beyond edge of string course (see closeup photographs, pp. 26-7): they would have extended onto wooden platform, perhaps providing small but additional anchoring. However, would gallery then obscure sculptured panels? Also, did beast's head over W window below serve as support in some way, as well as symbol or decoration? Deerhurst also had such heads, over both W doorways.

Barton-on-Humber, Lincs. W baptistry, entered from axial tower nave only, and gallery in axial nave tower at level of juncture of two arcades. Excavations beginning in 1978 revealed font base of reused stone; set in SW corner over a soakaway with limestone chippings (Rodwell and Rodwell 1982). Indications of doorcasing to W of doorway to nave and a "cupboard" in SE corner survived as postholes. A large posthole in center of baptistry was cut into floor early on "and might perhaps have been associated with the support of a liturgically significant feature" (Ibid., 299). I think "cupboard" could instead have been (wooden?) stairway or access to upper levels (paralleled by South Elmham?). Baptistry was lit by three windows, one in each exterior wall. An upper storey, under roof, deduced from surviving floor joists; C14 date was mid to late 10th cen. Cutaway isometric drawing of floor levels found in Rodwell 1986, 163. Chamber above baptistry lit by circular window in W gable. Given date and evidence of Anglo-Scandinavian carving over chancel arch, tempting to connect baptistry with Viking conversions. Gallery at 1st floor level of tower surmised from joist hole evidence and need for light from ringing chamber windows on ground level. Rodwells record attempt to increase illumination by steep chamfering of sills (Ibid., 295). Doorways to E and W led from gallery to upper chambers.

Bedford/St. Peter, Beds. Porch, raised to tower by period C. Evidence: change in quoins. As porch/tower now central, any E and W wall openings destroyed to make way for openings to new nave and

chancel. N and S walls have inserted windows in ground level that would have destroyed any earlier openings as well. As a result, we can guess that porch most likely had W opening and E opening, but uncertain; N and S possible also. Worth noting in connection with W end is Beds. Domesday record of churches and markets; Bedford is "distinctively rich in finds of Mercian sceattas" (Morris 1983, 76).

Boarhunt, Hamp. W chamber 14' X 19', same width as nave and made by dividing W end of church from nave. Evidence for cross wall marked by "internal quoining" and marks of bonding in N and S nave walls. Wall lay to W of N and S doorways in nave. As no W entrance was needed, chamber may well parallel that at Barton-on-Humber, giving ample room for baptistery, a use suggested with great prescience by Micklethwaite (1896, 322).

Bradwell-on-Sea, Ess. W porch. No walls standing now, but remnants on W wall beside W doorway indicate former porch walls. Taylors note that 1867 plan showed walls survived to 2' height then. Could be Cedd's building, put up after his consecration as bishop c. A.D. 653. Church located directly over W gateway of Roman fort Othona.

Breamore, Hamp. W annexe, as Taylors noted "some indications that there was at one time a western annexe which has now disappeared," but give no specifics. Chamber not shown on their plan nor any entrance from it to nave. Nave now entered by S door of later period but probably replacing earlier opening, as Rodwell and Rouse concluded (1984, 300). They show W chamber in plan with opening to nave, which they consider originally an arch with famous rood above (Ibid., 315). W chamber an entry porch with main entry to church at W. As rest of church is unusually regular in plan, based on Northern rod/Roman foot, estimate of W chamber's size reliably accurate.

Brigstock, Northants. (Visited) Porch of period A or B, later raised to tower in C. Both quoining and fabric change between two storeys of tower; in III (1079), Taylor noted also that upper walls of tower are bonded while lower parts are not. W doorway therefore served as original entrance to church, with W porticus ingressus lit by N and S single-splayed windows of workmanship superior to that found in later upper level. See photograph, p. 30.

Brixworth, Northants. (Visited) Narthex of W porch later raised to tower, with side chambers. Taylors described it as two-storey porch with single storey annexes. Both mortar samples and petrological studies point to a single building phase for narthex along with nave and porticus (Audouy et al. 1984, 22, 24), perhaps in 8th century (Sutherland and Parsons 1984, 63). Two recent excavations are important for W end: Hall's in 1971 and Audouy's, 10 years later. Hall excavated at the NW end of church and found evidence for N narthex chamber of same width as lateral porticus. On line with N nave wall he found walls or piers with a central break, perhaps a doorway, which created a small chamber between central porch and NW narthex room. Vestiges of walls to N and S of central porch survive (see photographs, pp. 32-3) showing chambers and present tower's lower section were contemporaneous at

some point. Audouy's excavations reopened NW area as well as SW corner of narthex chamber; excavations were limited by trench dug for drainage improvements. Verified that SW chamber existed, though as only small corner exposed, impossible to verify if small interior chamber also existed on S between porch and outer room. Given symmetrical forms in porticus rows and, apparently, outer narthex chambers, interior rooms probably symmetrically disposed also. Remains of mortar found to W of SW chamber were described as unlikely to be W extension of narthex; instead, probably construction debris (Audouy et al. 1984, 9). Thus narthex composed of 5 chambers, 2 quite small on either side of central porch. In my opinion, small middle chambers had 2 likely uses:

1) Most likely these contained ladders or wooden stairwells, especially if church monastic and if early upper doorway to nave opened to gallery or upper floor over main church. While lack of upper doorways on N and S might speak against this, Parsons noted as far back as 1977 (180) that N and S walls of tower are not at right angles to nave and tower W walls and that "the west wall of the tower and the west wall of the nave may belong to an earlier narrow building running north-south, perhaps a narthex." If true, N and S walls as presently standing may be replacements, and would have destroyed upper doorway evidence on N and S. Disposition of 2 stairways on either side of porch imitates stair towers of Carolingian westworks, at least functionally.

2) If not for access to upper porch levels, small chambers may have allowed viewing access for relics in outer chambers. As such, outer chambers might not have external doorway shown as questionable by Audouy, and internal doorway to small middle room would probably have contained grill or some other confessio-type arrangement. We have one parallel use of a NW transept for burial and display at Sherborne, and a different but perhaps related form at Winchester; both are probably later than the Brixworth chambers, however, and perhaps Gallic burials by entrances are more relevant.

Bywell/St. Andrew, Northumb. (Visited) Gilbert argued that first stage of tower is earlier than rest (1946, 165-6) based on changes in fabric and quoining. Upper portion of lesser quality. Lower portion has no W doorway or window, which implies focus within chamber or towards nave, that is, as chamber is not a porch, must have had separate function (e.g. baptistery) or function related to nave (e.g. sanctuary). See photograph, p. 37.

Bywell/St. Peter, Northumb. (Visited) Gilbert (1946, 172), Fisher (1962, 58) and Taylors noted foundations visible to N of tower on same line as N nave wall, with cross wall further W than present E wall of tower but W walls the same. Thus W chamber would have been less deep, c. 8' EW, but wider than tower is now. Both Fernie (1983, 56, 178) and Taylors date it to late 7th or early 8th century.

(Caistor, Lincs.) W annexe? Lower stage of tower has 4 openings that complicate interpretation. 2 are similar, on W and S, with both close to SW corner. Other 2 are on N, one arch lower than other but making it unclear if higher arch is separate doorway or earlier tall doorway. Lower doorway has what Taylors describe as

"different type of arch; or possibly a hood-mould" (1980, 128) which they compare to Corbridge. If 2 SW corner openings are contemporary, may have been part of porch analogous to Monkwearmouth, or remnants of arcading. Alternatively, some combination of doorways, such as tall N and S openings, was replaced by another, such as N and W openings. No basis other than analogy and speculation for deciding which combination of openings were in use at one time. However, a lost inscription suggests that site was quite important, as it seems a titulus for dedication of a pre-Danish church or altar (Radford 1946).

Canterbury/St. Pancras, Kent (Visited) W entry porch. Jenkins (1976, 4-5) records results of excavations as showing Per. I church had W doorway but no porch, while Per. II added a W porch and narrowed former W entrance by adding brick-built jambs. Some 9" of soil accumulated between Per. I and II; building may have become ruinous meanwhile.

Canterbury/Sts. Peter and Paul, Kent (Visited) At least 3 stages of development, according to Saunders' report (1978).

(1) Earliest W end had W chamber as wide as nave with two openings separated by a pier to nave (see fig. 2 in Saunders). Chambers existed to N and S as shown by Taylors, but size and even existence of openings between W chamber and side chambers unknown. (Note: Taylors show only one central doorway to nave, no pier, unlike Saunders.)

(2) Next development, dated 8th to 10th cen. by Saunders, involved further westward extensions of a) new vestibule and b) large chamber to E of that but to W of earlier church. Also, lateral chambers or aisle extended to W on N, and to N as well, beyond walls of earlier narthex/porticus.

(3) In 11th century, c. 1000, W apsidal chapel added beyond vestibule but not communicating with it, while to SW, evidence exists for corner tower. Saunders suggests that elaborate westwork built at this time (see ch. 3 appendix for details). Continued development of W end probably connected with increasing importance of site and its visitors and pilgrims. Given size, some later W chambers here might parallel uses of such rooms as depicted on St. Gall plan, namely, for reception of visitors and lodging for important guests and those responsible for such guests.

(Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts.) Possible W gallery or landing. Present gallery obscures any surviving clues, but upper doorway between tower and nave does exist and currently functions as access to present gallery.

Cheriton, Kent W porch probable. Taylors considered evidence of W doorway arch built of rubble as showing Saxon date of lower part of present tower, perhaps up to offset.

Cirencester, Som. W narthex, at least in earliest church excavated. Excavators postulated central W tower, but W wall curves. Flanking N and S chambers therefore set back somewhat, and smaller than lateral porticus along nave. Four stone-lined graves found overlying walls of first church at W, dating before 12th cen. abbey. As earliest church demolished in favor of smaller one in late AS period, W end apparently diminished;

burials may date from this time.

Clee, Lincs. Possible W narthex, but entry porch more likely. Marked change in fabric c. 10' up on tower, and on N, somewhat sloping string course higher up, possibly from undated extension of N aisle. On S, no such string course but a keyhole window at ground level; if contemporary with string course on N, no S chamber paralleled any on N, as it would have blocked window. Taylors noted 8 projecting corbels, with 5 in lower stage and 3 in upper stage of tower. As they have no pattern and exist in later levels as well as porch levels, must relate to tower only, having no bearing on porch form.

Conisbrough, S Yks. Two-storey W porch. Ryder (1982, 52) dates lower part of present tower, usually considered Norman, to AS period. Though E and W wall re-cased, he thinks porch more likely than tower initially, though porch may well have become tower in late AS period. Notes N and S windows to E of center of walls. Square section string course seen inside, perhaps to carry floor, and one at same level on exterior, visible through S window though hidden from below by present aisle roof. Dates windows as Saxon or Overlap, and considers them insertions, possibly added when porch became tower. See Ledsham as parallel.

Corbridge, Northumb. W porch, raised to tower, according to Taylors, yet they note that further buildings existed to W and N. This suggests original porch became part of narthex complex in later developments. Perhaps Canterbury's Sts. Peter and Paul church provides a monastic parallel, where earlier porch became encased in W extension of lateral porticus and was preceded by new vestibule. No evidence exists at Corbridge for lateral porticus, however, though such evidence would be destroyed by later enlargement of church and detectable only through excavation. Not unlikely monastic church was basilican form, given early foundation, possibly under Wilfrid in 7th cen., and use for bishop's consecration in 786. See photograph of W doorways, p. 31.

Deerhurst, Gloucs. W porch, of one, then two storeys, later raised to tower, as well as 3 galleries: internal and external W galleries, and an E gallery over chancel arch suggested by Taylors. I would propose an external gallery with C-shaped side and W galleries extending length of nave. Earliest church had no W chamber, but W porch added early on (not in bond with nave). In vol. I, Taylors thought porch originally of 2 storeys. Taylor's typewritten description dated 6 August 1975 in Archaeology Department library files of University of Durham (1975a), however, shows one storey completed before nave walls acquired added height, and second added when upper walls of porticus rebuilt in stone and nave walls raised to present height (see ch. 1 appendix entry). A further storey was added still later, though not projecting above nave and so not a tower. When tower added, lateral porticus extended to W and at least on N, extending out as far as tower chamber to form contiguous chamber there. If this was final form, possibly parallels Corbridge in having only N chamber and none on S.

As for galleries, Taylors proposed corbels at W and E ends of

nave close to nave walls supported 2 galleries, one at each end. They considered triangular openings next to W end doorway and midway in N and S nave walls to be windows or squints, while Fernie (1983, 106) argued that they must be squints and as such, proved upper floors to porticus and not galleries. While I agree that W gallery over half the nave is unlikely (see ch. 1 appendix, Tredington), I propose an alternative that allows galleries and supplies reason for 3 triangular openings. If they functioned as lighting niches (such as those found in Hexham and Ripon crypts, for example), they would light upper levels in nave and not require upper levels for porticus which otherwise would strangely not open into nave on upper level despite "squints." If galleries extended along nave side walls, such lighting would be necessary midway. Offset W doorway might then be for access to W end gallery and both sides. While E end windows with triangular heads look unusual Taylors say they are single-splayed and traceable from outside, though triangular-headed doorways more common. Doorway at W suggests a gallery across the W end of the nave, allowing access to both sides. (If 2 openings at E found to be doorways once unblocked, would suggest no such connecting gallery at the E.)

The corbels mentioned supported C-shaped galleries instead of W and E internal galleries, probably with columns or piers below given length of nave, dividing nave space into aisles. Thus instead of small, restricted spaces at nave ends, galleries were probably to accommodate large crowds. (See this appendix, Winchester.) Additional gallery was external, at W end on 2nd floor level. It coincided with level within church that had double triangular-headed opening towards nave, and it is tempting to think this a relic chamber and chapel, designed for display within and without the church. W end of Deerhurst in final form may have been termed narthex, as porticus extended W to encompass central chamber.

(Diddlebury, Shrops.) W annexe or tower. Present tower is same width as nave, and eastern part of N wall is AS. (S wall destroyed by later aisle.) As N wall of both W annexe and nave are on same line, reasonable to assume W chamber was of same width as nave originally. From plinth under tower, Taylors estimated chamber was at least 9' EW. While fabric of W annexe seemed AS to Taylors past height of nave, unclear if tower all of one build, hence included here.

Dover, Kent W gallery, with Roman lighthouse used as W annexe (see ch. 3 appendix entry). Evidence for W gallery was holes for timbers supporting it (seen during Victorian restoration by Scott) and lower, flat-headed windows to light area beneath it. Gallery itself had upper windows for light and a doorway connecting it to upper level of lighthouse. Worth noting here that gallery covered very small area of nave, nothing resembling what Taylor postulates elsewhere, as at Tredington. Good photograph showing N side of church and W end in Fernie 1983, 116, while S view in Fisher 1962, pl. 199.

Dunham Magna, Norf. Possible gallery in axial tower, by analogy with Barton-on-Humber, since ground level has only small S window

while 1st floor has N and S window, double splayed, as well as E and W doorways, presumably to roof space over nave and chancel. (Earl's Barton, Northants.) (Visited) Possible external gallery on S and W, by analogy with Deerhurst, under external upper doorways. String course might have served as support, and a gallery might provide reason for unusual double windows just below doorways: one might not provide enough light if gallery obscured it by shadow. Photograph, p. 38.

Ebb's Nook, Northumb. W annexe, entered from S, near junction with nave but of same width as nave. Of different date than nave as not in bond; Taylors noted fabric of coarse rubble in poor mortar. They do not date it, and Micklethwaite (1896, 323, n. 1) thought splayed doorways in N and S of nave indicated date not before 12th century. Of course, doorways need not be original, and presence of S doorway in W annexe argues that they may not be. It is rebated on W side only and seemingly superfluous if another doorway existed only some 5' E of it. If both openings contemporary, implies W chamber had separate function from use of church for services, perhaps as baptistery.

Escomb, Dur. (Visited) W annexe of uncertain entry, but probably S. Pocock and Wheeler thought on N due to socketed stone (1971, 17), but given Rodwell's discussion of wooden door casings (1986), postholes within and without chamber on S near nave wall make entry there more probable. Height of chamber from gable line sufficient for two storeys. Area much disturbed by 19th cen. heating chamber and burials. Two burials, however, could date to building of chamber or before, along N wall and along S; both were below level of ash sealed by flagstones carefully laid and especially clear in SW corner. Excavators found flags puzzling, even considering whether 19th cen. Another justification exists, however, in burials themselves. Council of Tribur in 895 forbids burial of laymen in churches, but c. 17 states that those already buried are to be left there, "but the pavement shall be made over the graves, that no footstep of a grave shall appear" (Muncey 1930, 121). Perhaps this also solves problem of entry from church; either none existed, with W burial chamber entered only from S, but more likely, lower level was for burials and entered from S, while upper level entered from upper doorway now a window. Would explain why no trace of doorway survives below window level. Upper level could have been chapel or baptistery.

Glastonbury Abbey, Som. W end very speculative, as excavations showed fragments only. Ine's nave (c. 700) had a simple W entrance and no annexe. Between times of Ine and Dunstan (c. 950), W wall of church had EW walls added on N and S, extending W towards presumed site of Old Church, under 12th cen. Lady Chapel. (Clear illustration in Fernie 1983, 95.) To W of this, Dunstan built church of John the Baptist. As at other monastic sites (e.g. Jarrow, Canterbury), several churches were built on a single line. If EW walls connected with Old Church, still unclear what function enclosed space fulfilled: nave, atrium/courtyard, garden, cemetery. Old Church itself may have functioned as W sanctuary. Notable that Glastonbury was major, monastic, relic-collecting site (Rollason 1986, 38), and W extensions paralleled at other

such sites. By analogy with Winchester, W development might be due to relic cults.

Gloucester/St. Oswald's Priory, Gloucs. W apse, c. 890 to c. 950 (Heighway and Bryant 1986). Bonded into Per. 1 walls (c. 890) with shallow foundations of mortared rubble. Excavators assume from this that apse was of one storey and possibly even timber-framed. If bell-pit and bell cast there (30 cm. across) near W end because bellcote there, presumably located at W gable end, perhaps even rung from apse itself. Fragments recovered suggest large amount of sculpture decorated church, as well as red and white painted plaster. Though plans show no arch or entrance to W apse, one must have existed; unknown if blocked when apse destroyed or used as entrance (cross wall or chord of apse robbed out). Fernie mistakenly notes plan as probably double apsed, paralleling St. Gall (1983, 93); excavators reconstruct E end as rectangular, from robber trenches.

(Green's Norton, Northants.) Taylors suggest gallery at E or upper floor, but latter more likely for several reasons. Corbels project on both E and W sides of chancel wall, and upper doorway is very near roof level. With sloping, pitched roof, gallery would be badly situated, whereas upper floors to chancel and church would allow room for storage with passage down center of floor.

(Hardwick, Bucks.) Taylors record remnants of arch in S nave wall, c. 20' up as "doorway, possibly an entrance to a gallery" (1980, 285). With so little evidence, gallery here listed as problematic, as S aisle destroyed evidence for lower section of wall and arch could be window (as Royal Commission suggests) or even upper doorway of lost porticus.

Hexham, Northumb. (Visited) Porticus ingressus and possibly 2 W towers, to N and S, with raised W sanctuary (see plan in Bailey 1976b, 58). Evidence comes from Hodges' extremely problematic plans and AS descriptions. We know stairways to upper levels existed, and remains of what seem towers at W end interpreted as such stairways, with shallow but wide chamber between. The plan of this W end therefore resembles many early Continental westworks. Raised W sanctuary might justify why Bailey's proposed ambo came so far into nave, as it could perhaps service both sanctuaries. By proposing raised W sanctuary to account for section of paving labelled "t" in Hodges' plan, Bailey does not, however, solve problem of relationship between any W entrance and such a raised sanctuary.

Several possibilities exist: entrance led off to side aisles (perhaps explaining why "f" ends where it does on N), avoiding central W sanctuary completely; entrance led under sanctuary and its paving, which seems badly planned and unlikely; no W entrance existed at all, and break in W wall shown incomplete on Hodges' plan was perhaps a niche instead. The last suggestion has interesting possibilities, as this is exact location of niche-like seat located at Barnack, and Frith Stool was not meant to be seen from behind, given rough form. Also, Wulfsig in De Abbatibus has his sapphire and beryl chair at W of vision church (ll. 765-71). The location of Hexham's Frith Stool in center of E apse entirely

speculative; Taylors themselves thought it might stand at E of main church sanctuary. However, if stood at W, it might explain arrangement better and establish reason for paving; Bailey himself suggests such an arrangement possible (1976b, 56) but does not insist on it. Unclear if name connected with legal right of sanctuary or with status of bishop or abbot, since term used to describe seat of Christ in Heaven (Cramp 1984, Pt. 2, 192). One final note on W end concerns Eddius' comment on crypts in plural; given what recent excavations have shown about increasing complexity of W end at major sites, entirely possible that W end excavations incomplete here. W crypt has no parallel in England until Winchester adds second crypt to E. If crypt were here, Council of Tribur canon quoted under Escomb entry (q.v.) might give reason for paving.

(Heysham/St. Peter, Lincs.) Taylors noted local tradition of W annexe, seemingly confirmed by upper doorway in W wall, 7'6" from present floor. Annexe would thus have been of two storeys and may not have had external W entrance, as nave has N and possible S doorways. Buttresses hide any signs of bonding.

Jarrow, T and W (Visited) W porch, of two storeys; in present chancel, formerly separate church, a W gallery. Porch shown with 2 levels in 1769 plan reproduced in Fisher 1962, pl. 12. Given arcades and their height, no gallery existed at W end of large church, though an opening to nave appears somewhat above level of upper floor. Lower level probably porticus ingressus, given W entrance. Present chancel more complicated. Remains on SW include: 1) W jamb of ground floor doorway with indications of E side butting up against later, wider doorway to E; 2) E jamb and part of arch for upper doorway directly above lower one, with possible long, thin sill stone visible; on interior, indentation at probable sill level that may indicate former joist location (see photograph, p. 44: narrow dark area to right of window). Taylors noted further indentation lower down, now apparently sealed with small, square stone.

Upper doorway at same level as exterior S opening in tower, and of similar form; also, signs of 2 doorways survive from upper level of tower to chancel/nave, one central, one near S wall. Central one considered Norman by Fisher (1962, 82), but SW doorway Saxon. On N, no windows survive in chancel wall, and Taylors think window above N doorway entirely Norman (1980, 343). However, close inspection of fabric reveals two long, narrow jamb stones extending out from upper part of window like wings, paralleling such stones on all 3 south windows. I think it more likely present window incorporates AS remnants. A further point in favor of this: N window is directly opposite middle S window of AS date. It is difficult to understand how gallery level was lit without postulating lighting niches or N and S windows lost when large medieval windows inserted near W corners.

Some problems with gallery: doorway to upper floor in present tower not necessary for access to gallery, given S doorway, hence upper room of this connecting building important and related to use of E church. Perhaps a timber roof or bellcote for hanging bells preceded later upper stages; corbels survive on S over

window. Lower chamber provided access to both churches as well as a short way from N to S side, and so served mainly as entrance. Photographs, pp. 40-4.

Langford, Oxfs. E gallery and possible gallery level within axial tower. Ground level of tower has no AS openings and only one S window inserted later provides location for possible earlier opening. Light for this level then could have been provided from two windows each on N and S 1st floor level, as at Barton-on-Humber if upper gallery existed within tower. Doorways led E and W from upper level, but W opening to nave of dressed stone, unlike that to upper level over chancel. Therefore probably led to E gallery seen from nave unless it can be shown that dressed stone was later refurbishment.

Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yks, WR Probable narthex, or less likely, W crossing. Taylors considered surviving N doorway and E and W quoins defining chamber c. 17'6" EW as evidence for complex of western chambers. Doorway was c. 3'4" W x 10'2" H with no rebate. Ryder (1982, 72-3) thought it possible that AS fabric was contained inside present tower walls and that complex might be W crossing, as at Sherborne, but without any indications of chambers to W, more likely to be narthex, though with unusually impressive entrance on N.

Ledsham, Yks, NR W porch of two storeys. Added to earlier church, as not in bond, but soon after church built, as windows, fabric and quoins in W annexe very similar to those in nave. Yet splayed window survives in W wall of nave over doorway, showing that W annexe initially not part of plan. Two storeys deduced from vertical placement of 2 windows in SE section of S porch wall and roofline in clock chamber.

London/St. Alban, Wood St. W chamber same width as nave, formed by cross-wall c. 16' from W wall of church (Grimes 1968, 206), though W end much disturbed and hidden by later additions. Junction of cross-wall and S nave wall clear, showing cross-wall as "structurally though not necessarily chronologically, later." (I assume this means wall was not in bond.) Grimes dated church to 8th or 9th centuries.

London/St. Bride, Fleet St. W annexe mentioned and drawn by Grimes (1968, 185); no other details. Morris noted Biddle's suggestion that this church among others in London might "mark a return to abandoned or 'latent' Christian sites in the suburbs of early London" (Morris 1983, 26) and in a page of comparative sketches of plans, dates church between 900 and 1000 (Ibid., 83, fig. 24).

Lydd, Kent W narthex, according to Jackson and Fletcher in excavation report (1968), of N and S chambers with wide vestibule in center. Their reconstruction, based on wall base mortar survival on NW, shows external doorway as between 8' and 9' wide, with N and S chambers having longer EW axis and perhaps opening to aisles and center W vestibule. Fernie noted that plan depicts building most closely resembling Silchester, and hence probably Romano-British (1983, 72). Taylors date fabric to period C. Unusual characteristics include apse that springs from line of E aisle walls and with no dividing chord or wall to separate it

from relatively small central area measuring 16' x 30'.
Monkwearmouth, Dur. (Visited; photograph herein, p. 44) Narthex of 3 chambers and internal W gallery. W porch of one, then two storeys with gable. Annexe added on N of two storeys, as upper N doorway survives. S annexe probable given S doorway on ground floor and remains found in excavations, but upper window precludes two storeys here, at least initially. Cramp (1976c, 233) gave tentative building sequence, based on mortar comparisons and excavation, latter unfortunately without clear stratification due to nature of site and limited to S side of church:

- 1) W wall of nave with its earlier doorway set to S of center and a gallery;
- 2) 2 storey porch with N and S annexes of one storey each;
- 3) raising of porch to tower.

Several problems arise. Why was central door offset to S when no annexes present? Given upper doorway, why postulate only one storey for N annexe? Why are there 2 exceptionally large quoin stones at top of modern window insertion in 2nd level, covering nearly two-thirds of wall? Usual reason given for offset of central doorway to S is possible altar to N, but if no annexe existed, altar against W nave wall on N very unlikely, or at least without parallel. Clearly, something to N of doorway would cause offset, but former window above doorway centrally placed, so obstacle on ground level only. Perhaps a one-storey porch preceded present one, hence all signs hidden; such a place could have housed Eosterwine's body until final burial.

I think it possible W porch/tower complex had 4 sequences.

- 1) W porch of one tall storey, originally reaching up to level of 2 massive quoins c. 20' up and without decorated string course. Porch probably entered from smaller W doorway now replaced by external doorway, and paired with doorway S of center in nave wall. As mortar used in S annexe same as that in porch (creamy yellow), at least S annexe built at same time, but possibly more closely related to S aisles or porticus along nave walls than to porch.
- 2) Alterations made to porch, accounting for difference in mortar textures noted by mason (Ibid., 233): N and S doorways and new W doorway added to porch, which was also raised to level of chamfered string course somewhat higher than quoins mentioned. Possibly N annexe added now if not built when porch and S annexe were. N annexe was of two storeys (upper doorway) while S annexe had one, since window existed at second storey level. Carved string course added at W about midway between top of doorway and top of porch fabric, and gable with figural sculpture added. Figure distinguishable only by flattened and mutilated stones, and three-dimensional face stone; close-up photograph in Cramp 1984, pt. 2, pl. 116, #618. However, given the way wall fabric slopes away on S around these stones, carving may have covered 4 large central stones and two small square ones on either lower side. Such a shape may indicate a seated figure; certainly, given slope of gable and extent of stones, crucifixion would be out of scale with head. I place gallery's appearance with that of gable

because L-shaped beam suggested as support (Cramp 1976c, 233) was c. 17' from floor and massive quoins appear c. 20' up; if my proposed 1st stage is incorrect, gallery and porch contemporary. (Note: while upper W windows on either side of gable would light nave, gallery would block substantial light at W end beneath it.)

3) At some point, gable removed and porch built up to nave wall level over gable, explaining why string course at top of this level differs both from string course along top of nave wall, string course of stage below, and string courses of later top two tower stages.

4) Raising of tower by addition of two stages.

(Morton-on-the-Hill, Norf.) Possible W gallery or upper floor.

Taylor recorded thickening of W wall producing offset below double-splayed window. Offset at slightly higher level exists in side walls of nave also, but no upper doorways survive; perhaps access was from within nave itself if gallery existed. E end of church is lost, so Taylor's suggestion of offset supporting upper floor difficult to test. Yet surviving remains with offsets at two levels paralleled at Brixworth, where it seemingly has no function and may be connected with building methods, and Northchurch (q.v.), where it may indicate upper floor levels.

Muchelny, Som. W chamber same width as nave, set off by crosswall that leaves openings at N and S near nave walls. Early monastery in existence by 762 and revitalized by Dunstan (Ferne 1983, 93). Not known to have had any important relics (Rollason 1986, 36) and so W chamber likely to have functioned as entrance or possibly baptistery.

Netheravon, Wilts. Narthex, with chambers to N, S and W of central tower, each standing c. 17' high around tower. Rebated and arched doorways open to N and S chambers, while W tower archway, now functioning as W entrance, opened to W chamber now lost. Parts of E walls of N and S chambers survive at ends of present aisles. Original nave or E chamber was apparently same width as tower, with westernmost entrance chamber narrower. Ferne terms Netheravon's arrangement a salient crossing at the W (1983, 163), but the E corners of tower do not stand clear.

(Northchurch, Herts.) Possible W annexe and internal gallery, though most consider remains as indicating tower, and main descriptive entry here is therefore under ch. 3. Fisher (1962, 62) considered W annexe possible, as at Boarhunt, Hamp. As for gallery, S nave wall has 2 levels of thickening, lower at E, at same level as thickening in W wall, but higher at W end. Taylor thought this thickening connected with interior floor levels, but anything further is speculation. Differences could indicate C-shaped gallery at E end (across E end and extending along sides for length of lower level), or W gallery. Taylor noted traces of openings in both W and S walls, but plaster obscured details.

(North Elmham, Norf.) W annexe of same width as nave with stair turret in its SE corner, paralleling Barton-on-Humber if "cupboard" is actually remains of access to upper levels. Though date of church much contested, included here because in Taylor and Taylor, and also because of affinities between this and other churches.

(North Leigh, Oxfs.) Possible gallery level on W of axial tower. N and S sides have upper windows for light, while W side has doorway with dressed-stone jambs. Implies it was seen from nave, and so gallery possible. It may merely have been for access to upper level of tower, though, as N window indicates possible N transept (see ch. 1 appendix) could not have extended above its level and had no upper doorway to provide access.

Norton, Dur. Gallery or landing within axial tower, as illustrated by Taylors. Upper doorway in S transept gave access to gallery or landing, which in turn gave access to all 4 arms of church while allowing light to pass to lower level. Presumably, if additional space were needed within tower area, this upper landing could be used (for choirs, etc.), but it seems designed primarily for access and light.

(Old Shoreham, Suss.) Possible W annexe, though most think tower more likely (see ch. 3). N doorway only surviving opening. As no W entrance existed, possibly chamber used liturgically, as baptistery or, less likely, given external doorway, sanctuary. Doorway is without rebate and has two orders on exterior.

Reculver, Kent W entrance chamber, with L-shaped porticus to N and S; these do not form true narthex, as surviving evidence indicates they were entered only from within porticus centrally placed along nave, themselves entered from nave. If doorways from central W porticus did indeed open to side chambers, then narthex correct classification. Certainly central W chamber served as entrance porch. (See ch. 1 appendix.)

Reed, Herts. Possible W porch or tower (see ch. 3 appendix), according to Smith (1973, 21). While tower generally assumed as 15th century, in W wall are remains of S side of semi-circ. arch formed of small limestone blocks in Tredington fashion. Highest point of intrados is 5'8" above ground, with plinth of tower carried across doorway c. 3' below arch head. Smith says it is "either a porch antecedent to the nave or an earlier tower" and compares it to St. Helen's, Wheathampstead.

Seaham, Dur. W annexe. Taylors note that excavator Aird suggested chamber may have been narthex or baptistery. As annexe was a single chamber entered apparently only from nave, latter more likely. Form parallels another early church, Escomb.

Sherborne, Dors. Narthex of uncertain form. Gibb and Gem (1975, 99) reproduce 11th century plan showing westward extensions from the NW and NE transepts, and a triple arcade opening to W of W crossing tower. Whether arcade was enclosed by atrium or other chamber, or whether it was open, as porch at Monkwearmouth, remains entirely speculative. It is also unclear whether W crossing formed narthex or whether a series of W chambers preceded it, themselves forming a narthex. The only certain point is that an elaborate W end existed, and so term "narthex" justified. Excavators theorize that W tower and westward extension were part of older church which survived 11th cen. rebuilding, rather than westwork of AElfbold's time (Ibid., 102). Form may be paralleled at Glastonbury.

Skipwith, Yks., ER W chamber of same width as nave, later raised to tower. Taylors consider original chamber of one storey only,

with a further 2 storeys added to form tower later. Evidence is change from large stones to rubble and single- vs. double-splayed windows in ground vs. upper levels. (Ground floor windows later altered to double-splay.) Chamber was 15'10" square and reached only from nave, with no external doorway. Use therefore likely to be liturgical, as not an entrance porch, perhaps baptistery or W sanctuary later replaced by upper chapel. Taylor notes in III that he envisaged a W sanctuary (1984, 1084).

South Elmham, Suff. W chamber of same width as nave and separated from it only by central crosswall with openings on N and S ends. Served at least in part as entrance porch, given W entrance. Taylors suggested that wall may have served as backing for altar, but such a theory creates problems of access: would laity be allowed to enter at W and get so close to such an altar, and would they then pass to either side of it to reach nave/E chamber beyond? More likely that W chamber had less restricted use, perhaps baptistery or area for catechumens and penitents. (Form paralleled at Boarhunt, Hamp.)

(Staindrop, Dur.) (Visited) W end of church now much confused and rebuilt, but possible narthex in late AS period. Church was extended W c. 15' early in 11th century. Romans and Radford (1954) suggested that porticus flanked W end (forming narthex?), limiting later 12th century aisles to 3 bays, but as Taylors noted, excavation needed for proof. If tower added at same time as westward extension, porticus would not have formed narthex, as they would stand behind tower, not in line with it. Photograph, p. 45.

Stoke D'Abernon, Surr. Probable W gallery. S nave wall has upper doorway, shown rebated in Taylors' plan but described by them as "cut straight through the wall." With no other evidence to suggest 2 storey S porticus, gallery seems most likely, apparently entered from exterior. Though this seems awkward, we have no idea how such upper doorways were reached; given Rodwell's recent demonstrations of relationship between masonry and carpentry, elaborate external turrets or covered stairways could have existed in wood and left no trace aboveground. This is perhaps more likely given that internal square head was of oak, replaced in 1905 due to decay.

(Stowe-Nine-Churches, Northants.) Possible W gallery. Taylors thought upper doorway from tower opened to gallery (opening now blocked and visible only within tower) but no other evidence survives. Given that ground floor level of tower serves as entrance, upper doorway more likely to give access to upper tower than to serve a gallery. Better term than gallery perhaps is landing, which would be used for access from nave and not as extra space at an upper level.

Strethall, Ess. Possible W gallery or upper chamber at W end of nave. Taylors noted 2 vertically placed windows in W nave wall. Lower one is double-splayed, round-headed window now blocked by later tower. Upper one is circular and also double-splayed. No evidence for access to such an upper level survives, perhaps making gallery reached by stairs from nave more likely.

Titchfield, Hamp. W porch, possibly of 2 storeys. Fabric and

quoins do not continue to height proving conclusively that 2 storeys existed; above W doorway, c. 14' up, is row of Roman tiles extending through thickness of wall. Taylors noted a gap in tile course and disturbed walling on S, which they interpreted as indicating a round-headed window "at a height which indicates a porch of one storey rather than two" (1980, 621). Fabric changes in middle of 2nd storey, c. 16' from ground. W doorway is round-headed with somewhat tilted stones at springing, reminding Taylors of arches at Brixworth (though here arch is formed of stones, not tiles). Hare's 1976 article in Proc. Hants. F. C. was unavailable to me.

Tollesbury, Ess. W annexe. Now raised to tower, lower section probably late 11th century date. While I have found no published plan, Taylors note that tower walls align with those of nave, so this church too had W annexe of same width as nave.

Tredington, Warks. Gallery, reached from N and S upper doorways of which arched heads survive over later arcade cut through nave walls. Taylors postulated a gallery covering half the length of nave, which would necessitate supports in nave itself and limit nave space unless laity stood beneath altar (see ch. 1 appendix entry). As stated earlier, I think a combination of two-storeyed porticus and C-shaped gallery (sides and W end) most likely. This shape does not preclude use as W sanctuary suggested by Taylor (1984, 1019). Fernie objected that doorways, at 4' wide, are among largest known, but they are comparable to other entries to porticus. Westernmost windows, at higher level than other 3 in nave, prove that some raised level existed at W end and needed lighting.

(Turvey, Beds.) Possible gallery. In N section of W wall, blocked doorway remains below line of steeply pitched gable. (See Deerhurst for parallel placement of upper doorway.) No evidence otherwise survives for early tower, though present tower could well obscure any, and so upper level or gallery to nave possible.

Warblington, Hamp. Narthex with central tower and possible W annexe. Present central tower originally at W; now missing ground level, but N and S annexes reached through small round-headed doorways at 2nd storey level, 2' wide and c. 4-5' H. (Perhaps missing lower level added height.) Surviving central chamber very small, 4'6" square, as measures 9' sq. externally and walls are 2'3" thick. May have had W doorway at 2nd storey level also (see Fisher 1962, pl. 229), but Taylors recorded plaster obscured detail and plate in Fisher seems to show opening much restored. If opening is AS, implies at least 2 storey W annexe connected to W tower. Fisher noted gable line above W opening as "uncertain whether it represents a saddle back roof of the Saxon tower or the gable end of a former rather tall western adjunct" (1962, 395). In simplest form, narthex had central tower of 3 storeys with N and S two-storey annexes; tower would have functioned as entry porch, given small size, and as access to side chambers, perhaps with stairways in N and S ground floor rooms. However, if main access to church was from N and S through side chambers instead of through W entry, access to upper

levels could be from small central chamber.

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp. Elaborate W end evolving, c. 910 on, entirely due to cult of Swithun; before 910, notably no additional W end chambers unless detached tower of St. Martin and free-standing tomb of Swithun (tugurium) included. By c. 970, tower and new resting place for Swithun incorporated in double lateral-apsed building that connected tower and former W end of Minster. Tower became entrance porch with N and S side annexes, leading to chamber with entrances on N and S ends of central crosswall (similar to S Elmham W chamber). Central chamber beyond that contained shrine and led to N and S apses, then beyond to E, via chamber symmetrical to one entered before shrine chamber. Double entrances to shrine chamber suggest, along with double entrances to apse, a set processional plan for pilgrims. Also notable are 2 chambers intervening between 3 liturgical spaces (St. Martin's tower with its altars, Swithun's chamber, W end of nave proper).

By c. 980, lateral apses disappear (they were of wood and possibly temporary while more elaborate space planned). W end still entirely related to cult, but extended to embrace Martin's tower with 2 more side chambers. These are entered from within larger enclosure and may be vestry and storage space for liturgies in honor of Swithun. Swithun's chamber visible from tower as pilgrim passes E, but surrounding space now square and apparently designed to allow passage around space near burial, which is partly enclosed on sides with curious smaller parallel walls within (see plan in Biddle 1986, 21). I would suggest these carried galleries, as we know from accounts of miracles that "balconies" existed overlooking the saint. (W gallery in this space perhaps unlikely given width of entry and blocking of view.) Antechamber before nave still exists, and overall shape of W end now final, with new additions at E end only. Most interesting aspect of W end development is autonomy based on cult of Swithun: all space centers on his burial, all additions tailored to his placement. We have clearest parallel to Carolingian westwork and its function as separate church.

Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp. W chamber same width as nave, though W gallery proposed by Biddle possible but unparalleled in this form, with font at W end of nave. In Per. II, Biddle suggests timber crosswalls at W end of nave carried gallery, though he also noted that they were "so massive that this may have included a bell-tower" (1975b, 319). As we have no other evidence for cross walls such as this carrying galleries, they are more likely simply to have separated W entry porch (and bell tower?) from liturgical section of church, especially as font is immediately inside once one enters past crosswall. Perhaps worth noting here is burial in Per. I at NW corner of nave, when no W annexe existed, though addition of benches along nave walls overrode burial.

Wing, Bucks. W or side galleries. W end of church destroyed, but upper doorways survive at W end of both nave walls. Sills are c. 18' up, with doorways 2'W x 6'H. While arcades cut through nave walls, no parallel doorways exist in intact walling

directly below upper doorways and so porticus with 2 storeys unlikely. Access to upper level may have been through stairs or ladder in N and S aisles, whose presence is suggested by need for clerestory rather than windows below this level.

(York/Cathedral) Gallery possible.

York/Alma Sophia Galleries. See discussion in Ch. 1 appendix. Alcuin, in his poem on York, described Alma Sophia as having "plurima diversis retinens solaris tectis" (l. 1513), many upper chambers/ galleries (solaris) with various roofs. Morris, in describing problems associated with the unknown site, translates this (1986, 80, 87) as galleries or upper chambers, though Willis apparently settled for upper chambers, perhaps because he pictured varied roofs as meaning heights rather than texture or decoration. (Heights could apply to galleries as well, especially if several tiers existed or internal vs. external galleries intended, as at Deerhurst.)

CHAPTER THREE: TOWERS

I. CLASSIFICATION

As stated in the introduction, the discussion of form in this chapter does not break into divisions as readily as in the others. Towers are either round or rectangular, generally axial, central or at the west end, with little to remark on such groups regarding any relationship between classification and function. Therefore the formal differences are noted in lists (single-spaced to keep them as compact as possible), but discussion is left to sections under textual evidence and to Appendix C.

CHURCHES WITH WESTERN TOWERS

Parentheses denote problematic evidence

Alkborough, Lincs.; C3
 Appleton-le-Street, Yks.; C1, upper stage C2
 Aslacton, Norf.; C3
 Bardsey, Yks.; C
 Barnack, Northants.; C1
 (Barnetby-le-Wold, Lincs.)
 Bedford/St. Peter, Beds.; C
 Beechamwell, Norf.; C3
 Beeston, Norf.; C3
 Bessingham, Norf.; C3
 Billingham, Dur.; C
 (Bishopstone, Suss.; Norman with Saxon attributes)
 Bolam, Northumb.; C
 Bosham, Suss.; C3
 Bracebridge, Lincs.; C3
 Branston, Lincs.; C3
 Brigstock, Northants.; C

Brixworth, Northants.; A2
 Brodsworth, Yks.; Overlap
 Broughton, Lincs.; C3
 Burghwallis, Yks.; Saxo-Norman
 Burnham Deepdale, Norf.; C3
 Bywell/St. Andrew, Northumb.; C
 (Cabourne, Lincs.; C3)
 (Caistor, Lincs.; C3)
 Cambridge/St. Bene't, Cambs.; C
 Carlton, Beds.; late Saxon/Saxo-Norman
 Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts.; C
 Caversfield, Oxfs.; C
 Cirencester, Som. (central)
 Clapham, Beds.; C
 Clee, Lincs.; C3
 Colchester, Ess.; C
 Coleby, Lincs.; C3
 Colney, Norf.; C3
 Compton, Surr.; Saxo-Norman
 (Conisbrough, Yks.; Saxon or Overlap)
 Corbridge, Northumb.; C
 Corringham, Lincs.; C3
 Cranwich, Norf.; C
 Cuxwold, Lincs.; Saxo-Norman
 Debenham, Suff.; C
 Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs.; C
 Diddlebury, Shrops.; C3
 Dover, Kent; Roman
 Earl's Barton, Northants.; C1
 Eastdean, Suss.; late Sax./early Nor. (c. 1100)
 East Lexham, Norf.; C
 Flixton, Suff.; C
 Forncett/St. Peter, Norf.; C3
 Framingham Earl, Norf.; C3
 Gayton Thorpe, Norf.; C3
 Gissing, Norf.; C3
 Glentworth, Lincs.; C3
 Great Hale, Lincs.; C3
 Great Ryburgh, Norf.; possibly C3
 (Guestling, Suss.; early 12th)
 Haddiscoe, Norf.; C3
 Haddiscoe Thorpe, Norf.; C3
 Hainton, Lincs.; C3
 Hales, Norf.; Saxo-Norman
 Harmston, Lincs.; C3
 Harpswell, Lincs.; C3
 Heapham, Lincs.; C3
 Heigham, Norf.; possibly C
 Herringfleet, Suff.; C3
 (Hexham, Northumb.; A2, A3; 2 stair turrets?)
 Holton-le-Clay, S. Humbs.; C3
 Hornby, Lincs.; Saxo-Norman
 Hooton Pagnell, Yks.; Overlap

Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.; C1
 Hovingham, Yks.; C3
 Howe, Norf.; C3
 Ingram, Northumb.; possibly AS
 Intwood, Norf.; AS
 Jevington, Suss.; C3 (or B?)
 Kirby Cane, Norf.; C
 Kirk Hammerton, Yks.; C1, possibly a later doorway
 Lavendon, Bucks.; C
 Ledsham, Yks.; C
 (Letheringsett, Norf.; ?Saxo-Norman)
 Limpley Stoke, Wilts.; C or earlier
 (Lincoln/St. Benedict, Lincs.; C3; rebuilt, on S)
 Lincoln/ St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincs.; C3
 Lincoln/ St. Peter-at-Gowts, Lincs.; C3
 Little Bardfield, Ess.; C3
 Little Bytham, Lincs.; Norman
 Little Snoring, Norf.; possibly Saxo-Norman
 Maltby, Yks.; Overlap
 Market Overton, Rutland; AS
 Marton, Lincs.; C3
 Middleton-by-Pickering, Yks.; C2
 Monk Fryston, Yks.; C3
 Monkwearmouth, Dur.; 990-1018
 Morland, Westmor.; C3
 Morningthorpe, Norf.; possibly C3
 Netheravon, Wilts.; C3
 Nettleton, Lincs.; C3
 (Northchurch, Herts.; "period doubtful")
 North Elmham, Norf.; Overlap
 Norwich/St. Julian, Norf.; C3
 Norwich/St. Mary-at-Coslany, Norf.; C3
 (Old Shoreham, Suss.; C)
 Ovingham, Northumb.; C
 Oxford/St. Michael, Oxfs.; C3
 Quidenham, Norf.; possibly C
 Rawmarsh, SYks.;
 Reed, Herts.; C3; W axial
 Rothwell, Lincs.; C3
 Roughton, Norf.; C3
 Scartho, Lincs.; C3
 Sherborne, Dors.; C2
 Shereford, Norf.; C3
 Singleton, Suss.; C
 Skipwith, Yks.; upper chamber: C2
 Sompting, Suss.; C3
 (Southeast, Suss.; Saxo-Norman)
 Springthorpe, Lincs.; C3
 Staindrop, Dur.; probably C2
 (Stevington, Beds.; C)
 Stonegrave, Yks NR.; Saxo-Norman or earlier
 Stowe-Nine-Churches, Northants.; C
 Swallow, Lincs.; C3

(Swanscombe, Kent; C)
 Tasburgh, Norf.; C3
 Thorington, Suff.; Saxo-Norman
 Thurlby, Lincs.: C3
 Titchfield, Hamp.; B
 (Turvey, Beds.; C3)
 Warblington, Hamp.; C
 Warden, Northumb.; C3
 (Weaverthorpe, Yks ER; Saxo-Norman)
 Wendens Ambo, Ess.: Saxo-Norman
 West Mersea, Ess.; "rather doubtfully" C3
 West Peckham, Kent; possibly C
 Wharram-le-Street, Yks.; C3 or earlier
 Whittingham, Northumb.; C
 Wickham, Berks.; C
 Wickmere, Norf.; Saxo-Norman
 Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp.; c. 970-80 links with St. Martin tower
 (Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp.; Biddle's Phase II, late Saxon)
 Winterton, Lincs.; lower tower: C3
 Witton(-by-Walsham), Norf.; C3
 Worlaby, Lincs.; C
 (Wotton, Surr.; ?C3)
 Yaxham, Norf.; Saxo-Norman
 York/St. Mary Bishophill Jr., Yks.; C3

CHURCHES WITH CENTRAL OR AXIAL TOWERS AT EAST

Barton-on-Humber, Lincs.; C1, third stage C3; central
 Bedford St. Mary, Beds.; Saxo-Norman; central
 Breamore, Hamp.; C1; central
 Dover, Kent; C1; central
 Dunham Magna, Norf.; C3; axial
 Great Tey, Suff.; C; axial
 Guestwick, Norf.; C; axial
 Hadstock, Ess.; C; central
 Jarrow, T and W; C3 and Overlap; central
 Langford, Oxfs.; C3; axial
 Milborne Port, Som.; C3; central
 Newton-by-Castle Acre, Norf.; C3; axial
 North Leigh, Oxfs.; C; central or axial
 North Walsham, Norf.; C; central
 Norton, Dur.; C2, possibly earlier; axial
 (Repton, Derbys.; axial over crypt?)
 Stow, Lincs.; C1 to C3; axial
 Waithe, Lincs.; C3; axial
 Weybourne, Kent; C3; axial
 Wooten Waven, Warks.; C2; axial

ROUND WEST TOWERS

Taylor's list found in vol. III, 901.

*= not in Taylor's list, most apparently because Saxo-Norman, though not always; he does include Hales and Thorington.

Aslacton, Norf.; C3
 Beechamwell, Norf.; C3
 *Beeston, Norf.; C3
 Bessingham, Norf.; C3
 *Broughton, Lincs.; C3
 *Burnham Deepdale, Norf.; C3
 Colney, Norf.; C3
 *Cranwich, Norf.; C3
 *Dover, Kent; Roman lighthouse
 *East Lexham, Norf.; C
 Forncett, Norf.; C3
 Framingham Earl, Norf.; C3
 Gayton Thorpe, Norf. C3
 Gissing, Norf.; C3
 *Great Ryburgh, Norf.; possibly C3
 Haddiscoe, Norf.; C3
 Haddiscoe Thorpe, Norf.; C3
 Hales, Norf.; Saxo-Norman
 Herringfleet, Suff.; C3
 *Hexham, Northumb.; semicircular stair turrets?
 Howe, Norf.; C3
 *Intwood, Norf.; Saxon
 Kirby Cane, Norf.; C
 *(Letheringsett, Norf.; ?Saxo-Norman)
 *Little Snoring, Norf.; Saxo-Norman
 *Morningthorpe, Norf.; possibly C3
 Norwich/St. Julian, Norf.; C3
 Norwich/St. Mary-at-Coslany, Norf.; C3
 *Quidenham, Norf.; possibly C
 Roughton, Norf.; C3
 *Sherford, Norf.; C3
 *(Southease, Suss.; Saxo-Norman)
 Tasburgh, Norf.; C3
 Thorington, Suff.; Saxo-Norman
 *Wickmere, Norf.; Saxo-Norman
 Witton(-by-Walsham), Norf.; C3
 *Yaxham, Norf.; Saxo-Norman

PROBLEMATIC TOWERS/OTHER

Canterbury/Cathedral, Kent; square N and S lateral towers
 Canterbury/St. Augustine's, Kent; square SW entry gate tower(s)
 Canterbury/St. Peter's Kent; square SW tower
 (Canterbury/Wulfric's Octagon, Kent; N and S lateral stair
 turrets?)
 Glastonbury Abbey, Som.; square E tower (St. Dunstan's), c. 950

Guildford, Surr.; central, axial or W tower

Hastings, Suss.; E tower over chancel

Kingsdown, Kent; SE tower

(Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yks.; central, axial or W central tower)

North Elmham, Norf.; 2 E towers, between nave and transepts on N
and S

Winchester/St. Martin, Hamp.; independent tower to W of Old
Minster (built c. 725-50, until c. 970)

(York/Alma Sophia; remains not located; see appendix)

(York/St. Peter's Cathedral; see appendix)

The following churches had evidence for upper floors in transepts or porticus towards the eastern end of the church which might have formed eastern towers:

Deerhurst, GLocs.; A-C

(Wareham/Lady St. Mary, Dors.; possibly C)

II. TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

1. PARALLELS AND SYMBOLISM

In recent years, French and German research into the evolution of early church towers has undergone a renaissance, most notably for our purposes in the work of Carol Heitz on Carolingian churches. In modern times, the church tower and its spire have

become a symbol identical with and representative of the church. Heitz has shown, however, that in Carolingian times the western ends of churches, often comprised of two turrets or towers separated by a central porch of several stories, functioned as a separate church, an autonomous building with its own special symbolism and liturgies, most notably tied to devotions in honor of the Savior. In view of this autonomy, the pressing question regarding Anglo-Saxon churches concerns whether their towers, too, functioned as autonomous features of those churches, or whether they were viewed as integral parts of churches. Francastel thinks Anglo-Saxon churches were perceived as an assemblage of parts and uses them (especially Brixworth, Glastonbury, Deerhurst and Elmham) as a parallel for his similar argument regarding the autonomy of Carolingian *églises-porches*:

l'ans
 Que l'on examine, par exemple, parmi les monuments assez nombreux de cette époque conservés sur le territoire de la Grande-Bretagne, la manière dont même de modestes édifices sont conçus comme des assemblages de parties; nefs, tours, chœurs, ailes, etc. (Francastel 1951, 253).

He goes on to suggest Carolingian as the last of the antique styles, where specialization and autonomy of parts dominate instead of the later aim of harmonious equilibrium (Ibid., 257).

The apparently later date of many Anglo-Saxon towers does suggest that a special need or needs dictated their addition, as they were seemingly not necessary enough to ordinary liturgies to figure strongly in early churches. Some elaboration must have occasioned their building. While those needs may have been liturgical, as in the French western churches or towers where special liturgies in honor of the Savior took place (Heitz 1963,

27), our records regarding the evolution of Anglo-Saxon liturgy remain insufficient to allow us more than speculation on trends in worship. Symons notes that c. 970, due to the variety of ways of following Benedict's Rule, Edgar called a synodal council at Winchester. Clerics, recalling Gregory's letters to Augustine which advised adopting Gallic customs (among others) (Bede HE I.27, question 2), sent for monks of Fleury and Ghent (Symons 1953, li). Yet in discussing the history and derivation of the Regularis Concordia, Symons adds, "few of the parallels adduced suggest more than remotely a literary connection with any given document" (1975, 59). A higher proportion agree with Lotharingian customaries (of Einsiedeln, Trèves and Verdun) than with those of Cluny, Farfa and Fleury. He concludes that the customs of Ghent may be discernible indirectly in the Regularis Concordia through Lotharingian parallels.

Some evidence, specifically for saints honored, might be gleaned from orientation, however, especially in changes of orientation between tower and nave, or nave and chancel. As early as 1956, Benson noted that differences in these orientations provided clues to patronal festivals. As examples, he notes that Oxford Cathedral, now Christ Church, was previously St. Frideswide's, but her father built the first church to the Holy Trinity, Mary and All Saints. The church faces sunrise on Lady Day, the twenty-fifth of March according to the eighth century Julian calendar. Similarly, St. Swithun's, Merton, has an ancient north chancel wall, aligned to sunrise on July 2, once St. Swithun's Day. When the thirteenth century nave was built, the

saint's day had been changed to the date of his translation, the fifteenth of July. The difference is 5 degrees, and the nave and chancel are off by that much (Benson 1956, 210-1). Morris quite rightly advises caution (1983, 68), but the possibilities should not be ignored.

Perhaps in connection with liturgical needs, western towers often housed bells to call or alert the parish, and would certainly have served as landmarks. In the case of Irish towers, Barrow hypothesizes that their shape evolves from the union of Roman stonebuilding traditions and native Celtic architecture. Due to their "heritage of round building" (Barrow 1979, 33), the Irish constructed circular towers using a concrete core of stones and mortar between walls of dressed stone bonded with mortar, a technique readily apparent in Hadrian's wall. As discussed earlier (ch.1 on porticus), Irish evidence cannot reliably enlighten us as to Anglo-Saxon practice, nor is it as early or as reliably dateable as implied in Barrow (see objections in Hare and Hamlin 1986). Nevertheless, in view of the Irish round towers, we must at least consider the possible influence of such towers on the architecture of Anglo-Saxon towers.

But what of the functions of these Irish towers? The name cloig-theach gives some information, translating as "bell house." Connected to this name is the interesting provision in Brehon laws that a monastery was entitled to the property of any stranger who died within the sound of the bells, and to any flotsam and jetsam in the same area (Barrow 1979, 39). In addition, nearly all towers stand separate from their accompanying church and/or

W.S. in
Barrow

monastery, and nearly all have doors over one meter above ground. Only four towers in Barrow's list, Scattery, Castledermot, Lusk and Swords, have doorways less than one meter above modern ground level, and only Scattery was originally so (Ibid., 26). Barrow gives the following data:

distance above ground in meters: 1-2 = 10 towers
 2-3 = 12 towers
 3-4 = 18 towers
 4-5 = 7 towers
 6.66 = Balla
 7.92 = Kilmacduagh

Due to the raised doorways, many have postulated a defensive function for the Irish tower, citing the security gained once inside with a rope ladder pulled up, the difficulty of damaging and entering such towers, and the surviving evidence in Irish annals (See Hare and Hamlin 1986). Barrow (1979, 26) suggests that the lack of a lower doorway also helps strengthen the base and thus the entire tower structure. As several towers have bases filled in with earth, at times as high as the raised doorway, his suggestion seems reasonable, especially given the construction of the towers as separate buildings. As far as the defensive aspects of the towers are concerned, though, they have perhaps been exaggerated given the bloody history of Ireland and its conquerors. Barrow notes that while in the past scholars have argued that the towers were in response to Viking invasions, they

ignored the fact that several exist within the sphere of Viking rule, notably in County Dublin, St. Michael le Pole, and Clondalkin. We should therefore reasonably "attach primary importance to their symbolic function as the outstanding feature of a Christian center" (Ibid., 39).

Herwin Schaeffer, discussing the origin of the two-tower façade in Romanesque architecture (1945, 103), notes that the Holy Sepulchre was always depicted as having two towers, and perhaps this gives us additional support for a symbolic reference. He cites, for example, several European ivory covers as well as the depiction in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold of the three Marys at the Sepulchre, with two round towers beside the building shown. He also comments that it was generally thought that westworks originated in the idea of a chapel over the west entrance, usually dedicated to Michael as guardian of the gate (Ibid., 105). Citing the old Germanic idea that cult sites were placed on hilltops, he comments that chapels of St. Michael were often built there as well, on former heathen sites, implying that these hill chapels preceded upper chapels in churches. As not many Anglo-Saxon churches developed westworks so far as we know, most of Schaeffer's points need not pertain to Anglo-Saxon towers. His parallel of the towers of the Sepulchre's church, though, could well provide a source for imitation and symbolism, and we know Winchester had a pre-Conquest church over its east gate dedicated to St. Michael and recorded c. 994: "Iuxta portam de Est solebat esse quedam hmslogia et quidam gradus ad ascendum ad aecclesiam super portam" (Biddle 1976, 330). In addition, the symbolism of the cena

Domini plays a role here as it did in our discussion of upper chapels in porches.

Before assigning purely religious use to the tower, however, we might recall that even the earliest Christian monasteries had both secular and religious need for towers. At Kasr in the Libyan Desert, for example, E. H. Sawyer noted a "donjon-tower," entered by a drawbridge and small first floor door. It functioned as a final retreat for monks if the monastery were attacked, and also as a replica in miniature of the monastery itself. On the ground floor were storerooms while the upper floors held living rooms, a library, a treasury and a chapel. The chapel, notably, was always dedicated to St. Michael "as being nearer heaven and the angels" (Sawyer 1930, 320). The tower had a flat roof overlooking the walls and desert, thus serving as an ideal watch platform.

Similar uses are surely valid for Anglo-Saxon towers. In addition, the tower was rich and highly suggestive as a symbol to Anglo-Saxons who knew their sacred texts, or merely their illustrations. Between 784 and 791, Pope Hadrian I wrote to Charlemagne concerning the vision of a monk named Jean, "Dicebat enim quia vidit primis in somnis caelos apertos et dexteram Dei. Deinde vidit postmodum somnium alius; turrem magnam et descendentes angelos" (Heitz 1963, 133, n. 1). Heitz comments that the turris magna is the celestial Jerusalem from which the angels descend: the depiction of the city as a tower or rotunda became quite common in manuscripts, particularly those illustrating the Apocalypse. According to Apoc. 21:16-17, the celestial Jerusalem was square, yet often manuscripts cited by

Heitz show it as round (1963, 135), as, for example, twelve concentric circles of different colors with twelve gates, three to each major compass point.

An interesting point concerning ornament insofar as Saxon churches are concerned relates to these twelve gates of Jerusalem paralleled in the celestial city. Heitz reproduces a plate from the Apocalypse of Saint-Sever (Ms. B.N. Lat. 8878, fos. 207v., 208r.; plate 36 in Heitz 1963) which shows the tower in plan, spread out as if seen from above and flattened, much like the technique in the Codex Amiatinus plan of the Temple in Jerusalem and in Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis (1958). (The Codex Amiatinus, however, shows perspective, as if we looked from one corner on high: the columns on one long and one short side are obscured by draperies, the other sides show the columns with draperies behind them. See Alexander 1978, pl. 23.) The twelve gates, with the apostles standing beneath them, are shown as a series of arches forming a continuous arcade around the ground floor, with Christ as Lamb at the center, and connecting half-arches filling up the corners. Here perhaps is a clue to the use of arcading as more than merely decorative detail, evoking the celestial Jerusalem and therefore emphasizing the connection between the church of worship and the kingdom of God. E. Gilbert has proposed an alternate theory on arcading, as noted in chapter 1. He argues, citing Grabar, that blind arcading usually occurs on martyria to symbolize the arch of heaven. As noted earlier, I conclude that arcaded structures in Anglo-Saxon architecture need not be martyria. Indeed, the connections between altars and arcading

seem much stronger in this tradition of the celestial Jerusalem, and even where apses with arcading exist instead of towers with arcading (as at Deerhurst, Wing and Repton), the connection between altar/sacrificial meal and arcaded apses remains. I am not suggesting that the arch of heaven motif could not function as well for anyone buried in an apse or tower, but that the primary association would be one of the cena Domini and its fulfillment in a heavenly afterlife.

As a side point, I should mention that Gilbert apparently refers only to semi-circular/rounded arcading. In Anglo-Saxon work, however, the arcading often comes in two forms, gabled (sometimes called triangular) and rounded. When these two forms both occur, they most often occur in the same relative placement, with gabled or pointed arcading above rounded arcading, as on the tower of Earl's Barton church or on the apses at Deerhurst and Wing. Perhaps this placement suggests relative dating of the two styles, but the same pattern of gabled and round arches occurs in the gatehouse at Lorsch, with nine gables over the three round entrance arches. Whether the total of twelve is coincidental or symbolic I leave open.

A final point on arcading concerns the possible connection with now-lost wooden building traditions. We are all familiar with the decorative and functional beams used in English buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps the arcading left to us in stone on Anglo-Saxon churches provides clues to the earlier tradition related to those constructions. Jackson and Fletcher made similar comments on pilaster work, which often

accompanies arcading, and Clapham stated about Barnack, "there can be little doubt that the builders, while employing traditional methods, were consciously imitating timber construction" (1930, 109). Excavations at Yeavinger show clear indications of wooden "pilasters," probably covering seams (clearly illustrated in Morris 1983, 40, notably on the building labelled "church.") If such theories hold any truth, the symbolism of arches was probably secondary to the practical traditions of building, or at best, happily coincidental with them. We have no idea if such wooden arcading would have been reserved for fine buildings of the nobility or whether it was a general decorative and functional tradition, as with thatching. If it were reserved for important structures, the power and importance implied would serve well the purposes of such arcading on a church's most visible addition, the tower.

Picking up again on Heitz's discussion of illustrations, depictions of [?]paradise as a tower in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts frequently occur, for example, in Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Junius 11, p. 11 (Caedmon Genesis), and in London B.L. Stowe 944, f.7 (New Minster Register). (See plates 190 and 248 of Temple 1976.) The former depicts God in his tower speaking to Adam and Eve (presumably in the earthly paradise, Eden), while the New Minster Register shows the Last Judgment with Peter at the gate of the tower. We may perhaps also see the depiction of people under arches or arcades in sculpture or manuscript illustration (as in the four rows of Christ's ancestors, Boulogne, Bibl. Mun. 11, f. 11 in Temple 1976, pl. 147) as signifying their presence in the

celestial city. Perhaps the tower and chancel arches themselves connect symbolically with this idea, and the proliferation of arches in central towers opening to porticus or transepts.

While many Anglo-Saxon towers survive, our knowledge of their interior appointments, divisions and even uses remains severely limited. We can speculate (and shall do so in the following discussions) after examining brief clues in chronicles and other documents, but few churches yield clear evidence for the specific use of their towers, and the relationship between the physical tower and the rites and uses it occasioned. From general evidence, though, towers seem the addition to a church which allowed for the most diverse uses, both secular and religious.

Fortunately, we do have the accounts of Lantfred and Wulfstan, published by Quirk (1957, 38-68), to show us some specifics, namely, the careful planning and decoration of the tenth century tower at Winchester. The tower was certainly a western one, separate from the church. The account states that it stood before the "beauteous threshold of the church" (Ibid., 38) and that Swithun was buried before this tower. Described at the end of the preamble to the Liber Vitae, the tower was probably erected c. 980-993, according to Quirk. Two interesting points emerge immediately: the tower had a separate dedication, which Quirk thought might suggest that "it was a ritually separate entity" (1961, 26), and the description states that it was decorated with suitable adornments on every side, confirming that the tower was freestanding. Excavations proved Quirk's theories. Unfortunately, the account praises the tower for its uniqueness,

so we cannot extend the relevance of carefully planned numerology and symbolism to all or even to most towers. The existence of the Winchester tower, however, does establish a precedent and allows us to entertain the possibility that the anomalies of other towers could be significant and symbolic. The complete relevant text, here taken from Quirk's article (1961, 38-9), follows in Latin (New Minster Liber Vitae, B.M. MS. Stowe 944, fols. 11-14) with Quirk's own translation.

[fol.12] ...ipse rex...in modum turris mirae altitudinis eximieque uenustatis fabricam multiplicibus erexit expensis, cui nec ipsis temporibus priscis aliqua extitit huius patrie consimilis et multiplicium peruagatoribus regionum sanctorumque locorum apparet singularis. Peracto denique tam mirifice turris diu exoptabili incremento omni ex parte congruis apparatibus perspicue exposito, reuerentissimus Christi presul AEDELGARVS, in reparandis cultui diuino aecclesiarum fundamentis instructor deuotissimus, perfectionis tenorem propriis laboribus inponere gestiens, ipsius elegantis fabrifice summam, perfectionis numero qui suis tantummodo partibus infra centenarium expletur sat sacris mysteriis, [fol. 13] philosophicisque regulis perfectissimus, scilicet biternis segmentorum caelaturis solerter discriminauit: atque suae specialis domine, celi terraeque reginae Dei genitricis MARIAE suisque uirginibus, primae caelature porticum honorifice exornatum, DOMNO uenerabilis memoriae DVNSTANO archiepiscopo ex more missarum sollempnia celebrante, NONA Iulii deuotissime dedicauit, qui reuerentissimus antistes cuius dignitatis cuiusue reuerentiae sit quique testantur pauperes Christi cunctique proceres totius regni: Secundam denique segmentorum caelaturam SANCTAE TRINITATIS indiuidue unitatis honore sanctificans: tertiamque uexillo sanctae crucis exornans: Necne quartam omnium sanctorum patrociniis replens: quintamque sub nomine archangeli MICHAELIS omniumque caelestium uirtutum constituens: extremam quatuor euangelistis iure consecrauit, ueluti auctoribus totius perfectionis.

[Ethelred] as king...erected at great expense a fabric in the form of a tower of marvellous height and extraordinary beauty, the like of which never existed in this country in

times past, and which appears unique to travellers over manifold regions and holy places. When the long desired growth of such a marvellous tower had at last been completed and had been gloriously embellished with suitable adornments on every side, the most reverend bishop of Christ, Ethelgar, a most devout initiator of the restoring to divine worship of ecclesiastical foundations, desiring to set the course to perfection by his own labours, skilfully divided the totality of the elegant fabric itself according to the perfect number -- which alone below a hundred is made up of the sum of its parts and is sufficient in regard to the sacred mysteries and altogether perfect by the rules of philosophy -- that is to say, by six carvings of the storeys: and on the 7th July he dedicated the porticus of the first carving adorned in honour of his special patron, the queen of heaven and earth, mother of God, Mary, and her virgins, the rites of the masses being duly celebrated by the lord archbishop Dunstan of revered memory, that most reverend prelate to whose dignity and venerableness all Christ's poor and all the nobles of the whole realm bear witness: next, sanctifying the second carving of the storeys to the honour of the undivided unity of the Holy Trinity: and adorning the third with the banner of the Holy Cross: and filling the fourth with the patronage of All Saints: and establishing the fifth under the name of the archangel Michael and all the heavenly powers: he duly consecrated the final one to the four evangelists, as the authors of all perfection.

We can find the following points relevant to archaeology in the text. The tower, divided into six by Ethelgar, was thus composed of a perfect number, as $1+2+3=6$. As segmenta most probably means "storey," six storeys comprised the tower, probably each one functioning as a chapel due to the explicit dedications mentioned. The porticus primae caelaturae or ground floor was dedicated with masses (implying several altars?) on July 7 to Mary and her virgins. The most usual translation of caelatura is carved relief work (in any medium), not sculpture in the round; should we then conclude that the reliefs implied chapels dedicated to the saints mentioned, or perhaps even relief work on what other accounts called tabula, altar fronts? The carvings and dedications/consecrations on the subsequent storeys were: the

Trinity; the banner of the Holy Cross; All Saints; the archangel Michael and all heavenly powers; and extremam, the four evangelists. Schaefer's comments and Kasr monastery's dedication of an upper chapel to Michael "as being nearer heaven and the angels" give us a parallel to the fifth stage dedication and placement as an upper chapel. Also, the gatehouse at Lorsch and at Winchester held an upper chapel dedicated to Michael, as noted.

Excavation Quirk to be correct in thinking the tower a freestanding and liturgically independent building (Biddle 1970, 316 and 318). It stood some 65 feet west of the main church, and west of Swithun's grave; it doubtless formed the initial stage for a pilgrim's visit at that time. Later (c. 971-80), the main church extended further westward and encompassed St. Martin's tower, an enlargement that may have drastically changed its functions and certainly curtailed its independent standing. The most likely outcome would be that, while still functioning as the initial site for a pilgrim's visit, it became integrated into services for Swithun's cult, and the dedications suggested by its decoration may have become obsolete once physically obscured. Canterbury also had an independent tower (or two) at the southwest corner of the abbey grounds. While the remains for only one certain structure survived, remnants to its east suggested to Saunders (1978, 52) a "grand, twin-towered entrance giving access to the court surrounding the west end of the Saxon ecclesiastical complex," comparing it to St. Riquier and Winchester.

AEthelwulf's De Abbatibus, concerning the abbots of a cell of Lindisfarne, contains another useful account about towers and

upper levels, though it presents a dream sequence or vision and can thus be metaphorical. Taylor (1974a, 163-73) discusses possible reconstructions of the church based on the detailed descriptions in the poem. The poem recounts descriptions of altars and a heavenly banquet in a tower apparently located in the west end of the church, equally interesting given the previous discussion of symbolic connections with towers. (All references are to Campbell's edition, 1967).

As the sections concerning porticus already feature in chapter one, we pick up the account as the "shining being" (candidus) instructs the narrator to turn from the eastern altar to the north (58), where he recognizes Eadfrith and Hyglac, former teachers. Eadfrith leads our narrator along the walls of the great church, through the smaller porticus mentioned, until they come to "the west side" ("occiduas tandem partes properamus euntes, l. 765, 60-1). This westernmost porticus has an especially elaborate altar complete with a (jeweled) chair (as at Barnack and Hexham once?) for Wulfsig, who blesses the narrator as he leaves with his guide. Together, guide and narrator now ascend "to a high place in the church, which gave a view to the north" (conueti ad culmen cellae, que respicit Arcton," l. 776). Taylor (1974a, 167) notes that elsewhere culmen refers in the poem to the roof, and translates this phrase as "up into the roof of the church." Here, "a table freshly supplied with various forms of sustenance and food of all kinds offered the blessing of a meal" ("haec inter dapibus diuersis mensa refecta/ omnigenisque aepulis escarum munera profert," ll. 781-2, 60-1). The meal

clearly relates to a heavenly banquet much like those in later medieval stories of the Holy Grail, and the drinking on a Sunday night of a "gift of sacredliquid," a "wine of wondrous flavor," confirms that we should see this banquet as a dramatization of the bounty of God's meal, the mass, for the poet specifically refers to Eadfrith as a priest earlier (presbyter, l. 751, 59).

But in archaeological terms, what can we glean from the account? Taylor took the detail that the larger porticus stand "at the corners of the world" as meaning that these stood in the middle of each wall. This forms the church shaped like a cross that the poem describes. While the east porticus (chancel?) apparently held Cuthbert's body venerated by Eadfrith, it also held a stool with Hyglac seated upon it. The narrator and Eadfrith proceed to the west along the walls of the church; this may suggest the outer walls and thus have them passing through the porticus, opening connecting rooms, rather than stopping at each door while proceeding along the interior of the nave, as Taylor's reconstruction would require, but the latter seems more likely.

Immediately after that description, the two men ascend to a high place. The collocation of a high place and a heavenly feast with holy wine reinforces the connection with the Upper Room of the Last Supper, and the symbolism mentioned earlier of an upper chapel. Whether the upper room is above a porch or in a tower remains unclear and unprovable. However, the use of "a high place" apparently up under the roof of a cella certainly suggests something above the level of the nave walls and their separate roof, and the metaphorical banquet confirms that we are to

understand an upper chapel paralleling the original Upper Room. For a similar use of the term cella as tower, see Rodwell's references to the tower-like cellae of Autun and Périgueux (1980, 221).

2. USES OF ANGLO-SAXON TOWERS

Having discussed some of the symbolic background to towers, our next consideration is for the possible uses of towers and their rooms. Possibilities for the non-liturgical use of tower rooms are more numerous than the documentation of such uses, though scattered references exist in both continental and in English sources. Towers could easily serve as storage or hiding areas, areas for legal proceedings and instruction, defensible "keeps," dungeons, living quarters, lookouts, or even as places for selling food or other items to pilgrims and visitors within many Saxon churches.

A. Storage/Treasuries

Taylor mentions such continental churches as the cathedral and church of St. Mathias in Trier where upper rooms in towers are still used as treasuries (1980, 889), though other chambers of the church could serve. Perhaps we should interpret at least some of the doorways high in the western walls of churches as we have the doorways of Irish towers; certainly, if such doorways were reached merely by rope ladders, they would be difficult to reach for

anyone who wished only to steal rather than to burn the entire church. If the doorways opened to galleries and stairs, locked doors would still provide security, though rebates for upper doorways are rare.

The Laud Chronicle (E) for 1070 may document an instance of a tower used for storage. When Hereward's band plundered Peterborough,

[t]hey climbed up to the holy cross and took the diadem all of pure gold from our Lord's head, then took the foot-support made entirely of red gold which was underneath His feet. They climbed up to the tower, and brought down the altar-frontal made entirely of gold and silver that was hidden there. They seized there two golden and nine silver shrines, and fifteen great crosses made both of gold and of silver. It is impossible for anyone to estimate how much gold and silver they took from there and what riches, whether in money, vestments, or books (Garmonsway 1978, 205).

The account is unclear as to whether all the plunder mentioned came from the tower rather than simply from Peterborough as a whole, and the finding of the altar-frontal might be interpreted as evidence for an upper chapel if the chronicler had not added "hidden there." (The magnam tabulam...ante altare might have been for a special feastday, or left over from a refurbished altar.)

Evidence that might suggest a chamber's use for storage would include upper doorways, not finished off or dressed, which perhaps open above offsets (suggesting roof space not open to public use); narrow windows suggesting protection as more important than light; rebates for doors used to maintain security. The following

churches have chambers which could have been used for storage or as treasuries:

Beechamwell, Norf.
 Bessingham, Norf.
 Bosham, Sus.
 Brigstock, Northants.
 Broughton, Lincs.
 Clapham, Beds.
 Flixton, Suff.
 Great Ryburgh, Norf.
 Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.
 Hovingham, Yks.
 Howe, Norf.
 Nettleton, Lincs.
 Newton-by-Castleacre, Norf.
 Ovingham, Northumb.
 Warblington, Hamp.

B. Legal Proceedings, Secular and Religious

Eadmer's account of the south tower of Canterbury mentions the possible use of upper chambers over the Suthdure for legal proceedings. From De reliquiis sancti Audoeni et quorundam aliorum sanctorum quae Cantuariae in aecclesia Domini Salvatoris habentur:

15(g) Dein sub medio longitudinis aulae turre erant, prominentes ultra aecclisiae alas. Quarum una, quae in austro erat, sub honore beati Gregorii papae altare in medio sui dedicatum habebat, et in latere principale ostium aecclisiae, quod antiquitus ab Angli et nunc usque SUTHDURE dicitur. Quod ostium in antiquorum legibus regum suo nomine sepe exprimitur, in quibus etiam omnes querelas totius reni quae in hundredis uel comitatibus uno uel pluribus uel certe in curiaregis non possent legaliter definiri, finem inibi, sicut in curia regis summi, sortiri debere decernitur

15(g) In the next place, beyond the middle of the length of the body, there were two towers which projected above the aisles of the church. The south tower had an altar in the midst of it dedicated in honour of the blessed pope Gregory. At the side was the principal door of the church which as of old by the English so now is called suthdure and is often mentioned by this name in the law books of the ancient kings. For all disputes from the whole kingdom which cannot legally be resolved within the hundreds or the counties, or even in the king's court, must be settled here as if in the high king's court (Taylor 1969, 126, 106).

From the description, what would take place is more than a civil council and closer to an ecclesiastical proceeding, though with the authority of the king's own court. We are given no clue as to what types of disputes could not be legally resolved anywhere else, though perhaps it would include large land grants in several areas from the estates of one person, church interests not under a king's authority, or the manumission of slaves from scattered areas.

As an example of business regularly ratified in a church, a charter of c. 855, written under Ethelwulf, grants a tenth part of his kingdom (in land or revenues) to the church. The charter mentions that "these things were enacted at Winchester in the Church of St. Peter before the great altar" ("Acta sunt haec apud Wintoniam in ecclesia sancti Petri, ...ante majus altare...", Birch 1887, 85-6, no. 485), though whether this means the charter was

drawn up in the church, or simply solemnized in the church is uncertain. Importantly, the detail of the "major altar" allows for the possibility of the witnessing taking place in the crossing, perhaps under a central tower.

Towers may also have held small synod meetings in Anglo-Saxon England. Heitz cites the tower of Mary (consecrated 943) at Werden as a place of synodal jurisdiction in the eleventh century (1963, 47). Certainly few Anglo-Saxon towers would have the room to convene synods in them, unless of a minor nature, but that these could exist is suggested by the Suthdure citation.

Evidence which might suggest the likelihood of secular or religious legal proceedings (besides direct documentary evidence) includes a seat with surrounding benches; documented affiliation/presence of a high official such as a prince or king or bishop; proximity to a meeting mound.

Barnack, Northants.

Bosham, Suss.

Canterbury Cathedral, Cant.

Corbridge, Northumb.

Earl's Barton, Northants.

C. Instruction

Eadmer's account mentions that the north tower at Canterbury had a specific use as well, and in his view, balances the worldly contentions of the Suthdure with those of the Faith.

15(h) Alia uero turris in plaga aquilonali e regione illius condita fuit in honorem beati Martini, claustra in quibus monachi conuersabantur hinc inde habens. Et sicut ante aliam forenses lites et saecularia placita exercebantur, ita in ista adolescentiores fratres in discendo aecclesiastica officia die ac nocte pro temporum uicibus instituabantur

15(h) Opposite to this tower, and on the north, the other tower was built in honour of the blessed Martin, and had about it cloisters for the use of the monks. And as the first was devoted to legal contentions and judgements of this world, so in the second the younger brethren were instructed in the knowledge of the offices of the Church, for the different seasons and hours of the day and night (Taylor 1969, 129, 106).

In an article on Brixworth (1953), Radford postulated a similar use for the western gallery and chamber above the porch, as the district was only recently Christian at the founding of the church. For reasons stated in chapter 2/ I think this upper chamber functioned as a chapel once the triple arched window was built. Before that, the upper chamber is as likely as any of the porticus might be for this purpose. Unfortunately, evidence for use of a chamber as a place of instruction would not generally exist archaeologically. We can, however, speculate that churches with fonts probably had space for instructing converts within the church, possibly within the tower.

Canterbury Cathedral, Cant. (see Eadmer's account above)

Canterbury/St. Pancras, Cant. (W cross-wall, possible tower above, font before; previous church phase had benches around church walls)

Hadstock, Essex (baptistery, central timber-framed tower)

D. Dungeons, Sanctuary and Defense

The continental evidence offers good examples of tower rooms used as dungeons or places of defense. Genicot, discussing synodal records and architecture (1970, 33), mentions that French parishioners had partial charge of the upkeep of western towers in the early medieval period, and that such towers were not found merely in major or city churches. The three bells usually hung did not justify the cost and massive size of the tower, as they were not overly heavy bells. Instead, the towers were built to withstand warfare between feudal lords and to offer refuge, with an alternative use as seigneurial dungeons. The people paid for their security with a *corvée* of transport and upkeep. In Saxon England, however, no such records exist, and most later warfare was due to the Scandinavian raids. Unless a neighboring village had few inhabitants, the idea of using a Saxon tower as refuge for the local people seems unlikely. Towers may have served as refuge for the clergy of a church, of course, but as the floors were of wood (with the possible exception of the late, perhaps even medieval, barrel vault at Monkwearmouth), torching the tower would soon end any attempt to hide inside it. A wooden door one floor up burns as easily as one at ground level.

Fisher mentions the possibility that Wickham, Berks., has a tower showing "evidence of defence intent" (1969, 86), as the tower's sole external doorway is about eight feet above the ground on the south side. Fisher sees the tower as a "belfry-cum-

defence" tower, but it is perhaps as likely to have been a western sanctuary or even a hermit's dwelling, with a raised door as protection from animals more than men. If any of these uses are relevant, Wickham provides the closest parallel to the Irish and Kasr towers among surviving Saxon towers, but whether the tower was built against the church or vice versa would of course make a difference in our interpretations. The present nave at Wickham postdates the tower. If the tower were originally designed to exist by itself, naturally its uses would change when a church extended from it. Alone, it could function as a tower church or as a secular building. As a tower church (as perhaps we should consider the Winchester tower) it might well have consisted of a series of chapels, one above the other. This suggestion still leaves the question of why the raised doorway exists, though, especially in a building presumably constructed for some measure of public use, even if only by a local noble family.

Alternatively, if the tower were part of a church, exterior access from a stairway to an upper floor may have been due to a liturgical and/or architectural reason concerning the ground floor, such as a western chapel or shrine (as argued in the previous chapter). If clergy wished to restrict access to a western chamber on the lower level, an exterior door would allow entrance to other levels of the tower, as for ringing bells, without disturbing the use of a lower chamber. (Excavation might also clarify whether side chambers existed, giving access to upper levels.) Of course, the isolation of a person on the upper floor could also be arranged due to the raised doorway, perhaps in cases

of sanctuary. Such a doorway could also have served a special liturgical purpose once the tower stood attached to the church, as mentioned earlier in comments on Heitz's work regarding liturgies of the Savior.

Other Saxon churches also have raised doorways which could have served some defensive function. We need further archaeological work to determine the building sequence of churches with towers, as in Rodwell's work on Barton-upon-Humber (1982 and 1986), before a survey of possible autonomous towers could begin to be accurate and complete. For example, the tower at Earl's Barton, recently excavated by the Northamptonshire County Council's Archaeological Unit, indicates that construction of the tower followed construction of the nearby, possibly defensive or meeting-place, mound (Audouy et al. 1981, 84) and most probably one or more earlier churches. The linkage of mounds and churches may also be much more significant and widespread than suspected. In 1984, a brief survey showed that eleven of twelve mounds examined had no burials and were apparently constructed (of turf) simply as meeting places within their hundreds (Adkins and Petchey 1984, 243-51). These mounds showed evidence of planned placement, being centrally located and/or near major roads; at least one major Saxon church, Wing, was situated near such a mound (Hawkeslowe), and its proximity to a possible royal estate suggests manorial connections as well (Ibid., 249). That church towers could have functioned as secular meeting places seems reasonable, especially if a small, removed chamber were needed for privacy from a larger congregation nearby. Audouy notes (1981,

73) that "in the late Saxon period the distinction between secular and ecclesiastical buildings may not have been as clear as it is now and that [Earl's Barton] could have served as part of a thegn's residence."

Finally, the value of bells, whose existence is indicated by belfry stages, should not be undervalued as a defense. Adequate warning was certainly an important aspect that could have been much improved with the aid of church bells, and will be considered as part of my discussion of towers as vantage points (see next subsection).

Evidence which suggests use of a tower as a place of sanctuary or defense would include an upper floor reached only from within the church and having narrow, slit windows. A connection might also exist between sanctuary and projecting beasts' heads termed prokrossoi, as a common term for outlaw was wolfshhead (wulfesheafod), from the practice of chasing him down like a wolf (as in the Laws of Edward the Confessor, vi); frequently these prokrossoi are described in modern accounts as wolf heads. Possible candidates for these uses are:

Alkborough, Yks. (beast's head

Barnack, Northants. (beast's head over upper exterior door,
nearby slit window)

Beechamwell, Norf.

Bessingham, Norf.

(Billingham, Dur.)

Bolam, Northumb.

Deerhurst, Gloucs.

Earl's Barton, Northants. (no openings on N side facing mound; see appendix)

Flixton, Suff.

Haddiscoe Thorpe, Norf.

Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.

Hovingham, Yks.

Kirk Hammerton, Yks.

(Lincoln/St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincs.; limited openings)

(Lincoln/St. Peter-at-Gowts, Lincs.; limited openings)

Little Bardfield, Ess.

Marton, Lincs.

Morland, Westmorland

Nettleton, Lincs.

Ovingham, North.

Oxford/St. Michael, Oxfs. (part of north gate defense?)

Shereford, Norf.

Singleton, Suss.

Skipwith, Yks. ER

Tasburgh, Norf.

(Wickham, Berks.)

E. Towers as Vantage Points

The use of towers as lookout posts seems inevitable, just as it seems unlikely that such an expected use would be documented. Providing a high viewpoint from which to see and be seen by the surrounding country is doubtless one of the reasons why so many

churches, with or without towers, sat upon hills or near rivers. Church tower bells could then provide warning, whether of friend or foe. (The siting of churches initially without towers on raised ground is, of course, also common, perhaps originally related to prehistoric associations of barrows and pre-Christian rites and temples with the supernatural and spiritual world and the traditions alluded to by Schaefer.)

In line with this function I would like to add a further possibility for the appearance of towers in England. While the study of the Anglo-Saxon church tower is yet incomplete, scholars generally date its appearance to the tenth, and rarely, the ninth centuries. I would tentatively argue that Viking raids and the need for watchfulness, rather than destroying or discouraging the building of churches, encouraged the Anglo-Saxons to add towers, or add to towers, in the 900's. T. P. Smith's work on the churches of Bedfordshire (1966, 7-14) will indicate some evidence for this stimulus. From the time of Charlemagne, of course, the continent had been fortifying towns and churches. (See, for example, comments on Charlemagne's system of "beacons, fleets and forts" in Hill 1981, 36 and his discussion and illustration of a Hampshire beacon system after c. 1000 on 92.) That the Anglo-Saxons would follow suit is probable, as they constructed a fleet (ASC c. 1008), but the work of Smith (1974) and Hare (1971) points to a stronger implication.

The churches of St. Peter and St. Mary in Bedford occupy opposite sides of the river, and extending eastward along the Ouse from them are St. Thomas, Clapham; St. Mary, Stevington; and All

Saints, Turvey. In addition, the churches of Carlton, Beds. and Lavendon, Bucks. (9 miles west of Bedford) might have figured in a system of watch. All the aforementioned churches are towered and built during or just after the period of Viking activity. The relevance of these towers to Viking influence on architecture becomes clearer when we examine the frith of Alfred and Guthrum c. 878. The boundaries established in the peace-accord include a line extending "up the Lea to its source, then in a straight line to Bedford, then up the Ouse into Watling Street" (Smith 1966, 14, n. 11; see also Hill's map, 1981, 47). The line described runs up to Bedford, with its two churches on either side of the river, then eastward up the Ouse, with the Danes to the east and the Saxons, with their string of towered churches, extending from the Bedford pair off to the west. The line of churches avoids (present) bends in the river so as to form a clear line of sight to the border. The possibility of towers to watch and communicate activity along the border seems difficult to overlook, even if or perhaps especially if the borders negotiated continued to be a source of contention.

Evidence for use of a tower as a vantage point is somewhat inconclusive, as a church on a hill can be there as much to be seen as to see from; nevertheless, some evidence might make the use more likely, such as: the presence of a floor above a belfry; the addition of a second belfry over a first (for added height and range of pealing bells? see next section); a situation so as to overlook waterways and/or major roads; placement so as to be seen from other nearby towers. In addition to the list of churches

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with two belfries in the next section, such churches are:

Bolam, Northumb. (level over belfry)

Carlton, Beds.

Dover, Kent (given original use as Roman lighthouse)

Earl's Barton, Northants. (third stage with gabled openings
on all sides; belfry stage with five openings on each side
makes the need for light in a ringing chamber below less
likely)

Great Ryburgh, Norf.

Guildford, Surr.

Haddiscoe, Norf.

Hales, Norf.

Harmston, Lincs.

Herringfleet, Suff.

(Holton-le-Clay, S. Humbs.)

Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs.

Jarrow, T and W

Kirk Hammerton, Yks.

Little Bardfield, Ess.

(Market Overton, Rut.)

Monkwearmouth, Dur.

Morland, Westmor.

Netheravon, Wilts.

Ovingham, Northumb.

Oxford/St. Michael, Oxfs.

Stowe-Nine-Churches, Northants.

Swallow, Lincs.

Tasburgh, Norf. (ditch, earthwork)

(Thorington, Suff.)

(Thurlby, Lincs.)

Warden, Northumb.

(Weaverthorpe, Yks. ER)

West Mersea, Ess.

(Wickham, Berks.)

F. Belfries

The use of belfries in connection with defense and surveillance has already been alluded to above. In addition, Taylor notes in his third volume (1984, 869) the term "belfry" originally designated 1) a watchtower or 2) less likely, a movable tower used in the attack of fortifications. The ringing of bells as an alarm may explain the later change in meaning to a bell tower, but the original meaning may well have been as current to Anglo-Saxons as the sense we now recognize for belfry.

The majority of Anglo-Saxon churches have belfries as the uppermost stage in their towers; sometimes, two belfries survive, perhaps with the lower, once superseded, becoming a ringing chamber. From this evidence, we might conclude that the need for bells, whether for strategic or liturgical reasons, was the foremost influence in the construction of those towers which remain for our inspection. Worth noting in this context, Frankish churches allowed women religious to strike bells and kindle light in the church as part of their religious duties. Wemple quotes a

canon of A. D. 800 (Conc. Risp. Fris. Salis 22, Wemple 1985, 294, n. 159): "ut liceat sanctimoniam signum ecclesiae pulsare et lumen accendere."

Towers with one belfry stage:

Alkborough, Lincs.
 Aslacton, Norf.
 Barnack, Northants.
 Bedford/St. Mary, Beds.
 Bedford/St. Peter, Beds.
 Beechamwell, Norf.
 Beeston, Norf.
 Bessingham, Norf.
 Billingham, Dur.
 (Bishopstone, Suss.)
 Bolam, Northumb.
 Bracebridge, Lincs.
 Branston, Lincs.
 Breamore, Hamp. (?timber)
 (Brixworth, Northants.)
 (Brodsworth, Yks.)
 Burghwallis, Yks.
 Burnham Deepdale, Norf.
 Bywell/St. Andrew, Northumb.
 Cambridge/St. Bene't, Cambs.
 Canterbury/St. Augustine's, Kent

Canterbury/Cathedral, Kent
(Canterbury/St. Pancras, Kent)
Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts.
(Caversfield, Oxfs.)
Clapham, Beds.
Clee, Lincs.
Colchester/Holy Trinity, Ess.
(Colney, Norf.)
Compton, Surr.
Corbridge, Northumb.
Corringham, Lincs.
Cranwich, Norf.
(Cuxwold, Lincs.; removed?)
Dover, Kent
Dunham Magna, Norf.
Earl's Barton, Northants.
(Eastdean, Suss.)
Flixton, Suff.
Forncett/St. Peter, Norf.
(Framingham Earl, Norf.)
(Gissing, Norf.)
Glentworth, Lincs.
Great Hale, Lincs.
(Great Ryburgh, Norf.)
(Great Tey, Suff.)
(Guestling, Suss.)
Haddiscoe, Norf.

(Haddiscoe Thorpe, Norf.)
Hadstock, Ess.
(Hales, Norf.)
Harmston, Lincs.
Harpswell, Lincs.
Heapham, Lincs.
Herringfleet, Suff.
Hornby, Lincs.
Hooton Pagnell, Yks.
Hovingham, Yks.
Jarrow, Tyne and Wear
Jevington, Suss.
(Kingsdown, Kent)
Kirk Hammerton, Yks.
Langford, Oxfs.
Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yks.
Lavendon, Bucks.
Ledsham, Yks.
Lincoln/St. Benedict, Lincs.
Lincoln/St. Mary, Lincs.
Lincoln/St. Peter, Lincs.
(Little Bardfield, Ess.)
(Little Snoring, Norf.)
Maltby, Yks.
(Market Overton, Rut.)
Marton, Lincs.)
(Milborne Port, Som.)

Monk Fryston, Yks.
Monkwearmouth, Dur.
Morland, Westmorland
Netheravon, Wilts.
Newton-by-Castleacre, Norf.
North Elmham, Norf.
North Leigh, Oxfs.
(North Walsham, Norf.)
Norwich/St. Mary, Norf.
Ovingham, Northumb.
Rothwell, Lincs.
Roughton, Norf.
Scartho, Lincs.
(Shereford, Norf.)
Skipwith, Yks.
Sompting, Suss.
(Southease, Suss.)
(Springthorpe, Lincs.)
(Staindrop, Durham)
Stow, Lincs.
Stowe-Nine-Churches, Northants.
(Swallow, Lincs.)
(Thurlby, Lincs.)
(Waithe, Lincs.)
Warblington, Hamp.
(Warden, Northumb.)
Wendens Ambo, Ess.

(West Mersea, Ess.)

Weybourne, Norf.

Wharram-le-Street, Yks.

Whittingham, Northumb.

Wickham, Berks.

Wickmere, Norf.

(Winchester/St. Martin, Hamp.)

(Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp.)

(Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp.)

Winterton, Lincs.

(Witton[-by-Walsham], Norf.)

Wooten Wawen Warks.

(Wotton, Surr.)

Towers with two belfry stages:

Appleton-le-Street, Yks.

Bardsey, Yks.

Barton-on-Humber, S. Humbs.

Bosham, Suss.

Oxford/St. Michael, Oxfs.

G. Church Feasts and Fairs

The selling of goods in a church is not directly documented in the Anglo-Saxon period, though agapes in the patristic period and church-ales in the medieval suggest that some intermediate and

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 continuing form of feasts and accompanying fairs may well have taken place. A synod of Tours in 461 mentions that "certain priests in the churches committed to them (an abuse hardly to be mentioned) have established taverns, and so through tavern-keepers sell wine or allow it to be sold" (Davies 1968, 29). Another condemnation occurs in the Quinisextan Council canons: "It is not right that those who are responsible for reverence to churches should place within the sacred precincts an eating place, nor offer food there, nor make other sales" (Ibid., 29). Davies details some of the many condemnations made even in the later Middle Ages against church fairs held in the nave or the churchyard (Ibid., 55-7).

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 Yet Gregory, in a well-known letter to Mellitus recorded in Bede (A. D. 601), advocates replacing pagan festivities with Christian ones. He allows the erection of shelters of boughs around churches to celebrate a day of Dedication or the festivals of whatever martyrs' relics a church enshrines. He makes it clear that he hopes the sacrificing of beasts will transform from a pagan ritual into a Christian one, and we might consider this as the origin of church feasts and fairs in England, though clearly the original festival is outside the church. The source is as likely to be continental practice, though, for Dagobert I gave St. Denis permission for an annual fair in 634, and Anglo-Saxon merchants were present (Fletcher 1980, 77).

Davies mentions that Coulton saw the English scot-ales as derived from the Anglo-Saxon drinking bouts "baptized into Christianity" (Davies 1968, 48). Coulton himself states that the

scot-ale was an Anglo-Saxon institution, "A communal feast to which each brought a money contribution to cover his share of the drink" (1925, 28). We might also possibly relate it to the occasion at which Caedmon received the gift of poetry. Bullough mentions the obliteration of distinctions we note between the natural and supernatural worlds as shown in communal monastic drinking and caritas-songs on certain festivals. Laymen often gave vineyards to churches and monasteries not for sacral wine but with the requirement that they be remembered at table with the proceeds. In some cases, privileged persons had the right to participate in communal eating and drinking whenever they were in the vicinity (Bullough 1975, 28). As a counterbalance, however, we should recall Alcuin's hostility towards secular literature, summed up in his query "what has Ingeld [a legendary hero] to do with Christ?" But perhaps his sharpness reinforces the widespread existence of secular tales in non-secular contexts.

Of course, none of these passages need refer to the use of a tower or its upper chambers (though perhaps the passage cited earlier from De Abbatibus does have some basis in everyday practice). But the possibility at least exists that shops in larger churches selling pilgrims' "souvenirs" and refreshment may well have been set up in a tower serving as the vestibule of the church. It may even have been especially true of churches set up near markets, as the name of St. Peter in macellis, Winchester ("in the market") implies close association, at least in placement. We know that Winchester provided a guide for pilgrims to St. Swithun's shrine, because Wulfstan mentions that the

repaired atrium had so many porticus and arches and chapels that "retinent dubium liminis introitum" (they kept the entry doubtful), so that a visitor did not know where to go until a guide appeared and led him to the threshold of the furthest vestibule, "extremi limina vestibuli" (Quirk 1957, 44). We also know that pilgrims there looked down from galleries or balconies, for as Quirk notes, some relics were visible "extra balconem." Ethelwold placed Swithun in a great reliquary fixed to the high altar, and kept another reliquary in the sacristy (Ibid., 56-7). Balcon probably therefore refers to an upper level in a central tower over the altar, or less likely, to a gallery over transept or porticus, reached by an exterior stair or from the tower. From the Winchester excavations, St. Martin's tower may have been the entrance, with a central west tower having side galleries placed over Swithun's grave. Thus towers must have been part of special feasts connected with the relics.

The Anglo-Saxon priest may have served as the provider of food and drink for the church ales or feasts mentioned (particularly for feasts such as the anniversary of the church's dedication, as per Gregory's letter to Mellitus?), and would certainly be seen as the authority allowing such an occasion. If so, several passages in later Anglo-Saxon laws become more intelligible. Canon 14 of the Canons of Edgar cautions that every priest should provide for himself rightly, "7 ne beo aenig mangere mid unrihte ne gytsiende massere," "and not be any trader or covetous merchant" (Whitelock et al. 1981, 319). They also state

[26] 7 riht is thaet preostas cyrican healdan mid ealre

arwyrthnyssse to godcundre thenunge 7 to claenan theowdome, 7 to nanum othrum thingum; ne hy thaer aenig unnyt inne ne on neaweste ne gethafian: ne idele spæce, ne idele daede, ne unnyt gedryhtha, ne aefre aenig idel;... [27] 7 riht is thaet man into cyrican aenig thing ne logie thaes the thaerto ungethafenlic sy.

[26] And it is right that priests maintain the churches with all reverence for divine minstry and for pure service, and for no other thing; nor are they to allow any foolishness inside or in the neighborhood; neither idle speech, nor idle deed, nor foolish behaviour, nor ever anything idle;... [27] And it is right that nothing be placed in the church which is unfitting for it (Whitelock et al. 1981, 323).

The Northumbrian Priests' Law has similar prohibitions:

[25] Gif preost circan miswurthige, pe eal his wurthscipe of scal arisan, gebete thaet. [26] Gif preost on circan ungethafenlice thingc gelogige, gebete thaet. [27] Gif preost ciricthinge utige, gebete thaet.... [41] Gif preost oferdruncen lufige oththe gliman oththe ealascop wurthe, gebete thaet.

[25] If a priest treats disrespectfully the church from which all his dignity must spring, he is to compensate for it. [26] If a priest puts unsuitable things in the church, he is to compensate for it. [27] If a priest removes church-goods, he is to compensate for it.... [41] If a priest practises drunkenness or becomes a gleeman or tavern-minstrel, he is to compensate for it (Whitelock et al. 1981, 458, 460).

The survival of archaeological material that would suggest the uses mentioned above is unlikely or unrecognizable. (If we detected postholes or even sunken houses in churchyards, would we connect them with feasts or postulate a secular pre-church site or scaffolding?) As a result, only two churches are suggested here for this use (see Appendix C), though those with large relic collections or the remains of a popular saint would be likely candidates.

Hadstock, Ess.: fair on St. Botolph's day

Stow, Lincs.: St. Etheldreda

H. Towers for the Display of Relics

Evidence for the display of relics such as Taylor mentions (1984, 889) would include: upper doorways opening to the exterior, especially those with elaborated levels (with recesses, special architectural embellishments, sculpture, etc.); upper levels that open both to the east and west, suggesting a connection between liturgical celebration within the church and a need to perform some aspect of the celebration for those outside the church; a different alignment of the tower from the nave, perhaps implying a different dedication. Such churches include:

Appleton-le-Street, Yks. (upper doorways to N, S, W; circular window to E; different alignment from nave)

Barnack, Northants. (second stage, W and E doorways)

Billingham, Dur. (S upper doorway)

Brixworth, Northants. (crypt and elaborate upper room in tower)

Colchester/Holy Trinity, Ess. (W doorway, recesses on N and S)

(Earl's Barton, Northants.; if gabled openings on all sides of third stage not for vantage, possibly for display, but I think opening on E, over roof, makes this unlikely)

Glastonbury Abbey, Som. (E tower enclosed crypt)

North Walsham, Norf. (central tower with opening to nave)

(Norton, Dur.; elaborate upper tower levels)

(Ovingham, North.; upper S doorway)

(Repton, Derbys.; proposed tower over crypt; Wystan)

Sherborne, Dors. (Wulfsige, Juthwara)

Stow, Lincs. (Etheldreda, possibly Werburgh)

(Winchester/St. Martin as part of Old Minster, Hamp.)

I. Chapels

Evidence for chapels in towers would consist of direct evidence, such as altars or aumbries, or a sizable chamber with no external openings except an opening to the nave, possibly offset due to an altar; an elaborate chamber, especially one decorated with crosses, external sculpture or recesses, or with a triple arcade opening as is found in some chancel arches (as at Brixworth); an alignment different from the rest of the church, implying different dedications. Qualifying churches include:

Appleton-le-Street, Yks.

Barnack, Northants. (ground level, central W seat with wooden benches and 2 aumbries)

Bedford/St. Peter, Beds. (well-lit upper chamber with sculptural N jamb; relics of Aethelberht?)

Billingham, Dur.

Bolam, Northumb.

Bosham, Suss. (aumbry?)

Brixworth, Northants.

Canterbury/Cathedral, Kent

Colchester/Holy Trinity, Ess. (external recesses and doorway)

Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs.

Earl's Barton, Northants. (elaborate windows, with crosses on

arches and cut through stone transennae, with additional
circular cross in wall)

Great Hale, Lincs.

Herringfleet, Suff.

Hexham, Northumb.

Hovingham, Yks. (cross below string course on W, cross on S
above belfry openings)

(Ingram, Northumb.)

Langford, Oxfs.)

(Lavendon, Bucks.)

(Ledsham, Yks.)

Little Bytham, Lincs.

Middleton-by-Pickering, Yks.

Monkwearmouth, Dur.

(North Walsham, Norf.)

(Norton, Dur.)

(Repton, Derbys.)

(Sherbourne, Dors.)

Singleton, Suss.

Skipwith, Yks.

(Sompting, Suss.)

(Staindrop, Dur.)

(Whittingham, Northumb.)

Wickham, Berks.

Winchester/St. Martin, Hamp. (possibly more than six)

J. Naves

Towers serving as naves, sometimes termed turriform churches, have standing or archaeological evidence for an eastern chancel chamber, and often have similar evidence for a western chamber. Frequently these same churches have evidence for internal galleries, to increase the capacity of the tower nave.

Towers serving as naves:

Broughton, Lincs.

Barton-on-Humber, S. Humbs.

Debenham, Suff.

Earl's Barton, Northants.

Eastdean, Suss.

(Guildford, Surr.)

(Kingsdown, Kent)

Singleton, Suss.

K. Miscellaneous Liturgical Uses

Certain churches have unusual arrangements which suggest some elaboration on basic needs for liturgical celebration. For instance, a monastic church might well have excessively tall doorways for processional crosses, or extra space in a central tower to accommodate larger choirs. Possible candidates for these

miscellaneous embellishments due to liturgical
elaboration include:

Breamore, Hamp. (crossing and choir)

Caistor, Lincs. (once a bishop's church, which may explain
the apparent changes in W openings; see appendix for
details)

(Deerhurst, Gloucs.; if font placed at W, baptistery)

(Glastonbury, Som.; Dunstan's E tower, dedicated to John the
Baptist: font?)

Great Tey, Suff. (choir?)

Guestwick, Norf. (choir?)

Hexham, Northumb. (upper level chapels over porticus,
possibly raised W sanctuary)

(Kingsdown, Kent; SE tower placed in position analogous to
Potterne baptistery, overlapping public and private space
[nave/chancel])

Little Bardfield, Ess. (Fisher's location of font in tower
may preserve old tradition)

Monkwearmouth, Dur. (elaborate W end, monastic)

Netheravon, Wilts. (elaborate W end)

North Elmham, Norf.

North Walsham, Norf.

Norton, Dur.

Sherborne, Dors. (cathedral, elaborate W end)

Stonegrave, Yks NR (monastic?)

Tasburgh, Norf.

Winchester/St. Martin's, Hamp.

Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp. (baptistry?)
 (Wotton, Surr.; W and S doorways in tower)

3. CONCLUSIONS ON TOWERS

The likely and attested uses of towers show this addition as one of the most versatile and useful of all buildings. In answer to a question posed early in the chapter, Anglo-Saxon church towers clearly had autonomous functions when liturgically significant, as in St. Martin's tower in Winchester or as in evidence for upper external doorways, implying a focus on the tower from outside the church itself. In addition, western sanctuaries, possibly more numerous than expected, show clearly that continental ideas of autonomy persisted longer in Britain, if we accept the traditional date of the late ninth/early tenth century as the earliest appearance of towers there. The most popular use of the tower, however, implies that integration was also an aim, as belfries clearly dominate the function of most surviving towers, and in function those belfries must have been most useful to note services and hours. Indeed, the appearance of western upper chapels with squints and galleries implies that the towers were at least integrated with the function of the nave, if not with a parallel liturgical use at the eastern end of a church.

I have suggested a possible stimulus for the proliferation of towers, namely, the advantage of a watchtower and means of alarm after the Scandinavian incursions, and shown noteworthy examples along a known border negotiated between Vikings and Saxons. In

addition, I proposed the possible connection between secular meetings, at mounds, and the proximity of manorial churches; if this connection is valid in some cases, the tower may well have served as a meeting place for a lord's trusted thegns to meet with him on business conducted at such a meeting. At a minimum, it stood as a symbol of his authority; Earl's Barton, if such a case, shows how imposing such a structure could be beside a mound.

In addition to the secular uses of towers, we examined the strong symbolic importance of towers. As images of the celestial Jerusalem, they evoked entering God's kingdom wherever they were entrances to churches. Perhaps they even evoked comparisons with famous towered religious sites among the well-educated or well-travelled. Their decorative arcading, while possibly also a secular sign of authority and power, could have signified the gates of the heavenly city; such arcading appears frequently in manuscripts in this context.

Upper chapels would have reinforced strong symbolism, making the connection between the Upper Room of the Last Supper and the reenactment of a mass within a tower. As a notable landmark, towers would have been the mark of a holy site, even as they are today, playing on both Christian and pre-Christian uses of elevated sites and their connections with the spiritual world.

APPENDIX C

9 visited only!

Parentheses indicate problematic evidence

Alkborough, Lincs. Sq W tower, with 3 of its 4 stages late Saxon. Round-headed W doorway with projecting beast's head forms entrance. High above it, single-splayed keyhole window opens below plain string course. 2nd stage: original belfry, with double round-headed windows having quasi-ashlar jambs (drawn in Taylor 1984, 879) in W and N walls. 3rd stage forms later Saxon belfry. Tower measures 12'8" square internally, and is c. 48' H (3 stages only). Fisher notes (1969, 148) wide rectangular window high up in E wall with flat lintel, perhaps what Micklethwaite mentions as door to W gallery (1896, 337) and Taylors credit as such (1980, 24). Taylor theorized that tower may have been built by Thorold of Buckendale just before Conquest when he founded Spaulding Priory, to which this church belonged.

Appleton-le-Street, Yks. Sq W tower set on high ground, lower 2 stages C1, upper stage C2. Two belfry levels. Stage 1: 2 levels. 1st level has indication of disturbance in W wall, now with round-headed window, itself formerly a door. (Current door, on N, is late Norman.) Taylors (1980, 28) indicate evidence for blocked square-headed door on S, undetectable in photographs. Fisher (1969, 106) claims church had no opening on ground level except to E. Second level of 1st stage has 3 square-headed doors (originally termed windows by Taylors in vol. I, 29; then doors in vol. III, 834), to N, S, W. In E wall below old gable line is circular window cut through one stone. Stages 2 and 3 divided by string courses; each contains double belfry openings on all sides. Upper ones are smaller, but Taylor separated them by no more than 100 years. Orientation of tower and nave notably skewed, perhaps implying different dedications.

Aslacton, Norf. Rd W tower. Only indication of date according to Taylor are 4 double belfry windows with twin gabled heads, all of flint. In 1958, repairs added supporting slabs of concrete which Taylor thinks could mislead observers in the future. The tower arch is pointed, but Taylors thought simple jambs and plain chamfered imposts might represent survivals of original work (1980, 31).

Bardsey, Yks. Sq W tower raised over earlier porch in period C has 3 or 4 interior levels, no string courses. No ground level windows original, though N and S doorways are, and N and S windows in 1st (or possibly just upper ground) level are also, with round heads and small internal splay. 2nd level has S double belfry opening and E single opening with round head hollowed for square lintel. 3rd upper level same as 2nd; either 2 belfries or identical lower ringing chamber. Fernie (1983, 135) cites Bardsey as one example that raises questions on Taylor's chronology of belfries, as both single and double openings exist on same level. Both upper levels have double openings with balusters. Belfry's form is problematic: why openings on only 2 sides, and why different? Were 2 upper stages built at same time, one for bellringing chamber? Tower c. 50' H,

internally 10'2" EW x 8'2" NS.

Barnack, Northants. (Visited) Sq W tower, 2 stages, with pilaster strips, string course.

Lower stage, S: main entrance, c. 10' H, with an upper window, round-headed with sill c. 20' up, within square mouldings carved with birds. Above this, a sundial. W: Gabled window, splayed on interior, with animal head projecting over it. Sill c. 20' up. N: round-headed window similar to that on S, c. 20' up at sill, but with no carvings. E: fine, elaborate tower arch, 20'H x 13' W.

Upper stage, S: sculpture slab, with vine design in center of stage at bottom. Top, a bird, is probably Victorian insertion, given damage shown in 1858 sketch; compare photographs, pp. 26 and 28. 2 round-headed openings within square mouldings now contain louvers and stand on either side of slab. At top of stage is gabled opening with elaborately interlaced stone transenna, which Rodwell links to timber analogs (1986, 174). W: A central carved slab, intact, has gabled door to its S and slit window to N. The door's gable projects, while above it irregular voussoirs appear (photograph, p. 27). A gabled opening with simple stone transenna of 4 slits is at top of stage above door. N: Central carved slab, with openings on either side, similar to S side. Upper gabled opening also resembles that on the S. E: Pilaster strips cover only top of stage, above former roof line. Door looking E into nave still exists, with flat lintel. Gabled upper opening resembles that on W.

Interior lower section: in W wall, gabled seat or niche 104 to 105 cms. W x 40.5 to 42 cms. deep and echoes form of window above it. In 1854-5, wooden seats for c. 40 found on either side of central seat. In N wall is aumbry measuring 61.5 to 63 cms. W x 37 cms. deep x 31 cms H inside, with stones averaging 10.5 cms. W forming the edges. S aumbry measures 45 cms. W x 39 to 41 cms. deep x 39 cms. H inside, with more irregular stone edgings, varying from 7 to 13 cms. in thickness. Bottom slab cracked. As the sills of all 3 windows are c. 20' up and tower arch is 20' H, first upper level must have been over 23' up (above tops of windows), or probably at least halfway up the 52' of the tower. Division between stages may well mark interior levels as well. See photographs, pp. 25-9.

(Barnetby-le-Wold, Lincs.) W tower listed by Fisher (1969, 149) but with insufficient evidence to claim as Saxon.

Barton-on-Humber, S. Humbs. Central tower served as nave. 2 ground level external doors survive, round-headed on S, gabled on N, offset toward W end of tower and opposite each other. Tower itself 18' square. Chancel arch notable for slab over it, possibly once a painted crucifixion, with carved face. Upper doorways on 1st upper level to E and W probably led from nave galleries to upper floors in W and E annexes. These galleries were lit by double round-headed windows on N and S. Above this level, 2 belfry levels from different Saxon periods survive. While Rodwell's 1986 discussion gives reconstruction, leaves no room for access from gallery to first and second belfry. Must have had stair or roof opening and ladder to N or S on gallery

level and another on next level up, as doors on E and W. Lower belfry has 4 gabled double openings, upper 3 surviving round-headed voussoired double openings (a 4th, on W, was replaced by Decorated period window.) As noted in this chapter, gabled arcading here appears above rounded arcading on N and S.

Bedford/St. Mary, Beds. Central tower thought by Taylor to be Norman and so not in vol. III list (901). Now claimed as Saxon by Smith after fabric study (1974, 95-8). When plaster removed from W face of W wall of tower, side alternate quoins emerged at N and S ends, about 7 m up. Midway between is small window, single-splayed to E, with no rebates. Top stage had 2 or 3 small, round-headed windows which Smith termed belfry openings of Saxon tower, making entire tower Saxon. (For supporting information, see Appendix A for transept description.) For plan, see VCH Beds., vol. 3 (1912), 27-9, with 2 accompanying plates.

Bedford/St. Peter, Beds. Sq W tower, now axial; originally an addition to W porch as shown by change in quoins. No Saxon ground level doorways survive according to Taylor, though Fisher (1969, 150) thinks an "elliptically headed wide arch in N wall" may be Saxo-Norman. In upper half of tower, traces of single windows survive, 2 each on N and S. (Fisher says W too, 1969, 150.) One on N still intact, being double-splayed with voussoirs of flattish stones, "tilted up at a considerable angle...rather than radially arranged" (T and T 1980, 59). On S and E, double belfry openings, with traces on N of blocked round-headed belfry opening. On interior, from chancel, an E gabled doorway over present chancel arch (previously to nave) is visible, its sill 22.5' above floor. Carved stone with 2 intertwined animals forms part of N jamb; if elaboration significant, could indicate upper chapel, well lit, perhaps to honor Aethelberht, whose relics came to Bedford.

Beechamwell, Norf. Rd W tower with no exterior openings. Given internal diameter of 8', entry to upper belfry level was probably through doorway N of center over the tower arch, reached from nave. If so, ground level chamber may have served as a ringing chamber, while 2nd level, with slit windows, could have served as a storage room or place of sanctuary or defense. Top level was a belfry with double openings on all sides. N and W pairs are gabled, while E and S pairs are round-headed, with flint voussoirs.

Beeston, Norf. Late W rd tower, omitted in Taylor's vol. III list of round towers (901). In W face, window with sill 4' from ground has semi-circular head cut from single stone. Narrow slit, carstone jambs, now blocked. At level of nave eaves, 3 gabled windows with carstone jambs. Oddly, each straight side of head formed of several stones, not slab. Wedge-like stone instead of impost, and square keystone. Vol. III corrects vol. I description: W and S windows blocked, not N and S, and N, not W, is glazed near outer surface and splayed inward. Taylors found it impossible to say if belfry stage with large Gothic pointed windows later addition or modification to existing belfry. Seems likely it was modification, given that nave-level windows splayed and thus for light, not sound. Also, round W towers generally

form belfries, and likely too here, given small interior diameter of 8'11".

Bessingham, Norf. Rd W tower with no exterior openings, placed on high land "which appears to have formed part of an earthwork" (T and T 1980, 62). Tower has 3 distinct areas of stone: lowest= carstone, middle= flints, highest= small carstone. 2nd area, of flints, has round-headed, single-splayed W window with carstone voussoirs. The upper level has 4 double belfry openings, gabled and outlined in stripwork. Corbel projects over each apex. Somewhat lower, Taylor sees 3 round-headed blocked openings: W is vestigial, N and S are narrow and single-splayed, with round heads cut in rough lintels. Fisher (1969, 110, 150) claims to see 2 blocked oculi and cites Bessingham with Roughton, Norf., as good examples of double-splayed oculi serving as windows. However, as Taylor's S narrow blocked window and lintel are clearly visible in his plate 385, and Fisher has no illustrations, Taylor seems more accurate.

Billingham, Durham Sq W tower. On high land overlooking low-lying, marshy ground, square W tower added late to Saxon nave of same width. Given by Bishop Ecgrid of Lindisfarne (830-45) to community of Cuthbert. No external doorway, but former W door, now tower arch, has unique tympanum (illustrated in Taylor 1984, 808, fig. 661). Divided by string course into tall lower stage and belfry stage. Lower stage lit by tall, narrow, internally-splayed W window. Above on S is external doorway (drawn: Ibid., 808, fig. 658) outlined in stripwork. Upper level has 4 double belfry openings outlined in stripwork. Tympana of hood moulds are pierced in center by oculi or sound holes, circular on E and W, and 8-pointed star on N and S. Many pieces of carved stone preserved in church's fabric, including piece with animals and interlace on N side of tower, c. 2' above N aisle roof. Internally, c. 12'2" square, and 54' to top of Saxon work. Fisher (1969, 150) mentions "an opening [in the lower stage, above level of W window] in E wall now blocked or hidden" which he elsewhere (94) lists as possible. This tower is one of 6 Taylor calls the Northumbrian group (1984, 892-3).

(Bishopstone, Suss.) Sq W tower of Norman date (pictured in Fisher 1969, 17). Fisher states if "Saxon architecture, like Norman, is a way or manner of building, then Bishopstone tower is a Saxon tower, regardless of its date" (1969, 10). Close to sea, it dates to 12th century and has 4 receding stages, like a Carolingian tower, separated by string courses. No external entrance. Ground level: windows modern. 2nd stage: window in each wall, narrow and round-headed. 3rd stage: N and S narrow keyhole windows with arched lintels and narrow single splays. W wall has circular window. 4th stage: belfry with double openings on N, S and W with mullions, not shafts. Tower arch has no genuine voussoirs and one order, of 2 rings in E and W walls, with rubble or flint fillings between, "a Saxon feature" according to Fisher (1969, 151).

Bolam, Northumb. Sq W tower of 2 external stages marked by string courses above and below 2nd stage; 4 internal levels, marked by openings. Briggs (1982, 125-6) notes a previously

undetected difference in fabric, with 2nd stage of larger stones, one quoin per course, 1st stage of smaller stone, about 2 irregular courses per quoin. While noting the difficulty involved in deciding if the difference means 2 periods of building, Briggs thinks there are 2 periods here. Lower stage had no external doorways. Ground floor had (now replaced) round-headed, blocked windows on W and S. Upper floor, stage 1 had tall, narrow, internally splayed, round-headed windows on N, S and W. The heads are from single stones. The later (?) upper stage has double belfry openings in 3rd storey, unusual because of hollowed-out corbel (also found at Jarrow, Scartho, Sompting and Trier; Fisher 1969, 102; photograph, 54) and because another level apparently not a belfry surmounts it. 4th storey has single tall window in each side, gabled on N, E and W, and round-headed (single stone) on S. Taylor notes that tower stands in open country with wide view to N; perhaps view is reason for a 4th, non-belfry level. Internally, tower measures 12'5" EW x 12'10" NS and is c. 55' H.

Bosham, Suss. Sq W tower, beside a channel of Chichester harbor (4 miles to E). Fisher (1969, 12) notes Bosham, with its 112 hides of land, as one of richest Saxon churches, but it was apparently founded as small monastery (monasteriolum). Bede (HE iv.13) notes that when Wilfrid arrived in 681, "Scottish" monk Dicuil and 5-6 brothers already had monastery called Bosanham, "silvis et mari circumdatum." By end of Saxon period, port and church were important enough for Harold to have residence there. According to Bayeux Tapestry he prayed at church and then left for Normandy from Bosham. Church shown there has no tower, and hall and church may simply be stylized representatives, or, as Fernie says, "as likely to represent anachronistic Norman as Anglo-Saxon types" (1983, 22).

Harold's presence as heir apparent, together with wealth mentioned above, may well account for fineness and elaboration of church. Tower stands divided by 2 string courses with no external doorways. No surviving AS windows exist in first 2 storeys according to Taylor, though Fisher takes Taylor's Norman round-headed windows as Saxon (1969, 152): 2, on N and S, in ground storey, and 3, (N, S, and W) in 1st storey. Facing nave, in E wall of tower, is gabled 1st floor doorway with dressed stone jambs and small vertically rectangular opening to its S. T and T note all sides are rebated "as if for a shutter" (1980, 82). Fisher places doorway about 18' up (1969, 91) but terms smaller opening window or squint, as he would like to argue that door was to chamber used by resident sacristan and guard. Door led to gallery only accessible from chamber below, in his view. He notes that W gallery was removed in 19th century (1969, 91). Taylor notes that W gallery may point to W sanctuary or, less likely to him, gallery for important person (1984, 889). Given Bosham's history as told here, a place for Harold seems quite likely; however, if small opening was fitted with door, I think W sanctuary likely too, as this may have served as aumbry. Neither precludes the other, of course, and both may have same inspiration, i.e. Harold's presence. (I would think, too, that

access need not have been from tower only; stairs from nave would have served.)

In upper half of tower, at 2nd floor level, N modern window is built into AS double belfry frame with Escomb jambs, and similar vestiges survive on S. W has single round-headed window with Escomb jambs "of doubtful date" (T and T 1980, 82). In E wall, somewhat N of center, is round-headed doorway with rubble jambs and head (in contrast to finer lower door). Also, unnoted by either Taylor or Fisher, but clearly shown in Fisher's photograph (1969, 107) is offset between 2 upper doors that represents the old ceiling. 2nd storey door, then, opened into roof space, and its rubble fabric probably indicates this was not public area. Storage seems likely with access from first belfry stage, probably a bell ringing chamber after 2nd belfry's addition. Top floor has only one AS double belfry opening on W; other sides contain Decorated insertions.

Bracebridge, Lincs. Sq W tower added to nave; 2 stages divided by string course. Taller, lower stage: c. 4/5 of tower height. W doorway with vousoired head and half-round stripwork, 3'10" W x 9'1" H. High above it, a window with arched lintel, internally splayed. No other openings this stage. 2nd stage: belfry with arch vousoired. Fisher describes quoins as side alternate slabs (1969, 152), T and T as with "no Anglo-Saxon characteristics" (1980, 85). Tower stands c. 50" H; internally is 12'9" square.

Branston, Lincs. Sq W tower added to nave of church; situated c. 4 miles SE of Lincoln. Has 2 stages divided by string course. Tall lower stage has later decorative arcade inserted, never finished. Possibly early 12th century Norman, in imitation of W front of Lincoln cathedral. W doorway possibly restored, but much of main fabric is probably original AS work according to Taylors. Upper stage: double belfry openings, all 4 faces with jambs of dressed stone. S and E are restorations (19th century?) with Gothic pointed form; N and W have round heads cut into lower face of square lintels. Tower c. 55' H, internally 11'6" square, walls 3'2" thick except on E, where 2'6" thick. (Fisher mistakenly refers to N and E when he means N and W openings, 1969, 152.)

Breamore, Hamp. Central tower, originally opening to N and S porticus (N now lost). Wider than chancel or 2 porticus, but same width as nave, from which it was originally divided by wall with arch to form choir/crossing. Tower surmounted by timber belfry, 15th century, but Taylors, Fernie (1983, 113) and Fisher (1969, 57) think it could well represent original AS form, modelled perhaps after those at, for example, St. Riquier. Fisher cites parallel at Wotten, Surrey (1969, 57). Traces of W annexe once existed, possibly a tower once also, probably containing late AS rood and perhaps therefore a chapel. Plan of church very regular, based on Roman foot or Northern rod (Rodwell 1986, 157). Stepped pyramidal roof on tower may incorporate AS elements (Ibid., 167). Fernie notes easternmost exterior pilaster strips mark W corners of crossing, and other 2 pilasters divide nave into 2 squares the same size as crossing (1983, 113).

Brigstock, Northants. (Visited) Sq W tower of 2 internal levels,

with 3/4 round W stair turret attached. Turret has 2 W windows, small and rectangular, probably contemporary with turret. Part of what may be decorative division between levels (large rectangular stones) shows on S side of turret in my photograph (p. 30). No stone stairs exist; either ladder or wooden stairs used, the latter more likely if square holes winding up wall observed by Taylors (1980, 104) are for wooden supports. See Appendix B for details on lower level of tower. In upper level, Taylors argued (1980, 101-3) it was both later and less well-built. Close-up photograph of S wall (p. 30) shows both blocked window, partially obscured by clock but visible from inside, and level at which pillarstones of quoining change from roughly square to rectangular.

Tower probably had no external opening, as original gabled W door led to turret once tower added. (2 steps not in bond show change in doorway's use.) However, Norman N arch makes it somewhat possible that external tower door existed here; Fisher thought this arch Saxon (1969, 109). In contrast to lower level's fine, single-splayed windows, upper level has 2 windows, N and S, with double splays and rubble jambs and heads. This, and additional note that tower and turret not in bond below but in bond on upper level, point to different building periods. Two upper doorways, with flat lintels, now exist in E and W walls of tower; E wall door blocked now. E doorway now has stone lintel; decayed wooden one replaced c. 1875. Taylor reports that W doorway still has wooden lintel, one hopes a candidate for future radiocarbon dating. Poorer workmanship and materials (wood) seem to suggest upper floors not for public use. Fernie (1983, 178) dates church as a whole to first half of 11th century, though elsewhere (138) he refutes Taylor's early date and states that "Brigstock remains, then, an undated building." Fisher dates turret (and thus tower?) as probably mid-11th century (1969, 63). Tower arch is quite fine and outlined in stripwork; Taylors, however, in plan (1980, 101) suggest that this is not original arch, giving no reason. I can see no evidence to suppose current arch not original.

Brixworth, Northants. (Visited) Sq W tower with turret in stilted apse shape. Parsons (1977, 179) noted clear misalignment at W where nave and tower walls not at 90 degrees to main church axis, and suggested W walls of nave and tower may belong to earlier narrow building running N-S, "perhaps a narthex." Tower dated to 10th or 11th century from various brick and mortar samples (details below). Tower itself had 3-4 internal levels. Ground level had partially blocked previous west entrance becoming entrance to turret, and sq S window offset to E of center over S doorway; second level denoted by triple arched opening, dated by brick to 750-1050 (Ibid., 186); may belong to same building campaign as clerestory, dated by C14 putlog sample to 830-1015 (Parsons 1980a, 34). This level has round-headed window centrally placed on S near top of stage. Third level designated by later upper doorway, and possibly a lost AS belfry replaced in 14th century. Turret and raising of tower over earlier porch/narthex probably contemporary. Turret's broken

vaulting shows it as originally higher, and tower now known to have been rebuilt in upper section in 14th century (Ibid., 36, n. 14).

Audouy's excavations give impression of single building campaign for nave, narthex and porticus (1984, 22), though he comments that narthex had deeper foundations than elsewhere, especially in N wall (Ibid., 8); he attributes this to soft fill in nearby ditch. D. Hall had noted earlier that nave N wall and tower W wall had similar footings and that "both these walls and the tower are apparently contemporary" (1977, 128); he should perhaps have said tower foundations or those of porch. Sutherland and Parsons (1984, 63) summarize dating evidence related to nave W wall and note mortar sample from turret staircase has date coinciding with stylistic date of 1000-1200 given earlier by Parsons. Also note beam holes whose blocking is probably contemporary with triple opening (Ibid., fig. 2 between pp. 52-3), suggest they were too massive to support floor only. They therefore probably supported earlier narthex roof (Ibid., 59). Surprising date for tower arch of 1400-1600 may make arch part of 14th century rebuilding in tower, but perhaps simply renovated then. Blocked opening visible below triple opening probably upper doorway to narthex. Photographs, pp. 32-6.

Brodsworth, Yks. Sq W tower. Not listed in Taylor. Ryder (1982, 25-7, with pl. III) dates some fabric of St. Michael's to Overlap period; before church remodelled in later 12th century, original tower stood in what is now nave. Its N and W walls survive (S and E demolished), and W wall of tower can be seen as present E wall of nave. From within present tower's first floor chamber can see former exterior. A plain square section string course divides wall c. 19'8" above present floor level. 2nd stage set back from 1st. Unnoted in text but shown in photograph, pl. III, N wall seems to have trace of possible interior pilaster strip projecting upwards and W from 2nd arch of N arcade, possibly to support upper floor. On exterior, below string course, is shallow recess, c. 4'5" H x 1'6" W, with roughly pointed irregular head and sill apparently cut by top of tower arch. Ryder (1982, 26) goes on to say that if 4 stones of S jamb on E face match recess it indicates deep interior splay to c. 7'5" wide, with distinct vertical break in masonry where N jamb might be. A splay from 1'6" to 7'5" seems extreme and unlikely. Perhaps Ryder records 2 separate openings; or the recess may have held sculpture or carving and be unrelated to jamb noted. An internal elevation (27) drawn from photographs of W nave wall are inconclusive. Additionally, 1874 plan on file at Borthwick Institute in York shows no W upper opening where gallery was removed in same year (Ibid., 27 and ref. 1 on 34). Reconstruction of church (28) shows timber belfry, though no evidence was presented and upper part of walls may well have been partly demolished when made into part of nave.

Broughton, Lincs. Rd W tower formerly the nave has S doorway, round-headed of 2 orders, the outer one square, and stair turret. 4 horizontal bands of distinct masonry divide tower. 2 small round-headed windows occur on S, one each in middle 2 masonry

bands. On N, one similar window exists in 2nd band from bottom. On W of stair turret are 3 vertically arranged windows of narrow, rectangular slit form. All framed with narrow strips of stone. Stairway has stone treads separate from central stone column (see Hough and N. Elmham) and a waggon-vaulted ceiling (see Brixworth). A tall, narrow, square-headed doorway opens from turret to 1st floor opening as well. On interior of tower E wall is doorway with ashlar jambs and flat head. Due to its treatment, it was probably meant to be seen as was more elaborate W face of tower (former chancel) arch. If so, upper door led from above chancel and was probably connected with liturgy, possibly for choir space, or the delivery of readings. If it led to an E gallery, it was doubtless for use of clergy, and probably opposed a W gallery, possibly for people of rank. If so, door to 1st floor from turret may be original upper W doorway. Fernie dates church 1050 to early 12th century (1983, 178), Fisher to post-1040 (1969, 102). Note on Broughton in Micklethwaite, with plan (1896, 335). Photograph: Fisher 1969, pls. 141-2. Rodwell (1986, 165) notes stair turret shows clear evidence for form work used to construct rubble-built vaults.

Burghwallis, Yks. Sq W tower "probably post-Conquest," "unlikely to be later than Norman" (T and T 1980, 119) and not in vol. III tower list but listed as AS by Fisher (1969, 154). While of different fabric than nave and not in bond with it, tower has quoins of large stones, described as side-alternate by Fisher, and rests on tall plinth of dressed stone with simple chamfer. Tower divided into 3 by string courses, each stage set back c. 6". 1st stage: S and W tall, narrow windows with arched lintel "of conventional 12th century type" (Ryder 1982, 39). 2nd stage: Just below N and W windows, round-headed, chamfered on exterior and deeply splayed on interior. Rear arches seem mostly 19th century (Ibid., 38). Single oculus, cut straight through wall ("may not be contemporary," Fisher 1969, 111) is like one in N wall of chancel, and may have been moved to tower (or opened up?) after 1883, as church elevations done then show no window here (Ryder 1982, 39). 3rd stage: belfry, with "curious double openings of later and decadent design: Pointed heads, mid-wall rubble walling instead of shafts" (Fisher 1969, 154). Given mix of Saxon, Norman and unidentifiable aspects of church and tower, tower is probably from Saxo-Norman overlap. On interior, 1st floor round-headed doorway opens in S of E tower wall.

Burnham Deepdale, Norf. Rd W tower beside Brancaster Marshes and Scolt Head. Not in Taylor's vol. III tower list (901) nor in Fisher (1969), though in Taylor's vol. I. Has narrow, round-headed windows with flint jambs and heads laid non-radially. C. 9' from ground offset occurs of c. 8"; rest of tower has no divisions to mark stages. Taylors also noted ornamental inlay of darker stone in form of arcading (1980, 120) somewhat above level of belfry opening sills. Ground floor has traces of tall, narrow W doorway, now blocked and containing later window. The arched head is above offset, as is tower arch's head in W wall of nave. 1st storey has window facing west. Belfry openings occur on N, S, and W as tall, narrow, round-headed windows, and in stage

below is similar arrangement though N opening is now blocked. The ornamental arcading noted above continues as double line beside and over belfry openings in gabled/triangular headed arcading. On interior, above tower arch, gabled doorway opens. Given offset in W wall of nave and W part of S wall at same height as exterior offset (c. 9' up), gallery is likely. Tower is 9'6" interior diameter, c. 45' H.

Bywell/St. Andrew, Northumb. (Visited) Sq W tower of church set in circular churchyard close to N bank of Tyne. Given probable early monastic use of Bywell/St. Peter, this was most likely parish church. Tower has 2 stages, a very tall lower stage separated from belfry stage by string course. Lower stage: S face has ground floor window, single-splayed, of dressed stone with round-headed lintel. W face: (modern lower window) in 1st floor, similar window to that on S. No openings on N. Upper doorway in S face (see photograph, p. 37) with hood moulding supported on pilasters like columns and round head cut from single stone. The belfry stage has double openings set under stripwork like doorway, with 3 circular sound holes in each face, one above opening, one on either side between stripwork and quoins. Remnants of string course above belfry stage survive. Tower arch not original, though jambs may be (8'6" W). An E opening to nave exists but original dressings removed and may not be original. Fisher calls it probable (1969, 94).

(Cabourne, Lincs.) Probably sq W porch, not tower (see Appendix B), though Blomfield raised tower by 12' and a pseudo-Saxon belfry in 1882 (T and T 1980, 127). Taylor omits this church from his tower lists (1984, 900-1), and while Fisher mentions it in several places (1969) he omits it from his final list. No mention of AS fabric's height is given; the tower arch stand c. 15' H though. A W doorway at ground level has round, arched head of single square order filled by plain tympanum. Rectangular opening formed is 2'8" W x 7'8" H. Above is keyhole window with interior splay. Tower c. 10' square internally.

Caistor, Lincs. Sq W tower. Only lowest stage of W tower is AS, according to Taylor; it rests on double plinth now c. 2' below ground level. Not in tower list, vol. III, 901. Traces of 3 ground level openings survive. On S, towards W end, is round-headed blocked opening now cut by Norman doorway. N has central blocked door also, but with arch or even hood mould similar to W doorway at Corbridge (T and T 1980, 128). Taylor wondered why S and W doors were so close and stated it was "even more difficult to understand how the comparatively light pier separating them at the south-west angle of the tower could have carried the outward thrust of the two arches." However, the walls are thicker than usual, according to Fisher's measurements (1969, 58 and 88): S= 3'8" thick, W= 3'10". Other 2 walls even thicker and deserve closer examination: N= 4'11" thick, E= 5'9" to 5'11". Tower has longer NS axis, measuring 15'6" EW x 17'4" NS internally. On N side is another, upper blocked opening "whose form and position appear to correspond with a tall, narrow, blocked doorway which is visible in the interior" (T and T 1980, 128). Fisher seems to have missed this opening.

Above 2 openings is small, internally splayed window. Taylor thinks it a keyhole window weathered to rough point; Fisher calls it window with gabled lintel. Given the several openings and unusual height of 2 (Taylor says N and S were 3'7" S x 10'8" H), I wonder if church was originally monastic, especially as church rests within enclosure. (See Radford citation below.) Openings need not be contemporary with each other, though I would guess N and S doorways might be; they would allow for processions with crosses or for entrance of 2 choirs. The W entrance might then be later, replacing N and S doorways. Also, evidence for original height of "tower" is missing, and we may well have entrance porch, or even narthex, with N and S doors to porticus added after the original W chamber with plinth (see Appendix B).

Taylor dates remains to C3; Morris comments that dedication (SS. Peter and Paul) is consistent with early origins, 7th or 8th century, and says it "may be regarded as [one of] the successors of subsidiary mission stations established from that city in the 7th or 8th centuries" (1983, 43). He gives distribution map of churches within Roman enceintes (Ibid., 42), citing Caistor as in "failed" Roman town, occupying retired (vs. prominent or central) position, and shows church's placement within Roman walls on p. 43. His evidence suggests Caistor may be closer to, say, Monkwearmouth, than to late towered church. Radford's article on a lost inscription (1946, 95-9) supports idea that Caistor is Sidnacester, site of early See of Lindsey. Inscription is probably titulus and has early, angular Insular majuscule lettering with letters 4" high. "The discovery of a large and elaborate titulus establishes the existence of an important church at Caistor, for an inscription of this type is unlikely to have been set up in a village church at this date [8th century]" (Ibid., 99).

Cambridge/St. Bene't, Cambs. Sq W tower of 3 stages divided by 2 string courses. Lowest stage, c. 2/3 of full height (c. 65' total) has 2 internal floors. Ground level: Perpendicular W window blocks area where W door might have been. 1st floor: W medieval window has traces above it of earlier rounded arch, possibly window (or door). 2nd stage: no openings. 3rd stage: double belfry windows, with 2 oculi, one to each side and above belfry opening. Traces of central pilaster strips extend vertically above belfry openings. Fisher (1969, 102) and T and T (1980, 130-1) think this evidence for German or Rhenish helm roof as at Sompting. Round-headed windows on either side of belfry openings are 16th century according to Taylor, based on inscription on one arch stone reading "R 1586 P." On interior, tower has upper E doorway over elaborate tower arch with two carved beast imposts (see Fernie 1983, 1 for photograph). Tower arch is 8'4" W x 18'6" H; doorway above, with sill c. 22' up, is 2'6" W x 6'6" H and has Escomb jambs, square chamfered bases and imposts and arched head of non-radial joints.

Canterbury/Christchurch/Holy Trinity Cathedral, Kent Sq N and S lateral towers. (Not in vol. III tower list as no standing fabric survives.) Taylor 1969a admirably sums up documentary evidence for pre-Conquest cathedral. His reconstruction (110)

shows 2 towers, both raised over lateral porticus in center of N and S walls, similar to Hope's 1918 depictions (shown in *Ibid.*, 121). N tower, as noted in this chapter, was dedicated to St. Martin and used to instruct younger brethren in offices, while S tower was dedicated to St. Gregory and used for legal proceedings. Taylor places altars on 1st floors, citing Deerhurst as an example, to allow easy entry to church, especially as S entrance was main one. He assigns raising of towers to Archbishop Odo (A.D. 942-58) (*Ibid.*, 115) and cites this passage:

murum quoque in porrectiorem celsitudinem exaltari desiderans, congregatis artificibus praecepit & quod dissolutum desuper eminebat penitus tolli, & quod minus in altitudine murus habebat jussit extolli.

and being also desirous of giving the walls a more aspiring altitude, he directed his assembled workmen to remove altogether the disjointed structure above and commanded them to supply the deficient height of the walls by raising them (*Ibid.*, 126, 103).

In a summary of Clapham's own 1930 summary, Taylor notes that he felt "any use of towers would have been unusual (even impossible) either in the Romano-British church or by Augustine" and that the "towers were later additions to these chapels, probably in the tenth century" (*Ibid.*, 124). Parsons (1969, 183), Gem (1971a, 196) and Gilbert (1971, 206) disagreed with Taylor about W apse, preferring idea of westwork, and Gem (1986, 151) notes evidence for Carolingian-type reform of Christ Church community under Archbishop Wulfred in 813. Seal published by Fernie, however, dated as pre-1107 (1983, 96, fig. 49), depicts two apses, and tall chambers at center (tallest) and both ends of aisles, with taller chambers seemingly projecting from aisle line. Hence problematic translation of whether towers projected above aisle roof or beyond aisle line may in fact designate both interpretations (and Parsons had thought this possible, 1969, 181). In order for seal not to depict Saxon work, we would have to posit two apses in rebuilding after fire of 1067.

Canterbury/St. Augustine's Abbey grounds, Kent (Visited)
Independent sq SW tower remains found in excavations of 1950's and 1978. Saunders (1978, 32) noted L-shaped mass of masonry in SW corner of abbey precinct, measuring c. 12'6" sq internally. Walls apparently supported by arches at ground level, over vaults; walls massive, with W remains 9' wide. To E of this fabric similar masonry found (*Ibid.*, 35) with same characteristics as tower to W, though no arched vaults. Floor level noted between two structures. Saunders noted further excavation was in progress in 1978, apparently at time of writing. In his discussion, he states that 4 large piers of masonry taken down to natural ground and arched across at ground level "can only imply a tower of considerable height" (52). He proposes a "grand, twin-towered entrance giving access to the court surrounding the western end of the Saxon ecclesiastical

complex" and cites comparisons with St. Riquier, with entrance towers on three sides, and Winchester, with its W forecourt. He dates building as late Saxon, since cut through cemetery in use until c. 1000, and no doubt that piers earlier than Norman work. In tenth century enlargement of church, original narthex superseded by further narthex to W. A W entrance tower was posited, but excavations in 1950's threw theory into doubt.

Canterbury/St. Peter's, Kent Sq SW tower, noted by Smith (1971) as work of the Overlap period, c. 1075-1115. No offsets or strings on exterior; two internal stages are of AS character. Because of shift in alignment in length of nave and survival of arcade piers and arch in north aisle, Smith feels surviving tower is one of two at western corners of church (see plan, 101). Tower composed of cut flints, closely set, with large stone quoins. 1st stage: tower arch to E opens to S aisle, with no other ground floor doorway. Jambs of single sq order cut straight through wall, no bases, simple sq imposts with plain chamfer. Arch now pointed, but Smith feels may be later insertion. Measures 3'7" W x c. 8' H to imposts. On W is single-splayed window; window surround of stone different from rest of lower 2 storeys, but form seems to Smith to predate it: flat head with timber lintel, reveals and sill deeply splayed to interior. Oddly, reveals curve in plan (fig. 2, 102). 2nd stage: no openings. Internal set back at this level, from thinning of walls. Walls all of different thicknesses: N= 1'9", E= 2'2", S= 3', W= 3'5". W wall especially tapers from bottom to top (101). If NW tower existed and was similar, both opened into church aisles or, less likely, a line of porticus; their function then must have been self-contained, as not easily viewed from main body of church, and no external openings.

(Canterbury/Wulfric's Octagon, Kent) No definite towers, as building unfinished and later covered by Norman work. On N and S are foundations for stilted-apse shapes, often construed as turrets (as in Parsons 1978, 137). Taylor (1969f, 232) notes that no stairs exist in fabric below ground. Unclear if these were intended as stair turrets only, or towers, or tower combining access to upper floors with other functions, such as belfries, chapels, etc.

Carlton, Beds. Sq W tower not listed in Taylor vols. I or III. Hare (1971, 33-40, with plan on 34) lists tower as late Saxon or Saxo-Norman based on fabric study. Walls are 3'7" thick and 33' high. At ground level N and S windows may be AS; they are narrow, round-headed and have interior splays that stop c. 2" short of wall face for glass. A W doorway disturbs wall, but jambs are partly of rubble and may be AS. Doorway measures 3'10" W x 6'6" H. Internally, tower is 11'6" NS x 12'4" EW.

Carlton-in-Lindrick, Notts. Sq W tower added to earlier church. Has 4 levels of varied stonework but divided into 2 roughly equal stages by string course. Fisher (1969, 85 and 106) lists it as having no external openings on ground floor, but Norman W doorway could have replaced any earlier one. Similarly, large, rectangular W window at 1st floor level obscures whether any earlier one existed. In E wall, upper doorway gives access to

present gallery from 1st floor chamber. T and T state "the doorway no longer shows any early features, but it almost certainly represents a survival of an early opening" (1980, 151). Omitted from vol. III list of upper doorways (1984, 834). Tower arch more elaborate on E, with 2 orders and separate hood moulding, and capitals with palmette ornament (called Jew's harp by Fisher 1969, 155) and cable ornament separating them from shafts. W face very plain. Outside W doorway is socket stone for cross. Notably, Domesday book mentions that no less than 6 thegns had halls in Carlton in Edward the Confessor's time (d. 1066) (T and T 1980, 152).

Caversfield, Oxfs. Sq W tower. Taylors describe lower stage as AS, upper as modern. In photograph (1980, fig. 424), this stage appears to end below roof, and perhaps should not be called tower but porch. (Photograph does not show full height.) Fisher mentions it in several places in his book on towers, but omits it from his final descriptive list. Confusingly, he mentions its belfry openings as having bases only, without capitals. I have no way of checking accuracy of Taylor's or Fisher's comments as I cannot locate published photographs. On N and S of lower stage are small round-headed windows with double splays. N window has opening cut through stone mid-wall slab, with outer head arched with large flat stones. Splay in 3'6" thick walls is 2'6" W.

Cirencester, Som. Sq W central tower. Excavators considered foundation trench at W end of church too curved to take single straight wall, and so postulate W tower standing forward of flanking chapels (Brown 1976, 38). Measured 22; x 28 '. Early church built 7th-9th cen. (Ibid., 41), demolished for smaller church before Conquest.

Clapham, Beds. Sq W tower. After fabric study in 1971, Hare suggested Saxo-Norman date (1973). Recent investigation (Rigold, 1979) has shown no break between the masonry of tall lower stage and Norman belfry; hence entire tower would not be AS but of Overlap period. Fernie dates it to late 11th century or early 12th (1983, 171), and Hare notes (Hare and Hamlin 1986, 138, 144, n. 15) 3 early floors attested by joist holes examined in 1981-2 restorations. Dendrochronological dating on surviving joist hoped to confirm "late 11th century date postulated for tower." Rodwell (1986, 161) notes joists alternated NS and EW, "tying the walls of the tower together," 5 per floor (Ibid., 167). He also mentions that 2 tower windows retain wooden, mid-wall window frames (Ibid., 165), and that apparently original and undisturbed head of 1st floor doorway in tower comprised of 6 oak lintels side by side (Ibid., 166).

Tower is wider than AS nave, and with 4' thick walls thinning slightly upward (Fisher 1969, 58). Ground floor has W doorway with jambs of large stones and segmental arched head, "probably rebuilt" (T and T 1980, 158). Tower arch plain, one order, vousoired round head, no throughstones. 2nd level: round-headed, double splayed windows on N, S and W. On E, gabled doorway Fisher said was "visible only from interior of this stage [in tower]-- possibly an ingress to third stage from nave" (1969, 156); the Taylors however did note it from nave, and list it in vol. III

(834) as of plain square section, possibly to storage space. 3rd level: all faces have narrow, round-headed, double-splayed windows. 4th level: belfry openings, recessed double, with dressed stone. Tower interior measures 15'3" EW x 16'3" NS; height c. 85'.

Clee, Lincs. Sq W tower divided into 2 unequal stages by string course. Partial remains of lower string course, or more likely, projection over roof juncture as it slopes to W, on N side just over halfway up 1st stage. (Date unknown.) Taylor noted marked change in fabric c. 10' from ground. W doorway 3'3" W x 7'10" H, with round head of 2 rings of voussoirs, lower slightly recessed, and hood mould. Tower arch also has 2 rings of voussoirs; lower recessed on E but not W. Above, in exterior W face, keyhole window narrows towards top, single-splayed with arched lintel. Below belfry, one S window with arched lintel. Belfry has double openings with arched lintels and midwall shafts with cubic capitals and bases. Fisher notes (1969, 143) site also called Old Clee.

Colchester, Ess. Sq W tower on double plinth; entirely of rubble, tiles and brick. Divided into 3 by 2 string courses, middle stage the smallest. Ground level: W gabled door, windows on N and S double-splayed, round-headed. At level of 1st string course, interrupted on W by large, round-headed opening (door?), a window to each side of it resting on the string course. Windows have round heads. At level of W windows, on N and S are "ornamental recesses," round-headed and unsplayed. 3rd stage has 2 levels of belfry openings. Lower: one window each face, tall, narrow, round headed. Decorative arcade, rounded with 5 arches a face, formed on this level; entirely of brick, and pilasters formed continue down in faint traces on N and S, possibly W. Clearest survival is tower belfry level on S. Upper belfry level has double openings separated by piers of tiles and arched with radial tiles like the lower belfry level.

On interior, tower arch is round-headed and 6'7" S. Its height varies from 12'9" from tower floor to top to 13'9" above nave floor. Internally, tower is 11'6" square. Nave W wall originally stood c. 28" H from evidence of old gable line visible from nave, and Fisher also detected traces of blocked opening just below this, from 2nd stage of tower (1962, 345-6). His plates 189-92 (1962) show exterior details more clearly than Taylor's. Recent work (Rodwell and Rodwell 1977; Thomas 1980; Morris 1983, 26, 72, 85) suggests much more complex setting and proliferation of churches in this area than previously thought. However, given probable lateness of tower and its elaboration, Domesday reference to one church and 7 priests (Morris 1983, 69) could well be to this church.

Coleby, Lincs. Sq W tower. Fisher's and Taylors' accounts are at odds, and neither illustrates full tower. T and T say lower stage of tower, c. 46', AS (1980, 165). Fisher says tower has 3 stages (one string course on N, 2 on S) and "ground stage short; belfry stage tallest" (1969, 157). Taylors: keyhole window 9" at sill on S, above string according to Fisher and so not in lower stage unless Taylor meant lower stage marked by string on N.

Window ornamented with palmette/Jew's harp ornament. Taylor notes similar window nearly blocked by clock higher up on S, with billet moulding; Fisher terms this rectangular window above S string. He also notes tall window with arched lintel, no separate sill on N, and narrow 8" window on W (1969, 157). Tower c. 11'4" square internally. Taylor compares hood moulding to that at Marton (1984, 1099); traces exist of vestiges of earlier tower arch with round head and palmette ornament.

Colney, Norf. Round W tower on S bank of river Yare, c. 4-5 miles W of Norwich. No external doorway. Ground floor window modern. Taylor notes 3 blocked double-splayed windows on N, W and S about halfway up tower's height, but Fisher correctly notes that S window is not blocked (see Taylor's own photograph, 1980, pl. 434). Has 2 flint rubble pilaster strips or flint angle fillings between tower and nave at junction, c. 22" W, projecting c. 4". Belfry level has 4 pointed Gothic windows, probably modern, but likely in my opinion to have replaced Saxon belfry openings. Otherwise entire top of tower unlit. Tower arch modern, but 1849 description cited in Taylor (1980, 168) says originally of flints with rough stone abacus. Tower c. 12' diameter internally, walls c. 4' thick.

Compton, Surr. Sq W tower; lower part of tower (including lower range of windows) possibly AS or Saxo-Norman according to Taylors. VCH dates it to c. 1075, but Fisher (1962, 396) thinks it earlier. Two ranges of windows, lower ones (N and S) more narrow and just below halfway up tower; upper range (all 4 faces) somewhat below roof level. Fisher makes no distinction in date between lower range of windows and upper one. All are narrow, tall, round-headed windows with arched heads in non-radial ragstone fabric. Possibly modern W window replaces an earlier lower one. Also, upper E window at higher level, above nave gable; therefore probably belfry opening. Illustrated in Fisher 1962, pl. 230.

(Conisbrough, Yks.) Sq W tower. Ryder (1982, 45) calls St. Peter's church probably oldest in South Yorkshire, possibly 8th century. Generally regarded as Norman, as N and S walls have plain 12th century arches opening to aisles. Above these are round-headed windows, somewhat E of centers, single-splayed to outside and now opening just under aisle roofs. (Splay is from c. 2'5" W x 6'3" H opening to 10'W x 3'3" H; round tops now blocked.) Top of N window is one stone, S has 2. Jambs not coursed in with original masonry. Rear arch interrupts internal string course of plain square section, creating small setback above it. Rough, probably carried internal floor. Remains of exterior string at same level visible through S window to edge of window, though hidden from below by aisle roof. Ryder considers windows insertions in earlier wall, and windows themselves as probably Saxon or Overlap. Tower clasped by nave quoins, with side walls not in bond with nave, as at Kirk Hammerton. E and W walls completely re-cased so uncertain if originally tower or 2-storey porch, though Ryder thinks latter more likely. Thinks windows inserted in 10th or 11th century when porch may have been heightened to tower. I question his reasoning regarding windows

because they splay to exterior, which to me implies that light was needed outside tower/porch, probably in very aisles he notes, but possibly in porticus forming narthex. I think western tower or porchequally likely as Saxon additions, though string course may imply tower more strongly.

Corbridge, Northumb. Sq W tower, irregularly laid out, built on original 7th or early 8th century W porch with step, 5' W, along W face. W wall = 10'11.5" long, E wall = 10'7", N wall = 11'1.5", S wall = 11'5". Church an ordinary monastic one, but possibly with important connections. Symeon states that Ealdwulf, Bishop of Mayo, was consecrated here in 786, and in 796, King Aethelred of Northumberland was murdered at "Corribrigge," perhaps implying a royal villa nearby (Fisher 1962, 60). Ground level: W doorway, now blocked, was 5' W x 9'10" H, with arched head and another, upper relieving arch above it. Lower arch carved with vestiges of saltire ornament. Taylors thought doorway originally taller, with outer arch as hood mould. Close above outer arch is small, round-headed internally splayed window, c. 13' up, 19" W on exterior. Fisher notes that sill was lowered later, to cut relieving arch of door, then later still raised to possible original position. Lintel of 2 rings of stones (Ibid., 62). Tower arch Roman, possibly from Corstopitum, and large: 8'2" W x c. 16' H. Possibly later, as other early monastic churches of area have small doorways to nave. If so, porch may have been two storeys instead of one.

Upper level: N wall has blocked, large rectangular opening, perhaps not Saxon. Between porch and belfry on N is small, rectangular window, no dressings, and similar square one on E below nave gable. Belfry: present openings 18th century. Fisher notes that original belfry probably had double openings with arched lintels. Parts of old jambs remain in E and N walls on exterior. E wall of tower rested on W gable of nave, carried up to more than 50', then string course added, belfry, and another string course. He says tower E and W wall probably ended in gables, as they were "stated to have been covered with water-tabling and surmounted by gable crosses. (An early gable cross apparently of this period is preserved in the church.)" (Ibid., 63). In gable walls were windows, tall and narrow, with sills on upper string course, S of center. Can still see bottom jamb stones at straight joints visible between walling and blockings. See photograph of W doorways, p. 31.

Corringham, Lincs. Sq W tower, 2 stages separated by offset. Lower stage: taller, of undressed stone, wide joints. Ground level: traces of W doorway around Early English lancet insertion. Tower arch of 2 recessed orders, with hood moulding of plain square section. E face has 2 roll-mouldings, so arch appears to have 6 concentric mouldings. Arch measures c. 9' X x c. 17.5' H. High above tower arch is square-headed doorway, blocked. 1st level: W square-headed window possibly original with semicircular tympanum beneath rough, rubble arched round head. (Could window be original top of W doorway?) Upper stage: roughly squared, more closely jointed fabric, but also with more restoration, according to Taylor. Has 4 tall, double belfry openings, one

each face, with round heads of dressed stone and other details so new Taylor felt it indicated restoration. (Fisher [1969, 158] thought they might be "Norman replacements.") Having said this, Taylor then included them in his vol. III list of multiple window belfry lists (874, 885). Neither Fisher nor Taylor provides photographs. Tower c. 60' H, 12' square internally. Cranwich, Norf. Rd W tower. Discussed only in Taylor vol. I, and omitted from list in vol. III of round W towers (901). Church in circular churchyard, near river Wissey. Tower c. 45' H, with decorative band of brown carstone just below lowest window. Ground level: lit by W window, with no stone framework but with stone slab, round-headed, cut by circular aperture. Tower arch, seen from within tower, is tall, narrow, with no dressed stone and no imposts. On E now partly blocked for low, pointed doorway. Arch is 4' W x 12'7" H. 1st level: W window with stone slab and aperture in it round-headed. Next level, between windows and belfry, has 4 small openings. E has round-headed slab with round-headed aperture, and just below its sill is large, flat stone projecting as weathering for roof ridge higher than present roof. On other 3 faces (N, W, S) all openings are circular with monolithic transennae with double figure of 8 or quatrefoil interlace patterns. Belfry: E opening has gabled head, now blocked with timber. Other 3 faces have round-headed openings of flint. Tower has 7'7" internal diameter, with walls c. 3' thick.

Cuxwold, Lincs. Sq W tower, omitted from Taylor's vol. III list (900). No original exterior openings survive, though Fisher notes W lancet window may have replaced W doorway (1969, 158). Tower arch is simple round-headed opening not much larger than doorway. Square jambs and head of single square order, cut straight through wall, faced with ashlar, separated by hollow-chamfered imposts not returned along either wall-face. Fisher thinks it may be Norman. Belfry stage removed. Tower c. 8.5' square internally. Tower arch is 3'8" W x 8'H. No photographs in either Taylor or Fisher.

Debenham, Suff. Sq W tower. Gilbert first suggested to Taylor that this was tower nave, and Taylor agreed due to size: c. 16' square internally. Only lower part of tower AS (c. 24'?), with decorative long and short quoins. Ground floor: S window small, round-headed, internally splayed, possibly original. Tower arch probably a chancel arch. 1st level: S window like lower S window, though possibly medieval or a restoration according to Taylor. Fisher says 2 windows with arched lintels on S and 1 in 2nd stage. He also notes doorway above tower arch "now built up to a narrow slit" (1969, 158) which led to upper level. Given theory of tower nave, this probably opened to W gallery in nave for additional room.

Deerhurst/St. Mary, Gloucs. Sq W tower of 3 or more storeys. Taylor and others have said it may not have been raised as tower in AS period, but even three storeys places it on level with later, taller height of nave; any roof but a flat one would have made it a "tower" over church, and commonly AS roofs were gabled and steeply pitched. No offsets or strings externally. Gem

thinks main fabric could be late 9th century (1986, 153). Ground level: W doorway originally round-headed with sq section hood-mould. Taylors note mid-19th century report that this once ended in two beasts' heads (1980, 194-5); Fisher (1962, 188) notes that center wall dividing interior of this level in half has 1861 reconstruction opening with beast terminations "not in their original position. Butterworth, the vicar..., had them transferred from elsewhere but does not say from where." Seems likely that these were once outside. Taylor notes that above middle doorway which divides ground floor in two is AS defaced carving of Mother and Child, probably in original position (see Fisher 1962, pl. 82); if so, it resembles plaster reliefs at St. Riquier, where porch opened onto atrium with tomb, and above door, plaster relief of nativity on bed of gold mosaic (Heitz 1963, 19).

1st floor: also subdivided; sq windows to N, S and W. Mid-wall division covers W jambs of N and S windows, showing wall is secondary. On E is narrow, round-headed blocked doorway, narrowing towards top, well N of center. Sof center is small triangular opening cut into wall, possibly for light. Two corbels below door level indicate presence of gallery. If font placed in analogous position to Continental examples, may have been on this level. Heitz notes Archbishop Adalberon demolished vaulted construction at Reims in 976, on which rested fonts; at Corvey, before upper altar at W, mosaic star in floor may have marked location of fonts (1963, 29, 36). Later, document of 1391 notes Easter baptisms still took place in W tower at Werden (Ibid., 47).

3rd stage: W doorway has jambs of dressed stone, round head cut from rectangular lintel, stripwork hoodmould following rectangular shape; may have led out to external gallery, possibly to display relics, according to Taylor; patched holes appear just below door level. Another beast's head or prokrossos projects over this door as on ground level. On E, opening to nave, is double, gabled opening with elaborate fluting on pilasters; N opening later lowered to create doorway. Rodwell notes that gabled E windows in tower are mitred at apex, showing influence of carpentry (1986, 174; sketched 172). Curious large flat stone remains above opening, c. 3'6" W x 3' H, as if for painting or inscription; examination by ultraviolet light might prove useful. On N and S are double-splayed windows (illustrated in Butler et al. 1975, 363) termed unique for being built wholly of throughstones, 6 each, with E jambs forming part of jambs of two adjoining aumbries. Above this level, not clearly of AS date, but possibly so, is doorway from tower to roof space, sill c. 40' up (Fisher 1962, 187). Illustration in Butler et al. (1975, 364) clearly shows steps in thickness of wall, exceedingly worn and so indicating regular traffic. Butler assumes this means important use of roof-space, but it might equally well indicate use of the upper tower chamber, as for ringing bells at intervals. Tower decidedly oblong, measuring 9'6" NS x 16'6" EW (T and T 1980, 206).

Diddlebury, Shrops. Sq W tower. Often described as post-Conquest, E part of Norman tower called Saxon by T and T (1980,

211), though Fisher termed it post-Conquest (1969, 61). Extent shown by triple plinth, which runs along N wall of nave and continues W to middle (later) buttress of tower. Large well-dressed Saxon fabric, stones of red sandstone, continue in tower to height somewhat greater than that of nave. Fernie (1983, 149) cites Diddlebury as close parallel to squared ashlar of Bradford-on-Avon and dates Diddlebury to 11th century. Tower was same width as nave and at least 9' EW internally.

Dover, Kent Rd W and sq central towers, both shown in Fernie 1983, 116. Occupies "commanding position" within castle on eastern heights. Roman lighthouse served as W annexe, and upper door in W wall of church apparently led there from gallery; in 19th century restoration, found holes for timbers of W gallery with small, square-headed, splayed windows with wooden lintels on either side. Due to gap, some sort of connection must have linked church to Roman work. Taylor says only lower stage of Roman tower survives, with upper part rebuilt/refaced in 15th century. Entire church greatly restored, and "much of the present detail...depends, therefore, on Scott's interpretation of what he saw as vestiges of the original fabric" (T and T 1980, 215). Fisher (1962, 362-8) discusses church in detail and mentions Scott's finds of 2 Saxon levels within church; portion under tower paved with squared chalk slabs, c. 6" thick bedded in mortar.

Central tower: N and S walls of tower are integral with those of nave (cf. Dunham Magna) and Fernie notes prominence of central tower, rising "about twice the 34 ft (10.4 m) size of its square base" (1983, 115). All church walls unusually thick, c. 3'6". Quoins generally of brick or tile, but some large dressed stones. Level below belfry: N face has 3 circular, double-splayed windows with tile arches, S face has 2, and E face has 2. None on W. Taylor notes in vol. III that tower 2nd floor has upper doorways in E and W walls (834), though he does not mention them elsewhere. Fisher mentions upper doorway only over W crossing arch, "very large, wide though comparatively short, round-headed" which "may have led to an inter-roof space or chamber above the nave but it is too high up to be reached by a ladder" (1962, 368).

Belfry: each face has 2 large, round-headed windows. Taylor quotes Scott's account: "like doorways, with a shutter within" (T and T 1980, 215). (Recall all details based on ruinous church.) 2 large arches support E and W walls of tower, c. 28' H. Both have W faces outlined in stripwork of projecting tiles, continued as pilaster strip beside jambs; arches to transepts now gone. Tower c. 26' square; E arch c. 12' W, W arch c. 14' W. Date: Fernie= 1st half of 11th century; Taylor= 950-1000.

Dunham Magna, Norf. Sq axial tower listed under "Other Towers" in Taylor's vol. III (901). Same width as nave, though walls thicken internally c. 1'9" (Fisher 1969, 60). Ground floor: double-splayed, round-headed window on S. 1st floor: same on S and N. 2 doorways (T and T 1980, pl. 455) opening from this level to levels over nave and chancel, latter originally apsidal (present chancel rebuilt 15th century). Possibly these levels were galleries rather than floors, for access to 1st floor

ringing chamber. Rubble jambs not indicative of public or restricted use, as all openings mentioned here also rubble; no dressed stone. Belfry: double openings arched in tiles or flat stones; mid-wall shafts with Norman-style cushion capitals. Imposts and jambs of rubble too. 2 oculi each in E and W faces, double-splayed.

Earl's Barton, Northants. (Visited, exterior only) Sq W tower on high ground near mound and ditch, beside River Nene. 4 decreasing stages divided by string courses, upper 2 square section, lower one chamfered below. All stages have vertical pilaster strips rising from square corbels resting on plinth on ground stage, on string courses on upper stages, except on W ground level, where pilasters stop above level of doorway. Decoration called "extreme and wilful" by Fernie who also says the "language is the same as that of Barnack, but it is more exuberant, suggesting a later date" (1983, 143-4), which he places in 1st half of 11th century (178). Rodwell discusses use of carpentry joints in stripwork here, and shows pieces were prefabricated according to carpentry expectations, then incorrectly assembled: "the design of its prototype was wholly for timber, where prefabricated framing would be brought onto site ready for erection...but something went drastically wrong with the erection process" (1986, 174). Tower served as nave, though significant number of crosses on 1st stage windows and slab suggest strongly that upper chamber served as chapel.

First stage: S has double round-headed window opening with transennae cut into crosses; basket arch (three-centered) formed from single stone over each. Carved with roll-mouldings and crosses; set in wall to W of windows is circular slab carved with cross within circle. On W is blocked similar double opening, possibly blocked when lower round-headed Norman window added. On interior of both double windows, mid-wall slab has projecting baluster, on S with 2 parallel half-round mouldings, on W a turned, bulbous baluster. W doorway large, outlined with stripwork and with arcading incised on imposts (best seen in Fisher 1962, 98).

2nd stage: round arcading on S and W sides rests on string course. Doorways with round heads on S and W also, W now blocked except for head. On E, modified doorway probably occupies original position of Saxon opening, originally beneath roof, now opening over less steeply pitched roof. 3rd stage: 2 rows of gabled arcading resting on string course, irregular design; each face has gabled opening, that on the E higher, near top of stage, others resting on string course.

Belfry: Mixed designs of gabled arcading; all faces have 5 openings, round-headed and separated by slabs of stone and balusters at outer face. E face seems to have balusters worked as part of slab, not separate. Northern heads on this side also lower, with stone above cut by two circular openings, one over each opening. Taylor (1984, 834) confusingly includes 4 gabled openings called windows in vol. I (224) as doorways, though he gives their measurements in vol. I (226) as c. 1' W x c. 4' H, far too narrow and short to function as doorways. Recent excavation

(Audouy et al. 1981, 73-86; name spelled incorrectly as Andovy in Morris 1983, 99) shows tower probably predated by several churches, given cemetery evidence; also, tower post-dates mound and ditch nearby on N, and so may have functioned as part of legal assemblies, secular and religious. Lack of openings on N in 1st 2 stages may therefore be precautionary defense measure in case mound taken, and 3rd stage gabled openings for vantage points. Photograph from NW in Fernie 1983, 144. See photograph herein, p. 38.

Eastdean, E. Suss. Sq W tower. Listed only in Fisher 1969, no illustrations. According to his map (1969, 146), church is close to Sussex coast. Termed turriform, Eastdean usually called early Norman. Fisher dates building to c. 1100, with Norman quoins, but Saxon (blocked) S doorway in tower, due to size of jambs: E of one stone c. 4' H, W of 2 stones, c. 2'6" H. "Probably in no other county are there so many post-Conquest, even post-1100, churches built in the Saxon manner," a fact he attributes to lack of good building stone for Normans and consequent lack of school of mason craft (Ibid., 45-6). 3 stages separated by strings. Ground level: Blocked S doorway with flatly segmental arched lintel. Chancel arch ("fine") now blocked. 2nd stage: windows E and W, arched lintels. 3rd stage: windows E, W and N, all with arched lintels. Upper W window, 3rd stage, described as very narrow and tapering slightly towards top, "an early feature" (Ibid., 161). Notes traces of former apse on tower E wall exterior and on ground.

East Lexham, Norf. Rd W tower, narrowing towards top with marked indentation or offset c. 2/3 up height (possibly upper level later Saxon addition?). Photographs in Fisher 1962, pls. 175-6. Only Saxon openings are in belfry, though ground floor W lancet window possibly replaced earlier opening. In Fisher's pl. 176, faint traces of decorative bands in the masonry seem present. Belfry: 3 openings only, each different, E, SW and NW. For illustration, see T and T 1980, 389, fig. 176. Taylor notes 2 blocked recesses below stone cross transenna, upper one with gabled head; he thinks both represent one blocked doorway, probably to ringing chamber. Fisher does not mention upper doorway. Tower internal diameter= 12'.

Flixton, Suff. Sq W tower now destroyed, replaced in early 1860's; not in vol. III list. T and T base description on Victorian account (1980, 240-1). Originally had W gabled doorway and in lower part, on all sides according to account by Suckling in 1846, circular double-splayed windows. Next stage had W round-headed window splayed at sill only. Next stage had round-headed window, deeply splayed on interior, in all sides. External aperture quite narrow, inclining towards top. Belfry stage had windows with balusters, topped by Norman cushion capitals but with arches and jambs of rag and flint.

Forncett/St. Peter, Norf. Rd W tower with large number of AS openings, mainly worked in flints. Omitted by Fisher; Morris notes Forncett as place where 2 churches share the same churchyard (1983, 72). Ground level: W doorway Victorian. Round-headed window above it. On N, W and S are 3 circular,

double-splayed windows above this level. Above these are 4 narrow slit windows set between the 3 below and belfry level openings. Belfry openings are double, with W being round-headed, others gabled. Above these are 8 circular, double-splayed windows, evenly spaced. Tower is 11' in internal diameter. Walls c. 4' thick, c. 60' H.

Framingham Earl, Norf. Rd W tower, thought by Taylor to be later addition to nave. Has quarter-round pilasters at re-entrant angles like Roughton. Norman-looking windows are Victorian. Tower arch originally round with no recess, though described as having Norman imposts. Above it was opening, now seen from inside tower, round-headed and cut straight through. Jambes and head of flints. Rodwell (1986, 165) notes evidence for conical basket form work in window. Tower of c. 8' internal diameter, c. 14' externally. Originally some 30' H, if 1823 drawing shows full extent. Due to size, probably a belfry, but impossible to tell now.

Gayton Thorpe, Norf. Rd W tower in raised, roughly circular churchyard set on flat land. Tall lower stage is AS, with W round-headed windows lighting two lower floors. Upper window may be modern insertion or heavily restored. Belfry is late Norman. Internally, above arch and visible only within tower, blocked doorway has gabled head and flint jambes. Measures 2'8" W x 7'8" tall, c. 14' up to sill. No imposts; set back c. 2" behind jambes. Markedly oval plan, perhaps to facilitate juncture with nave. Measures c. 9.25' W internally NS; walls c. 4' thick.

Gissing, Norf. Rd W tower, shown in Fisher's map as near coast (1969, 144), on plinth of square section. No string courses. Only definite AS openings are at level above nave roof eaves: 3 circular, double-splayed windows on N, W and S, with no dressed stone. Other openings thought modern or perhaps Norman by both Taylor and Fisher: belfry has double windows with round heads and mid-wall shafts, all looking modern, and lower W window, narrow and round-headed has dressed stone jambes and head. Tower arch tall and narrow, though mouldings seem Victorian Norman restorations; may preserve aspects of AS arch. Internally, tower is 10'10" diameter; it stands c. 60' H and has walls c. 3'9" thick. No illustrations or photographs provided in main sources. Situation of lower W window and 3 circular windows sounds parallel to Fornsett (see above).

Glastonbury Abbey, Som. Sq E tower. William of Malmesbury, in his *Life of St. Dunstan*, mentions that Dunstan added tower to Ine's church; he was abbot 940-957. Taylor summarizes excavations of 1950's, which placed tower at E end of church, c. 20' x 25'. Eastern extension in 8th century had previously covered burial chamber/crypt; tower unroofed and overlaid this. Walls more massive; enclosed crypt (illustrated in Taylor's vol. III, 1014, fig. 738) re-used to hold bones, probably from cleansing of cemetery connected with building additions and relics. Rollason (1986, 36) notes, among others, relics of northern saints, Patrick and Aidan attested by early 11th cen., and sees it as "active centre of relic-veneration in the 10th and 11th centuries (Ibid., 38). Due to site's monastic status, uses

of tower could include upper galleries for choirs, and presence of so many remains under it makes placement of altar here quite possible, rather than further east in chancel. Dedication to John the Baptist makes connection with baptistery tempting. Tower may have conformed closely to continental models, as Dunstan strongly influenced by them: introduced first cloister in England at Glastonbury as a result, derived from Carolingian type first used at Lorsch in 760's (Ferne 1983, 95-6).

Glentworth, Lincs. Sq W tower of 2 stages, c. 32' and 14' H, divided by string course. Upper stage recessed, has string course above it as well. Ground level: no surviving openings, though traces of blocked W opening survive below Perpendicular window. Taylors note that 1876 drawing shows "debased medieval door" (1980, 258) so opening may not be AS. Fisher (1969, 106) first says tower has no external openings, then elsewhere (109, 161) mentions once had W doorway, and adds (1962, 273) that it was reconstructed in late 18th century. 2 keyhole windows occur at what may be 1st and 2nd floor levels, W and S respectively. Fisher mentions incised cross on W window, "probably a grave slab fragment" (1962, 274) but possibly consecration cross (see discussion in Muncey 1930, 68-72). S window has palmette ornament; measures 6" W x 4' H. 2nd stage: belfry, with 4 openings having different mid-wall shafts and capitals, illustrated in Fisher (1962, 275-6). S shaft has cable ornament. W opening has clear evidence for hanging of bell: groove and hole for axle in mid-wall shaft, and lower groove where bell cut stone. Impossible to tell if evidence dates from Saxon times. Sketched in Taylor vol. III, 870 and in Fisher 1962, 276. Internally, upper doorway to E now blocked; Fisher terms it "recess in tower interior" and sketches it (1962, 274). Tower measures 9'9" EW x 9'2" NS internally; tower arch 6'2" W x c. 10'6" H. Med. Arch. 17 (1973, 145) reported that clearance revealed AS graveslab in tower.

Great Hale, Lincs. Sq W tower, no strings or offsets. Ground level: W and S have tall, narrow, round-headed windows, splayed on interior. S window has wheat ear decoration and mouldings. 1st floor: S window similar to one below, less ornate. Belfry: double openings, round-headed. Capitals sketched in Taylor (1980, 277) and Fisher (1962, 279). Tower unusual for stairway built into NE corner of tower, accessible from nave at ground level. E wall bulges somewhat to accommodate, and at times, stair only 1'4" W. 5 openings, arranged vertically in N wall, light stairs: circular, double splayed window and 4 rectangular windows. Internally, tower c. 12' square. Tower arch more Norman than Saxon; above it, Fisher notes steep gable line, and at its apex, rectangular opening corresponding to those lighting ground level of tower. Ground level chamber noticeably unnecessary for tower's use as belfry, since access to upper levels is from nave: hence, possibility of W chapel. No external opening; windows, including elaborate S one, above top of tower arch, which is 12'9" H.

Great Ryburgh, Norf. Rd W tower, on S of River Wensum. Taylors describe AS indications as "far from conclusive" (1980, 526),

including upper E doorway with gabled head and large side-alternate quoins in NW corner of nave. Ground level appreciably higher, as walls descend 3' below surface. Tower arch arched, 2 orders, "fine." Fisher (1962, 320) includes tower as one affected by Rigold's view (in review of Messant's book on round towers) that several towers of post-Conquest date are Saxon, c. 1015-1115. This tower would primarily be a bell tower of premier roman (First Romanesque) style, not much influenced by the Conquest; if so, belfry now replaced. Might have secondary use as watch tower.

Great Tey, Suff. Sq axial tower, originally opening only to E and W. (Fisher, 1969, lists it as in Essex.) 3 lower stages AS, separated by 2 strings of 2 rows of tiles. Bottom stage: each side has 2 round-headed windows with tile heads. Cut between 2 on S is taller opening, possibly to upper level over transept, probably later, as would have been external in original church. Middle stage: each face has 2 groups of 3 round-headed recesses with plain wall between. Upper AS stage: each face has 2 round-headed windows, recessed. Inner order has aperture. Internally, tower measures c. 18' square, with arches to E and W measuring c. 10' W x 18' H. N and S arches lower and Perpendicular; originally, only openings to E and W. Jambs of E arch have traces of pilasters and stripwork.

(Guestling, Suss.) Sq W staircase tower (as at Weaverthorpe, Yks. and Stow, Lincs.), with stair in NW corner of W tower with internal newel staircase contemporary with tower. Listed only by Fisher (1969). He notes it as similar to Bishopstone: tall, slender tower, 3 stages with string below belfry level only. Quoins of small irregular stones described as side-alternate with some diagonal tooling. VCH dates it to early 12th; possibly as early as c. 1100. 2 lower stages have windows on N, W and S with arched lintels and wide interior splay. Belfry level has openings "of late type," with arched lintels, cushion capitals, no balusters. Contradicts self: states tower not bonded to church nave and possibly later (1969, 66), then says church contemporary with tower (162). No comments on tower arch or upper doorways, if any, and no illustrations.

Guestwick, Norf. Sq axial tower, now at E end of N aisle. Quoins of sandstone (Fisher 1969, 162) or limestone (T and T 1980, 265) in lower stages; belfry quoins of flint. Marks of chancel survive on external E wall as gable line; ground floor: internally, can see triple stripwork around arch and jambs of now blocked chancel arch. W arch also blocked, partially covered by N aisle. Lowest N voussoir has "grotesque head, like that of a pig or a muzzled bear" beside it (T and T 1980, 266). E arch = 7'3" W x 9'10" H. W arch = 7'6" W x 10'4" H. 1st floor: N wall has narrow, round-headed window. S wall obscured by later chancel. W has round-headed upper doorway to nave. Original floor level clear from line at W doorway sill, c. 2' below window sill and c. 15' up. While mentioned in vol. I, not listed with upper doorways in vol. III, 834. 2nd floor: E has internally splayed window above gable line which Fisher describes as having stone dressings (1969, 163). N has window like 1st floor, W has

no openings, S obscured. Belfry: all faces have one round-headed window, now blocked. Tower is 11'5" EW x 11'10" NS; measures c. 40' H originally.

Guildford/St. Mary, Surr. Problematic. Currently central, tower originally either axial or central or W, as pilasters on N and S go down to ground level, though pilasters occur on all 4 faces. Set on rising ground to E of River Wey. No original ground level doorways or arches survive. Windows, with sills c. 9' up, survive on N and S, with round heads and double splays. N window centrally placed. S window cuts about half of E pilaster, but if to avoid roof line of porch, no trace remains. Pilasters are of flint and structurally part of tower, "without doubt genuine buttresses" like those at St. Martin's, Canterbury (Fisher 1969, 116). Taylor notes round-headed windows asymmetrically placed on N, S and W, and lower down on N face, traces of tiles set in arch, possibly arcade or another opening. Tower may be turriform church as Fisher suggests (1962, 398), functioning either as nave or chancel. Lack of E openings noteworthy. Placement suggests use as vantage point possible.

Haddiscoe, Norf. Rd W tower of church set on rise near tributary of River Waveney. 4 stages separated by chamfered string courses. Lowest stage largest, 20-25' H, with modern W window only. 2nd and 3rd stages: each has 3 small, single-splayed windows to N, W and S resting on string and with round heads from single stones. 4th stage: belfry with double gabled openings. Taylors describe mid-wall shafts as cylindrical (1980, 270), but Fisher rightly describes them as octagonal (see 1962, pl. 178) and says belfry heads have renewed linings. Detail of belfry Norman, though E window has traces of semicircular arch at edges; hence present form may be replacement. Internally, tower arch is tall, narrow, with round head and impost returned into nave. Above it, doorway with sill c. 16' up has round head of well-laid voussoirs and jambs of dressed stone. Unnoted by sources but clear in Fisher 1962, pl. 179 and 1969, 71, line across W wall of nave beneath door sill, possibly for gallery given finished state of doorway. Tower measures c. 8'6" in diameter, tower arch 3'7" x 12'4" H. Tower 58' H. Plates in Fisher 1962, nos. 177-9.

Haddiscoe Thorpe, Norf. Rd W tower beside extensive marshes, added to earlier church in late Saxon or Saxo-Norman overlap period. Now of 2 stages, separated by string course; lower stage has 3 stages of texture variation, while stage above string is Norman belfry. 1st stage: S, W and N have windows with round heads cut into rectangular blocks, internally splayed. 2 grooves cut around heads, and S and W windows have projecting corbels or prokrossoi, c. 1' above heads. 3rd stage has pilaster strips, 10 according to Taylors (1980, 271), 12 according to Fisher (1969, 163). They also disagree on number of windows: Taylor says 4, intermediate between cardinal points of compass, and Fisher says 3. If pilasters originally ended in arches, now lost with addition of Norman belfry (assumes that string course then Norman, not AS). Tower c. 17' in diameter on outside, c. 35' H to top of AS work.

Hadstock, Ess. Central tower which fell probably in 13th

century, according to Rodwell, who excavated interior and published interim report in 1976, with further details 1986. He determined 3 AS periods of building in current church, with period II having inferior rebuilding of choir which converted it to central timber-framed tower. Period III replaced this with stone central tower. Bell foundry was also found, at W end of nave, suggesting one use for tower. Rodwell notes town had St. Botolph's day fair, and Henry I granted weekly market in 1129 (1976, 67). Recently, Fernie's 1983 JBA article has argued all 3 periods need not be separated by centuries as Rodwell stated; he does not exclude pre-Danish date, but says I-III can fit into decades, c. 980-1080. Fernie feels period II timber work was temporary, after fire, and hence I and III may be separated by only a few years. His article also has useful comparative material for responds, which he argues are of homogeneous design.

Hainton, Lincs. Sq W tower; Taylor says only lower stage AS, Fisher describes both. String between. Only one original opening, keyhole window on S with small concentric rebate in head. Measures 6' W x 20" H. Fisher mentions exterior has modern repair work (1969, 164). Tower c. 16' square on outside. No illustrations. Not in Taylor's vol. III tower lists (900-901).

Hales, Norf. Rd W tower, listed in vol. III of Taylor for tower and upper E doorway, situated on higher land 1 mile S of village. Ground floor: 2 circular, double splayed windows on N and S, with frames of basketwork, blocked externally. Other windows not detailed by Taylor, noted only as narrow, round-headed and single-splayed, difficult to determine date as AS or Norman. Fig. 482 in vol. II shows 2 openings in belfry level to E. On interior, E upper doorway has jambs and head of flint rubble, with marks of boards used to set concrete in gabled head. (Called window in vol. II, listed as doorway in vol. III, Taylor.) Measures 1'6" W x 4'2" H, sill 22' up, no splay. Tower arch now contains organ, measures c. 6' W x 12'6" H, with round head and ornament like inverted battlements on imposts. Fernie lists it as dating to second quarter of 11th-early 12th century, but adds, "the twelfth-century date of the building can only be denied by the expedient of proposing the wholesale addition of the numerous Norman features which characterise almost every part of the church" (1983, 169). Tower is 11'4" internal diameter, c. 55' H.

Harmston, Lincs. Sq W tower on ridge of high land at E boundary of Trent Valley, all that survives of early church. 2 stages, divided by string course. Tall lower stage: no original openings. Belfry: tall double window with round head in all 4 faces with ashlar jambs resting on string course. Tower arch Norman; in vol. III (1080-1), Taylor reemphasized that arch was insertion in earlier fabric, and that documentary evidence showed complete rebuilding of nave and chancel in 18th century. 19th century continued work. Stone staircase part of these modern changes, but Taylor feels small W windows lighting it were moved from elsewhere in now destroyed church. If so, at least one

window had pierced floral stonework carving (transenna?), and another circular openings drilled with holes.

Harpwell, Lincs. Sq W tower all that survives of AS church set on low land near ridge with Roman road. Broad squat tower has 2 stages separated by string course. 1st stage: N= no openings, W= blocked round-headed window, S= narrow flat headed rectangular window with rubble jambs which is near top of stage according to Taylor. 2nd stage: Fisher (1969, 164) says above string in S wall is tall loop-window with flat lintel, no separate sill, which seems same window Taylor described for 1st stage; no illustrations in either source. Stage is 1/4 of total height of tower. Had 4 double belfry openings originally, though W now blocked and cut away for clock. N, S and W had round heads on lights; E has flat lintel. Tower measures c. 15' square internally, c. 45' H.

Hastings, Suss. Problematic E tower. Mentioned in Taylor's vol. III only (1073); within ruined walls of castle. Tower was over chancel, as shown by surviving spiral stairway at NW angle at junction of nave and chancel. Newel formed of stones separate from treads, as at Broughton and Hough. A. J. Taylor takes remains as core of church represented in Bayeux Tapestry.

Heapham, Lincs. Sq W tower on chamfered plinth, 2 stages with string course between. 1st stage: taller, blocked W doorway with tympanum resting on flat stone lintel. Higher up on W is much restored keyhole window. 2nd stage: belfry has double windows in each face with ashlar jambs and lights with semicircular heads cut into square stones. Internally, tower arch tall and wide with round head, measuring 5'9" W x c. 12' H. Fisher (1969, 164) adds that 2nd stage is recessed, and one belfry capital has foliated volutes. Tower c. 10' square on interior.

Heigham, Norf. Sq W tower, not in vol. III (900) list, rising with no divisions to string course at top, with Perpendicular battlements. No original openings; all windows Perpendicular. Taylor thought tower AS due to planness, lack of buttresses, uncut flint fabric, quoins in flints, and lack of dressed stone. Tower is 12'3" EW externally x 13' NS, and c. 50' H, but last 5' may be contemporary with Perpendicular battlements.

Herringfleet, Suff. Rd W tower, near N bank of Waveney; also not far from present coast. 2 stages, 2 string courses, above and below belfry, with upper one serving as coping also. 1st stage: 3 levels, similar to Haddiscoe. Ground: modern W window. 2nd level: N and S windows, narrow, with round heads of semicircular stones. 3rd level: 3 windows on N, W and S with narrow round heads cut from square stones. First stage also has ornamental row of 2 courses of roughly dressed stone at level of nave roof apex. 2nd stage: belfry has double windows facing cardinal points. All but E have stripwork and billet moulding to form tympanum like Northumbrian churches. Openings have steep sloping sills of tiles and lights with gabled heads. Additional windows occur in belfry level facing NW and SW, with heads in tiles and mid-wall shutters of wood with carved openwork ornament. Fisher (1969, 73 and 164) terms belfry Norman. Internally, no tower arch, but small doorway with round head, 3'3" W x 7'9" H. Taylor

cites Cautley, as he himself unable to enter church: face of doorway to nave within tower has line of billet-ornament around head and jambs; perhaps W chapel indicated, as no W doorway. Recent gallery made search for traces of any upper doorway impossible. Tower c. 16' in diameter externally, c. 45' H. Hexham, Northumb. 2 possible W towers or turrets, semicircular. Complicated remains and problematic excavation records have occasioned several theories on arrangement of church; Bailey (1976b, 58, fig. 4), the Taylors (1961, fig. 1) and others have placed 2 AS western towers, to N and S of center of W wall, though not at corners. Gilbert (1974, 107, plan 13) depicts towered porticus (from Richard of Hexham's account) along N and W walls, interspersed with appenticiis. An additional tower occurs in center of W wall, over entrance. I favor Bailey's and the Taylors' plan, especially as photograph from excavations (see Kirby 1974, pl. VIa) shows bottom of newel staircase clearly and Gilbert's plan does not take proper account of Hodge's u areas nor of wall k. I do not discount possibility that church also had upper levels to porticus, with single level chambers between such multi-level porticus; however, upper levels may well not have exceeded height of nave walls, and hence not true towers. 2 W towers may have been merely for access, as Wilfrid's church predates commonly accepted date for introduction of belfries, in 9th-10th centuries. Alternatively, may have contained upper chapels as well, given large collection of relics, and later housed bells.

Holton-le Clay, Lincs. (S. Humbs.) Sq W tower on double plinth like church, in prominent position on higher ground. Reddened as if by fire. One stage with string course of AS work; belfry 14th century. No openings N and E; W has blocked doorway and above, round-headed internally splayed window c. 1' W x 2' H. S has small, rectangular window of indeterminate date. Inside, tower arch tall and narrow, 5'5" W x 15' H of 2 orders set flush with wall. (Fisher mistakenly says of 1 order, 1969, 165; see T and T 1980, fig. 490.) Tower measures c. 10' square internally. Recent excavation in churchyard shows graveyard in use before 1050 (Morris 1983, 49).

Hornby, Lincs. Sq W tower with 4 stages, 3 of which are AS. 1st stage: W doorway, with flat lintel surmounted by semicircular tympanum recessed c. 2" (T and T 1980, 319); Fisher describes it as "rather distorted relieving arch above" (1969, 165). Measures 3' W x 6'6" H to lintel, 9'10" to crown. N and S windows modern. 2nd stage: S window round-headed, single splayed. 3rd stage: belfry, with double semicircular-headed openings resting on string course. Heads cut from square lintels, jambs of well-dressed, "almost ashlar" masonry. Internally, tower arch late Saxon or Norman, tall, massive voussoired round head; more Norman to Taylor. Measures 6'1" W x 13'7" H. Tower c. 11.5' square internally, c. 50' H.

Hooton Pagnell, Yks. Sq W tower, only lower stage early (upper stages reconstructed in 14th century). Dated early Norman/11th century by Ryder (1982, 63-4). Lower stage c. 23' H, of same build as nave and early chancel; no original architectural

features survive. Tower arch rebuilt (Ibid., 66) in 14th century and staircase in SW corner of tower added. Identical in plan to Brodsworth (q.v.); Ryder doubts Norman stone belfry would be torn down simply for change in fashion, and postulates timber belfry originally (66). Plan on p. 64 of Ryder, photographs in pl. VI. Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincs. (Visited, exterior only: locked) Sq W tower with 3/4 round stair turret, both on plinth, added to earlier nave, as W wall forms base for tower E wall. Set up on hill with good view all around. Tower has 3 stages, separated by strings which do not correspond to interior floor levels. 1st stage: unusually short. W now has door and window cutting string; originally seems to have had door, though not cited by Taylor (see photograph opposite p.), given long-short or side-alternate jambs visible. 2nd stage: N window has round head, rests on string. 3rd stage: N and S have round headed window resting on string, and W has 2 flat-headed rectangular windows on either side of W turret. Turret: S has 4 small windows, from bottom square or 5-sided, circular, circular, diamond shaped. W has 3, all round headed of different sizes, upper 2 with mouldings or rebates. N has 3, circular, circular, square, wth mouldings or rebates. Windows on S lower than W, and W lower than N, presumably to accomodate stair lighting inside.

Inside tower, ground level has bench on N wall. Door to nave is 2 steps down, tall with round head much altered. Taylor thinks it probably original church entrance, Fisher thinks it 13th century (1969, 165). To W, 3 steps up lead through tall, rebated, square-headed doorway to turret floor, 1'9" above floor of tower. (Fisher says doorway gabled here.) 1st floor chamber has doorway from turret on W, rebated as for door, with flat lintel, imposts (see T and T 1980, fig. 492). 2nd floor chamber has W doorway and E doorway, now blocked, both gabled according to Taylor. Fisher says E doorway round-headed, leading to roof space (1962, 281 and 1969, 165). Brooke (1986, 211) notes Remote Sensing survey of "upper doorway in the tower/nave junction." Tower c. 45' H, measures 17'10" EW x 17' NS internally. Turret is 11' in diameter externally, 7' internally. Given rebate and narrow window on N for 2nd stage of tower, possibly used as treasury or storage room, or even for sanctuary. Upper chamber allows good view to W, and may have served W gallery from E doorway. Photograph of S doorway in tower, p. 45.

Hovingham, Yks. Sq W tower of 3 stages separated by 2 string courses. 1st stage: W doorway with round arch, more AS than Norman according to Taylor. Also on W, set somewhat below string, equal-armed cross. S window tiny, rectangular. 2nd stage: recessed; S window tall, double-splayed round-headed window. N and W have small rectangular slit windows with upper string as heads. 3rd stage: recessed belfry with tall, narrow double openings having unusually narrow round lights. Fisher (1962, 117) notes on exterior, above S belfry is Saxon Latin cross with central boss and worn figures on shaft. On interior, round tower arch tall and narrow, 5'6" W x 10'6" H. Above arch, at level of 2nd stage, upper doorway with flat head, Escomb jambs, set off-center above N jambs of arch; measures 1'10" W x

6'2" H, c. 23' up to sill. Illustrated in Fisher 1962, pls. 33-4. Tower c. 12'3" square internally, c. 70' H. If 1st stage originally had 2 interior levels as it does now, and as S window suggests, lack of light might indicate storage/treasury or sanctuary room, possibly reached from ringing chamber above.

Howe, Norf. Rd W tower, notably with no recognizable belfry. Has W doorway with round head, now blocked, 3' W x 7'6" H. 2 circular double-splayed windows in N and S, with N round-headed window slightly to E of circular one. Centers of circular windows c. 9' above ground; N round-headed window sill 8'6" from floor. On W and S, 2 more round-headed windows, double-splayed, with sills c. 21' above ground. On interior, upper doorway over tower arch now blocked; flat lintel. Measured 1'9" W x 4'9" H; sill c. 15'6" up. Tower c. 11' internal diameter, c. 42' H.

Ingram, Northumb. Sq W tower completely rebuilt from original stones 1895-1908; Fisher (1962, 74) states that all facing stones were numbered and replaced as near to original position as possible. He adds (75) that "tower may have been built on or within the walls of an earlier and larger W adjunct, perhaps a narthex." Tower has 2 stages, no strings, no external entrance. Windows are narrow with arched lintels. In 2nd stag, "largely" 13th cen., are 4 small windows, one in each wall (Fisher 1969, 166). Tower arch wide with 2 flush arches, upper one perhaps a relieving arch (similar to Brixworth arches). Tower measures 12' x 11'6" internally. Taylor considered it possibly AS.

Intwood, Norf. Rd W tower. Listed in Taylor's vol. III (1073-4), no date given. Blocked W doorway and vestiges of W window. Both arched with tiles in Tredington manner. On interior, tower arch plastered.

Jarrow, Tyne and Wear (Visited) Sq central tower currently joins church nave to chancel on rise overlooking river; monastery raided by Vikings in 794. In vol. III (897) Taylor thought it built on earlier 2 storeyed porch whose walls were thickened when tower added, in Overlap period under Aldwine (1074-83). Lower belfry "normal" AS double openings. Upper doorways: 1st floor, E and W (W doorway gabled, E round-headed). Upper doorway in S wall of present chancel and tower's E upper doorways probably connected by gallery, with additional gallery on W, if not access to roof space. See photographs, pp. 40, 42.

Jevington, Suss. Sq W tower, much altered in 1873 restoration. 2 stages, 1 string course, upper stage recessed. Saxon evidence now only vestigial. Traces of N and S windows, double-splayed, now blocked, occur on N and S. Taylor calls them round-headed, Fisher (1962, 374) and others say somewhat angular, not strictly gabled or round-headed. Fisher adds that heads in brick. Double belfry windows heavily rebuilt or entirely modern, though mid-wall balusters Saxon, as is style: above double openings in enclosing arch heads is circular sound hole, with 2 others over each pointed enclosing arch. 1784 drawing by Grimm shows no belfry openings at all (Fisher 1962, 375). Tower arch altered, though jambs seem original, of Escomb style. Now measures 5'8" W x c. 13' H. Tower measures 18' square internally. Excavations of nearby Crane Down, Jevington, produced evidence for early

(?pagan) cemetery and later Christian one, dating to 7th or 8th century, and Jevington known for its Urnes style crucifixion slab.

(Kingsdown, Kent) Sq problematic tower on SE overlapping junction of nave and chancel. Blocked round-headed arch on E wall once led to small apsidal chancel for which foundations are visible. No details of any other tower openings published, nor photographs. Fisher (1969, 49) suggests it may originally have been porticus later raised to tower, given its position; he cites it in chapter on bell towers. Neither he nor Taylor list it in tower lists, however. Tower measures 5'7" NS x 4'11" EW internally. E tower arch is 5'10" W x c. 12' H. SE placement of tower analogous to that of Potterne's baptistery, overlapping nave and chancel; tempting to wonder if tower served as baptistery area.

Kirby Cane, Norf. Rd W tower of flint, with small plaster strips surround base. Originally 9, now c. 3-4' H, possibly carried higher once. "[E]ven from close at hand it is difficult to decide whether the small windows have triangular or pointed heads" (T and T 1980, 354), and no distinctively pre-Conquest features. Widely splayed on interior, flat heads formed over oak boarding still in position, a fine candidate for C14 dating. Tower arch plain, round-headed, no impost. No upper doorway; no belfry shown or described.

Kirk Hammerton, Yks. Sq W tower not in bond with nave, set on mound. 2 stages, separated by string course. 1st stage: tall, 2 interior levels, with W doorway having angle shafts or what Fernie calls "nook shafts" (1983, 171). N, W and S faces each have 2 narrow, rectangular windows, one above the other. 2nd stage: belfry, with double openings on all faces, round-heads cut into square stones. Inside, tower arch uneven, what Taylor termed slightly horseshoe. Fisher called it parabolic, with longer axis on vertical; both W doorway and tower arch have this shape, possibly because impost later cut away or perhaps due to timber shaping (see Rodwell 1986). Taylor mentions upper doorway but not in his vol. III list. Morris examined tower fabric (1976, 95-103) and disagreed with Taylor on several points. He concluded lack of bond between tower and nave possibly due to large size of stone blocks, as nave and chancel not in bond either. Thinks tower built four-square between W angles of nave. Notes upper doorway an integral part of tower; though built up during 1890-1 restoration and blocked, door opened inwards to tower, and wooden door left on hinges in this position (another candidate for C14). Sill shows heavy wear. Concluded chronological relationship between tower and nave ambiguous. Tower measures c. 9'2" square internally, c. 50' H. W doorway= 3'3" W x 9'8" H. Tower arch= 6' W x 13' H.

Langford, Oxfs. Axial tower of 3 stages, separated by string courses; belfry recessed. Pilaster strips up middle of N and S faces. 1st stage: no original openings. 2nd stage: S has 2 double-splayed round-headed windows, with probable similar arrangement on N (now has stair turret). Windows have mid-wall slabs cut with keyhole aperture. In addition, on S, pilaster

strip interrupted by cut; also has sundial slab with 2 figures. 3rd stage: belfry of unique form, looks later but claimed as Saxon by Taylor. Wide round-headed openings, illustrated vol. I, 369. On interior, 2 tower arches, with E one more elaborate and finer. E face of tower has gable line. 2 upper doorways, both tapering at top: W doorway has Escomb jambs, dressed stone, chamfered bases, flat lintel; E doorway over chancel now blocked, but jambs of undressed rubble. Implication that W doorway seen, either at top of stairway or from gallery, while E doorway not public: storage? Thus both tower and chancel had upper floors at levels of door sills. Tower measures 13'8" EW x 12'3" NS internally, c. 55' H. Upper doors c. 6' H, width at sills are E=2'3", W=2'8". Sills, c. 3' upper present upper floor. Fernie regards church as one neither simply Saxon nor simply Norman (1983, 171). Given elaboration of sundial and presence of 2 sculpted roods, tower may have contained upper chapel reached from W and served from E.

(Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yks.) Problematic. Possible central crossing or W central tower. Taylor cites well-known N porticus as Saxon work, but Ryder raises question as to whether current 14th century tower encases Saxon work. He considers relationship between tower and porticus; porticus projects from center of N side of tower, as at Stow, and he theorizes that remains may be survivals of crossing, formerly with wooden tower belfry, and narrower porticus/transepts. I think it more likely that he was correct in his second theory, that Laughton may have had W end with crossing layout, as at Sherborne (Ryder 1982, 72-4). Church near late 11th century motte-and-bailey castle, only 60' from W end.

Lavendon, Bucks. Sq W tower in raised churchyard. Saxon part lower stage, 3 levels, no divisions. N, S and W have 3 windows each, arranged vertically. Lower 2 levels round-headed, heads in flat stones laid badly; upper level probably belfry, with taller, narrower round-headed openings. Blocked opening on E completes belfry. Just below belfry openings is decorative herringbone masonry band; S has carved slab built into E quoins. On interior, tower arch has square jambs, imposts and round head, and measures 7'4" W x 10'2" H. Above arch is tall, narrow, round-headed doorway, c. 1'6" W x 6' H. Sill is c. 17' up. Internally, tower measures c. 11'6" EW x c. 12' NS, and tower and chancel not in line with nave walls. Fisher thinks poor workmanship in windows indicates early date (mid-10th?), and compares closeness of plan, even to skewing, with Ingram (1962, 75, 156-7). Lack of external openings may permit use of lower chamber for chapel.

Ledsham, Yks. Sq W tower, raised on porch. Both Taylors and Fisher state that tower raised by Normans with addition of belfry. However, both also cite change in lower stage from ashlar to rubble over level of Saxon 2 storey porch, before ashlar, light colored Norman belfry added. Therefore, though not in Taylor's vol. III (900) list of towers, Ledsham's W porch was raised to tower sometime between addition of porch and raising of Norman belfry, perhaps in Overlap period. Change in fabric and

obvious tower level above nave walls visible in Taylor's plate, vol. I, fig. 515. No openings on N; W has square window with chamfered edges, offset to N, on upper floor level. S has doorway, arched on exterior with renewed carved imposts and jambs, though bottom stones of jambs seem original and some "rude sculpture" apparently preceded current vine scroll. On interior, doorway has flat head and is rebated for hanging door. Also on S, 2 round-headed windows vertically placed in SE corner; access to upper level from this corner seems likely. Given height of tower, W window would light upper chamber, possibly chapel, but room for another floor even above it. Present clock on S may cover additional window if so. Extra height at top must have had purpose; I think it likely late Saxon or Overlap timber belfry topped tower before Norman belfry added. Fernie (1983, 56, 178) notes Ledsham's similarity to Escomb and dates it to late 7th, early 8th century.

(Letheringsett, Norf.) Rd W tower of flint with no features of conclusive date. Small, round-headed windows, somewhat Saxon, have wide internal splays more Norman in appearance. However, tower arch cruck-shaped like West Barsham and Roughton. Taylors thought it doubtfully Saxo-Norman. Tower c. 9' internal diameter; tower arch 7' W.

(Limpley Stoke, Wilts.) Sq W tower. Taylors say not Saxon, despite very large side-alternate quoins; date entire tower based on 15th century belfry openings. Fisher (1969, 168-9) thinks it Saxon for 2 stages below belfry, despite evidence of extensive repair and restoration. Saxon features cited are slender proportions (internally 7' x 8'), floor 1' above nave floor, 2'7" thick walls, massive quoins even larger than those of nave. No illustrations or details on openings, if any.

Lincoln/St. Benedict, Lincs. Sq tower, probably W, entirely rebuilt after Civil War, c. 1670, beside chancel, also rebuilt; hence all details open to question. Both Taylors and Fisher discuss it as Saxon, however. 2 stages, tall lower one and belfry, with string course. No openings on N or S below belfry; On W, 2 vertically placed crude rectangular windows, laterally splayed. Each side of 1 slab each. Belfry has double openings with round heads. Throughstone slabs rest on midwall shafts of slender octagonal shape (like Haddiscoe?).

Lincoln/St. Mary-le-Wigford, Lincs. Sq W tower not bonded into nave, very similar to St. Peter's, with dedication stone set into W wall exterior next to doorway and read from bottom to top. 2 stages separated by string course, 2nd stage offset. 1st stage: taller. No openings on N. S, high up, has tall, round-headed internally splayed opening, head cut from rectangular stone, Escomb jambs. W has 2 Saxon openings, according to Taylor: W doorway, restored, but very tall, with moulding and arched head. Checkerboard ornament on imposts original; door originally on inner face. Top W window like one on S. Fisher thinks W doorway not original (1962, 284). On E, Taylor says no openings; Fisher says opening exactly like upper W window. Belfry: 4 tall, double openings, round heads, elaborate capitals. W arched heads have zigzag ornament. Taylor says N has octagonal midwall shaft,

while Fisher says shaft on S; Fisher's own plate (1962, pl. 154) supports Taylor's description. Internally, tower arch has incised chequer pattern on imposts like W doorway; measures 10'1" W x 20'7" H, and has interlace stone built into N face of S jamb, i.e. in soffit (1984, 1081). Upper doorway over arch has round head (though Fisher says gabled, 1969, 169) and square jambs; measures 2'2" W x 5'2" H, with sill c. 27' up. Fisher thinks tower possibly erected on Roman foundations. Dedication stone set into tower is reused Roman memorial stone. See reproduction of texts in Taylor 1974c, 347. Notably, Eirtig is not attested as personal name elsewhere, but -ig is Danish ending; tower may be example of indirect Scandinavian influence on church building. Tower measures 12'9" EW x 13'3" NS; stands c. 72' H.

Lincoln/St. Peter-at-Gowts, Lincs. Sq W tower, better dressed, closer joints than St. Mary's (St. M's), not bonded into nave. 2 stages, separated by string course, offset tower rests on double plinth (St. M's has none). Unlike St. M's, has side-alternate quoins differing from nave's long-and-short, and Taylor took this to indicate time lapse between building of each (1974e, 350).

1st stage: No openings N or E faces. S has tall, round headed, internally splayed window in middle, and W has similar window near top, under carved slab with human figure. Taylor thinks, though weathered, probably Christ in majesty. W doorway is 19th century reconstruction. Belfry: Like St. M's, but jambs of throughstones laid in Escomb fashion. Notably, carved capitals on W and S have design very close to that cited at St. M's, but better done, as if St. M's a debased copy. If true, we have relative chronology for 2 churches. Noted by Fisher but not Taylor, and substantiated by photograph, S belfry shaft octagonal. Inside, tower arch 9'1" W x 21' H, narrower and taller (called distinctly stilted) than St. M's. Upper doorway gabled with chamfered jambs, measuring 1'9" W x 6' H, with sill c. 26' up. Tower measures 11'2" EW x 10'7" NS; c. 72' H.

Little Bardfield, Ess. Sq W tower entirely of flint with no dressed stone in openings or string courses. T and T describe as of 3 stages, divided by 2 string courses, with 1st and 3rd stage each further divided by offsets. But photograph in Rodwell (1986, 160) clearly shows 5 stages, each slightly offset due to timber shuttering in construction of flint walls. Offsets took weight of shuttering as each erected for new level, and stages decrease in height (Ibid., 162). Taylor's description inaccurate regarding openings. 1st stage: lower level has blocked W doorway. 2nd: blocked round-headed openings noted by Taylor (1984, 1078) as resting on offset on N, W and S not visible in Rodwell photograph. 3rd stage: 2 round-headed windows on N, W and S, large and dividing face into 3 parts. 4th stage: all faces, double windows, narrow and round-headed, separated by thin division. 5th stage: 2 narrow, round-headed windows, one on either side of 4th stage's double windows. No Saxon features inside; tower arch 15th century. Tower notably skewed. Though N, W and S walls c. 15' long, at E end, N and S walls over 16' apart. Tower c. 50' H. Fisher's plan of tower (1962, 347) shows font, presumably later. Large size of tower and lack of upper

doorway means access to upper levels within tower itself. Lower level notably dark, given window placement.

Little Bytham, Lincs. Sq W tower. T and T state tower clearly Norman, but AS traditions survive in upper doorway over tower arch (1980, 121). Fisher (1969, 170) says "[s]tructurally it is Saxon." His description is more complete: quoins are thin slabs, face alternate. No openings N and S below belfry: no W doorway. 2 windows in W wall with arched lintels; upper one has hood. Recessed double belfry opening and tower arch are Norman. On interior, upper doorway over tower arch leads to upper floor of tower. Lack of external access and limited W lighting (illuminating E wall) make liturgical use likely.

Little Snoring, Norf. Rd W tower, now detached, with blocked tower arch on E. Taylors (1980, 554) call it early Norman or Saxo-Norman, and mention rough areas from tearing away of nave walls. Tower of flint and some carstone, no original windows or doorways surviving. Tower arch of 2 plain square orders. Fisher seems to assume this is separate bell tower, not remnant of previous church (1969, 49). Present church c. 1200 according to Taylors, though they say if material reused, date may be later; "predecessor must have been appreciably earlier to have warranted demolition by that time."

Maltby, Yks. Sq W tower, only original part of church; rest rebuilt 1859. 3 stages, 2 string courses with offsets. Ryder (1982, 84) notes original masonry up to midway 3rd stage, c. 47' H, with original quoins up to 9'10" H, then 19th century (?) replacements. 1st stage: lower level has blocked, round-headed S window, sill 7' 10" up, with 3'8" internal splay. Upper level has 2 narrower windows on N and S, lighting 1st floor, as sockets for 2 floor beams visible on interior. Any original W windows gone, replaced by large Victorian window. All windows have rubble voussoirs and jambs. 2nd stage: Windows on N, W and S, taller than lower ones. On E, blocked square-headed upper doorway. 3rd stage: late medieval remodelling of earlier double openings. Ryder includes reconstruction sketch p. 86; tower illustrated in pl. VIII.

Market Overton, Rutland Sq W tower? Only tower arch and some walling survive. Church on high land, in SW corner of Roman camp. Fisher (1962, 236) thinks 13th century tower built on AS foundations for porch or tower, and opts for tower given arch. Stone stile of churchyard (NW corner) has 2 baluster shafts, reputedly from old belfry. Tower arch, set on plinth, has round head, throughstone jambs, impost, well-cut voussoirs with radial joints. Taylors say "arch is basically Roman (1980, 412). Measures 6'7" W x slightly over 14' H. Fisher notes (1962, 236) 3 loose stones with reed and hollow work like double gable-headed opening in Deerhurst tower, pictured in Fisher 1962, pl. 120. Taylor notes wealth of AS finds in nearby cemetery, and AS carved stone in lower exterior tower walls.

Marton, Lincs. Sq W tower, 2 unequal stages, 1 string course and offset, though tower narrows at 1st floor level. 1st stage: almost entirely of herringbone masonry, possibly for strengthening, as Fisher notes 1904 restoration found walls

extended only 2' below ground and rested on trenches of sand and gravel (1962, 289). May have been W doorway, but now pointed medieval arch has modern window insert. Above is W window, narrow, internally splayed, with round head and hood mould, termed slightly keyholed by Fisher. Above window is small carved stone with head, badly weathered but with projecting upper ledge. 2nd stage: offset, with 4 double belfry openings, capitals "of advanced design" (T and T 1980, 412), round heads cut into square stones with ornamental roll around head. Fisher describes belfry as having some later features, as shafts with cubic capitals and curious volutes (1969, 170), and notes almost complete absence of herringbone in this stage. On interior, tower arch has round head voussoired and measures 5'10" W x 11'4" H. Above is doorway under gable apex, blocked, with flat lintel. Sculpture fragments suggest rich appointments: 7 cross fragments built into S aisle W wall, and AS crucifixion, 9" x 14", in N chancel wall (T and T 1980, 414). Tower measures 8'9" EW x 9' NS internally, c. 50' H. Middleton-by-Pickering, Yks. Sq W tower added to nave; AS part is lower stage ending in string course. Lower level has W doorway with stripwork; top now cut by inserted window, but impressive. Measures 2'10" W x 9'9" H to crown. Above it is equal-armed cross carved on slab, similar to Monkwearmouth types, resting on projecting corbel. Fisher discerned knotwork patterns on cross arms and stylized leaf ornament similar to palmettes in annular spaces (1962, 118). On S is small, plain, rectangular window narrowing towards top, slightly splayed but cut later to hold window frame; sill c. 17' up. Above, at upper level in stage, is similar window with sill c. 30' up. On interior, tower arch is later, though square window above it may be vestige of upper doorway. Taylors showed nave widened by c. 3' on N and S after tower built (after, due to difference in plinths and S plinth overrunning earlier quoin). They also discussed problem in dating: originally, 3 cross shaft fragments built into tower, now removed. Dated tower to C2 because of their date. But if added in later repairs, then feel AS part is "porch" of period B (1980, 423). Given that height remains unchanged in either theory, how tower was reduced to porch (presumably below nave wall level) unexplained. Also, theory ignores cross slab--what if it is 9th century as claimed, and in original position? Tower illustrated in Fisher 1962, pls. 35-6. Tower measures 12' EW x 10-10'5" NS, c. 37' H. Possibly Saxon tower had timber belfry, as none survives.

Milborne Port, Som. Sq central tower with lowest stage AS, built of rubble. Open view from church to W across stream; town had medieval fair. E and W arches deformed to elliptical shape, but have half-round soffit rolls. Arms offset to E. W arch toward nave of stone, while others of stone and plaster which Zarnecki informed Taylors was probably 19th century. Fernie calls crossing neither definitely AS nor Post-Conquest, and dates church to late 11th century (1982, 163, 185). Fisher does not mention church or tower. Crossing measures 19'3" square with walls c. 5' thick.

Monk Fryston, Yks. Sq W tower, 3 AS stages. 1st stage, c. half

tower's height, ends in string course. Windows later additions according to Taylors, but Fisher (1962, 142) notes that while exterior is pointed and fairly wide, with head cut from 2 thin shaped stones, interior is round-headed, of very thin strips, apparently throughstones. Interior opening wider. Concludes outer face presumably later insertion. Fisher also thinks W opening originally existed, as below inserted W window is disturbance with stone having Norman sundial. As normally not placed on N, he thinks earlier opening thus blocked. 2nd stage: very short, with double belfry openings with round heads cut into square stones. E belfry openings now in nave, altered. Stage ends in string course supported by chamfered corbels which may look Norman but are considered AS by Taylors and Fisher. 3rd stage: very short, no openings, ends in string course like one below. On inside, tower arch c. 1400. Tower measures 9'6" EW x 8'11" NS internally, c. 35' H.

Monkwearmouth, Dur. Sq W tower of 5 stages; first 3 described in Appendix B, q.v. Heights of stages from bottom c. 14', 8', 10', 13', 14'. Raising of porch to tower attributed to Aldhun (990-1018) by Taylors (1980, 443). 4th stage: Begins above chamfered string course at level of earlier one on nave W wall; only opening on W is small round-headed window cut through rectangular slab. Ends in plain, square string course. 5th stage: 3 double belfry openings with round heads outlined in stripwork, on N, W and S. Heads of both lights cut into single long lintel. E wall built on top of nave gable, no openings. Above is parapet, with oculi cut into N and W; perhaps parapet originally enclosed, as these openings make more sense as sound holes for belfry below. Taylor attributes building of stone vault to tower builders, along with general reorganization of interior floor levels (1980, 444). It at least post-dates use of N doorway at level of 1st string course. On interior, again see Appendix B for lower levels. 4th stage may have served as chapel, given illumination from W window falling on equal-armed cross with boss cut into slab. Perhaps originally external (similar to those at Hovingham and Middleton?) and reused, as plaster or stucco reliefs were used at St. Riquier (Heitz 1963, 19). If so, it doubled as ringing chamber, unless ropes passed down to lower level where access is now. Photograph, p. 44.

Morland, Westmorland Sq W tower, on W bank of River Eden, of 2 stages, no string course, offset. Walls especially thick (4'-4'9") "due to some special local cause, perhaps a desire to make the tower suitable for defence" (T and T 1980, 446). 1st stage: Ground floor has N, W and S windows, small with round heads and internal splay. Sills 12' or more up, c. 7" W x 21" H, though W window later enlarged on exterior. 2nd stage: belfry of 10' in height, with double openings, narrower than intervening stonework, round heads. E and S had 2 midwall shafts, probably due to thickness of walls. Taylors notes (1980, 448) junction of nave and tower seems to indicate tower preceded nave. On interior, E face of tower on plinth 3'10" H of 2 orders (only on this side). Entrance is up 5 steps through tall, narrow doorway 2'4" W x 9'1" H from nave floor. Has round head, well-laid

voussoirs, rebate for door and sockets for drawbars to secure it. Given lack of external openings, indications are that something was to be secured within tower. If so, perhaps belfry is later, added when church added to tower, though it may have served also as vantage point even then. If tower preceded church though, seems noteworthy that no E window exists to match others (unless it has gone undetected). Also, as plinth on E side only, I wonder if E face not modified when joined to church; as shown on Taylor's plan, steps would interfere with door's opening as rebate halfway between 2 sets of steps. Cutting off bottom of door would make security impossible. Notably, this is only towered church in all of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire, as mentioned by Fisher (1962, 112).

Morningthorpe, Norf. Rd W tower. Externally, Taylors noted little reliable dating evidence, though lower floor has 3 narrow, round-headed, single-splayed windows of indeterminate date which could be AS. Tower arch is tall, simple and round-headed, with plain impostes having 2 grooves. Measures 6'9" W x 14'10" H to crown in 6' thick wall. Taylors give no measurements, though they produce plan which they warn may not be accurate in measurements; no other sources mention church and tower as AS. From Taylors' plan, seems internal diameter is 7 to 8'.

Netheravon, Wilts. Sq W tower on W bank of Wiltshire Avon, having N, W and S annexes originally. 2 stages with offset. Ground level: N and S doorways to annexes. S doorway rebated, with flat lintel surmounted by tympanum; similar on N. W has arch, now W doorway. Upper level, N has upper doorway also, either to upper N annexe chamber or for access from N chamber by ladder; Fisher notes sill "corbelled out as though for a ladder to be reared against it" (1962, 402). S has small round-headed window, sill c. 32' up, with similar window on N. 2nd stage: Belfry has small round-headed window resting on offset on W; N and S have 13th century double windows which may have replaced AS openings. On interior, tower arch wider, taller than W arch. Above it, doorway with round head has sill c. 26' up. Tower measures c. 14'3" EW x 13' NS internally, 68' H to top of parapet. Not in Taylor's vol. III lists for towers (900) or for upper doorways (834).

Nettleton, Lincs. Sq W tower of 2 roughly equal stages divided by string course. Fisher notes intermediate string course halfway up N and S walls as well (1962, 291). 1st stage: W doorway has round head with hood mould, incised ornament of arcades (like Earl's Barton?). S window small, internally splayed. 2nd stage: W window, small and round-headed with internal splay. Fisher notes (1962, 291) window round outside, but flat lintel inside; also, faint traces of N opening at clock chamber level. On inside, tower arch peculiar in that only half of voussoirs ornamented, with what Fisher describes as "cavetto and roll, late post-Conquest features" (1962, 292). Measures 7'10" W x 14'6" H. Unnoted by Taylors but mentioned by Fisher is upper doorway or opening, rectangular, over tower arch. Neither tower nor upper doorway listed in Taylor's vol. III, 835, 900. Tower measures 12'9" EW x 13'3" NS.

Newton-by-Castleacre, Norf. Axial tower, perhaps once central, though evidence for only S porticus. Near skewed arch set on plinth 7-11" thick, 14-16" H. Arch 3'3" deep and 5'3" W; Fisher says it "looks as though it was once a monumental entrance" (1962, 331). Plain string on S only may have been roof line. 2nd stage: On S is round-headed double splayed window, originally more deeply splayed in head, now altered. Belfry above has double openings with gabled heads; much restored. On interior, W arch 14th century according to Fisher, E arch AS. On upper level, blocked gable-headed doorways with flint jambs to E and W (hence not seen by public?), measuring 2' W x 6'4" H, with sills 1'6" above present upper floor level. Fernie lists church in his list dated second quarter 11th-early 12th century (1983, 178). Fisher omits tower from end list in 1969 publication.

(Northchurch, Herts.) Sq W tower postulated by Baldwin Brown due to thickening of S and W walls. Taylors questioned this as heights not uniform: on S, 2 different levels of thickening, with lower level at E end and seemingly associated with internal floor levels. Smith (1973, 18) questions further, noting 3 levels, the third in W wall finishing lower than lower of 2 in S wall. Notes W inserted window starts above W wall's thickening; possibly the thickening lowered upon window's insertion. Smith cites most serious objection to tower is size: would be c. 22' x 23' int., with walls just under 4' thick. Two of larger AS towers, Barton-on-Humber and Staindrop, measure 18' sq. and 19' sq. respectively, and average AS tower between 11' and 15' sq. N. Elmham cathedral has thickening at W end, but Smith notes chamber c. 18' sq. and walls almost 5' thick. Fisher (1969, 62) compares Northchurch to Boarhunt, and says may just be annexe, not tower. Interesting to note that Roman villa nearby has a possible chi-rho on its wall plaster (Morris 1983, 15, table 1), implying early appearance of Christianity in this area.

North Elmham, Norf. Up to 3 sq towers postulated, one at W, 2 others at NE and SE corners between nave and transepts. Ruins only, problematic. Taylor (1984, 752) summarized work of Rigold (1962-3, 67-108) where earthworks surrounding church dated to 1370-1406, while present ruins of 3 periods. Period I, probably 1020-1040, when 2 eastern towers built; Period II, 1050-1070 or even 1085, when W tower with staircase built; Period III, 1085 on, when W tower arch widened. However, clear evidence for earlier floors of wooden churches existed below. Taylor produces plans of all 3 in vol. III (1984, fig. 725). Most recently, Heywood (1982, 1-10) has dated stone ruins as definitely post-Conquest, suggesting Bishop Herbert de Losinga as builder (1091-1119), who also built Norwich Cathedral; only other building besides N. Elmham to have quadrant pilasters, what Taylor called quarter round shafts. Even Heywood's date could place church in C3 or Overlap periods, however, so included here. 2 lateral towers at E end possibly bell towers, though had several entrances; walls thicker by 1' than those of nave. NE tower had doorways to W, E and S, and nave has doorway near tower as well. SE tower had doorways to E and N. Thus both opened into transepts and nave, while NE tower also had access to outside.

Proliferation of entrances seems to indicate more than bell towers. W tower walls stand to c. 8' still; had W entry and stair turret added outside SE corner of tower. W tower measures 19' W x 18'6" NS internally.

North Leigh, Oxfs. Axial or central tower, now W, of one stage with no divisions. Lower level has blocked W arch, 14' W x c. 19' H. S has round-headed window, blocked and now inside S aisle. On N, 1' from W tower angle, Taylors noted remnant of W wall of porticus or transept; no such evidence on S. Middle level: N and S have narrow, round-headed windows, unusual in having semi-circular stone heads with arches of thin rubble voussoirs over them. On W, blocked upper doorway with dressed jambs (toward nave), no visible head under gable apex. Gable lines visible on W and E. Fisher noted additional upper doorway above E arch (1969, 173). Neither listed in Taylor's vol. III list for upper doorways. Belfry level: of different color stone, possibly added later. Double openings with round heads on all 4 faces; exterior has dressed stone jambs.

North Walsham, Norf. Originally sq central tower, measuring c. 18' externally. Skewed in relation to present church (later), now between W wall of N aisle and N wall of ruined later W tower. Ground floor: arched openings to E and W, previously to nave and to chancel. W opening now blocked. E opening partially blocked but with doorway leading to present church. Above W opening is rectangular opening under steeply pitched former gable line. On N, remains of circular window, now blocked, just under decorative band of brown carstone c. 12' up. Probably double splayed form, and head somewhat like Tredington fashion, forming part of decorative band. Outer face = 2'6" in diameter. Given lighting for an upper room and its central location, tower could have housed upper room used for choirs, liturgical functions (e.g. relic display), or ringing chamber for timber belfry above it.

Norton, Dur. Axial tower, at head of village green on rising ground. Ground level: only arches to N and S within church original, and offset to E, possibly to make room for altar. 1st floor: S doorway, flat lintel, for access from S transept to tower and still so used. Measures 3' W x 6'6" H, sill 17'6" up. 2nd floor: doorways to N, S, E and W, all gabled, measuring 2'6" W x 8' H, sills c. 24' up. (Splays on 2 of 4 not original.) Above these, 2 small round-headed windows in each face, near corners, splayed internally. Lit gallery/landing connecting 4 doorways, according to Taylors. Sills c. 33' up. Tower c. 15'6" square internally, c. 40' H. Fernie (1983, 178) dates it to first half 11th century. If full floor instead of landing/gallery, upper level could serve as secondary church or chapel, with full cross-shaped space and well-lit central chamber. If entry in Durham Liber Vitae noted by T and T relevant (1980, 469), Ulfcytel's gift of Northtun "to St. Cuthbert" may mean church given to monastic group. Space could function as meeting area or additional liturgical area. Connection is speculation only, however.

Norwich/St. Julian, Norf. Rd W tower, almost totally destroyed in June 1942 air-raid, to within 10' of ground. Previously

Baldwin Brown (1925, 474) described fine narrow, double splayed, round-headed windows. Like Colney, base has 2 pilasters, c. 2' W, up walls of tower to join W nave all. Tower c. 12'6" internal diameter, walls. c. 4' thick. Not listed by Fisher 1962 or 1969. Norwich/St. Mary-at-Coslany, Norf. Rd W tower, no external openings below belfry original. Taylors thought modern round-headed W window might replace earlier light for ground floor. Belfry has double openings, unusual in having shafts of Caen stone with vertical and horizontal joins (full and partial cylinders), gabled heads still having some original wood slabs, and stone ring or annulus in center of shafts. C14 might help date peculiarities. Neither Taylor not Fisher give measurements, though Fisher (1969, 72) produces photograph; also dates it to Saxo-Norman period (173-4).

(Old Shoreham, Suss.) Sq W tower? Taylors (1980, 544-5) list as former sq W tower later absorbed into Norman church; Fisher (1969, 174) concurs that it "probably was a tower." N wall of church in 2 sections, with W section set back a few inches to S of E section. W section of wall just over 3' thick, E section 2'2" thick. Ground level doorway on N blocked, with round head and stripwork (2 orders). Doorway 2'10" W x 7'6" H. Tower c. 15' sq. Ovingham, Northumb. Sq W Tower high above road along N bank of Tyne, with 2 external stages divided by string course. 1st stage: ground level has round-headed S window. 1st floor has W round-headed window. Just below string course, S has opening termed doorway by Taylors and window by Fisher, 6' H x 2' W and its sill c. 40' up (T and T 1980, 479). 2nd stage: slightly offset belfry, with double, round-headed openings on all sides. Outlined in stripwork, and tympanum has circular opening/oculus. Tympanum is only outer facing, according to Taylors, as from inside, openings appear as sq. gaps. (Fisher mistakenly says church has 3 oculi in each face, 1969, 110). Illustrated in Fisher 1962, pl. 24. On interior, opening to nave at 1st floor level, c. 27'4" up (Fisher, 1962, 104), called doorway by Taylors and window by Fisher. Fisher probably wrong, as he details that while no shutter or door exists, sill has 3 steps (Ibid., 104). Doorway measures 5'6" H x 2'2" W. Taylors say tower is 60' H, which accords with door sill height; Fisher (Ibid., 103) says tower is 105' H. Internally, tower is 12'4" EW x 13' NS.

Oxford/St. Michael, Oxfs. (Visited, exterior only) Sq W tower, possibly originally detached from church. Four stages, no string courses. Ground floor: doorway on W a little N of center; blocked probably when tower incorporated into 13th century walls near N gateway. Measures 2'6" W x 6' H (Fisher, 1962, 234). Lit by double-splayed round-headed window on N. 1st floor: N and W double-splayed, round headed windows. W window enlarged by lowering sill, "as if to form a doorway" (T and T 1980, 482). 2nd floor: N external doorway, round-headed, sill over 30' up. Fisher suggests may have led to N adjunct, but no evidence (1969, 114). 3rd floor: late Saxon double belfry windows with round heads on all 4 sides. 4th floor: Similar double belfry windows on N, S and W (E is modern). Tower stands c. 70' tall, side walls c. 20' long externally, 12' internally. Walls thin by 1'

internally as they rise (Fisher 1962, 233). Possibly served "defensive part" according to Fisher, in early earthen rampart, ditch and palisade defenses which had main entrances to N and S. Fernie lists Oxford as one of 31 sites in Burghal Hideage (920's) with regular plan, demonstrating "strategic intent to put every hamlet in Wessex within 20 or 30 miles of such a defended site" (1983, 25).

Quidenham, Norf. Rd W tower with adjoining Saxon W wall, of uncut flints. Only in T and T (1980, 502). Taylors consider it AS due to series of details including quarter round pilasters in re-entrant angles and tall, narrow tower arch in thin, tall walls. About 20' up, 3 blocked circular windows, one each on N, S, and W, probably double-splayed from appearance and 2' in diameter. Tower arch of dressed stone with chamfered imposts, possibly with modern resurfacing. Tower c. 11' internal diameter, with walls c. 4'6" thick and c. 45' H.

(Reed, Herts.) W axial tower? Smith (1973, 21) disagrees with general opinion that tower is entirely 15th century (see T and T 1980, 502). Cites W wall's arch, of which S side survives, made of small limestone blocks in Tredington fashion. Doorway measures c. 3'2" W x 5'8" to highest point of intrados from ground. Later plinth carried across doorway c. 3' below arch head. Thinks this is porch-tower, where W axial tower is narrower than nave, forming antecedent porch. Taylor, in 1976, inspected nave quoins again, and without changing date, decided all 4 were disturbed in lower area to match offset in tower when built (1984, 1082). In fairness, only lower section of tower is contested in date; could simply be porch, not porch tower, of AS date.

(Repton, Derbys.) Possible E axial tower over chancel space; no surviving evidence such as thickened walls. Initially, only Fisher had published this theory (1962, 165 and 1969, 175), but in vol. III, Taylor put in unobtrusive comment (1984, 990) that Repton's E end possibly had "a tower above the central space" and showed this on Fig. 728. In his privately printed Repton Studies 2, Taylor did not elaborate, only mentioning upper chamber over chancel as evidenced by megalithic door jambs over chancel arch and seatings as if for floor-beams on side walls. Compared setup to that of Norton (1979b, 12). Taylor's recent axonometric drawing more accessible in Fernie (1983, 118). In original mention of opening over chancel arch (1980, 515) theorized it once must have had multiple openings due to width, as in upper E opening at Brixworth. If so, suggests liturgical rather than secular use, due to elaborateness.

Rothwell, Lincs. Sq W tower set on plinth of 2 chamfered orders, with 2 unequal stages. Ground floor: W round-headed doorway, with hood mould, stone tympanum and imposts. Doorway measures 2'9" W x 7'6" H. S window, c. 8" x 34", slightly sloping jambs, monolithic, internally splayed. 1st stage: windows on N, S, and W are small, round-headed and internally splayed, measuring c. 9" W x 20" H. Small fragments of string course just under N and S windows survive; Taylors see this as evidence for flanking annexes. S fragment clearly visible in Fisher 1962, pl. 161. 2nd

stage: round-headed double belfry openings in each face, resting on (upper) string course. On W, heads in 2 whiter stones, left rough. Tower arch is round-headed, of single order, measuring 5'5" W x 14'H. Tower is 2 steps down from W doorway, while nave is 3 steps down from tower. Tower measures 10' square internally. Roughton, Norf. Rd W tower, 3 stages, no string courses. 1st stage: short, of undressed blocks of brown carstone according to the Taylors (1980, 524), flint and pudding stone according to Fisher (1962, 325). Has 3 windows, c. 8 or 9' up (Fisher) or c. 11' up (Taylors); N and S are circular, double splayed, while W window is later. Taylors mention they are c. 9" in diameter, and c. 30" from interior, glass-line was visible to them (525). On interior, tower arch is egg-shaped (Fisher) or cruck-shaped (Taylors). Fisher measures it as 6'8" W, in height "nearly that of the nave arcade" (1962, 326) which is never specified.

2nd stage: of flint, up to present nave roof. Contains 3 tall, narrow windows near top, on N, S, W. Taylors call them triangular headed, Fisher (1962, 326) round-headed, but from Fisher's plate 181 it seems a matter of perception rather than either's error. Head is of triangular form, made up of voussoirs, while actual opening in photo appears round. On interior, sill c. 16' up, is blocked doorway to tower from nave, c. 6' H, with jambs that slope from 2'2" at sill to 2' at shoulders. Taylor (1984, 835) describes it as of plain square section but with "?" in table regarding fabric and head shape. Fisher calls it egg-shaped, which is same as Taylor description of "cruck-shaped."

3rd stage: double triangular-headed belfry openings with a central pier of rubble instead of mid-wall shaft, 4 in all. Tower measures 8' in internal diameter. Fernie dates tower to second quarter of 11th to early 12th century, but he also feels that "barely half-a-dozen" round western towers "can be dated with any conviction before the Conquest" (1983, 168), certainly not the usually accepted view. He sees all round towers of East Anglia as remarkably similar to those of NW Germany, but goes into little detail to provide evidence. Also, he apparently limits AS strictly to pre-1066 in this case, and elsewhere we have seen that AS techniques arguably persisted well beyond that. Scartho, Lincs. Sq W tower of 2 unequal stages, separated by string course and offset, resting on double plinth. 1st stage: larger, of roughly coursed rubble, originally with 2 internal levels. Lower level had W doorway, now blocked, with chamber lit by W keyhole window. Tower arch round and of 2 sq. orders; 2 regular bands of voussoirs, inner one recessed, with E and W faces, rubble between. 1st floor chamber had rectangular doorway to nave, c. 20' up in W nave wall, 3'6" W x 7'10" H. To light chamber, had S internally splayed keyhole window. 2nd stage: Finer, of larger squared blocks. Belfry with double openings, tall and with steeply sloping sills, cylindrical wall shafts and elaborate capitals on 3 of 4. N and S have foliated capitals (see T and T 1980, 533 and Fisher 1962, 295), W badly weathered, E simple, like Sompting.

Sherborne, Dors. Sq W tower, part of W narthex, and probably

central crossing tower in E as well. Excavations in 1970's under Gibb established substantial AS remains. At W end, large sq platform found with shallow projection W of tower base and N and S chambers (possibly more than one on N; see Appendix B for details). Fernie records that 1849 restorer mentioned "a double row of small pillars of early date" which Fernie feels "implies an upper chamber in the western tower with an opening looking east into the nave" (1983, 123). However, opening would have been in N chamber from description, overlooking N aisle; unless upper chamber was as large as N, S and tower rooms together, opening was from N chamber only. Pillars described sound similar to other openings, as at Brixworth, which may have been part of liturgical elaborations or for seating important nobles. Morris (1983, 77) mentions that Sherborne is perhaps unique in that Anglo-Normans accepted AS fabric as starting point for their own work; alternatively, we have failed to detect other examples until now. Veneration of relics possible here--Rollason (1986, 36) notes translation of Wulfsize and acquisition of relics of Juthwara between 1045-1058.

Shereford, Norf. Rd W tower, of flint and brown carstone. Taylors (1980, 543) date it to C3 but admit no dateable evidence exists in tower itself, only church. Cite "slight evidence" of W triangular headed doorway, now blocked and containing window. Within tower, earlier and taller arch visible over Norman tower arch; round head, of rough, undressed stone. At upper level, tower contracts, perhaps to facilitate junction with nave. Internal diameter at ground is 11'4", with walls 4'6" thick. W entry would imply use as porch for church, but rest of tower has no surviving openings and so reason for additional height unclear. Perhaps now-lost belfry existed, of wood. If so, no evidence for upper chamber exists, and bells would be rung from ground level.

Singleton, Suss. Sq W tower with no W doorway; hence probably functioned as nave for narrower church to its E (present church 13th century). Mentioned in Domesday as "Sillestone" and endowed with substantial land, 3 hides and 1 rod (Fisher 1962, 375). Three stages, though Taylors unsure if total height is AS. 1st stage: double splayed windows having genuine voussoired heads on N, S and W, with W window higher than others. Peculiar form in that central third of window cut straight rather than have splays meet. Sills of N and S windows are c. 6' up. 2nd stage: 2 single splayed windows on N. Inside, c. 29' up (Fisher 1969, 94) is large upper doorway with gabled head and jambs sloping in at bottom. 3rd stage: referred to as belfry by Fisher, though with no evidence. On N is single round-headed opening, while E has "later opening" with flat lintel, "perhaps original jambs" (Ibid., 176). Taylors say tower almost exactly 17' sq. internally, c. 50' H (1980, 549) while Fisher gives measurements of 14' W (NS) x 17' L (EW) on interior, exterior 21'11" on NS side. Notes Brown said walls 2'8" thick, but must be c. 4' thick instead (1962, 376). Also mentions fortresslike exterior (1969, 87); given scarcity of openings, defensive function possible. (Would northern openings force attackers always to have sun

against them?) Alternatively, tower may have served as western chapel/altar on lower level, precluding entrance in tower itself. Upper level might then be sacristy and vestry.

Skipwith, Yks. ER Sq W tower, 2 stages, with lower of large blocks and upper of small rubble, separated by string course. 1st stage: c. 36' H, with 2 internal levels. Lower level has windows on W (modern), N and S; N and S windows are large, double splayed, with more splay on interior placing glass nearer to outside, c. 10-12' up. Taylor illustrated (1984, 856) how earlier single splay window may have been adapted. On interior, fine tower arch survives (Fisher 1962, pl. 38) with regular voussoirs and double stripwork uniquely separated by coursed stonework.

Upper level in 1st stage has W and S windows, with an additional window near E wall on S, probably to light some aspect of chamber especially. In E wall is round-headed, blocked doorway with chamfered imposts and sq. jambs on chamfered bases (see T and T 1980, pl. 573); measures 2'5" W x 7'3" H, sill c. 19' up. Special aspect of chamber may have been an altar, as chamber contains recess, measured as 3'H x 3'6" x 6" deep by Fisher (1969, 92). Recess itself was possibly reredos or background to altar, or aumbry. Fisher dates it as later than tower because recess is behind blocked opening in E wall above tower arch (1962, 122). Taylor shows doorway as off to S in his illustration, specifically locating it to the N (1980, 553, fig. 269). Fisher likely to be wrong, as both he and Taylor locate upper doorway as over tower arch, itself centrally located. Noteworthy on exterior is corbel or prokrossos mentioned by Taylor and visible in his plates (1980, 571-2), on S end of W face somewhat below string course and above 2 courses of decorative stonework. As at Barnack, perhaps elaboration indicates role of upper chamber as chapel or for sanctuary.

2nd stage: short, now with small, square openings, one to a side. If these are original, unlikely this is belfry; possibly ringing chamber for lost timber belfry. However, Taylors say they saw jambs of early window on N interior (1980, 550) and outlines of blocked, round-headed windows on W and S. If these are AS, then belfry likely, but upper chapel would have to have doubled as ringing chamber if belfry and chapel contemporary unless pulls extended to ground floor through chapel. Taylors see evolution as from early one-storey western sanctuary to multi-level tower with upper sanctuary. Tower is 15'10"sq. internally (Ibid., 554), c. 21'8" sq. externally, c. 44'H. Taylors date upper chamber as C2.

Sompting, Suss. Sq W tower, 2 stages, separated by string course with decorative pairs of gouges above and below, alternating along length. Listed in Domesday as Sultinges (Fisher 1962, 369). Famous for Rhenish helm roof, preserving some details of AS carpentry techniques (see Hewett 1978, 214-26, corrected in part by Rodwell 1986, 161, 164, 167, illus. 173). 1st stage: Only N opening survives, a double splayed, round-headed window in eastern half of face. Pilaster strips survive on 2 of 3 external faces (W and S). On S, 3 strips remain, at junction with nave,

set to E of W corner, and just E of center, unaligned with strip above it in upper stage. On W, N corner disturbed by buttress and central strip cut short, but seems likely arrangement was same as S. Pilaster strips are sq. section. On interior, tower arch has round head with half round soffit shaft carried up and over as soffit roll, ornamental capitals and decorated jambs: capitals have 3 rows of leaves superimposed, while jambs have thick spirals like crook, horn or vine scroll, with grape-like clusters in center. 2nd stage: much taller than first. Openings on N and S only. All faces have central pilaster of half-round form extending down to string course, except on E, where ends at gable. All sides also have capitals c. 40' up, below windows. Rickman drew capitals and had human face on W capital, while 2 were floriated.

First floor: on N, 2 triangular headed windows, one on either side of central strip so that it forms central jamb for both. Rickman drew carvings on sill, which Fisher printed, and considered possibly reused cross fragment (1962, fig. 44). On S, 1 triangular headed window to E of center but offset. Second floor: only openings on N, larger than below, round headed, with one on either side of center but a bit out from strip, with traces of what Taylors call relieving arches in tiles (1980, 559). While not noted in any sources but clear from Fisher's set of plates (1962, 214-19), quoins and pilasters indent at level of external capitals, which implies that capitals may have been functional at some point, though Fisher felt they were "presumably decorative" (1962, 377). Also, belfry may have been added later, and Rhenish helm.

Belfry level: On E and W, 2 triangular headed single openings close to center strip. On N and S, double, round-headed openings with mid-wall shafts and enriched capitals. Problematic details: Fisher mentions an upper doorway to E at 29' up (1969, 85), but not mentioned anywhere else, nor listed in vol. III of Taylor. Taylor, however, does list vestigial ground floor doorway (1984, 834) not described elsewhere; does not explain change. Church unusual also for number of carved stones there, including nimbed figure with crook reading or expounding from tablet/book. Tempting to think it could be Wilfrid, who helped Aethelwath convert area during his second exile from north, but no evidence. Tower is one of only 5 decorated with pilasters (St. Bene't's, Barnack, Earl's Barton, Barton-on-Humber).

(Southease, Suss.) Rd W tower. Only in Fisher 1969, 177, as "probably of early twelfth century date but typologically Saxon (as Bishopstone)." No angle pilasters. On W is round-headed window "of originally narrow splay." On N, above W opening level, is blocked opening at nave roof ridge level.

(Springthorpe, Lincs.) Sq W tower, modern belfry, of rubble with no string course; Saxon work end at ridge of nave roof. No openings on W and E; W has blocked doorway with modern window in it. Has semi-circular tympanum and round arched head, but Taylors think not original, though jambs and imposts are. On interior, measures c. 9' H x c. 3' W. S has window, high up, weathered. Round headed with semi-circular hood-moulding

(indirect evidence that tympanum original?); Taylors say monolithic jambs (1980, 563); Fisher (1962, 296) says no sill, jambs of 4 stones each, 2 large slabs with thin one above and below. Double-arched lintel cut from large slab, with sq. edged hood mould. Inverted V depression cut into lintel above round opening, giving gabled appearance, though Taylors call it round headed. Fisher also mentions that tympanum is badly cracked due to weight above it, which perhaps argues for age, and adds that parts of belfry walls are renewals, and all of openings, though says they are perhaps imitations of earlier openings and says "real cushion capitals in this area were always used in any replacement or rebuilding" (1962, 250). Tower measures c. 10'6" sq. internally with walls c. 2'9" thick.

Staindrop, Durham (Visited) Sq W tower added in late Saxon period, perhaps when Canute gave gift to Durham. Exterior of tower refaced, so details visible only from inside. Only lower part of tower AS; upper stage added (offset) in 13th century, belfry in 15th. Blocked doorway over tower arch, with jambs of small squared stones, flat lintel on chamfered corbels (see photograph, p. 45). Taylors (1980, 566) mention two other blocked doorways, in E face of W tower wall, one of which can be seen in photo cited above. Unclear if these are C2 or not. However, in Taylor's vol. III, no upper doorways were listed at all (1984, 834-5). Doorway over tower arch is offset to N, as are other two in W wall; perhaps exterior doorways imply lost stair turret to upper chamber and possibly a gallery. If offset and elaboration (chamfered corbels) are significant, upper chamber may have been upper chapel.

(Stevington, Beds.) Sq W tower, lower part AS to 20' or possibly more (hence parentheses; unclear if AS form was actually tower). One internal level: on S, very tall doorway, called window by Fisher (1969, 178), measuring 2'6" W x 9'4" H. Above it is double-splayed, round-headed window with wooden slab at mid-wall. On N, similar window, badly preserved. Both apparently lit lower level. S window 14'3" up from floor, measuring 3' W x 4' H at splay. Tower is 12'4" EW x 12'7" NS (T and T 1980, 572).

Stonegrave, Yks. NR Sq W tower of 3 stages. Morris lists as monastic settlement that, after 9th century demise, was taken over by lay owners for parochial use (1983, 74). Taylors (1980, 577-8) dated it as Norman or earlier, noting chamfered plinth, rubble construction and side-alternate quoins. 1st stage has blocked W doorway with head destroyed. Tower arch round-headed, 3'3" W x 9'3" H towards nave; W side separately formed, 2'10" W x 10'2" H, plastered. Taylors thought difference due to later thickening of walls, and W wall is thicker than other tower walls. 2nd stage: small round-headed, internally splayed window on S, with head cut into single stone. Entire tower built against and over top of earlier nave W wall, with no bonding. Measures 11.75' x 11'. Letter of Pope Paul I (mid-8th century) indicates this was once monastery; he admonishes Northumbrian king and Egbert of York for taking lands from monasteries including Stonegrave. Taylors note many late-Saxon carved stones in area.

Stow, Lincs. Sq axial tower with N and S transepts surviving; central crossing larger than other 4 arms. Later Perpendicular tower built within AS crossing without disturbing walls, as discussed by Taylor (1974, 362). Evidence for more than one building phase, as quoining is fresh in upper levels, worn lower down and with fire damage in lower levels. Fabric also changes, as pilaster strips change style near top, and elaborate mouldings of arches in crossing contrast with plainer jambs. 4 arches of crossing spectacular, measuring 14' W x 35'4" H, with arch facing nave elaborated with Jew's harp ornament and all arches having a pair of pilasters on jamb: outer ones square, inner ones half-round, on both faces of arch. Fisher has plate of crossing (1962, #170, same as 1969, 71), while Taylor did axonometric drawing (1974d, 364). Butler notes unpublished report on Remote Sensing survey (1986, 211).

Access to upper stage of tower probably by stair turret in NW angle of nave before 1850 restorations moved it outside; local tradition says interior stair replaced even earlier one. No openings in upper part of tower, but seems very sure that lost belfry, possibly timber, existed, partly because of size and position of tower, and partly because we know Archbishop Kinsius of York gave bells to Stow in 1050's. Controversy over who may have built what phases; Eadnoth II (1034-49) probably phase I according to Fernie (1983, 127), and Remigius (c. 1090) for phase 2, due to continental similarities. Fernie sees Stow as a prime example of move from functional approach of earlier periods to where overall form of building takes precedence, with order and clarity most important (1983, 161). Date of fire evidence problematic, as Danes burned church c. 870, but too early for date of present crossing. Another fire in 1178 too late (Fisher 1962, 297).

Elaborate and impressive crossing (and careful access from NW instead of from within tower) may link to Butler's notes on Stow (1986, 49, n. 10). Roffe suggested to him identification of Threkingham, Stow and Etheldreda's Stowe, with connection also to St. Werburgh (Ibid., 46). Recorded c. 1275, fair at Stow Green held on Etheldreda's feastday.

Stowe-Nine-Churches, Northants. Sq W tower, irregularly angling in at W end, of 2 stages separated by string course (two iron bands added lower down for strengthening). Has commanding position on ridge of high land to W of Watling Street, with good view to N. 1st stage: larger, two levels. Lower level: W doorway, blocked, sq. headed with Escomb style jambs. Tower arch small, with jambs that slope inward, pilaster strips on nave side, hood moulding of sq. section, imposts that originally projected more but have been modified. Measures 3'7" W x 7'3" H. Upper level: On W is double-splayed, round-headed window, 1'1" W x 2'8" H, while on E, small round-headed doorway on first floor level, "no doubt...to a gallery" (1980, 594), now blocked and plastered. Measures 2'2" W x 6' H, sill 21' from nave floor. 2nd stage: On E and W exterior faces, remains of 2 vertical pilaster strips, each placed c. one-third across width. From inside tower, Taylors saw remains in E and W walls of simple,

round-headed windows with sills on string course. On N and S, faint traces of double openings, placed somewhat higher. Fisher notes that Mercian kings had residence only 2 miles away, and that nunnery was founded here c. 680 (1962, 223); cross shaft piece reused in external NW quoin. Taylors give dedication as St. Peter and St. Paul while Fisher says St. Michael. Clear recent photograph in Richmond 1986, 181.

Swallow, Lincs. Sq W tower, tall lower stage AS, on plinth of 2 chamfered orders. On high ground beside main road. Only W has openings: ground level doorway has round arched head, blocked by tympanum pierced with circular window, considered modern. On interior doorway measures 2'11" W x 8'1" H, with "curiously downward-projecting keystone in the centre of its seven voussoirs" (T and T 1980, 601). To E is tower arch, with round head, plain chamfered imposts, chamfered plinth, measuring 7'1" W x c. 11'H. Fine voussoirs, some diagonal tooling. Fisher has plate (1962, pl. 165). Above arch, offset runs across wall at level of tops of side walls of nave, which stand c. 14' H. Both Taylors and Fisher mention W window halfway up stage, small and internally splayed, but Fisher adds that another window is located just above W doorway, internally splayed (1962, 307). Tower is 10'6" sq. internally, with walls 3'6" thick. Belfry stage considered totally rebuilt in neo-Norman style, but Fisher states that cushion capitals were always reused in this area, citing Swallow especially.

(Swanscombe, Kent) Sq W tower, lower part AS and of flints. Only surviving opening is on S, double-splayed, round-headed, made of tiles, at middle of wall. Measures c. 1'4" W x 3' H. No tower arch survives. Fisher lists it (1969, 179). No exterior photograph published in sources; Taylors have plan showing disturbance in W wall (1980, 602). Tower measures 14'6" EW x 15'6" NS, walls 3'3" thick. No height of tower given.

(Syston, Lincs.) Mentioned here only because listed in Fisher's tower book, but even he says details are Norman (1969, 180), and in 1962 (307) wrote "has some very advanced, definitely Norman features; if it is an Overlap church it seems likely to have been built towards the end of the period." Not considered AS here.

Tasburgh, Norf. Rd W tower, located within loop of River Tas, on high land enclosed by ditch and large earthwork rampart (cf. S. Elmham). Highly unusual tower; no plates published but Taylors have sketches of tower exterior and tower arch (1980, 606). Only entrance is tower arch, originally 4'7" W x 16'11" H, extremely tall and narrow, now partially blocked by later medieval doorway. On E, above tower arch, is round-headed doorway with sill c. 20' up, with details obscured by plaster. On exterior, two bands of arcading survive, the first at about level of nave roof, the second above it but missing arched tops, as if rebuilding destroyed them. 7 arched recesses form each arcade, with pilaster and arch alternating on each level (i.e. arch on lower arcade has pilaster above on upper arcade). 3 upper windows at nave roof level, on W, N and S. W window in center of W recess, while N and S windows centrally placed in pilaster strips (all in

lower band of arcading). Compare arcading at Haddiscoe and Thorington. Elaboration and unusual doorway argue for special use: burial? some liturgical purpose?

Thorington, Suff. Rd W tower located on high land S of River Blyth, resting on chamfered plinth. At middle height of tower, 11 round-headed recesses form arcading, each 2'2" W x c. 9' H. The 3 windows in arcading on W, S and N seem later, as they are placed irregularly in panels and appear Norman. Also, have ashlar jambs, yet arcading and tower of flint; why ashlar here if contemporary with flint building? Likely they repair or replace earlier forms. Again, as at Tasburgh, unusual tower defies clear purpose: if openings are later, did they replace earlier ones? Seems unlikely given Norman (i.e. close in date) additions. If not, tower seemingly had no external openings or light. May imply lost wooden construction at top of tower, but unclear.

Thurlby, Lincs. Sq W tower of 2 stages c. 30' H, dating to AS period, with string course at top of each stage. W end originally beside bank of Carr Dyke, wide channel which once connected rivers Nene with Witham, from Peterborough to Lincoln. Tower set on plinth. On ground level, tower arch contains Norman arch within it, but arch over it thus earlier, of single sq. order with round head, voussoired, with some diagonal tooling. Measures 9'11" W x c. 14'6" H, with sq. chamfered impost. Above arch is gabled doorway with through-stone jambs, at 1st floor level measuring c. 3' W x c. 4'6" to base of gable head (Fisher 1962, 309). C. 19' up level marked by offset in W wall of church. Fisher says all 3 internal levels of church are marked by decreasing heights and recessed (1969, 180), and also notes that one of jambs of upper doorway has "Viking head with horned helmet [sic] and flowing moustache, probably re-used from elsewhere." No original openings survive elsewhere in tower, though unknown if 14th century W window replaced earlier one. Unusual dedication to Firmin, Bishop of Amiens beheaded by Diocletian in 303, usually Norman. Low height for tower and upper doorway may indicate lost (wooden?) belfry, though offset would allow W gallery instead.

(Titchfield, Hamp.) W porch raised to tower in 12th century, but original height inconclusive, possibly two storeys. Discussed in Appendix B fully, but mentioned here because listed in Fisher's tower book and in other sources.

(Turvey, Beds.) In W wall of church, to N of late window is blocked doorway. Steeply pitched gable lines also visible, and church dated to mid-11th century. Upper doorway may be connected with gallery, or with lost tower.

Waithe, Lincs. Axial tower, 2 unequal stages separated by string course. 1844 description says masonry of very rude ragstone with large quoins, but restoration apparently refaced this. 1st stage: about 2/3 of total height, no openings. 2nd stage: belfry with double openings on all faces. Plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts, no bases, cushion capitals Norman in form. Round heads are shaped from single stone. Jambs are ashlar, probably redone, as 1844 drawing shows jambs of large stones and walling of small, flattish rubble. Inside details hidden by plaster.

Tower arches now have no imposts to separate sq. vertical jambs from round heads; measure 8' H to crown, 8'9" W (T and T 1980, 627). Fisher says ground floor of tower formed presbytery between nave and chancel, and mentions that most of tower still of irregularly coursed rubble blocks. Top 7 courses between string and whole of belfry are rectangular ashlar; confirmed by his plate 172 (1962).

Warblington, Hamp. Sq W tower, now central, wedged between nave and chancel and with only upper section surviving. Taylors think only 2nd stage is AS, noting Norman technique in 3rd stage. On N and S at 1st floor level are 2 doorways, with rubble jambs cut straight through wall, round heads of rubble and tile, roughly done (S shown in Fisher 1962, p. 228). Measure less than 2' W x 4-5' H (T and T 1980, 632). Opening to W is 3rd doorway which Taylors say was heavily obscured by plaster; Fisher described it as having 13th century stone dressings (1969, 181). Above opening is gable line (Fisher 1962, pl. 229), though Fisher says unclear if it might instead be saddle back roof of tower rather than tall W adjunct (1962, 395). Also says 3rd stage similar in fabric to 2nd, with lancets cut in; area around lancet looks disturbed to him. 4th stage added c. 1830, to replace wooden bell turret, possibly one dating back to Saxon original. Tower itself very tiny, only 9' sq. externally, with 4'6" chamber inside. Precludes most uses, and may have functioned only as passageway between larger N and S annexes, though it could have served as ringing chamber if upper levels were in fact Saxon. Minor storage could also have been possible, though size of chamber and amount of room given to doorways suggests unlikely except in "informal" gathering of odds and ends.

Warden, Northumb. Sq W tower, no string courses or offsets. 3 internal levels. Ground floor lit by single-splay, round-headed window on S, E of center, c. 2'6" H x 6" W and tapering slightly to top, which Fisher says suggests "Scoto-Celtic influence" (1962, 106). To W is tower arch, low and round-headed, roughly done with slight splay towards nave, imposts with geometric ornament, and Roman bases reversed (Fisher 1969, 181). Measures 8' to crown (T and T 1980, 634). 1st floor has W window, same characteristics as S, measuring c. 1'6" W x 4'H, while on E is round-headed blocked upper doorway. 2nd floor has S window, same characteristics, centrally placed. Original floor levels indicated by joist holes. No openings on N. Possibly belfry level also AS but controversial, as interior fabric rude compared to exterior ashlar. Tower is c. 16' sq on exterior, 45' H, while internally it is 9'11" EW x 10'8" NS. Fisher discusses name (1962, 105): church set in fork between N and S Tyne, at foot of High Warden Hill, probably from Waredun, watch or ward hill. British fort on hill, probably used as watch tower by Romans, as gave good view of Corbridge and surrounding country. Given context, location at rivers' fork and existence of tower could point to use as vantage point. Also interesting to note that Wilfrid is traditional founder, and AS cross head survives, now on S of church (Fisher 1962, pl. 26).

(Wareham/Lady St. Mary, Dors.) Problematic. Taylors' pl. 602

(1980) shows N porticus which is clearly taller than aisle/row of porticus on either side of its central location. Given height extending above roof line of others, should be termed tower, but illustration perhaps not totally reliable in finer points. Thus, mentioned here but discussed in ch. 1.

(Weaverthorpe, Yks. ER) Sq W Norman tower with surviving AS traditions, on high land N of village. Dated to early 12th century, and while Saxon features are noteworthy, parentheses indicate not considered truly Saxon. Tall, gaunt, of ashlar, with double belfry openings with mid-wall shafts, tympanum. Very tall tower arch cut straight through wall, and tower walls thin. Upper doorway to nave with flat lintel, and belfry has string above and below. 1st floor has narrow, rectangular W window with no separate lintel or sill but with dressed jambs and single splay to interior. Tower arch is 7'2" W x 14'9.5" H (Fisher 1969, 124, 182). Nave S doorway has sundial set into it (1962, pl. 42). Inscription in church dates building to 2nd decade of 12th century.

Wendens Ambo, Ess. Sq W tower, 2 stages, 3 internal levels. Ground floor: W doorway has chamfered imposts projecting at soffit, arch of 2 orders in tile or "Roman bricks" according to Fisher, set back 1 or 2" behind jambs; semi-circular tympanum of single stone slab. Rectangular area measures 3'2" W x 6'10" H (T and T 1980, 643). Tower arch of Norman proportions and heavily plastered. 1st floor: indications of blocked opening to nave. Traces of blocked openings clearest on S; either double splayed or belfry windows according to Taylors. Fisher says later lancets are built into blocked Saxon openings with heads of Roman bricks on W, N and S (1969, 182). Tower measures 13' sq. internally.

West Mersea, Ess. Sq W tower at S point of Mersea Island. Taylors mention long history of bequeathals including one with 6 hides of land "on which minster stands" (1980, 418), a large endowment for one church. Morris (1983, 43) says overlies large villa complex and goes on to give statistics for Essex: c. 13% of medieval churches yield Roman finds, c. 35% have re-used Roman material, at least 7% lie directly on Roman masonry, and 48% of rural Essex churches have therefore some connection with "Romanity." Despite background, church tower itself not overly special. Tower of flattish stones, sometimes flat, sometimes herring-bone courses, while quoins reinforced with Roman tiles. W circular, double-splayed window survives, and windows on N and S Baldwin Brown thought originally double-splayed, but Taylors disagree. Tower arch round, single sq. order, stepped imposts. If AS belfry windows existed, now replaced by openings with trefoiled heads.

West Peckham, Kent Sq W tower, low, 2 internal levels, of rubble. Ground floor: lit by N and S double-splayed windows, presumably round-headed, though Taylors omit mention and have no plate. 1st floor: Round-headed windows on N, S and W, single-splay. No other early openings, as W doorway is late medieval and tower arch modern. Lower S window measures 1'2" w x 6'H at mid-wall, with sill 5' above floor; upper windows c. 3' W

externally, c. 5' H, sills c. 20' up from ground. Butler notes Dunstan's connection with site (1986, 46).

Weybourne, Norf. Sq E axial tower of uncut flints, 2 stages separated by string course. 1st stage: Taylors say below belfry, no offset, ornament or opening; Fisher, however, notes several, from interior of S side. N half of tower has fallen, but S half stands to full height. Fisher says on S, round head of blocked opening, possibly to former porticus; on W, round head of blocked opening to nave; above this, marks of 3 windows vertically disposed; above these, gable marks of nave (1962, 341-2, and 1969, 183), all visible from interior of S side ruins. 2nd stage: Over sq. string course, all faces have double gabled openings now blocked. Notable arcading in flint stripwork. 2 blind arches on each side of double openings, carried over top as inverted W. At top of belfry, all sides apparently had 2 circular, double-splayed holes, termed sound holes but from splay also must have provided light. Of original 8, 4 survive: 2 on S, one on E and W. Tower c. 19' Sq. externally, c. 55' H. Fisher notes orientation is c. 30 degrees S of E, "quite exceptional" (1962, 343).

Wharram-le-Street, Yks, ER Sq W tower, 2 stages separated by string course, 4 internal levels. Morris (1983, 107) notes RCHM did fabric study/photo survey of tower "prior to works," but no date given, nor publication information. 1st stage has 3 internal levels. Ground floor: W doorway and tower arch considered later insertions (early 12th century), with arch a larger scale imitation of W doorway. W doorway has inclined jambs, W face recessed, advanced mouldings, 2 orders (inner= sq. cut, outer= moulded), angle shafts with pendant triangle capitals, bell-shaped bases. Taylor illustrates arch and jambs (1984, 779) and moulded, recessed doorheads (Ibid., 815). Tower arch has 2 orders on E face, one order on W face. 1st floor: S and W have internally splayed, round-headed windows, slightly larger than those of next level up; measure c. 6" W externally, c. 2' H. 2nd floor: S and W windows below string course, same as 1st floor but somewhat smaller. 2nd stage: belfry, recessed above string. Each face has double openings outlined by pilaster strips beginning on corbels below window sills, mid-wall shafts with cubic capitals, and Fisher notes, indications that pilaster stripwork originally outlined arched lintels as well (1969, 183). A sundial, possibly in original position, is on S, and from plate, seems at level of 1st floor (Fisher 1962, 127 and pl. 43). No openings below belfry on N or E. Tower measures 11'5 EW x 10'7" NS internally; walls c. 51' H. Fernie (1983, 167) accepts date to within few years of 1120, but most accept main fabric as AS with later alterations.

Whittingham, Northumb. Sq W tower, drastically restored in 1840, obscuring AS details. Fisher relied on Rickman's drawing, but Taylors argue convincingly for more accurate drawing by Twopenny (1980, 659 and pl. 612) upon which they think Rickman based his work. Based on Twopenny, tower had 2, possibly 3, string courses, 2 stages. On W, c. halfway up total height, was round-headed window, no external splay, with lintel of 2 stones, carved

to form head. String at top and bottom of belfry level, which had double, round-headed openings on visible sides (S and W), seemingly cut into flat lintel stone, missing mid-wall shaft. Above is short stage ending in possible 3rd string course, no openings. Tower arch is modern, but jambs of large through-stones, with chamfered impost projecting on soffit and with ovoid ornament in a groove. Tower is c. 15' externally, c. 60' H, on plinth. Inside, tower is 11'4" EW and at its E side, N and S walls slope outward. W end of NS measure is 10'10" while E end is 11'2". Tower floor is higher than nave's by step 8" H. Tower arch is 8'2" W x 17' H to crown. Tops of imposts are 12'5" up. Fisher notes that because EW axis of tower is longer, some have suggested it is a porch, but he thinks it unlikely, as tower arch is so tall (1962, 109-10).

Wickham, Berks. Sq W tower, on high land beside Roman road from Newbury to Cirencester, 3 internal levels, no string. Tower considered to have predated church even when not rebuilt/restored, as much early work found in church walls and they were built up against tower (1962, 385). Ground floor: lowest exterior opening is 8' up on S, now blocked, round-headed doorway with heavily restored jambs. 1st floor: on W, round, double-splayed window. Belfry: late Saxon, double openings on N and S, single round-headed opening, double-splayed on W. E is bricked up, but probably similar to W (cf. Bardsey). N and S openings have mid-wall shafts supported by through-stones slabs, with Roman columns reused here. Fisher notes that above apparently modern tower arch is large, tall, round-headed opening cut straight through wall, visible from inside tower, but towards the nave, seemingly all new dressing (1962, 385-6). Also, when church rebuilt, noted "tiled pyramidal roof," which revealed beam holes of earlier flat roof and also coping. Finally, Fisher notes on interior N wall, opposite S door, marks of similar but wider round-headed opening, possibly not Saxon (recall that jambs on S opening not original when found) (1962, 385-6).

Details of S door plus possibility that tower was built at first independent of church make this unique survival. Fisher and the VCH consider tower as evincing "defence intent." However, several problems for me: 8' up is hardly high enough to be defensive, as spears and arrows would easily reach and so would one man on shoulders of another. It may be that tower was chapel in itself, or W sanctuary. The high W window implies lighting for tall ground floor chamber, while raised doorway (or doorways) implies wish for limited access and possibly special liturgical need. (If doorways are actually windows, still implies inordinate amount of lighting for chamber with no external entrance.) Tower measures c. 10'6" sq. internally, and was originally c. 40' high. Fact that church built up against it and enclosing its E end does not preclude earlier, narrower E chambers functioning as nave and chancel; given size of tower chamber and disposition of openings, I think it likely tower was not independent structure. Situation of tower on high ground near major road does not preclude its use as vantage point.

Wickmere, Norf. Rd W tower, Saxo-Norman dating usually, but

difficult to date and included in Taylors' volumes. Saxon features include quarter round pilasters at junction between tower and nave on S (destroyed on N), a tower arch of single sq. order, no imposts but cruck-shaped arch as elsewhere in Norfolk, thin nave walls (under 2'6"). Openings all late except indeterminate small sq. window on S, halfway up height. Pl. 615 in Taylors vol. II.

Winchester/St Martin, Hamp. Sq independent tower originally, 65' W of early church. Described in detail by Quirk (1961, 16-54) and discussed in ch. 3. Excavations of 1966-8 located remains (Biddle 1970, 316 and 318) and dated them "only in the most general terms to after c. 648 and before 971" (Ibid., 316); revised in 1986 illustration (20) to 725-50. Tower height divided into 6: 1st, Mary and her virgins; 2nd, Trinity; 3rd, Holy Cross; 4th, All Saints; 5th, Michael the Archangel and all heavenly powers; 6th, four evangelists. Multiple dedications suggest chapels and very elaborate ritual use of building, perhaps to accommodate new developments that simple cruciform church to E could not encompass. C. 970, link building with lateral apses joined tower to E church, forming westwork but presumably also obscuring parts of decorative carvings. By 980, N and S walls enclosed, as well as parts of E tower wall, implying decorative aspects of tower and perhaps uses of chapels now obsolete. (Dates from text and plan, Biddle 1986, 20-1.)

Winchester/Old Minster, Hamp. Between 971 and 980, church acquired link building with lateral apses that created westwork with St. Martin's tower as centerpiece on W face (see description above). St. Martin's may have become a W church, especially as part of liturgies celebrating Swithun's status, as his original gravesite was now under central chamber of link building. However, apses on N and S may have served instead of tower. Further discussion of W end in ch. 2.

Winchester/St. Pancras, Hamp. Possible sq W tower by Phase II (Biddle 1975, 319 and plan between 320-1). Massive timber cross walls suggest W gallery to Biddle, who says may also have supported bell tower. Font stood W of break in cross wall. These walls stood through first 5 phases of church. W end tower therefore may have functioned as entrance (given W door), but also as belfry and W liturgical chamber especially associated with baptismal rites. W door may have been restricted entrance, as N door opposite font coexisted with W door.

Winterton, Lincs. Sq W tower, within 1 mile of Ermine Street, 2 stages considered AS, separated by strings, on plinth of 2 sq. orders. Fisher notes tower built against earlier nave with straight joints (1962, 311). 1st stage: W doorway has not evidence for being AS. On interior, at W end of later aisles enclosing N and S walls, Taylors noted tall, narrow, round-headed, internally splayed windows (1980, 675). Fisher says window on S is near top of ground stage just below aisle roof level, has arched lintel, but no corresponding N window (1962, 311). Tower arch round, of single sq. order, on sq. jambs with chamfered bases. Quirked chamfered imposts returned along both wall faces. Fisher notes measures 7'8" to imposts, 8'6" W

(Ibid., 312) and also notes additional string on N only, visible in Taylors' pl. 624, a few feet below main string (possible a roofline for N annexe?). Over tower arch, upper doorway, sill c. 16' up. 2nd stage: over string, with double belfry, round-headed openings set on string in N, S and W (Fisher says on E too, 1962, 311). All have circular mid-wall shafts and capitals, with S having chequer pattern. Above belfry and another string, each side has central circular sound-hole and string above that. Tower measures 13'6" sq. internally. Taylor's vol. III shows elevation of tower with strings in comparison to others (910).

Witton(-by-Walsham), Norf. Rd W tower, with no features defining it as contemporary with nave, but in bond. Also has pilaster strips or what Fisher calls three-quarter round angle shafts at junction, as at Colney, Norwich/St. Julian and Wickmere. Tower arch obscured by organ. Fisher dates to AS period because "bonded into Saxon nave and so contemporary" (1969, 184).

(Worlaby, Lincs.) Sq W tower? Fisher says present tower rebuilt on original AS foundations (1969, 184), but only Saxon tower arch and W wall survives. Arch round, of single sq. order, with massive, sq. chamfered imposts of single stone. 4'3" W x c. 12'H, wall 2'6" thick. Taylor corrects vol. II error in text saying dedication is to St. Clement (1984, 1085).

Wooten Wawen, Warks. Sq axial tower with 3 stages. Ground level pierced on all 4 sides by arches of varying sizes; largest is to nave, smallest are to N and S. Taylor (1984, 1011) notes this as one of 2 surviving churches with true sq central tower plan. Gem (1971b, 226) noted tower of rubble with ashlar quoins. Fernie (1983, 116) speaks disparagingly of low and narrow arches producing spaces that are "compartmentalized, making them relate in a severely utilitarian manner." 2nd stage has W rectangular, double-splayed opening. 3rd stage is belfry, with large, rectangular, double-splayed openings on all sides. Notes that W belfry opening has probable AS wood lintel and frame (illustrated in his fig. 8, 226), but mistakenly notes that no other preserved in situ AS timberwork exists; for update, see Hewett 1978, especially 211 and 213. Radford (1979, 77) noted that quoins not visible until 2nd stage level, and that lower level, exposed on N face, is badly weathered and irregular. Concludes that lowest level is earlier, possibly (Ibid., 79) dated to grant to Earl Aethelric in early 8th century. Also notes corbels on W beneath quoins, not of uniform height: SW c. 4.9m above floor, while NW somewhat higher (Ibid., 77). Tower measures c. 14' sq on interior (T and T 1980, 687), c. 40' H. Brooke (1986, 211) notes unpublished Remote Sensing survey.

(Wotton, Surr.) Sq W tower generally considered Norman but with "no Norman features." Not in Taylors' volumes, listed in Fisher and dated by him c. mid-11th century (1962, 398). Place but not church listed in Domesday. Ground floor: tower arch roughly built, tall, c. 18', with "tooling by pick, not axe or chisel" (1969, 184) and W doorway termed similar to arch but blocked now. Located slightly N of center, with head "obtusely pointed," perhaps when crown re-set in 13th century blocking and window inserted. Openings include S doorway, small, early window on S

to W of doorway, and higher up, on S and W, small, rectangular windows with chamfered stones. On N, vertically placed, are 2 windows, with jambs of 2 stones each (1962, 399). Belfry: short and of timber, possibly a reproduction of original timber recessed belfry, Fisher thinks. Openings later, entire structure narrower than tower itself, with pyramidal roof. This roof and roof of tower below belfry all of Horsham stone slabs. Walls of tower vary in thickness. E and W are 2'4" thick; N and S are 3' thick up to c.8', where 4" offset occurs and they narrow to 2'8". Placement of W doorway to N, S window to W and existence of S doorway (c. 1200, Ibid., 399) could argue for something built into SW corner, possibly ladder or stairway to upper levels. Multiple entrances seem to preclude chapel as reason for position of W doorway and S window, and 8' offset could well indicate roof level for ground floor chamber.

Yaxham, Norf. Rd W tower, with 3 bands of decorative carstone, quarter round pilaster strips between junction of tower and nave; usually dated Saxo-Norman. Tower arch and upper doorway above it have no through stones, but arch is tall, round, with non-radial voussoirs, measuring 7'7" W x 15'8" H. Upper doorway is round-headed, c. 3' W and over 6' H, with sill c. 19'6" above floor. Tower is 12'6" in internal diameter, c. 55' H.

(York/Alma Sophia, Yks.) Built by Archbishop Ethelbert (767-80) on site different from cathedral's, it had many porticus, upper chambers and 30 altars, according to Alcuin (see Morris 1986).. Given particulars, bell towers, stair turrets and/or tower-like porticus are not unlikely, but are currently mere speculation.

(York/St. Peter's Cathedral, Yks.) No direct evidence for towers, either archaeologically or in writings, exists; however, it seems unlikely that by 10th century, such a great church would lack bell towers, at least. (Taylor notes [1984, 1086] that foundations discussed in vol. II were discovered to be early Norman.)

York/St. Mary Bishophill Jr., Yks. Sq W tower of 3 stages, with offset and string course just below belfry. Taylors (1980, 698) do not mention string; Fisher 1962, 143) notes it as sq cut on E, badly worn elsewhere. Ground floor: S and W openings are later and have destroyed any earlier evidence. Tower arch on E is fine, of 2 plain sq orders with well-cut voussoirs. W and E sides of hood mould differ, with that on W being wider. Arch measures 9'9" W x c. 16' H. 2nd level: Openings on N and S near string are similar, being small, narrow and rectangular. Below this on S is another somewhat larger rectangular window. Gable marks visible on E. 3rd level: belfry with double openings, originally taller, but shortened by sills being built up. Have arched heads with brick-like stones, actually limestone slabs. Outlined in stripwork. Tower c. 26' sq externally, c. 73' H. Bull. CBA Churches Committee 15 (1981), 20-1, on AS tower fabric not available to me.

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