THE PARISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE OF YORKSHIRE,  
ca.600 – ca.1130

by

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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of this thesis is to catalogue the salient elements of the Anglo-Saxon parish churches of Yorkshire within the broader context of their historical and architectural background. Through this study it may be possible to decide whether two differing movements, the Saxon and the Norman, resulted, when combined, in a new type of Saxo-Norman Northumbrian architecture or whether it resulted in the forcible imposition of one style upon another without the benefit of a creative reinterpretation of the various insular and continental elements in question.

The perimeters of the period under discussion are defined by two dates. The years around 600 mark the commencement of a masonry building tradition in England and this has been selected as the starting point for the study. The year 1130 is the terminus ante quem for the church of St. Andrew, Weaverthorpe, and it stands as the termination of the period under analysis. Research for this thesis included both the assembly of plans and information from library resources at the University of British Columbia and the University of Toronto, and a trip to Yorkshire during the spring-and summer of 1977. At that time photographs, notes and measurements were collected on the site.
The first chapter, entitled "The Historical Heritage", discusses the ecclesiastical and political history of Yorkshire and the effects they had on the cultural development of Northumbria. Particular emphasis is placed on the conservative nature and isolated position of the North and on the events surrounding the Norman Conquest in 1066, as these factors helped to determine the type and style of the structures erected just after 1066.

The second chapter, entitled "The Architectural Heritage", concentrates on the architectural factors which influenced the parish churches of Yorkshire. It is divided into two sections, the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman, in which the salient characteristics of each building are described.

The third chapter is the Catalogue Raisonné. It consists of the twenty-six churches in Yorkshire which contain Anglo-Saxon or early Norman fabric. These are described first with reference to any historical documents which pertain to their pre-Conquest development. The existing Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements in the churches are then described and analyzed on the basis of the constructional features and techniques discussed in Chapter II. As a result of this analysis, the buildings were placed in chronological order based on the evidence available to date.

The conclusions reached as a result of this investigation reveal that the pre-Conquest architecture of Yorkshire is both piecemeal and poorly documented. In addition, there
is little in the ancient parish architecture of this county to distinguish it from that of the rest of England prior to 1066. A change did commence during the reign of Edward the Confessor. At that time a building boom occurred which was distinguished by an increased development of complex architectural forms and a new experimental approach to structural design. However, what may ultimately have developed into a new Anglo-Saxon style was terminated with the Conquest of 1066 and the subsequent devastation of the North in 1069. In Yorkshire the result of these events was a conservation of Anglo-Saxon architectural details long after they had ceased to exist in the south of England. This holdover, which has its clearest manifestation in the church of St. Andrew, Weaverthorpe, is perhaps the only feature of Anglo-Saxon architecture in Northumbria which is distinguishable from that of the rest of England.
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INTRODUCTION

The architectural achievement of any age must be judged by the standard of the principal building of that age and not by that of the obscure and second rate.

Sir A.W. Clapham's statement does have considerable validity and certainly many architectural historians would agree with it. If this dictum were enforced in the case of Anglo-Saxon architecture, however, a wealth of monuments would have to be dismissed as unfit for serious study precisely because what remains to us would be considered as "obscure and second rate". In fact, in England today there are no major ecclesiastical structures left standing from before the Norman Conquest. All that is left are small parish churches frequently located in remote areas of the English countryside. These are, more often than not, little more than piecemeal constructions from various building periods. What little they do display of pre-Conquest building techniques often reveals an originality of approach which, if not brilliant, is at least indicative of a certain willingness to experiment. Conceived as they were, far from the Carolingian and Ottonian centres of influence, their study is a valid one because they illustrate just how much of what may be termed the "Anglo-Saxon style" was developed from insular sources.

Until recently the approach to the study of Anglo-Saxon
architecture had been one of seeking individual features in various buildings which were then painstakingly traced to their presumed Roman, Byzantine or Carolingian sources. Such an approach was quite valid in the case of applied decoration but is left much unsaid about Anglo-Saxon methods of dealing with constructional problems. In the 1940s and the 1950s, E. Dudley Jackson and Eric Fletcher made a series of studies of such features as quoins and pilaster strips. They concluded that Saxon ingenuity had a great deal more to do with pre-Conquest building techniques than A.W. Clapham had been willing to admit. The list of these features could be expanded to include other constructional details.

Two modes of insular construction were developed by the builders of small parish churches. One type emerged from a trial and error approach in which pre-Conquest masons experimented haphazardly with diverse techniques in a simple attempt to make walls, arches and doorways stable enough to stand upright. The other type was based on a tradition of wooden architecture dating back to Celtic times. Those features which developed from constructional experiments were pilaster strips, long and short quoins, arches, jambs, double-splayed windows, and throughstones. Those which were derived from timber sources were the square chancel, the gable-headed arch, the use of antae, and various types of pre-Conquest decorative mouldings.

In the studies devoted to Anglo-Saxon architecture, the early churches of Yorkshire have received sufficient attention within the greater context of English ecclesiastical structures. However, little has been done to define these monuments as a
concentrated group which presents certain distinct constructional characteristics born of Northumbrian independence, isolation and creativity. The objective of this study will be to catalogue salient elements of individual Yorkshire churches with reference to their broader historical and architectural background. Ultimately it is important to decide whether two differing movements, the Saxon and the Norman, resulted, when combined, in a new experimental type of Saxo-Norman Northumbrian architecture, or whether they merely resulted in the forcible imposition of one style upon another without the benefit of a creative reinterpretation of the various elements in question.

The years around 600, according to H.M. and Joan Taylor, mark the commencement of a masonry building tradition in England and this date has been selected as the starting point of the study. The year 1130, which is the terminus ante quern for the church of St. Andrew at Weaverthorpe, the purest example of the Saxo-Norman style in existence, will stand as the termination of the period under analysis. In 1925, Baldwin Brown introduced a system of dating which divided the Anglo-Saxon era into three periods: Period A (Early), Period B (Viking Invasions), and Period C (Epoch of the monastic revival to the Norman Conquest). The Taylors elaborated on this system in 1965 by subdividing the three periods as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
600 & (A_1), \quad 650 & (A_2), \quad 700 & (A_3), \quad 750 \\
800 & (B_1), \quad 850 & (B_2), \quad 900 & (B_3), \quad 950 \\
950 & (C_1), \quad 1000 & (C_2), \quad 1050 & (C_3), \quad 1100 \\
\end{align*}
\]

It would be difficult to improve on the system and consequently it will be employed throughout the thesis.
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CHAPTER I
THE HISTORICAL HERITAGE

The history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria (which included the modern county of Yorkshire) was one of isolation, unrest and stubborn independence. Separated from the southern kingdoms by the wide estuary of the Humber, the northern peoples were hemmed in by hills and moors and constantly subject to the harassment of the Picts, the Scots, the northern Welsh, and the Vikings. As a result, they developed a unique and, despite their isolated position, surprisingly rich culture to which they clung ferociously long after the Normans had effected a considerable social, political and economic change on the rest of England.

Northumbria was initially divided into two separate kingdoms, Bernicia, which stretched north from the Tyne to the Firth of Forth, and Deira, which comprised the area between the Tyne and the Humber. These two provinces were first referred to in connection with the year 547. Bede stated that at the time Ida founded Bernicia, the larger and more powerful of the two. After the death of Ælla in 593, Æthelfrith of Bernicia seized Deira and united the two kingdoms for the first time. He strengthened his position by defeating the Scots of Dalriada in 603 and the Britons (Welsh) at Chester in 613. Æthelfrith, who had usurped the Deiran throne, was
defeated and killed by Edwin, the rightful heir, in 616. It was Edwin who first permitted the introduction of Christian missionaries into Northumbria. He married Æthelburg, the Christian daughter of Æthelbert of Kent, and when she came north she brought with her the Roman missionary Paulinus, who became the first bishop of York in 627 and, as a result of his action, most of the nobles of the court were converted as well. Edwin was defeated and killed at Hatfield Chase in 633 by the combined forces of Penda of Mercia and Cadwallon, King of North Wales. Paulinus and Æthelburg fled south to safety and Northumbria reverted to paganism.

Penda of Mercia continued to cause much political and military unrest in Northumbria but his threatening presence did not prevent Oswald, who once again united Bernicia and Deira, from reintroducing Christianity during his reign, (634 - 642). Oswald invited the Celtic monk, Aidan of Iona, to Northumbria. Aidan established his own form of Irish monasticism and he erected a monastery at Lindisfarne during this period. Consequently, the first permanent introduction of an organized religion into the north was Celtic, not Roman.

Penda killed Oswald in 642 and he, in turn, was defeated and killed by Oswiu in 655. As a result of his victory, Oswiu extended his power over the southern English kingdoms and became the first of five northern kings to assume the title of Bretwalda. He was also an adherent of the Celtic or Irish form of Christianity, though his wife followed the Roman custom. This led to considerable confusion at court since the two followed different ecclesiastical calendars and major festivals, such as Easter and Lent, were
celebrated at different times. In addition, a desire to follow the Roman Church was growing among some northern ecclesiastics, including Wilfrid of Ripon, who had been a monk at Lindisfarne but had changed his allegiance after visiting Rome.

The controversy came to a head at the Synod of Whitby, held in 664. Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, represented the Celtic party while Wilfrid spoke for the Roman cause. Oswiu realized that it was more practical to follow the customs of the majority of the Anglo-Saxon peoples and the Roman Church emerged victorious. It was then possible to introduce an ecclesiastical system into Northumbria which was based not on the monastery, but on the establishment of individual parish churches presided over by local priests. These, in turn, were controlled by bishops who held permanent seats within their respective sees. Such an organization, which remains intact today, brought Northumbria out of its religious isolation and aligned it with the rest of England.

After the Synod of Whitby there was a remarkable flowering of art and learning in Northumbria which seemed all the more remarkable because of the kingdom's remoteness and relative isolation. The basis of this cultural growth was monastic and it was marked by strong Celtic, Mediterranean and Germanic influences. In the fields of literature and teaching it produced such scholars as Bede and Alcuin and avid patrons such as Benedict Biscop, a native Northumbrian, who arrived from Rome with Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 669.

In 674 Biscop founded the monastery at Monkwearmouth.
and it was there that Bede completed his *Ecclesiastical History*, ca. 731. In 685 Jarrow, a sister house, was dedicated. The importance of this twin foundation lay in the great library Benedict Biscop had collected there. It was composed of books he had brought back with him from his various trips to Rome and these were used as a source of information by Bede. Bede, in turn, greatly influenced Egbert, first Archbishop of York, who in 735 established his famous school and library at York Minster. Egbert's greatest pupil was Alcuin, who left his teaching position at the cathedral school in 782 in order to take an influential post at the Court of Charlemagne. As a result of his move, English arts and letters flowed to the Continent, where they had a profound effect.

Benedict Biscop's influence was felt not only in the fields of learning and literature. A man of cosmopolitan tastes, he also imported Gallic masons and glass-makers to erect his twin monastery of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Little remains of the two structures and the only eighth century stone church to survive intact in the north is located at Escomb, Co. Durham. However, Biscop was responsible for the introduction of the more advanced continental architectural styles into a kingdom where buildings were still predominantly constructed of wood.

In addition to these developments in the areas of literature and architecture during the eighth century, the emergence of a sculptural tradition also occurred. Most often it took the form of stone crosses and grave slabs and the style of the carvings was an uneasy combination of Italian figure
and vinescroll, the Celtic spiral, and Germanic animal interlace. Christian and pagan themes appeared side by side on the Franks Casket while a combination of decorative designs and figural sculpture adorned the faces of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses, both completed ca.700. Rapid development also occurred in manuscript illumination. Masterpieces such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Codex Amiatinus and the Echternach Gospels were all produced in the various monastic scriptoria of Northumbria ca.700. They also showed, though in varying degrees, Celtic, Germanic and Mediterranean influences.

The patronage of Benedict Biscop, the teaching of Alcuin, the writings of Bede, and the contributions of many anonymous carvers and illuminators, all contributed to the cultural renaissance of eighth century Northumbria. However, this movement was totally destroyed by the Danish invasions of the ninth century and a society which had begun to merge and flow with the rest of England and the Continent was at once thrust back into an isolated and vulnerable position. Not until the tenth century was sufficient stability restored to enable the northern peoples to once again pursue their cultural development. By that time, however, the path of influence had been reversed and Ottonian styles of architecture, manuscript illumination and sculpture moved from the Continent to Northumbria. This reverse flow plus the new political and social outlook created by the influx of Scandinavian settlers, initiated the creation of a new artistic style, but one which still maintained strong
traces of its eighth century heritage.

The Viking invasions began in 789 and Lindisfarne was sacked in 793. Initially the raiders came in the spring and left in the autumn. Their targets were the rich and vulnerable monasteries which were often located in isolated coastal areas and were therefore easily attacked. However, in the mid-ninth century the incursions became more permanent as the Danes began to settle in Northumbria. In 876 Halfdan and his followers settled in Yorkshire after raiding in southern England and in 883 the Danish Christian Cnut was elected King of Northumbria, making York his capital.

The confused political situation continued in the North, resulting in increased isolationism and a mixing of the Scandinavian and Anglian peoples. In addition, there was a bisecting and weakening of the northern kingdom. However, in 920 Edward the Elder, the son of Alfred of Wessex, received the submission of the King of the Scots, the Scandinavian ruler of York, Eadred (who ruled all that remained of English Northumbria), and all of the people of the north no matter what their origin. In 954 the Viking Kingdom of York collapsed and under Eadred of Wessex, Northumbria was permanently reduced to the position of an earldom. From that point on northern history was intertwined with that of the rest of England, but the fierce independence of the people and their unwillingness to submit to the rule of a southern king was marked by constant upheaval.

In 959 Edgar of Wessex became the sole monarch of England, and an orderly system of royal succession was established despite
the fact that the Scandinavian, Cnut, became king in 1016. The monarchy was restored to the house of Wessex in 1042 when Edward the Confessor ascended the throne. During this period political power was concentrated in the south of England and the North was little more than a troublesome province.

Edward the Confessor, a deeply religious man, had spent many years at the Norman court of Duke William. His obvious favouring of Norman retainers and his foreign habits and customs must have been looked on with suspicion by the Anglo-Saxon lords. Edward was not an effective or a strong king but his power was bolstered by a group of ambitious earls, the most important of whom was Godwine of Wessex, the father of Tostig and Harold, who became earl when his father died in 1053.

The earldom of Northumbria, remote and constantly threatened by the Scots and the Danes, was a difficult area to rule. Cnut had given it to Siward, a strong and vigorous Danish warrior who was accepted there and who controlled the unruly population with considerable success until his death in 1055. At that time Edward, who favoured Godwine's sons, appointed Tostig earl of Northumbria.

Resentment towards this southern stranger grew over the next ten years. Frequently absent from the North, Tostig left his deputy, Copsig, in charge. He was a man who ruled oppressively and who was not above murder. Two of this victims were Gamal, Orm's son, whose name is carved on the dial at Kirkdale church, and Ulf, thane of Linton, who also figures prominently in the construction of certain churches in Yorkshire.
In 1065 the people finally rose in open revolt and attacked and plundered Tostig's palace in York, killing most of his retainers. The insurgents chose Morcar, grandson of Leofric, earl of Leicester, for their new leader. Tostig was with the king at Salisbury at the time and thus escaped the fate of his followers, but Harold's attempt to affect a reconciliation with the Northumbrians failed and his brother was forced to leave England. Edward was powerless to aid Tostig and Harold felt it was more prudent to accede to the demands of the majority because he wanted the throne for himself.

On January 5, 1066 Edward the Confessor died and the Witan immediately elected Harold king, despite the fact that Duke William of Normandy had probably been promised the throne when Edward was in exile at his court. However, Harold was not allowed the time in which to consolidate his power. The Northumbrians again revealed their independence and dislike of change when they refused to accept Harold as their king until he visited the North and confronted them. Always aware that he would have to face the wrath of the rejected William, Harold was first forced to fight his brother, who had sworn revenge for his betrayal of family loyalty. Assembling a fleet, Tostig appeared off the Isle of Wight in May 1066 and landed at Sandwich, where he was defeated by Earl Edwin of Lindsey and Morcar of Northumbria. He barely managed to escape to Scotland. Making his way from there to Norway, he concluded a pact with Harold Hardrada and, combining their two fleets, they attacked York and defeated Edwin and Morcar. Deprived
of their leaders, the men of York were forced to make peace with the insurgents.

Knowing that William was at last concentrating his forces for the attack, Harold was nonetheless forced to march north, where he defeated and killed Harold Hardrada and Tostig at Stamford Bridge on September 25. While the Anglo-Saxon king was celebrating his victory at York, William set sail for England. Harold was still in the city on October 1, when the news arrived of the Norman landing on the Sussex coast. With incredible speed Harold completed his pacification of the North and covered the distance to London, gathering his army along the way. He met William at Hastings on October 14, 1066 though his army was not fully assembled. Once again the people of the North betrayed their southern leader. This time Edwin and Morcar, who had fought so fiercely against the incursions of Tostig and Harold Hardrada, held back their contingents. The king's tired and undisciplined force was defeated, Harold was killed, and the Londoners, anxious for a strong and stable government, named Duke William king. However, the Norman Conquest was far from complete.

Once again disaffection was centred in the North where the reaction to any new ruler seemed to be that of distrust and suspicion. For a time Northumbria did accept William but he made the mistake of committing the province to the care of Copsig, the Anglo-Saxon thane who had been universally disliked during Tostig's tenure as earl. When the Conqueror returned to Normandy in 1067, the disaffection began to spread. Finally
Morcar and Edwin, who had previously betrayed Harold, raised the standard of revolt. Edgar the Ætheling, who many felt was the rightful Anglo-Saxon heir to the throne, hastened from Scotland to Durham where the Norman garrison was slaughtered. From Durham the insurgents moved to York, which willingly opened its gates to them and, strengthened by the reinforcements of Malcolm of Scotland and Bethwin of Wales, they prepared to meet William, who had returned hurriedly from Normandy.

Surprising the revolutionaries at York, the Conqueror defeated them before they could complete their preparations and Morcar, Edwin, Gospatric, and Edgar fled to Scotland. The citizens of York received the mercy of the king but this time he was unwilling to put the control of Northumbria under the authority of an Anglo-Saxon. Accordingly, he appointed Robert de Comines earl of Durham and gave his a portion of the province to administer.

The northerners again showed their disaffection and early in 1069 the Norman force under Robert's leadership was annihilated at Durham. This success encouraged the Anglo-Saxons and in the same year Gospatric, former earl of Northumbria; Waltheof; Edward the Ætheling; the Scottish exiles; and the Danes, whose aid was solicited; marched to York. William Malet, who was in command of the garrison, sent an urgent appeal for help to the king. He and his men were preparing for an attack but while doing so they set fire to some dwellings in order to deter the enemy. The fire spread and burnt the Minster and its library and in the confusion that followed the Anglo-Saxon
and Danish troops entered the city and annihilated the Norman force.

This time William declared that he intended to permanently crush the rebellion by any means, no matter how drastic. While he headed north, Waltheof was appointed governor of York and the Danish troops took control of the area between the Trent and the Humber in order to stop the Norman advance. This they failed to do. Fearing the vengeance of the king, they quickly retreated to Lindsey where they were completely routed.

William laid seige to the already beleaguered city which managed to hold out for six months. When famine finally forced York's capitulation, both Waltheof and Gospatric were honourably pardoned for their brave stand. Waltheof's estates were returned to him and Gospatric was reinstated to his Northumbrian earldom, but despite this initial leniency, the Conqueror was still determined to totally stamp out the causes of insurrection. He therefore set fire and sword to a tract of land eighty miles wide, lying between the Humber and the Tyne and extending as far north as Durham. People, homes, crops, farm implements, and animals were destroyed without compunction. In addition, he laid waste to a large arc of land surrounding York, which seemed to be the centre of the discontent. So complete was the devastation, especially in what now comprises the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, that in 1086, when the Domesday Survey was completed, this area was still desolate and poverty stricken. This was most graphically illustrated by the pre- and post-1066 values of the various manors and by the frequent references to
waste land. A monk of Malmesbury wrote after the event that, "100,000 people died as a result and for nine years after there was not a patch of cultivated ground between York and Durham". The independent, conservative nature of Northumbria was constantly reflected in its historical development. Isolated among hills and moors, inevitably fighting the incursions of other northern peoples, Deira and Bernicia were finally forced into a union, thus creating a strong and independent kingdom. Christianity came slowly and painfully to the North and when it did arrive, it was of the Celtic or Irish type. Because the rest of England followed the Roman tradition, this fact added to the isolation of Northumbria. The problem was rectified in 664 with the Synod of Whitby and the change was reflected in the sudden flowering of arts and letters in the northern monasteries. It was prompted by a flow of information and ideas from both southern England and the Continent. This cultural influx was violently terminated with the coming of the Vikings during the ninth century. These invasions once again cut the North off from the South and the resulting political confusion was increased by the settlement of a large Scandinavian population in the kingdom. The Norse strain reinforced the warlike, independent nature of the natives and further alienated them from the southern Anglo-Saxons. Not until 954 was Danish rule ended in Northumbria.

The conservative Northumbrians were unwilling to accept the supremacy of the house of Wessex in the eleventh century. This was illustrated by their refusal to recognize Edward the
Confessor's choice of Tostig as their earl. It was also revealed in their initial refusal to accept Harold as king and in their later unequivocal rejection of William the Conqueror. Always preferring the aid of the Danes and of their own northern leaders, they continued in an open hostility which the Conqueror felt he could subdue only by extreme measures.

The initial flowering of Northumbrian culture had been frozen as a result of the Danish invasions and the innate conservatism and suspicion of the population was reinforced by the total destruction of the area now known as Yorkshire. It was not surprising, therefore, that well into the twelfth century and long after they had disappeared in the rest of England, traces of Anglo-Saxon thought, artistic style and building should have remained in Northumbria.
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CHAPTER II

THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

Anglo-Saxon

A. Plan

1. Kentish: The first two types of Anglo-Saxon masonry churches found in England were classified as the Kentish plan, a southern development, and the Northumbrian plan, developed in the North. The Kentish monuments were constructed by continental masons in the late sixth century and the early seventh century, (ca.599 - ca. 666). ¹ In English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest, A.W. Clapham included seven churches which shared remarkably similar features. ² These buildings consisted of rectangular aisleless naves and apsidal chancels of the same width, separated from the naves by triple arcades. Remains of such arcades have been excavated at Reculver, Bradwell-on-Sea and Lyminge. The structures were also provided with lateral porticoes which overlapped both the nave and the chancel and which, in cases such as Reculver and S.S. Peter and Paul, eventually surrounded the entire church. Clapham associated these appendages with the protheses and diaconica of North African ecclesiastical buildings. ³ However, they opened into the nave and the apse and they appear to have been used as places of burial rather
than as chapels. The main entrances to Kentish churches were on the west and opened into the building through projecting arches. Despite their distinctive style, these monuments did not appear to have had any major influence on the design of later Anglo-Saxon churches.

2. Northumbrian: This plan was introduced into the North by Archbishop Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop in the late seventh century, (ca.680).\(^5\) Dating from H.M. and Joan Taylor's and Baldwin Brown's Period A\(_1\) and A\(_2\) classification (ca.600 - ca.700 A.D.), they had features indigenous to the northern style.\(^6\) However, sufficient remains are left only at Corbridge and Escomb to permit a stylistic analysis. Clapham and Baldwin Brown have suggested, on the basis of information derived from Bede's *A History of the English Church and People*, that masons brought over from Gaul built the first of these churches which generally consisted of a long, narrow nave with proportions of approximately 3:1, surmounted by a steep gable.\(^7\) At the east end was a square chancel, also of lofty proportions. These buildings were entered through a western porch as were the Kentish churches. The simple Northumbrian two-celled plan was more easily grasped by Anglo-Saxon builders who were unfamiliar with stone construction. Consequently, this scheme acted as a prototype for the design of many later pre-Conquest parish churches.

3. Two-celled: Following the Danish invasions of the ninth century, the Northumbrian two-celled plan with square chancel became the general type adopted in most areas of England.\(^8\) It displayed the same general design of long rectangular nave
and square chancel. While this plan was certainly the most widespread other types were employed, though rarely. These were the pseudo-cruciform and the turriform styles.⁹

B. Proportions

In Northumbrian churches and in most Anglo-Saxon parish structures built after 950, the long, narrow, very high naves had length/breadth ratios of approximately 3:1.¹⁰ The height was further emphasized by the steep pitch of the roof and the placement of small windows high up in the nave walls. This exaggeration was less prevalent in Kentish churches, which had length/breadth ratios more nearly approaching 1½ or 1 1/3:1 and which also had apses with dimensions almost as wide as those of the naves.¹¹ The chancels of the Northumbrian structures, however, were usually of lesser width than the naves.

C. Walling and Masonry Techniques

1. Materials: Anglo-Saxon walls were formed of rubble, ragstone, flint, or, particularly in the North, of rough-cut stone.¹² The mortar used to bond them was so hard and durable that pre-Conquest masons were sometimes able to construct the corners of these structures from the same rubble fabric as the rest of the walls without the benefit of buttresses or clasping quoins.¹³ It was because of this extremely hard mortar that Saxon masons were able to erect very thin walls from 2 ft. 3 in. - 3 ft. in thickness.¹⁴

Anglo-Saxon walling, rubble in a mortar matrix, was often plastered inside and out with opus signinum.¹⁵ Use of
such Roman building materials as bricks, tiles and ashlar, especially in districts where stone was not easily available, was a common occurrence and the subsequent disappearance of many Romano-British buildings can be traced to the light-fingered efforts of local Saxon builders.\textsuperscript{16}

2. Coursing: While earlier architectural historians such as G. Baldwin Brown and A.W. Clapham, felt that herring-bone work was strictly a feature of post-Conquest walls, recent investigation by the Taylors and E.A. Fisher, has revealed that it was also employed by the Romans and the Anglo-Saxons.\textsuperscript{17} Therefore, it has ceased to be considered as a valid characteristic for dating a structure as either pre- or post-Conquest.\textsuperscript{18}

D. Towers, Porches and Turrets

1. Porches: Before the tenth century there existed a form of west porch which had evolved from the original western narthex or porticus of Kentish churches. Monkwearmouth had such a porch, which was raised in the tenth century to full tower height. Lateral porches were rare but they did appear in such places as Bishopstone and Milbourne Port.

2. Towers and Turrets: In the late tenth century a form of axially placed western bell tower developed as a common feature of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical buildings.\textsuperscript{19} It was generally tall and slender in proportion with walls seldom more than 3 ft. thick and an overall plainness or lack of ornamentation. Occasionally, however, the severe surface was broken by a plain string-course which was placed about 3/4 of the way up the
tower, at the sill of the belfry stage. Towers placed axially over the choir area, between the nave and the chancel, were confined to the larger tenth century monastic churches.

Stair turrets were attached to western towers before 1066. The earliest of these, such as that located at Brixworth, were usually placed in the centre of the west wall of the structure. Later, however, as at Weaverthorpe, they were erected at one corner of it.

Three distinctive types of western bell towers developed in the years just prior to the Norman Conquest. The first of these has been called a porch tower by E.A. Fisher. This type was erected over an already existing porch. Seven churches erected before the Danish invasions of the ninth century were of this kind. All other towers in pre-Conquest England fell into the second class of the de novo tower, which was erected new from the ground up. The examples of this type are as numerous as the number of Anglo-Saxon towers which exist in England today.

The third class was that of the Lincolnshire bell tower. Though it took its name from a particular county, it appeared in all parts of England. All of the types of towers mentioned above, if constructed at the same time as the church, were erected flush with the nave wall.

E. Doorways and Arches

Anglo-Saxon doorways were usually placed opposite each other in the north and south walls at the western end of the
nave. These could be surmounted by a round-headed arch composed of voussoirs, by a gable of triangular shape, or by a plain lintel. These lintels sometimes had arches cut into their lower sides. Generally, however, a doorway was formed by a voussoir arch while gable heads were employed in smaller openings. These entrances were also frequently tall and narrow in proportion, thus eliminating much of the difficulty entailed in spanning a wide space with a single arch.

Anglo-Saxon doorways and arches passed through the wall in a single order which was faced with throughstones of ashlar. Entrances had no ornamental recessing externally and no internal rebating for hanging the door, which was simply suspended on the interior face of the wall.

Evidence for a pre-Conquest date is considerably strengthened if the jambs of the doorways are constructed of throughstones laid in upright and flat or Escomb fashion. The use of throughstones for imposts, which are normally of plain squared section, is an equally good indication of a pre-Conquest date. The impost blocks could also be formed of two or three Roman tiles or stone slabs, each projecting a little beyond the one below. This is particularly true of very early Anglo-Saxon churches, but it can also be seen in later ones.

There were two principal archways in Anglo-Saxon churches: the tower arch and the chancel arch. Both were unusually tall and narrow in proportion and they were composed of a single order which was square in section and semicircular in elevation. Frequently these arches were formed of voussoirs whose joints
did not radiate from the centre, causing these structures to be severely stilted. In some cases the voussoirs were laid at an almost constant inclination, with the lowest ones on either side tilted up sharply from the faces of the impost. Between the uppermost voussoirs was a large v-shaped gap which was filled with a wedge-shaped stone or a large mass of mortar. A true keystone was rare in Anglo-Saxon architecture. The voussoirs of these arches often varied remarkably in size and they were much deeper radially than they were long.36 Recessing did not occur in Anglo-Saxon arches until very late in the period. However, two rings of concentric voussoirs did appear periodically.37

F. Windows

Pre-Norman Conquest windows could be round-headed, gable-headed or entirely circular.38 If the openings were round-headed, the arch would be composed of a series of voussoirs.39 It could also be composed of a lintel in which a semicircular arch had been cut from the soffit.40

Structurally, windows could be of three types: 1. Single-splayed (internally): This was either a very early or a very late (Saxo-Norman) feature. 2. Double-splayed: This was a late development which came after the Danish invasions of the ninth century. 3. Double-light Belfry Windows: These were usually located in the upper portions of Anglo-Saxon bell towers.41

In areas where ashlar was difficult to obtain, the jambs and even the heads of single and double-splayed windows were
constructed of rubble. When stone was accessible, however, it was used for voussoirs, lintels, jambs, and imposts just as it was used in arches and doorways. Sometimes the jambs of these windows consisted of single monumental stones laid in an upright and flat fashion. Saxon windows were frequently located high up in the nave and tower walls.

Double-light belfry windows consisted of two openings placed side by side, either surmounted by a lintel with two arches carved out of its underside or by two separate voussoir arches. Between these stood a shaft of either circular, octagonal or baluster form, which was surmounted by a throughstone impost block. In the period immediately preceding the Norman Conquest, this block was often chamfered, but it was never moulded. Later Anglo-Saxon mid-wall shafts sometimes had capitals and bases of their own, but more frequently they were of the simplest form. On rare occasions, these double-light belfry windows were multiplied until there were as many as five or six openings, as exemplified in the west tower at Earls Barton.

G. Quoining, Buttresses and Pilaster Strips
1. Quoining: Anglo-Saxon quoining invariably employed very large stones of a megalithic or monolithic type, as illustrated by the quoins of the nave wall at St. Mildrid's, Canterbury. A second distinctive feature was the use of long and short work. This, however, was not the only type of quoining used by Anglo-Saxon masons. There were also side-alternate constructions of very large stones called megalithic side-alternate and stones
laid without any regular formation, called random megalithic.\textsuperscript{47} In non-stone districts quoins were constructed wholly of flint or of the same rubble walling as the rest of the church.\textsuperscript{48} The use of projecting buttresses was not an Anglo-Saxon characteristic.

2. Pilaster Strips: These were applied at regular intervals to the exterior surfaces of pre-Conquest towers and churches.\textsuperscript{49} Frequently of plain, square section and 6 in. - 1 ft. in breadth, they were formed of very long stones, carefully chosen and worked to be of the same width. Often, however, they consisted of strips of upright and flat work in which case the flat stone was securely bonded into the wall.\textsuperscript{50}

3. Stripwork: This was frequently used to break up the plain surfaces of Anglo-Saxon towers.\textsuperscript{51} Always of plain, square section, it usually ran horizontally around the tower in one or two bands marking off the floor levels of the structure.

4. Plinths: These were occasionally employed at the bases of pre-Conquest buildings, appearing most often in Baldwin Brown's Period C, (ca.950 - ca.1100).\textsuperscript{52} Also of plain, square section, they were constructed of large, flat stones. If they were chamfered, a rare characteristic, the detailing was usually of two orders.

\textbf{Anglo-Norman and Norman}

A. Plan

1. Two-celled: This was the first of three types of Anglo-Norman church plans and its simple form had much in common
with that of pre-Conquest parish churches.\textsuperscript{53} It consisted of a nave and a slightly narrower chancel which could be square, polygonal or round, though the last two forms were less common.\textsuperscript{54}

2. Three-celled: The three-celled plan consisted of a nave, a square choir and a square or apsidal presbytery.\textsuperscript{55} The choir frequently formed the base of a tower, while the presbytery was often vaulted.

3. Four-celled: This scheme included a western bell tower in addition to the features mentioned above.\textsuperscript{56}

4. Aisled Churches: Though the great majority of early Anglo-Norman churches were aisleless, post-Conquest builders often pierced older nave walls, and occasionally chancel walls, with arcades. The addition of these arcades and their adjoining narrow aisles created a form of basilica.\textsuperscript{57} The masonry above the arcades was frequently of pre-Conquest date.

5. Cruciform: The Anglo-Normans showed a marked preference for the true cruciform plan in which the central square was surmounted by a tower supported on four piers, and the transepts, nave and chancel flowed into each other.\textsuperscript{58}

B. Proportions

Anglo-Norman churches did not display the tall proportions of Anglo-Saxon structures. The naves were short and rather wide in comparison to their length though they could still be very lofty.\textsuperscript{59} The nave of an Anglo-Norman church was usually double the length of the sanctuary and the height was often precisely equal to the interior width.\textsuperscript{60}
C. Walling and Masonry

Anglo-Norman masons constructed thicker walls than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Usually they were over 3 ft. in depth and occasionally they were extended to 4 - 6 ft. The mortar used to build this fabric was poorer than that used in pre-Conquest walls and the joints were less finely constructed. The walls were often formed of a rubble core which was then faced with ashlar frequently imported from Normandy, though local tufa was utilized for smaller churches. Even in areas where flint was the only material available it was carefully coursed to give it a finished appearance.

Anglo-Norman ashlar was normally of small dimensions with individual blocks measuring just under 1 ft. square. According to H.M. and Joan Taylor, their size was probably determined by the fact that they could be easily carried by one man. When rubble walling was employed, the surface, inside and out, was plastered and limewashed. Herring-bone, as was mentioned previously, was utilized by the Romans, the Saxons and the Anglo-Normans.

D. Towers, Porches and Turrets

After the Norman invasion the western bell tower declined in importance. Though still designed and built on a grand scale, it ceased to be used as the principal entrance to the church. If it was provided with a doorway, it was used only on ceremonial occasions. The Anglo-Normans preferred to place the main entrance to the building on the south side of the structure in the nave.
Their use of lateral porches to cover these entrances was extremely rare. Often the western bell tower was dispensed with altogether. Bells, if required, were hung in a simple bell-cote over the west gable.

In comparison with Anglo-Saxon examples, Anglo-Norman towers were of short, squat proportions though they were often highly ornamented. The walls of these structures were quite thick, sometimes approaching as much as 6 ft. Often they were placed in an axial position over the chancel or choir. Anglo-Norman towers were seldom built flush with the nave walls. Frequently they were erected separately and then attached to the church by one or two bays of arcading, thus allowing the mason to lengthen the nave and to construct a new tower at the same time. The use of circular stair turrets was a more common feature in post-Conquest churches than it had been in earlier Anglo-Saxon ones.

E. Doorways and Arches

1. Arches: Anglo-Norman masons did not make use of throughstones. Instead they chose to construct arches of ashlar set on each side of a rubble core. Secondly, they created arches and openings which were recessed in a series of separate orders or concentric rings with jambs recessed in a corresponding fashion. These were faced with a series of supporting shafts. The voussoirs of these arches were of ashlar and of the size which one man could conveniently handle. They were carefully cut so as to be laid with joints which radiated correctly from
the centre of the arch and they were or regular size and shape. The Anglo-Norman practice was to hang the door almost at the centre of the wall and then to treat the inner and outer halves of the opening quite differently. The outer half was generally narrower than the inner half. It acted as a rebate for the door, while the inner portion was taken much higher up in order to allow the door to open. The outer section had an arch of one or more recessed jambs, but the inner arch was unadorned. Generally, dressed stone was confined to one ring on the inner face of the wall. The rest of the soffit was usually of rubble, though it was often moulded with some form of soffit roll. If the doorway was surmounted by a lintel instead, there was often some form of relieving arch above it.

F. Windows

Anglo-Norman windows were either round-headed or of an entirely circular type. Gable-headed windows were rare, though the typical double-light belfry window continued to be employed. Clerestories, often composed of circular openings, were utilized to light the naves of aisled churches.

Post-1066 window openings were single-splayed internally and were surmounted by either true arches of carefully laid voussoirs or, if they were small, with a lintel sometimes capped by a relieving arch. Window openings were treated like doorways if they were large or important. They were formed of a series
of recessed mouldings with a corresponding series of recessed jamb shafts below. Anglo-Norman windows, like Anglo-Norman doorways, were constructed of a rubble core faced on either side with ashlar.

Double-light belfry windows took on a distinctive appearance after the Norman Conquest. The mid-wall shaft was usually enriched with a base and a volute or a cushion capital supporting a pair of arches. These, in turn, carried a thin and slightly recessed section above the heads and below a single semicircular arch which spanned the whole wall.

G. Quoining, Buttresses and Pilaster Strips

1. Buttresses: The Normans introduced the buttress into England after 1066. It was either of the flat, broad, clasping type or of a highly projecting, thickly proportioned shape set at intervals along the side walls of the nave dividing it externally into bays.

2. Quoins: When used, they were made of small stones and were usually of ashlar laid in a side-alternate arrangement. If the building were constructed of rubble then the side-alternate quoins were of small stones, not more than a foot in length.

3. Plinths and String-courses: Plinths and string-courses were used more frequently in Anglo-Norman churches than in Anglo-Saxon ones. They were usually of plain, square section.
REFERENCES


2. The seven churches cited include S.S. Peter and Paul; St. Mary and St. Pancras, Canterbury; Lyminge; Bradwell-on-Sea; Reculver; and Rochester. However, when using these buildings as examples one must be aware of the fact that none of them exist in their original state. Most have left few remains, though excavation has revealed their plans and some of the masonry with which they were constructed. A.W. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest, (Oxford, 1930), p.17.

3. Clapham, 1930, 12, 22, 26-27.


6. Examples of these early northern churches include Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Escomb, and Corbridge.


8. Examples of the two-celled plan include Bardsey, Kirk Hammerton, Bedale, and Boarhunt.


Clapham, 1930, 146-148.


12. Fisher defines the three types of walling as:
1) Rubble - Walling with no core. It was often uncoursed. Examples of such walling are found at Bedford and Bosham.

2) Ragstone - It was, like rubble, of variable geological types, but it broke into thin, flattish slabs of the dimensions of
ordinary bricks, though it was thinner. It was usually laid horizontally but it was sometimes used for herring-bone work. Examples of this type are found at Wigmores and Burghwallis.

3) Flint - This was used in Kent and East Anglia where local building stone was not available. Examples of such walling are found at St. Mildrid Canterbury and Dover. Fisher, 1962, 32.

Examples of northern churches formed of rough-cut stone include Bardsey, Hovingham and Kirk Hammerton.

When discussing Anglo-Saxon masonry and walling it is important to remember that the traditional form of construction in England was a timber one. Stone structures were foreign introductions and though today only masonry buildings remain, it is necessary to be aware that churches continued to be constructed of wood throughout the pre-Conquest era and even beyond. This fact is mentioned in the following books and publications, among others.

Hugh Braun, An Introduction to English Medieval Architecture, (London, ...), pp.36-37, 60.

Clapham, 1930, 25.

Cox and Ford, 1935, 46.

Fisher, 1962, 201.


Howard, 1936, 16.


This type of construction is exemplified at Brixworth.


Taylor, 1965, 12.

Opus Signinum was a very hard pink cement-like mixture of pounded Roman tiles. Baldwin Brown, 1925, 57.

Cox and Ford, 1935, 47.


Fisher, 1962, 174-175.

Examples of such herring-bone work include the north wall of the nave at Wigmores, the south wall of the nave at Elsted, the north wall of the nave at Diddlebury, and the south wall of the nave at Terrington.

Appleton-le-Street, Bardsey, Billingham, Bolam, Jarrow, Kirk Hammerton, and Earls Barton are a few of the churches
which have axially placed western bell towers.


21 None of these large monastic churches now exist but A.W. Clapham lists those he believes had axial towers. They include Winchester (ca.980), Durham (ca.999), and Ramsey Abbey (ca.970). Clapham, 1930, 87-88, 90.


23 These seven churches were Corbridge, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Bardsey, Ledsham, Brixworth, and Deerhurst.

24 Fisher gives an excellent description of these two types of towers (his own terminology).

1) De Novo Towers - These have walls thicker than 2 ft. 6 in. They may be wider than the internal width of the nave and they approximate a square in cross-section. However, where there is a slightly longer axis, it lies normally (not always) north/south.

2) Porch Towers - These have thin walls of usually less than 2 ft. 7 in. in thickness, as the walls were intended to support only porches. They are rectangular in cross-section with their longer axis lying east/west. The exterior width is generally less than the interior width of the nave. Fisher, 1962, 48.

25 St. Peter-at-Gowts, St. Mary-le-Wigford and Rothwell have Lincolnshire bell towers.

26 All Lincolnshire towers are western bell towers. The walls are of rubble throughout, usually with no batter, though occasionally very slight narrowing upwards occurs. The walls approach Norman ones in thickness and they vary 2 ft. 6 in. - 3 ft. 9 in. There is usually a plain string-course about 3/4 of the total height from the ground, which serves as an offset for the short upper, often very slightly narrower belfry stage. The quoins of these towers are normally of smallish oblong blocks laid with their broad faces arranged on the alternate wall faces (side-alternate). The structures are almost square in plan and any slightly longer axis usually lies east/west. The window openings at the lower stages are few, small and narrow, but they are tall compared with their width and have single internal splays. Belfry windows in these towers are round-headed double openings with straight mid-wall shafts or columns which may have capitals and sometimes bases. These support throughstone impost to the double-arched head above. Fisher, 1962, 248-251.

27 Baldwin Brown noted one final curious feature which occurred often in pre-Conquest towers. This was a door-like
opening in the east wall above the tower arch and well below the nave roof. It was normally placed in the second stage of a three or four stage structure and had an excellent view of the interior of the nave. Several theories have been advanced concerning the purpose of such an opening. Baldwin Brown felt that they were a means of entrance into a dwelling chamber used by the priest or custodian. However, he also stated that they may have been used as a means of egress communicating with spaces located between the ceilings and the outer roofs of the churches. They could also have afforded access from the tower to wooden galleries erected against the west ends of the buildings. As yet, none of these theories has presented a completely satisfying solution. Baldwin Brown, 1925, 333-335.

28 Examples of such doorways are found at Framingham, Coln Rogers, Alton Baines, Barton-on-Humber, and Barrow. Baldwin Brown, 1925, 26.

29 Round-headed voussoir arches are found on the south face of the tower at Barton-on-Humber, in the tower arch at Skipwith, and in the chancel arch at Worth.

Triangular gables are found in the west doorway at Holy Trinity, in the north doorway of the tower at Barton-on-Humber, and in the west doorway at Dunham Magna.

Plain lintels surmount the doorway leading to the stair turret at Hough-on-the-Hill and the north doorway of the nave at Winstone.

30 Examples of such arches are found over the south doorway at Heysham and above the blocked north doorway at Somerford Keynes.

31 Examples of this type of opening are found in the tower arches at Barton-on-Humber and Skipwith and the chancel arches at Barrow, Hackness, Kirk Hammerton, and Ryther.

32 The north doorways at Hadstock and Selham represent such plain unrebated entrances. Taylor, 1965, 10.

33 The tower arches at Bosham and Kirkdale and the chancel arches at Escomb and Ryther have jambs laid in the Escomb fashion.

34 Throughstone imposts are found in the tower arches at Barton-on-Humber and Skipwith and in the chancel arches at Barrow, Hackness and Ryther.

35 Examples of projecting imposts can be seen in the tower arch at Colchester, in the blocked north doorway at Somerford Keynes, and in the tower arch of St. Mary Bishophill Junior.

36 These anomalies are well-illustrated in the chancel arches at Barrow, Kirk Hammerton and Ryther and in the tower arches

It is obvious that the Anglo-Saxon masons, since they were much more familiar with timber construction, failed to comprehend the structural significance of true Roman arch construction and that they merely applied the outward form of this feature to their round-headed openings. E. Dudley Jackson and Eric G.M. Fletcher, "Constructional Characteristics in Anglo-Saxon Churches," British Archaeological Association Journal, series 3, 64 (1951), 21.

37 Such voussoirs are evident in the chancel arch at Barrow, the tower arch at Clee, and the entrance doorway to the tower at Kirk Hammerton.

38 Round-headed windows are located in the north wall of the tower at Caversfield, in the south wall of the nave at Chickney, and in the east window of the north nave wall at Leicester.

Gable-headed windows are located in the east window of the third stage of the tower at Deerhurst, the second level of the south face of the tower at Barton-on-Humber, and in the east windows over the tower arches at Thurlby and Bosham.

Circular windows are located in the north nave wall at West Barsham, in the east gable of the nave at Godalming, and in the west gable of the nave at Haddiscoe Thorpe.

39 Examples of such windows are located in the north and south walls of the nave at Worth, in the north wall of the nave at Leicester, in the south wall of the nave at Kingsdown, and over the north doorway of the nave at Darenth.

40 Such lintels are found in the northeast wall of the chancel at Barrow, in the window over the tower arch at Barton-on-Humber, and in the keyhole window with projecting hood-mould on the lower south face of the tower at Coleby.

41 Single-splayed (internally) windows are found in the north wall of the nave and in the north wall of the chancel at St. Giles, in the north wall of the nave at Bywell, in the north and south nave walls at Bulmer, and in the north and south walls of the tower at Bardsey.

Double-splayed windows are found in the south wall of the chancel at Dunham Magna, in the south wall of the nave at Diddlebury, in the north and south walls of the tower at Skipwith, and in the west, north and south walls of the tower at Barton-on-Humber.

Double-light belfry windows are found in the towers at Appleton-le-Street, Bywell, St. Mary Bishophill Junior, Kirk Hammerton, and Wharram-le-Street. Howard, 1936, 28-29.

42 Such rubble jambs and window heads are located in the
south wall of the nave at West Barsham, in the lower section of the north wall of the tower at Caversfield, in the north wall of the nave at Dunham Magna, and in the south wall of the nave at Chickney.

43 Such jambs are found in the opening over the tower arch at Barton-on-Humber, in the double-light belfry windows at St. Bene't, and in the window in the south transept at Stow. Often the actual aperture of the window was filled with a wooden or stone slab pierced with geometrical designs in order to let in light. Such slabs, which can be seen in some of the smaller windows at Earls Barton, were called *transcena*ae*. They are of Italian origin. Fisher, 1962, 192. Baldwin Brown, 1925, 273-275.

Frequently the outer edge of the window was rebated in order to receive a wooden shutter which was meant to keep out the elements. Taylor, 1965, 9.

44 Examples include the circular window in the west gable of the nave at Haddiscoe Thorpe, the lack of any opening except those that occupy the belfry level at Appleton-le-Street, the placement of the keyhole window in the west wall of the tower at Heapham, and the placement of the circular windows in the north wall of the nave at Coltishall.

Double-splayed windows were more easily constructed than single-splayed ones, since they required smaller, less elaborate wooden centrings for their erection.

45 Examples of these single lintels are found in the double-light windows at Appleton-le-Street, St. Bene't, Wharram-le-Street, and Rothwell.


46 Examples of long and short work appear in the tower quoins at Earls Barton and those at St. Bene't.

Baldwin Brown feels that long and short work was developed during Period B and was then seen in its final form in Period C. Baldwin Brown, 1925, 25.

47 Random megalithic quoins are found in the nave of St. Mildred's, Canterbury. Taylor, 1965, 7.


49 Pilaster strips are found on the exteriors of the towers at Barnack, Earls Barton, Sompting and Barton-on-Humber; on
the apse at Worth; and on the nave walls at Tichbourne, Woolbeeding and Coln Rogers.

There has been much controversy over the structural versus the decorative nature of pilaster strips. Earlier authors, such as Baldwin Brown and Clapham, felt that these features were purely decorative and they equated them with the German liesenen developed during the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. Fletcher and Jackson, however, put forward the theory (and argued it very well) that pilaster strips had structural value. They were supported by more recent scholars such as E.A. Fisher and H.M. and Joan Taylor.

Some examples include the towers at Appleton-le-Street, Bywell, Barnack, St. Bene't, Hornby, and Skipwith.

Plinths occur beneath the nave at Barholm, the chancel at Bradford-on-Avon, the west tower at Branstone, the north wall of the nave at Coln Rogers, and the west tower at Kirk Hammerton. Baldwin Brown, 1925, 5.

Examples of two-celled plans are found at Kempley, Bengeo, Stoke Orchard, and Hales.

Square chancels are found at Kempley and Stoke Orchard while apsidal chancels occur at Bengeo and Hales. A.W. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture After the Conquest, (Oxford, 1934), p.102.

Norman builders brought with them the apsidal eastern end, though they were often forced to abandon it, due to the fact that insular masons overwhelmingly preferred a square chancel. Howard, 1936, 33, 39.

Three-celled plans are found at Moccas, Kilpeck and Studland.

Birkin is an example of a four-celled church.

Aisled churches are found at Bardsey, Geddington, Appleton-le-Street, Bedale, Hackness, and Kirkby Hill.


Examples of shorter Anglo-Norman naves are found at Iffley, Hales, Melbourne, Stewkley, and Cassington. In addition, the naves at Stewkley and Melbourne are of great height.


Clapham, 1934, 116.
Some argument can be made for the fact that herring-bone work did seem to appear more frequently in walls of post-Conquest provenance. It is believed that it may have been used as a bonding course for the purpose of strengthening the wall itself. Howard, 1936, 34.

Examples of such plaster-covered interiors are seen at Iffley, Walksoken and Hemel Hempstead. Limewashed interiors occur at Fingest and Hales. Thompson, 1913, 66-67.

Such main entrances are found at Kilpeck, Studland, Castle Heddingham, Bengeo, Birkin, and Moccas. Thompson, 1913, 58.

Bell-cotes surmount the roofs of Kilpeck, Rudford and Redmire.

Langford, Old and New Shoreham, Iffley, Stewkley, and Ozleworth are good examples of the short, squat, decorated type, though Fingest displays a more severe exterior. Fisher, 1962, 180.

Examples of centrally placed axial towers are found at Iffley, Stewkley, Old and New Shoreham, Ozleworth, Castor, and Langford.

With the construction of arches in two or more concentric rings, the first ring served as a centring for the second, which projected beyond the first. A third, fourth, fifth or even sixth such feature could be projected if the wall were thick or if a particularly elaborate facing was required. Howard, 1936, 31, 44.

Such turrets exist in the northwest corner of the north transept at Old Shoreham and in the northeast corner of the south transept at Hemel Hempstead.

Arches with rubble cores are found in the nave arcades at Melbourne and Walkurn. Such structures also support the crossing at Old Shoreham and the ambulatories of St. John's Chapel at the Tower of London and St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield.

Examples of recessed arches include the chancel arch at Tickencote; the tower arches at Iffley, Stewkley, Cassington, and Studland; the south portal at Barfreystone; the tower and transept arches at Old Shoreham; and the nave south doorway at Adel. Howard, 1936, 47.

Such carefully laid voussoirs are found in the nave arcade.
at Melbourne, the tower arches at Old Shoreham, the arches of the axial tower at Studland, and the ambulatory of St. John's Chapel at the Tower of London.

76. North and south doorways are found at Bengeo, Hales, Little Tey, Moccas, Birkin, Stoke Orchard, Melbourne, Hemel Hempstead and Peterborough. Occasionally, however, there was a west doorway.

77. Such rebated openings include the west doorway at Hemel Hempstead; the south doorways at Kilpeck, Bengeo, Studland, Kempsey, and Hales; and the north and south doorways at Moccas.


79. Soffit rolls are found on the south nave doorway at Stewkley, the north doorway at Iffley, and the entrance doorway at St. Sepulchre's, Cambridge.

80. Such tympana appear above the south portals at Barfreystone, Kilpeck, Tredington, and Bishops Teghton.

81. Examples of round-headed windows include the openings over the west doorway at Iffley, the blocked openings of the apse at Hales, the windows in the south wall of the nave at Stewkley, the apse windows at Kilpeck, and the tower openings at Fingest.

Circular windows are located in the nave west wall at Iffley and the four tower walls at Old and New Shoreham.

82. Anglo-Norman clerestory windows are found at Arreton, Bibury and Bosham.

83. Internally single-splayed windows are found in the north and south walls of the naves at Stoke Orchard, Kilpeck and Studland and in the apse at Bengeo.

Those surmounted by true arches include the blocked apse windows at Hales, the opening on the west front at Kilpeck, the clerestory windows at Melbourne and St. Sepulchre's, and the apse openings at Birkin.

Those surmounted by lintels with relieving arches include the nave windows at Old Shoreham and the apse windows at Kilpeck.

84. Large recessed and moulded window openings are found above the west doorway at Iffley, in the clerestory at St. Sepulchre's, on either side of the tower entrance at Branstone, in the belfry at Ringest, and in the apse at Birkin.

Flat, broad clasping buttresses are located at the southeast corner of the nave wall at Hales, the corners of the south transept wall at Old Shoreham, and the corners of the west front wall at Langford.

Highly projecting buttresses are found on the nave and clerestory walls at St. Sepulchre's, the nave and apse walls at Kilpeck, the apse walls at Hales and Birkin, and the north transept wall at Romsey.

Examples of Anglo-Norman quoins are located at the northwest and southwest angles of the nave at Iffley, the southwest and southeast angles of the nave at Barfreystone, the four angles of the tower at Ozleworth, and the southeast and northeast angles of the chancel at Rudford.


Plinths are found beneath the towers at Old and New Shoreham and Stewkley, the nave and tower at Iffley, and the apse at Kilpeck.
CHAPTER III

THE CHURCHES - A CATALOGUE

Introduction

In the three Ridings of Yorkshire there are twenty-six parish churches which retain Anglo-Saxon fabric. These have been included in the following catalogue. They will be discussed first with reference to any historical documents, such as charters and chronicles, which pertain to their pre-Conquest development. The existing Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements in these churches will then be described and analyzed on the basis of the constructional features and techniques discussed in Chapter II, "The Architectural Heritage". As a result of this study the structures have been arranged chronologically, based on the evidence available at this time.

The church of St. Mary at Lastingham, which was originally included in the catalogue, has been eliminated. Though Lastingham was an ancient foundation, established in the seventh century, the existing church was constructed ca.1078 under the auspices of Stephen of Whitby, a Norman cleric totally unaffected by Anglo-Saxon building styles and techniques. As this was an important foundation, he probably imported his own masons from the Continent to erect it. Consequently, the church, with the exception of the column bases in the crypt, is built
in the Norman style and displays neither Anglo-Saxon features
nor that uneasy merging of Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements
which characterize many of the buildings included in this catalogue.

Ledsham

I. Dedication: All Saints

II. Location: The church is located in the West Riding of Yorkshire, ten miles east of Leeds.

III. Present Condition: All Saints consists of a west tower, a nave with a north aisle and a south porch, and a chancel with a north chapel and vestry. (figs. 1, 2) (Plan 1)

IV. History and Documentation: There is no mention of a church existing on this site before 1066, though the village is mentioned in Anglo-Saxon Charter LXXIV entitled, "Types of Tenure Among Church Lands in Yorkshire". All Saints was restored in 1871 by Curzon.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
   1. Exterior
      a) Masonry: The southern and western walls of the nave are of well-coursed, widely jointed, roughly dressed brown sandstone. The lower portion of the tower to the height of the second window on the south face, is of similar material but higher up it changes to rough rubble walling. (figs. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8)

      b) Nave: The south wall, visible from the exterior, may be original and of the eighth century. (figs. 2, 6, 7, 8) The church retains exceptionally large megalithic side-alternate quoins.
at its northwestern, southwestern and southeastern corners. These resemble those found at Escomb and Jarrow. (figs. 2, 3, 7)

The south nave wall contains three original blocked round-headed windows, one to the west of the later west window, one just east of it, and one to the west of the present east window. (figs. 2, 6, 7, 8) Their external heads consist of arched lintels resting on jambs which are coursed with the walling. They are large for Anglo-Saxon windows, with external apertures 23 in. wide x 51 in. high.

The south porch was added to the nave shortly after its construction, at about the same time as the west porch or tower. At first sight it appears to be an ordinary medieval structure but H.M. Taylor thinks that originally it functioned as a lateral porticus. He interprets the remains above the inner doorway as a tall, narrow entrance which opened outwards from the nave. The external face consists of a flat lintel resting on jambs 28 in. apart and 14 ft. high. Internally the jambs are only 24 in. apart. The opening would have been rebated for the hanging of a door. Since the doorway was blocked from the time the medieval entrance was constructed, it seems fair to assume that the similarly rebated jambs and flat lintel of the tower's south doorway are also original and not later insertions. The remarkable height of the doorway within the nave suggests the existence of two doorways, one above the other, opening into a south porticus of two storeys, but this would imply the need for upper windows in the porticus and there is no trace of such openings. It is reasonable to regard this
doorway as an extreme example of the Anglo-Saxon love of tall, narrow openings, perhaps adopted to facilitate the carrying of a cross in a procession. H.M. Taylor admits that any southern window which did exist would have disappeared with the insertion of the fifteenth century outer doorway.\(^8\)

It is difficult to date the main fabric of the south porch. It is not in bond with the nave wall and it has no overlying Norman fabric to aid in proving that it is pre-Conquest. However, the walls are of similar thickness (2 - 2 ft. 2 in.) and general character as those of the tower and the quoins are of the large side-alternate type. This may indicate a similar date.(fig.2)

c) Tower: The tower was not constructed at the same time as the nave since it is not in bond with the main fabric. However, it was erected shortly after.(figs.1,2,3,4) It shows every indication of having once been a two storey porch with a gabled roof space. This porch was continued upwards after 1066. Its longer east/west axis is an indication of what E.A. Fisher calls a porch tower and the line of the original east gable against the west wall is further proof of this.\(^9\) On the exterior, the mark of this porch is not clearly shown though its existence is implied by the change from rough-cut, regular stone laid in courses, to crude rubble walling.

The quoins of the tower are large side-alternate slabs which are massive at the base. There is no plinth and there are no openings in the north wall below the belfry level.(fig.5)
Above and slightly to the north of the later round-headed west window, is an almost square opening with a square lintel, jambs and sill, all of one stone each. It is chamfered all round. To the east of the doorway, in the south wall, is an original Anglo-Saxon window with an arched lintel and ashlar jambs which resemble the walling. (figs. 3, 4) Above this is a similar, though slightly smaller, opening.

The south doorway is the most difficult and controversial feature in the tower. On the exterior it is round-headed and measures 2 ft. 4 in. x 5 ft. 7 in. with jambs of plain, square section and shallow imposts. (figs. 3, 4, 5) The round head is of well-laid voussoirs and the whole doorway is outlined with a band of stripwork carried up beside the jambs and around the head. The difficult features are the stripwork and the imposts. The imposts are not the usual Saxon type. Instead they are square blocks rounded off below. These do not continue across the wall face to intersect the stripwork, but end oddly against it. Both the imposts and the stripwork, which is 7 in. wide and projects 3 - 5 in. from the wall face, are ornamented with conventional vinescroll. This is intercepted at the top of the moulding by three rosettes. H.M. Taylor does not think that the stripwork and ornament are entirely additions made by Curzon in 1871. He states that Sir Stephen Glynne's 1862 description mentions such decoration around the opening, but that it was of simple form. He feels that the jambs could be compared with the earlier north doorway at Escomb and with the side openings in the west wall at Monkwearmouth.
2. Interior

a) Masonry: The early nave consists of roughly shaped ashlar laid in regular courses of varying height. (figs.10,11,12) The brown sandstone blocks are widely jointed and resemble those on the exterior of the building.

b) Chancel: The chancel arch, measuring 7 ft. 10 in. x 9 ft. 9 in. to the height of the impost, is early, but many of its details have been renewed. (fig.9) It consists of a round-headed arch of regular throughstone voussoirs, some of which, especially to the north, may have been replaced. There is no keystone. The jambs, which are 2 ft. 4 in. thick, are a mixture of throughstones and smaller blocks laid in one - three courses. They are laid Escomb fashion, though a squint cuts through the northern one and a pipe organ blocks the western one. The impost are renewals which curve in slightly and are incised with a circle and star design. They are similar to those of the tower south doorway. The arch has been so seriously tampered with that it is difficult to date, though it is probably late Saxon (C₃) or Saxo-Norman.

d) Nave: The nave, which measures 42 ft. x 17 ft. 4 in., has walls which are 2½ ft. - 3 in. - 2 ft. 4 in. thick and are approximately 22 ft. high. Above the north arcade are the remains of four blocked Anglo-Saxon windows. (fig.11) The south wall contains three blocked round-headed windows. These are internally splayed and their internal heads consist of well-laid voussoirs descending to jambs that are
quite distinct from the coursing of the wall. (fig.10) There is also some tendency towards the use of alternating upright and flat stones. These windows and the ones to the north, splay internally 23 in. wide x 51 in. high - 32 in. wide x 78 in. high and their interior sills are 12 ft. above the floor.  

In the south wall, near the western end of the nave, is the south doorway which originally led to the south porticus. Internally it has a round head which rests on jambs 24 in. apart and is rebated for the hanging of a door. The door opened southward, because the external opening is 28 in. and the jambs on this side are 2 in. higher. (fig.10)  

Above the tower arch is what appears at first to be the usual type of Saxon opening in the tower east wall. (fig.12) However, H.M. Taylor believes it to be an internally splayed window similar in construction to the two windows in the tower south wall.  

It must have been placed there to light the nave as was the window above the west doorway at Monkwearmouth. It consists of throughstone slab jambs of three stones each, supporting an arched lintel of slightly triangular shape which is composed of two stones. The sill was built up for the accommodation of the later tower arch.  

e) Tower: The tower measures 12 ft. 3 in. east/west x 9 ft. 8 in. north/south with walls 2 - 2 ft. 3 in. thick. These measurements place it in E.A. Fisher's category of porch towers. There are no openings on the north face. However,
at the eastern end of the south wall, at the level of the south doorway, is a small internally splayed, round-headed window. Above it is another similar, though smaller, opening. Very near the southwestern jamb is the south doorway. On the interior it survives almost unchanged and consists of a flat lintel and jambs that are rebated 2 in. behind those of the outer face for the hanging of a door.

The first floor of the tower is about the height of the ceiling of the original Anglo-Saxon chamber. At this point the walling ceases to be carefully laid and becomes rubble. On the eastern wall of the present clock chamber, and clearly visible on the interior, is the patched scar of the original roof line which marks the junction of the Anglo-Saxon porch with the west wall of the Anglo-Saxon nave. (fig. 13)

B. Norman Elements

a) Masonry: The belfry stage of the tower is of white Tadcaster stone laid in regular, thinly jointed, ashlar courses. (figs. 1, 3)

b) Tower: The belfry stage contains double-light openings with heads of small voussoirs. (figs. 1, 3) The jambs have thin, square impost and the central shafts, which are not mid-wall, support square, quirked impost above. Each of the shafts is surmounted by two scalloped capitals with plain neckings.

2. Interior

a) Nave: H.M. Taylor considers the tower arch, which measures
7 ft. 4 in. x 11 ft. 9 in., to be a Norman insertion, probably meant to replace a west doorway similar to the one at Monkwearmouth.\(^\text{13}\) (fig.12) The fact that it does replace an earlier opening is clearly indicated by the way that the imposts are not coursed with the walling and by the fact that the head runs close to the window above. As a result, the windowsill had to be built up by one course. Also, the original first floor of the porch would have run across the open head of an arch of this size.

The arch is plain with regular voussoirs which are not throughstones but are instead laid \(3 - \frac{3}{4}\) per course with no rubble in-filling. There is no keystone. The jambs are 2 ft. 5 in. thick and are also laid \(3 - \frac{3}{4}\) per course while the imposts are quirked and chamfered.\(^\text{14}\)

VI. Observations and Conclusions: There is no reference to All Saints in any pre-Conquest document or chronicle and dating must be done on stylistic grounds. The thorough investigation undertaken by H.M. and Joan Taylor has allowed them to advance an eighth century date for Ledsham.\(^\text{15}\) Their reasons for this are as follows: 1) The blocked side windows of the nave and the original east windows of the tower are similar to those found in the western wall of Monkwearmouth. They have monolithic arched lintels on the exterior and arched interior voussoir heads. They are also very large. 2) The blocked south doorway leading from the nave to the south porticus, and the original south doorway of the tower are early. The fact that they are rebated allows them to be
compared stylistically to the side doorways of the west porch at Monkwearmouth. Also, the combination of a round head on one face and a flat lintel on the other can be seen in the fragmentary remains of the south doorways at Jarrow and Deerhurst. 3) The plan of the nave with its slightly later west porch is similar to that at Monkwearmouth, as is the splayed window above the tower arch. 4) The fabric of the nave, with its coursed, roughly squared stones, thin walling and megalithic quoins, is typical of the best period of early Northumbrian church building (eg. Jarrow, Escomb and Corbridge). 16

Baldwin Brown, on the other hand, argues against this early date. He feels that the Norman tower arch and the stripwork around the tower south doorway are much too advanced to be Anglo-Saxon. H.M. Taylor counters this by stating that the tower arch is a later insertion and that Glynne has described the pre-1871 stripwork as of plainer design. 17

As early as 1886, Bishop G.F. Brown had appreciated the similarity between Ledsham and Monkwearmouth. 18 Also, the two sections of carved cross in the northern wall of the north aisle, though they do not establish a date for the church, do prove that the site has been a place of worship from very early times. If H.M. Taylor's proposals are correct, and they seem quite feasible, then Ledsham is the earliest Anglo-Saxon church in Yorkshire. As such, it reveals stylistic features uninfluenced by later continental architecture and it can be used as a means of dating the earlier characteristics found in Anglo-Saxon churches in Yorkshire.
York, Bishophill Senior

I. Dedication: St. Mary

II. Location: The church was located in the city of York on the west side of the River Ouse. It sat midway between the river and the city wall at the junction of Bishophill Senior and Cromwell Road.

III. Condition in 1961: The church consisted of a nave with a north aisle, a tower at the west end of the north aisle, a south porch, and a chancel with a north aisle. The chancel was not separated structurally from the nave. (Plan 2)

IV. History and Documentation: St. Mary's was first referred to in 1202, when the right of presentation to the benefice was renounced in favour of Robert le Wavasor (Vavasor). The parish boundaries were revised in 1885. As a result, the church lay in the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Junior. The structure was used for occasional services until 1956, when it was left to deteriorate. A faculty was obtained for its demolition but in 1958 the ruins were still standing. In 1961, when the Taylors visited the site, the church still existed, but it was finally demolished in 1965.

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The nave walls were constructed of gritstone rubble laid in irregular, widely jointed courses. (fig. 14) A considerable amount of patching was visible in the walls and was done with
widely jointed, grey gritstone ashlar.

b) Nave: According to the Taylors, to the east of the south porch there was evidence of a straight vertical joint where the megalithic fabric of the original nave joined the smaller rubble fabric of the later chancel.  

Perhaps the best indications of the pre-Conquest date of the church were the southwestern and northeastern quoins. (fig.14) The lower part of the southwestern quoin was of regular side-alternate character. It was constructed of large stones similar to those found in many early Northumbrian churches. The megalithic construction of the lower courses in the south wall may also have been early. 

The Romano-British remains which Taylor stated were part of the church, were situated roughly beneath the corresponding walls of the Anglo-Saxon nave, but they had a slightly different orientation. The southwestern angles of the two structures were practically coincident but the west wall of the earlier fabric soon began to protrude westward like a foundation platform beneath the Anglo-Saxon wall. This projection can be seen in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Plan.

c) Tower: Some stones of the eighth or early ninth century were located at the foot of the tower.

2. Interior

a) Masonry: A photograph taken in 1945 showed that the plaster had fallen off the wall above the north arcade revealing roughly shaped, widely jointed, stones. (fig.15) These had been laid
in irregular courses of varying size and shape.

b) Nave: The nave, which measured 19 ft. 6 in. x 36 ft. 3 in. on the interior, had side walls 2 ft. 6 in. thick. Originally they were at least 20 ft. high. At the western end of the south wall there were clear indications of a straight vertical joint between the old and the new fabric. It was also easy to see that at a distance of about 2 ft. 6 in. to the west of the joint there was another straight vertical line. This was indicated at the western edge of the original east wall which had been cut away when the chancel was widened in the Middle Ages.

The best evidence of Anglo-Saxon workmanship within the nave could be seen above the late Norman north arcade. The arches were cut through a pre-Conquest wall and the outer face of the northeastern quoin could be seen in the north aisle over the third column to the west. A straight vertical joint ran up the wall on the eastern side of this quoin where the later fabric of the widened chancel abutted against it. Within the nave it was also possible to see the earlier Romano-British wall protruding northward from the Anglo-Saxon south wall.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Nave: The north aisle was constructed in the late twelfth century but was widened in the fifteenth century. It rested on a double foundation platform.

2. Interior

a) Nave: The twelfth century nave north arcade consisted of
three bays of arches resting on circular piers. \(^{(fig.15)}\)
The arches, which were round-headed and of a single order of voussoirs, rested on square abaci. They were cut straight through the wall with no chamfer. \(^{30}\)

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The church is difficult to date as it no longer exists. It is necessary to rely on the word of those who saw it before it was demolished. There were no doorways, windows or other distinctive details to aid in definite dating. It is therefore necessary to turn to the walling and quoins for any clues. H.M. and Joan Taylor state that the quoins were megalithic side-alternate and on this basis they assign the nave to Period A. They feel this early date is further supported by the fact that the Anglo-Saxon portion rested on the remains of a Romano-British building. This, they state, is a good reason for surmising that it is earlier than St. Mary Bishophill Junior. \(^{31}\) Unfortunately, any investigation of this church now depends on the theories of the Taylors as firsthand research is impossible.

Skipwith

I. Dedication: St. Helen

II. Location: The church is located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, five miles northeast of Selby and two miles from Riccall.

III. Present Condition: Skipwith consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel.\(^{(fig.19)}\) (Plan 3)

IV. History and Documentation: Reference to the church is made
in the Domesday Book under the holdings of Richard, son of Erfast. In 1084, William the Conqueror gave Howden to Bishop William of Durham with its church and those of Wilton and Walkingtone along with their tithes and demesnes and the church of Skipwith etc. In the 1120s the same church was granted to Durham Priory. It was restored by J.L. Pearson, 1876 - 1877.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
1. Exterior
   a) Masonry: For about the first twelve feet the lower stage of the tower is constructed of roughly shaped stones laid in widely jointed courses. Above this, and continuing to the height of the first string-course, the stones diminish in size and are of rougher quality. Higher still the walling is formed of thin slabs of ragstone rubble. (figs. 20, 21)

   b) Tower: The exterior of the tower is about 21 ft. 8 in. square and is approximately 44 ft. high to the top of the second stage. It sits on a double plinth of one square and one chamfered order. Above this the first story rises sheer to a height of approximately 36 ft. The quoins at this level are megalithic, measuring up to 3 ft. 6 in. x 14 ft. 8 in. However, about half way up they become smaller. The bottom stones of the tower are very large measuring approximately 2 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 9 in. (figs. 20, 21)

   The two lower stages of the tower are Anglo-Saxon while the upper portion is a fifteenth century construction. The lower storey, which occupies about half the total height of the
structure, is divided internally by a wooden floor. The second stage, which is short, is separated from the one below by a plain string-course which has been renewed. A string-course of similar plain square section also separates the second and third stages.

Below the later belfry stage the south wall contains four window openings, one in the second stage and three in the bottom stage. (figs. 20, 21) Three of these are situated in the centre of the wall. The lowest opening is about 10 - 12 ft. above ground level and is a large double-splayed construction. It measures 1 ft. 6 in. x 5 ft. 6 in. externally. The arched lintel extends to the glass line and below this there are slab jambs lying on their faces. These follow no particular arrangement. Also there are no impostes and there is no separate sill. The window above this is smaller and measures 10 in. - 1 ft. wide x 3 - 5 ft. high. It is double-splayed with a round head of thin selected stones with their thinner ends facing the interior. This opening has no impostes, sill or jambs.

The lower opening in the west wall of the bottom stage is about 4 ft. from the ground. It has an arched lintel, a well-dressed stone sill, and jambs which have been renewed. Approximately half way up the western wall is a window which has measurements and a double-splayed construction similar to its counterpart in the south wall. (fig. 21)

In the north wall are two double-splayed windows, the lower of which is in a corresponding position to that in the south wall. It is tall and narrow with an arched lintel and
slab jambs. There is no separate sill. With the exception of Jarrow, these openings are the most northerly examples of double-splayed Anglo-Saxon windows in England.\footnote{40}

One loop window is set in each of the four walls of the second stage. The one to the south is formed of four large well-dressed stones chamfered all round.(figs.20,21) It is a later insertion. The jambs of the openings in the western, northern and eastern walls may also be renewals, though Fisher states that they are made of harder and darker stone than that of the wall, and therefore may have worn less.\footnote{41} H.M. Taylor, on the other hand, contends that these openings are later insertions.\footnote{42} This impression is strengthened by traces of the jambs of an early window on the north face and by the definite indication of blocked round-headed windows in the stonework of the western and southern faces. These have lost their dressed stone facings.

It is probable that the second stage, which is approximately 36 - 44 ft. above ground level, is all that remains of the Anglo-Saxon belfry, the windows of which were blocked in order to strengthen the walls so that they could carry the heavy fifteenth century belfry. These single blocked loops may be a type of early belfry opening but they are insufficiently defined to be identified with certainty. They rest on a string-course 36 ft. above the ground and they are simple round-headed openings about 3 ft. wide x 6 ft. high.\footnote{43}

On the west face of the second stage near the southwest corner, is a boldly projecting corbel or prorrosso.(fig.21)
It is located just below the square-cut Anglo-Saxon string-course. About 10 ft. below this the tower is encircled by what appears to have been decorative panelling consisting of two courses of stones which project slightly from the wall face and which are separated by a band of rough ashlar.

2. Interior

a) Masonry: The interior of the church is constructed primarily of roughly dressed stones laid in courses of varying height. These are of widely jointed, light brown sandstone and vary in size and shape. (figs. 24, 25)

b) Nave: The original dimensions of the nave were approximately 25 ft. x 16 ft. with walls 2 ft. 10 in. thick and about 20 ft. high. The walls above the arcades are Anglo-Saxon to the level of the later windows. They are then continued upward in later and neater masonry courses. The older walling terminates just to the east of the second, or middle arch of each arcade, though it does extend slightly further to the east in the south wall. (fig. 23) Within the nave it is also possible to confirm the historical development of the church by noting how the side walls below the clerestory are in bond with the west tower. The eastern part of the north wall is also appreciably thinner than the earlier walling over the two western bays.

The tower arch is a large round-headed construction. (figs. 22, 24) A few of the voussoirs have been renewed and a number are throughstones but they consist mainly of two or three blocks per course with no rubble in-filling. The jambs
also contain some throughstones but are mostly two blocks per course. The arch is 2 ft. 10 in. thick with plain impost.
approximately 7 in. thick. These project 4 in. from the wall face. The soffit is returned on each face about 3 ft. 8 in.
The entire structure is 8 ft. high to the bottom of the impost.
and almost 13 ft. in total height. It is 8 ft. 3 in. wide and rests on a plinth 12 in. high which projects 3 in. from the wall face. The double stripwork hood-mould runs around the head and down the jambs and is similar to that which outlines the tower arch at Stow, Lincs.44 The outer stripwork, which is square-edged, is 5 in. x 5 in. and abuts against the nave west wall. The inner stripwork consists of a roll moulding situated 6 in. from the outer band and 2 ft. from the soffits. It is 9 in. wide with a projection of 5 in. Above the tower arch, but below the nave roof, is a large rectangular opening which is now blocked.(fig.25) The jambs of this structure are small slabs of mixed face- and side-alternate arrangement. The top and bottom stones of these jambs have chamfered inner corners which form the lintel and sill. The outline of the opening presents a rectangle with the corners cut off. It has no separate sill between the two lower inward projecting jamb stones. The opening measures 2 ft. 5 in. wide x 7 ft. 3 in.
tall and the sill is 19 ft. above the nave floor.45

c) Tower: The interior of the tower is 15 ft. 10. in square with walls 2 ft. 11 in. thick. The windows in the second stage are abnormally constructed. All have heads which differ externally
and internally. Externally they are cut away below to shape the window heads and they may have been altered when the double-splayed windows of the upper storey were constructed. However, the greater part of their splay is internal and the interior throughstone jambs lie on their sides. The interior heads are formed of voussoirs with their narrow ends facing outwards, leaving a large v-shaped space at the crown. This space is filled with a very large centre stone which cannot be called a keystone. Internally the openings measure 1 ft. x 4 ft. 6 in. 46

The second stage contains an interior chamber not indicated on the exterior. It is illuminated by two windows in the south wall and by one in the west wall. These are situated 1 ft. above the floor of the room. A little window at the eastern corner of the south wall illuminates a curious recess within the chamber. Set into the west wall, it is a shallow indentation 3 ft. x 3 ft. 5 in. x 6 in. with its sill approximately 2 ft. above the present floor. It has a flat lintel which is chamfered below and beneath this chamfer is a half-round moulding which forms the lower edge of the lintel. There is no separate sill and the jambs are round monolithic columns set under rectangular square-edged block impost of pre-Conquest type. The bases of these are slightly bulbous. Baldwin Brown states that the recess is situated south of the blocked doorway which formerly led out into a space above the nave. 47 It appears to have formed a very important part of the design of the chamber and the window in the south wall was certainly inserted in order to illuminate it. It may have been an altar and the back of the recess may
have been decorated with a stone slab. From the interior it is also possible to see the blocked voussoir arch of the eastern opening into the nave. The six voussoirs vary in size and are laid with joints which are far from radial. There is also a faint trace of the blocked windows of the early belfry.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Nave: The north aisle is a twelfth century construction.

2. Interior

a) Nave: The twelfth century north arcade consists of three bays of pointed arches. These are constructed of recessed orders with dogtooth decoration around the outer edges. They rest on alternating octagonal and circular piers.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: It is possible that parts of St. Helen's Skipwith are very early. The exterior of the tower shows marked differences in character. The use of large blocks of stone is evident, particularly up to the sill of the lower window in the south wall, and the quoin stones at this point are megalithic in size. The walling bears a remarkable resemblance to that at Ledsham, though above, in the second stage, the stones are of small ragstone rubble.

The differences may imply that the lower western chamber was originally a one storey porch with single-splayed windows. The voussoirs of the external and internal arches of these openings are of an early character. The addition of the upper chamber and belfry would have followed at a later date when
double-splayed windows had become the common type. At that time
the outward splays would have been added to the heads and jambs
of the lower windows in order to convert them to the new style.
However, this theory cannot be substantiated with the evidence
available. 50

The interior fabric of the original nave is similar
to that of the lower part of the tower and must also be of
early date. If there was a porch, then it and the nave walls
above the later arcades must have been erected in Period A
or B. If, as H.M. Taylor claims, the windows in the tower were
originally single-splayed, then the possibility of an early
date is strengthened.

However, the tower arch is late. The hood-moulds; the
use of two or three stones per course; and the neat, advanced
form of construction; all point to a date of C2 or C3. The
structure is probably a later insertion built when the Anglo-
Saxon belfry was added. The belfry may have contained typical
double-light windows which would have been renewed or blocked
when the fifteenth century belfry was added. The faint outlines
of the blocked openings at this level reveal that they were
certainly wide and tall enough to have taken such a form.

Bardsey

I. Dedication: All Hallows

II. Location: The church is located in the West Riding of
Yorkshire, eight miles northeast of Leeds.

III. Present Condition: Bardsey consists of a west tower, an
aisled nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel containing a south vestry and a north chapel. (fig.26) (Plan 4)

IV. History and Documentation: Reference is made to the village of Bardsey in the Domesday Book, though the church is not mentioned. 51

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
1. Exterior
a) Masonry: The exterior of the building is composed of widely jointed, roughly dressed light brown sandstone laid in courses of varying height and size. (figs.27,28,29,30)

b) Tower: The west tower, which is tall and slender, is built over an earlier porch. It has no exterior stages and rises unadorned to the later battlemented parapet. (figs.26,27,28,29,30) The total height of the structure is 50 ft. and the west wall is 12 ft. wide. 52 The lower north and south faces of the tower are hidden by later aisle walls and are only visible inside the church. The western quoins, up to approximately 12 ft. (the roof of the early porch), are of large blocks, 3 ft. 6 in. x 2 ft., laid in side-alternate fashion. (fig.30) The quoins above these are smaller and, though Fisher claims they are face-alternate, they appear to be laid in the same manner as those below. 53

There is no western entrance to the tower and, though H.M. Taylor is tempted to assume that there was originally an Anglo-Saxon doorway and window to the west, there is no evidence to support this theory. 54 The main entrance was on the north
an unusual position for a tower entrance except when it is required for access to side adjuncts.

About 10 ft. above ground level on the tower west face, shaped like an inverted V, is the original gable line of the porch. Further up is a small rectangular window with no individual lintel, sill or jamb stones. In the north wall, above the later aisles, is a similar rectangular opening.(fig.26)

On the south face, above the projecting aisle, is another small rectangular window, while in the third and fourth belfry stages are two double-light openings.(fig.29) Their placement, one above the other, is an Anglo-Saxon characteristic, though an uncommon one. These windows are 4 ft. 4 in. tall x 34 in. wide and have central baluster shafts which bulge slightly from 5½ - 7 in. They are about 2 ft. 11 in. tall. The shafts support central throughstone imposts with chamfered edges. These are surmounted by double arch heads of small voussoirs. The shafts are not mid-wall but are set nearer to the exterior face. The bases are almost flush with the outer wall faces and are constructed of rough cubical blocks hollow-chamfered above to meet the shafts which have no capitals. The jamb imposts are small and are almost indistinguishable from the jamb stones, which are no more than walling stones.

On the east face is a belfry opening which consists of a single narrow window with an arched lintel.(fig.28) It appears to be contemporary with the double openings on the south face. Below it, in the third stage, is a similar window. These are 3 ft. 6 in. tall x 11 in. wide. H.M. Taylor notes
that these openings are placed at the same level as the two southern windows and that like them, they have square jambs built mainly of throughstones and cut straight through the wall. The round head of each is a single rectangular arched belfry window which is earlier in design than the more familiar and more complicated double-belfry openings. The latter are much too complex to have arisen suddenly and one must postulate a preliminary period of development. He feels at Bardsey there may be on adjacent walls, the familiar double opening and its precursor.

2. Interior
a) Masonry: The interior masonry resembles that of the exterior. (figs. 32, 33, 35, 36, 37) Of widely jointed, roughly dressed light brown sandstone, it sometimes approaches the appearance of rubble, especially in the east wall above the chancel arch. The courses vary considerably in size and height and in the lower walls of the tower, which are now seen from the interior of the church, the stones are megalithic, though they are laid in neat, widely jointed courses.

b) Chancel: The southeastern side-alternate quoin of the nave can be seen in the vestry to the south of the chancel. Above the chancel arch, on the eastern face of the chancel west wall, the line of the original roof gable is clearly visible. (fig. 37)

c) Nave: The nave is 31 ft. x 15 ft. 3 in., with walls 2 ft. thick. The southwestern and northwestern side-alternate quoins, which are visible within the church, are composed of massive
stones up to 3 ft. 6 in. x 16 in. in size. (fig. 34) They ascend to a height of 10 - 12 ft. and then become smaller. 60

The lower north and south walls of the tower are seen within the nave. The north wall contains the original main entrance, a round-headed doorway 2 ft. 6 in. wide x 5 ft. 7 in. tall. It is not rebated and has a head of two rings of arched lintels. The jambs are of throughstones. The sill of the window above is 8 ft. 9 in. from ground level. It is a single-light opening with sloping jambs and is 2 ft. 7 in. tall x 11 in. wide, splaying internally to 3 ft. 9 in. x 1 ft. 5 in. 61. The head is composed of well-jointed voussoirs which are not throughstones.

In the south wall of the tower, at ground level, is a round-headed doorway measuring 2 ft. 8 in. x 5 ft., which may be renewed. (fig. 35) The head is composed of voussoirs below which are slab jambs. There are no imposts, though there is a slab sill. The south window is of similar dimensions as the northern one and is round-headed with an internal splay and sloping jambs. The arch is composed of five voussoirs and each of the jambs is constructed of four selected walling slabs. The top ones serve as imposts and there is no separate sill. Above the tower arch is the line of the original steeply pitched roof gable. (fig. 36)

d) Tower: The interior of the tower measures 10 ft. 2 in. east/west x 8 ft. 2 in. north/south. It has walls which vary in thickness from 2½ ft. at ground level to 2 ft. in the second stage, and only 1 ft. 8 in. in the third stage. 62
B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Nave: During the restoration (1904 - 1914), the Norman lancet in the west wall of the north aisle was opened up. The south doorway was erected in the first quarter of the twelfth century (ca.1100 - ca.1125), and is of approximately the same date as the north arcade. (fig.31) The round-headed arch is of three orders. The outer order displays a beak-head moulding which descends to a quirked and chamfered impost, below which is an attached column with a cushion capital. The column rests on a bell-shaped base below. This in turn sits on a chamfered plinth. The middle order is incised with a chevron design and is supported by a similar recessed impost with an attached column below. The inner order consists of plain voussoirs which vary in size and rest on quirked and chamfered imposts. Below the imposts are plain square jambs and a recess chamfered plinth.

2. Interior

a) Chancel: The chancel arch, which is 9 ft. 10 in. wide, is similar to, but later than, the tower arch. (fig.37) It is also at least 3 ft. taller. Containing no throughstones, it is chamfered on the west face and has a round head of two voussoirs per course. However, the voussoirs on the east side above the north jamb are smaller and similar in size to the walling stones. They appear to be older and may be re-used. Many have irregular tooling. The imposts are similar to those of the tower arch and though the arch head is moulded on the west face, there is no stripwork hood-mould on the east face.
b) Nave: During the first quarter of the twelfth century the north arcade was cut through the walls of the aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave. The arcade consists of three bays of round arches supported on cylindrical columns with square abaci. These arches are of a single order and are decorated with hood-moulds.
(figs.32,33)

The tower arch, which is 6 ft. 11 in. wide x 8 ft. 4 in. tall to the lower face of the impost, is contemporary with the north arcade and, though it may be classified as Anglo-Saxon in style, it has been much renewed.(fig.33) It consists of a round head of throughstone voussoirs which vary in size and are of one square-cut order. The jambs are 1 ft. 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. thick east/west and the large lower stones of the south jamb, which look original, are 4 ft. 6 in. x 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. x 7 in. north/south. The impost are quirked and chamfered and there is a round-headed quirked and chamfered hood-mould surrounding and in contact with the arch head. It ends in label stops with human heads.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: Bardsey has one of the few porch towers now in existence in England. Though there is no specific mention of the church in any early documents, one can postulate an early date for the lower part of the tower. Its thin walls, megalithic side-alternate quoins, and internally splayed windows are early features. This theory is given added strength because of the existence of the unusual north entrance to the church. The thin walls above the later arcades are most likely contemporary with this porch tower. Fisher had proposed a plausible Period B\(_3\) date of ca.870 for the tower and nave.
from the evidence available. The windows in the upper part of the tower mark this portion as later. The simple openings on the eastern face are probably contemporary with the double-light openings to the south, but as Taylor states, they may have been precursors of this mature development. The gables of the nave and the upper portion of the tower are $C_2$ and $C_3$ in date. The tower and chancel arches are somewhat more difficult. They both have some Saxon features and a considerable number of Norman ones, and are therefore of Saxo-Norman or Early Norman date.

It is difficult to place the church in any one period of Saxon or Saxo-Norman development. It is certainly an early church, but as with most small parish churches in England, it passed through many periods of change and evolved slowly over the centuries to its present state.

**Middleton-by-Pickering**

I. **Dedication**: St. Mary

II. **Location**: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire, one and a half miles northwest of Pickering. It stands between the main road to Helmsley and a small road leading up to the moor.

III. **Present Condition**: St. Mary's consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel. (Plan 5)

IV. **History and Documentation**: Documentary references to the church are at best oblique. The village is mentioned in an Angló-Saxon charter which lists the lands belonging to Otley. There is also an indirect reference to St. Mary's in the *Domesday*
Book under the section listing Englishmen who retained their lands or succeeded their fellow countrymen after 1066. One was Uctred, who succeeded his father Ulf at Middleton and Kneeton and, as Uctred Ulfessun, gave to St. Mary's York the church at Middleton.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
  1. Exterior
     a) Masonry: The tower is constructed of widely jointed, rough-cut masonry slabs laid in courses and the remains of the original nave west wall appear to be of rubble. (figs. 38, 40) The entire building is constructed of light brown sandstone.
     
     b) Nave: The west wall of the nave is of an interesting albeit somewhat confusing nature. The angles between the nave and tower extending for about 10 in. appear to H.M. Taylor to be original quoins of an extremely narrow Anglo-Saxon nave. (fig. 40) However, located about 4 ft. to either side of these are additional quoins which Ada Russell and A.W. Clapham ascribe to the twelfth century but which are similar to the side-alternate quoins of the tower. H.M. Taylor states that the west wall of the nave for more than 4 ft. on either side of the tower, must be accepted as contemporary with it because of the general similarity in the side-alternate quoining and the walling, and because it does not resemble Norman workmanship. The large stones, which are roughly shaped, are megalithic. Further support for this theory is found within the church where the Norman north
arcade and the Transitional south arcade are in alignment with the exterior quoining. Consequently, H.M. Taylor suggests that the earliest church consisted of a narrow, rectangular, aisleless nave which is represented by the quoins close to the side walls of the tower. This building was first enlarged with the addition of a west tower and the nave was widened by more than 3 ft. on each side until it became the aisleless structure now defined by the space within the nave arcades. The Normans later cut through these walls, erecting their arcades and aisles. The widening must have followed the construction of the tower because it and the original nave both stand on a plain, flat foundation platform. However, the southern portion of the extended west wall stands on a double foundation platform. This consists of a flat lower course and a chamfered upper one. It is likely that both were built at the same time.

c) Tower: The tower, which stands on a plain square plinth, consists of two unequal stages, the lower one occupying approximately 2/3 of the total height. The bottom portion rises sheer to the string-course which is of square section. The blocks of stone in this stage are megalithic, averaging about 6 in. high x 1 - 2 ft. long. The quoins are of the regular side-alternate type throughout this storey and are also megalithic. Many measure over 2 ft. 5 in. x 1 ft. 7 in. x 6 in.

The northern face of the tower is plain, but in the south wall there are two small rectangular windows that admit light to the upper floors. These are of unusual construction
but appear to be original. The lower window, which is about 1 ft. 6 in. wide x 3 ft. 10 in. tall, is formed wholly within the normal coursing of the wall with a flat monolithic sill and a similar lintel. Its jambs consist of five massive throughstones bonded deeply into the face of the wall. The upper window is more advanced, though smaller. It measures 1 ft. 8 in. x 3 ft. and also has a monolithic flat sill and a similar lintel. However, in this case the jambs are square and each consists of an upright stone below surmounted by two flat stones bonding it into the wall face. Both windows narrow toward the top, but this feature is particularly marked in the lower opening.

The principal feature of the tower exterior is the west doorway which suffered defacement when a vessica shaped window was inserted through the upper part of its head. It is tall and narrow, measuring 2 ft. 10 in. x 8 ft. 4 in. from the sill to the top of the impostes. (fig.39) The jambs and the round-headed arch are of simple square section and are formed of throughstones. The jambs are of four massive slabs, each of which is set on edge without the usual alternation of flat stones bonding the uprights into the wall. Instead, the impostes provide bonding at the top and also unite the inner fabric of the doorway with the outlying pilaster strips and hood-mould. The impostes project boldly on the soffit and also westward from the wall face. Their upper square sections are swept back in a hollow chamfer stopping against the pilaster strips beyond which the impostes continue along the wall face. Here they
continue in the form of labels with straight chamfers above and a square section below. Only the lower half of the round head and surrounding hood-mould now remain as the upper half was cut away when the doorway was blocked, probably in late Norman times. However, enough remains to show that the head was turned in about ten well-shaped throughstone voussoirs of which five remain. Below the impost the line of the hood-mould is carried down by 6 in. wide pilaster strips, each of three tall stones. These strips project about 3 in. from the wall face and rest at the foot on boldly projecting square chamfered bases. These in turn rest on the main plinth. The jamb stones are of irregular shapes and the intervening spaces are filled with comparatively small, flat stones with wide mortar joints. These are set on edge. H.M. Taylor finds this primitive attempt to be an interesting comparison with the more advanced construction at Hovingham, ten miles to the southwest. About 7 ft. above the impost of the doorway is an Anglian cross carved in relief on a stone nearly 3 ft. square. 

2. Interior

a) Nave: The nave, which measures 41 ft. 6 in. x 19 ft. 3 in., has walls approximately 2 ft. 6 in. thick. The original narrow structure must have been about 12 ft. wide internally. (fig. 410

b) Tower: The interior of the tower, which measures 11 ft. x 9 ft. 6 in., has walls 2 ft. 8 in. thick, though the west wall is slightly thicker. The upper floors are lit to the south by two small rectangular windows of unusual construction, the inner
faces of which can be seen within the upper tower chambers. The lower one splays internally from 1 ft. 6 in. x 3 ft. 10 in. - 2 ft. 8 in. x 3 ft. 10 in. It has jambs which were originally slightly splayed inward and which were later somewhat rudely cut to form the housing for the present wooden frame.

The upper window is more elaborate. The stones of its outer face do not extend through the full thickness of the wall but stop short 7 in. from the inner face. The square rebate is 7 in. wide at this stage and the sill continues straight through the wall. The opening measures 1 ft. 8 in. x 3 ft. 2 in. externally and the internal face is rebated to 2 ft. 10 in. x 3 ft. 9 in. The western wall contains a doorway which is now blocked and covered over with plaster.

B. Norman Elements
1. Exterior
a) Nave: The nave and the north aisle were rebuilt ca.1130, while at the end of the century the south aisle was added. Both nave aisles were completely reconstructed ca.1500.

b) Tower: The belfry stage is an Early English addition (ca.1200), with pointed double-light windows in each face. (fig.38) The stone, which is carefully finished, has been considerably renewed. Above this is a battlemented parapet supported by a corbel table composed of badly worn grotesques.

2. Interior
a) Chancel: The chancel arch, which is wide and lofty, dates from the twelfth century. It is pointed and of two chamfered
orders and springs from responds with circular shafts. The capitals of these shafts are moulded with square abaci.

b) Nave: The early twelfth century north arcade consists of three bays of semicircular arches supported by cylindrical piers and half-round responds which have fluted capitals and square abaci. (fig. 41) These piers rest on square plinths. The south arcade was constructed half a century later and consists of three semicircular arches of two chamfered orders which rest on round columns with moulded capitals and hold-water bases. The responds are half columns which have carved foliage capitals of early form. The arcades are in line with the side-alternate quoins, extending about 4 ft. on each side of the west face of the nave wall.

The tower arch is of two pointed orders. It was constructed ca. 1200, at the same time as the chancel arch. Above it is an almost square window with a flat lintel and a sill of large slabs. The jambs of this opening are of upright and flat stones which look renewed. However, the window may be part of the twelfth century reconstruction.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: It is difficult to date this church as there are no distinctive features other than the west doorway. The walls above the later arcades are thin and are in alignment with the external quoins of the nave west facade, but they have been coated with plaster and, as a result, there is no way of proving that they were erected before 1066. The tower, though definitely Anglo-Saxon, contains no belfry windows which might help to pinpoint its date. The walls are relatively
thin and consist of large, well-laid stones. This is particularly noticeable in the lower quoins. It could conceivably be a porch tower, though there is no trace of this in the external fabric. The windows in the south wall appear to be Anglo-Saxon but again, they are difficult to date.

H.M. Taylor finds that the west doorway, with its stripwork decoration, is reminiscent of Northumbrian windows. It cannot be really early because of this decoration, yet it is lacking in complexity and displays a crude experimental form of construction. It may date from Period C₁ or C₂.

The nave's western wall is complex. Taylor feels that the inner upright quoins, those closest to the tower, mark the extent of a very early nave which was built before the tower. The tower was then constructed and very soon after, the nave was widened. If this theory is correct, then the narrow nave would be either Period B or C₁. The tower would be C₁ or C₂. It is safe to dismiss Taylor's claim that the first nave may date from Period A and that the tower was originally a pre-Danish porch of Period B. It has neither distinctive late features nor early ones. The quoins, though megalithic, do not resemble those at Ledsham or at other early Northumbrian churches such as Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. Also, there is no trace of a porch on the external or internal fabric of the tower.

Appleton-le-Street

I. Dedication: All Saints
II. Location: The church is located in the North Riding of
Yorkshire, approximately four miles west of Malton on the main road from Malton to Hovingham.

III. Present Condition: All Saints consists of a west tower with a north porch and a north doorway; a rectangular, aisled nave; and a rectangular chancel. (figs. 42, 43, 44, 45) (Plan 6)

IV. History and Documentation: References to the village of Appleton-le-Street are made in an Anglo-Saxon "Statement by Oswald, Archbishop of York, Regarding Church Lands in Northumbria" and in the Domesday Book. 

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior
   a) Masonry: The first two stages of the west tower are constructed of roughly dressed, widely jointed grey gritstone which is laid in irregular courses. (figs. 42, 43, 44)

   b) Nave: The plan of the nave is pre-Conquest. On the face of the west wall it is possible to see the western quoins of the original aisleless structure. (fig. 46) These quoins are located at either side of the tower's north and south walls. The one to the north extends 13 in. from the tower, while the one to the south extends 11 in. As the tower is 16 ft. 10 in. wide, the exterior width of the early nave must have been approximately 18 ft. 10 in. The quoins are also in line with the arcades of the nave.

   c) Tower: According to E.A. Fisher, the west wall of the tower is not at right angles to the north and south walls and these in turn are not at right angles to the nave. The structure,
which is of three stages separated by two plain, projecting string-courses, has side-alternate quoins. (figs. 42, 43, 44) The third string-course, situated just below the later flat roof, is hollow-chamfered and deeply projecting. The total height of the tower is 45 ft.

The bottom stage occupies approximately half of the total height of the structure and the second stage is somewhat taller than the third. The first storey contains a west window which is a later insertion and which appears to have replaced an earlier doorway.

Halfway up in the west and south walls of the lower stage are two blocked square-headed windows with lintels and jambs of large rough stones, but with no sills. (figs. 42, 43) On the east face, just above the present nave roof line, is a small round window which must have looked into the earlier and higher nave. Above it, about 34 ft. from the ground, is the line of the original nave gable which extends up into the second stage and partially covers the eastern double-light window. (fig. 42)

The second and third stages of the tower contain double-light windows in all four faces. (figs. 42, 43, 44, 45) These are of similar design but those in the second stage are taller and wider. All have baluster shafts with moulded square bases, though they have no capitals. Instead there are projecting chamfered throughstone imposts. In addition, all have two arched lintels per window. Each of these is formed of two stones and rests on a central throughstone impost above the baluster shaft. The lower lintels are square-cut. The central shafts of the upper
belfry windows tend to be nearer the exterior wall face than are their counterparts in the second stage.

2. Interior
a) Nave: The internal dimensions of the nave are 26 ft. x 14 ft. 6 in. with walls 2 ft. 4 in. thick. These walls are in line with the external quoins visible on either side of the tower.(fig.48)

b) Tower: The interior of the tower measures 14 ft. x 10 ft. 6 in. It has a double-splayed west window.(fig.49) The north, south and west walls are 3 ft. thick while the east wall is 2 ft. 7 in. thick.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior
a) Masonry: An early twelfth century doorway of Norman design is set into the north side of the tower.\(^9\) It consists of a round-headed arch recessed in two orders. The inner order contains nine voussoirs which vary slightly in size and which rest on thin imposts of plain square section. Below these imposts are jambs constructed of large stones of various sizes and shapes. The outer order rests on chamfered imposts below which are columns with voluted capitals and plain square bases. These rest on a square plinth. Around the outer order is a simple band of stripwork which descends to the column imposts but does not continue down beside the column shafts.

The lintels of the upper double-light belfry windows are
chamfered all round and the baluster shafts in three of the windows in this stage carry an incised design. (figs. 42, 43, 44, 45) The one to the north has a chevron pattern, that to the south has a braided pattern, and that to the west has a spiral one. The eastern shaft and impost are modern renewals and the baluster is plain.

The central shafts of the upper windows are circular in plan except for the one to the north which is a rough rectangle in section and rests on a long stone which projects beyond the outer face of the wall. C.C. Hodges claims that this stone is carved with the head of a gargoyle, but this was not apparent when the church was visited in June 1977.93 In this upper stage the side-alternate quoins are coursed with the walling and this storey ends in a projecting course about 1 ft. high which is surmounted by a flat roof. (figs. 42, 43, 44)

2. Interior
a) Nave: The tower arch is a twelfth century insertion with simple square jambs and imposts with hollow chamfers and double quirks.94 (fig. 49) The arch, which is decorated with stripwork, is round-headed and consists of voussoirs of varying sizes which are not carried through the wall. It measures 14 ft. x 10 ft. 6 in. and is almost as wide as it is high. It is not in alignment with the nave.

b) Tower: The main entrance to the church is through the twelfth century rebated doorway.95

VI. Observations and Conclusions: As there is no specific
documentary evidence for the existence of a church at Appleton-le-Street before 1066, dating of the present building must be done on the basis of stylistic interpretation. As the original quoins of the nave are visible, it is possible to estimate the width of the early nave which was 18 ft. 10 in. on the exterior and 14 ft. 6 in. on the interior. The arcades, which are in line with these quoins and which are cut through walls only 2 ft. 4 in. thick, may have been pierced through an Anglo-Saxon nave. This theory is further strengthened by the fact that the nave, tower and chancel are not aligned. The nave may be earlier than the tower, though both have pre-Conquest foundations.

The two lower stages of the tower are Anglo-Saxon. The thin walls, wide masonry joints and large sidealternate quoins are indicative of this. However, the upper stage presents some interesting anomalies. S stylistically the windows are Saxon, yet they have several details, including their incised design and the placement of the balusters near the wall face, which are Saxo-Norman or Norman developments. Also, the ashlar walling of the third stage, in which the quoins are coursed with the masonry and the joints are narrow, is certainly a Norman feature. In this case it would appear, despite the fact that H.M. Taylor dates this stage to Period C2, that there has been a post-Conquest amalgamation of Anglo-Saxon and Norman characteristics.96

The gable line on the east wall of the tower may mark the original roof line, but if so, it is curious that it partially conceals a double-light belfry window. Consequently, it may not
be the line of the original gable.

Kirkdale

I. Dedication: St. Gregory

II. Location: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire about four miles east of Helmsley, beside the North Yorkshire Moors.

III. Present Condition: St. Gregory's Minster consists of a west tower, a nave with a north aisle and a south porch, and an aisleless rectangular chancel with a north vestry. (fig.50) (Plan 7)

IV. History and Documentation: Bede suggests that the minster at Kirkdale was the site of the church and monastery founded by St. Cedd in the seventh century. Most historians agree, however, that Lastingham is the more probable site for this foundation. However, the minster is named after the pope who sent St. Augustine on his mission to England in 597. According to Arthur Penn, this dedication may have been intended to foster unity between the Irish church of Cedd and the Roman one of Augustine. If this theory is correct, then Kirkdale would have been founded c.654. This idea is strengthened by the fact that the church was destroyed during the Danish invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries, and that it remained in this state until just before 1066. The best way to date the fabric of the present building is to analyze the inscription in Old English incised on the sundial over the south doorway. (fig.55) It reads;

Orm Gamal's son bought St. Gregory's minster when it was all to-broken and to-fallen, and he it let make new from
the ground to Christ and St. Gregory in Edward's days the
king in Tosti's day the earl + and Haward me wrought and
Brand priests. 99

The inscription refers specifically to Orm, Gamal's son, who
restored the church when it was in ruins, probably as a result
of the Danish raids. It is also known that though the building
was a minster, he chose to restore it as a parish church.

The *Domesday Book* records that Chirchebi (Kirkby Moorside)
had two churches. One of these was in the manor of Orm, the local
landowner, while the other was in the manor of Torbrand. Penn
feels that the first church was Kirkdale and that the second one
was the parish church at Kirkby Moorside. 100 Orm, as the *Domesday
Book* implies, also had land and a church at Hovingham which has
distinctive late Anglo-Saxon characteristics. His habit may have
been to restore those ruined churches which came under his
jurisdiction.

The inscription also states that the restoration was
carried out on this building in the days of Edward the Confessor
and Tostig the earl. Tostig became Earl of Northumberland in 1055,
but was banished for a number of crimes in 1065. Knowing these
dates enables the historian to place the sundial between the years
1055 - 1065, and more probably between 1060 - 1065.

There was a general restoration of the church (1907 -
1909) under the direction of the London architect, Temple Moore.
At that time the interior was cleared of structures such as the
west gallery and the high pews. Also, two early Anglo-Saxon
carved crosses were moved inside the church. 101
V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The nave west wall is constructed of roughly dressed grey gritstone of varying sizes. (fig.53) The stones are not large and are laid in widely jointed courses. There is much use of old masonry from a previous structure. In the south wall is a crucifix with a serpent resting at its foot, while an Anglo-Saxon cross has been incorporated in the northwest wall of the nave, beside the tower. (fig.53)

b) Nave: The nave, as is known from the inscription on the sundial, was constructed ca.1060 - ca.1065. (fig.50) The northwestern and southwestern quoins of the building are still visible. The lower ones on the south side are megalithic. (fig.53) H.M. Taylor is tempted to see these larger stones as vestiges of the church which stood on the site before Orm rebuilt it, but the evidence is very tenuous.  

A drawing executed ca.1821 shows that no tower existed at that time. The bells were hung in a small wooden belfry resting on the top of the roof gable. Baldwin Brown records that at this time there existed on the western facade, "the most northerly pilaster strip known". (fig.51) Hodges agrees with Baldwin Brown and they base their belief on the 1821 sketch. Baldwin Brown describes it as showing a horizontal string-course crossing the west front. Above this is a vertical pilaster strip running up to the point of the gable. If it was really there,
it would have been an arrangement exactly like that on the eastern gable of the chancel at Boarhunt, Hamps. H.M. Taylor, however, does not feel that it existed. He refers instead to an engraving of 1779, in which the vertical and horizontal strips on the western gable are absent. (fig. 52) In addition, he has inspected the wall inside the tower and has found no such strip nor the evidence that it ever existed. 104

Above the south doorway is the Anglo-Saxon sundial which is perhaps the most interesting feature of the church. (fig. 55) It is in an excellent state of preservation due to the fact that it was protected under a coat of plaster until it was discovered in 1771. Since then it has been preserved under cover of the south porch. 105 The stone is 7 ft. wide x 2 ft. high and has all of the characteristics of a dial of the period. It also functions as a distinct piece of sculpture with a portion carved in relief and a system for time measurement. 106

2. Interior
a) Chancel: According to Ada Russell, the chancel arch is of fifteenth century date, but H.M. Taylor places it in the thirteenth century, contemporary with the building of the chancel. 107 The jambs, which are similar to those of the Anglo-Saxon west doorway, are fundamentally square in section, but have primitive angle shafts. (fig. 56) These have capitals and bases of unusual character. The capitals are square above and shaped below to meet the round shafts by tapering in two bell-like collars with ridges between. The bases rest on a tall plinth of roughly dressed stones. It is reasonable to accept the fact that the
jambs of the chancel arch, which are 11 ft. 3 in. apart, are a portion ofOrm's church.

b) Nave: The nave, which is irregularly set out, measures 34 ft. 7 in. x 18 ft. The walls are about 25 ft. high and vary in thickness. They are 2 ft. 2 in. thick at the south doorway but only 2 ft. at the west doorway. They widen to 2 ft. 10 in. in the eastern wall by the chancel arch. (fig. 57)

The original west doorway can be seen within the nave. (fig. 58) It now acts as the tower arch and measures 2 ft. 8 in. wide x 10 ft. high. It is of tall narrow proportions and is cut straight through the wall. The voussoirs forming the round arch are throughstones of varying size. There is no keystone. The imposts below this are of plain square shape and project beyond the jambs on the soffit side only. The jambs are of large square throughstones laid Escomb fashion. Within the tower the arch is much more ornate and this indicated the advent of some Norman building principles. Both the arch and jambs are provided with angle shafts as though they were meant to carry an inner order. (fig. 59) The treatment, however, is primitive and is, according to H.M. Taylor, difficult to attribute to Norman workmanship.

The recess of each jamb contains a free-standing angle-shaft. The square base is chamfered on each of its outer faces and is surmounted by a circular fillet of tapering conical shape. The square capital is chamfered on each angle to provide a series of upright inverted triangular faces. These rest on a simple fillet on top of the shaft.
The arch is of three orders, but the two inner ones do not rest on top of each other. Instead they are actually two arches set side by side. The arch nearest the nave spans the opening between the main jambs in a semicircle 2 ft. 8 in. in diameter while the arch next to the tower spans an opening between the angle shafts which is 3 ft. in diameter. The third, or outer order, which is flush with the nave wall, rests on the extrados of the second order. This order is recessed about 2 ft. behind it. The square bases of the jambs run straight through the wall while the square imposts are cut back 2 ft. as they pass westward from the main section of the jambs to the angle shafts.

3. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Nave: The north aisle of the nave was added ca.1200 and raised to its present height in the fifteenth century. An exterior off-set marks its original height.

The south doorway is an early twelfth century insertion, since it is almost certain that the dial above it is in its original position in the Anglo-Saxon wall. (fig.54) It consists of a round-headed arch constructed of voussoirs of regular size and shape. The inner edges of these stones are chamfered. The arch sits on two square imposts which are also chamfered on their lower edges, but which are otherwise plain. The large chamfered jamb stones are laid in an upright and flat or Escomb fashion and the face of the opening is rebated for the hanging of the
2. Interior
a) Nave: The north arcade, which was erected ca. 1200, is of three bays with two pointed arches of two chamfered orders.\textsuperscript{112}(fig.57)
It has columns with circular moulded bases set on octagonal abaci. The capital of the eastern respond is carved with a form of broad water-leaf, while those of the western respond and the eastern column are plain. The western column has a capital of unusual design decorated with volutes at each angle of the abacus.\textsuperscript{113}

VI. Observations and Conclusions: There is very little of the original church remaining and this is especially true of the architectural details. Only the west doorway, the northwestern and southwestern quoins, and the chancel arch responds are left. However, St. Gregory's is one of the most important Anglo-Saxon buildings in Yorkshire because it can be dated with unusual accuracy and because a great deal is known about its early history. Therefore, what few details there are can be assessed stylistically and used as a point of comparison with details found in other churches.

We know, as a result of studying the remains at Kirkdale, that the Saxons were still using a thin-wall construction and large side-alternate quoins right up until 1066. Yet there is also a certain infusion of Norman influence in the smaller, more neatly coursed masonry of the nave walls and the decorative details of the west doorway and chancel responds. In the attached
columns and crude capitals of these internal openings one can note the tentative and primitive adaptation of these features as opposed to the more advanced Norman utilization. However, the fact that these experiments were being attempted shows that continental influences were present even before the Conquest. It appears that Edward the Confessor's sojourn at the court of Duke William had a considerable effect, which he then passed on to the Saxon nobles of his English court. The reconstruction of this church and the knowledge that Hovingham, which was also under Orm's jurisdiction, might have been refurbished by him, reveals the probability of an increase in building activity strongly influenced by the Continent, which took place just before the Confessor's death.

Hovingham

I. Dedication: All Saints

II. Location: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire, seven miles west of Malton.

III. Present Condition: All Saints consists of a west tower, an aisled rectangular nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel with a north vestry and an organ chamber. (fig. 60) (Plan 8)

IV. History and Documentation: The village and church of Hovingham are listed in the Domesday Book under the land of Richard, son of Erfast. The entry reads, "In Hovingham, Orm had eight carucates of land for geld. There is land for four ploughs. ... A church (is) there and a priest." Orm is also mentioned in the inscription on the Kirkdale sundial, located in the minster
only six miles away. If these two are one and the same man and if he rebuilt the minster at Kirkdale, as the sundial indicates, then it is also possible that he reconstructed or improved Hovingham just prior to the Conquest of 1066. There is also a charter issued by Henry I and addressed to Thomas, Archbishop of York (1109 - 1114); Nigel de Aubigny; and Osburn de Arches; which mentions Hovingham. This charter gave to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, "the churches of Kirkby Moorside and Hovingham". The entire church was restored in 1860 by Rhode Hawkins. Only the tower escaped refurbishing.

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The first stage of the west tower is mainly of roughly dressed, grey gritstone laid in irregular, widely jointed courses. (fig.61) Some of the stones, especially those immediately above the west doorway, are megalithic in size. On the west face, just below the first string-course, is a line of herring-bone work. The upper two stages are of small stone rubble with considerable variation in the colour of the stones from white to brown. The re-use of masonry from an earlier pre-Conquest building is apparent throughout the fabric of the tower.

b) Nave: On the north wall of the nave, where it abuts the tower, the line of the northwestern quoins of the earlier nave are visible. (fig.62) These stones, which are large, are laid in a side-alternate fashion and extend upwards for 12 ft., at the
same time projecting 2 ft. from the north side of the tower.

c) Tower: The west tower, which is divided into three roughly equal stages by two plain string-courses, has large quoin stones consisting of thin slabs laid in regular side-alternate fashion. (fig.61) The southwestern quoin contains two blocks that once formed the round head of a window. The tower is nearly 70 ft. tall and the exterior measures 15 ft. 11 in. east/west and 18 ft. 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. north/south.

In the west face of the ground stage is a doorway of advanced design. (fig.63) However, H.M. Taylor state that its construction is quite tentative. The round arch contains no throughstones and is of simple square section. The outer face is of four orders but only the innermost square order is appreciably recessed, and then by only 8 in. The next order is level with the main face of the wall and carries a roll-moulding on its face. The third order is slightly inset and is carved with a quirk and hollow moulding. The outer order, which is of plain square section, is set flush with the wall face. The jambs are cut straight through the wall, but each has a shallow, oblong recess which houses a free-standing angle shaft placed to carry the roll-moulding of the arch above. These shafts have no bases and the capitals are of primitive, flat, annular shape. The square soffit of each jamb is formed of massive throughstones and the impost project on the soffit faces only. They are plain and square with hollow chamfers on their lower angles. The doorway is 6 ft. high to the top of the impost, which are 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) ft. thick
and 3 ft. 4 in. wide. Above the doorway is a large square stone bearing an Anglian cross carved in high relief. The south face of the ground stage contains a small rectangular slit window which is set just below the string-course. (fig. 61) It has no sill and its jambs are formed of single stones.

The second stage of the tower is set back a few inches from the first. It has one principal opening, a tall round-headed, double-splayed window set high in the south face. The window has no imposts and its head and jambs are not constructed with throughstones. The small rectangular windows in the northern and western walls of this stage are set immediately below the string-course which forms their heads. They are similar to the one located in the south wall of the ground stage.

The third stage contains tall, narrow double-light windows in all four faces. (figs. 60, 61) The individual lights of these openings have unusually narrow, round heads and are rectangular in cross section. The jambs and imposts are hollow-chamfered throughstones projecting boldly from the wall face. Their sills are of thin slabs. However, the details of these windows are different on all four faces. The shaft of the southern light is square-edged and the jambs are of three rectangular stones set on end. The shaft of the western window is a very deep, square-edged, rectangular slab with a top and bottom of separate stones. However, these stones are not real bases and capitals. The shaft of the northern window is of three stones, similar to the western one, but the jambs are of five flat slabs of mixed
face- and side-alternate arrangement. The shaft of the eastern opening has a massive, separate, irregular base which is not cut to shape. The jambs are of four upright and flat stones as in the west window. The heads of the belfry windows are primitively constructed arches. The eastern one is of rough voussoirs which slope improperly and the inner ends have been cut to fit the arch curve. The heads of the northern, southern and western openings are of 2 - 4 long stones which have been cut to the appropriate arch shape. Above the southern belfry window, built into the wall, is a Latin cross of the Saxon period.\footnote{120}

2. Interior

a) Masonry: According to Ada Russell, the interior of the tower has some ancient plaster.\footnote{121} The west wall of the nave is not coated with plaster.\footnote{fig.67} The walling here is roughly cut, light grey stone laid in irregular courses which vary considerably from standard brick dimensions to megalithic proportions. Above the tower arch is a single row of herring-bone.

b) Nave: H.M. Taylor estimates that the original width of the nave was 18 ft. 5 in. with walls about 20 ft. high.\footnote{122} It now measures 17 ft. 8 in. x 50 ft.\footnote{fig.67} The west wall contains a round-headed tower arch which is cut in one square order and is chamfered on its eastern face.\footnote{figs.66,67} No recessing is evident. The jambs, which are 3 ft. 3 in. thick, are of large stones laid Escomb fashion, but with the exception of the hollow-chamfered impost, there are no throughstones in the arch.
There are two rings of voussoirs to the east and west with rubble in-filling between them. There are twenty large voussoirs in the arch head on the east face and the ends of the imposts are flush with the wall. The west face of the arch, which measures 5 ft. 5 in. x 10 ft. 6 in., has been obliterated by a coat of plaster.

Above, and to the north of this arch, is a small square opening which sits just beneath the line of the present roof. The head of this opening is not visible from the nave but it is surmounted by a flat lintel. (fig. 67) The jambs are laid Escomb fashion and the window is 1 ft. 10 in. x 6 ft. 2 in. and sits about 23 ft. above the floor. Ada Russell states that this opening might have been constructed to enable the sacristan to watch for the elevation of the host in order to ring the bell.

At the eastern end of the south nave aisle is a remarkable carved stone panel about 2 ft. 1 in. high x 5 ft. 5 in. long. (fig. 65) It was originally built into the masonry of the tower south face, about 12 ft. above ground level, and was removed in 1924.

c) Tower: The interior of the tower is 12 ft. square with walls 3 ft. 4 in. thick. It is divided into three storeys by wooden floors. Vaughn believes the second story was used as a priest's dwelling and had a doorway leading to a balcony within the nave.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Chancel: Though the entire chancel was rebuilt in 1860, two
windows from the earlier structure were included in the south wall. The one to the east dates from the twelfth century and is small with an arched lintel, jambs of three upright stones, and flat imposts. (fig. 60) It is chamfered all round. The other window is a thirteenth century lancet.

b) Nave: The nave south doorway dates from the twelfth century and was built back into the church at the time of its restoration. (fig. 64) It consists of a semicircular head of two chamfered orders. The outer one is carried by shafts having carved capitals with moulded abaci which stop at the inner order. The inner jambs are also chamfered and are surmounted by moulded imposts. Long stones have been cut into curved shapes to form the arch head.

c) Tower: The tower is surmounted by a Norman corbel table.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: All Saints, Hovingham, is an example of the results of wholesale restoration. It is fortunate that at least the tower was left largely untouched. Most of the features which do remain appear to be late Saxon in style. The church could be Saxo-Norman but it is more likely to date from Period C3 and it reveals the growing architectural knowledge of the Saxon builder. The west doorway, with its large roll-mouldings, is of advanced design but primitive execution, as are the belfry windows with their chamfered jambs and tentatively shaped voussoir arches. The walls of the tower, which are over 3 ft. thick, contain much re-used material and it is likely that the tower was rebuilt just before the Conquest. This theory is
strengthened by the fact that Orm, who restored Kirkdale Minster in the 1060s, was also the owner of the land on which All Saints was erected. If he was of a philanthropic nature, as sources seem to indicate, then it is possible he rebuilt Hovingham in a new and slightly more advanced style, reflecting the continental influences introduced by Edward the Confessor.

Kirk Hammerton

I. Dedication: St. John the Baptist

II. Location: The church is located in the West Riding of Yorkshire, nine miles west of York and within one mile of the main road to Boroughbridge.

III. Present Condition: St. John the Baptist now consists of an entirely new nineteenth century church to the north. (figs. 68, 69) This structure has a nave and chancel and its own north aisle. The original Anglo-Saxon church now forms the south aisle and chapel of this later building. It consists of a west tower, an aisleless rectangular nave, and a rectangular chancel. (Plan 9)

IV. History and Documentation: The church and village are both referred to in the Domesday Book under the land of Osbern de Arches. The hamlet was important enough to warrant its own priest, though most parishes had to rely on the occasional visits of itinerant clerics. After the Conquest it ceased to be independent and following the construction of the priory at Nun Monkton, it no longer had its own priest. Instead, one man was appointed by the Priory Chapter to administer to several local parishes. This situation continued until the dissolution
of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. There was little alteration of the fabric until 1890, when a new church was erected to the north of the existing one under the direction of Colonel E.W. Stanyforth.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The early church is constructed of large blocks of roughly squared, brownish-grey sandstone with a considerable admixture of smaller stones in tones of rose, amber and grey. (fig.73) The larger blocks are laid in widely jointed, rough courses. Flintoff feels that the tower stones are quite different in appearance from those used in the nave and chancel. (fig.68) He believes they are of the sort frequently employed by the Romans. However, they appear, on close examination, to be of the same roughly squared type as those found in other parts of the church exterior.

b) Chancel: The chancel, which rests on a plain square foundation platform of one order, contains original northeastern and southeastern side-alternate quoins. (fig.69) These are of large, roughly squared stones. The northeastern one is visible only from the interior of the later church. H.M. Taylor notes traces of a blocked round-headed window between the two existing ones in the chancel south wall. He feels this is a vestige of an Anglo-Saxon opening.
c) Nave: The nave, which stands on the same square foundation platform as the chancel, has all four original side-alternate quoins. These, like their counterparts to the east, are large, roughly dressed stones of the same material as the walling. (fig.69) The northeastern quoin is visible within the present nave.

The south doorway is heavily restored. Located near the western end of the nave, it is 3 ft. 5 in. wide x 8 ft. 6 in. tall with square jambs which have been cut straight through the wall. There are no rebates for the hanging of the door. (fig.-2) The throughstone imposts are of flat square blocks. The eastern one has been renewed but the western one is original and consists of two flat stones which retain vestiges of a moulding or quirk on the lower arris. These imposts are returned on the outer wall for about 2 ft. and intersect the line of stripwork carried up each side of the doorway, round the head of which is a semicircular hood-mould. The original western jambs are of large roughly squared throughstones laid Escomb fashion, while the original western voussoirs are of regular size and shape. The unusual characteristics of this doorway are the plain square hood-mould and stripwork which are not concentric with the main arch. Instead, they stand further back from the structure at each side, where the larger stones are interposed between the arch and the hood-mould. This contrasts with the small intervening stones at the arch head. Therefore, the stripwork passes around the arch head approximately 3 in. from the crown but it is 9 in. away at the impost.
In the eastern part of the south wall is the blocked outline of another doorway which was about 2 ft. 10 in. wide and was probably 7 ft. high. Its form is more clearly visible on the interior of the nave. It is difficult to see, however, why so small a nave required two doorways unless this one opened into a porticus or lateral chapel while the west doorway was used as a main entrance into the nave. This theory, suggested by H.M. Taylor, is strengthened by the fact that stripwork appears on the external face of the west doorway but on the internal face of the eastern one. However, no trace of the proposed porticus exists and the continuous line of the foundation platform round the base of the nave and chancel walls tends to argue against this theory.

d) Tower: The tower is about 50 ft. high and H.M. Taylor believes it to be of the common Lincolnshire type. The quoins of the structure are of a roughly squared, side-alternate sort. The lower stones are large, measuring 2 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 10 in. x 18 in., while the upper ones are considerably smaller. The fact that it is a later addition to the two-cell nave and chancel is proven by the presence of a foundation platform or plinth of two square orders beneath the tower, compared with the single order of the one beneath the nave and chancel. In addition, the walls of the structure are not in bond with the nave west wall. An inspection of the belfry chamber by H.M. Taylor reveals that the original plaster of the west wall passes behind the later side walls of the tower.
The upper stage of the structure occupies approximately one quarter of its total height. On each face of this storey is a double-light belfry window consisting of two arched lintels supported on rectangular throughstone slabs which project slightly from the wall. These slabs rest, in turn, on plain cylindrical mid-wall shafts (the southern one has been renewed) that have no capitals but that do have crude bases consisting of bulbous collars over splayed feet. The imposts sit on throughstone jambs, each of which is constructed of two or three large stones. A plain square string-course separates the belfry from the lower portion of the tower. The lower stage has no windows on its eastern face, but on each of the northern, southern and western faces are two narrow rectangular slit openings set one above the other.

The west face of the tower contains an Anglo-Saxon doorway which measures 3 ft. 3 in. x 9 ft. 8 in. with an arched elliptical head formed of two square orders.(figs.70,71) The inner one is slightly recessed behind the wall face and is built of throughstones. The opening is recessed to provide for two angle shafts which are curiously different from each other. The one to the north carries a badly worn capital with a geometric design, but the one to the south is more circular than square in plan and is of a much rougher shape. It is also shorter than its counterpart. The outer order contains regularly shaped voussoirs while the inner one contains six of less regular shape.
2. Interior

a) Masonry: The interior walling is much like that of the exterior. It consists of large, roughly squared, widely jointed greyish-brown stones with an admixture of smaller ones. (fig. 76)

b) Chancel: The chancel is 13 ft. 4 in. long and was originally 8 ft. 6 in. wide with walls 2 ft. 2 in. thick and approximately 21 ft. high. In the south wall there are traces of a small internally splayed window which is now blocked.

The chancel arch, which is 5 ft. 10 in. wide x 13 ft. tall, is of three orders. (figs. 74, 75, 76). The outer two of these consist of concentric voussoirs which are flush with the wall face, while the inner one is slightly recessed. It is formed of irregularly shaped voussoirs. The impost are of massive flat slabs cut to match the recessing of the inner order. They are also constructed in two steps, the upper of which projects slightly beyond the lower. The large-stone jambs are formed of two square orders and continue the motif of arch and impost. Almost the entire northern side of the arch and jamb were cut away in 1834, when the church was first enlarged to the north, but it was completely restored in 1891. The southern jamb of this recessed order also shows signs of being cut away. The original portion of the arch is built of throughstones.

c) Nave: The nave measures 21 ft. x 13 ft. 1 in. with walls 2 ft. 2 in. thick and about 21 ft. high. The south wall contains the outline of a blocked east doorway which is surrounded by
stripwork now cut flush with the face of the wall. It may have led to a south porticus, as it is decorated on its internal face. However, no trace now remains of this porticus, if it ever existed. At the western end of the south wall is an unrebated doorway which served as the original entrance to the church before the west tower was erected.

The tower arch, which is 6 ft. x 13 ft., is of a slightly horseshoe shape. (figs. 77, 78) It is very crudely constructed and lacks impostes. The voussoirs, which are not throughstones, are of an irregular shape. There is no keystone and the plain square jambs are of massive throughstones laid Escomb fashion. The arch may have been inserted in this wall at a later date. Before this a small opening—probably existed here. It would have been enlarged when the west tower was built and this would help to explain the awkwardness of the construction. High above the tower arch, and partially obscured by the king-post of the present roof, are traces of a small blocked rectangular opening which gave access to the upper part of the tower.

d) Tower: The interior of the tower is approximately 9 ft. 2 in. square and has side walls 2 ft. 2 in. thick. However, the end walls vary in depth from 2 ft. 9 in. to the west - 2 ft. 1 in. to the east. 143 The west doorway is not rebated and the tower is lit at this lower level by small internally splayed slit windows set in its northern, western and southern faces.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior
a) Chancel: In the south chancel wall there are two internally splayed windows. The one to the west is a tall lancet with an arched lintel. It is chamfered all round and has jambs of roughly shaped stones. The one further east is much smaller and higher up in the wall face. (fig. 73) Its arched lintel is shaped to a point and it, too, is chamfered all round. The jambs of this opening are of two upright stones per side while the sill is of one horizontal stone. There are no imposts.  

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The Domesday Book states that there was a church here before 1066. Consequently, the existing structure is extremely important because it has survived with a minimum of structural alterations. This is especially true of the chancel, as it was usually the first thing torn down or enlarged by the Normans. However, there is a problem in dating this building. The walls and quoins are of large stones which would lead to the suggestion of an early date. However, features such as the west doorway, the south doorway, and the chancel arch are of relatively advanced construction with their recessed orders, stripwork decoration and, in the case of the west doorway, their crude capitals. There would appear to be considerable influence from abroad, yet a primitive type of execution still prevails. This is revealed in the tower arch and the capitals of the west doorway. The date proposed by Baldwin Brown is post-1040, and is probably accurate. The west doorway does have a certain affinity with the west face of the tower arch at Kirkdale, which can be
assigned with certainty to the period ca.1060 - ca.1065.
However, a late date for Kirk Hammerton would be questionable if the existence of a lateral porticus could be proven. In that case the eighth century would have to be proposed for at least the nave. At this time no such proof is forthcoming.

Kirkby Hill (Kirkby-on-the-Moor)

I. Dedication: All Saints

II. Location: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire and is within two miles of Boroughbridge and about six miles east of Ripon.

III. Present Condition: All Saints consists of a west tower, a nave with a south porch and a large north aisle, and a rectangular chancel with a large north chapel.(figs.79,80) (Plan 10)

IV. History and Documentation: There is no specific reference to the church in the Domesday Book, though the village is mentioned. The building was restored in 1870, at which time the whitewash was removed from the interior of the nave and chancel.

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The external masonry of the nave consists of large, roughly dressed, widely jointed stones of varying size and shape.(fig.79) They are laid in irregular courses and some blocks are so large that they form part of two courses. There is much re-used material in the nave south wall, including the
monolithic arched lintel of a window which is now built in upside down. Just to the west of the southern triple-light window are a number of pre-Conquest carved stones. The chancel walls also consist of roughly dressed, widely jointed stones. However, the individual blocks are smaller and laid in more regular courses. All of the exterior walling is of light brown sandstone.

b) Nave: For the most part the nave remains as it existed before 1066. The south porch is a modern reconstruction. However, there are several ancient stones in the walling of this structure, including a small octagonal shaft, a small early moulded base, a piece of roll-moulding, and a Saxon stone with interlace patterns. Both of the original side-alternate quoins of the nave south wall are visible on the exterior. They are formed of very large but regularly shaped stones.

The most interesting feature in the nave is the surviving fragment of a large arch south doorway into which a small later medieval doorway has been inserted. The eastern impost of the earlier opening and the four lowest voussoirs on the eastern side of the arch are visible within the south porch. The south face of the impost carries an interlace pattern of three circles within a raised border and the west face is visible within a cavity in the wall. It is decorated with a well-executed form of Anglian vinescroll. Collingwood places this stone in the ninth century and it is largely based on this evidence that Baldwin Brown assigns the church
to Period B. However, Collingwood feels that the stone came originally from an earlier building, probably Ripon, and that it was re-used in its present position in the eleventh century.  

H.M. Taylor finds the relationship between the impost and the three stones of the arch to be peculiar. The impost projects nearly 2 ft. in front of the curve of this arch and he feels that perhaps the structure had, and still has, an inner order much like that of the chancel arch and the west doorway at Kirk Hammerton. The arch measures 7 ft. 6 in. x 10 3/4 ft., but the imposts define an opening of only 3 3/4 ft. between the jambs. This would mean that the inner order reduced the opening to a size of about 4 x 9 ft. As H.M. Taylor explains, such an arch, with two complex orders, is not an early feature. Another ancient opening exists beside this south doorway. The outline of its head remains visible even where the stones have since been removed.  

C) Tower: The west tower was reconstructed in 1870, but old stones were re-used at the time and the lower parts of the structure were left undisturbed. (figs.79,80) Before this rebuilding the tower was probably of the same date as the nave. The plinth on the west side is of unusually large projection and there are also some large stones in the lower walling at the southwestern angle of the structure. Marion Weston states that these are Roman and that the sunken panel on this face once contained an inscription.  

2. Interior
a) Masonry: The early nave and the twelfth century chancel are constructed of large, roughly dressed, widely jointed stones which vary greatly in size and shape.\textsuperscript{153} (figs. 81, 83) Theses are laid in irregular courses. The internal masonry is of light brown sandstone.

b) Nave: The interior of the nave measures 24 ft. 3 in. x 15 ft. with walls 2 ft. 6 in. thick, while the north aisle is 37 ft. x 13 ft. 10 in. Above the north arcade the fabric of the Anglo-Saxon wall can be seen. Within this wall are two rectangular areas which have been patched with much smaller stones. These patches mark the former position of the two northern windows. (fig. 83) The original quoins of the north wall are also visible on the interior. The western quoin is almost complete and stands on a well-defined square plinth which projects 4 in. beyond the face of the wall. The eastern quoin is less clearly defined as the lower portion has been cut away. However, it is possible to make out several of the upper blocks.

Above the later and smaller south doorway is the curved round head of the original entrance. (fig. 82) According to Marion Weston this arch is very ancient and of plain construction.\textsuperscript{154}

c) Tower: The interior of the tower measures 10 ft. 5 in. x 10 ft. 7 in. and is almost square.
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1. Exterior

a) Chancel: A new chancel replaced the Anglo-Saxon one ca.1160 - ca.1170. Large side-alternate quoins form the northeastern and southeastern corners of the structure.

Flush with the eastern wall is a rectangular southeast window of a single chamfered order. (figs. 79, 80) It is of uncertain date. Adjoining it to the west, but set lower in the wall so that its sill performs the function of a seat, is another square-headed window. The third window to the west of the priest's doorway is an old rectangular light like that to the southeast. A band of large stones forms the upper part of this wall and one of these is decorated with an interlace pattern.

2. Interior

a) Chancel: The interior measurements of the chancel are 25 ft. 6 in. x 13 ft. 4 in., but Henry Stapleton feels that the original structure may have had approximately the same dimensions as those of the Anglo-Saxon chancel at Kirk Hammerton, which is 13 ft. 9 in. long. The chancel arch is a modern copy of a late Norman design, though a few old stones remain in it. (figs. 81, 83, 84a) It consists of a wide round arch of two chamfered orders which rest on round quirked and moulded capitals. The inner order descends to circular attached columns, while the outer one descends to a smaller attached column set in the angles of the square impost.

The east window on the south side of the chancel is
a plain rectangular light of a single chamfered order. Adjoining it to the west, and set lower, is a square-headed window of two trefoiled lights with modern tracery. The third window to the west of the doorway is an old rectangular light set low in the wall.

A nineteenth century arch spans the western end of the north chapel but the southern jamb consists of a carved twelfth century impost with hatched sunken star ornament carved on it. There is also a cable-mould in the hollow chamfer on its underside. Weston states that it may have been taken from the former chancel arch.

b) Nave: The nave arcade was pierced through the north wall ca.1160 - ca.1170 (figs. 83, 84a) It is of two bays with responds that are semicircular and have small shafts. These have been renewed against the inner face. The middle pier is of unusual section, consisting of a round column with engaged semi-octagonal shafts on the eastern and western faces. The base-moulds of this arcade are modern but the capitals are original, though they appear to have been partially restored. Those above the circular columns are scalloped, but those above the smaller shafts are hollow-chamfered or fluted. The arches are round and of two square orders. The eastern one has been much restored, but the western one is untouched.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: No strong documentary evidence can be used to date this church. However, its pre-Conquest provenance can be established stylistically, the church suffered
from nineteenth century restoration. This is especially true of the west tower, which, before its reconstruction in 1870, may have been of Anglo-Saxon origin. Baldwin Brown prefers to place the building in Period B because of the existence of the ninth century carved impost which is set in the original south doorway, but this is highly unlikely. The south doorway, if it was of two orders, as seems probable, would have been later. The quoins, while they are large, are certainly not megalithic and are laid in a regular fashion. The presence of much re-used material in the nave south wall, including the upturned arched lintel, lends credence to the theory that the building was reconstructed in the eleventh century. Affinities with Kirk Hammerton, both in the style of the south doorway and the original dimensions of the chancel, strengthen this theory, as the latter church is only nine miles away from Kirkby Hill, on the road that passes through Boroughbridge. Also, Collingwood's belief that the carved impost stone in the south doorway of the nave originally came from Ripon is quite feasible, since the cathedral lies only six miles to the west. It is most likely, therefore, that the pre-Conquest fabric of the church dates from Period C₂ or C₃ when much new building and reconstruction was being carried out in England.

Hackness

I. Dedication: St. Peter

II. Location: Hackness is located in the North Riding of
Yorkshire, five miles west of Scarborough.

III. Present Condition: The church consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel with a north chapel and northeast vestry. (fig. 84b.) (Plan 11)

IV. History and Documentation: The history of the building is closely connected with that of Whitby Abbey and Bede writes that in 680, the year of her death, St. Hilda "constructed a monastery called Hacanos". He infers that the church was under the rule of Hilda as abbess of Whitby and that it was administered locally by a prioress. 163 A. Hamilton Thompson feels it is hardly likely that the religious house at Hackness survived the inroads of the Danes. It probably shared the same fate as Whitby suffered, 867 - 869. 164

The first mention of Hackness after 1066 is in the Domesday Book. The church and the village are listed under the land of William de Perci. 165 Thompson also refers to a charter issued by William de Perci to Serlo, which he granted within ten years of the Survey. It conferred upon this abbot and his monks, inter alia, "Hackness and the church of St. Mary of the same town and the church of St. Peter with all its appurtenances ..." 166

The Domesday Book entry refers to three churches at Hackness. Two, St. Mary's and St. Peter's, are accounted for by William de Perci's charter to Serlo, which also points to St. Peter's as the church used by the monks. However, for the third church there is no other record and it was possibly little more than a chapel in one of the neighbouring hamlets.
One of the two churches mentioned in the charters has since disappeared and the present structure has been dedicated to St. Peter from ancient times. According to Thompson, one would naturally expect that as St. Peter's was a purely conventual church, St. Mary's would have been the building to survive.\textsuperscript{167} It is certainly the case that the existing structure developed along the lines of an ordinary parish church, but according to the author, there is no reason to suppose that a church of definite monastic type was ever constructed.\textsuperscript{168} Most likely the monks used one of the two churches already in existence. At a later date this building would have proved adequate for parochial needs and St. Mary's would have been abandoned.

As this early monastery was bound by close ties with St. Hilda's at Whitby, it experienced a parallel revival in monastic life after the Norman Conquest. It became, for a short time, the abode of the new convent which had been temporarily forced to leave Whitby.\textsuperscript{169} After Whitby had been re-established on a firmer footing, the village of Hackness sank into a secondary position and later existed only as a manor and farm on the estates of the Abbey.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Interior

a) Masonry: The walls above the arcades and above the chancel and tower arches are of widely jointed brown sandstone ashlar. The courses are of varying height and the stones are axe-tooled. (figs. 85, 86, 89)
b) Chancel: H.M. Taylor feels that for a length of about 10 ft. from the nave and for about the same height, the south chancel wall appears to be of the same character as the walling above the nave arcades, but this is doubtful.170

The chancel arch, which is 10 ft. x 15 ft. and is set into a wall 2 ft. thick, probably dates from the eleventh century. (figs.85,86) It consists of a simple round arch of nineteen well-laid throughstone voussoirs. This arch springs from plain impost which project on the soffit and on the eastern and western faces. The southern impost block on the east face has been renewed. The northern impost is carved on the soffit with a pattern of interlaced creatures which are part bird and part beast. Bilson states that this is a very old motif and Collingwood assigns it to the post-Danish period.171 H.M. Taylor, on the other hand, takes the view of Baldwin Brown, who assigns the decoration with some certainty to the second half of the eighth century. He states, however, that it is possible that the impost came from an earlier building and that the chancel arch is later than the eighth century.172 Above this arch is the line of an older roof gable. (fig.86)

c) Nave: The original dimensions of the nave, as represented by the area within the arcades, was 30 ft. 6 in. x 18 ft. 3 in. with walls 2 ft. thick and about 20 ft. high.173 Three of the original side-alternate quoins are still visible. (fig.88) Both of the western quoins have survived to most of their original height while part of the northeastern quoin may be seen in
The walls above the later arcades present a problem. They are Anglo-Saxon but it is difficult to tell just how early they are. In the wall above the south arcade, at opposite ends of this structure, are vestiges of two earlier windows. The narrow, flat-headed outer face of the eastern opening is seen in the south aisle. Both impost of its inner face have survived in the nave as have the eastern jamb and part of the sill. Of the western window only the west jamb and part of the head remain in the nave and there is a trace of the west jamb in the aisle. Both openings were single-splayed internally and had internal sill 13 ft. 6 in. above the present floor. They were about 2 ft. wide internally and narrowed to 1 ft. externally. Bilson mentions only one of these windows, the one at the east end, but two did exist.

Bilson claims that the wall above the tower arch dates from the thirteenth century, as the original wall was removed at the time of the tower's construction. However, this writer feels that the wall is Anglo-Saxon. The masonry is similar to that above the chancel arch and the line of the old gable is visible. In addition, there is a small triangular-headed opening just beneath the line of the present roof reminiscent of those found at Norton, Co. Durham and Thurlby, Lincs.

B. Norman Elements
1. Exterior
118

a) Tower: The west tower was constructed ca.1200 and is of three stages separated by plain string-courses.\textsuperscript{177}(fig.84b) It stands on a deep plinth. The bell chamber has a window in each face consisting of two lancets under semicircular heads with moulded external hoods. At the southwestern angle of the tower is a massive square projection tabled back at the belfry stage which encloses a staircase. At the northwestern angle are two buttresses, each with two off-sets.

1. Interior

a) Nave: The south arcade, which is mid-twelfth century or earlier, consists of two bays of round-headed arches cut through a very thin wall.\textsuperscript{178}(fig.88) The central pier is circular and is surmounted by a square capital with an incised design set below a square abacus. The responds are square with attached half columns of a design similar to that of the piers. The arches consist of throughstone voussoirs framed by stripwork decoration above.

The north arcade, which was added in the second half of the twelfth century, is of three bays.\textsuperscript{179}(fig.87) The pointed arches are of two chamfered orders and show traces of tampering which may have occurred when the clerestory was added. The piers are cylindrical with moulded bell capitals while the responds are square with half-round shafts having voluted capitals and square abaci. The western of these has cable ornament around its base.

b) Tower: The interior of the tower is 15 ft. square.\textsuperscript{180}
VI. Observations and Conclusions: Despite the fact that this church existed before 1066, it is still difficult to date. Bilson and Micklethwaite believe that St. Peter's was built during the reign of Edward the Confessor. This belief is based on Collingwood's description of the chancel sculpture as post-Danish. They confirm this conclusion with evidence from the Domesday Book, which lists the T.R.E. values of Die Wapentake as £162 17s. 8d. If the T.R.E. values of Morcar's manor at Pickering and Tostig's at Falsgrave are deducted, the valuit of Hackness with Suffield and Everley would be £7. This indicates a comparatively flourishing community. The effect of the Conqueror's harrying in 1069 can be seen in the reduction to a T.R.W. value of 20s. H.M. Taylor takes Baldwin Brown's point of view, feeling that there is a lack of late Saxon features in the church and that the carving is eighth century. He feels it is reasonable, therefore, to accept the evidence of the impost block and to assign the church to Period B. The thinness of the walls above the later arcades, he claims, underlines this early dating. However, while the walls are thin, there are no distinctive early features. The chancel arch, which is plain and undistinguished, could easily be of eleventh century date. The quoins are not megalithic, the blocked windows show no early characteristics, and the thinness of the walls is not sufficient reason to propose an early date. There is also no reason to doubt Collingwood's assignment of the carving to the post-Danish period and this writer feels that the existing Anglo-Saxon elements are more likely to be C₂ or C₃.
Ryther

I. Dedication: All Saints

II. Location: The church is located in the West Riding of Yorkshire, six miles northwest of Selby. It stands beside the River Wharfe, a quarter mile east of the village.

III. Present Condition: All Saints consists of a nave with a large south aisle, a south porch and a rectangular chancel. (fig.90) (Plan 12)

IV. History and Documentation: The church is referred to in the Domesday Book under the land of Ilbert de Laci.183

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Chancel: The chancel was rebuilt in the fifteenth century on its old foundation and restored in 1847.184 (fig.93) The plain square foundation platform, which dips to the east, may denote the line of the original walls. The southeastern and northeastern quoins of the chancel are of the massive side-alternate type but they may be of re-used material since the chancel walling is not of pre-Conquest date.

b) Nave: A large number of corbels and other twelfth century stones have been built into the outer walls of the nave. Included are three monolithic window heads which are set in the north wall. H.M. Taylor believes these are pre-Conquest.185 There is the trace of an older gable line on the nave east
wall which may mark the original roof line. (fig. 91) The southeastern side-alternate quoin of the nave can be seen beside the chancel. However, it is not of a distinctive type and cannot be securely dated.

2. Interior

a) Chancel: The chancel arch rises to a height of 10 ft. 2 in. from the chancel floor and is set in a wall 2 ft. 3 in. thick. (fig. 94) The jambs are laid Escomb fashion. They and the arch are wholly constructed of throughstones. The lower voussoirs, which measure 2 ft. 8 in. x 2 ft. 3 in., are more wedge-shaped than is necessary to give radial joints, while the succeeding few voussoirs on each side are scarcely wedge-shaped at all. The imposts are of rough, early character and project on the soffit side only. That on the north has two vertical faces separated by a single chamfer, while that on the south has a single vertical face above a hollow chamfer. Both imposts are undercut below.

b) Nave: The nave, which is irregularly set out, is 19 ft. 7 in. wide at the eastern end and 18 ft. wide at the western end. Its length varies from 50 ft. 8 in. on the north - 51 ft. 2 in. on the south and the northern wall thickens out by 6 in. half way down. The foundation platform and the break in the exterior northeastern wall of the nave show that the walls were originally 2 ft. 6 in. thick.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior
a) Chancel: J.E. Morris and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society claim that the jambs of the rebated priest's doorway at the western end of the south wall are of pre-Conquest date, while the hood-mould and arch are late twelfth century. The doorway has a round head of stones shaped to the curve of the arch. Above this is a chamfered hood-mould. The impost are of an intricately chamfered and quirked form but the jambs are of massive upright and flat throughstones. These have been chamfered but this could have been done during the nineteenth century restorations. The jambs rest on their own square plinth which in turn rests on the original foundation platform.

b) Nave: At the western end of the nave is a rebated north doorway. The western facade of this structure is lit by two internally splayed chamfered lancets which are separated externally by large buttresses of three off-sets.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The documentary reference in the Domesday Book reveals that Ryther was a relatively important centre before 1069, with its own priest as well as its own church. However, the present structure has been considerably altered over the years and has little external fabric that would reveal its early date. The later walls of the chancel, set on the plain Anglo-Saxon foundation platform, may correspond in thickness to the earlier pre-Conquest wall. The walls of the nave, especially at the eastern end, are also thin and set out in an irregular fashion. The northeastern wall may be Anglo-Saxon but there are no distinctive
elements that would allow a definite attribution. The priest's doorway in the chancel south wall has massive jambs which are laid Escomb style, but it too has been altered and is more likely to be a twelfth century opening.

The chancel arch is the only construction which can be identified as Anglo-Saxon. It consists of throughstones and a poorly executed voussoir arch supported by Escomb jambs. However, the chamfered impost and wider, shorter proportions would tend to place it in the late Saxon period (C₂ or C₃), or perhaps even the Saxo-Norman era.

Bulmer

I. Dedication: St. Martin

II. Location: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire, six miles southwest of Malton.

III. Present Condition: St. Martin's consists of an aisleless rectangular nave with a south porch, a rectangular chancel, and an Early English west tower. (fig. 95) (Plan 13)

IV. History and Documentation: The church at Bulmer had its own priest and was listed in the Domesday Book under the lands of the Count of Mortain.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
l. Exterior
a) Masonry: The exterior is constructed of light brown sandstone rubble. Herring-bone work appears in patches such as the six rows at the eastern end of the south wall and the four rows
east of the blocked doorway in the north wall. (figs. 96, 101)

b) Nave: In the north wall, west of the blocked arches of the former chapel arcade, is a small, narrow loop window of pre-Conquest design. Deeply splayed internally, it is composed of throughstones and has an arched lintel, jambs of three roughly dressed stones each, and no sill. (figs. 100, 101) Still further to the west is a north doorway, now blocked, which has external dimensions of 2 ft. 2 in. x 6 ft. (figs. 101, 102) The lintel supports a plain tympanum above which is a relieving arch constructed of throughstone voussoirs of various sizes. This arch is outlined with stripwork which ends abruptly just above the lintel. There are no imposts and the throughstone jambs are laid Escomb fashion.

On either side of the south porch are two narrow loop windows similar to the one in the north wall. (fig. 97) Externally they are 6 in. wide x 2 ft. 4 in. high, splaying internally to 2 ft. 4 in. x 5 ft. Their sills are 8 ft. 9 in. from the ground. To the east are traces of what may be a blocked round-headed doorway corresponding to that on the north. (figs. 96, 97)

2. Interior

a) Nave: The interior of the nave measures 49 ft. x 16½ ft. with walls 2 ft. 9 in. thick and approximately 19 ft. high. To the west of the blocked arches in the north wall is a narrow, round-headed, internally splayed window. Two similar round-headed windows are located at the western end of the south wall.
B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior
   a) Chancel: The chancel wall was rebuilt during the first half of the twelfth century. The northern part of the east wall and the lower part of the north wall are part of this Norman reconstruction.\(^1\)\(^{92}\) (fig. 95)
   
   b) Nave: The late twelfth century south doorway is of a well-developed, but mutilated, appearance.\(^1\)\(^{93}\) The entrance consists of a round arch recessed in two orders, the outer of which once rested on chamfered impost and side shafts with voluted capitals. (fig. 103) These shafts have since disappeared. The inner order once rested on chamfered impost, the eastern one of which is now gone. There is stripwork moulding above the outer order, which ends at the impost and the opening is rebated for the hanging of a door.

   At the eastern end of the south wall are two internally splayed, square-headed windows. The upper one has some interesting features. (figs. 98, 99) It consists of a chamfered lintel, large jamb stones, and a single stone sill. The lower part of the western jamb is inscribed with a simple sundial of early appearance and on either side of the lintel are two corbel heads with carved faces. This internally splayed window is not mentioned by Caroline Morewood or H.M. Taylor.

2. Interior
   a) Chancel: The interior of the chancel measures 30 ft. x 15 ft.\(^1\)\(^{94}\)

VI. Observations and Conclusions: St. Martin's has been much
altered over the years. However, there are still definite traces of Saxon and Saxo-Norman workmanship. All of the elements which do remain appear to be late, with the exception of the blocked north and south doorways. The placement of these openings, opposite each other in the nave walls, is an early Anglo-Saxon characteristic, which is also found in churches such as Barton-on-Humber, Lincs. The herring-bone work and the advanced workmanship of the blocked north doorway with its tympanum, would tend to place the pre-Conquest fabric of this church in Period C₃ or the Saxo-Norman overlap.

Terrington

I. Dedication: All Saints
II. Location: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire about seven miles west of Malton, close to the gates of Castle Howard.
III. Present Condition: All Saints consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and an aisleless chancel with a north vestry. (fig.104) (Plan 14)
IV. History and Documentation: The village of Terrington is referred to in the Domesday Book under the lands of the Count of Mortain.¹⁹⁵ A restoration of the church took place in 1868.¹⁹⁶
V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
1. Interior
a) Masonry: On the western face of the south nave wall, above the later arcades, are three courses of horizontally laid
ragstone. These are surmounted by thirteen courses of herring-bone above which the wall again consists of horizontally coursed red ragstone.

b) Nave: West of the south arcade the wall is of rude Anglo-Saxon construction and contains much herring-bone, similar to that found at Bulmer. On the south face of this portion of the nave south wall is a window with a single splay carried through the full thickness of the wall. (fig.106) Externally the jambs are built of roughly dressed stone and the round head consists of an arched lintel cut into the face of a re-used stone. This stone is triangular with carved knotwork and was probably a grave slab. Internally the main body of the opening consists of splayed jambs and a round plastered head, but the salient angles are formed of dressed stone. The outer face of this window is 1 ft. wide x 3 ft. tall with a sill resting 8 ft. 3 in. above the floor. Internally it splays to 3 ft. 5 in.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Nave: The twelfth century nave measures 38 3/4 ft. x 18 ft. and has a north aisle which is 30 3/4 ft. long. (fig.105) The north arcade consists of two bays of unequal size. There is a deep respond at the western end of this construction and the arches are of two plain semicircular orders. The wider eastern arch rests on a cylindrical pier and half-round responds which have octagonal capitals of
differing designs. The capital of the western respond is fluted while the other two capitals consist of conventional leaf ornament. 198

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The fabric of All Saints Terrington cannot be conclusively dated. The internally splayed window with its arched lintel could be early or late, but the presence of the early Saxon grave slab suggests a later date. The existence of herring-bone work such as that at Bulmer, if not a Norman characteristic, is at least a late Saxon or a Saxo-Norman one. The thinness and height of the walls is Anglo-Saxon but no distinctive elements such as quoins or doorways exist. The north arcade is constructed of two arches cut at different times through an earlier wall, thus giving further support to the assignment of a pre-Conquest date to the crude masonry in the south wall. 199 The most probable implication is that this is a late C₃ or Saxo-Norman church.

York, Peasholme Green

I. Dedication: St. Cuthbert

II. Location: The church is located in the city of York on the eastern side of the River Ouse. It sits at the junction of Foss Islands and Peasholme Green Streets, just inside the ancient city walls.

III. Present Condition: The church consists of a west tower, a nave with a south porch, and a modern vestry. (figs.107,112)

IV. History and Documentation: The first reference to
St. Cuthbert's occurs in the *Domesday Book*.\(^{200}\) The building is not mentioned again until the institution is recorded in 1238, under the advowson belonging to Holy Trinity Priory.\(^{201}\) The church was restored 1911 - 1912 and is now used only once a week because it is too small to accommodate all of the parishioners.\(^{202}\)

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: At the southeastern corner of the church, in what would normally be the chancel east wall, the Tadcaster stone is roughly shaped and laid in regular small-stone courses. (fig.108)

b) Nave: The entire structure was rebuilt ca.1500, except for the southern part of the east wall.\(^{203}\) (fig.107) This section of the fabric contains older material, probably from the eleventh century.(figs.108,109) The gable line of a church wall can be seen to the north and extends southwards to the edge of the south nave wall. To the northeast, beside the sixteenth century window, there are a series of large stones which are laid in a side-alternate arrangement.(fig.111) These could be the quoins of an earlier church. Between the two buttresses is a doorway which has been bricked up.(fig.110) The massive lintel consists of a rough stone block and above it are a series of voussoirs of varying size and shape. These form a relieving arch. The jambs, traces of which are still
visible, are laid in a side-alternate fashion. The doorway is quite tall and narrow and could be Anglo-Saxon.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The church of St. Cuthbert is poorly documented and there are no distinctive features which would aid in dating the structure. There was a church on the site when the Domesday Survey was undertaken and the eastern end of the present building could be a remnant of this. However, it is difficult to tell just how old this remnant is. The blocked doorway is too worn and altered to be definitely ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon period and the quoins are partially covered by a sixteenth century addition to the east wall. The previous structure was relatively tall and lofty, as indicated by the gable line above. However, because of the absence of any distinctive structural elements, the best date that can be given for St. Cuthbert's is C or the Saxo-Norman overlap.

Monk Fryston

I. Dedication: St. Wilfrid of Ripon

II. Location: The church is located in the West Riding of Yorkshire, about seven miles west of Selby.

III. Present Condition: St. Wilfrid's consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with north and south porches, and a chancel with a south vestry. (fig.113) (Plan 15)

IV. History and Documentation: Reference to the village first appears in a survey of the estates of the Archbishop of York made ca.1030. These lands were centred at Sherburn in Elmet,
Otley and Ripon. A charter of 1109 granted by Archbishop Thomas I of York, gave the lands of Fryston to the Benedictine Abbey at Selby. From that time the place was known as Monk Fryston.

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The church is built of white Tadcaster masonry. (fig.113) The first three stages of the tower and portions of the nave west front are constructed of large, widely jointed rubble stones. (figs.115,116)

b) Nave: At the west front of the nave, and visible for 3 ft. on either side of the tower, are the marks of an earlier nave gable. (fig.116) The rubble walling below these gable lines is different from the stones above and may mark the existence of the Anglo-Saxon nave.

c) Tower: The tower consists of four stages of which the three lowest are Anglo-Saxon (figs.114,115) These extend to a height of 35 ft. The quoins are hidden at the two lower levels by the tall angle buttresses. However, they are visible in the third stage and are arranged face-alternately.

The lower stage of the tower is about half its total height and is divided from the second storey by a simple square string-course. There is a small pointed window in the south wall which is constructed of throughstones and may be Anglo-Saxon. (fig.114) Its head is cut externally from two shaped
stones and it has jambs of two pillar stones each. The sill is of one block.

Above the plain string-course is the low second stage. The three external faces at this level contain original double-light belfry windows which have arched lintels over each opening and are supported in the cæstre by the usual arrangement of throughstone slabs and mid-wall shafts. (figs. 114,115) The outer edges of these arched lintels rest, without impost, on square jambs constructed of ashlar. These do not pass through the full thickness of the wall. The mid-wall shafts have square bases and simple capitals of unusual form. They are square in order to reduce their cross-section and are tapered by means of hollow chamfers on each face. All three windows rest on the lower string-course.

Above the original belfry is a widely projecting string-course supported by plain block corbels. (figs.114,115) It is surmounted by the unusually short third stage which has no openings. Above this is a second corbel table and a string-course.

2. Interior
a) Nave: The nave, which is irregularly set out, is approximately 40½ ft. x 18½ ft. with walls 2 ft. 9 in. thick. These walls are now about 26 ft. high but they were probably about 20 ft. high before the addition of the fifteenth century clerestory. The walls above the north and south arcades may be Anglo-Saxon. Above the tower arch is a belfry window which is now enclosed in the nave. (fig.117) Its head is of
two lights of pointed form which have been renewed. The shafts and capitals are similar to those of the other three belfry windows.

b) Tower: The interior of the tower measures 9 ft. 6 in. east/west x 8 ft. 11 in. north/south and has walls which are 3 ft. 6 in. thick. It is lit on the south face by a small window which is of pointed form externally. This opening is splayed internally and has a round head of very thin strips that appear to be throughstones. The jambs are flat and have no impost.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Tower: There are signs of repair work in the west wall below the pointed fifteenth century window. On one of these repair stones there is a small Norman scratch dial.

2. Interior

a) Nave: The north and south arcades were built ca.1200 and consist of three bays each. The arches are round-headed and rest on circular piers with square bases.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: St. Wilfrid's is not mentioned in any documentary sources, though the village was connected with the lands of the Archbishop of York in pre-Conquest times. It maintained this ecclesiastical connection after 1066. The church has undergone many changes and alterations since the Anglo-Saxon period and the only early fabric which can be definitely identified is the lower three stages of the tower. This tower contains many elements which
place it in the C₃ or Saxo-Norman period. The quoins are of small size and are neatly arranged. The jambs of the belfry windows are not throughstones and the capitals, though crude, are of late design. They are mounted on round fillets which are unusual in Anglo-Saxon buildings. The existence of corbel tables, which are commonly associated with Norman structures, indicates a later date, as does the thickness of the tower walls.

The walls of the original Saxon nave may exist above the later arcades, as the fabric is thin and badly set out. On the interior they are coated with plaster and it is difficult to prove their antiquity. However, the gable mark and rubble walling on the western front of the present nave may indicate traces of the earlier structure.

York, Bishophill Junior

I. Dedication: St. Mary

II. Location: The church is located in the city of York, near Bishophill, on the western side of the River Ouse.

III. Present Condition: St. Mary's consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel with a north chapel. (figs.118,119) (Plan 16)

IV. History and Documentation: The only documentary reference to the church is a papal confirmation of the capitular property of 1194. 210

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The tower is constructed of limestone rubble. It is reasonably well-coursed, though this is less apparent in the upper levels. There is also a considerable admixture of whole courses of white limestone rubble, especially in the north wall. These courses are interspersed with larger, longer slabs of dark stone. In addition, there are some courses and part courses of herring-bone.

b) Tower: According to C.C. Hodges, the tower, which is 26 ft. square externally and 73 ft. high, is the most southerly of a similar group of towers dating from the first half of the eleventh century. (fig.118) These include Bolam, Corbridge, Bywell, and Monkwearmouth. The structure consists of three internal stages but externally only one string-course separates the recessed belfry from the lower portion. The string-course is square-cut on the east but it has been badly worn elsewhere. The quoins of the tower are of darkly coloured sandstone slabs with long bonding stones of the same material. Some of the lower slabs are quite large but those above are smaller and flatter. All are laid side-alternately. The gable marks of the former nave roof are visible on the tower east wall, 2 - 3 ft. above the present roof line. The small rectangular window in the west wall is a later insertion. In the south wall, about half way up, at the height of the aisle roof, is a large rectangular opening. The jambs are pillar stones (three per jamb) and the lintel is of one slab. The sill is deeply worn. There is a similar window in the north wall.
The belfry stage contains the usual double-light, round-headed openings. The arch heads, which are of very thin limestone slabs, have a brick-like appearance and the mid-wall shafts are circular in section. These shafts support long central imposts chamfered below. The jambs appear to be throughstones. One unusual feature of these openings is the presence of thin strips projecting from the wall face and forming a frame along the sides of the jambs and around the arch heads. The strips terminate below the windows at the bottom of the built up sills, just above the string-course, and they rest on cubical corbels. In addition, they have their own small cubical imposts which project from the long jamb imposts. The upper part of the western opening has been renewed in the form of two lancets under a single round-headed arch. However, the lower portions of the original jambs and stripwork remain undisturbed.

The masonry of these belfry windows has a straight joint which runs down the wall from the foot of each jamb as if the openings were originally much deeper or had steeply sloping sills which were later built up to their present form. Baldwin Brown favours the former explanation but Jewitt's drawing, published by Rickman, seems to confirm the latter theory. This sketch shows the windows with apertures of the present size but with sills extending horizontally only through the inner thickness of the wall. They slope off steeply to the level of the off-set beside the bases of the surrounding stripwork.
2. Interior

a) Masonry: The interior was once entirely coated with plaster but now much of this has been removed. The exposed surfaces are of roughly squared, widely jointed red sandstone rubble with an admixture of very large stones which have been laid in irregular courses. (figs. 120, 121)

b) Nave: The nave measures 20 ft. 10 in. x 38 ft. 4 in. internally. (fig. 121) The north wall is 2 ft. 7 in. thick and the south wall is 2 ft. thick.

Baldwin Brown regards the tower arch as perhaps the finest pre-Conquest example in existence with the possible exception of Barnack and Cambridge. (figs. 122, 123, 124) It is 10 ft. wide x 16 ft. high from the floor of the nave to the crown. The structure is recessed in two plain square orders as are the jambs and imposts. Each impost is constructed of two superimposed oversailing slabs of stone and the arch is outlined on the eastern and western faces by a square hood-mould. This is not carried down beside the jambs in the form of stripwork. There seems instead to have been provision for it beside the jamb, because the short section of the pilaster runs from the upper section of each impost across the face of the lower section. The two orders of the arch are constructed of two separate sets of voussoirs, whereas, in the case of the jambs, the two orders are sometimes of separate stones and sometimes of a single great stone running through the full thickness of the wall with the necessary outline cut into it. The jambs rest on plain cubical bases approximately 1 ft. 4 in.
tall. These also serve to support the sides of a single step which leads up from the nave to the tower.

c) Tower: The tower, which is divided into three stages internally, is 20 ft. square. The walls at the base are 3 ft. 1 in. thick but they decrease to 2 ft. 5 in. at the belfry level. 214

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Nave: The north aisle was added ca.1180. 215 At the eastern end of this aisle the wall contains a doorway, while further west are two double-light windows. The western wall of this aisle contains an internally splayed lancet.

2. Interior

a) Masonry: The north aisle is composed of rubble. (fig.121)

b) Nave: The twelfth century north arcade consists of two round arches recessed in two plain square orders. 216 (fig.121) These rest on a central circular pier with an octagonal capital. 217

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The church is late Saxon. The tower arch with its moulding and recessed jambs is of an advanced design. The tower is perhaps earlier but it also displays mature elements such as the voussoirs and stripwork of the belfry windows. This stripwork, which has an affinity with that surrounding the openings in the tower at Wharram-le-Street, places the tower in the C3 or Saxo-Norman era. This is supported by the fact that Wharram is a late church and it
is possible that the two are contemporary or that St. Mary's may have influenced the latter structure. In addition, the herring-bone work is a C3 or Saxo-Norman feature. The thinness of the nave walls above the later arcades may be an indication of Anglo-Saxon date and the earliness of the north arcade adds credence to this theory. However, the walls have been coated with plaster and no distinguishing quoins are evident. Therefore, a definite assignment of the fabric to the pre-Conquest period is impossible.

Bedale

I. Dedication: St. Gregory

II. Location: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire, seven miles southwest of Northallerton.

III. Present Condition: St. Gregory's consists of a west tower with a south porch, a rectangular aisled nave, and a rectangular chancel with north and south chapels. (figs. 125, 126) These chapels are extensions of the north and south aisles. (Plan 17)

IV. History and Documentation: The church is mentioned in the Domesday Book as part of the manor of the Norman vassal, Bodin. 218

V. Structure:

1. Exterior

a) Nave: At the east end of the north wall is a string-course situated under the east window. It is returned a short way round the north wall.

2. Interior

a) Masonry: The stones of the west wall are the only ones which
are not limewashed or coated with plaster. They are of rough grey gritstone laid in irregular, widely jointed courses of varying sizes. (figs. 130, 131)

b) Chancel: H.M. Taylor estimates that the original dimensions of the chancel were approximately 8 ft. square with walls 2 ft. 7 in. thick and 24 ft. high. Above the chancel arch and set into the limewashed wall, is a small square doorway, or opening, with a lintel above and jamb stones of varying sizes and shape below. Higher up is the faint outline of an earlier steeply pitched nave gable. (fig. 127)

c) Nave: H.M. Taylor states that the dimensions of the original aisleless nave were 48½ ft. x 24 ft. to the east, narrowing to 22 ft. to the west. The walls are 2 ft. 7 in. thick and about 24 ft. high. (fig. 127) Above the tower arch is the line of a steeply pitched nave gable. This extends up underneath the present wooden ceiling. (figs. 130, 131)

According to Taylor, the eastern quoins of the nave may have survived but they are now concealed by plaster. In addition, there is a plain chamfered string-course on the south face of the nave south wall. This would originally have been on the exterior of the earlier aisleless church.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Chancel: The chancel was extended eastward during the Norman period and the south chapel was added ca. 1200.
b) Nave: The basic plan of the original aisleless nave is twelfth century or earlier.223

2. Interior
a) Chancel: East of the thirteenth century chancel south arcade, on the south face of the wall, are two fragments of elaborate Norman string-course decorated with billet moulding. These mark the extent of the earlier chancel.224

b) Nave: The north arcade was constructed ca.1200. It is of four bays with acutely pointed arches of two orders.225 (figs. 127,129,130) There is nail-head ornament in the hollow chamfer of the outer order and a hood-mould above of solid three-sided dogtooth. The chief peculiarity of this arcade is the fact that no two piers are alike. The westernmost is octagonal, the second has clustered shafts, and the third is square with hollow chamfers at the corners. All of the accompanying capitals are foliated with different designs and all of the bases are different also.226

VI. Observations and Conclusions: There are no distinguishable Anglo-Saxon elements left in the church, such as doorways, quoining or arches. Consequently, it is unsafe to say that any of the remaining early fabric predates 1066. The Taylors have tried to piece together the possible size and shape of the original structure, which they feel consisted of a long aisleless nave and a short square chancel. The best proof of this reconstruction is the string-courses on what were once the exterior south walls of the nave and chancel. The Taylors
feel the Late Norman or Transitional arcade must have been cut through a wall of either the Norman or the Anglo-Saxon period, therefore proving the early date of the north wall. The Norman extension of the short square chancel adds to the probability that the original church was Saxon and this surmise is further supported by the fact that the plain chamfered character of the string-course on the south wall of the nave contrasts sharply with the more elaborate string-course on the Norman extension of the chancel. Consequently, they formulate their measurements from these existing string-courses and the arcade in the earlier north wall, and from the fact that the nave is still approximately its original length, as revealed by the two early, steeply pitched gables. However, if the remaining elements are Anglo-Saxon, they are of Period C^3 and there is reason to suppose, because of a lack of specifically pre-Conquest features, that they may not be any earlier than the Saxo-Norman or Early Norman period.

Collingham

I. Dedication: St. Oswald

II. Location: The church is located in the West Riding of Yorkshire about two miles southwest of Wetherby.

III. Present Condition: St. Oswald's consists of a west tower with a north turret, a rectangular nave with a north aisle and a south porch, and a rectangular chancel which narrows slightly to the east and has a north vestry. (fig.133) (Plan 18)

IV. History and Documentation: The chancel was rebuilt in 1840
and the church was restored in 1870.²²⁷

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The fabric of the structure is of roughly dressed, widely jointed sandstone masonry. The stones are about the size of modern bricks and are laid in courses.(fig.134) Some large stones are scattered throughout the structure and the lower five courses of the wall are of even rougher appearance.

b) Nave: The southwestern and southeastern quoins of the nave are visible beside the modern buttresses. They are of regular side-alternate character and uniform height (about 1 ft. 6 in.)²²⁸ (fig.136) There are also vestiges of side-alternate quoins to the northeast above the roof of the vestry.

2. Interior

a) Nave: The nave measures 37 ft. x 15 ft. and has walls which vary in thickness, 2 ft. 3 in. - 2 ft. 8 in. and are about 20 ft. high.(fig.134) Two fragments of sculptured stone were found in the south wall in 1840. They have been assigned by Collingwood to the eighth or ninth century and are now located at the eastern end of the north aisle.²²⁹ One is carved with figures on all four sides and the other is sculpted with animals and interlace.²³⁰

VI. Observations and Conclusions: There are no documentary sources pertaining to the church and no elements which can definitely be attributed to the Anglo-Saxons. The side-alternate quoins of the nave could be Saxo-Norman or Early Norman as
they are small in size and neat in appearance. The walls are thin but approach 3 ft. in depth. They are also high, but they may have been tampered with during the 1870 restoration. The rebuilding and later restoration were so thorough and the Anglo-Saxon traces in the wall so slight, that it is dangerous to postulate any definite date for the building. However, if the south walls of the nave and chancel are ancient, they are probably of the Saxo-Norman or C3 period.

Aldborough

I. Dedication: St. Bartholomew
II. Location: The church is located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, approximately twelve miles northeast of Hull.
III. Present Condition: St. Bartholomew consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel with a north chapel. (figs. 137, 138) (Plan 19)
IV. History and Documentation: The church is mentioned in the Domesday Book under the lands of the Count of Mortain. It was restored in 1870. In addition, the sundial situated on the south face of the nave south wall, above the arcade, may shed some light on the history and dating of this monument. (fig. 143).

A.R. Green has described the sundial as being carved on a circular stone, the face of which projects from the wall. It consists of a style hole and eight radiating lines that divide the day and night into eight tides. There is an inscription between the two concentric circles forming the
circumference and on the face of the dial is a mark, possibly a variant of the swastika. Green feels this is intended to mark the *daeg-mael* (the symbol composed of six crossing lines). The inscription is written in old Danish-English of the eleventh century and reads, "ULF LET ÄEÄERAN CYRICE FOR HANUM AND FOR GUNWARE SAULA". H.M. Taylor translates this as, "Ulf had this church built for himself and for Gunwara's soul". Green feels that the Ulf mentioned is probably Ulfus, son of Thorald. Gunwara was still living at the beginning of 1066, and he was listed in the *Domesday Book* as dead at the time that the dial was erected. The year of the Norman Conquest is therefore the *terminus post quem* for the church.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
1. Exterior
a) Chancel: In the centre of the chancel south wall is a fifteenth century double-light window above which is a monolithic Anglo-Saxon window-head. (fig.140) It is carved in relief with the figure of two beasts facing each other. This stone does not resemble the masonry surrounding it and is not in its original position.

2. Interior
a) Masonry: A small amount of plaster has been removed from around the sundial on the southern face of the south nave arcade and the walling beneath is of light brown, widely jointed sandstone ashlar. (fig.143)
b) Nave: The nave south wall is 2 ft. thick. (fig.141) The sundial on this wall may not be in its original position as the walling surrounding it has been disturbed at some point. Below the dial is a triangular-shaped piece of stone which H.M. Taylor believes to be a surviving fragment from the head of a stripwork hood-mould set over a triangular-headed doorway. The dial might, therefore be in its rightful place over the original south opening in the nave wall.  

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: St. Bartholomew's is composed of rubble walling made of light brown sandstone. (figs.137,138,139)

b) Chancel: The chancel, which has southeastern and northeastern side-alternate quoins, dates from the twelfth century. (fig.138) It rests on a foundation platform.

To the west of the central double-light window in the south chancel wall, at the juncture of the chancel and the south aisle, is a doorway with Norman chevron decoration carved from a second order of voussoirs. (fig.139) The existing entrance was inserted at a later date obliterating the jambs and impost of its Norman predecessor.

c) Tower: The west tower, which is divided into three stages by plain string-courses, is of short, squat Norman proportions. (fig.137) It rests on a sloping plinth and has small side-alternate ashlar quoins. There is a small window on the south face of the ground storey. There is also a window above it
in the second stage. The tower is finished with a plain Norman corbel table.

2. Interior
a) Chancel: The interior of the chancel measures 19 ft. 3 in. x 45 ft. 4 in.
b) Nave: Over the eastern pier of the western arch in the nave south arcade is a small carved stone figure of a man wearing a short tunic. (fig. 142)
c) Tower: The internal dimensions of the tower are 15 ft. 10 in. east/west x 12 ft. 3 in. north/south.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: It is dangerous to presume that any part of the fabric of St. Bartholomew Aldborough is of Anglo-Saxon date. The sundial may not be in its original position and the carved lintel on the exterior south wall of the chancel has certainly been moved from another location. The thinness of the walls above the nave south arcade is not sufficient evidence for assigning the church to the pre-Conquest era. It is known from documentary sources that a church existed on the site in 1066, but whether any part of this structure remains is questionable. With the evidence at hand, a reconstruction of the Anglo-Saxon building is impossible.

**Burghwallis**

I. Dedication: St. Helen

II. Location: The church is located in the West Riding of
Yorkshire, about six miles north-northwest of Doncaster.

III. Present Condition: St. Helen's consists of a west tower, an aisleless rectangular nave with a south porch, and a long rectangular chancel with a north vestry. (figs. 144, 145) (Plan 20)

IV. History and Documentation: Only the village is referred to in the Domesday Book.

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The nave walls are of red sandstone rubble laid in irregular courses of thin slabs, while the chancel east wall and some of the upper sections of the north and south walls are of ashlar. (figs. 144, 146) The south wall of the nave is composed almost entirely of herring-bone work while the herring-bone in the north nave wall is confined mainly to the lower courses. There is also a considerable amount of herring-bone scattered throughout the chancel south wall.

b) Chancel: The chancel was lengthened at some point after its construction. (fig. 147) This lengthening is indicated by the end of the herring-bone and the start of the ashlar just to the east of the southern buttress of the south wall. The side-alternate southeastern and northeastern quoins are still visible and a simple square foundation platform of rough-cut stones forms the base of this structure.

c) Nave: The nave, which rests on a square foundation platform, retains all four original quoins. (fig. 144) E.A. Fisher claims
that while they are large, they are certainly not megalithic. He also suggests that the northwestern quoin is of mixed face- and side-alternate stones and that the northeastern quoin is roughly upright and flat while the southeastern and southwestern ones are side-alternate. However, both the Taylors and this writer feel that all four quoins should be classified as megalithic side-alternate.

2. Interior
a) Chancel: The original internal length of the chancel, according to H.M. Taylor, was about 15 ft. The present dimensions of this structure are 13 ft. 9 in. x 27 ft. 1 in.

b) Nave: The aisleless nave measures 20 ft. 1 in. x 34 ft. 5 in. with walls 2 ft. 9 in. thick and about 17 ft. high. Above the tower arch and to the south of its apex, is a round-headed opening partially concealed by the wooden ceiling. (fig.148)

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior
a) Masonry: The tower is composed of red sandstone rubble laid in courses of small stones intermixed with some larger ones. (fig.145)

b) Chancel: The doorway in the south wall, which has been opened up since the Taylors were there, has a monolithic head cut to a pointed shape. (fig.147) The jambs are of large, roughly dressed throughstones.

c) Nave: The south porch is of a later date than the nave,
but the south doorway is of an indeterminate date. It consists of a round-headed true voussoir arch of red sandstone, but there is no keystone. Two masonry blocks form the lintel below. Most of the square jambs have been renewed but the impost appears to be original. The opening might be Early Norman, but it contains no distinguishing features.

Between the two double-light windows in the north wall is a blocked rectangular opening. It is about 5 ft. high and has a flat lintel. (fig.146) It is much worn, though the western jamb is of eight large chamfered slabs. The eastern jamb is hidden by a later buttress.

d) Tower: The tower, which is 17½ ft. square and 55 ft. high to the top of the later battlements, consists of three stages, each set back 6 in. from the one below and separated by a chamfered string-course. (fig.145) The structure, which has side-alternate quoins, is not in bond with the nave walls and has a chamfered plinth that rises 18 in. above the ground. In the south wall, just below the first string-course, is a tall narrow window with an arched lintel, jambs of four slabs each, and a slab sill. It has a single internal splay, is chamfered all round, and looks renewed. There is a similar window on the west face. The second stage contains a circular opening in the north wall which is cut straight through a single square slab of reddish stone.

The belfry windows on all four faces are mid-wall, double-light openings with pointed heads. Each pair is cut
from five long stones shaped to the appropriate curved form. The middle stone of each is common to the pair and each pointed apex is cut from one stone. The jambs, which have no imposts, are of four side-alternate slabs, but they are not throughstones. The central imposts are long, thin and square-cut and the central columns beneath are tall and slender. They are not truly mid-wall but sit near the outer faces of the structure. Each throughstone is supported by two shafts, not one. On three faces of the tower the shafts are cylindrical. However, on the fourth face, to the east, the outer one is cylindrical while the inner one is a large square slab.246 The rear columns are of different stone from the others and appear to be modern replacements.

2. Interior
a) Nave: The blocked remains of the north doorway are rebated for the hanging of a door.247

VI. Observations and Conclusions: This is a difficult church to date. There are at Burghwallis no specifically Anglo-Saxon elements and the presence of herring-bone work is of no real help, since it can be either Anglo-Saxon or Norman. However, the walls are relatively thin and the accompanying quoins are megalithic. This places the structure in C3 of the Saxo-Norman era. However, the tower is Saxo-Norman or Norman. The quoins are smaller and side-alternate and the rubble walling is well-coursed. The belfry windows, with their slightly pointed arches, are executed in a more developed style. The tower is not in
bond with the nave wall and is probably later than the nave. Despite early features, this must be considered as a late church of the Saxo-Norman overlap or Early Norman period, but one which has certain conservative overtones.

**Stonegrave**

**I. Dedication**: Holy Trinity

**II. Location**: The church is located in the North Riding of Yorkshire, about nine miles west northwest of Malton.

**III. Present Condition**: Holy Trinity consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and an aisleless chancel with a north vestry. (fig. 149) (Plan 21)

**IV. History and Documentation**: The church at Stonegrave belongs to the group of monasteries and churches established in the seventh century by Irish missionaries. This group includes Kirkdale and Lastingham. Holy Trinity is first referred to in a letter addressed to Eadbert, King of Northumbria by Pope Paul I in 757. This letter called on him to restore the monasteries of Stonegrave, Coxwold and Donmouth (Jarrow) to their proper owners and to the service of God. In the Domesday Book there are two separate entries for Stonegrave. The first lists the village under the land held by the Archbishop of York. The second entry, under the land of Ralph Pagenel, includes a reference to the church and the priest who served it.

A major rebuilding of the church may have taken place when possession of Stonegrave manor was transferred
from the Prior and Chapter of Hexham to William de Stonegrave in 1141. The building was drastically restored in 1862, at which time all of the exterior walls were reconstructed.

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
1. Exterior
a) Masonry: The tower is of widely jointed grey gritstone rubble. (fig.150)

b) Tower: The tower is of three stages and is difficult to date. It may be either Saxo-Norman or Norman. (fig.150) The walls of this structure rest on a chamfered plinth with mitred angles. Hodges feels that it resembles the plinths found in many Roman buildings in England and he states that he has seen such a construction in only one other church, Stow, Lincs., where the transepts have plinths with double chamfers and similarly mitred angles. The side-alternate quoins are of moderate size.

The only openings to survive are the blocked west doorway and the small round-headed internally splayed window in the second stage of the south face. (fig.150) It is of Late Saxon of Early Norman character. The splay of this opening is continued through the entire thickness of the wall and there is no groove or rebate for the purpose of fixing a glass pane. The head of the window consists of an arched lintel and the jambs are of two stones each. These bond deeply sideways into the wall.

The west doorway was blocked by the insertion of a
fifteenth century two-light window.\textsuperscript{253} The hood-mould of this later construction now obliterates the head of the original doorway, though a faint outline of the round arch remains. (fig.151) The jambs of the opening are laid Escomb fashion.

According to H.M. Taylor the tower is built over the western wall of the earlier nave. This is substantiated by the fact that the side walls of the tower are not in bond with the nave wall.\textsuperscript{254} Ada Russell confirms this.\textsuperscript{255}

2. Interior

a) Nave: The nave, which is irregularly set out, is 15 ft. 11 in. wide at the eastern end and 18 ft. 2 in. wide at the western end. It is 37 ft. 4 in. long to the north but 37 ft. 9 in. long to the south. The walls were originally 3 ft. thick.

The west wall contains a round-arched doorway which now leads into the tower. The section facing the nave measures 3 ft. 3 in. x 9 ft. 3 in. and is coated with plaster. Consequently, its history is difficult of surmise. The narrowing to the west could be interpreted as a stop for the hanging of a door. But in that case, the head should be a few inches lower than that of the eastern arch instead of 1 ft. higher. Possibly the original opening was cut straight through the wall and a door was then hung on the inner wall face. The present complicated arrangement arises from some modification, perhaps the thickening of the fabric. Support is given to this theory by the fact that the west wall of the nave is 3 ft. 8 in. thick, while the side walls are only 3 ft. thick.

b) Tower: The interior of the tower measures 11 ft. 9 in. x 11 ft.
and has walls which are 3 ft. 2 in. thick. The western face of the west doorway, which leads from the nave into the tower, is 2 ft. 10 in. wide x 10 ft. 2 in. high. The arch is narrower on the eastern face. The details of this doorway can be seen more clearly from the interior of the tower where the stones are partially visible beneath the limewash. The use of throughstones and massive jamb stones is evident and the voussoirs are awkwardly shaped and thin. The impost has been cut away above the southern jamb but is still visible as a flat block above the northern jamb.

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Nave: In the mid-twelfth century a north aisle was built and late in the same century a corresponding structure was added to the south.\(^{256}\) (fig.149)

2. Interior

a) Nave: The mid-twelfth century north arcade consists of three bays with round arches of two chamfered orders supported on circular columns and responds.\(^{257}\) (figs.152,153) The voussoirs of the central and western arches are of alternating yellow sandstone and white freestone and the column capitals are scalloped and have square-chamfered abaci. The capital of the western respond is carved in the form of a broad water-leaf. The vertical faces of the eastern column's scalloped capital are incised on the western and southern faces with six concentric circles which were never completed. The southern and western faces of the western column are ornamented with foliated designs
within beaded borders. On the next column to the east is the carved figure of a mermaid while on the western face of the capital are three circles containing ornament. The third circle is incomplete.

The later two-bay south arcade has round arches of two chamfered orders, each with a chamfered label. (fig. 154) The responds are semicircular with abaci and moulded bases. The capitals of the responds of the eastern arch are carved with a broad water-leaf design, while the western arch has scalloped capitals. The scallops at the angles of the eastern capital are carved with shallow relief and the necking of the western respond is decorated with nail-head ornament.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The church of Holy Trinity is an ancient foundation, but none of the oldest structure remains. Only the tenth century Saxon cross shafts, now placed at the western end of the nave, date from this early period. As a result of the restoration of 1862 - 1863, it is difficult to sort out the development of the existing church. The walls of the nave may be Anglo-Saxon, as they are not in bond with the tower and are laid out in an irregular triangular shape. However, these walls are thick (approximately 3 ft.) This measurement is not characteristically Anglo-Saxon. The tower doorway and the nave west doorway are both difficult to date because their details have been covered with plaster. However, their clumsy construction may indicate the Saxo-Norman period. The tower walls are over 3 ft. thick, but the proportions of the structure are tall and slender, unlike those of Norman towers. It is hard to see how the blocked west doorway may
have looked originally but its placement here is an Anglo-Saxon feature. There are no belfry windows and since the walls are not in bond with those of the nave, the tower is probably a later construction. The quoins are of the small side-alternate Norman type. Little insular influence now remains at Holy Trinity and the church can only be assigned to the period following 1066.

Hornby

I. Dedication: St. Mary

II. Location: The church is located in the grounds of Hornby Park and Castle, about three miles south of Catterick.

III. Present Condition: St. Mary's consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and a rectangular chancel with a modern north vestry and a south chapel. (figs. 155, 156) (Plan 22)

IV. History and Documentation: There is some confusion over the name Hornby, since three such places existed at the time the Domesday Book was compiled. However, the appropriate entry refers to both the church and the village in which it is situated.

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The exterior is constructed of widely-jointed, light brown sandstone rubble. (figs. 155, 156, 157)

b) Nave: The rude stonework of the tower has been continued along the southern side of the nave and for a short distance
into the western end of the north aisle. The western walls of the nave aisles, according to H.M. Taylor, have been built up against the clasping buttresses of the aisleless Norman nave. However, between these buttresses and the side walls of the tower there appear to be sections of the western wall of an earlier nave.

c) Tower: The tower is of four stages and rests on a plain square plinth. The three lower storeys are separated by two string-courses. These seem originally to have been of plain square section, but they were later cut to be chamfered on the upper edge. The lower string-course is of particular interest. The greater part of its southern and western faces have survived in their plain square form, whereas the parts which are above the Norman clasping buttresses are of thinner chamfered section.

The west doorway, which is 3 ft. wide x 6 ft. 6 in. tall to the lintel, has a total height from sill to crown of 9 ft. 10 in. It has suffered from considerable alteration and is now square-edged with a massive lintel and small jamb stones. Above the lintel is an arched head of irregularly shaped voussoirs which surrounds a tympanum of plain rubble walling. This tympanum is recessed about 2 in. behind the wall face. The lower few feet of masonry on the southern and western faces of the tower are of different texture from that above. H.M. Taylor finds it difficult to explain this feature unless at one point there was some structure built against the lower part of the wall.
The second and third stages of the tower have massive face-alternate quoins at the corners. (figs. 156, 157) The southern face of the second storey is lit by an original round-headed, single-splayed window. (fig. 158) It has tall monolithic jambs and an arched lintel. The outer face of this opening is rebated and may have been closed by a wooden shutter.

The third stage was originally the belfry storey of the tower. Its four double-light belfry windows rest on the upper string-course. They have cylindrical shafts with square block-like bases and cushion capitals. (figs. 156, 157, 158) The jambs are of dressed masonry with plain square imposts. The central throughstone slabs are also of plain square section. Each pair of windows has square arched lintels, one over each light, and these rest on the plain square impost blocks.

2. Interior
a) Tower: The west tower measures 11 ft. 8 in. x 11 ft. 5 in.

B. Norman Elements
1. Exterior
a) Masonry: The clamping buttresses of the tower are of rubble below and of large, widely jointed ashlar stones above. (figs. 156, 157)

b) Chancel: The chancel was rebuilt ca. 1170 - ca. 1180. The late twelfth century south window is of two round-headed lights. These lights are of two orders. The inner one is renewed while the outer one is old. They are slightly chamfered with the usual small groove above the hollow chamfers and labels. The
groove is really part of the string-course which runs along the wall at the level of the springing line of the window arches and is carried over them. Another string-course of similar section, though renewed in parts, also runs below the sills. There are shallow clasping buttresses at the eastern angles of the chancel which stands on a foundation platform consisting of a roll above two chamfered members.

c) Nave: The nave was rebuilt and the north aisle added ca.1170 - ca.1180.\(^{265}\) (fig.155).

d) Tower: The lowest stage of the tower is supported by wide, shallow clasping buttresses at the western corners and shallow buttresses abut against the nave wall.\(^{266}\) (figs.156,157) These last are obscured by the later western buttresses of the nave. H.M. Taylor feels there are good grounds for believing that these clasping buttresses are later additions, as they are not properly bonded to the wall fabric. They display straight vertical joints at their junction with the main walls.

2. Interior

a) Chancel: The internal dimensions of the chancel are 37 ft. 7 in. x 18 ft. 4 in.\(^{267}\) (fig.160) Below the east windows is a billet moulded string-course. The northern wall of the chancel gives access to the vestry through a later twelfth century round-headed doorway with a 3/4 edge roll. Myra Curtis claims that this construction has either been reset in its original position or, more probably, that it has been removed from the south wall.
The south wall contains two round-headed twelfth century lights with $\frac{3}{4}$ rolls to their inside splays. A roll also passes along the bottoms of the sloping window ledges, one of which has been recently renewed.

b) Nave: The interior of the nave measures 45 ft. 9 in. x 21 ft. 5 in. with side walls 2 ft. 9 in. thick. The north aisle is 13 ft. 9 in. wide.

The north arcade is of three bays with piers consisting of four attached shafts. These arches have responds of two orders decorated with half-round shafts flanked by smaller shafts. The base moulds consist of hollows between two rounds. The capitals conform to the shape of the piers below, but are octagonal above. They have round neck moulds and are carved with simple shallow volute leaves of the water plant type. The abaci are hollow-chamfered with half-rounds below and grooves above. That of the eastern respond has been renewed.

The tower arch has plain square jambs and quirked and chamfered imposts. The round head is of a single order, there is no use of throughstones, and the voussoirs are of differing size and shape. This arch is 6 ft. 1 in. wide x 13 ft. 7½ in. tall and is set in a wall 3 ft. 5 in. thick.

VI: Observations and Conclusions: Though a church existed at Hornby at the time of the Domesday Survey, the features of this building date mainly from the period following the Conquest. The tower arch is of tall, narrow Saxon proportions and displays an inept use of voussoirs, but it has chamfered imposts and
does not utilize throughstones. The tower is tall and slender but the walls are relatively thick (the west wall is 3 ft. 5 in. thick), the string-courses are chamfered, and the quoins are small. The west doorway is primitive and of poor construction but the relieving arch and tympanum below tend to place it in the post-Conquest period rather than the pre-Conquest era. The belfry windows are Saxon in character but they display an advanced use of capitals and bases. The Early Norman clasping buttresses, if not erected at the same time as the tower, were added soon after. Though the nave walls above the later arcades are less than 3 ft. thick, they do approach that measurement. In fact, those stylistic elements which might be called Saxon also have strong Norman overtones. It is likely, therefore, that Hornby is of post-Conquest date, ca.1080. At that time St. Mary's began to adopt some of the influences of the conquering nation but an innate Yorkshire conservatism and the severity of the destruction of the north would result in a tenacious clinging to many of the older constructional and stylistic features and techniques.

Kirkby Underdale

I. Dedication: All Saints

II. Location: The church is located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, thirteen miles east-northeast of York and about seven miles northeast of Stamford Bridge.

III. Present Condition: All Saints consists of a west tower, an aisled nave with a south porch, and an aisleless rectangular chancel. There is also a north vestry. (fig.163)
IV. History and Documentation: The church is not mentioned in the Domesday Book though Kirkby, which is a Norse name meaning farmstead near a church, is twice referred to. There are, in addition, several Norman charters in existence which concern the church. The first document confirms the grant of land by William the Conqueror to St. Mary's Abbey at York on its foundation in 1085. This charter states that All Saints was included in the gift. The grants were confirmed by a charter of William Rufus in 1088. A subsequent charter of Henry II, issued in 1156, once again confirmed the transfer. Therefore, there was a church on the site before the Domesday Survey was completed. Whether there was one in existence before 1066 cannot be confirmed, but the significance of the Norse name of the village and the existence of a post-Conquest church in this area at so early a date would seem to strengthen this theory. The building was restored by G.E. Street in 1870.

V. Structure:

A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Interior

a) Masonry: The nave and aisles consist of an admixture of small and large-stone rubble. There are three rows of herring-bone work at the southwest end of the nave wall, and between the centre piers above the north and south arcades. (figs. 167, 168)

b) Nave: The interior of the nave measures 27 ft. x 18 ft. 6 in. with side walls 2 ft. 6 in. thick and about 18 ft. high. Above the later nave arcades, and almost totally cut away by them, are the remains of four original windows, two in each of the
north and south walls. (figs. 167, 168) These are of simple round-headed form and are single-splayed internally. All but one are visible only from the interior of the nave. The south face of the fourth window, near the eastern end of the nave, may be seen within the south aisle. It has a monolithic arched head.

There is some disagreement between Shepherd and Taylor concerning the date of the nave. Shepherd believes that the entire church was reconstructed ca. 1150, and that no part of it could be considered Anglo-Saxon. However, Taylor feels that the thin nave walls with their rubble construction and arched openings may be Saxo-Norman. This theory he considers to be strengthened by the fact that the tower is not in bond with the nave walls and is probably later. 273

The tower arch is of plain unchamfered Saxo-Norman or Early Norman character. It has a round head of irregularly shaped voussoirs which have no central keystone. (fig. 169) The impost contains no throughstones and are quirked and chamfered on their lower edges. The jambs, which also contain no throughstones, are laid Escomb fashion. The arch is wide and not especially tall. Above it is a blocked opening which Shepherd feels led to the upper floor of the tower. This chamber, he believes, acted as a dwelling place for the parish priest. 274 The jambs of this opening, which has a square head and is rectangular in shape, are constructed of large uncut stones.

B. Norman Elements
1. Exterior
a) Masonry: The tower is composed of small-stone rubble laid
in courses. (fig.164) There is some herring-bone work on each side of the west doorway.

b) Nave: The original building must have had an aisleless nave, though aisles were added ca.1200. \(^{275}\) (fig.163) The north doorway, which is now blocked, has a head cut out of one stone. It is probably the original entrance to the nave. The foundation platform of the south aisle is original and is much worn near the south doorway, which has capitals with nail-head ornament. The west wall of the vestry contains a scratch dial near ground level. Shepherd feels its two concentric circles suggest a twelfth century date. \(^{276}\)

c) Tower: The tower is of the square, squat, unbuttressed Norman type with small side-alternate quoins. (fig.164) H.M. Taylor believes it was added to the pre-existing nave, since its side walls are not in bond with the nave. \(^{277}\) The tower west doorway is of an Early Norman type. It is round-headed and consists of two orders. (figs.165,166) The inner one is recessed with a plain roll-mould which descends to square abaci and cylindrical capitals with incised scallop design. The attached columns are formed of rounded cylinders of stone placed one on top of the other and descend to primitive bases which consist of little more than a series of moulded rings. These rest on a plain square plinth. The outer order is of voussoirs decorated with an incised chevron design. This descends to columns similar to those of the inner order.

Above the west doorway is a chamfered rectangular west
window which retains much of its original splay. (fig. 165) It was partly cut away on the right side when the opening was made wider and given its present square head. The jambs are of upright stones and the sill is of a single block.

The upper, shorter section of the tower is recessed behind the storey below and divided from it by a chamfered string-course. The belfry windows here are square-headed, rectangular double-lights which are closed with louvres. The tower is surmounted by a plain string-course and battlemented parapet.

2. Interior

a) Masonry: The interior of the tower is of rubble with a number of double bands of herring-bone. Light brown sandstone is used throughout.

b) Chancel: The wide and lofty chancel arch is of two orders, the inner one of which is recessed. (figs. 167, 168) This inner order consists of a roll-mould and a hollow chamfer on both the east and west faces of the arch. These descend to quirked and chamfered square abaci and cushion capitals with an incised scalloped design. Below, on the soffit side, are attached half columns which have dissimilar bases. The southern one has an unusual incised design. The outer order consists of a ring of voussoirs of varying sizes and shapes. They descend to plain square impost and jambs laid Escomb fashion.

c) Nave: The side walls of the original nave were pierced, at the end of the twelfth century, by arcades of Transitional
pointed arches. (figs. 167, 168) They are supported by massive circular pillars with square abaci and shallow scalloped capitals.

d) Tower: The tower, which is almost square, is lit by an internally splayed rectangular west window. The walls are over 3 ft. thick and are not in bond with those of the nave.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: This is a difficult church to date. The only documentary references in existence are post-Conquest ones and those individual elements which have Anglo-Saxon characteristics also have strongly Norman details. The Norman features, such as the tower, the tower west doorway, and the chancel, are predominant. The original plan of the church, with its west tower, west doorway and aisleless nave and chancel, is of Saxon derivation. The thin walls above the later arcades, with their partially blocked windows and the plain tower arch and blocked opening above, would tend to place the nave within the Saxo-Norman overlap. This date, Taylor states, is strengthened by the fact that the Norman tower is not in bond with the nave wall. If it is true that the nave is relatively early, ca. 1080 - ca. 1100, then the church represents the transition from the conservative Saxo-Norman style of the last years of the eleventh century and the early years of the twelfth century, to the purely Norman style which gradually infiltrated into Yorkshire.

Wharram-le-Street

I. Dedication: St. Mary
II. Location: The church is located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, six miles southeast of Malton.

III. Present Condition: The church consists of a west tower, a nave with a north aisle and a south porch, and an aisleless chancel. (fig. 170) (Plan 23)

IV. History and Documentation: There is no reference to the church in the *Domesday Book* though the village is mentioned. However, John Bilson in his 1923 article, makes an extensive study of St. Mary's. He states that this part of Yorkshire was a devastated region which was only beginning to recover from the Conqueror's harrying of the north during the first quarter of the twelfth century. No one in the area would have been able to construct a church except the landowner. In this case the landholder was Nigel Frossard, who received his grant from Robert, Count of Mortain, the Conqueror's half brother. When the Count's lands were forfeited a few years later, Nigel became a tenant of the Crown and it was then, Bilson believes, that he erected the church. The Norman lords who built these structures generally endowed monasteries by giving such buildings to them. Robert Frossard, Nigel's son, gave the churches of Wharram, Bramham and Lythe to Nostell Priory as a source of revenue for the church of St. Peter at York.

Bilson postulates a stylistic connection between Wharram-le-Street and the Church of St. Rule (St. Regulus), St. Andrew's in Scotland. He feels the Yorkshire church was erected ca. 1100 - ca. 1105, in the time of Nigel Frossard and just a few years before its northern cousin. The connection is further strengthened
by the fact that the Bishop of St. Andrew's was originally from Nostell. 282

However, H.M. Taylor is of a different opinion. While he agrees that the tower and arches of the chancel at Wharram-le-Street were built by Nigel Frossard's masons in the early twelfth century, he feels that the main fabric existed even before the Conquest. The village was still lying in waste at the time of the Domesday Survey, 1069 - 1070. It is likely, therefore, that the main fabric remained and that it was utilized by Nigel and his son Robert. He believes they brought the structure back into use at the turn of the century. This would account for the insertion of arches constructed in an advanced style and set into the Saxon fabric. 283

V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements
1. Exterior
a) Masonry: The tower is constructed of calcareous grit from an outcrop in the nearby Yorkshire Wolds. (figs.170,171) The individual stones are of rough ashlar, 10 - 11 in. high, and are laid in widely jointed courses.

b) Nave: The nave overlaps the tower to the west and projects 2 ft. 9 in. on the north and 2 ft. 7 in. on the south at the junction of the masonry with the tower west wall. (fig.171) The two structures were built together. The northeastern, northwestern and southwestern quoins are original but the southeastern one has been renewed. All are of the side-alternate type. The nave is built on a foundation platform of two members.
The upper one, which is chamfered and is 13 in. high, extends eastward from the modern porch and is continued around the rebuilt chancel.

c) Tower: The present height of the tower is 51 ft. and the exterior west wall is 15 ft. 8 in. wide. (figs.170,171) Its dimensions are similar to those at Corbridge. The tower sits on a foundation off-set which is approximately 5-7 in. wide at ground level. (fig.171) A chamfered string-course separates the slightly recessed belfry stage from the rest of the structure. The quoins are similar in form to those of the walling, but larger. They are side-alternate and each one measures about 2 ft. 6 in. x 15 in..

Above the tower west doorway are two loop windows with apertures which are 6 in. wide. These have arched lintels and slightly inclined monolithic jambs. The openings are chamfered all around. In the southern wall is a loop window similar to those in the west wall. A dial stone is set into the middle of the west wall, about 15 ft. above ground level.

Fisher, Bilson and Taylor agree that the belfry windows are of a pre-Conquest type. (figs.170,171) They are narrow double openings with central mid-wall shafts surmounted by tall cubic capitals. These have been rounded to a circular shape below and have no neckings. The shafts support central throughstone imposts which are hollow-chamfered on the face and sides, as are the jamb imposts. The double lights have arches lintels and narrow, square-edged stripwork decoration flanks the jambs. The imposts abut against these strips which
are finished above the level of the jambs with similar small, hollow-chamfered constructions. These rest on corbels above the level of the string-course. It appears as though these upper strip imposts were meant to support a half-round stripwork hood much like that at St. Mary Bishophill Junior. However, no concrete evidence remains for the assumption, as a three course parapet with a hollow-chamfered corbel table beneath it, replaced the earlier top courses of the tower. This construction obliterates what may have existed previously.

2. Interior
a) Nave: The nave was built at the same time as the tower and the two are in bond with each other. The ashlar masonry which formed a part of the original exterior face of the north wall is still visible above the westernmost arch of the north arcade.

The tower arch, which is tall and narrow, has a width of 6 ft. 1 in. and measures 10 ft. 9 in. from the floor to the springing of the arch. (fig. 173) The jambs, which are square, are recessed approximately 8 in. on the nave face only. There is a detached shaft in the nook of each jamb. The bases of these shafts are of unusual profile. They are not Norman in style and have very tall angle hollows, 12½ in. high above a 3 in. flat face. Below this is a chamfered plinth. The capitals are also unusual. They are of the tall cubic type which is not normally attributed to Norman builders. However, in England the Normans did systematize this style in the form of a cushion capital. Of the more rudimentary English types, two may be mentioned. One has a square upper portion which is gradually
worked away towards the shaft, giving it a horizontal section approximating a circle. The other consists of the angles of a square which bevel towards the shaft giving it a horizontal section which is approximately octagonal. The west doorway at Kirkdale has such shafts. The capitals at Wharram-le-Street belong to the first type though they are overlaid with slightly projecting triangles which derive from the second type. These capitals have no neckings and the abaci have hollow chamfers beneath flat faces. This is not a Norman profile. The inner face of the tower opening is finished with impost of the same general section. These have the archaic peculiarity of not being returned under the arch on the western face. Another ancient survival is the inclination of the jambs. As a result, the width of the opening is 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) in. less beneath the impost than at the floor line.

The arch is composed of two square-edged orders on the nave face and of one on the tower face. It has some characteristics which derive from an Anglo-Saxon tradition. The semicircular curve of the opening continues, producing a pronounced horseshoeing at the springing, and the voussoirs of the inner order run through the thickness of the wall in single stones. The construction of this arch is curious as the face of the inner order extends up behind the back of the outer order, as in the west doorway. The joints of some voussoirs do not radiate correctly and those near the springing slope downwards. While the walling is generally set with thick irregular joints, the masonry of the tower arch and jambs is accurately worked with
fine joints only \( \frac{1}{4} \) in. to 3/4 in. wide.

Above the tower arch is a blocked opening about 4 ft. 6 in. high to the springing. The round head is stilted and the jambs are slightly inclined. As a result, the aperture is 2 ft. \( \frac{1}{2} \) in. wide at the sill and 1 ft. 11 in. wide at the top. The sill is about 3 ft. above the undersides of the wall plates of the nave roof. The opening presumably gave access to a space between the roof and the nave below.

c) Tower: The interior of the tower measures 11 ft. 5 in. east/west x 10 ft. 7 in. north/south, with walls approximately 2 ft. 6 in. thick.

B. Norman Elements
1. Exterior
a) Nave: The south doorway, situated near the western end of the nave, is 3 ft. 1\( \frac{1}{2} \) in. wide and according to Bilson, it is similar to the tower west doorway. The inner jamb is square with a detached shaft resting in a square recess. Both the inner and the outer jambs are rebated and splayed internally. These details may not be original as the doorway was badly mutilated when it was re-set in the rebuilt south wall. It has lost the shafts and the shaft bases of the columns. Only the capitals remain. The capital of the western shaft has an angle volute similar to that on the northern capital of the chancel arch. The capital of the eastern shaft is carved with a row of stiff, vertical, stylized leaves turned over at the tips. These leaves are similar to those at the corners of the chancel arch's southern capital. Both capitals have neckings.
The outer order of the doorway has a wide hood of small projection decorated with incised chevron ornament and sunken bead and billet ornament. This is the same general profile as that of the west doorway with the addition of a flat roll beyond the quirked hollow. The inner order is square-edged. Taylor feels that this south doorway is somewhat later than the tower arch and certainly more advanced in design than the tower west doorway.

b) Tower: The west wall of the tower contains a doorway which is of tall, narrow proportions and which measures 8 ft. 2 in. to the springing line. (fig.172) It is 2 ft. 6 in. wide. The upper half is now filled with glass while the lower half is blocked. The round head is of two orders. The inner one is square-edged with a deep quirk round the soffit sides. The outer order has a moulded head with a roll round its outer edge. Outside of this is a shallow hollow moulding situated between two quirks. This is finished with a plain square hood-mould which is flush with the wall face. The head of this order is stilted and constructed of properly shaped voussoirs, each of which, like each of the stones of the outer and inner jambs, is cut to the appropriate profile. The head rests on imposts similar to those of the inner order. The face of the unmoulded inner order passes up behind the outer one. The hollow chamfer of this doorway exists on the soffit sides only, and below the inner and outer orders. These shafts have tall bases that have been badly worn but that appear to have hollow chamfers to the east and west. The chamfers have wide
bulbous bands instead of neckings and the capitals are of primitive design. Their faces and edges are chamfered downwards and the chamfered edges are rounded off to fit the circular shaft below. The jambs of the doorway are of large slabs and are laid Escomb fashion. Apart from the arch head, the opening is very similar to that of the tower arch. Bilson feels that the outer semicircular stilted order, which is moulded with an angle roll and displays a hollow with a quirk on each side, is very characteristic of a Norman profile. Yet the entrance has the un-Norman peculiarity of a sunken soffit of about half the diameter of the roll-moulding. Such a sunken soffit occurs in the crossing arches at Stow, Lincs.

2. Interior

a) Chancel: The chancel arch, which is a later construction, has a pointed head of two orders. However, the jambs are original. These are square and recessed on the nave side only. In each of the two nooks created are 7 in. detached angle shafts. The bases of these shafts have the characteristic Norman profile of a hollow top member with three successive flattish rolls below. The capitals too are of Norman inspiration. (figs.174,175a) The northern one consists of a large spiral angle volute flanked on each side by two upright stylized leaves turned over at the top. The southern capital is formed of an angle volute with a smaller volute on each side. The abaci have the common Norman profile of a quirked chamfer below and a flat vertical face above. The height of the arch to the top of the abaci is 7 ft. 10 in. and the width is
7 ft. 11 in. The thickness of the inner order of the jamb is 2 ft. 9½ in. and the projection of the outer arch beyond the inner one on the western face is 9½ in. The total thickness of the wall is 3 ft. 7 in.

b) Nave: The nave is 29 ft. x 15 ft. 10 in. with walls 2 ft. 7 in. thick, though the northern wall at the eastern and western responds of the arcade is 2 ft. 9 in. thick. The walls are 17 ft. 2 in. high from the present floor to the underside of the wall plates of the nave roof.  

VI. Observations and Conclusions: A controversy exists between Bilson and Taylor concerning the date of the church. Both have given the structure a thorough investigation and yet the conclusions they have reached are completely different.

Bilson feels that the entire church belongs to a type common in the time of Edward the Confessor, though he believes that it was constructed wholly in the twelfth century. The importance of the structure lies in the fact that it retains so much of what is undoubtedly the Anglo-Saxon tradition, while at the same time displaying details that are of Norman origin. He states that only one detail in the tower arch and the moulding of the west doorway can be pronounced distinctively Norman. Yet this and the elements described above confirm that the structure was erected entirely at one time. A church, Bilson believes, must be dated by its more advanced details and the arch moulds of the south and west doorways are similar to those found on the arches of the west front of St. Etienne, Caen. 297 These date from ca.1080, and occur again a few years
later at St. Nicholas, Caen. The first English church to display these features is Lincoln, which is derived from St. Étienne. Here it is located on the arches of the west front which were constructed ca.1090. The author feels, therefore, that it would be impossible for them to appear on a parish church before the last decade of the eleventh century. The date for the mouldings at Wharram-le-Street is more likely to be the early twelfth century.

The volutes and upright leaves on the capitals of the south doorway and on the northern capital of the chancel arch are derivations of the characteristic Norman capital found at Caen. The fact that Wharram-le-Street's capital deviates slightly from the Norman type and its finish indicates that it is later than those found at Lastingham. In addition, the chevron and billet decoration of the hood over the south doorway confirms the attribution of the church to the early years of the twelfth century rather than to the end of the eleventh century.

Bilson explains that confirmation of such a date also comes from the connection between Wharram-le-Street and St. Rule's in Scotland. He believes that forty years after the Conquest an English mason employed by a Norman lord built a church which followed, to a great extent, the building traditions of pre-Conquest times. It even had a tower in which only a single detail could be pronounced as Norman in inspiration. This Englishman, or one of his colleagues, then took a leading part in the building of one of Scotland's most important monuments of the early years of the twelfth century.
Taylor differs in his opinion. He is inclined to regard both the chancel arch and the south doorway as later than the tower arch and the west doorway. They are, he feels, insertions in an earlier fabric. Bilson pointed out that the eastern and western arches of St. Rule's not only had mouldings of the same unusual section as those of the arches of the tower at Wharram, but also that they had the same abnormal arrangement in which the two orders of the arch are set side by side instead of one over the other. Since both churches were connected with Nostell Priory and since both show these unusual arrangements, Bilson argues that the masons at Nostell were employed at both churches. He assigns both to the first quarter of the twelfth century.

H.M. Taylor agrees that there is good reason for regarding the arches at Wharram-le-Street and St. Rule's as twelfth century constructions, but he differs in his interpretation of the evidence. He postulates an earlier date for the main fabric, stating that if the two had been built by the same masons they would surely have other similarities besides the arches. Instead he finds the two churches to be remarkably dissimilar. He feels, therefore, that they must have been erected by different people with quite different traditions.

Since the area surrounding Wharram-le-Street was still lying waste at the time of the Domesday Survey (1069 - 1070), it seems to Taylor that the main fabric of the church is pre-Conquest. It was refurbished by Nigel Frossard or his son, Robert, in the early twelfth century. However, Taylor does admit that at Wharram-le-Street it is not easy to see any
clear or direct evidence that the arches are later insertions because the surrounds of the tower arch are coated with plaster. Nevertheless, he states that two important pieces of evidence do exist. First, while the joints in the fabric of the church as a whole are wide, the stones of the two arches are very closely jointed. This characteristic is not found in the original windows of the surviving tower, and the two arches may have been worked by different masons. Second, there is the evidence of the peculiar construction of each of the arches with their two orders set side by side. This is an approach which lends itself particularly well to the insertion of an arch into an existing wall. Taylor feels that there are no corresponding arguments in favour of the wall being constructed at the same time. Third, Bilson made a careful inspection of the tower plinth and compared its treatment with the treatment of the supports at the bases of the nook shafts. The tower stands on a double plinth of two square orders of roughly dressed stones, each projecting about 1 ft. from the wall above. The lower of these orders was left intact at the time the doorway was constructed. It now serves as a sill for this opening. However, the upper order is cut away flush with the jambs of the recesses which flank the outer face of the doorway. The plinth acts as the base of the nook shafts of these recesses. Both of these arguments are persuasive and carefully researched but this writer is inclined towards Bilson's theory because of the fact that the nearby church at Weaverthorpe, though Saxon in spirit, was built entirely in the twelfth
century. It is true that the walls of the tower and nave at Wharram-le-Street are of the same date, since they are bonded together. It is also true that the walls of these structures are thin. However, the walls at Weaverthorpe are also thin (2ft. 7 in. thick). There are too many details the the construction of the arches which can only be of Norman derivation and which cannot all be dismissed as later insertions. Also, Taylor's comment concerning the neatly laid masonry of the arches as opposed to the rough execution of the walls could be assigned to the fact that an expert mason was entrusted with the construction of the more complex portions of the fabric. The elements employed at Wharram-le-Street are of a more pronounced Anglo-Saxon type than those of Weaverthorpe and it must therefore be assigned to the Saxo-Norman or the Early Norman period, (ca.1100 - ca.1105).

Weaverthorpe

I. Dedication: St. Andrew

II. Location: The church is located in the East Riding of Yorkshire, approximately nine miles southeast of Malton.

III. Present Condition: St. Andrew's consists of a west tower, an aisleless rectangular nave, a rectangular chancel, and a south porch. (fig.175b) (Plan 24)

IV. History and Documentation: The village of Weaverthorpe is referred to in the Domesday Book under the lands of Archbishop Thomas of York. The date of this monument can be pinpointed with considerable accuracy due to the existence
of an inscribed sundial which is built into the tympanum over the nave south doorway, although Robert Green and John Bilson agree that it may not be in its original position since the stone has been cut away above and below. ¹

The dial is 14 in. x 12½ in. and consists of a style hole containing the bronze stump of a gnomon (pin). (fig. 179)

The beginning of the inscription is incomplete where the stone has been cut away, but according to Bilson the lower portion reads,

+IN . HONORE . SCI . ANDREAE . APOSTOLI . HEREBERTUS WINTONIE . HOC . MONASTERI . UM . FECIT . IN . TEMPORE . RE (GIS) 303

Green translates this as, "In honour of St. Andrew the Apostle, Herbert of Winchester made this church in the time of (king ...). Unfortunately, the last word is incomplete but the carver may have meant to include the word regis. ²

Using this inscription, John Bilson has made an extensive analysis of the sundial and its history. The lettering, he feels, is certainly more advanced than that found on the Kirkdale sundial, (1055 - 1065), and is quite consistent with that of early twelfth century inscriptions. ³ Green adds that this late date is also apparent in the actual construction of the dial, as the lines marking the Saxon tides, though they are visible, are not particularly stressed by the characteristic cross bar. The presence of the duodecimal system with the hour lines clearly visible is, however, definitely a Norman feature. ⁴ These factors prompt Bilson to state that the existing building, which was constructed during one
campaign, was erected by Herbert the Chamberlain, the father of William, who was Archbishop of York, (1142 - 1154). Proof of his identity is found in the feoffment of Londesborough with Towthorpe, Weaverthorpe etc., made by Thomas II, Archbishop of York, (1108 - 1114), to Herbert the Chamberlain and his son. Herbert did not attest to any of the published charters of William I or William II, but from the later years of Rufus on, his name occurs in several charters. He does appear in the long list of magnates of the realm and officers of state who attested to three charters of Henry I issued at Windsor on September 3, 1101, and he also figures prominently in a survey of Winchester completed at the time of Henry I. This is dated 1115. It is known that Herbert was dead by 1130. There is, in addition, a charter which states that his two sons made a gift of the church at Weaverthorpe to Nostell Priory. This seems to indicate that their father had handed his Yorkshire lands over to them some years before his death. Finally, there is confirmation by King Stephen to William, the future Archbishop of York, treasurer of the city and the king's chaplain, of the churches which he held of the fee of his brother. These included Weaverthorpe and Londesborough. He was to hold them "freely and well as his father Herbert and his brother gave them to him and as the charter of Henry I testifies". As a result of these findings Bilson assigns the church to the first quarter of the twelfth century, (ca.1110 - ca.1120). V. Structure:
A. Anglo-Saxon Elements

1. Exterior
   a) Chancel: The chancel is lower and narrower than the nave and the priest's doorway is finished on the exterior with a plain lintel.

   b) Nave: The nave contains four original windows with sills that are set approximately 9 ft. above ground level.

   c) Tower: The tall, slender west tower, which is approximately 65 ft. high, rises to more than three-quarters of its total height without string-courses, off-sets or buttresses. The sill of the belfry stage is marked by a string-course and a second string-course is surmounted by two more strips of masonry and crowned by a flat roof. (fig. 175b)

2. Interior
   a) Chancel: The chancel walls are 2 ft. 4 in. thick. The interior face of the priest's doorway is finished with a segmental arch.

   b) Nave: The interior of the nave measures 42 ft. 11 in. x 23 ft. 1½ in. The east wall is 2 ft. 7 in. thick and the north and south walls are 2 ft. 4 in. thick. The total height is approximately 21 ft. and there is a slight set-back on the faces of the eastern and western walls which, according to Bilson and Fisher, indicates the line of the original flat ceiling replaced during the restoration carried out by G.E. Street, (1871 - 1872).
The semicircular tower arch is 7 ft. 2 in. wide x 14 ft. 9½ in. high to the springing. (fig.178) The round head is of one plain square-cut order. The simple impost is moulded on their lower edges with large quirked rolls and are not returned on the eastern and western faces of the arch. Above the tower arch is a rectangular opening measuring 3 ft. 2 in. x 5 ft. 11 in. with square unrebated jambs and a lintel. The sill of this opening is about 2 ft. above the slight set-back remaining from the earlier ceiling. \(^{312}\)

B. Norman Elements

1. Exterior

a) Masonry: The building is constructed of calcareous grit obtained from an outcrop of the Yorkshire Wolds. The axe-tooled ashlar is set with wide joints 5/8 - 3/4 in. thick, while the courses vary in height 1 - 12 in. \(^{313}\) (fig.175b)

b) Chancel: The side-alternate quoins at the northeastern and southeastern corners of the chancel are set in courses which are the same as those of the main body of the walling.

c) Nave: The nave is built on a chamfered foundation platform and has side-alternate quoins at all four corners. These are laid in the same courses as the fabric of the church. There are two doorways opposite each other in the north and south walls at the western end. Though H.M. Taylor states that the northern one was blocked when he saw the church, it was found to be open when visited in June, 1977. \(^{314}\) Two original internally splayed windows are located in each of the north
and south walls of the nave.

Externally the north and south doorways have square jambs and lintels with semicircular relieving arches above them. These enclose slightly recessed solid tympana. However, over the southern entrance the lintel is made from a large, thin rectangular stone set on edge, which occupies the greater part of the tympanum. The rest of the tympanum, including the dial stone, is slightly recessed.

d) Tower: The tower, like the nave, rests on a chamfered foundation platform and the exterior width of the western face is 17 ft. 8 in. There is a quarter-round turret at the southeast corner which contains three narrow loop windows. (fig.175b) The belfry stage is set back slightly from the stage below and is also separated from it by a chamfered string-course that continues around the top of the vice. The ground stage has no west doorway, though higher up there is a narrow rectangular window which has no separate lintel or sill, but which does have dressed jambs. The second stage, or ringing chamber, has rectangular openings on its northern, western and southern faces, while the belfry contains double-light windows.

The jambs, heads and relieving arch of the double-light belfry window to the south are all recessed behind the wall face. (fig.175b) The relieving arch is of two plain orders and the capitals below are not strictly of cushion type. Instead, they are rather flat with four convexly chamfered faces. The corners are rounded by means of these convex chamfers.
in order to bring the square shape above to the circle below. This window is also a little to the west of vertical in order to accommodate the stair turret to the east. The double-light openings on the eastern, western and northern faces are similar in design, but their jambs are not recessed. All of the arches are of one order and over the sub-arches the tympana reveal curious projecting corbels under the outer arches. The double-arched heads and the outer relieving semicircles are supported by chamfered imposts.

2. Interior

a) Masonry: The interior of the church is composed of the same calcereous grey gritstone as the exterior. (fig. 176) It is of axe-tooled ashlar with wide joints.

b) Chancel: The interior of the chancel measures 22 ft. 10 in. x 16 ft. There are two aumbreys near the eastern ends of the north and south walls which, according to E.A. Fisher, appear to be original. The southern one has square jambs, a lintel of three well-dressed thinnish slabs, and no separate sill. The one to the north, however, is rectangular and has a lintel. The short upper portions and the sill form part of the walling.  

The semicircular chancel arch, when compared with the tower arch, is very broad and low and more advanced in style. (figs. 176, 177) It is 11 ft. 7 in. wide x 8 ft. tall from the nave floor to the springing. The arch head and the jambs, which are recessed on the western face only, are plain and square-edged. The arch springs from simple imposts moulded
on their lower edges with large quirked rolls that are not returned on the eastern and western face. The arch heads of both orders are constructed of small voussoirs of regular size and length. There are thirty-eight voussoirs in the outer ring and twenty-four in the inner one. They are not throughstones since the outer order contains three stones per course.

c) Nave: The two round-headed Norman windows in each of the north and south walls are 1 ft. 5½ in. wide and less than 6 ft. high. They are internally splayed and have separate jambs, but their sills form part of the walling. (fig.176)

The two north and south doorways near the western end of the nave have round-headed arches resting on inner jambs 1 ft. 10 in. thick. They are constructed of two or three stones per course while the arches have one or two voussoirs per course. There are no impostes below. The construction of these two doorways is somewhat peculiar since their thin outer jambs project 3 in. inwards towards the east and west, beyond the face of the inner jambs. Therefore, the exterior opening is narrower than the interior face by 6 in. Finally, the inner jambs form a deep rebate in the nave wall. This permits the doorway to shut against the inner face of the outer jambs. The tower arch contains two rings of voussoirs to the east and west with rubble and plaster in-filling. The square-cut jambs are of ashlar with three to four stones per course.

d) Tower: The interior of the tower measures 10 ft. 10 in. north/south x 10 ft. 8 in. east/west and has walls 3 ft. 5 in.
3 ft. 7 in. thick at ground level. The ground stage contains a narrow rectangular west window which is internally splayed. The second stage, the ringing chamber, contains rectangular internally splayed windows in its northern, western and southern faces.

VI. Observations and Conclusions: The importance of the church of St. Andrew in relation to other churches in Yorkshire lies in the fact that its construction date can be verified with reasonable accuracy. Though we know that it was built entirely in the twelfth century and therefore cannot possibly be a pre-Conquest structure, it does display many individual characteristics which are undoubtedly of Anglo-Saxon origin. It therefore stands as an indication of the innate conservatism of the builders of Yorkshire during the late eleventh century and early twelfth century, when isolation and political unrest resulted in the retention of many insular features while many new continental characteristics were being assimilated.
REFERENCES

Ledsham


2 This is the soke which belongs to Sherburn in accordance with public law: ... two ploughlands in Ledsham ... etc." (here there is a long list of possessions) A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters, (Cambridge, 1956), pp.165,167.


5 Taylor, 1965, 379.

6 Taylor, 1965, 382.

7 Taylor, 1965, 382.

8 Taylor, 1965, 379.


10 Taylor, 1965, 381.


G. Baldwin Brown, The Arts in Early England-Anglo-Saxon
This fact came to light in August 1977, when this author visited an exhibition entitled "Change and Decay", held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, England.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, P.M. Tillott's "The Parish Churches" and the Plan of Bishophill Senior Church MSS, 142.

Skipwith

The Land of Richard, Son of Erfast - In Schipewic (Skipwith), Gam had three carucates of land for geld. There is land for two ploughs. Hugh has one plough there, and twelve villeins with three ploughs. A church (is) there, and a priest. ... The whole manor (has) two leagues in length and one and a half in breadth. T.R.E. was worth 40s.; now 20s. "The Holders of Land - The Domesday Survey of Yorkshire," in


35 Fisher, 1962, 120.
36 Fisher, 1962, 120.
37 Fisher, 1962, 120.
38 Taylor, 1965, 554.
40 Taylor, 1965, 551.
41 Fisher, 1962, 121.
45 Taylor, 1965, 554.
47 Baldwin Brown, 1925, 332.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Fisher's Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches, and K.J. Allison's "Skipwith".

50 Taylor, 1965, 554.

Bardsey

51 In Bereleslie (Bardsey), Ligulf (had) two carucates for geld and land for one plough. Value is now 20s. Page, 1912, 205.
54 Taylor, 1965, 40.
56 Taylor, 1965, 40.
57 Fisher, 1962, 133.
58 Taylor, 1962, 40.
60 Fisher, 1962, 134.
61 Taylor, 1965, 40.
64 Kirk, 1937, 7.
65 Kirk, 1937, 7.
66 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Fisher's Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches, and Kirk's All Hallows Church Bardsey.

Middleton-by-Pickering

68 Robertson, 1956, pp.165-167.
69 Farrer, 1912, 158.
70 Taylor, 1965, 422.
72 Taylor, 1965, 422.
74 Taylor, 1965, 423.
The Anglian cross has been built into the face of the wall and it is supported below on a projecting rectangular corbel. The cross, which is equal-armed, is formed of bold sweeping curves characteristic of East Anglian work. The centre is ornamented with an incision to form a small circle of petals radiating from a central hole. This knotwork decoration can be compared with that of the free-standing cross head at Lastingham, which dates from the ninth century. Taylor, 1965, 422.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Fisher's Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches, and Ada Russell's and A.W. Clapham's "Middleton".

Appleton-le-Street

These are the estates which Archbishop Oscytel obtained in Northumbria with his money, or which were given him because of an illicit union. One is Appleton which he bought from Deorwulf for 24 ..." Robertson, 1956, 113.
Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, Fisher's *Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches*, and Russell's "Appleton-le-Street".


**Kirkdale**

97 Taylor, 1965, 357.


99 Hodges, 1894, 199.

100 Penn, 1961, 4.

101 Penn, 1961, 8.


103 Hodges, 1894, 199.

104 Taylor, 1965, 358.

105 Penn, 1961, 4.

106 A.R. Green gives the best analysis of the sundial's function. The system of time measurement is shown by the lines, which are distinctly Saxon and clearly mark the tides and half tides. In addition, each of the primary lines is marked by a cross-bar. At Kirkdale, as well as the five primary crossed lines, there are secondary ones dividing each tide into two equal parts. These secondary lines have no cross-bars and each marks the beginning of a tide. The distance between each line on the dial measures a period of time equal to one and a half hours. According to the method outlined above, therefore, the lines on the face mark 6 A.M., 7:30, 9:00, 10:30, 12, 1:30 P.M., 3:00, 4:30, 6 P.M. The daeg-mael (daytime) is represented by the double cross of the first line and may be the time of the first service. The second line on the dexter
side has a peculiar mark on it with a shape like a St. Andrew's cross. This octaval system of time division was common among the Anglo-Saxons.

Arthur Penn feels that the outer panels of this dial are curious. The lettering on the first (left) one, he states, is even and well-spaced, while that on the third (right) panel is compressed. Yet there is still not enough room to hold the whole inscription, which is continued at the foot of the second panel. He feels that the work was never carefully planned. Arthur Robert Green, "Anglo-Saxon Sundials," Antiquaries Journal, 8 (1928), 494-506. Penn, 1961, 4.


110 Russell, 1914, 521.


112 Russell, 1914, 521.

113 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Penn's St. Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale, Hodges' "The Pre-Conquest Churches of Northumbria", and Russell's "Kirkdale".

Hovingham

114 Page, 1912, 276.


116 Farrer, 1912, 179.

117 Vaughan, 1975, 1.

118 Taylor, 1965, 327.

119 Taylor, 1965, 327.

120 Vaughan, 1975, 2-3.

120 This Latin cross is carved in low relief and is badly worn. It has a central boss and once had figures, either human,
animal or grotesque, carved on its long shaft.


122 Taylor, 1965, 328.

123 Taylor, 1965, 328.

124 Russell, 1914, 510.

125 This panel consists of a narrow continuous frieze of vine-scroll containing birds and beasts which forms the plinth for the main composition of eight arched panels. Each panel contains a nimbed figure. The two lefthand compartments represent the Annunciation and the last figure on the righthand side is an angel. However, the others are too worn to be identified. Collingwood describes this carving as "much more graceful, more Anglian and earlier in design than those on the Hedda stone at Peterborough." He adds that "the first two panels, representing the Annunciation, are rendered so charming that doubt has very naturally been thrown on their pre-Norman date". Collingwood dates the stone to the mid-ninth century but Clapham places it in the eighth century. Kendrick agrees with Collingwood and states that it has the characteristics of late Northumbrian sculpture. Taylor, 1965, 328.

126 Vaughan, 1975, 3.

127 Russell, 1914, 509.


129 Vaughan, 1975, 1.

130 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Fisher's Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches, Vaughan's Visitor's Guide, and Russell's "Hovingham".

Kirk Hammerton

131 The Land of Osbern de Arches - In Hambreton (Kirk Hammerton), Turchil, Gamal (and) Helton had six and a half carucates of land for geld. There is land for six ploughs. John Osbern's man has two ploughs there, and a church, and one mill of 2s. (annual value). The whole (has) half a league in length and half (a league) in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth £4, now 45s. Page, 1912, 212.

132 E. Flintoff, Some Notes on the History of Kirk Hammerton
Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Fisher's Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches, and Flintoff's Kirk Hammerton.

Kirkby Hill

In Chirchebi (Kirkby Hill) Gospatric (had) six carucates for geld and land for two ploughs worth 20s. Page, 1912, 207.

Henry Stapleton, The Church of All Saints, Kirby-on-the-Moor (otherwise Kirby Hill), (Leeds, 1923), p.53.

154 Weston, 1914, 370.
155 Stapleton, 1923, 11.
156 Stapleton, 1923, 11.
157 Weston, 1914, 371.
158 Weston, 1914, 370.
159 Weston, 1914, 370.
160 Stapleton, 1923, 17.

161 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors’ Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Stapleton's Church of All Saints, and Weston's "Kirby Hill". Baldwin Brown, 1925, 205.

Hackness


164 Bede, 1969, 413.

165 In Hagenesse (Hackness), and Sudfelt (Suffield) and Eurelai (Everley), (there) are eight carucates of land, two carucates are in the soc of Walesgrip (Falsgrave), and the others are of the land of St. Hilda. Now William has two ploughs there, and fourteen villeins and four bordars with four ploughs. Three churches (are) there, and a priest. Pasturable wood (land) two leagues in length and one in breadth. T.R.C. was worth £7, now 20s. Page, 1912, 264.

166 Thompson, 1924, 397.
167 Thompson, 1924, 403.
168 Thompson, 1924, 403.
169 Thompson, 1924, 405.


Baldwin Brown, 1925, 204.
Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Russell and Clapham's "Hackness", and Bilson's "Hackness Church".

The Land of Ilbert de Laci - In Rie (Ryther), Archil and Gamel and Roschel had two carucates of land for geld, and two ploughs can be (there). Now Hugh has (it) of Ilbert. On the demesne (there is) one plough. A priest is there and a church. Eighteen acres of meadow. Pasturable wood (land) one and a half leagues in length and one in breadth. The whole (has) two leagues in length and one in breadth. T.R.E. was worth 40s., now 30s. Page, 1912, 245.

Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Plan of Ryther Church MSS, 24.

plan of Ryther Church.


Plan of Ryther Church.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, and Morris' "West Riding of Yorkshire."
Bulmer

190 The Land of the Count of Mortain - In Bolemar (Bulmer, six carucates) and Stridmen (Stettenham, nine carucates), Legulf and Norman had two manors of fifteen carucates for geld, and eight ploughs can be (there). Now Nigel has them of the Count. On the demesne (there are) two ploughs and twenty-five villeins with eight ploughs. A priest is (there) and a church and one mill of 2s. (annual value) and twenty acres of meadow. Page, 1912, 222.


193 Morewood, 1923, 112.

194 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture and Morewood's "Bulmer and Henderskelfe".

Terrington

195 Lands of the Count of Mortain - In Tevrington (Terrington), and Wickengastorp (Wiggansthorpe), Walteif had one manor of three carucates and six bovates for geld. Now Count Robert has (it) and it is waste. T.R.E. it was worth 10s. Page, 1912, 222.

196 All Saints' Church Terrington, p.2.


198 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Morewood's "Terrington", and the pamphlet "All Saints Church Terrington".

199 Taylor, 1965, 608.

York, Peasholme Green

200 William de Perci avows he owns the church of St. Cuthbert in the city of York which he holds of Earl Hugh. Page, 1912, 192.

201 Tillott, 1961, 378.

202 Tillott, 1961, 379.
The church (as told to me by the Vicar in June, 1977) is known as the "birthplace of Canada". It was the parish church of the mother of General James Wolfe who lived across the road in what is now the Black Swan Inn. The General, it seems, spent much of his youth here. - The larger church of St. Michael le Belfry is now used for Sunday services.

Tillott, 1961, 379.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* and P.M. Tillott's "The Parish Churches".

Monk Fryston

This is the soke which belongs to Sherburn in accordance with public law: ... the whole of Frystone etc. Robertson, 1956, 165, 167.

Farrer, 1912, 180.

Taylor, 1965, 432.

Fisher, 1962, 141.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, Fisher's *Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches*, and Lowry's *St. Wilfrid's Parish Church Monk Fryston*.

York, Bishophill Junior

Tillott, 1961, 389.

Hodges, 1894, 202.

Taylor, 1965, 698.

Baldwin Brown, 1925, 403.

Taylor, 1965, 698.

Baldwin Brown, 1925, 403-404.


Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Plan of Bishophill Junior Church MSS, 1101/153.

Plan of Bishophill Junior Church.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and
reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, P.M. Tillott's "The Parish Churches", and the Plan of Bishophill Junior Church.

Bedale

In Bedale, there are six carucates for geld, and four ploughs can be (there). Tori had a manor there, now Bodin has there two ploughs, and seventeen villeins and five bordars with five ploughs. A church and a mill of five shillings (annual value) are there and six acres of meadow. The whole (has) one league in length and half (a league) in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 20s., now 30s. Page, 1912, 238.

218 In Bedale, there are six carucates for geld, and four ploughs can be (there). Tori had a manor there, now Bodin has there two ploughs, and seventeen villeins and five bordars with five ploughs. A church and a mill of five shillings (annual value) are there and six acres of meadow. The whole (has) one league in length and half (a league) in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 20s., now 30s. Page, 1912, 238.

221 Taylor, 1965, 57.
223 Curtis, 1914, 299.
224 Curtis, 1914, 297.
225 Curtis, 1914, 298.
226 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, and Curtis' "Bedale: Church of St. Gregory".

Collingham

230 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture.

Aldborough

231 On the demesne there is one plough, and (there are) eleven villeins and three bordars with six ploughs and four
acres of meadow. A mill and a church are there too. The whole
(has) one league in length and one in breadth. T.R.E. it was

232 Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Plan of
Aldborough Church. MSS., 1101/3.

233 Green, 1928, 511.

234 Green, 1928, 511.


236 Green does not feel that the sundial is in its original
position. He maintains that it should have been placed in such
a way as to make the daeg-mael perpendicular, in order to mark
7:30 A.M. The Kirkdale dial is oriented in this way. H.M. Taylor
disagrees with this theory. At the time of his investigation
he removed some of the plaster from around the sundial revealing
that the circular face was carved in relief on a large rectangular
block set horizontally into the fabric of the wall. He feels,
therefore, that the dial could not have been conveniently set
in the orientation suggested by Green and that the six-line
symbol must always have marked 10:30 A.M. Unfortunately, Taylor
is forced to admit that the walling around the sundial has been
disturbed and that it contains much re-used material. It is
not possible, consequently, to ascertain whether it and the
chevron below are in their original position. Green, 1928,


239 Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and
reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan
Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture and the Plan of Aldborough
Church.

Burghwallis

240 The Land of Ilbert de Laci - ... in Burgh (Burghwallis),
Tor had three carucates of land for geld, and three ploughs
can be there. Now William has (it) of Ilbert. On the demesne
(there is) one plough and (there are) three villeins and three
bordars having two and a half ploughs, and two acres of meadow.
Pasturable wood (land) half a league in length and half (a
league) in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth £4, now the same.
Page, 1912, 246.


Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Fisher's Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches, and the Plan of Burghwallis Church MSS, 113.

Stonegrave

Herbert Read, *A Short History and Description of the Church of Holy Trinity Stonegrave*, (Helmsley, ...), p.1.

The Land of Ralph Paganel - In the manor of Nonnencture (Nunnington). To this manor belongs the soc of: Wickum (Wykeham Hill? par Malton), six bovates; Nesse (Ness), three carucates; Home (South Holme), one carucate. Together ten carucates of land for geld, in which five ploughs can be. Ralph now has one plough there, and seven villeins with four ploughs. A church (is) there, and a priest, and one mill of 3s. (annual value) and ten acres of meadowland. (It is) one league in length and one in breadth. It is worth 20s. Page, 1912, 270.

Hornby

259. The Land of Gospatric - In Middeltun (Hornby and Picton) Gospatric (has) four carucates of land for geld and land for two ploughs. He has one plough there and four villeins and three bordars with two ploughs. A church (is) there and a priest and six acres of meadow. T.R.E. it was worth 20s., now 10s. Page, 1912, 284.


269. Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture, J.E. Morris' Methuen's Little Guide, and Myra Curtis' "Hornby".

Kirkby Underdale


In Cherchebi (Kirby Underdale) three thegns (had) four carucates and two bovates for geld and land for two ploughs worth 30s. The Land of the King's Thegns - In Cherchebi (Kirby Underdale), Haregrin (had) six bovates, and Siward one carucated of land for geld. There was land for one plough. The same still have (it), and it is worth 20s. Page, 1912, 205, 287.

271. Shepherd, 1.

272. Shepherd, 3.

273. Shepherd, 1.

Taylor, 1965, 357.
The central hole for the gnomen for this Norman scratch dial and the peg-holes in the left lower section of the circle mark the spot where the shadow would fall at 9:00 A.M. (In other words, at the time of the morning mass). Shepherd, 4.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* and Shepherd's *All Saints' Church Kirby Underdale*.

**Wharram-le-Street**

In Warham (Wharram-le-Street) Chilbert had one manor of twelve carucates for geld. Nigel had it of the Count (of Mortain) and it is waste. There are thirty acres of meadow and the whole manor (has) two leagues in length and one in breadth. T.R.E. it was worth 100s. Page, 1912, 226.

John Bilson, "Wharram-le-Street Church, Yorkshire and St. Rule's Church, St. Andrews," *Archaeologia* (1923), 64-65.

Bilson, 1923, 69-70.


Fisher, 1962, 128.

Bilson, 1928, 61.
According to Fisher and Bilson, the plan of the jambs is of the same scale as those of the tower arch. Fisher, 1962, 127. Bilson, 1923, 59.

Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in H.M. and Joan Taylors' *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, Fisher's *Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches*, and Bilson's "Wharram-le-Street Church, Yorkshire".

The Lands of Archbishop Thomas of York - In Wilfretorp (Weaverthorpe) there are eighteen carucates with the following berewicks (lists them). Now Archbishop Thomas has it and it is waste. T.R.E. it was worth £14. Page, 1912, 212.

John Bilson, "Weaverthorpe Church and its Builder," *Archaeologia*, (1922), 57-59.
Discussions of all later (post-Norman) additions to and reconstructions of this building can be found in Bilson's "Weaverthorpe Church and its Builder" and H.M. and Joan Taylors' Anglo-Saxon Architecture.
CONCLUSION

The study of the Anglo-Saxon architecture of Yorkshire is a frustrating and inconclusive one. Most of the existing pre-Conquest fabric is incomplete and often difficult to identify. When specific features such as quoins, doorways and arches are absent, one must rely on the presence of later overlying fabric in order to identify Anglo-Saxon remains. The most common example of this is the piercing of thin Saxon walls by Norman arcades. Dating is precarious and must often be based on stylistic grounds since documents, charters and chronicles referring to individual structures are few in number and frequently difficult to interpret.

Investigation reveals, moreover, that there is little in the ancient parish architecture of Yorkshire to distinguish it from that of the rest of England prior to 1066. Of the twenty-six churches listed in the preceding catalogue one, or possibly two, contain elements not found in the south of England. This feature, which surrounds the arch heads of the belfry windows at St. Mary Bishophill Junior, consists of thin strips which project from the wall face and form a frame along the jambs. (figs.112,113) These strips terminate below the sills and rest on cubical corbels. This isolated feature
cannot be classified as a distinctive northern stylistic development. Northumbrian two-celled plans, high thin walls, double-light belfry windows, throughstones in arches and doorways, stripwork decoration around openings, and large quoins are elements found in Anglo-Saxon parish churches throughout England. However, pilaster strips, an important development in the South, do not appear in Yorkshire and the general execution of buildings in the North appears to be less advanced than that of Mercia and Wessex. This may be due, in part, to the piecemeal nature of the remains and to the isolated position of Northumbria.

The reign of Edward the Confessor brought with it a strong Norman influence. A manifestation of this influence came in the form of a building boom distinguished by an increasing development of complex architectural forms and a new experimental approach to structural design. This development penetrated even into the conservative North. Churches such as Hovingham and Kirkdale, both reconstructed by Orm (ca.1060 - ca.1065), illustrate the new spirit of the age. (figs.56,59,62,63,67) Had it not been for the events of 1066, this trend would probably have continued and its ultimate result may have been a new Anglo-Saxon style, consisting of insular features structurally and stylistically reinterpreted on the basis of an increased knowledge of continental building techniques.

The Northumbrian response to William's conquest of England was violent and negative. This reaction extended to
both political and cultural areas. While there had been a grudging acceptance of new building techniques which had gradually been introduced by northern lords such as Orm, there was a strong resistance to any degree of forcible imposition. This resistance was compounded by the Conqueror's devastation of Yorkshire in 1069. The destruction was so complete that for at least forty years the Northumbrians were forced to fight daily for survival and were little concerned with building ecclesiastical structures. The only new churches erected during these years were Norman in style (Lastingham ca.1078) since the Normans were the only people able to undertake such tasks. The existing parish churches, if not entirely rebuilt, were altered beyond recognition. Walls were pierced by Norman arcades and chancels were torn down and enlarged, thus terminating the merging and reinterpretation of the two styles which had begun ca. 1060 - ca.1065.

However, once Yorkshire had begun to recover from the devastation, a distinctive characteristic appeared which distinguished the architecture of this county from that of the rest of England. This characteristic manifested itself as a conservation of Anglo-Saxon architectural details and structural techniques long after they had ceased to be used in the South. This conservation is reflected, in varying degrees in a number of churches including Hornby, Stonegrave, Kirkby Underdale, and Wharram-le-Street. But its most remarkable manifestation occurs in the church of St. Andrew, Weaverthorpe. Because the structure can be dated with great accuracy, (ca.1110 -
ca.1120), and because later alterations have been kept to a minimum, it is the prime example of the innate conservatism of the Yorkshire masons during the late eleventh century and the early twelfth century. The Norman influence seen in the neat, well-finished ashlar; the complex belfry windows; and the wide, low chancel arch; are dominated by the simple Northumbrian plan; the tall, slender west tower; and the lofty, narrow proportions of the nave, chancel and tower arch; all of which are Anglo-Saxon characteristics.

However, this retention does not represent the existence of a healthy architectural style open to change and experiment, but a style frozen in time and isolated in place. Its very resistance to change sealed its fate and during the twelfth century it was superceded by a vigorous and experimental Norman architecture.
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2. Northumbrian two-celled plans are found at Kirk Hammerton and Boarhunt; high, thin walls are found at Bradwell-on-Sea and Weaverthorpe; double-light belfry windows are features found at Glentworth and Appleton-le-Street; throughstones in arches and doorways are found in the chancel arch at Hackness and the tower arch at Barton-on-Humber; stripwork around openings occurs in the south doorway at Kirk Hammerton and the blocked north doorway at Stanton Lacy; and large quoins appear at Dover and Ledsham.
fig.1: Ledsham - Church from the west, VCH

fig.2: Ledsham - Church from the south, Wallace
fig. 3: Ledsham - West tower from the south, Wallace

fig. 4: Ledsham - Lower portion of west tower from the south, Taylor and Taylor
fig.5: Ledsham - Tower south doorway and southwest quoins, Taylor and Taylor

fig.6: Ledsham - Nave south wall from the east, Wallace
fig. 7: Ledsham - West end of nave south wall with megalithic quoins, Wallace

fig. 3: Ledsham - Nave south wall with blocked Anglo-Saxon windows, Taylor and Taylor
fig.9: Ledsham - Chancel arch from the nave, Wallace

fig.10: Ledsham - Blocked window above the south doorway, Wallace
fig.11: Ledsham - Blocked window above the north arcade, Wallace

fig.12: Ledsham - Tower arch and opening above, Wallace
fig. 13: Ledsham - Interior east wall of tower, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 14: Bishophill Senior - Southwest quoins of the nave, Taylor and Taylor
fig.15: Bishophill Senior - Northwest arcade, Taylor and Taylor
fig.16: Bishophill Senior - Northeast arcade, NMR
fig. 17: Bishophill Senior - South wall from the west, NMR
fig.18: Bishophill Senior - South wall from the east, NMR
fig. 19: Skipwith - Church from the southwest, VCH

fig. 20: Skipwith - West tower from the southwest, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 21: Skipwith - Tower from the southwest, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 22: Skipwith - Tower arch, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 23: Skipwith - Anglo-Saxon masonry above the nave south arcade, Wallace

fig. 24: Skipwith - Tower arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 25: Skipwith - Gable line and blocked doorway above the tower arch, Wallace

fig. 26: Bardsey - Church from the northwest, Wallace
fig.27: Bardsey - Tower from the southwest, Taylor and Taylor

fig.28: Bardsey - Tower from the southeast, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 29: Bardsey - Upper portion of the tower south face, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 30: Bardsey - Tower quoins, Wallace
fig. 31: Bardsey - Nave south doorway, Wallace

fig. 32: Bardsey - Wall above the north nave arcade, Wallace
fig.33: Bardsey - Nave west wall and the tower arch, Taylor and Taylor

fig.34: Bardsey - Southwest side-alternate quoins, Wallace
fig. 35: Bardsey - South porch with window and south doorway, Wallace

fig. 36: Bardsey - Gable line above the tower arch, Wallace
fig. 37: Bardsey - Gable line above the chancel arch, Wallace

fig. 38: Middleton-by-Pickering - Tower from the south, Wallace
fig. 39: Middleton-by-Pickering - Lower portion of the tower west face, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 40: Middleton-by-Pickering - Southwest quoins of the earlier nave, Wallace
fig. 41: Middleton-by-Pickering - North arcade and clerestory, Wallace

fig. 42: Appleton-le-Street - Church from the southeast, Wallace
fig. 43: Appleton-le-Street - Tower from the southwest, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 44: Appleton-le-Street - Tower from the southwest, Fisher
fig. 45: Appleton-le-Street - Church from the northeast, Wallace

fig. 46: Appleton-le-Street - Original southwest nave quoins, Wallace
fig. 47: Appleton-le-Street - Tower north doorway, Wallace

fig. 48: Appleton-le-Street - Interior looking west from the chancel, VCH
fig. 49: Appleton-le-Street - Tower arch, Wallace

fig. 50: Kirkdale - Church from the southwest, Wallace
fig. 51: Kirkdale - Church from the southwest in 1821, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 52: Kirkdale - Church from the southwest in 1779, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 53: Kirkdale - Northwest quoins of early nave, Wallace

fig. 54: Kirkdale - Nave south doorway, Wallace
fig. 55: Kirkdale - Saxon sundial, VCH

fig. 56: Kirkdale - North jamb of the chancel arch, Wallace
fig. 57: Kirkdale - North arcade, VCH

fig. 58: Kirkdale - Tower doorway from the nave, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 59: Kirkdale - North jamb on the west face of the tower arch, Wallace

fig. 60, Hovingham - Church from the southeast, Wallace
fig. 61: Hovingham - Tower from the southwest, Fisher

fig. 62: Hovingham - Northwest quoin of the nave, Wallace
fig. 63: Hovingham - Tower west doorway, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 64: Hovingham - Nave south doorway, Wallace
fig. 65: Hovingham - Pre-Conquest carved stone slab, VCH

fig. 66: Hovingham - Tower arch from the nave, VCH
fig. 67: Hovingham - Nave and tower arch from the east, NMR
fig.68: Kirk Hammerton - Church from the southwest, Taylor and Taylor

fig.69: Kirk Hammerton - Church from the southeast, VCH
fig. 70: Kirk Hammerton - Tower west doorway, Fisher

fig. 71: Kirk Hammerton - Tower west doorway, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 72: Kirk Hammerton - Nave south doorway, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 73: Kirk Hammerton - Two windows in the chancel south wall, Wallace
fig.74: Kirk Hammerton - Chancel arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor

fig.75: Kirk Hammerton - Chancel arch from the nave, Wallace
fig.76: Kirk Hammerton - Chancel arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor

fig.77: Kirk Hammerton - Tower arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 78: Kirk Hammerton - Tower arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 79: Kirkby Hill - Church from the south, Wallace
fig. 80: Kirkby Hill - Church from the southeast, VCH

fig. 31: Kirkby Hill - Nave south wall and a portion of the chancel arch, Wallace
fig. 82: Kirkby Hill - Blocked doorway above the south porch, Wallace

fig. 83: Kirkby Hill - North arcade with Anglo-Saxon walls above, Wallace
fig. 84a: Kirkby Hill - Chancel arch and nave north arcade, VCH

fig. 84b: Hackness - Church from the southwest, VCH
fig. 85: Hackness - Chancel arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 86: Hackness - East face of chancel arch with original gable line, Wallace
fig.87: Hackness - Interior of the nave from the southwest, VCH

fig.88: Hackness - Nave south arcade, Wallace
fig. 89: Hackness - Nave west wall, Wallace

fig. 90: Ryther - Church from the west
fig. 91: Ryther - Nave east gable with older masonry, Wallace

fig. 92: Ryther - Chancel south doorway and plinth, Wallace
fig. 93: Ryther - Plinth and southeast quoins of the chancel, Wallace

fig. 94: Ryther - Chancel arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor
fig.95: Bulmer - Church from the southeast, VCH

fig.96: Bulmer - Nave south wall, VCH
fig.97: Bulmer - Eastern window beside the porch in the nave south wall, Wallace

fig.98: Bulmer - Two east windows in the nave south wall, Wallace
fig.99: Bulmer - Upper east window in nave south wall, Wallace

fig.100: Bulmer - North wall, Wallace
fig. 101: Bulmer - North doorway and window to the east, Wallace

fig. 102: Bulmer - North doorway, Wallace
fig.103: Bulmer - Nave south doorway, Wallace

fig.104: Terrington - Church from the southeast, VCH
fig.105: Terrington - Interior of the nave from the west, VCH

fig.106: Terrington - South nave wall with window on the north face, Wallace
fig.107: Peasholme Green – Church from the southeast, Wallace

fig.108: Peasholme Green – East end of the nave, Wallace
fig.109: Peasholme Green - Gable on east wall, Wallace

fig.110: Peasholme Green - Blocked east doorway, Wallace
fig.111 - Peasholme Green - Lower northeast quoins, Wallace
fig.112: Peasholme Green - Interior looking east, NMR
fig. 113: Monk Fryston - Church from the southeast, Wallace

fig. 114: Monk Fryston - Tower from the south, Taylor and Taylor
fig.115: Monk Fryston - Tower from the north, Wallace

fig.116: Monk Fryston - Nave gable on the north side of the tower, Wallace
fig.117: Monk Fryston – Eastern belfry window from the interior of the nave, Wallace

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fig. 121: Bishophill Junior - North arcade, NMR
fig.122: Bishophill Junior - Tower arch from nave, Fisher

fig.123: Bishophill Junior - Tower arch from the nave, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 124: Bishophill Junior - South jamb of the tower arch, Taylor and Taylor

fig. 125: Bedale - West tower, Wallace
fig. 126: Bedale - Tower from the south, Carter
fig.127: Bedale - Nave from the west, NMR
fig.128: Bedale - Nave south arcade, VCH

fig.129: Bedale - Nave north arcade, VCH
fig. 130: Bedale - North arcade, NMR
fig.131: Bedale - Tower arch and the nave west wall, Wallace

fig.132: Bedale - Interior west wall of the tower, Wallace
fig. 133: Collingham - Church from the southeast, Wallace

fig. 134: Collingham - Nave south wall, Wallace
fig.135: Collingham - Chancel south wall, Wallace

fig.136: Collingham - Southeast quoin of the nave, Wallace
fig.137: Aldborough - Church from the southwest, Wallace

fig.138: Aldborough - Chancel from the southeast, Wallace
fig.139: Aldborough - Chancel south wall, Wallace
fig. 140: Aldborough - window in chancel south wall, NMR
fig.140: Aldborough - Window in chancel south wall, NMR
fig. 141: Aldborough - Nave south arcade, Wallace

fig. 142: Aldborough - Figure of man on north face of north arcade, Wallace
fig. 143: Aldborough – Sundial in south arcade, Taylor and Taylor

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fig.148: Burghwallis - Opening above the tower arch, Wallace
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fig. 150: Stonegrave - Tower from the southwest, Wallace
fig. 151: Stonegrave - Blocked west tower doorway, Wallace

fig. 152: Stonegrave - North arcade from the southwest, VCH
fig.153: Stonegrave - North arcade, Wallace

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fig.156: Hornby - West tower, Wallace
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fig.159: Hornby - Tower west doorway, Wallace

fig.160: Hornby - Chancel and chancel arch, Wallace
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fig.162: Hornby - Tower arch, Wallace
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fig.164: Kirkby Underdale - Tower from the southwest, Wallace
fig.165: Kirkby Underdale - Tower west doorway and window, Wallace

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fig.167: Kirkby Underdale – Tower arch and part of north arcade, NMR
fig.168: Kirkby Underdale – Chancel arch and the north arcade from the west, NMR
fig. 169: Kirkby Underdale - Tower arch, Wallace

fig. 170: Wharram-le-Street - Church from the southwest, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 171: Wharram-le-Street - Tower from the west, Fisher

fig. 172: Wharram-le-Street - Tower west doorway, Taylor and Taylor
fig. 173: Wharram-le-Street - Tower arch from the nave, Bilson

fig. 174: Wharram-le-Street - Chancel arch north capital, Bilson
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fig.178: Weaverthorpe - Tower arch, Taylor and Taylor
fig.179: Weaverthorpe - Sundial over the nave south doorway, Taylor and Taylor
Plan 1: Taylor and Taylor

Plan 3: Taylor and Taylor
York, Bishophill Seniör

Plan 2: YAS
Plan 4: Taylor and Taylor
Plan 5: Taylor and Taylor
Plan 6: Taylor and Taylor

Plan 7: Taylor and Taylor
Plan 9: Taylor and Taylor

Plan 10: VCH
Plan 11: VCH

Plan 13: VCH

Plan 14: VCH
Plan 15: Taylor and Taylor

Plan 17: VCH
York, Bishophill Junior

Plan 16: YAS

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Collingham

Plan 18: YAS

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Aldborough

Plan 19: YAS
Stonegrave

Plan 21: YAS
Plan 22: VCH
Plan 23: Bilson
Plan 24: Bilson

Fig. 1. Weavethorpe church: ground plan.
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