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The appropriation of meaning: an examination of roman stones re-used in an Anglo-Saxon context

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THE APPROPRIATION OF MEANING: an examination of Roman stones re-used in an Anglo-Saxon context.

Using the theoretical approaches to monuments devised by Richard Bradley (1993; 1998) I have explored the thesis that through the re-use of Roman sites, forms, and particularly, stonework, the Anglo-Saxon church and its patrons sought to 'appropriate' the influence of the Roman past. 'Appropriation' in this context is used to describe the deliberate selection of elements from the 'past' for incorporation into the 'present'. For appropriation to be effective there needs to be a shared perception of meaning. This is dependent upon memory and experience which are reinforced through the use of image and language. Appropriation forms part of the means through which institutions that constitute 'society' are reproduced and maintained.

The geographical delimitation of the research is the pre-1974 county of Northumberland. Within these boundaries I have examined the extant remains of Anglo-Saxon churches founded before 1100A.D. for evidence of the re-use of Roman stonework. The relationship between these churches and the landscape, both remaining Roman sites and natural features, was also assessed.

From the data gathered I have come to the conclusion that there is evidence, particularly in the eighth century, that the Anglo-Saxon Church hierarchy sought to 'appropriate' meaning from the Roman past through the re-use of Roman stonework. After the Synod of Whitby in 663 AD the Church sought to reject the 'barbarism' of the western British Christian tradition in favour of the civilizing practices of Rome. Altars in particular, seem to have been re-used in ways which indicate an attempt to simultaneously repress pagan associations and appropriate the power of the image. This practice is mirrored by examples from the continental Christian Church.

As the Anglo-Saxon period progressed the desire to appropriate meaning remained but the focus of emphasis shifted from the Roman past to the Church's own past, with churches being sited in locations associated with indigenous saints.

This thesis is the result of my own work. Material from the published and unpublished work of others, which is referred to in the thesis, is credited to the author(s) in question in the text. The thesis is approximately **26600** words in length.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

<u>**INTRODUCTION**</u>.

"If we examine into the antiquities of nations that had no writing among them, here are their monuments: these we are to explore, to strike out their latent meaning" (Stukeley, 1776: 2).

1:1. Introduction.

The original catalyst for this work came from a piece of Roman sculpture displayed in the church of St. Paul, Jarrow. It had been discovered during the excavation of the monastic site and depicts what appears to be a flame between two wings resting on a draped altar. The re-use of such a symbolic Roman piece in an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical context may reasonably be assumed to have held some significance, possibly religious, and raised the issue of continuity of meaning. If it could be assumed to have held religious significance for the Romans was the stone re-used in recognition of its symbolism? If this was the case could other examples of similar re-use be found?

An alternative possibility was that the craftsmen brought over by Benedict Biscop from Gaul had imported with them Roman sculptural designs. The dedication inscription at Jarrow, with its deliberate use of Roman lettering and formulaic wording, has strong resonances with Roman practice, providing evidence of Benedict Biscop's desire to emulate Rome (Higgett, 1979: 350). It is also possible that the style of building he commissioned was based on continental models.

Questions raised by these carvings at Jarrow led to research into three other churches in the Tyne valley: St. Andrew's Bywell, St. Andrew's, Corbridge and St. Giles, Chollerton. This formed the basis for an 'A' level project entitled *An archaeological study of re-used Roman stones in three early churches* which raised the interesting research issue of the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon churches and the existence of Roman sites in their vicinity. Was it only through the re-use of masonry that links were being made between the new Anglo-Saxon order, both secular and ecclesiastical, and the remains of the Roman past?

As I have a particular interest in the relationship between the 'past' and the 'present', more specifically in ways in which perceptions of the 'past' influence the

traditions, practices, beliefs and institutions which make up 'society', I chose in this instance to build upon my earlier work and use the Anglo-Saxon Church as the focus of interest for my current research. The purpose of my project has been to examine the extant remains of churches founded before 1100AD within the pre-1974 boundaries of *Northumberland for evidence of the re-use of Roman stonework. It is my thesis that through the re-use of Roman sites, forms, and, particularly, stonework, the Anglo-Saxon Church* and its patrons sought to appropriate the influence of the Roman past.

What is meant by this term 'to appropriate'? The dictionary definition is "to take as one's own; to set apart for a particular purpose; to claim; to annex; set apart for a particular use" (Collins, 1975: 49). I use the term 'appropriation' here to indicate the deliberate selection of elements from the past for incorporation into the present. In the process of selection and incorporation the original meaning or emphasis may be changed and in many cases lost. It may be the stone, site, building or act of re-use which is significant: which ever way re-use occurs, it is evidence which shows choice was made with deliberate intention rather than pragmatism which provides the key to appropriation. For example, all stone may be potentially useful as a building material but if only selected, carved stones were to be found in one particular location within a church building, then it would be possible to claim that some form of appropriation is implied.

The nature of the 'power' of stones and monuments forms part of the discussion of this thesis. Using the examination of Roman stonework within the Anglo-Saxon churches of Northumberland and the setting of these buildings within the landscape as my starting point, I intend to explore the relationship between the construction and siting of Anglo-Saxon churches and the already existing Roman sites.

A secondary, but related, issue which contributes to the sum of information available is the role of the existing transportation networks, in particular the Roman road network and navigable waterways. Distances between these and the church sites will be recorded as part of the research. The value of this is that it should then be possible to detect any changes in the influence of these features on the church buildings, both in their

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*Where the text refers to the institutional church this is denoted by capital letters i.e. the 'Anglo Saxon Church'. Where it is the building that is referred to then this is written in lower case and described as either an 'Anglo-Saxon church building' or 'church building'.

location and their structure, throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. For example, how important to the spread of the Anglo-Saxon Church was the continued use of the Roman road network? Did the existence of a transportation route lead to the exploitation of resources from Roman sites over and above more local sources of materials and why should this be so?

1:2. Background to choice of study theme.

In choosing to look at churches within the context of the physical landscape in which they were built I hope to move away from architectural and ecclesiastical analysis and examine more closely the way in which their construction contributed to the development of 'society'. King (1980:1) posed two questions: "What can we understand about a society by examining its buildings and physical environment?" and "What can we understand about buildings and environments by examining the society in which they exist?" These questions highlight the interdependent nature of the relationship between buildings (and, by inference, monumental structures) and the society which created them. This relationship is not confined to the period of construction but continues into subsequent generations of society of whose collective consciousness they form a part. The way in which this 'collective consciousness' is created and reproduced is discussed in Chapter Three, whilst the nature of the ongoing and changing relationship between buildings, monuments and society forms the core of the discussion in Chapter Six.

Despite the use of such concrete terms as 'Roman' and 'Anglo-Saxon', which seem to imply a complete break in which one ethnic group replaced another, the picture in Northern Britain during the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries is far more likely to be one of continuity of habitation over a period of time. In the early Anglo-Saxon period the substantial fortifications, supporting settlements and road networks of the Roman period formed an integral part of the landscape: Hadrian's Wall continued to divide the lower part of the region and the present day use of Roman routeways is testimony to their enduring importance. Whilst the structures that underpinned the preceding urban society had broken down, evidence from sites such as Birdoswald, at the Cumbrian end of Hadrian's Wall, indicates that not only were buildings occupied but substantial

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adaptations were also undertaken to suit the needs of a new way of life (Wilmott, 1997: 31). Significantly, environmental evidence indicates that reforestation of the region did not occur until the sixth/seventh century (Turner, 1979), evidence that the land, as well as the buildings, was still being utilized during the earlier part of this period. The terms 'Roman' and 'Anglo-Saxon' more accurately refer to prevailing political rather than ethnic regimes, but in the context of this thesis they are used primarily to denote periods of time. Where it is necessary to draw a distinction the term 'western British' is used to describe earlier, possibly late six/ early seventh century, traditions (although it is recognised that there are substantial differences between the early churches of Wales, Scotland and Ireland). 'Anglo-Saxon' is an all encompassing expression which does not reflect well the complex and often fluid nature of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Indeed, Niles (1997: 209) goes as far as to say that "It is an idea, not a thing. [It] happens to be an important, dynamic, and sometimes contentious idea [which has] served as an organizing principle of a kingdom for a number of generations before the Norman conquest". Precise locations of the various kingdoms are subject to continued debate which I do not intend to discuss, however, an historical 'timeline' will be included to provides a back drop to my research and the dates relating to dominant rulers will be given where they are known.

1:3. Moving Forward.

As stated earlier the focus of this thesis initially will be the search for evidence that re-use of Roman stonework was taking place in the construction of churches during the Anglo-Saxon period. Any stonework found will then be analyzed to see whether it provides evidence that the emergent Anglo-Saxon Church and its patrons were seeking to 'appropriate' some form of meaning through re-use of Roman material.

If there is evidence of appropriation, whose interests did it serve? Was it solely any symbolic meaning held by the stones and the sites themselves that was sought or was it the desire to create links specifically with the Roman past that was important? Whilst the known royal Anglo-Saxon centres in Northumberland, Yeavering and Bamburgh, do not occupy earlier Roman sites, their cemeteries do focus on prehistoric features,

evidence of the "widespread and frequent [Anglo-Saxon] practice of re-using monuments of earlier periods" (Williams, 1998: 90). As the focal centre of ritual changed with the coming of Christianity did the new order respect the old associations with the past or were new appropriations sought? Richard Bradley (1993: 53) suggests that the linking of monuments across time creates a sense of "timeless order", a synthesis rather than a sequence, like the thread which links a string of beads, rather than the order of the beads themselves. Although the spread of Christianity represented a new phase in the region's history, the presence of sacred sites and stones did not, and it may be that this continuance of sanctity provides the thread of "timeless order"; a concept that is particularly pertinent when referring to the Anglo-Saxon people whose culture placed great importance upon lineage and links with ancestors. Much of the evidence of human manipulation of the landscape appears to centre around ritualistic and, by inference, sacred behaviour; the emergence of Christianity can be seen as a continuance of this pattern.

Chapter Two starts with a brief examination of the history of research into Anglo-Saxon churches, before looking at some of the issues at present under discussion, particularly the debate surrounding the establishment of a chronology for the churches of the Anglo-Saxon period. The function of this chapter is to explore the ways in which churches have been viewed in the past and the foci of current research as well as to provide a contextual background for this thesis. Chapter Three will deal with the role of monuments in the landscape and will involve discussion of theories, particularly those of Richard Bradley, which relate to 'monumental' structures, and the way in which they influence the creation of 'society'. The ways in which these ideas can be used to view churches will then be discussed and the outcome of the ideas expressed in this chapter will be used as a framework within which to examine the re-used Roman stones.

The parameters of the research area, along with the methods employed in carrying it out, will be set out in Chapter Four. The churches studied will be those currently within the Anglican Diocese of Newcastle, a delimitation which most nearly reflects the pre-1974 county boundary. Those selected either contain evidence that they were originally constructed during the Anglo-Saxon period, or claim to have been founded

during this time. After visiting the churches which form the study group the re-used Roman stones recorded will be subjected to the following questions;

- to which category of stonework does the piece belong?

- are particular forms of stone used in specific contexts?

The position of the churches in relation to existing landscape features, specifically navigable water, Roman sites and routeways, will also be noted.

The results of these questions will form the basis of the analysis in Chapter Five. By examining the different ways in which stones have been re-used any emerging patterns, both in geographical clusters and in re-use in specific areas within the churches, will be discerned. Of particular importance will be any evidence that suggests that the Anglo-Saxons either through their choice of stone or site were attempting to appropriate the symbolism of Rome.

In Chapter Six the results of the analysis will be discussed and interpreted in relation to the constructs provided in Chapter Three. Particular emphasis will be placed on the location of sites in relationship to the Roman remains in the region and to the forms of re-use that have been recorded. This will then be reflected on in relation to the two questions posed at the beginning of the introduction. Central to the argument is the search for evidence that the Roman past held some significance for the Anglo-Saxon Church which it sought to manipulate. The official allegiance of the church hierarchy to Rome was confirmed by the Synod of Whitby in 663AD, but did this filter down into the majority of the population? It will be important to the interpretation to remember that this area bordered politically with the British Kingdoms of Rheged and Strathclyde, whilst ecclesiastically the Western British Church still held sway in the early part of the period.

The final chapter is concerned with my conclusions. The observed relationship between the Roman sites and the churches constructed in the Anglo-Saxon era, particularly the early centuries, will be commented on, along with areas for possible future discussion and research.

The *Appendices* contain a gazetteer of all the churches visited, along with a resumé of the data collected, additional notes relating to the thesis, the results of chi-squared testing and a sample copy of the *pro forma* used when collecting data.

CHAPTER 2 : Background research into the history and role of church buildings.

2:1. Introduction.

This chapter begins with a brief examination of the history of research into churches in general and is followed by a short resumé of the debate surrounding the dating methods which are currently used to provide a framework for the discussion of Anglo-Saxon churches. The last section deals more specifically with the study of churches in the North-East of England and includes an outline of recent publications which are relevant to the research topic. The purpose of the chapter is to provide this research with some background by looking at the ways in which churches have been studied in the past, and to place it in the context of current thought.

2:2. Twentieth century research into the past lives of churches.

It was not until the early part of this century that rigorous attempts were made to study the early English churches. Prior to this a piecemeal approach, adopted by antiquarians and architectural historians, had centred on individual buildings and stylistic developments. G. Baldwin Brown (1903) and Alfred Clapham (1930) both sought to produce defining characteristics which could be used to identify and chronologically place Saxon churches. Although Baldwin-Brown described all the churches where he was aware of Anglo-Saxon stonework, both he and Clapham, concentrated on the more intact churches whilst paying little heed to more fragmentary remains (Taylor & Taylor, 1965: xxiii). Using accepted historical events as markers they created a tripartite and bipartite system respectively with which to date the period 500-1100AD. The significance of the changing features was not a factor of their research except when such a change could be used to relate architectural features with continental building practice thus helping to provide a dating link. What was important to both Baldwin Brown and Clapham was the creation of a set of diagnostic tools which would place the development of early churches into a sequential order.

The work of Baldwin Brown and Alfred Clapham provided the starting point for the definitive work undertaken by H.M. and J. Taylor in the 1950's and 60's (Taylor &

Taylor, 1965). They felt that as the sum total of these lesser sites was now nearing three hundred, there was an important contribution to be made to the understanding of Anglo-Saxon church architecture by closer examination of these churches (ibid.). Their book, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, has since been the launch pad for all those with an interest in the Anglo-Saxon churches of England whether it be from an archaeological, historical or architectural perspective. Whilst they compiled a comprehensive gazetteer of churches displaying Anglo-Saxon features, they were also anxious to extend the scope of evidence provided by Clapham and Baldwin Brown. They felt that there had been a concentration on those churches which preserved relatively intact remains to the exclusion of lesser sites. Their inclusion of these smaller fragments of evidence has contributed to the sum of diagnostic evidence available.

Since the publication of *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* by the Taylors archaeological study of churches appears to have divided into two main branches. The bulk of the research continues to centre around the stories of individual churches and even more narrowly, particular features within those churches. Owing to the fact that the majority of churches are still in active use, opportunities for excavation are small and full use rightly needs to be made of those that do arise. Consequently there has been a concentration on the non-invasive techniques which may be used and forms in which information gathered should be recorded (e.g. Rodwell, 1989). Many methods are based on the analysis of stylistic evidence provided by architecture and sculpture, and these continue to be further refined. However, in the majority of cases the applications of these techniques is restricted to particular, and usually the most prestigious, sites. There seems to be no comprehensive scheme of survey encompassing a larger grouping of churches, either regionally or chronologically related. Dowsing, a controversial and unconventional skill has been used in an attempt to recover the plans of many 'Anglo-Saxon' churches in Northumberland (Bailey et. al., 1988). Although to be treated with caution, this technique has been verified in some instances by excavation, e.g. Woodhorn, St. Mary's (ibid.). Where churches which form part of this research have been surveyed in this way it has been noted in Appendix.1. One interesting possibility in looking at the distribution of Roman stones throughout a church may be the existence of a correlation between the

positioning of stones and the plans recovered through dowsing. (For more on this see entry under Heddon-on-the-Wall in the appendix).

The church in its context.

As stated earlier the study of churches appears to have taken two different directions, the first of which has been outlined above. The second direction has led to attempts to situate the church in its wider landscape and seeks to create a broader view within which to understand the buildings and their context. The most comprehensive attempt to examine the development of churches throughout their entire history has been that made by Richard Morris (1989). In his introduction to *Churches in the landscape* he gives two reasons for his writing: that there has been an increase in archaeological knowledge about churches, and a wish to look at "the subject of the parish church as a place, a component of the pattern of settlement, and churches together as a pattern of places" (1989: 2). Whilst acknowledging the importance of antiquarian and earlier studies which focused on individual churches and architectural styles, his was the first book to examine churches in their totality and indeed still remains definitive. Morris sought to look at the development of church buildings through the response of the Church throughout history to the landscape in which buildings were placed. He examines the role played by earlier religious associations and the subsequent role played by churches as reflections of 'society'. That this approach is still in its infancy is borne out by his introduction to *Church Archaeology* (1996) where he highlights the lack of "a continuum of progressive, historically relevant questions" (1996: xvi) and the speed at which techniques have developed in advance of such questions.

One reason for this paucity of clear theoretical directions based on combination of evidence, both historical and archaeological, may be the way in which written materials from the 'past' have been translated and presented. In the theoretical models proposed in the following chapter it will be seen that it is virtually impossible to detach people from the inheritance of the 'past' and the influence of the society in which they live: no-one comes to a text with total objectivity, but all bring a mixture of memory and experience which finds expression in response to language. Starting with Bede himself, Content

(1995: 39) seeks to show that distortions enter into historical texts, consciously or otherwise, and become part of the received perception of the 'past'.

Whilst it is unreasonable to apportion blame for the distortions of history, there is a case to be made for closer liaison between specialists and across disciplines. If blame is to be apportioned then some needs to be accepted by the archaeologists themselves: the antiquarian emphasis on attempting to identify sites known from classical texts persisted into the twentieth century, with known centres, for example Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, attracting almost saturation attention. Others of lesser importance have been little studied, leading to a concentration of information about a small area from which ideas concerning the larger region have been extrapolated. This has been coupled with an approach to the examination of artefacts which, by concentrating on their stylistic development, has removed them from their wider context within the society which created them. The role of the specialist, whilst essential to the foundation of research, has perhaps hindered the development of the broader view. This, Content believes, has largely been left to those academics who study the texts and view the 'past' as a "clear line of progression from our primitive pagan past to England's nineteenth century culmination as a great power..., a unified and socially reformed country" (Content, 1995: 40). This dubious view of the 'past' is inevitably coloured by the perceptions of both the presenters of the texts and their readers, and inevitably reflects the current preoccupations of society. (For further discussion of this point see Niles, 1997: 202).

Creating a chronological framework for the Anglo-Saxon period.

Alongside the need to frame a broader approach to the study of churches has been the continued debate over chronology. The dating schemes created by Clapham, Baldwin Brown and the Taylors were based on architectural evidence, perhaps most importantly the treatment of openings, i.e. windows, doorways and arches, and quoining, examples of which are reproduced below (Figures 1 and 2). By comparing the stylistic changes of these features they created a relative dating mechanism which could be applied to Anglo-Saxon churches .

In their introduction the Taylors draw distinctions between two forms of dating evidence, that is 'primary' and 'secondary'. The term 'primary dating' was to be used "for the dating of a church in a fashion which does not call on a comparison with others like it, but which is based on historical or archaeological evidence relating to the church itself." (1965:1). 'Secondary dating' implied "that the dating [was] based on no firmer ground than that the church [possessed] certain features which [had] been established on the evidence of other churches as being characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon period" (ibid.). In this way the Taylors brought together the three sources of evidence available -. architectural, historical and archaeological - to create a framework for periodizing churches.

Figure 1. Examples of quoining. (After Taylor & Taylor, 1965: 6)

①   ②

③   ④
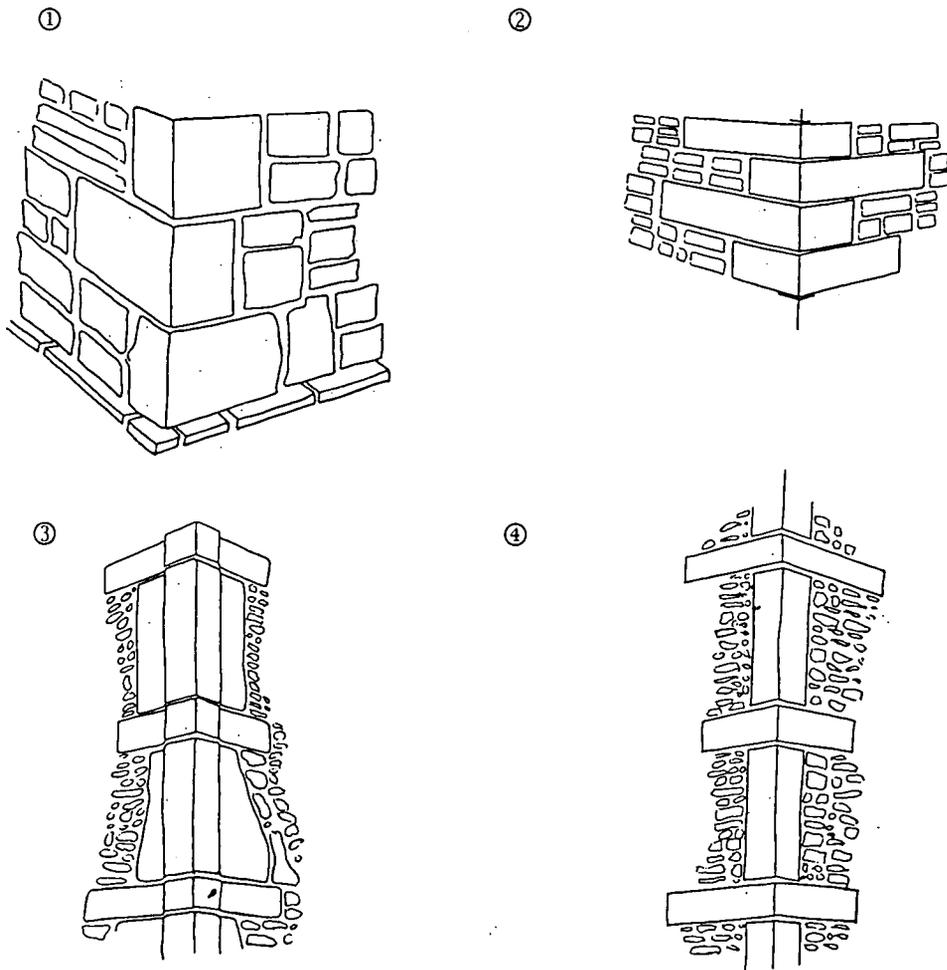
① Roughly coursed rubble walling of early Anglo Saxon style.

② Roughly coursed rubble walling with megalithic face alternate quoins, the form is most prevalent in Northumberland e.g. Warden·

③ Long and short quoing where the stones have been cut back.

④ Long and short quoing where the stones are set flush.

Figure 2. Examples of windows. (After Taylor & Taylor, 1965: 5, 8 & 10).

① ②

Interior

Section

Exterior

Plan

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 ft

③ ④

0 1 2 3 4 5 ft

0 1 2 3 4 5 6
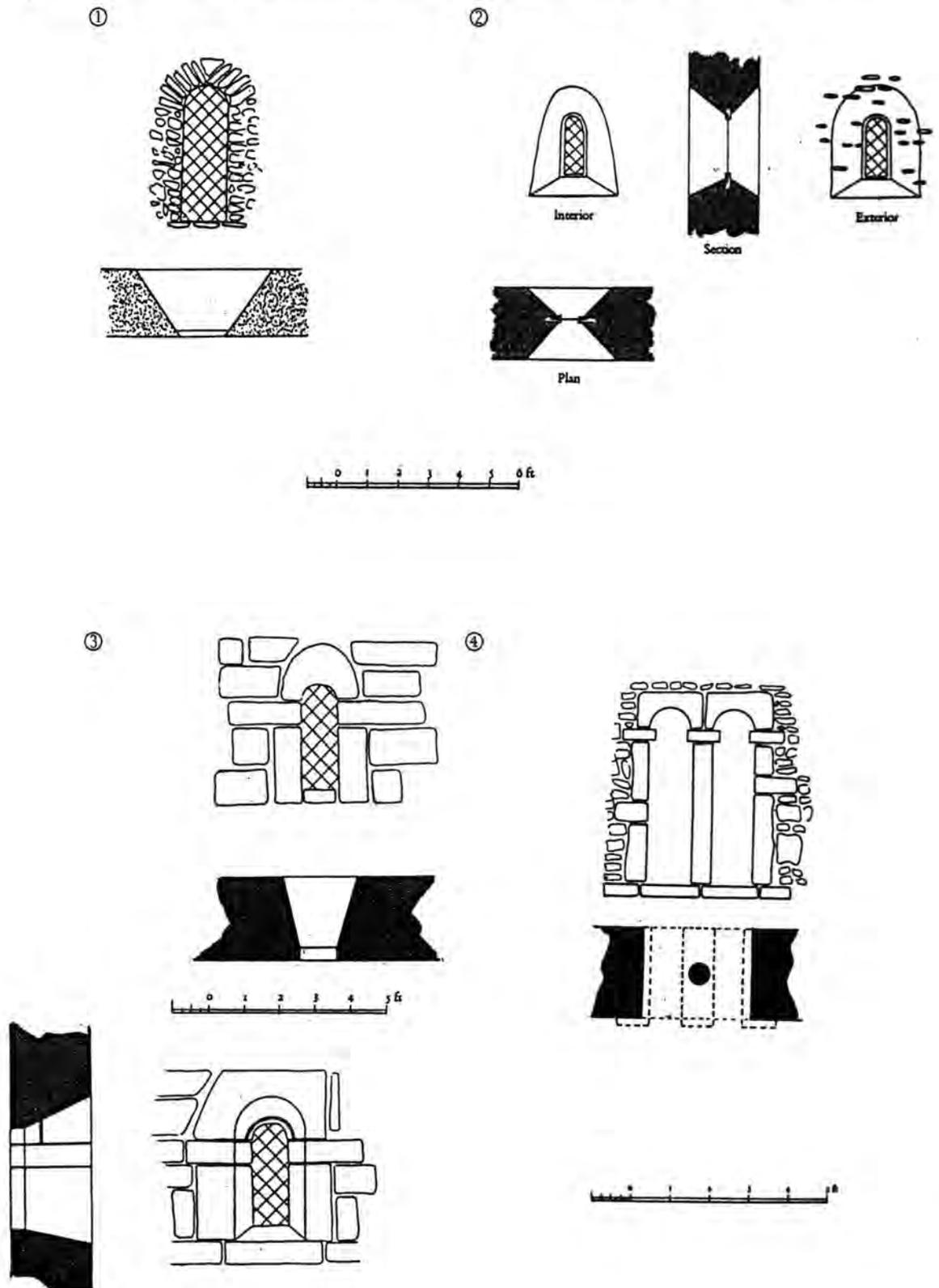
① Anglo-Saxon single splayed window with arched head and jambs of rough rubble (Period B3).

② Late Anglo-Saxon double-splayed window (Period C). e.g. Jarrow.

③ Early Northumbrian single splayed window (Period A). e.g. Bywell, St. Peter's.

④ Anglo-Saxon double window with through blocks and arches cut from single stones.(Period C). e.g. Bywell, St. Andrew's.

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The dating structure used by the Taylors was based on that set out by Baldwin Brown (Figure 3a). His three major divisions were further refined so that, where it was possible, greater accuracy could be given (Figure 3b).

Figure 3a. Dating periods for the period 600 - 1100 AD as outlined by Baldwin Brown.

Period A   AD 600 - AD 800   Conversion and consolidation

Period B   AD 800 - AD 950   Invasion

Period C   AD 950 - AD1100   Monastic reform

Figure 3b. Dating periods for the period 600 - 1050 AD as outlined by H.M & J. Taylor.

A   AD 600 - 800   B   AD 800 - 950   C   AD 950 - 1100

A1   AD 600 - 650   B1   AD 800 - 850   C1   AD 950 - 1000

A2   AD 650 - 700   B2   AD 850 - 900   C2   AD 1000 - 1050

A3   AD 700 - 800   B3   AD 900 - 950   C3   AD 1050 - 1100

Richard Gem (1986: 149) suggests that the use of this structure by the Taylors was merely a shorthand for dates rather than an allusion to specific events which occurred throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. Gem's statement that "Without chronology we cannot make comparisons; without comparisons we cannot discern patterns; and without patterns there is no comprehensible history" (1986: 146) highlights the importance of chronology. He himself argues for a 'cultural paradigm' rather than a chronology restricted by dates. This he views as being based on political, economic, religious and stylistic factors (1986: 150), creating a scheme which does not encompass dramatic declines. Such a combination of factors culminated in the Synod of Whitby when cultural issues raised by the marriage of a Kentish princess to a Northumbrian king precipitated an argument which spilled over into the religious sphere. Politics and economics fed a debate which was as much about a rejection of the 'barbaric past' as it was about religious practice. The subsequent change of direction is reflected in the liturgical and architectural style of the emerging Anglo-Saxon Church. As none of the 'paradigms' quoted remained static it follows that there may have been stages of development rather than abrupt changes. So, for example, although the Viking raids had a dramatic effect, this was localized and whilst the Northumbrian church was suffering, King Alfred in Wessex was

initiating reform and a building programme. Gem's approach contrasts with the earlier view expressed by Eric Fernie (1983: 90, 92) who favoured a bipartite system, with the Vikings causing a "violent hiatus during which declining building activity should be expected". Gem (1993: 50) has continued this debate with an attempt to show that the ninth century was not a period of inactivity quoting Bishop Ecgred's church building programme as an example (Stevenson, 1855: 653, cited by Gem).

Eric Cambridge (1994) has cast doubts upon the dating of the construction of towers to the Anglo-Saxon period which may alter the interpretation of stylistic elements used to date churches of the later Anglo-Saxon period. He bases his opinion on an analysis of the towers in the North-East which he sees as sharing characteristics with Durham Cathedral. He believes that they could only have been constructed after the Cathedral was finished when the masons were freed from their contracts and available for employment on lesser churches. The main thrust of Cambridge's argument is that stylistic differences may not necessarily reflect the passage of time but may show differences between patrons and their employees. The implication of his work in relation to the churches in Northumberland considered further in Chapter Five.

Although the dating debate is not part of this research it has been mentioned here since it is changing patterns of evidence, which may be marked by chronology, that indicate the spread and duration of social practices. Perhaps Gem's most pertinent point, particularly in the light of Cambridge's research, is that "it is generally dangerous to date an undocumented Anglo-Saxon building on the basis of a single stylistic feature: a wider assemblage of features, and the more general historical context, must be considered - as must the growing weight of archaeological evidence" (1993: 56). This echoes the requirements stipulated by the Taylors for 'primary dating' evidence and its reiteration by Gem emphasizes the need to be aware of the input of new research, and that sole dependence should not be placed on long established methods of dating the Anglo-Saxon past.

For simplicity I have, in the context of this thesis, divided the period AD500-1100 into three shorter periods, loosely using the structure outlined by the Taylors above. The framework that this provides for analysis is set out in Chapter Four.

2:3. Anglo-Saxon Churches in Northumberland.

Past research.

The earliest reference to a Roman stone incorporated into an Anglo-Saxon Church in Northumberland occurs in Richard Gough's additional notes to Camden's 'Britannia' (1806). Here he describes the finding of the Roman altar and dedication stone at Tynemouth Priory, suggesting that these had been shipped across from the fort at South Shields to be incorporated in the first church on this site (1806: 514-15). This view was treated rather dismissively by Thomas Hodgson who felt it "much more probable that they (the builders) found them on the spot, and with the other remains of the temple, &c. used them in the building of their church" (1822: 232). He argues that there was in all likelihood a Roman fortification on the headland, an argument which to the best of my knowledge is still unresolved. The altar in question now rests in the Museum of Antiquities in Newcastle upon Tyne and is further dealt with in the discussion in Chapter Six.

In addition to antiquarian sources I looked at the photographic record of J. Gibson, a Hexham based photographer whose work was used to illustrate E.S. Savage and C.C. Hodges' (1907) report covering the excavations at Hexham Abbey. This report has been the foundation of the later research into the buildings at Hexham, and the photographs form an important part of the archive associated with the Abbey. Gibson took photographs of the excavations in progress and also of the more impressive of the discoveries. For the purpose of this thesis his photographs of the excavations of the apse (negative K. series, 229 et. al.) were taken from too distant an angle for it to be possible to ascertain the original position of the Roman stones before removal and to accurately identify them. The stones themselves were taken into the body of the Abbey to be photographed, rendering a record which could have provided useful evidence of the carved stones *in situ* of minimal value.

The most comprehensive approach to the history of the region is offered by the Northumberland County History Series which was started in 1893 and concluded in 1935. The volumes contain details of both civil and ecclesiastical parishes, geographically grouped. Much of the information was taken from censuses and tithe documents and

consequently relates to the social and economic status of the places concerned. In addition, genealogies of the important local families are traced, along with the history of their houses. The churches are handled in a similar manner; their ministers are listed together with the church's income from tithes and glebe holdings. The architecture of the churches is described, with the aid of sketches and plans which are detailed and these descriptions have been very useful. Occasionally, anecdotal evidence is quoted but the sources of this are not provided so that whilst of interest it is unverifiable.

Current research.

A search through current local journals (Archaeologia Aeliana, Durham Archaeological Journal) and the C.B.A. abstracts to discover any recent work that had been undertaken relating to churches, in particular those in the North-east, produced several useful articles relating to specific churches (see appendices for details), particularly those already noted by Taylor & Taylor (1965), but remarkably little that was of direct relevance to the theme of this thesis. The seeming connection between Roman remains and Anglo-Saxon churches has been noted and the suggestion made that further research would be fruitful in this direction (Biddle, 1976: 67, 68; Cramp, 1974: 27,33; Everson and Parsons, 1979: 410-411; Gem, 1996: 5; Morris, 1989: 28-29) but the response has so far been disappointing. Higgett's scholarly examination of the dedication stone at Jarrow (1979), whilst of value, is particularistic in its approach.

The unpublished theses by A.Whitworth analyse the re-use of material from Hadrian's Wall in Cumbria (1984) and its influence on the landscape in the post-Roman period (1994a). Although largely concerned with vernacular architecture these have provided useful practical ideas for the recording of materials from the Wall. Whitworth touches on the re-use of forts as locations for early churches and the re-use of Roman stones to build them, but does not attempt in these papers to comment on the forms of re-use or the operation of choice in selecting sites for re-use. The most pertinent article comes from outside the region, and is by Jones (1992) regarding a survey carried out by members of the Dover Archaeological Group during which fragments of Roman brick and tile visible in early churches were recorded. The results of this may be the beginnings

of "the catalogue of medieval buildings incorporating Roman materials, either in the original structure or by way of repair," imagined by Everson and Parsons (1979), and could provide the backbone for archaeological study in this field. Unfortunately it appears to be the only published initiative of its type and does not bear directly on the situation in Northumberland.

2:4. Endpiece.

Although there appears to be little published directly relating to the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon Church and the Roman past, the evidence of archaeology, architecture and the primary written sources combine to provide a wealth of material open to interpretation. As Richard Morris has said, "Evidence about Christianity... is... worth seeking not only as an aid to the writing of a more enlightened religious history, but also for the insights it affords into the other aspects of (the) milieu within which it existed" (1983: 19), a statement which echoes that of Stukely quoted earlier. In Chapter Three some theoretical models are proposed with which to examine the wider issue of the church buildings within 'society' by looking at their role as monuments in the landscape.

CHAPTER THREE: Towards a theoretical framework.

3:1. Introduction.

To analyze the results of fieldwork a theoretical framework within which to work is required. This chapter, based largely on the work of Richard Bradley, looks at the role of monuments in the formation of a society and its self-perception, along with models which seek to represent ways in which this formation may occur. It is illustrated by examples of re-use either of materials, sites or motifs in three areas which are available for examination: the 'landscape'; the buildings or monuments created within that landscape; and the portable, cultural remains. The chapter closes by posing two questions which will form the basis for the analysis of the collected data in Chapter Four.

3:2. Society as ideology.

It is the purpose of this section to examine some of the theoretical approaches used to view ways in which 'society' is constituted. An important feature of these theories has been the role played by the material world in the creation, maintenance and reproduction of 'society'.

Gem's attempt to construct 'cultural paradigms' i.e. a model based on a fusion of the material evidence from the various human activities that make up 'society', provides a useful starting point. In building his argument he not only adopts a rigorous approach, stating that "any paradigm must be self-consistent," but also outlines the areas of activity which should be examined. He states that "to attain this [cultural paradigm] we must have...not a single paradigm but a multiplicity: that is, separate political, economic, religious, and stylistic ones (and) we may only attempt a fusion into a single cultural paradigm if and when we have demonstrated an identical pattern in each area of culture" (1986: 150). In other words, we should not extrapolate a pattern found in one facet of society, for example religious practice, and apply it to society as a whole. He contends that the pattern must be empirically tested in all relevant areas of behaviour before a generalized conclusion can be applied. The problem with Gem's argument is that in any one 'paradigm' the focus of authority shifts in response to the influence exerted by the remaining 'paradigms'. For example, the decision to align the Anglo-Saxon Church with

Rome taken was pushed into the arena at the Synod of Whitby, not by religious argument but by the domestic pressures of the King's household; in turn these reflected secular and ecclesiastical political interests. The very interdependency which enables him to talk of fusion makes the possibility of separating out the various facets of life which make up society improbable. His approach contrasts with the questions posed by King (1980: 1) quoted in the introduction, which postulate a more fluid relationship between buildings (an element of the material evidence) and the society of which, whilst helping to delineate, they still remain a product. Gem appears to envisage 'culture' as an encircling band within which the components of 'society' are confined to create a cohesive whole, an untenable and entrenched position which does not allow for a two way dialogue between the institutions and practices which make up 'society' and the material culture this creates. Whilst the recognition that 'society' is constructed of many paradigms is valid, the lack of dialogue implied does not allow for the potentially dramatic effect upon 'society' of external agencies, for example, climate deterioration or demographic movements.

The churches of Anglo-Saxon Northumberland were not built in a social vacuum, nor were they imposed on a virgin landscape; as stated in the introduction, the physical remains of *Romanitas* were very much evident, so it follows on from Gem's approach that if 'society' is the sum of its constituent parts then in order to look at one feature it must be necessary to examine other components in order to gain the fullest possible picture. In this way some understanding may be reached of the place and role of an individual feature within a particular society.

An alternative view of 'society' has been put forward by Barrett et. al. (1991: 6) and depicted below (Figure 4). This has been based on Anthony Giddens 'Structuration Theory' (Giddens, 1986), and the concept of 'habitus' put forward by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1987). In Giddens view it is "social practices...which, routinely performed, reproduce the institutions which characterise a society" (Graves, 1989: 298). 'Habitus' is seen as the "socially constituted and materially continuous" means by which humankind is able to cope with "unforeseen and ever-changing situations" (ibid.: 299). The following diagrams seek to illustrate Barrett's theories in contrast to those of Gem described above

Figure 4. Two models depicting the role of society.

①   ②

The choices and decisions of individuals
and groups creates society within the
context of pre-existing 'habitus'

society

Society exists and conditions the
choices of individuals and groups
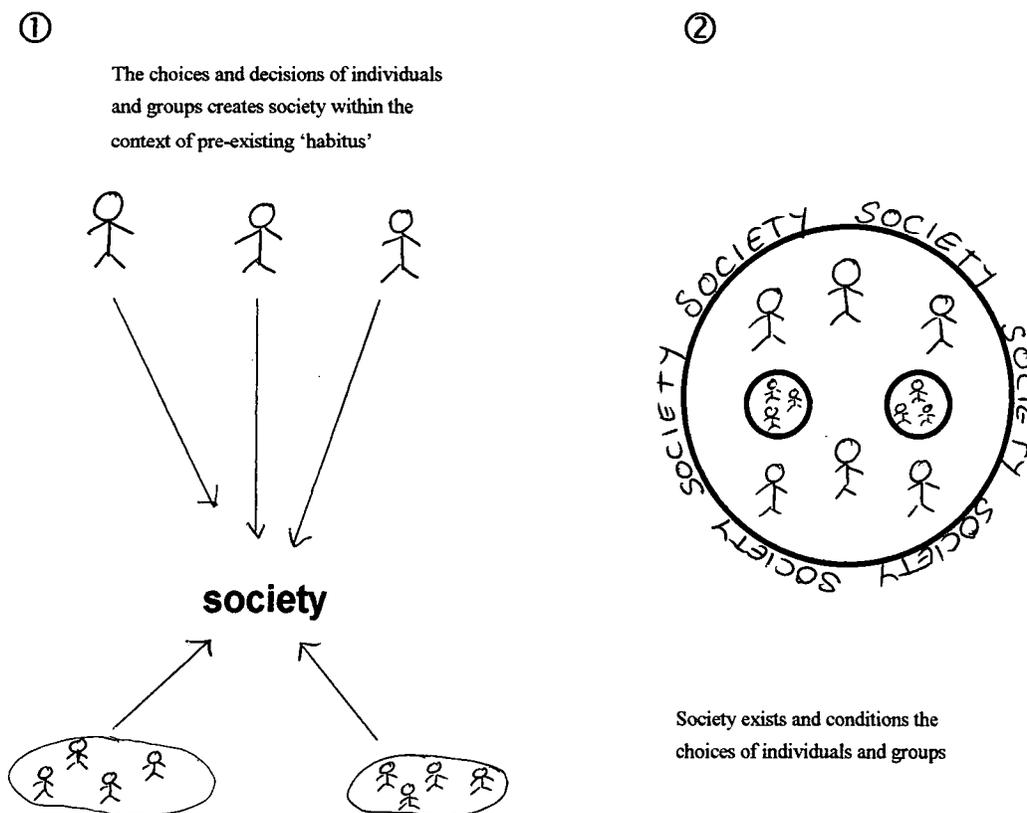
Barrett favours the scenario shown by (model ① above) whereby " social systems are reproduced by people who are knowledgeable because of their ability to monitor the conditions under which they act." (1991: 7) This is a rejection of the position of earlier cultural archaeologists, (model ② above), who maintained that it was 'society' which formed and constrained the choices of individuals and groups and that this was evidenced by their material remains. Such theories led to the archaeological identification of specific groups of people who were defined by their artefacts, as, for example, the 'beaker people' and 'the Wessex culture'. Problems arise if any attempt is made to apply model ① too rigorously as it appears to presuppose a 'blank page' situation whereas in reality, as Barrett has acknowledged, Bourdieu's context of pre-existing 'habitus' needs to be taken into account. In addition, Bloch (1989) has pointed out, that since language and the mediums of communication have their roots in the past then the past becomes inextricably linked with the present (1989: 4). In this way the past actions which have informed society continue to influence the choices and decisions made by groups and

individuals even when the sphere of emphasis has changed. Modifications to model ①
need to be made to take into account the varying activities which make up human
experience. This in turn leads to the question whether or not it is possible to create one
model which will satisfactorily encompass aspects of 'society'.

A further issue raised by Barrett above is that "social systems are reproduced by
people **who are knowledgeable**" (ibid., my emphasis), but how is knowledge employed
in the creation of 'society' and who operates the selection of choice? The model below
seeks to explore the different ways in which an activity creates or restrains cultural
development i.e. the formation of 'society'. In this model memory and experience form
the basis upon which selection is made.

For the proposed model to be effective there must be a shared element of
understanding between those operating choice and those taking part in the activity. Any
attempt to view re-use of stone as a way of appropriating meaning is dependent upon this
shared perception, although the emphasis of meaning may shift through time as the
original motive behind the creation of a structure or ideology diminishes or becomes lost.
The corpus of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, for example, may now be studied as an art form
within its historical context, but its contemporary religious significance is diminished; one
focus of interest has replaced another.

Figure 5. The formation of Society by powerful elite.
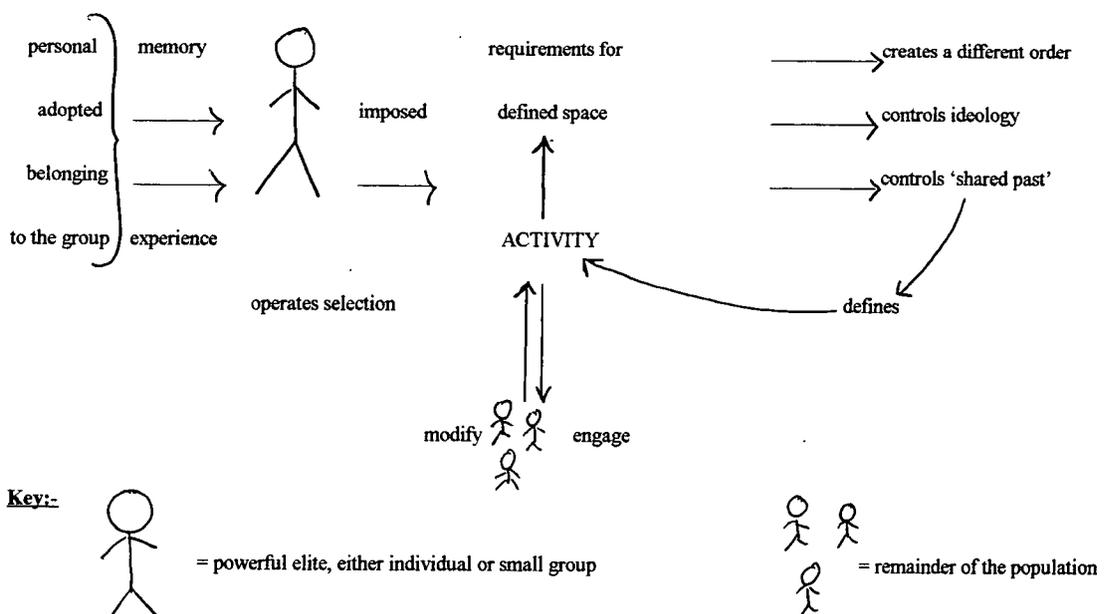
Figure 5 The power to influence change is concentrated in the hands of either an elite group or individual. This makes it possible for selected views to be imposed upon the remainder of the population, either by legislature or by compulsion, creating a new social order and controlling ideology and the 'official' culture as it relates to the shared past. The 'activity' is defined by this which is reflected in the ways in which space is delimited and displayed. In an 'unofficial' capacity the remainder of the population can modify this by the way in which they engage in the activity and use the space it occupies.

The activity creates its own demands for a defined space where the practices by which it is determined may be carried out. This is the case with any activity however mundane or fundamental and is not restricted to physically enclosed space; many activities take place within areas which may have degree of fluidity but are nevertheless defined. The effects are threefold.

1. New physical divisions are created which either inhibit or facilitate the

physical movement of the individual, leading to, or enhancing, a differentiation of status.

2. Visual barriers are created which alter perceptions of the physical environment.

3. Ideologies are expressed

-through the creation of constraints imposed on movement across the landscape.

-through the constructed appearance of built objects within the landscape.

Combined these modify the activity by restricting the material culture, which may lead to, or enhance, the differentiation of status of individuals. Existing social divisions may be reinforced whilst previous expressions of ideology are altered and new ones created.

There is a problem attached to constructing and applying any model created to account for the formation of 'society' retrospectively, in that it is extremely difficult to reproduce its pre-existing conditions and traditions and avoid a perspective based on present experience. It is for this reason that I have put forward the model proposed above which attempts to evade the present, western emphasis on the role and empowerment of the individual.

In all the models described mechanisms need to exist which enable the institutions which constitute 'society' to fulfill creative functions of reproduction and maintenance. These are partly dependent on the transmission and modification of ideas which relate these institutions to each other and so create the interdependency described above. How are these ideas transmitted and modified? In the model I have proposed earlier (Figure 5) it is supposed that memory, both that of the individual and the group, together with experience provides the key. The mediums of communication, language and image, are wholly dependent upon a shared perception of meaning which can only be gained by

similar previous experience which has been continually reinforced. Equally important, the act of "forgetting can be the selective process through which memory achieves social and cultural definition." (Küchler and Melion, 1991: 7), creating an emphasis not only on choice but also on discard. This is particularly important when it comes to the possible role of monuments and sculptures, where the selection of site and image is to be used in the construction of an iconography, which is then incorporated into the shared memory.

Visual images are transferable from one medium to another which allows for further dissemination of ideas. Motifs from Anglo-Saxon sculpture show that such a transition was made between designs worked in wood, stone and metal and subsequently incorporated into illuminated manuscripts. In this way Germanic symbolism was married with the continental influences of Rome. Wood (1997) lists the following as means by which ideas are communicated: literary forms, both the content and the choice of script and imagery used; images and motifs, as mentioned above; coinage, both its use and the designs used and their mode of employment refer to imperial styles; the re-use of stones; building styles which may be allegorical in their layout. As mentioned earlier, all of these depend upon the relationship between beholders and images which functions "on several cognitive registers, ranging from perception through the conversion of visual experience into metaphors for other kinds of social and cultural experience" (ibid.: 2).

In summary I would argue for the following :

'Society' consists of institutions which, through social practices, create a demand for defined 'space' and produce material remains. They are reproduced, i.e. replicated in different geographical locations or transmitted as "ideologies...which explain the world or its cultural values in a particular and functionally coherent way." (Barrett et.al., 1991:7), by an elite - either group or individual. The means of reproduction and transmission i.e. language and image, are dependent on shared experience and memory, the selection of which is operated by the elite. The power to modify social practice is held by those who engage with the activity. Whilst they share the 'official' memory and experience, these groups and individuals also bring to bear upon the activity their own memories and experiences. In this way an institution or activity may be adapted to meet the needs of individuals or smaller localized groups. All institutions are mutually interdependent. i.e.

the demands of one institution may impinge upon the space, time or activity of another, and social practices engender by one may those of others. In particular the use of language means that images can be transferred between institutions and that they may be transformed in response to changing demands created both by those who engage with the institution and by factors beyond human control.

3:2. The church as monument.

Within the context described above it is important to look at the ways in which churches relate to the landscape to see if the model proposed above is reflected in their development. One useful strategy may be to view churches as monuments. Bradley (1993: 69) sees "material culture as a vehicle for the expression of ideas", the monuments, their layout and associated artefacts conveying these across 'time' and 'space'. Since churches are highly visible within the landscape and incorporate so much symbolism, both ecclesiastical and secular, the site will have been chosen with care. Whilst this remained the case throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond, it was particularly true in the early days of the Church when it was seeking to replace an existing spirituality which put great emphasis on 'sacred space'. Any re-use of either place or materials has the potential to provide evidence as to the choices that were made and the thinking behind them. The choice of site and its location in the landscape reflects the concerns of those authorizing the construction of the monument as well as considerations relating to its intended use. Prosaic reasons relate to accessibility of materials, transport, terrain and suitability, but others reflect the relationship between the monument and the landscape and the way in which this shifts through time.

The appearance of the building, its style and the techniques and decorations used are all the product of the influences current at the time of its construction. Modifications and innovations reflect the shift of ideas. Three areas related to the construction of the church can provide evidence of this:-

- The internal layout of a monument serves to control the activity that takes place within by inhibiting and constraining movement. It has been common practice in temple structures regardless of religious belief to restrict access to those areas

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considered most 'sacred' to the chosen few. In the Anglo-Saxon churches this was done initially by separating the chancel from the nave of the church and subsequently through further screening of the sanctuary from all but the priest. The layout of other areas designated for public use, primarily the nave, were more open, allowing a greater degree of visibility, movement and space.

- Within the building the positioning of artefacts is of significance: firstly, they may give evidence of the functions designated to specific areas of the church; secondly, they may indicate areas of greater importance. In the Frankish church, for example, burial in the proximity of the altar was restricted to the aristocracy who may have had connections with the church, the grave of the founding member being accorded high status (James, 1988: 145). It is likely that the significance of particular parts of the building would be similarly recognised by the artefacts considered suitable for use and display in these areas.

- Higgett (1979) has shown in his analysis of the dedication stone at St. Paul's, Jarrow that intentional association with an ideology or ethnic group may be evidenced through the adoption of styles of ornamentation. This may particularly apply to lettering, the decoration of texts and sculpture. (For further discussion of the above three points see Graves, P., 1989).

3:3. The church as ideology.

If Bradley's view of monuments as 'expressions of ideas' is accepted how did their creation and maintenance feed into people's perceptions of themselves and of the world? The church building as an 'expression of an idea' represents the fusing of ideologies from two distinct sources: firstly the demands of the Christian ritual and its practitioners and secondly those of the secular patrons and clients of the church. As Figure 5 shows all groups will bring with them experiences and concerns from secular world which in turn may modify the ideology and the practices the Christian church engenders. Ideologies are seen by Barrett (1991: 7) as "those forms of discursive knowledge which explain the world or its values in a particular and functionally coherent way. ...they maintain social conditions rather than transform them. **They therefore**

appear to serve dominant groups." (1991: 7, my emphasis). This is acceptable as far as it goes but I would take issue with the idea of maintenance. If ideology solely is concerned with the maintenance of society where does the impetus for transformation come from? Surely there are ideologies which at their inception have the ability to push forward the construction of society even if they subsequently dwindle to the level of maintenance? There are those that would argue that Christianity was just such a force, as in more recent times was the publication of *The Rights of Man* by Thomas Paine in the eighteenth century and *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx in the nineteenth. The two issues of transformation and maintenance represent the dual concerns of the patron and of the ecclesiastic.

Continental texts show that through patronage, and using the techniques described by Wood (1997) cited earlier, not only the church but also those who sought to align themselves with the church, realised the potential to be gained from incorporation of images from the past in the new church buildings. Homilies by Avitus, Bishop of Vienne, written in the late fifth and early sixth centuries suggest that gift giving was one source of the re-used stones found in the churches. Clarus, Bishop of Eaiye, for example, donated columns to his colleague Ruricius of Limoges (Luetjoham, 1887 *cited in* Wood, 1986: 76). It seems that "churches were lavish displays of architectural taste;...expected to impress the peer group of the preachers and the founders" (Wood, 1986: 79). It is likely that this would be just as true for the Anglo-Saxon Church which sought to emphasize its close continental links.

There can be little doubt that the establishment of a 'unified' church in the seventh century and the subsequent monastic developments created a ripple effect in many areas: ownership of land, patronage of craftsmen, employment of manual labourers; they provided an alternative for women to marriage and a change in the focus of ritual and cultural mores, all of these fed the creation and transformation of society. By the latter part of the period these issues had become interwoven in the fabric of society, fuelled by the aspirations of both spiritual and secular powers, fulfilling Bradley's criteria for maintenance (Bradley, 1991: 7).

The evidence of landscape and physical remains.

The role of the landscape.

Since the construction of churches does not form part of a natural process but is the result of deliberate, informed choices, it is important that the landscape context prior to their construction is set out in order to understand the constraints that were placed on the Anglo-Saxon Church. In this context the term 'landscape' represents the twinning of the physical, geographical appearance of the land and the accumulation of the material remains of human activity. Combined these create the visual appearance of the area. In Northumberland the high land mass of the Cheviots, the granite outcrop known as the Whinsill and the river networks, most importantly the Tyne and its tributaries, create the major geographical constraints. The remains of earlier cultures range from the prehistoric burial mounds and hill forts to the built environments of Hadrian's Wall, its associated forts and settlements and the Roman road network. That these physical features acted simultaneously as restrictions and foci to the Anglo-Saxon church builders is immediately obvious from the map (figure 7), the building of churches initially appearing to have been concentrated on the eastern coastal plain towards the Cheviot foothills, along the river valleys, and following the lines of Hadrian's Wall and the Roman roads.

The term 'cultural landscape' encompasses not only those aspects of human activity which are visible but also the hidden associations between those activities and their loci. These may remain long after the period of active use has passed leaving behind a nebulous but nevertheless present memory. Such allusions are difficult to capture but may be found in the present day at sites of particular significance, for example the World War II grave cemeteries in Normandy or the site of Flodden Field. Depending on the quality of the association then the effect may be either one of avoidance or appropriation, either way these 'cultural' memories exert an influence. Evidence that such associations held significance for the pre-conversion Anglo-Saxon communities may be deduced from the siting of cemeteries. At West Heslerton the cemetery was focused on a Neolithic henge monument and a Bronze Age barrow cemetery (Powlesland et. al., 1986), whilst at Milfield, in Northumberland, a small group of Anglian burials were associated with a prehistoric henge (Harding, 1990). These are not isolated examples but seem to be a

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feature of many cemeteries founded in the pre-Christian period (Williams, 1998). In some instances it may have been that the sites chosen for burials reflected ancient boundaries which had been re-instated during the early Anglo-Saxon period. (For more discussion of the relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and the 'past' see Chapter Six). Higham (1993: 70) suggests that high status burials of this type found in East Yorkshire may be "examples of boundary burial ...undertaken to protect the rights of inheritance of the kin." He goes on to point out that this was a feature of late prehistoric culture and may actually be an adaptation of earlier native British practice. All of these examples, whatever the origin of the practice, serve to show the importance given by the Anglo-Saxons to the location of sites which may be said to fulfil a ritual function.

The process of adaptation of a site to suit a new use along with the possible appropriation of any pre-existing influence exerted by that site forms a continuing motif from the prehistoric period; multi-period sites are well documented and there is an archaic precedents for treating re-used stones in a particular manner. For example, weathered slabs of cup marked stone have been found re-used in Bronze Age burial cists (Bradley, 1993: 42). The potent symbolism provided by the re-use of sites was similarly recognised by the Romans, particularly in the initial stages of colonisation. At *Camulodunum* the temple to the Emperor Claudius was erected within the native *oppidum* in an apparent display of subjugation; the re-use of a henge at Dorchester as an amphitheatre (de la Bédoyère, 1992: 50) suggests another, slightly more pragmatic approach, the intention seeming to be to make use of the natural properties of the site as well as to advertise a total disregard for previous uses of the site in a display of power. Evidence from Jelling, Denmark, although of a later date, shows the importance the Danes, in common with other Germanic peoples, attached to the incorporation of the past into the present. Here King Harald is believed to have reinterred the remains of his parents in the Christian church which had been erected between two earlier burial mounds. Two runestones commemorate both burials: the first records the burial of Harald's parents, the second the conversion, through Harald's agency, of Denmark to Christianity and the subsequent reburial of his parents in the new church (Fletcher,1997:

405-406). The whole complex appears to built on top of a massive, earlier stone ship-setting.

The church as physical space.

It is not only the site which may hold significance but the re-use of a particular building or style of architecture may also be evidence of the intention to project a given stance or identify with associated meanings. Gregory's oft quoted letter to Mellitus regarding the re-use of pagan temples *(H.E.Bk.1;30)* shows that by the time of Augustine re-use was perceived as a desirable and useful tool. This had not always been the case. It seems likely that until the prohibition of Paganism by Theodosius II in 435AD that complete destruction was the norm, but that after this date temples were to be purified and brought into Christian usage (Hanson, 1985: 354). On the Continent numerous examples exist where both secular and religious buildings have been appropriated by the Church. For example, in Rome itself, several temples including the Curia Julia, the Pantheon (consecrated by Pope Boniface IV in 609AD) and the Temple of Faustina (now San Lorenzo in Miranda) were transformed into Christian churches. Fernie (1983) provides examples from Kent of links between churches and previous buildings erected on the same site: at Stone-by-Faversham a Romano-British temple was incorporated into the chancel of the Saxon church, suggesting either that the earlier building had already been used for Christian worship or that this was an enactment of Gregory's adjuration.

The plan of the Stone-by-Faversham church and that of the now demolished church at Reculver reflect the layout of Roman buildings, for example, the Basilica of Junnius Bassus (Fernie, 1983: 43) and it may be that the internal arrangements of buildings were intended to reflect the influence of Rome in their layout. Fernie (1983: 50-53) compares the layout of the monastic buildings at Jarrow with the monastery at Lorsch in the Rhineland which had been created from a Roman villa and puts forward the possibility that the church at Escomb could have been an attempt to recreate a 'Roman' building (ibid. : 56). Not only the buildings but also the style of decoration employed may provide evidence of links with Rome. Higgett has argued, for example, that the dedication stone at St. Paul's, Jarrow, reflected language only found "in quotations from

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the correspondence of Pope Gregory the Great to the English church" (1979: 350) This represents a deliberate espousal of the culture of Rome through the rejection the insular style associated with the 'Celtic' Christian tradition, particularly that of Lindisfarne (ibid. : 367)

The role of moveable artefacts.

The presence of Roman artefacts in early Anglo-Saxon graves indicates the desirability of things Roman to the 'Barbarian' tribes; the helmet, tunic and shoulder clasps found in Sutton Hoo Mound I derive from Roman forms (Webster & Brown, 1997: 208) and a tenth century shrine from Trier features a Frankish disc brooch (c600 AD) the centre of which is made from a gold coin of the reign of the Emperor Justinian (James, 1988: 204). The question is whether such examples of re-use are anything other than stylistic - it may have been that Roman armour offered the greatest protection or that the brooch was a gifted family treasure. If as Barrett says "Archaeological evidence is not simply a material record of social processes..(but)... part of the material resources employed in past social practices" (1991: 6) then it is reasonable to expect that much of the physical remains will reflect both social processes and practices, i.e. that the helmet did indeed offer excellent protection but that at the same time the Romanesque design intimated at imperial aspirations.

It follows, therefore, that it is not just the objects and symbols adopted which provide important insights into the aspirations and ideals of the society which used them, but also those which were rejected. White (1988) shows that in continental Gaul, whilst the Franks assimilated some of the Roman burial customs, they changed them slightly to reflect Germanic concerns (1988: 159). He comes to the conclusion that a "new and evolving society was able to re-use elements of the preceding one in a coherent and logical way" (1988: 166); re-use in the burial context being a matter of choice rather than solely of availability. Williams (1998: 96) takes this further to suggest that the Anglo-Saxons were not just assimilating elements from the past but that "the symbolic act of burying...valuable objects with the dead may have contributed to establishing relationships with a supernatural past". In this way they sought not just to respect the

past but to become, through death, one with the ancestors and so extend the ties of kinship from the living to the dead. This being the case the act of burial and the choice of object buried assume a new significance since artefacts which had ritual or mythical associations may have reinforced such aspirations. If this was the case then such practices may have implications for the later treatment of stones and images by the Anglo-Saxon church.

Endpiece.

For any of these arguments to be valid it needs to be accepted that the practice of religion is not just a function of society but is also active in its creation, through the demands it creates for physical space, the practices and mores it engenders and the ideologies it promulgates for its sustenance. 'Religion' in this context does not refer to specifically Christian forms but the role of religious activity in general. I would argue that the construction of ritual, and all that implies, appears to be a fundamental facet of human nature. Even in our supposedly secular society one has only to witness the distress of dedicated fans at the retirement of Eric Cantona from professional football or to be present at St. James Park on matchday to catch the fervour which in other, more orthodox, contexts would be called religious. Since the stated beliefs of Christianity and the practices those beliefs engender are known, these could be taken as creating a cohesive society. However, to view the Christian church only in this way would be to detach it from the vagaries of local populations and the wider influences which create the 'Society' of which they form a part and for this reason the place of the church within the landscape has been discussed. It is not my intention here to debate the nature of the relationship between religion and society, that is a separate issue in itself, what I am concerned with is the way in which ritual informs and influences society and the forms in which this is manifested.

Therefore the argument which I put forward can be summarized thus:-

- that through the deliberate selection of materials and site the patrons of the Church sought to appropriate meaning from the past;

- the incorporation of images and materials in the buildings led to new concepts about society being promulgated;

- through the acquisition of wealth and land the Church became an alternative power source which affected the social and economic structure of Northumberland.

In order to assess this argument questions need to be asked of the data provided by the churches in order to answer the following:-

1) Did the presence of   a) a Roman site

                 or b) a Roman road network

influence the choice of location for an Anglo-Saxon church?

2) If it can be shown that a previous Roman feature existed in the immediate vicinity of a church, and/or Roman stones have been re-used, does this represent a purely practical re-use of pertinent materials, or was there an attempt to identify with the spirit of the place, either through identification with the secular, imperial power of Rome or with an earlier sacred use of the site.

The results of the analysis will be presented in Chapter Six in conjunction with the frameworks suggested above to see if any answers to these questions can be found.

CHAPTER FOUR: Ways and means.

4:1. Introduction.

This chapter starts with a summary of the arguments so far which sets the fieldwork in context and outlines the evidence looked for when site visiting. It continues by defining the geographical study area and the churches which form the study group. This is followed by detail of the methods used to collate and record data and concludes by forming questions around which the analysis which forms the subject matter of Chapter Five will be based.

4:2. The argument so far.

The central issue addressed by this research is the relationship between the remains of Roman culture and the ways in which this was re-used by the Anglo-Saxon Church in Northumberland, both through the choice of church location and in the incorporation of stonework into the buildings. Although in real time there was no meeting point between the Romanized culture of Britain in the early part of the fifth century and that of Christianized Anglo-Saxon England in the late seventh, the physical remains of *Romanitas* were still very much in evidence. This was particularly true of the regions immediately to the north and south of Hadrian's Wall. We know from Aelfric's *Life of St. Cuthbert*, for example, that Carlisle at the end of the seventh century was still very much a settlement within extensive Roman remains. Although the kind of life lived there would have been markedly different from that lived during Roman rule, nevertheless, that the buildings created by their predecessors were a source of pride and wonder to the inhabitants is indicated by the showing of the fountain to Cuthbert (*H.E.Bk.IV,8*). The presence of these would have played a part in structuring Anglo-Saxon society.

In the previous chapter I have examined the theoretical approach to monuments in the landscape as described by Richard Bradley. He makes the point that "All monuments were built in places, and many of these places were selected precisely because they already enjoyed special significance. Our problem is in illustrating this point through archaeology." (Bradley, 1993: 44). This may appear to be stating the obvious but it is a

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key concept of this work that the adoption of Christianity by Edwin represented a new phase in the history of the Anglo-Saxon presence in Northumberland. In the establishment of the new religion the choice of the site, the form of building and the use of images would have been of great importance.

The construction of any monument, particularly one built of stone, represents permanency and ownership as well as status: no longer was the Anglo-Saxons just the latest arrivals, they were here to stay. This applied to both the secular landowners, who provided the land for building, and to the Church which they nurtured. Through the Christian ethos they embodied the churches marked a profound change in ideological and ritual behaviour. Increasingly, after the Synod of Whitby, the Church hearkened back to the days of Roman rule, through its language, its administrative structure and its allegiance to the Pope in Rome. Bradley's emphasis on 'special significance' seems particularly appropriate to the Church which needed to create a new authority, both spiritual and temporal. At first inspection it would seem that the choice of site provided one way of doing just this.

The Roman remains were open to various forms of re-use by the Anglo-Saxons: they could be colonised as dwelling places; the stones and bricks from the sites could be used as raw materials for construction of new buildings; artefacts appeared as grave-goods (see White, 1988). Such re-use could provide a link between the new regimes, both secular and ecclesiastical, and the admired achievements or spiritual power of the past which the emerging Church was not slow to grasp.

4:3 The search for evidence.

In the hope of casting light on the above, and in order to seek answers to the questions posed at the end of the previous chapter, I examined the Roman carved/worked stones in their new ecclesiastical context, particularly looking for evidence of deliberate alteration to the stones prior to their re-use in the church site. If alteration had occurred, did this follow a pattern within the church or had it been carried out at random? Was a pattern in one church mirrored in others in the same region or of the same period? I also looked for evidence that particular types of worked stone were only associated with

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certain areas of the building or with specific functions. In deciding the origin of the stone work I found the work of T. Blagg (1976) and A. Whitworth (1984) particularly useful.

To set the churches in their landscape context I also looked at features which may have affected their location, namely their proximity or otherwise to Roman sites and roads, and to navigable water.

Since the focus of my thesis is the re-use of Roman 'past' in the Anglo-Saxon 'present' it was not my intention in the course of my research to carry out the following:-

a) A study of **Anglo-Saxon** carved stonework.

b) Measurements of the structure of the buildings. Those in *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (H.M. & J. Taylor, 1965) were accepted.

c) A reassessment of the dating periods for individual churches, unless the survey of the stonework forced a rethink. For this thesis, as stated in Chapter Two, I adhered to the periods set out by the Taylors, ignoring the subdivisions which they created within the three major periods (see Figure 6). I am aware that this is subject to some debate (Gem, 1986; Cambridge, 1994) and have touched on this briefly, again in Chapter Two.

Figure 6. Dating periods used to categorize churches.

Period A   AD600 - AD 800

Period B   AD800 - AD 950

Period C   AD950 - AD1100

4:4. Study Area.

In defining a reasonable study area certain compromises have had to be made. Ideally this research would have encompassed the whole of the old kingdom of Northumbria stretching southwards from the Scottish Lowlands to the River Humber. Pressures of time and distance have to be taken into account, however, and for these reasons the area researched reflects the pre-1974 boundaries of Northumberland. This area has the advantage of having within its boundaries not only the remains of Hadrian's Wall and its associated forts, but also the town of Corstopitum, well known Roman roads

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Figure 7. Map to show the distribution of Anglo-Saxon churches in relation to physical landscape features
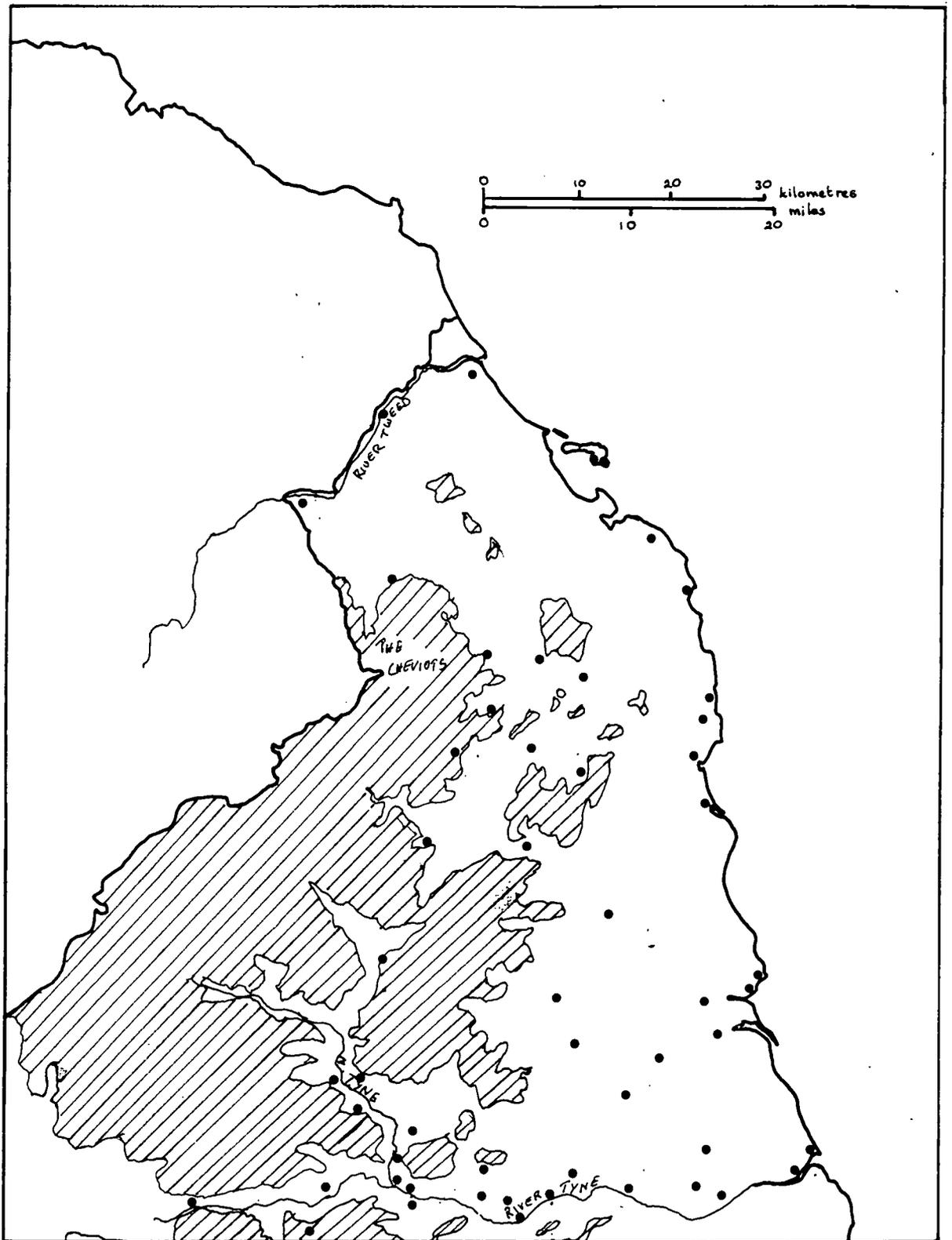
Key:-
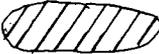
- ● - church site
- ▨ - land over 600ft contour
- ⌒ - national boundary

Figure 8. Distribution of Anglo-Saxon churches within the Diocese of Newcastle in relation to constructed features in the landscape.
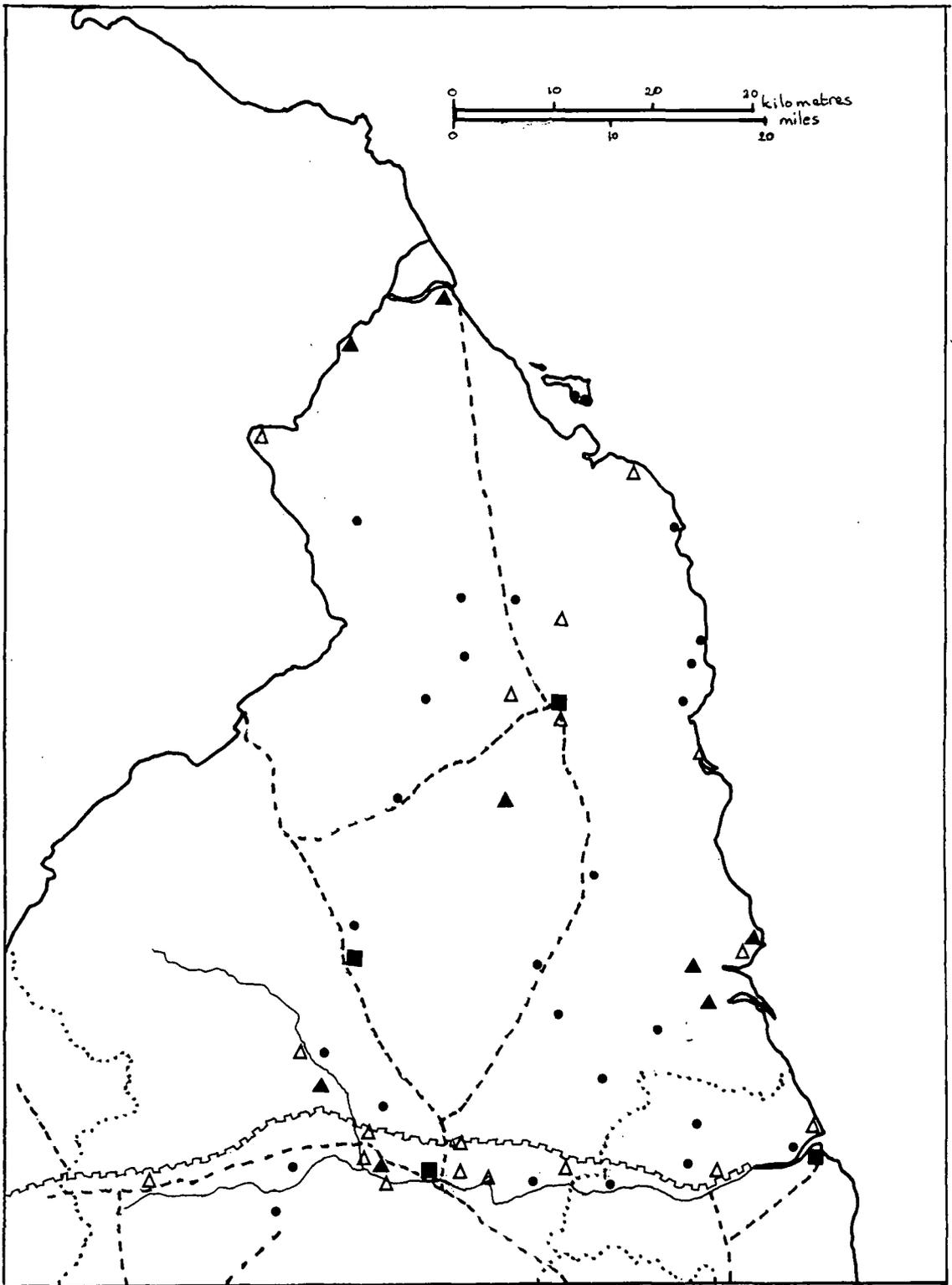
Key:-

△ - church site - Period A   ∿ - national boundary   – – – - line of Roman road

▲ - church site - Period B   ⋯⋯⋅ - present County boundary   ■ - Roman site

● - church site - Period C   ⌒⌒ - river   ⊓⊓⊓⊔ - line of Hadrian's Wall

* The Diocesan boundary was chosen as it more nearly reflects the pre-1974 Northumberland County boundary

- Dere Street, the Stanegate, and the Devil's causeway - and the navigable waterways of the Rivers Tyne and Tweed. All these features were available to the Anglo-Saxon church leaders when choosing sites for their new church buildings.

Geographically speaking the present county of Northumberland consists of a lowland coastal plain stretching from the River Tweed across to the foothills of the Cheviots and then southwards to the mouth of the River Tyne and the Pennine uplands which lie in the south-west and give way to the Simonside Hills and the Cheviots in the north. The igneous outcrop of the Whinsill runs across the county from south-west to north-east, emerging at the coast between Bamburgh and Craster. This upland region is cut through in the south by the valleys of the River Tyne and its tributary, the North Tyne, whilst the northern county boundary follows the line of the River Tweed. It is obvious from even the most casual glance at the map (Figure 7) that this geographical background would heavily influence the early settlement patterns of the region and, by inference, the location of churches. When plotted on the map it was interesting to see how many of the churches were sited around the 600ft contour line. This raises different questions about the importance of the visibility of the site which would merit further investigation at a later date.

As stated above, Northumberland retained a network of Roman roads in addition to the natural features of the landscape. Major routes stretched eastwards from the river crossing at Corbridge to the coast at Tweedmouth and northwards towards present day Edinburgh. To the south lay the defensive structure of Hadrian's Wall with its associated features.

The possible influence of these features on the location of the churches would become apparent when the data collected was analyzed. Any patterns that emerged will be discussed in Chapter Five.

4:5. Selection of church sites.

All the church sites included in this study lay claim to foundation in the Anglo-Saxon period even if they no longer contain Anglo-Saxon material within the buildings. Several contain materials from, or relate to, a Roman site or road. By including

all of these churches I hoped to be able to identify differences between sites where Roman influences were present and those which had no apparent relationship with *Romanitas*. In defining the County I have used the pre-1974 county boundaries. The churches were drawn from three different sources:-

Figure 9. Anglo-Saxon churches in Northumberland.

Taylor & Taylor	Diocesan Gazetteer	Other
Beadnell, Ebbs Nook	Alnham, St.Michael & Angels	Beltingham
Bywell, St.Andrew	Bamburgh, St.Aidan	Tynemouth, Priory site
Bywell, St.Peter	Bedlington, St.Cuthbert	Wallsend, Holy Cross
Corbridge, St.Andrew	Birtley, St.Giles	
Heddon-on-the-Wall,	Bolam, St.Andrew	
St.Andrew	Bothal, St.Andrew	
Hexham, St.Andrew	Carham, St.Cuthbert	
Ingram, St.Michael	Chollerton, St.Giles	
Lindisfarne, St.Mary	Corsenside, St.Cuthbert	
Longhoughton, St.Peter	Edlingham, St.John the Baptist	
Norham, St.Cuthbert	Eglingham, St.Maurice	
Ovingham, St.Mary the	Gosforth, St.Nicholas	
Virgin	Halton, St.Oswald, St.	
Warden, St.Michael	Cuthbert & King Alfwald	
Whittingham,	Haltwhistle, Holy Cross	
St.Bartlolomew	Hartburn, St.Andrew	
Woodhorn, St.Mary	Haydon, Old Church	
	Holystone, St.Mary the Virgin	
	Howick, St. Michael & All	
	Angels	
	Ilderton, St.Michael	
	Kirkhaugh, Holy Paraclete	
	Kirknewton, St.Gregory	
	the Great	
	Lesbury, St.Mary	
	Lindisfarne, St.Peter	
	Longhorsley, St.Helen	
	Newbiggin, St.Bartholomew	
	Newburn, St.Michael & All	
	Angels	
	Newcastle, St.Andrew	
	Newcastle, Castle site	
	Old Bewick, Holy Trinity	
	Ponteland, St.Mary the	
	Virgin	
	Rothbury, All Saints	
	Simonburn, St.Mungo	
	St.John Lee, St.John of Beverley	
	Stannington, St.Mary the Virgin	
	Tweedmouth, St.Bartholomew	
	Wall, St.Oswald in Lee	
	Wark, St.Michael.	
	Warkworth, St.Lawrence	

1) *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1965) by H.M. and J. Taylor is a seminal work for any study in this sphere and it is from this that the initial churches were derived. All these buildings exhibit characteristics which have been accepted as Anglo-Saxon in nature by the authors, although subsequently some of these features have been subject to scrutiny and opinions about them may have changed (e.g. see Cambridge, 1994).

2) The second source was the Newcastle Diocesan gazetteer *A guide to the Anglican Churches in Newcastle and Northumberland* (1982). Churches taken from here, in addition to those included by Taylor & Taylor, traditionally date their foundation to the Anglo-Saxon period.

3) The remaining church sites were identified by remains deposited in collections within the region, most notably The Museum of Antiquities in Newcastle upon Tyne.

As I mentioned earlier many of these churches have been subject to close scrutiny. Although documentary evidence exists testifying to the foundation of several churches and the events relating to some of them, firm dating evidence proves largely illusive. Dating has generally been based on the development and interpretation of style, which in itself has been subject to criticism since the publication of *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* by the Taylors in 1965 (see Chapter Two). It was important that this fluidity of dating be kept in mind when dealing with the data produced by the research. It was hoped that some further light may be cast not just on the seventh and subsequent centuries, but also on the period preceding the erection of Hexham Abbey (674AD) by Wilfrid.

4:6. Site Visiting.

Each of the main sites, i.e. those noted by the Taylors, as well as churches which contained a Roman altar and seemed most likely to feature re-used Roman stone, was visited twice. On the first visit a record was made of the following:-

- the position of the church in the landscape and its location in relationship to surrounding buildings. i.e. was it still within the present settlement or had the focus of habitation shifted?

- the position and type of any Roman stones externally visible

- the position and type of any Roman stones internally visible

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- any loose Roman stones which may be displayed within the church which were reputed to have been associated with either the existing structure, or with one previously on the site.

Photographs were taken where appropriate and these were supplemented by sketches of relevant details. It is emphasized that these were sketches made to amplify a point rather than accurate, measured drawings. The main sites, as stated above, were those noted by the Taylors but I hoped that by including the remaining extant sites material of interest would arise, and that the influence of the landscape features could be more accurately assessed. Although the presence of all re-used Roman stones in the construction of the building was recorded, I was particularly looking for ways in which any carved or specifically worked stones had been used within the church. I also looked for evidence of modification of the stones prior to re-use.

After the photographs and drawings had been studied and comparisons had been made with other sites, a second visit was made in order to address any questions that had been raised.

The remaining sites, noted for distribution purposes, were researched from the literature available and the results were recorded in the database. Only where there may have been a possibility of Roman stones being found were these sites visited.

In addition to the churches I also sought to visit the related Roman sites. The purpose of this was twofold. Firstly to locate, where possible, stones similar to those which had been re-used in the churches since these would help with the identification of stonework within these buildings. Secondly, to facilitate exploration of the relationship between sites in terms of the type of stone they could provide, transport possibilities and any evidence that re-working may have taken place on the site. An example of this has been found by Caroline Richardson at Corstopitum (1994: 79) which she suggests may have been carved by someone associated with the construction of St. Andrew's, Corbridge.

The last sources of evidence were the collections of artefacts within Northumberland. The most important are in the Museum of Antiquities in Newcastle upon Tyne and the Monks Dormitory at Durham Cathedral. Collections at Corstopitum,

Chesters and Jarrow were also visited. The archival resources of the RCHME, The County Records Office and Alnwick Castle were also used for additional background information.

4:7. Collation and Storage of Data.

Initially each church site was given an index file card, selected information from which was subsequently stored on a computerised database along with details of related Roman sites. This enabled comparative information about sites to be abstracted more easily.

When visiting the sites I made use of a journal and sketch book to note any questions that sprang to mind, along with sketches of individual stones, measurements and references directly relating to the site. This became the repository of many types of information and ideas which were then recorded more formally. The notes made here form the basis for the gazetteer in the appendix.

I created a pro forma (see Appendix 4 for example) to be completed for each stone recorded on site. Each record contained the name of the site, its dedication and the date the visit was made along with the following:-

• Class of stonework, i.e. did it form part of a particular feature, for example, a window lintel; was it carved or marked in a specific way?

• Context of stone, i.e. the location of the stone within the church and whether it is visible internally or externally or on both faces.

• Evidence of any specific treatment before re-use.

• Relationship, if any was discernible, to the original Roman function of the stone; i.e. was it being re-used in a like manner?

• Measurements where possible.

• A section for any remarks, including present and Anglo-Saxon function of the stone and its present condition.

Where possible all the churches were photographed as well as the individual stones. Colour photography was chosen since differences of colour between stones may have been significant in some cases when it came to deciding whether or not a stone had

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come from a particular Roman site, or if it was an Anglo-Saxon copy of a Roman style. One possible example of this may be found in the south face of the tower of St. Andrew's church, Bywell. The belfry window immediately below that in the uppermost stage of the tower contains a single arched opening. In the windows above and below it, and also those in the west face of the tower, the arch lintels are of similar pattern but very different colour, suggesting that the Anglo-Saxon masons had copied the Roman style when they came to build the upper storey of the tower. Such differentiation is only evident from colour photography (See page 71: plate 2).

All the data collected was stored on the computer and analysed using graphic representations and *chi squared testing.*

4:8. Chi squared testing.

Chi squared testing is a method of statistical analysis which can be used to measure departures of the expected from observed values i.e. it can be used to ascertain the degree of probability of a pattern of evidence being generated by chance. The results were computed using an EXCEL spreadsheet, and are read as being significant at the following levels:-

.05 - .09 = significant at the **10%** level i.e. there is a **1:10** chance of the pattern of distribution being random.

.01 - .05 = significant at the **5%** level i.e. there is a **1:20** chance of the pattern of distribution being random.

below **.01** = significant at the **1%** level i.e. there is a **1:100** chance of the pattern of distribution being random.

Chi squared testing cannot be used to indicate the strength of any relationship between two variables but can only indicate that a relationship exists i.e. it is not possible to say that a result "significant at the 0.001 level indicates a stronger relationship than one significant at the 0.05 level" (Shennan, 1997: 113). Where an expected result was less than 5 the result was not used.

It has been used as part of this thesis to test the probability of a variety of influences upon the location of churches within the landscape, and of types of re-used

Roman stone within those churches. Each feature has been tested in each of the three dating periods as set out earlier in this chapter.

4:9. Limitations of data.

In collecting information from church sites several problems occurred which limited some of the available data. One of the greatest problems has been the changing fashion regarding the treatment of stonework. Covering it with plaster and then revealing it has led to surfaces being successively cleaned and repointed throughout the generations. This has removed evidence in many instances: at Heddon-on-the-Wall, for example, the interior stonework in the chancel was given a uniform appearance during the Norman period and all the toolmarks of the Roman masons were lost. In other churches repointing has been done in a heavy handed manner which has obscured the true edge of the stones making accurate assessment difficult, e.g. at Birtley. Inaccessibility also played a part in places where the stones, whilst visible, are at a height which makes measurement impossible. This has been a particular problem with towers such as that at Bywell, St. Andrew's, where columns are re-used in the belfry windows, and in these cases the presence of stones is recorded but measurements are unavailable.

Some of the stones noted are no longer *in situ*: the altars from Tynemouth and Beltingham are now in the Museum of Antiquities, other altars which now appear inside churches have been brought in from outside, as at Chollerton, whilst the altar from Corbridge which was recorded by Iley (1974: 202) I have been unable to locate; carved stones from Hexham which match those from the crypt are to be found in the Monk's Dormitory at Durham Cathedral. The altars will be discussed further in Chapter Five. By including all known examples of Roman stones attached to the church sites a fuller picture has been gained of the spread of the practice of their re-use.

4:10. Endpiece.

Using the data produced from the research outlined above I then sought to answer the following (see Chapter Five) :-

- Is there evidence for the re-use of Roman stone in churches built in Northumberland in the Anglo-Saxon period?

- Is the type of stone used the same in each church where it features?

- If the type of stonework used varies is there any particular pattern to this?

- Do the forms of re-use remain consistent throughout the period or does this change? If it changes is it possible to suggest reasons for this?

- Is there any evidence that particular sites are favoured? Can this be demonstrated? Which factors are involved in choice of site - ownership of land or resources?

  - pragmatism e.g. transport links?

  - symbolism/sanctity?

The findings of this chapter will then be discussed in relation to the theoretical constructs put forward in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER FIVE: What does it all mean?

5:1. Introduction.

In order to address the questions raised in Chapters Two and Four data was gathered from a total number of 55 churches using the methods described in Chapter Four. Of these 55 churches, 18 were taken from Taylor & Taylor (1965) which lists churches of Anglo-Saxon date, 33 came from the gazetteer of the Diocese of Newcastle (1982) and four came from other sources. The churches obtained from the Diocesan Gazetteer either feature Anglo-Saxon stonework (but not necessarily Roman) or have some connection which places their foundation within the period 600-1100AD. This list of 55 churches does not contain the total number of churches which were founded during the Anglo-Saxon period, since many are now lost completely, but represents the total of those still in use. The exceptions to this are Ebbs Nook, Beadnell and Holy Cross, Wallsend, which are ruinous, and St. Andrew's, Bywell which is in the hands of the Redundant Churches Society. Although only seventeen of the churches contain re-used Roman stones, the inclusion of those churches which claim some connection with this period helps to create an overview of the geographical relationship between church sites and pre-existing features in the landscape, most particularly the Roman sites and road network. This is important to enable assessment as to whether those churches which featured re-used stones were significantly different from those which did not.

Not all the churches were visited; those which were included for distribution purposes were recorded in the database, using information gained from the literature search. Only those which had either possible Roman connections or were featured by Taylor & Taylor (1965) were inspected prior to inclusion in the database.

The dating periods which I chose to use break down as follows:-

Period A	600 - 800 AD
Period B	800 - 950 AD
Period C	950 - 1100 AD

More detail of the reasoning behind these breaks is found in Chapter Two. Those ancillary churches which did not have specific dating evidence i.e. documentary or

archaeological information which firmly linked them with one of the three dating periods, were assigned to 'Period C'. In some instances it is known that there were earlier, i.e. Period A or B, buildings on the site, e.g. Newburn, and these are marked in Appendix 1.

The analysis breaks down into two parts: firstly, the relationship between the churches and the pre-existing landscape features; secondly, the position of the Roman stonework within the church buildings.

5:2. Site /Feature Analysis.

When looking for features in the landscape that may have influenced the choice of site the following were considered: Roman sites, Roman roads and major navigable rivers i.e. the rivers, Tyne and Tweed along with the coastline. The latter two have been grouped together under the title 'water' and were included as a consequence of my research in the field when it became evident that the scope of influence of landscape features needed to be widened to encompass all means of transportation. These were chosen as the features which could provide the raw materials for construction and the means of transportation. However, on a note of caution, the inclusion of these features is not necessarily evidence that they were used by the Anglo-Saxon church builders nor, in the case of the 'water', should it be assumed that these features were easily accessible. The presence of prehistoric features in the vicinity of an Anglo-Saxon church has not been included. This does not mean that prehistoric remains did not exert an influence, examples in Chapter Three provide evidence that they did, but that they fall beyond the remit of this thesis. It is most likely that trackways, such as Clennell Street in the Cheviots, continued to be used, as they had been throughout the Roman period, but since these affect only a minority of the churches considered they have not been included on the maps.

Bar charts and chi squared testing.

Initially the distances between churches and Roman roads, sites and navigable rivers and coastline were plotted on bar charts (Figures 9-11). These were used to determine whether or not there was a point beyond which the influence of a particular

feature could be expected to wane. The information from the bar charts was combined with the results of *chi squared testing* which was carried out to assess the degree of variation in the incidence of the following as they relate to the churches of each of the three periods:-

- Roman sites within 4km. proximity

- Roman roads within 4km. proximity

- navigable waterways, both river and coast, within 4km. proximity

Whilst the use of these tests provides a statistical check which helps to predict what may be expected in the field it is important that they are viewed in conjunction with the evidence from the church sites.

Further tests were carried out to see if certain types of stonework were more or less likely to occur in churches within periods A, B, or C. Discussion of these is contained in the second section of this chapter. (See Appendix 4 for results of chi squared testing).

The results of testing show that the following factors may be significant in each period:-

- Period A - churches from Period A are more likely to have Roman sites and navigable water within 4km proximity (both significant against Periods B+C at the 5% level) and, when tested against churches from both Periods B and C, these churches are most likely to have a combination of features within 4km (road + river, road + site, both significant against B+C at the 10% level).

- Period B - the distribution of these churches is not affected by the presence or otherwise of the three landscape features tested.

- Period C - churches from this period are more likely to have navigable water within 4km than churches from Periods A and B (significant against A+B at the 5% level), although this does not necessarily mean that it was directly accessible. Although this result appears to contradict that which is given for Period A, what in fact appears to be happening here is that the non-relationship of Period B churches with landscape features is skewing the outcome of testing in this category.

These results appear to indicate the following changing patterns of influence:-

- The presence of a Roman site within 4km proximity of a church in Period A and the absence of Roman sites within the proximity of churches in Period C are both statistically significant.

- The presence of navigable water within 4km proximity is of significance in Periods A and C but not in Period B.

Using the results of these tests in conjunction with the bar charts it would seem that both Roman roads and navigable waterways were accessible as a means of transport to Period A churches (12/19 = 63% and 15/19 = 79% respectively within 4km) but in Period B roads had dwindled in importance with access to navigable water becoming more important (3/9=33% and 6/9=67% respectively). By Period C churches were again being built within 4km proximity of Roman roads (15/27=56%) but routes for water borne transportation remained equally significant (12/27=44% within 4km). As stated earlier it is important to bear in mind that the presence of a means of transportation within 4km doesn't necessarily mean that these were the routes used.

Figure 10. Distance between church sites and Roman roads.
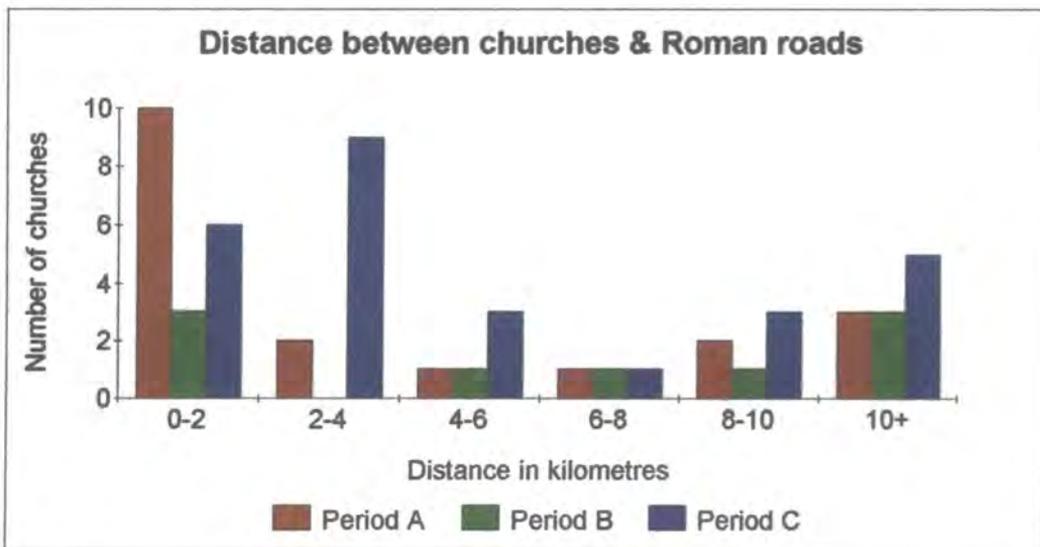
Period A - 63% (12/19) of churches are within 4km of a Roman road whilst only three churches are 10 or more kilometres away.
Period B - 33% of churches (3/9) are within 4km of a Roman road; a similar number are 10+km distant and the remainder are distributed evenly within the range.
Period C - 22% of churches (6/27) are within 2km, a further nine are within 4km of a Roman road. The remaining twelve are spread throughout the range with a slight increase in numbers at 10+kms (5/27).

Figure 11. Distances between church sites and navigable water.

Distance between churches & water
(Navigable rivers or coastline)

Number of churches / Distance in kilometres

Period A   Period B   Period C
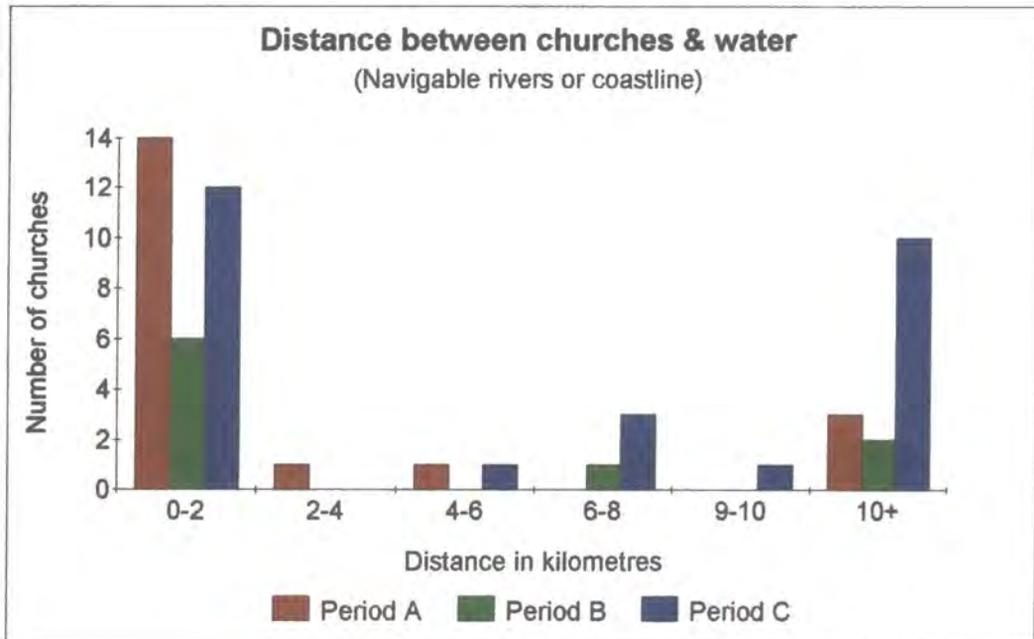
Period A - 79% (15/19) are within 4km of navigable water;
Period B - 67% (6/9) are within 4km of navigable water;
Period C - there are two concentrations of churches: 44% (12/27) are within 4km of navigable water; 37% (10/27) are 10+ km. away

Figure 12. Distance between church sites and Roman sites.

Distance between churches & Roman sites

Number of churches / Distance in kilometres

Period A   Period B   Period C
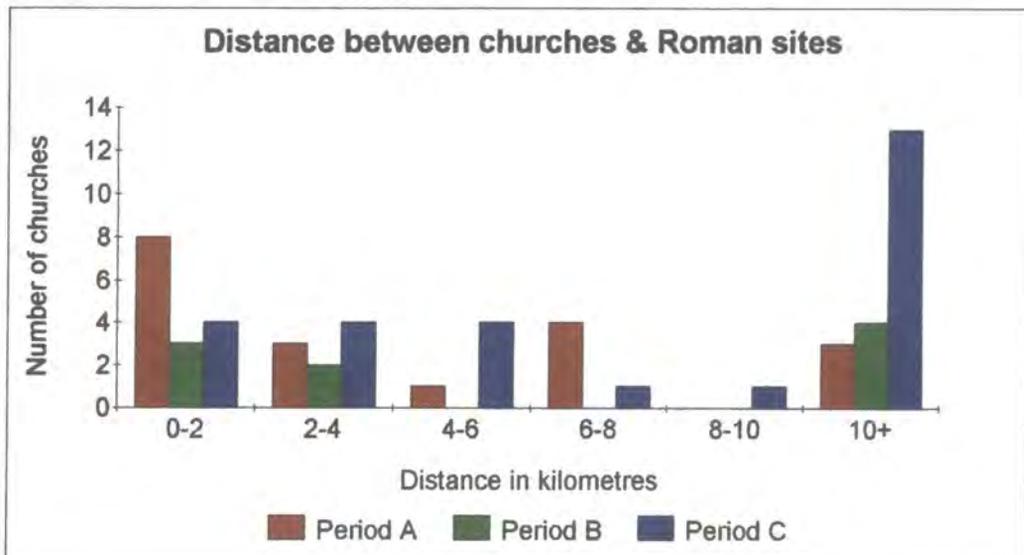
Period A - 65% (11/17) of churches are 4km or less from a Roman site.
Period B - 56% (5/9) of churches are less than 4km from a Roman site. All the rest of the churches from this period are at a distance greater than 10km from a Roman site.
Period C - Only 30% (8/27) of churches are within 4km of a Roman site. 48% are over 10km from a Roman site (13/27).

Just over half the churches from Period A are within 4km of a Roman site (10/19=59%; significant against B+C at the 5% level). This contrasts with Period C where tests show that it is less likely that there will be a Roman site within 4km of a church site (8/27=30%; significant at the 5% level), a result which may explain the lack of Roman re-used stones in churches of this period. (More discussion on this changing relationship between churches and stonework is contained in the second section of this chapter).

One explanation of the changing pattern of influence, particularly of Roman sites, appears to be that as the Church became well established so it created its own locations of sanctity. Perhaps the most potent of these were the sites associated with the resting of St. Cuthbert's body as it was taken through Northumberland to be finally interred at Durham. Many of the churches founded in the later Anglo-Saxon period are dedicated to St. Cuthbert. This would lessen the significance of earlier landscape associations whereas the need for means of transportation remains constant.

Venn diagram.

By using a Venn diagram (Figure 13) to represent the data the interplay of the three landscape features and the change in the pattern of their influence shown by the analysis above, throughout the whole period can be illustrated. This is shown below and describes the pattern of influence of all the landscape factors recorded.

Of the 55 churches which make up the research sites only five are not within 4.00km of any of the chosen features. With the exception of Simonburn, in every case where a site relates to only one feature this refers to part of the transport network.

The table below (Figure 14) is based on the information from the Venn diagram and shows the percentage of churches in each period which appear to relate to the three landscape features. These figures appear to indicate that there is a decline in influence of all the features as the Anglo-Saxon period progresses. The only exceptions to this pattern are the sites from Period B which relate either to water or Roman sites only and these show a percentage increase. However, the inconclusive *chi squared* test results for this period noted above makes the significance of this doubtful.

Figure 13. Venn diagram showing the churches within 4km of a Roman road, site or navigable water.

Key:- Period A
Period B
Period C

Roman road<4.00km

Stannington

Ilderton   Old Bewick   Eglingham, Period A

Ingram   Bolam
Hartburn

Kirknewton, Period C   Longhorsley   Holystone

Whittingham   Hexham
Kirkhaugh
Bywell A.
Gosforth   Haltwhistle   Birtley   Alnham Period C
Chollerton
Edlingham   Beltingham Heddon   Bywell P.
Corsenside   Newbiggin
Tweedmouth Corbridge Haydon
Warden   Wark
Wall Newcastle C   Bothal
St. John Lee
Ovingham   Bedlington
Halton   Howick
Simonburn   Newcastle A   Lesbury
Longhoughton
Tynemouth   Beadnell
Carham   Lindisfarne P.
Wallsend   Woodhorn
Norham   Bamburgh
Newburn   Lindisfarne M.
Ponteland, Period C
Warkworth
Rothbury, Period B

Roman site <4.00km   Navigable water <4.00km

Figure 14. Percentages of church sites which relate to the three landscape features shown by period.

Period	Nil	W.	R.	S.	R.+W.	R.+S.	W.+S.	W.+S.+R.
A	5%	21%	0%	0%	16%	16%	11%	32%
B	11%	33%	0%	11%	0%	11%	11%	22%
C	11%	26%	30%	0%	4%	7%	7%	15%

Key
Nil = church sites which are not within 4km of any landscape feature.
R. = Roman road within 4km.
W. = navigable water within 4km.
S. = Roman site within 4km.

N.B. The discrepancy in the percentage totals above has been caused by the rounding up process.

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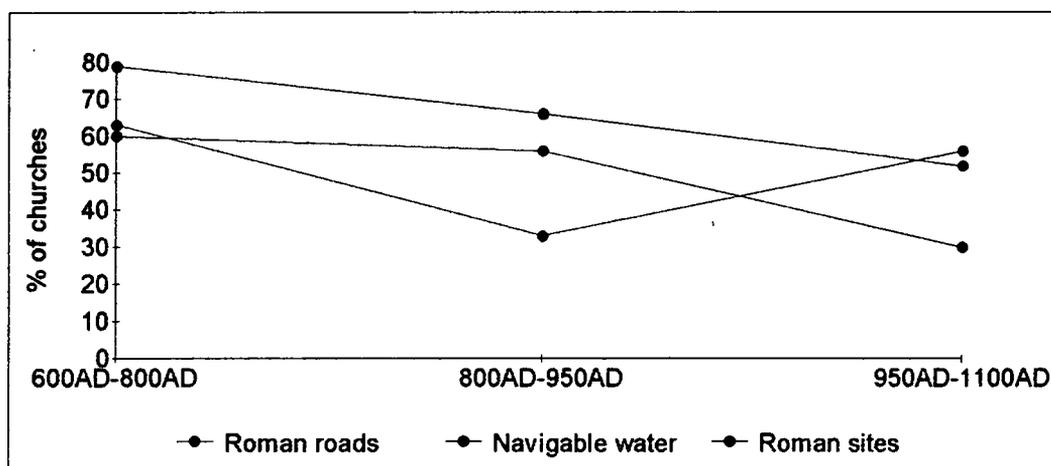
The graph above complements the information given in both Figures 13 and 14 by showing the change in influence throughout the whole Anglo-Saxon period. It appears that at the outset both transport links and the presence of Roman sites were of importance but that as time progressed the influence of the Roman sites declined. The road network reasserted itself as a significant factor so that by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period it was on a par with navigable water. It might be tempting to suggest that the declining link with Roman road network in the middle period was due to the Viking predations when sites located further inland and away from major routes may have been considered safer. However, of the nine churches founded in this period, three are either on the coast or in close proximity to it, situations which would leave them most vulnerable to attack. It may be that by avoiding known routes the Anglo-Saxons sought to gain some degree of security. Alternatively these particular churches could have been focused on the remnants of displaced communities and the places where they found themselves. This is a likely explanation in the case of Norham, which is dedicated to St. Cuthbert and may have been a resting place for the monks on their travels from Lindisfarne (Higham, 1993: 174).

From both the graph and the Venn diagram, as well as the related figures it can be seen that the importance of Roman sites as both a location for churches and, possibly as a source of stone, diminished. That the re-use of Roman stone decreased in importance is

indicated by the results of chi-squared testing which indicate that the presence of re-used Roman stones in Period A churches is a significant (significant against B+C at the 1% level) whilst it is the absence of Roman stones which is significant in churches of Period C (significant against A+B at the 10% level). In Period B churches the presence of re-used Roman stone is not statistically significant. That these statistical figures are borne out in the field is indicated by the drop in the percentage of churches which feature re-used Roman stone from 58% (11/19) in Period A to 19% (5/27) in Period C. This is in keeping with an institution within a society which is fully established and able to supply and train its own craftsmen and artisans. Transportation routes which link settlements and also relate to geographical features are likely to remain in use, those that dwindle in importance are those which link sites whose purpose has ceased.

5:3. Church sites/ Roman stones analysis.

Of the churches covered by this study, seventeen feature re-used Roman stones. It is likely, however, that other churches which have since been either destroyed, built over or lost were also constructed using Roman stones.

Categories of stonework re-used.

For ease of analysis the types of stones re-used were sorted into three categories which have been labelled (A), (B), (C). Where there are examples given that relate to a particular dating period then these will be written in the text as Period A etc. in order to avoid confusion.

(A) Architectural elements which have been re-used appropriately, e.g. lintels.

(B) Building stone, some of which may reveal evidence of previous use, e.g. toolmarks, lewis/cramp holes.

(C) Carved stones which have either been incorporated into buildings or re-used independently, e.g. decorative mouldings, altars.

When collecting the data I treated each category differently:-

(A) These were noted, and where possible, measured, photographed, and their position within the church recorded.

(B) The presence of these stones was noted and used as evidence that Roman stones had been re-used in the construction of the building.

(C) These were noted, measured where appropriate, photographed and their position within the church recorded.

The churches in this study which feature re-used stone are listed below:-

Figure 16. Churches containing re-used Roman stone defined by period.

PERIOD A	PERIOD B	PERIOD C
Bywell A.	St. John Lee	Beltingham
Bywell P.		Chollerton
Corbridge		Corsenside
Halton		Haydon, Old Church
Haltwhistle		Ovingham
Heddon		
Hexham		
Newcastle, Castle site		
Tynemouth		
Warden		
Wall		

The different categories of masonry found in the churches which feature re-used stone are shown on the Venn diagram (Figure 17).

i) Category (A) - 53% (9/17) of the churches featuring re-used Roman stone contain architectural features which have been appropriately re-used which always appear in conjunction with building stones This form appears in the earliest phases of church building (Hexham; Corbridge) but also continues throughout the period (Ovingham).

ii) Category (B) - 71% (12/17) of the churches featuring re-used Roman stone contain unornamented stone used for construction. This is the most recurrent form of re-use which requires very little explanation since its practicality is self-evident. In every

Figure 17. Categories of Roman re-used stone featured in Anglo-Saxon churches in Northumberland.
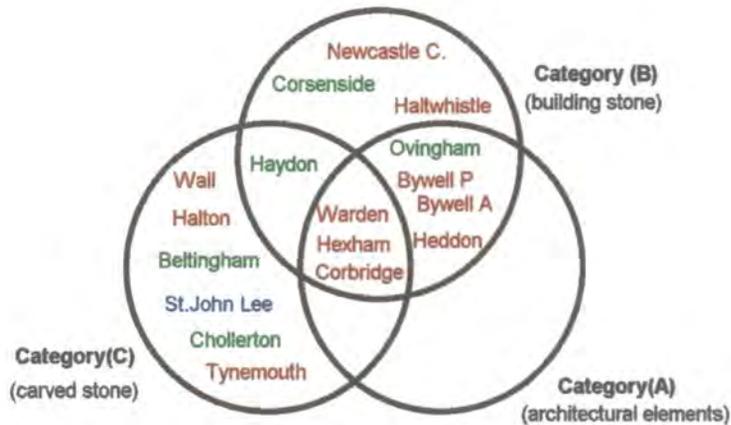
Key:- Period A
     Period B
     Period C

case where this occurred the church was either within 2.00km. of a Roman site or within a similar distance away from means of transportation, for example the two churches at Bywell and Hexham Abbey which are all within a kilometre of the River Tyne.

iii) Category (C) - 59% (10/17) of the churches featuring re-used Roman stone contain re-used carved stones either used decoratively or lying loose within the church. All these church sites have produced, or still possess within their vicinity, a re-used Roman altar and these are included in this category. (St. Andrew's, Corbridge; Iley, 1974: 202) at one time had one within its churchyard which has now vanished, although an altar re-used in early medieval times as the base for the market cross is still in existence). Other than Warden, which has re-used imposts in the tower arch, only two of the churches (12%=2/17) feature carved re-used stones within their buildings - Hexham Abbey and St. Andrew's, Corbridge. Further discussion of these, and the altars is contained in the following chapter.

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The chart below (Figure 18) shows the features recorded. Lintels, imposts and columns fall into category (A); building stone and cramp holes etc. fall into category (B); mouldings, other carved stones and altars fall into category (C). Although the altars have been included in category (C) the way in which they have been re-used means that the majority of them are loose stones with only the one at Hexham being part of the church structure. Their inclusion in this category is for simplicity and, as stated above, further discussion of their unique position is given in the following chapter.

Figure 18. Elements of re-used Roman stone in Anglo-Saxon churches in Northumberland.

	Period	{ A }			{ B }		{ C }		
		Lintel	Impost	Column	B. stone	C. holes etc.	Mouldings	Other carved	Altar
Beltingham	C								x
Bywell, A.	A	x		(x)	x	x			
Bywell, P.	A	x		?	x	x			
Chollerton	C			(x)					x
Corbridge	A		x		x	x	x	x	(?)
Corsenside	C				x				
Halton	A				x				x
Haltwhistle	A			(x)	x				
Haydon	C				x				x
Heddon	A	x		?	x				
Hexham	A		x		x	x	x	x	x
Newcastle, C.	C				x				
Ovingham	C	x			x	x			
St. John Lee	B								x
Tynemouth	A				(?)				x
Wall	A								x
Warden	A	x	x	x	x	x			x

(x) = feature present but dating insecure   ? = feature of disputable origin
(?) = feature known to have existed but no longer present

Highlighting in the Venn diagram (Figure 17) gives some indication of the way in which the types of stone re-used changed throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. Figure 20 breaks down the data further and shows the occurrence of the different categories of stone within churches of the three periods.

Figure 19. Categories of stone re-used in Anglo-Saxon churches in Northumberland.
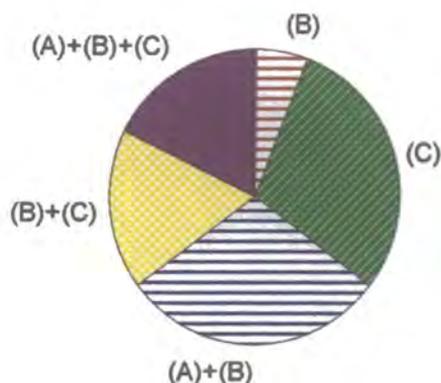
N.B. The letters refer to the categories of stone not the dating periods. This chart represents the forms of re-use across the whole Anglo-Saxon period

KEY:- A = architectural elements B = building stone C = carved stone

Figure 20. The occurrence of different categories of re-used Roman stone in Anglo-Saxon churches in Northumberland, shown by period.

Period	Building stones	Architectural stones	Carved	Altars
A	8	6	8	6
B	0	0	0	1
C	3	0	4	4

N.B. The column labelled 'altars' indicates the number of churches in category (c) which feature Roman altars.

The results of *chi squared* testing have already shown that the presence of Roman stones is more likely in Period A churches (significant against B+C at the 1% level) and Period C churches (significant at the 10% level against A+B). Only in Period A churches are architectural and carved stone, other than altars, re-used (significant against B+C at the 10% level). The test result for Period C shows a decline in significance but nevertheless it gives an indication that the presence of Roman stone in these later churches may still be relevant. Although it is impossible to pin point accurately the time at

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which the change takes place evidence from Corsenside (Period C), where stones of all types would have been available, indicates that by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period stone was only being re-used as a raw building material. Similarly, of the six churches which re-used stone in Period C, three contain evidence that most likely relates to an earlier church on the site, and two more may also be on the sites of earlier churches. This seems to point to a more intentional re-use of stone in this early period, either through the incorporation of architectural elements or the re-interpretation of carved stones.

Location of re-used Roman stone in Anglo-Saxon churches.

The two charts below relate to the re-use of architectural elements and carved stones (categories (A) and (C)) and their location within the church buildings. The purpose of this is to see if there is any relationship between particular parts of the church and the type of stonework re-used.

Figure 21. Location of Roman stone within Anglo-Saxon church buildings in Northumberland ①.

	Period	Tower	T. arch	Nave	Chancel	Porch	Loose	Other	Internal	External
Bywell A.	A	x					x			x
Bywell P.	A			x						x
Corbridge	A	x	x	x		x	x		x	x
Halton	A						x			x
Haltwhistle	A						x		x	
Heddon	A			x	x				x	x
Hexham	A							x	x	
Newcastle C.	A								x	x
Tynemouth	A							x		
Wall	A						x		x	
Warden	A	x	x				x		x	x
St. John Lee	B						x		x	
Beltingham	C							x		
Chollerton	C						x		x	
Corsenside	C			x	x					x
Haydon	C			x					x	
Ovingham	C	x								x
Percentage		16	8		29	8	4	32	12		

N.B. 'Percentages' refers to the percentage of the number of churches containing Roman stone (17), not total number of churches studied.

The category 'loose' refers to the stones which are not embedded in the walls, included here are re-used Roman altars as well as stones which have come from earlier buildings and are now stored within the present church building; this is particularly the case at St. John Lee and Wall.

'Other' refers to stones which are either no longer *in situ* but whose provenance is known, as is the case at both Tynemouth and Beltingham, or, in the case of Hexham, stone features in a part of the building other than those in the main list. In this respect the crypt at Hexham Abbey is a unique site, the particular importance of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Figure 22. Location of Roman stone within Anglo-Saxon church buildings in Northumberland ②.
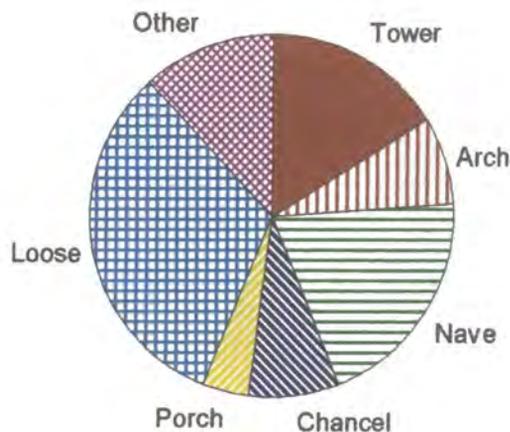
Looking at both the chart and the associated Venn diagram it appears that the majority of re-used stone is located in the main components of a church building. These are the chancel, porch and nave, and the arches which give access to each area, not the subsequent aisles. The only places where re-used stone features in an aisle are St. Andrew's, Corbridge and St. Peter's, Bywell, where the earlier nave walls have been pierced to create an aisle, and St. Andrew's, Heddon-on-the-Wall which may feature a re-used column base. With the exception of Hexham, the remainder of the stone used for construction has been built into the towers. The concentration of re-used stonework in

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Examples of Roman Stonework (1)
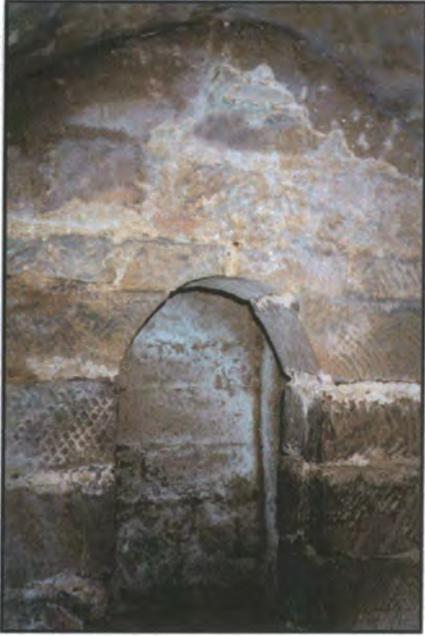
①

②

③

④

⑤

Plate no:

① Hexham Abbey, crypt; toolmarks, south exit
② Hexham Abbey, crypt; leaf and berry decorated mouldings
③ Warden; Lewis hole in quoining on south face of tower
④ Corbridge; block with cramp hole pierced by later arcade
⑤ Heddon-on-the-Wall; possible reused column base
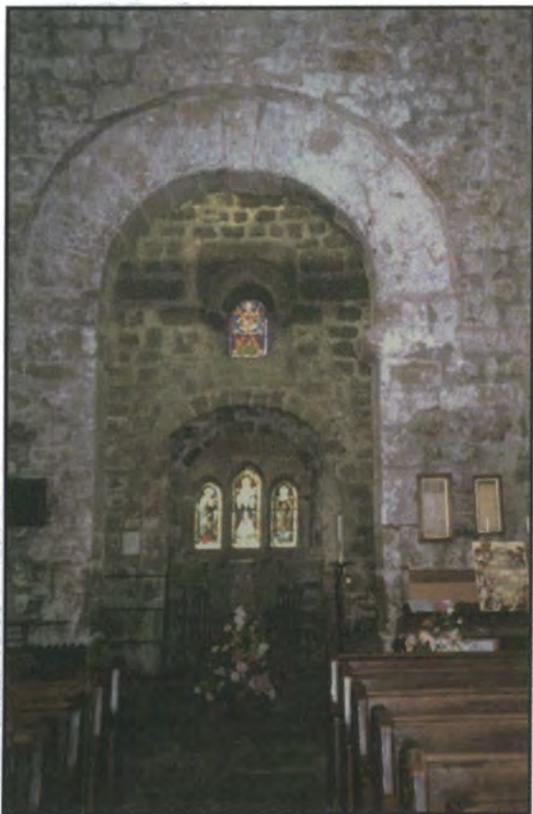
①
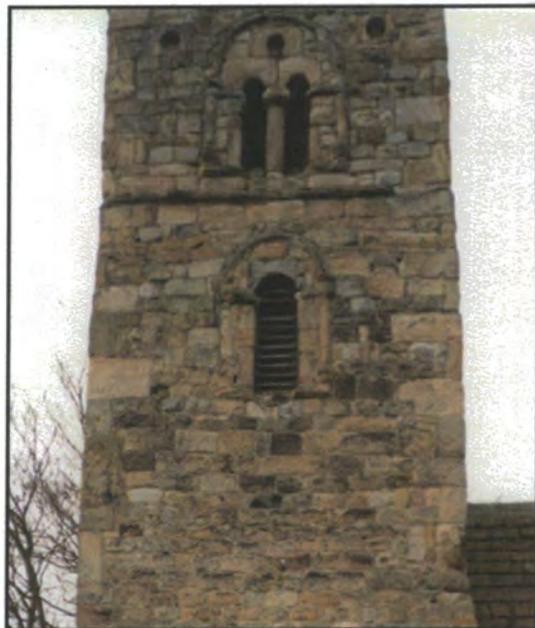
②

③

④
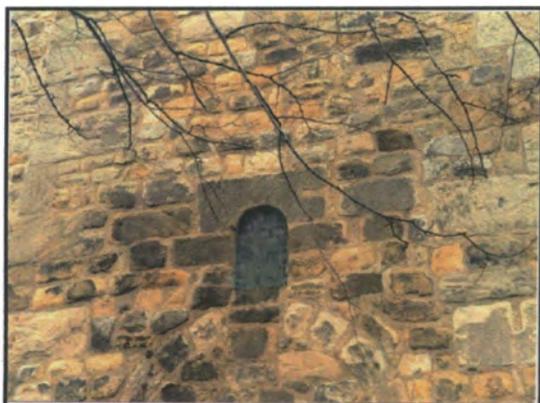
⑤

Plate no:

①   Corbridge; tower arch made from re-used Roman stones

②   Bywell St. Andrews; column re-used as through shaft, and re-used lintel in lower window

③   Warden; imposts in north side of tower arch (right hand corner modern)

④   Heddon-on-the-Wall; arched lintel, cleaned in Norman period (shown above modern lintel)

⑤   Corbridge; west face of tower showing part of an original entrance and re-used Roman stones

the earliest parts of the church buildings is consistent with the incidence of Roman stone re-used in Period A.

5:4. Endpiece.

At the end of the previous chapter several questions were posed which were to provide a focus for analysis of the results of research. This section contains a discursive summary of the data analysis.

Church sites and the landscape.

Statistical analysis shows that re-used Roman stones are a particular feature of Period A churches where there is a Roman site within 4km but Roman stones re-used in three further churches, St. Andrew's and St. Peter's, Bywell, and Hexham Abbey, show that materials were taken from a greater distance, an indication of the importance of means of transportation. It seems likely that in these instances the stone was transported to the church site via the River Tyne. Evidence that this was the case was discovered in the late nineteenth century when stones from *Corstopitum* were found in the River Tyne at Hexham, apparently tipped from a boat taking them to be used in the construction of Hexham Abbey (Hinds, 1986: 240). It also appears to be the case that whereas in Period A the majority of the church sites relate to at least two of the features, by the end of the period only navigable water and Roman roads maintain their importance , i.e. sites lose their importance. This is unsurprising since communications networks are always likely to be exploited and water is a basic necessity of life.

By Period C less than a third of the churches are built in proximity to a Roman site (see Figures 13 and 14). This decline in the importance of Roman sites as the period progresses may reflect the acquisition by the Church of its own sacred sites, for example through associations with the Northumbrian saints. As well as these, the monastic foundations of Lindisfarne and Tynemouth were recipients of endowments of land on which they built churches, particularly in the later tenth and eleventh centuries. Examples of these are those churches, such as St. Maurice, Eglingham and St. John the Baptist, Edlingham, founded in the eighth century when King Ceolwulf abdicated and took

monastic vows in 737AD (Prins, 1982; 105). These foundations in particular created a new focus within the landscape but one that was built upon ownership of the land and patronage rather than associations with the past.

Church sites and Roman stonework.

There is clear evidence that Roman stonework was being re-used in churches right across the three periods but that the way in which the stones were used changed, with an emphasis on more pragmatic re-use towards the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. At Corbridge the earliest church had its entrance at the west end of the building, approached through a covered porch. The outlines of this are still visible as an arch of saltire carved stones. This porch was subsequently extended to form a tower, probably in the early eleventh century (Cambridge, 1994), and internally there is now a tall archway between the base of the tower and the nave made from re-used Roman stones. The height of this archway is greater than that of the earlier porch and therefore must have been constructed during a later phase of building, presumably coinciding with the construction of the tower. Re-used Roman stone is also found in the tower at Warden in the form of imposts. The appropriate re-use of imposts and voussoirs is one indication that architectural elements were still being salvaged at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period in preference to working new pieces of stone. This being the case it is perhaps surprising that re-used stone is found in the tower arches but not in the earlier chancel arches. However, the chancel arch at Escomb, County Durham, contains re-used Roman stone but its span is very narrow so it may simply be that the arches at Corbridge and Warden have been widened and traces of Roman stone removed (Taylor & Taylor 1965: 236).

From the lintels in the south face of the tower of St. Andrew, Bywell, it appears that features were not only being re-used but also copied. The three windows in the uppermost storey are made from a warm, orange sandstone in keeping with the stonework of the rest of the tower; the lintel of the window below is of a grey stone and has a more weathered appearance, more in keeping with the stonework from *Corstopitum*. A Roman carving from *Corstopitum* which features an incomplete Anglo-Saxon carving on its side shows that Anglo-Saxon craftsmen were not just

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appropriating materials, but actively re-working stone from this site (Richardson, 1994: 79).

Later constructions provide more evidence that architectural elements were still re-used into the tenth/eleventh centuries: at Heddon there are column bases which may well have been Roman and the pier of one of these (marked on the plan in Appendix 2) may mark the extent of the earlier Anglo-Saxon nave; St. Andrew's, Bywell, has a small Roman column re-used as a mid-wall shaft in the south facing double window of the belfry (see page 71: plate 2). The re-use of complete columns to form the south aisle at Chollerton shows that even into the Medieval period there was status to be gained from re-using dramatic Roman masonry.

Not all churches that featured re-used stones contained the same types of stone. Only Hexham and Corbridge feature elaborately carved stones of a purely decorative nature (as opposed to stones which are both decorative and functional) incorporated into the structure of the building. At Hexham this may possibly reflect its unique status as an Abbey and royal patronage, whilst the saltires at Corbridge may be evidence of a close relationship between the two foundations.

In Chapter Six these findings will be discussed more fully in relation to the theories described in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER SIX: How does it all add up?

6:1. Introduction.

At the end of Chapter Three the following questions were put forward. Firstly, was the siting an Anglo-Saxon church influenced by the presence of a Roman site or possible access to the Roman road network? Secondly, where there was evidence of re-use of either stones or site, was this purely pragmatic or was an attempt being made to identify with either the secular imperial power of Rome or with an earlier spirituality? Concurrent with these two questions, and in order that they may be answered, there runs the need to identify whether or not forms of stone re-use changed with the passing of time. In seeking answers to these questions I hoped to discover evidence that the Anglo-Saxon Church was attempting, through re-use of Roman stones, to appropriate meaning from the Roman 'past'.

6:2. The influence of landscape features and Roman sites.

The results of the analysis given in Chapter Five show that the presence of a Roman site in the vicinity of an Anglo-Saxon church is of statistical significance in Period A, whilst in Period C the absence of a Roman site within the vicinity of the churches is statistically significant at a similar level (for specific data see Chapter Five). Moreover, of those churches within Period C which feature re-used stones, only basic building stones are incorporated into the building, a pragmatic re-use of available building stone which argues against an attempt to identify with the Roman past. (Four of these churches do contain re-used Roman altars which are discussed elsewhere.) This is not surprising as by the tenth century the Christian Church was well established and no longer needed to look to Rome for validation. However, later dedications to St. Cuthbert testify to the fact that there was still a need for a focus when a new church was sited but that associations with the Anglo-Saxon Church's own past history were now creating and defining the location of sacred space. The existence of re-used altars in these later churches may represent the transportation of a sacred stone from an earlier church to the new site providing a link with the Christian past. In these instances the link is being made with the old church rather than the Roman past.

Pragmatism must also play a part in the choice of site; the prior existence of either a Roman road or navigable river would facilitate the transportation of materials; a gift of land was unlikely to have been refused, particularly if the owner of the land had the means to provide materials as well. Hexham is a case in point where both pragmatism and the appropriation of meaning may go hand in hand - not only did Queen Æthilthryth gift Wilfrid land, but she was also able to provide him with stone from neighbouring *Corstopitum* which formed part of her dower lands (Higham,1993:135-136). This form of patronage could work in both ways, in Wilfrid's case Æthithryth's successor wished to reclaim the lands and he fell from favour, an illustration of the constraints which applied when there is too great a dependency upon a powerful patron.

If pragmatism was the driving force behind the re-use of stones by the later Anglo-Saxon church, as stated above, was this the case in the seventh century? The new Christian religion embraced by Edwin at York in 625AD required powerful allies to ensure its survival, both temporal and spiritual. The pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon mythology, with its emphasis on the heroic warrior, kinship ties and warlike gods needed convincing credentials for this faith which proclaimed a message of turning the other cheek. Evidence of this awareness of the need to portray Christianity in a form that was appropriate to the Germanic tribes is discussed by Fletcher (1997: 264-268) and Russell (1994). Fletcher examines the language used by the early translators of the Bible, in particular Ulfila, writing for a Gothic readership, and Cædmon writing from Whitby. Of particular interest are the two words chosen to translate the Latin *dominus* (lord); Ulfila rejected *drauhtins*, a term which had warlike associations, in favour of *frauja* which meant 'head of the household'. In contrast Cædmon used the words *eci drytin*, 'eternal Lord', *drytin* having the same connotations as *drautins* and the translation meaning 'undying warrior lord' (Fletcher, 1997: 268). If Ulfila was rejecting the warlike term in his attempts to steer the Goths away from barbarism was Cædmon using the warrior image to endear the Christian faith to his Saxon audience? This dichotomy between the Germanic cultures and the Christian ethos is explored by Russell who characterizes the two traditions in this way: "the world-view of the Indo-European Greek, Roman and Germanic religions was essentially folk-centred and 'world-accepting', whereas the

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world-view of the Eastern mystery religions and early Christianity was essentially 'world rejecting' (1994: 4). Furthermore "the social structure of the Germanic peoples...reflected a high level of group solidarity, while the urban, social environment in which early Christianity flourished was one in which alienation and namelessness...prevailed. ...a primary appeal of the early Christian Church was its fulfillment of the need for socialization and its promise of other worldly salvation" (ibid.). The challenge for the early church was to find a meeting point between these two views: Ulfila took one path, Cædmon represents another. Links with a spiritual empire founded on Rome along with associations with the Imperial might of the past would have provided a potent image in the minds of the Anglo-Saxon rulers and provided just such a meeting point. The attitudes to Roman buildings as expressed by Cuthbert's hagiographer and the unknown author of the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Ruin* show a sense of wonder at the peoples that could have created such monuments.

Despite the obvious possibility of links between Roman sites and the Anglo-Saxon churches it is of note that none of the Roman sites along the eastern section of Hadrian's Wall now contain a church building within their parameters. At Housesteads there is the suggestion that an apsidal building against the north wall of the fort may represent the continuance of Christianity beyond the Roman era (Crow, 1995: 96-97) but until recently no definite evidence had been found on any of the excavated sites, although during the 1998 excavations at Vindolanda a building which has been identified as a fifth century church was discovered (Birley, 1998). This is in contrast to other areas of the country where churches are known to have been founded within the walls of Roman forts, for example, Bampton, Cumbria and Lanchester in County Durham. Appearances suggest that there was no attempt to build with reference to the sacred Roman space, although there is evidence at Yeavering, for example, that pre-Roman monuments were being incorporated by the Anglo-Saxons (Hope-Taylor, 1977). (For further examples and brief discussion see Chapter Three). Does this mean that the Anglo-Saxon church founders were unaware of the sacred use of some of the fort buildings by the Romans or was this deliberate avoidance? If it was a case of unawareness then the deliberate re-use of altars may imply that they retained their significance, and this is discussed below.

6:3. Altars.

Ten of the sites are known to have had re-used Roman altars, nine of these have survived including two altars now in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle. These are listed below together with their designated form of re-use.

In all cases where the altars survive they have been modified prior to their re-use although it is not possible to say when this occurred. The following have been upturned: Chollerton, Corbridge(1), Haydon, St.John Lee, Wall and Warden; those from Tynemouth and Hexham have had their mouldings removed so that they could then be incorporated into the fabric of the building. In the cases of the following it has not been possible to discover the extent of modification:- Corbridge(2) (as it has disappeared), Halton (now in the churchyard) and Wall (only partially surviving). The only altar which has not been upturned is that from Beltingham which appears to have been re-used upright. However, as it is now displayed in the Museum of Antiquities it has not been possible to examine the underside to see if any additional alteration was made. The altars have been re-used as fonts/water stoups, cross bases, grave covers and as building blocks but it appears that in all cases modifications were carried out.

Figure 23. Re-used Roman altars in Northumberland.

Location of altar	Grid. Ref.	Form of re-use
Beltingham, St. Cuthbert*	NY 379 564	Cross base?
Chollerton, St. Giles	NY 393 572	Font
Corbridge, St. Andrew @	NY 399 564	Font
Halton, St. Oswald	NY 400 568	Font
Haydon, Old Church	NY 384 565	Cross base/font
Hexham, St. Andrew	NY 394 364	Lintel
St. John Lee, St. John of Beverley	NY 393 566	Font
Tynemouth, Priory site*	NZ 437 569	Not known
Wall, St. Oswald in Lee	NY 394 570	Font?/cross base
Wall, St. Oswald in Lee	NY 394 570	Cross base
Warden, St. Michael	NY 391 566	Grave cover

* Altar now in the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle.
@ Two altars recorded: one, corpus no. 1129, is in the British Museum, the other, corpus no. 1146, has disappeared in recent years. Both are included for distribution purposes.
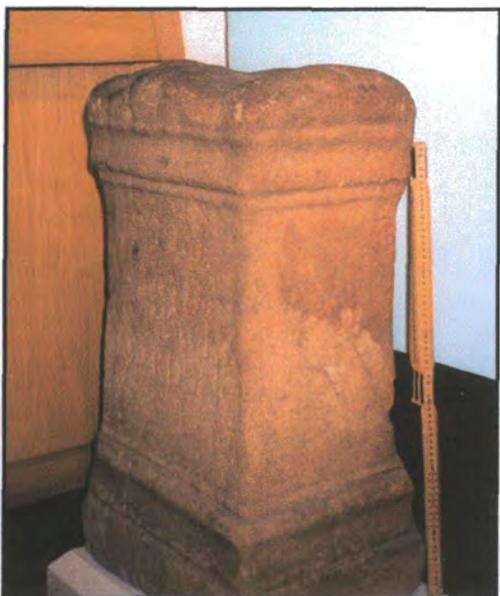
①

②

③
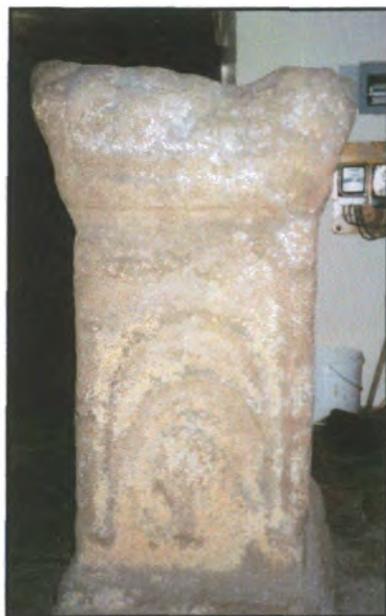
④

⑤

Plate no:

①   Beltingham, (Museum of Antiquities)
②   Beltingham; socket on top of altar, (Museum of Antiquities)
③   Chollerton; hollowed out top of altar
④   Chollerton
⑤   Warden; altar, re-used as grave cover

Re-used Roman Altars (2)

①

②

Plate no:

① St.John Lee
② Halton
③ Haydon, Old Church
④ St. Oswald in Lee, Wall
⑤ St. Oswald in Lee, Wall; fragment of re-used altar

③

④

⑤

①

②

Plate no:

① Tynemouth, Priory site (Museum of Antiquities)
② Hexham Abbey, crypt
③ Great Salkeld, Cumbria
④ Martindale, Cumbria

③

④

81
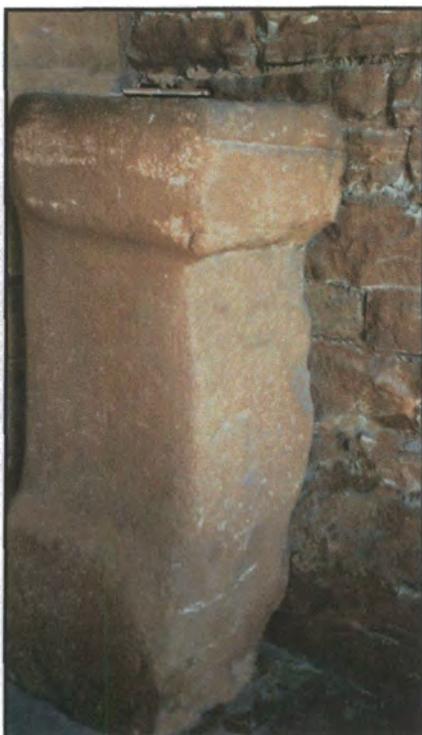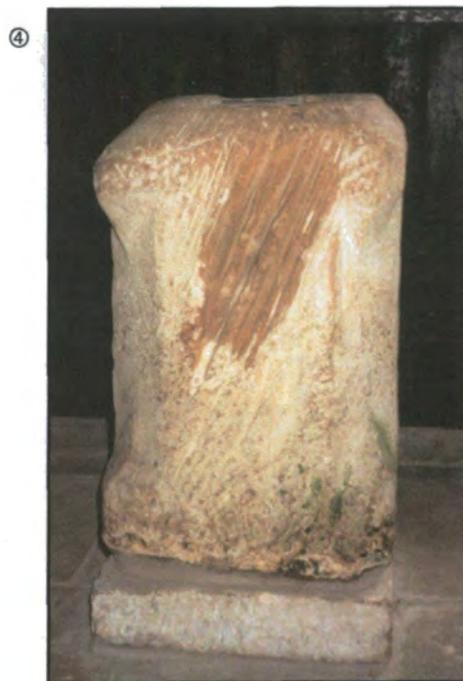
Apart from the one which is built into the crypt at Hexham none of the altars are *in situ* so analysis of their function is highly speculative. However, the fact that they have all been re-used in a specific manner argues for an early rather than a later date since, as I pointed out earlier, none of the later church buildings feature re-used carved stones but only make pragmatic use of Roman stones. The exception here is the altar re-used as a grave cover at Warden which has been dated between the late eighth and the early eleventh centuries. [As there is also a Roman column split to form a grave cover in the same church, similarly dated, it may well have been that the altar was just a suitable shape rather than significance was attached to its origins.] In order to examine this particular group of re-used stones more closely two hypotheses can be put forward.

- If it is accepted that the erection of crosses preceded the construction of churches (Stenton, 1971: 150), then the re-use of altars as cross bases may be of an earlier period than, or contemporary with the foundation of, the churches in which they are found.

- The free-standing re-use of altars by the Anglo-Saxons only took place in the period prior to the building of stone churches, at which point altars became incorporated into the structure of the church building.

Both premises may be true but only examination of the empirical evidence will lend clarification to the whole picture.

The first statement employs an inductive approach, arguing that what may be true in one instance can be extrapolated to form a cohesive pattern. Using this approach and the evidence produced from field research the following argument ensues. The carving at the base of the altar from St. Oswald in Lee at Wall is of Anglo-Saxon design and shows that modifications to the stone were carried out during this period. Its use as the base for a stone cross, a feature which is generally accepted to have been erected earlier than stone built churches, places it in the earliest period of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. Indeed the earliest known date associated with any of the churches in this study, 634 AD, refers to the church site at Wall (*H.E. Bk, 2*). If this is the case then it follows that all other altars need to be examined to see if they conform to this pattern. Unfortunately only two further examples of altars with square shaped sockets were found, one the other fragment

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from St. Oswald in Lee, and the other from Haydon Old Church. The altar from Beltingham also has a small rectangular shaped socket in its top but shape of this more closely resembles a cramp hole than a socket which could receive a cross and, as has been noted above, the way in which it is displayed makes it impossible to examine the base for further evidence. Neither the fragment from Wall or the altar from Haydon have any carving on them which would place them firmly in the same stylistic group as the cross base from Wall.

Does the deductive approach fare any better? This would argue that the re-use of altars by the Anglo- Saxons only took place in the period prior to the building of stone churches. Apart from the altar built into the crypt at Hexham all the others are now free standing and appear in the majority of cases to always have been so. The only exception to this may be the altar from the Priory site at Tynemouth. The sides of this have been smoothed away creating a regular shaped block suitable for including in the wall or floor of a building. In part this detachment from the building may be explained by the fact that the altars have been brought into the churches from previous locations in churchyards, a location which in turn may lead to questions about the designation of these altars as 'fonts'(see notes in Appendix 3). It could also be argued that the very fact that these altars were outside the church buildings indicates an earlier date. This argument could apply equally to the altar found at Warden which has been split and used as a grave cover. Did this come from a cemetery that pre-dated the church building? (Gem, 1986: 146-47) One other fact that deserves mentioning is that none of the churches where there remain free standing altars are now in their original Anglo-Saxon form, making it very difficult to relate with any confidence these altars to their possible place in the Anglo-Saxon church. The free standing nature of the altars would seem to support a 're-use prior to construction only' argument if it were not for the exception of Tynemouth and Hexham. However, the prestigious nature of both these sites may in itself argue for a different interpretation, a question which will be discussed later.

It is of interest to note the geographical spread of these altars (Figure 23). In the main they are concentrated in the west and central areas of the region, closely relating, as would be expected, to Roman sites. However, two further Roman altars are known to me

from churches in Cumbria and it may well be that there are others in this region. An altar has also been also found in the foundations of Ebchester church Co. Durham (Corpus no.1099) and there are two other altars associated with Hexham Abbey which are no longer *in situ* (Corpus nos. 1120, 1142). One, Corpus no. 1142 is said to have been found when the crypt was originally opened in 1725 although it was subsequently lost. (See Chapter Two for difficulties regarding the archives for Hexham.) This distribution poses a further question: does the re-use of altars refer to the Anglo-Saxon period or are they in fact a feature of a remaining Western British tradition in the Northwest? A suggestion has been made by Biddle (1976: 67) and quoted by Bradley (1993: 123) that the association between churches and Roman sites is restricted to the western side of England i.e. the territory of the Britons of Strathclyde, whereas the Votadini living on the eastern side of the country seem to have avoided these locations. Do these altars represent another feature of this divide?

Furthermore, Blair discussing the construction of Anglo-Saxon pagan temples, puts forward the idea that since "We have no reason to think that earlier Anglo-Saxon rituals were enacted in anything more permanent than...groves...,the indications that they were assuming a more formal and architectural guise around 600AD may suggest...the influence of British neighbours, heirs to the long tradition of Romano-Celtic shrines" (1996:8). If this were the case does the incorporation of the Roman altars into the churches represent another adoption of a western British practice? Equally does this help to explain the lack of definitive evidence linking the location of an Anglo-Saxon church building with a particular Roman site? Whitworth suggests that "The forts in some areas may have formed the nucleus for a localized power base" (1994a: 21) and it seems significant that whilst in other parts of the country including Cumbria, churches are found within the walls of Roman forts, this does not appear at present to be the case in central and eastern Northumberland. However, it is wise to be cautious on this point since an anomaly exists at Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham where the parish church is erected within the walls of the Roman fort, and evidence may point to a church within the fort beneath the Castle site at Newcastle (Graves, pers. comm.).

Figure 24. Distribution of re-used Roman altars in Northumberland.
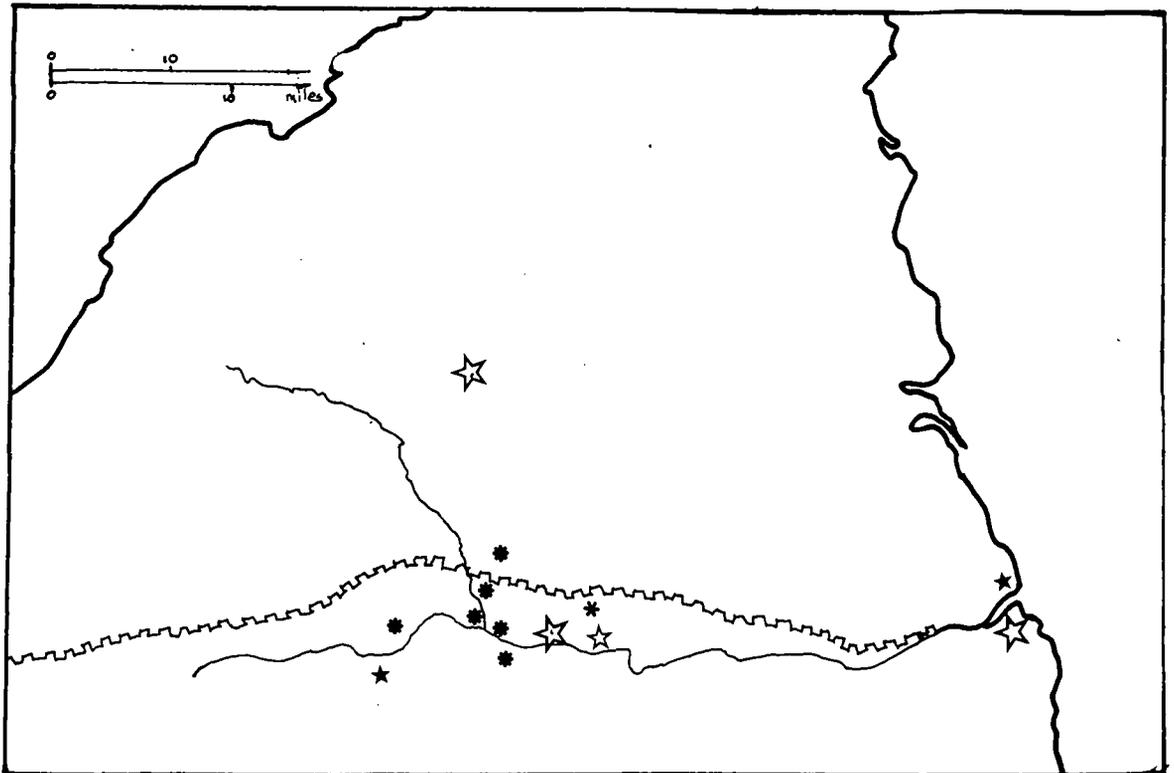
Key:-

★ - altar within church

* - altar in church grounds

★ - altar now in Museum of Antiquities

☆ - altar known to have existed but no longer visible.

‿‿‿‿ - National boundary

ᴨᴜᴨᴜᴨᴜᴨᴧ - line of Hadrian's Wall

☆ - Roman site

‿‿‿‿‿ - River Tyne

Finally, and perhaps most impressively, is the evidence produced from the temple site at Uley, Gloucestershire. Here the sequence of temples ranges from the Roman pagan through to Roman Christian and then to early medieval Christian periods. From its earliest phase statues of Roman gods have been retrieved, most notably one of Mercury. There is evidence that this pagan temple was then demolished and a Christian church built

upon the ruins during the Roman period. Incorporated into this church were the remains of two altars dedicated to Mercury. One had been fragmented and re-used as a step, the second had been inverted and replaced in an apsidal extension which has been interpreted as a baptistery (Woodward, 1992: 101,103). Although Uley is in the South West the evidence from the site adds weight to the argument that the altars from Northumberland and Cumbria formed part of the western British tradition, a direct link with the Roman past and origins of Christianity in Britain, a most potent symbol to be incorporated into the churches of the newly arrived Anglo-Saxon/Rome emulating church.

Earlier I pointed out that the only altars which had been modified so as to fit into the walls of the church building come from the sites of Hexham Abbey and Tynemouth Priory. It would seem no accident that these particular stones come from the largest and most prestigious church sites, both of which enjoyed royal patronage. Referring to continental examples Wood states "the possibility that the re-used fabric in churches may reflect...the resources and contacts of the founder" (Wood, 1986: 76). At Hexham the abbey founded by Wilfrid was built on land that was in the gift of Queen Æthilthryth, wife of Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria (Higham, 1993: 135-136). It seems probable that the access to sources of Roman stone also arose from the same gift. The fact that these altars were incorporated into the buildings also seems to suggest a different meaning behind the re-use. If the free standing altars represent a direct contact with remaining British Christian communities does the use of these particular stones indicate an attempt to annex their particular 'power' by the new, Rome facing, Anglo-Saxon church? What initially struck me as strange was that these particular stones with their pagan associations should have been deliberately built into the fabric of a Christian church. James (1996: 15) argues that images were always seen as powerful and not only able to convey meaning but also able to be proactive, particularly should an attempt be made to desecrate or move them in any way. Although she is writing from the Byzantine perspective the international nature of the Christian Church makes her observations pertinent. She uses an example attached to an image of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger indicating that this belief in the independent life of images persisted into the Christian faith. At Ankara "statues were carefully arranged in the seventh century city walls...altars

and tombstones were placed upside down or right way up, but all face outwards" (ibid.: 16). The altar in the crypt at Hexham reflects a similar treatment in that it has been placed on its side with its face projecting outwards. She acknowledges that the re-use of pagan stones could be seen to create a problem in that the powers they contained could work against the new patron. However, she argues that "the re-use of pagan statues implies that they were perceived as having power which could be harnessed. Laying a statue on its side places it and the power it represents under control." (ibid.: 17). This seems to fit the pattern prevalent in the crypt at Hexham, where all the stones are re-used with their carved faces visible. It seems most probable that the re-use of these stones in this most sacred of areas is an attempt, as James says, to harness to the new faith the powers of the old.

6:4. The influence of architecture.

Moving from re-use of specific stones to the re-use of architectural elements how does the picture change? If the most elaborate stones were re-used at Hexham does the way in which other stones were used indicate a hierarchy of churches? Of the churches which contain re-used Roman stones only Tynemouth (651AD), Wall (634AD) and Haltwhistle (c.630AD) [Holy Cross Haltwhistle is associated with Paulinus who returned to Kent in 633AD, placing its foundation between then and Edwin's conversion in 625AD] are known to have existed in some form prior to the decision taken at the Synod of Whitby to align with Rome. All the re-used stones from these three churches are loose, i.e. not incorporated into the existing structures. The foundations of all three churches centre on specific events, respectively the burial of Oswin, the victory of Heavenfield and the baptisms performed by Paulinus. This is in contrast to subsequent consecrations in Period A which appear to be either dependent upon land gifts or to be satellites of Wilfrid's church at Hexham. It is appropriate then that these later, post-Synod of Whitby, seventh and eighth century churches in Period A should use Roman stone reflecting both the ecclesiastical decision to adopt Roman forms of worship and the ability of the donor to offer access to building materials. In these churches architectural features are appropriately re-used and there is no evidence of statuary or purely decorative stones,

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although it is known that a statue of either a boar or similar large animal was built into the porch at Corbridge. Unfortunately this was defaced in the previous century to such an extent that it know longer possible to work out where it was (Iley, 1974: 202). The lack of elaborate stones is consistent with the theory that these were reserved for the most prestigious and sacred sites. (For relevant data see Figure 19, Chapter Four.)

The use of architectural elements seems to have influenced the development of building style; as I mentioned earlier, lintels in the tower at Bywell, St. Andrew's, are made of two different stone types, the local orange sandstone and the harsher grey stone found at Corstopitum and it seems likely that the Anglo-Saxon builders executed copies of the Roman design. In this context the church at Escomb, County Durham is frequently cited as an attempt by the Anglo-Saxon craftsmen to replicate a Roman building (Fernie, 1983: 56). It would also be the case that re-using pre-cut elements would dictate the dimensions of parts of the building. For example, the use of a lintel would determine the width of the window, and even more fundamentally the use of squared blocks of regular size, such as those used at both churches at Bywell, may well have dictated the units of measurement for the finished structure.

When it comes to examining the location of the stones within the church there appears to be no one area which has precedence over another. As noted in the previous chapter the only pattern that exists shows that the majority of re-used stones are to be found in the nave, chancel and porch and the interconnecting arches. There is no indication that individual areas were singled out for preferential treatment.

In the case of Hexham, where the crypt is built exclusively from re-used Roman stones, it is difficult to say whether this was unique within the building since this is all that remains in the present day. What can be said about the crypt, however, is that all the stone used has been ornamented in some way, none of it takes the form of basic blocks. There is a twofold dilemma relating to Hexham in that firstly the crypt was at one time plastered which would have covered the mouldings, and secondly although there are several examples of the same decorative design, none of the mouldings seem to follow a particular design. Was it a question that the stones were used just for their intrinsic value

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rather than their decorative appeal or have subsequent alterations destroyed the evidence of an earlier, more patterned re-use?

The only other areas within the churches to feature carved architectural elements are the towers which may well have been constructed at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period (Cambridge, 1994). At Bywell, St. Andrews in particular, lintels and balusters are re-used along with massive stones in the quoining which feature lewis holes. It is most probable that these re-uses are simply aesthetic rather than an attempt to identify with the Roman past.

Later additions to churches, particularly the creation of aisles, show that architectural elements continued to be re-used. At Heddon there are column bases which may well have been Roman (see plan), whilst the re-use of complete columns at Chollerton shows that even into the Medieval period there was possible prestige to be gained from re-using dramatic Roman masonry, since only the wealthy could afford the cost of transporting such massive pieces of stonework.

6:5. Theoretical references.

How does any of the above refer to the model proposed in Chapter Three? This depicted ways in which "an activity creates or restrains cultural development" and then becomes part of both the processes forming 'society' and a constituent part of that society. It places the power to create and influence change in the hands of either a powerful elite or individual with the majority of the population able to modify the outworking of the activity.

From the evidence gathered, and if we accept the interpretation given of the re-use of altars, the following picture emerges. The form of religious expression to which the majority of the re-used altars belong would appear to have its roots in the collective memory and activity of groups of individuals who may have operated with an internal hierarchy, but which did not seek to link with hierarchies outside their own particular group. These groups may have been direct inheritors of either Roman religious practices or, more likely, the remnants of western British Christianity. Although the re-used altars appear to belong to this earlier tradition their significance seems to have meant that they

could not be overlooked by the Anglo-Saxon Church but that they needed to be symbolically subsumed into the new church buildings or churchyards, an example of the way in which practice was modified in response to a local situation. Anecdotal evidence from Halton provides a glimpse into the persistency of this earlier model: "The altar was brought from about the turn of the road from the houses to the south-east of the chapel, where it had stood immemoriably stood till removed by the later Mr. Bates of Halton Castle. When funerals came that way to church they used to be carried three times around it." (Hodgson, MSS 'Y', in Craster, 1914: 234). The evidence from Uley indicates that altars held intrinsic significance as a focus for religious practice rather than an inherited significance gained from the Roman culture they represented. Here the altars formed part of the pre-existing Roman shrine and had been transformed to provide a focus in the new Christian church, in this sense they had always been part of the religious practice at this particular site, they had not been brought in from elsewhere.

This situation changed, particularly after the Synod of Whitby, with the establishment of the dynamic link between the Anglo-Saxon church and the kings and overlords of Northumbria. At this point the power became concentrated in the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies which sought to ally themselves with the progressive and powerful Roman church. This change may be symbolized by the use of Roman altars as building stones at both Hexham and Tynemouth.

This apparent change in the ways in which altars are re-used seems to occur at a time in the seventh century which Williams identifies as one when there is a distinct change in the of burial practices. A period which he sees as one of "religious change and the formation of kingdoms under the hegemony of the powerful rulers of Northumbria, East Anglia and Mercia" (1998: 103). These changes appear to be marked by

-a move from groups buried in cemeteries centred on a monument to high status individual burials, which in some cases cut into the earlier monument.

- a corresponding decline in use of grave goods which coincided with an increase in monument re-use at end of seventh century.

He states that "rich burial monuments of the seventh century seem to be either emulating or appropriating earthworks surviving from the past, rather than venerating the

remains of earlier times" (ibid.: 101). This change in emphasis seems to reflect the growing power of the new kingdoms and the desire of the kings of these realms to establish a long and noble ancestry for themselves. The example he quotes of Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac* (ibid.: 102) shows that the importance of ancient mounds was recognised by the hagiographer as being a significant feature of the saint's spiritual credentials, an indication that the church was also eager to lay claim to the power of past associations.

Building on what Williams has said, if the re-use of the past is an integral part of social practice then it would seem natural that this should apply to the seventh century church. However, instead of focusing upon past pagan burial practices, by choosing to emulate and incorporate Roman artefacts, styles etc. the new, Rome facing Church sought to annex the Roman ancestors (c.f. Williams, 1998: 92, Higgett, 1979). The Anglo-Saxon Church could see itself as the direct inheritor of Rome with legitimate claims to use the material remains of the earlier culture.

Endpiece

The adoption and adaptation by the Anglo-Saxon Church of earlier cultural norms through the re-use of Roman stonework serves to illustrate the model described in Chapter Three (Figure 5). The Church is presented as both a product of 'society' and a force in its creation. Memories and experiences of both individuals and groups were taken and transformed to serve the creation of a new 'activity' which in itself creates and transforms 'society'.

CHAPTER 7: Final thoughts and future directions.

In the beginning there was a piece of sculpture and two complementary statements from King (1980: 1) describing the interdependent nature of the relationship between buildings and 'society'. The questions these generated about the role of monumental buildings and the incorporation of images from the 'past' have formed the basis for this thesis. As it has progressed what started out as curiosity has brought an awareness of the importance of 'the past' to contemporary perceptions about 'society', not only in explanations of current phenomena but in the development of institutions and the social mores and practices which they engender. That the appropriation of images from the 'past' is an ongoing theme within 'society', was brought graphically to public attention recently with the opening of the Trafford centre near Manchester, a shopping complex whose architecture reflects the popular image of decadent Rome (Jenkins,1998: 20). In Chapter Three I discussed how the power of images to communicate is dependent on shared memory, reinforced by experience: in the case of the Trafford Centre this seems to have been the television series *Up Pompeii* and the film *Ben Hur*!

The realisation that there may be more to the re-use of Roman stone than the convenience of its availability has taken this study in a more theoretical direction than it was initially intended. This in turn has led to the need to look at possible frameworks which can be used when examining Roman stonework in order to assess the importance the Anglo-Saxon Church attached to appropriated references to the Roman 'past'. Theories which proved useful have been those developed by prehistorians in their attempts to examine the role which monuments have played in past 'societies', and in this respect I have drawn particularly on the work of Bradley (1993; 1998). By treating churches primarily as monumental, rather than ecclesiastical structures, it has been possible to view them in their context within the landscape. This in turn has enabled me to focus on the role their construction played in the creation of Anglo-Saxon 'society'.

7:1. The arguments.

My argument throughout has been that through the re-use of Roman stonework some appropriation of meaning was intended by the Anglo-Saxon Church. Inherent in

re-use is the operation of choice: it is the institution or individual who is responsible for the decisions of inclusion and discard who manipulates this choice. In order for appropriation to be successful there has to be a shared perception of meaning between presenter and beholder. The means by which this takes place may be through the material culture, for example the use of image, and language, but successful communication of ideas is dependent upon shared memory, reinforced by experience.

Rowlands (1993) sets out two different forms which transmission of memory can take, the first sees remembering as "a form of work...inseparable from the motive to memorialize...Building memorials and monuments are part of the material culture of remembering." (ibid.: 144).The second envisages a scenario "where objects are destroyed or taken out of circulation through burial or some other form of intentional symbolism,...[to become] a memory in their absence, and therefore the essence of what has to be remembered. The opportunities for manipulating the possibilities of repetition are...abolished in an act of sacrifice or destruction that severs connection with its original status." (ibid.) These Bradley (1998: 90) has, classified as 'inscribed' practices and 'incorporated' practices respectively. He has described them as mutually incompatible, the former being creative the latter being destructive. Although this is not the place for sustained debate I find myself in disagreement with this when confronted by the evidence for re-use from the Anglo-Saxon churches. At Hexham the inclusion in the crypt of so many elaborately carved stones, along with part of the dedication stone from *Corstopitum* and the altar to *Apollo Maponus*, seems to encompass both 'inscribed' and 'incorporated' practices. The crypt formed part of the new and striking monument designed to promote the new direction the Anglo-Saxon Church was taking, whilst the inclusion of so many Roman stones effectively buried them and removed them from circulation.

The building of Hexham Abbey by Wilfrid was one example of the way in which the decisions made at the Synod of Whitby were translated by the Anglo-Saxon Church into the material culture. Using building styles that echoed Rome, along with liturgical practices, the recognition of the supremacy of Rome was imposed by the ecclesiastical elite upon the western British Christians, in a move that could be seen as subjugation. It is clear from Bede that the conflict between the Britons and the English was not resolved

'the Britons...continue[d]...to be obdurate and crippled by their errors, going about with their heads improperly tonsured, and keeping Christ's solemnity without fellowship with the Christian Church' (*H.E. bk.V: 22*). The ethnic element of Bede's viewpoint was just as important as the theological argument since he held that the British had neglected their responsibility to convert the Anglo-Saxons (ibid.). However, there is evidence that the practices of western British Christians may have been sufficiently persistent as to merit inclusion in the new ecclesiastical order.

7:2. The evidence.

From the previous discussions it emerges that re-use of materials, images and sites was an accepted way of appropriating meaning from past cultures throughout Christian Europe. In some instances not only were the materials re-used but they were used to replicate buildings of particular significance. At Hexham the crypt, built completely with re-used Roman stone, harks back to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Wood, 1997: 121). In these cases such elaborate re-use indicates the prestige of the instigator, the ability to command labour and exercise choice by right rather than by consensus.

As a means of subjugation the incorporation into church buildings of materials from pagan temples and areas of the temple buildings themselves, formed part of the repression of cults. The practice of upturning sculptures was intended to have the same effect, the power of the image having been suppressed and examples of this are found across Europe. The majority of the re-used altars have been upturned, and all have been modified in some way prior to re-use. The continental contacts of Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid meant that such practices were brought into the early Anglo-Saxon Church and incorporated into an already existing world-view that placed heavy emphasis on the role of the 'past' in providing validation for the 'present'.

Three distinct patterns of re-use emerge from the evidence :-

1). All the churches known to have been founded in the pre-Synod of Whitby era, that is, before 663AD, were initially focused on sites which have associations with particular events. The Roman stones from these churches all fall into the 'loose' category,

and it is interesting that the majority of the Period C churches which contain 'loose' stones are founded on the sites of earlier churches. These seem to indicate that there was no attempt to build in stone during this early period, indeed there may not have been a building at all but a 'sacred site' centred on a cross.

2). Elaborate re-use occurs only in post-Synod of Whitby churches of Period A, and then only in the most prestigious sites i.e. Hexham and possibly, Tynemouth. In Chapter Six I put forward the theory that altars may represent the remnants of an earlier, western British, tradition and inclusion of altars in the buildings at these sites seems to represent a change of emphasis. The re-use of altars as cross bases may indicate recognition of earlier, western British traditions, and a desire to incorporate these into contemporary practice. However, the incorporation of altars into the structure of the building removes them from circulation, at once annexing their power and removing them as a potential focus for 'rebel' groups.

3). As the Anglo-Saxon Church became established the style of re-use changed. Although Roman stone continued to be used as building material the re-use of architectural elements all but disappeared. The Church still drew on the potency of past associations but these now came from within the institution. One example of this comes from the wanderings of the 'Cuthbert Community' in the ninth and tenth centuries which were responsible for numerous dedications to St. Cuthbert during this later period.

7:3. The criticisms.

One of the problems which has emerged during the course of writing this thesis has been the difficulty of applying theory constructed for the interpretation of the prehistoric period to the Anglo-Saxon era. The period of Roman rule represents a cut off between the Iron Age and the Anglo-Saxons; it was a totally different culture, legislative and literate, whose influence continued to be felt in the institutions of 'society' long after the legions had left. On the other hand, inscriptions on several altars found in the area of Hadrian's Wall indicate that native gods were incorporated into the Roman pantheon, representing a continuance of the old system of beliefs. I have also argued that the re-use of Roman altars suggests that their significance was retained into the Christian period.

Two strands from different 'pasts' are presented here, one from Iron Age Britain, the other, the more recent remains of *Romanitas*, how valid then can extrapolations from prehistory be in interpreting the evidence of the post-Roman, Anglo-Saxon period?

As I have shown, Bradley's discussion on the role of monuments in the landscape has provided a very important starting point, but it has its draw backs. Problems arise when he turns to the post-Roman era, in that he sidesteps the impact of Christianity by citing early medieval examples from beyond the boundaries of the Roman i.e. Tara and Knowth in Ireland and Dumbarton, Dunadd etc. in Scotland (1993: 113-129). Since these regions were beyond the sphere of Roman rule they were not subject to the hiatus caused by its withdrawal. By concentrating on political re-use he has ignored the links between the early Anglo-Saxon Church and the Northumbrian kingships, each of which made use of the other in the furtherance of their own cause.

The study by Williams (1998) has helped to redress the balance by providing some theoretical background for the early Anglo-Saxon period, but he is still reflecting back to the pre-Christian, Anglo-Saxon homelands. The need remains for the creation of theoretical constructs which encompass both what is known from archaeology and from historical and religious texts. As Gem (1986) made plain it is not enough to study solely architecture or burials or the origins of belief, 'society' is formed of interdependencies and any theory applied must reflect these varied and disparate features.

7:4. Where next?

During the course of study several further areas for study have arisen, of which those listed below would seem to be most fruitful:-

- In order for further study into the monumental role of churches within the landscape archaeological theory needs to be developed which encompasses the impact of Christianity. This will require a fusing of archaeological and historical evidence, made not with the intention of proving or disproving one or the other, but drawing on the evidence of both to create a cohesive whole.

- The geographical area studied represents the northernmost frontier of the Roman Empire and has always been a border region, does this mean that the influences upon

the Anglo-Saxon Church reflect this? How does the pattern of church development noted here compare with similar regions, for example the Welsh Borders?

- Practical dictates limited this study to the county of Northumberland, it would be interesting to extend it southwards to see if the patterns reflected here are consistent throughout the old kingdom of Northumbria.

- Were the patterns of re-use the same in all regions with access to Roman building materials? If there is no evidence of re-used stonework, do styles of church building and decoration indicate the influence of Rome?

- Whilst I hesitate to put too much emphasis on the re-use of Roman altars as evidence of an ethnic group, i.e. western British as opposed to Anglo-Saxon, it would be interesting to see if there are any examples elsewhere and if they fit into the pattern of re-use described in Chapter Six.

Postscript.

Not long after I set out on this period of study my father died. He was a man of many enthusiasms-from steam engines to the American Civil War; English composers and Victorian stage craft. When he died the house was full of reminders of these - books, records, playbills, musical boxes. All these things are available to me, but no matter how many times I listen to the music or read the books I will never know what they meant to him. Even so recent a past has become very distant. This being so, the more distant past will always remain just that, and whereas we may try to read it we may only glimpse what we think we might see rather than what was really there. Since this is the case all our theories can only ever serve as vehicles to help us order the fragmentary remains that come to us and can never reconstruct the meanings of the 'past'. Maybe this has more to do with our reality than the reality that was the Anglo-Saxon Church.

APPENDIX 1: TIMELINE 500AD - 1100AD

Ecclesiastical.		Secular.
	500	Battle of Badon
	592	*Æthelfrith*
Augustine arrives in Canterbury	597	
Death of Columba	616	Death of *Æthelfrith*
	616	*Edwin*
Paulinus consecrated	623	
	626	Conversion of Edwin and destruction by Coifi of the sacred site of Deira
	633	death of *Edwin*
	634	Death of Cadwallon at Heavenfield
	634	*Oswald*
Aidan bishop of Lindisfarne	635	
	642	Death of *Oswald*
	642	*Oswiu*
	650	Penda, King of Mercia
Death of Aidan	651	
	655	Death of Penda
Wilfrid made Abbot of Ripon	660	
Synod of Whitby	663	
Wilfrid made Bishop of York	669	
	670	Death of *Oswiu*
	670	*Ecgfrith*
Exile of Wilfrid	678	
	685	*Aldfrith*
	685	Death of *Ecgfrith*
Death of Cuthbert	687	
	705	Death of *Aldfrith*
Death of Wilfrid	709	
Organization of historical time by Bede	725	
Completion of Ecclesiastical history of the English speaking people by Bede	731	
Death of Bede	735	
Danish raids on Lindisfarne.	793	
Danes sail up the River Tyne and burn Hexham Abbey.	875	
Wanderings of the 'Cuthbert Community' begin	878	Danish kingdom centred on York; established after the signing of the Treaty of Wedmore. End of Kingdom of Northumbria.
	924	Athelstan, King of Wessex.
	937	Battle of Brunanburh: North and South Britain united under one king.
Dunstan becomes Archbishop of Canterbury	960	
Bishop Eardwulf and the 'Cuthbert Community' found Durham Cathedral	995	
	1016	*Cnut.*
	1035	Death of Cnut.
	1042	Edward the Confessor.
	1053	Death of Earl Godwine.
	1066	Death of Edward the Confessor. Battle of Stamford Bridge. Battle of Hastings.
	1086	'Domesday Book'.

N.B. The church plans do not provide accurate measurements of the buildings. They are included to indicate whereabouts in the church building the Roman stones are located. They only represent the earliest phase of the existing buildings, the majority of which have been considerably altered.

The dating periods given are more refined than those used in the main text and reflect those set out by Taylor, & Taylor (1965: xxv). The dates given are the earliest associated with the church not necessarily the date of the existing building.

Alnham, St. Michael & All Angels.

Grid ref.: NT 399090 611000

Period: C(3)

NMR: NT91 SE8

Dis. from R. road: 5.2km   **Dis. from R. site:** 11 km   **Dis. from water:** 22km

References: -

Bates, C. J. (1891) Archaeologia Aeliana 3rd series v 14, pg.43

Dodds, M.H., (1935: 572-73)

Hodgson, J. C.(1916: 3)

Bamburgh, St. Aidan.

Grid ref.: NU 417870 634985

Period: A1(635)

Dis. from R. road: 12 km   **Dis from R. Site:** 18.5 km   **Dis. from water:** .1km

Beadnell, Ebb's Nook.

NMR No.: NU22NW7

Grid ref.: NU 423950 628710

Period C3?

Dis. from R. road: 19.8km   **Dis. from R. site:** 34.00km   **Dis. from water:** .1km

References:-

Way, A., (1854: 410-2)

Bateson, E., (1893:320-22)

Taylor, H.M. & J., (1965: 226)

Bedlington,   St. Cuthbert.

NMR: NZ28 SE15

Grid ref.: NZ 426032 581802

Period: B3

Dis. from R. road: 17.15km   **Dis. from R. site:** 10.5km   **Dis. from water:** .35km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 119; 130).

Beltingham,   St. Cuthbert.

Grid ref.: NY 378970 563970

Period: C

Re-used Roman altar found in churchyard in 1835 and now in Museum of Antiquities,

Newcastle. Interesting narrow socket in top but does not appear to have been upturned.

Height: .81m   width: .345m   Length: .47m

Dis. from R. road: 3km   **Dis from R. site:** 2.85;3.1km   **Dis. from water:** .3km

References:-

Allason-Jones, L., (1989: 12)

Birtley, St. Giles

Grid ref.: NY 387820 397943

Period: C(3)

Dis. from R. road: 4.20km   **Dis. from R. site:** 6.30km   **Dis. from water:** 8.00km

References:-

Hall, G., (1887)

Hall, G., (1889: 255)

Tomlinson, W.W., (1902: 231)

Hodgson, J.C., (1897)

Bolam, St. Andrew

Grid ref.: NZ 409250 582560

Period: C(2)

NMR No. NZ08 SE18

Dis. from R. road: 2.20km   **Dis. from R. site:** 7.20km   **Dis. from water:** 15km

References:-

Bailey, R. et. al., (1988: 120; 132).

Hodges C.C., (1893: 71-74).

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 78).

Bothal, St. Andrew

Grid ref.: 424000 586620

Period: B2(882)

Dis. from R. site: 13.15km   **Dis. from R. site:** 10.75km   **Dis. from water:** 11km

Bywell, St. Andrew

NMR: NZ06 SW10

Grid ef.: NZ 404840 561490

Period: A2

Associated with *Corstopitum* (7.6km) and *Dere Street* (2km).

Tower constructed from re-used Roman stone; lintel in window in lower stage of south face and possibly in belfry windows; small column used as through shaft.

Base of column found outside Victorian(?) porch. Balanced with another piece of masonry on opposite side. Obviously not in situ but since grave covers etc. are incorporated in both internal and external walls it seems reasonable to suggest that this came from an earlier church on the site.

Dis. from R. road: 2.00km   **Dis. from R. site:** 7.60km   **Dis. from water:** .5km

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Column Base

Stonework

Porch
(Tower)

Nave

Chancel

Lintel

Column
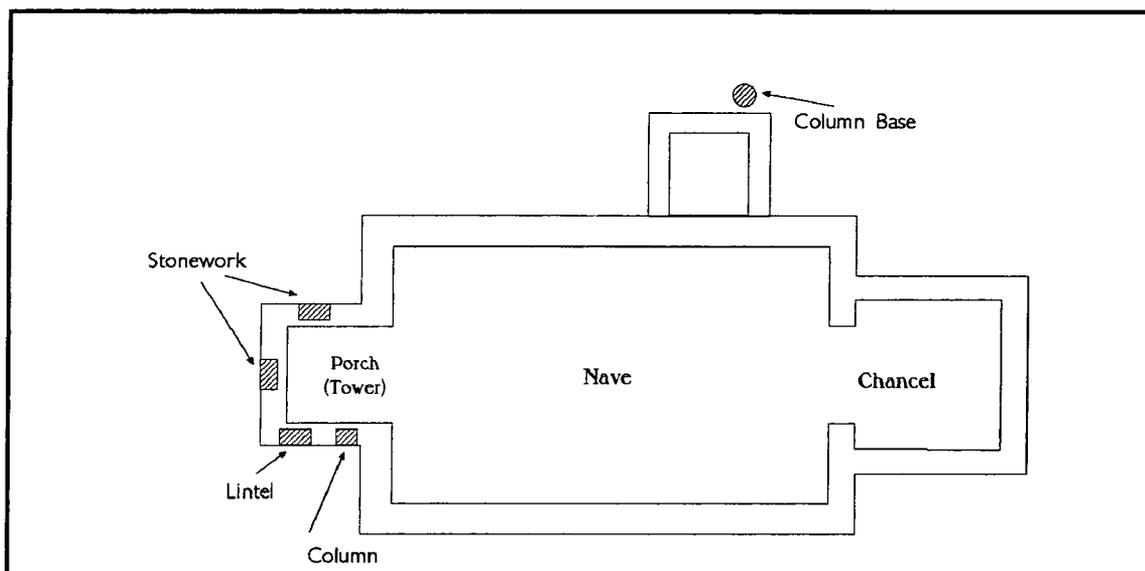
References:-

Gilbert, E. (1946: 163-67)

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J. (1965: 121)

Bailey et. al., (1988: 92; 133)).

Hodgson, J.C., (1902: 102-118)

Bywell, St. Peter.

NMR: NZ06SW20

Grid ref.: NZ04926142

Period: A2

Lintel above window on N. wall of nave with cramp/lewis hole in centre. Badly weathered. Roman tooled stones at base of jambs.

Associated with *Corstopitum* (7.6km) and *Dere Street* (2km).

Dis. from R. road: 2.00km   **Dis from R. site:** 7.60km   **Dis. from water:** .2km

References:-

Bailey et. al., (1988: 120; 134)).

Gilbert, E. (1946: 167-174)

Hodgson, J.C., (1902: 102-118)

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J. (1965: 122-6)
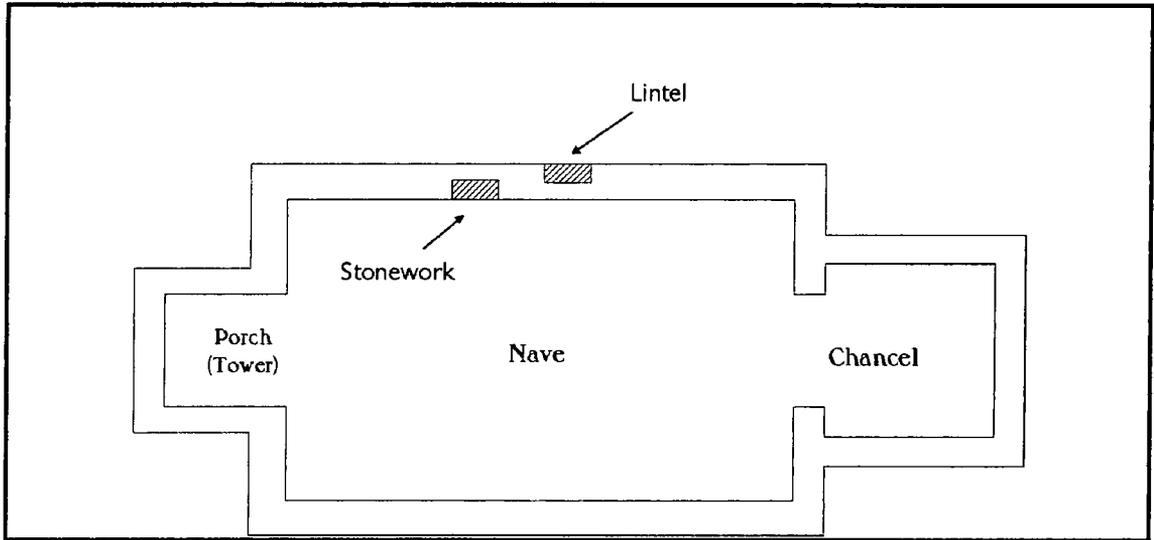
Carham, St.. Cuthbert.

Period A2(675)

Dis. from R. road: 18km   **Dis. from R. site:** .1km   **Dis. from water:** .5km

Chollerton, St. Giles.

NMR:NY97 SW29

Grid ref.: NY93107192

Period C(1097AD)

Built on the site of an earlier church said to have been founded by Hexham Abbey.

Associated with *Cilurnium* (Chesters 2.7km), *Hadrian's Wall* (2.25km) and Dere Street (3.15km)

Roman altar at rear of church re-used as font; drainage hole and drain at present rear; flagon on right face upside down indicating inversion of stone prior to re-use; squared scoop: height1.1m; width.59m; length.68m.

Dis. from R. road: 3.15km   **Dis. from R. site:** 2.7; 2.25km   **Dis. from water:** 6.7

References:-

Bailey, R. et. al., (1988:121; 135)

Hodgson, J.C., (1897: 261)

Corbridge, St. Andrew.

NMR No.: NY96SE14

Grid ref.: NY398849 564360

Period: A2-C(676AD)

Associated with *Corstopitum* and the *Stanegate*.

Tower arch is made from re-used stones from *Corstopitum*; saltire carved stones visible in west face of tower outlining original entrance; other reused stones (cramp and lewis holes) evident externally in tower and internally in nave.

Dis. from R. road: .5km   **Dis. from R. site:** 0.75km   **Dis. from water:** .1km
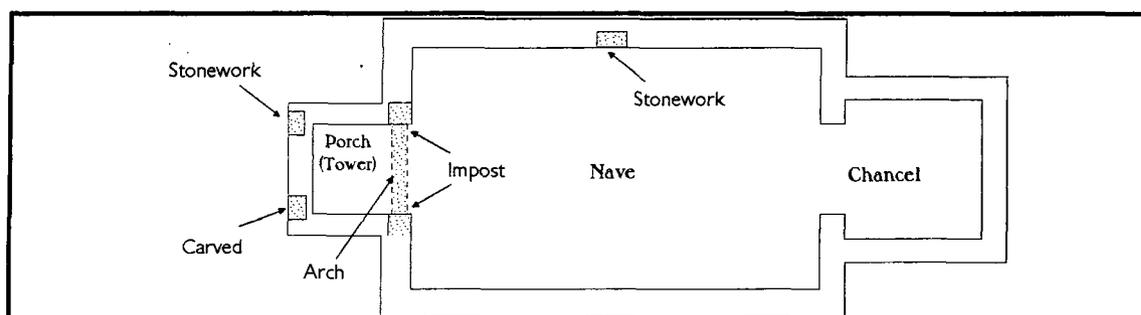
References:-

Craster, H.E.E., (1914: 178-209).

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988:121; 136).

Gilbert, E. (1946: 162-63)

Iley, W., (1974: 201-211).

Parsons, D., (1962: 171-184).

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 172).

Corsenside, St. Cuthbert's.

Grid ref.: NY 389025 389260

Period: C3?

Associated with *Habitancum* (2.87km) and *Dere Street* (.36km).

Dis. from R. road: .36km   **Dis. from R. site:** 2.87km   **Dis. from water:** 20km

Edlingham, St. John the Baptist.

Grid ref.: NU 410450 609125

Period A3(740AD)

Dis. from R. site: .55km   **Dis. from R. road:** 2.20km   **Dis from water:** 9km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 121; 140)

Eglingham, St. Maurice.

Grid ref.; NU 410630 619460

Period A3(738)

Dis. from R. road: 5.20km   **Dis. from R. site:** 7km   **Dis. from water:** 18km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 122; 141)

Gosforth, St. Nicholas.

Grid ref.: NZ 425085 568085

Period C?

Dis. from R. road: .01km   **Dis from R. site:** 4.3km   **Dis. from water:** 4.50km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 123; 143).

Halton, St.Oswald, St.Cuthbert & King Alfwald.

Grid ref.: NY 399735 567834

Period A3(788)

Roman stones built into walls; altar in graveyard much weathered.

Associated with Hadrian's Wall (.63km), *Hunnum* Roman fort (.65km) and *Dere Street* (.95km).

Dis. from R. road: .95km **Dis. from R. site:** .63km **Dis. from water:** 3.5km

References:-

Craster, H.H.E., (1914: 234).

Haltwhistle, Holy Cross

NMR No.:NY76SW7

Grid ref.: NY70756 403

Period A(2)

Old font, associated with Paulinus, but not made of Roman stone although it may be mounted on a Roman pillar at a later date.

Associated with a Roman camp (1.7km) and a roman road (.9km).

Dis. from R. road: .90km   **Dis. from R. site:** 1.70km   **Dis. from water:** .5km

Hartburn, St. Andrew

Grid ref.: NZ 409045 568015

Period C2

Dis. from R. road: 0.55km   **Dis from R. site:** 20km   **Dis from water:** 15km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988:123; 144)

Haydon Old Church

Grid ref.: NY384230 566890

Period C3

In the eighteenth century a stone known as the 'cross of Haydon' was removed from a field and subsequently destroyed. There is a field known locally as 'Cross Field' which may be linked to the cross base now used as a font in the church. (Source: church guide) Altar (cross base) inside, at back of church; badly weathered; no markings remain; appears to be upturned and then carved in a stepped square to receive a cross.

Height: .92m;   Width: .49m;   Length: .545m,

Internal measurements:- .31m*.305m*.05m > .23m*.22.5m*.135m

Total depth of socket=.185m

*Measurements of lower step.

Associated with the *Stanegate* (2.9km)

Dis. from R. road: 2.9km   **Dis. from R. site:** 5.55km   **Dis. from water:** .7

Heddon-on-the-Wall, St. Andrew.

NMR No.: NZ16NW29

Grid ref.: NZ1338 6689

Period A(2)(680)

Associated with *Hadrian's Wall* & Milecastle (12).
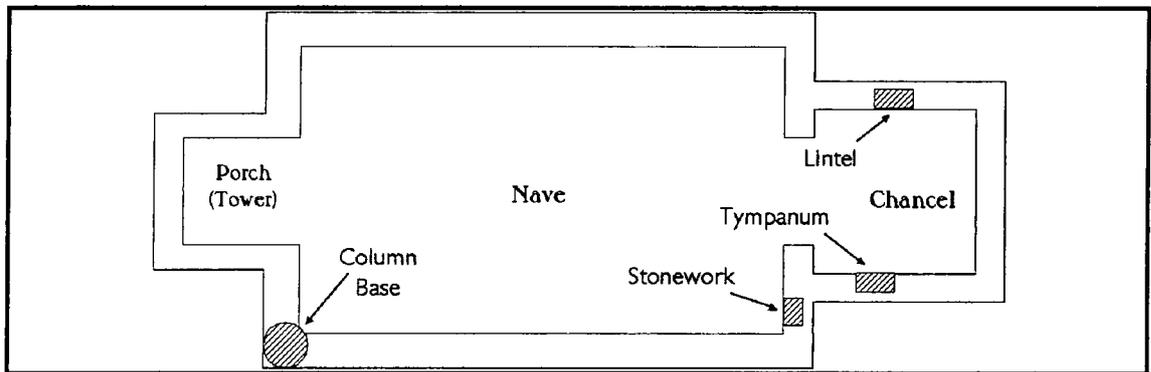
Dis. from R. road: 8km   **Dis. from R. site:** .10km   **Dis. from water:** 1.35km

References:-

Bailey, R. et. al. (1988: 95-97; 146).

Gilbert, E., (1946: 174-76)

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 292)

Hexham, St. Andrew.

NMR No. NY93506410

Grid ref.: NY 393520 364100

Period A2(674AD)

Crypt built entirely of re-used Roman stones is all that remains of Wilfrid's seventh century abbey. Features re-used altar (see below), dedication stone from *Corstopitum* and imposts as well as highly decorated mouldings and tooled blocks.

①Altar, dedicated to Apollo Maponus (Corpus no.1122), shaped to fit as lintel; mouldings largely removed; in the Archway between N. antechamber and adjoining passage.

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Height: .53m   Width: .28m   Length: .98m

Associated with *Corstopitum* (4.65km) and *Hadrian's Wall* (5.5km).

Dis from R. road: 2.50km   **Dis. from R. site:** 4.65; 5.5km   **Dis. from water:** .65km

References:-

Bailey, R., (1976)

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 50; 148)

Taylor, H.M.& Taylor, J. (1965: 297; 738).

Holystone, St. Mary the Virgin.

NMR No.: NT90SE23

Grid ref.: NT9550 0264

Period C

Associated with Roman road to High Learchild and ancient well of St. Ninian (.35km)

Dis. from R. road: 0.35km   **Dis. from R. site:** 10.5km   **Dis. from water:** 24km

Howick, St. Michael & All Angels.

Grid ref.: NU 424865 617400

Period C(2)

Dis. from R. road: 13km   **Dis. from R. site:** 13km   **Dis. from water:** .5km

Ilderton , St. Michael.

Grid ref.: NU 401949 616270

Period C3

Dis. from R. road: 3.00km   **Dis. from R. site:** 12km   **Dis. from water:** 10km

Ingram, St.Michael & All Angels.

NMR No. NU01NW56

Grid ref.: NU 401949 616270

Period C

Dis. from R. road: 4.00km   **Dis. from R. site:** 9km   **Dis. from water:** 22.5km

References:-

Bailey, R. et. al. (1988: 124; 150).

Kirkhaugh, Holy Paraclete.

Grid ref.: NY 369950 549420

Period B?

Dis. from R. road: 0.45km   **Dis. from R. site:** .8km   **Dis from water:** 12km

Kirknewton, St. Gregory the Great.

Grid ref.: NT 391360 630255

Period C2

Dis. from R. road: 11.5km   **Dis. from R. site:** 26.35km   **Dis. from water:** 17km

Lesbury, St. Mary.

Grid ref.: NU 323750 611650

Period C(?)

Dis. from R. road: 13.25km   **Dis. from R. site:** 14.2km   **Dis. from water:** 1km

Lindisfarne, Abbey Church of St. Peter.

Grid ref.: NU412635 641770

Period A

Dis. from R. road: 9km **Dis. from R. site:** 12   **Dis from water:** .05km

Lindisfarne, Parish Church of St. Mary.

NMR No.: NU14SW13

Grid ref.: NU12564177

Period C3

Dis. from R. road: 9km **Dis. from R. site:** 12km   **Dis from water:** .05km

References:-

Bailey, R., et.al.,(1988: 83-5; 149).

Pevsner, N., (1957: 188).

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 398).

Longhorsley, St. Helen.

Grid ref.: NZ 415440 594370

Period C(?)

Dis. from R. road: 3.25km   **Dis. from R. site:** 13km**Dis. from water:** 13km

Longhoughton, St.Peter.

NMR No.: NU21NW2

Grid ref.: NU424330 615110

Period C

Dis. from R. road: 14.7km   **Dis. from R. site:** 14.7   **Dis. from water:** 2

Bailey, R. et. al., (1988: 125; 155).

Bateson, E., (1895: 359-60).

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 324).

Newbigginn, St. Bartholomew.

Grid ref.: NZ 431870 588025

Period B1(875AD)

Dis. from R. road: 14km   **Dis. from R. site:** 14km   **Dis. from water:** 0.1km

Newburn, St. Michael & All Angels.

Grid ref.: NZ 416700 565380

Period C1(1070AD)

Associated with *Hadrian's Wall* (1.2km);.Milecastle ⑨ (1.5km);.Milecastle ⑩ (1.75km)

Dis from R. road: 8.5km   **Dis. from R. site:**1.2;1.5;1.75km   **Dis. from water:** .2km

Newcastle, St. Andrew.

Grid ref.: NZ 424575 564420

Period C1

Associated with Hadrian's Wall (.4km)

Dis. from R. road: 1km   **Distance from R. site:** 0.40km **Dis. from water:** .85km

Newcastle, Castle site.

Grid ref.: NZ 425015 563850

Period A

Dis. from R. road: .25km   **Dis. from R. site:** .01km   **Dis. from water:** .45km

Norham, St. Cuthbert.

NMR No.: NT84NE1

Grid Ref.:NT389785 647420

Period B

Dis from R. road: 10.00km   **Dis. from R. site:** 3km   **Dis. from water** .45km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al. (1988:102,160;161)

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 462)

Old Bewick, Holy Trinity

Grid ref.: NU 406805 622140

Period C

Dis. from R. road: 2.45km   **Dis. from R. site:** 11.4km   **Dis from water:** 17.85km

Ovingham, St. Mary the Virgin.

NMR No.:NZ06SE1

Grid Ref.: NZ408520 563710

Period C2

Window lintels made from Roman blocks; lewis holes and other masonry in tower.

Associated with *Hadrian's Wall* (4km), the *Stanegate* (2.1km) and possibly a milecastle.

Dis. from R. road: 2.10km   **Dis. from R. site:** 4.00km   **Dis. from water:** 0.1km

Stonework, Porch (Tower), Nave, Chancel
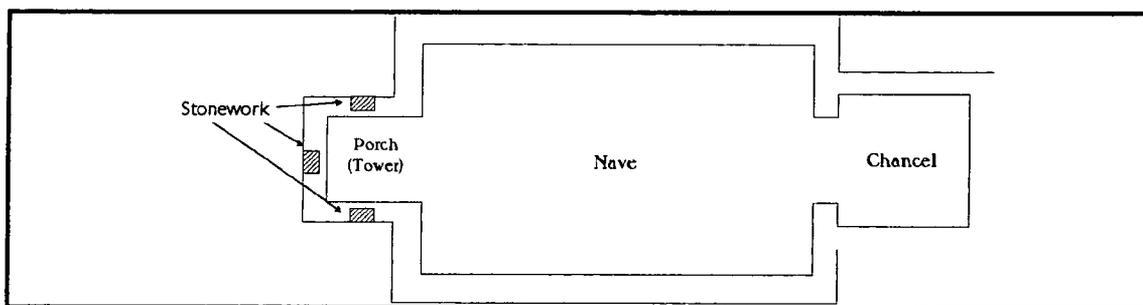
References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 126; 162).

Dodds, M.H., (1926: 73-75).

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 478).

Ponteland, St. Mary the Virgin.

Grid ref.: NZ 416610 572970

Period C(?)

Dis. from R. road: 6.80km   **Dis. from R. site:** 6.00km   **Dis. from water:** 7.5km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 70; 163).

Rothbury, All Saints.

Grid ref.: NU 405785 601665

Period B1(800AD)

Dis. R. road: 6.4km   **Dis. from R. site:** 10.1km   **Dis. from water:** 20km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 97; 164).

Simonburn, St. Mungo

Grid ref.: NY 387165 573565

Period B2

Dis. from R. road: 5.5km   **Dis. from R. site:** 2km   **Dis. from water:** 6.2km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 127; 167).

Dodds, M.H., (1935: 175).

St. John Lee, St. John of Beverley.

NMR No.: NY96NW25

Grid ref.: NY393400 565755

Period B?

R. altar re-used as font. Well weathered so unable to determine whether or not upturned.

Only clue in unevenness of present base. 8 mouldings at present top.

Height: 1.13m   Width: .35m   Length: .405m

Associated with Hadrian's Wall and Milecastle (26) (3.7km).

Dis. from R. road: 0.40km   **Dis. from R. site:** 3.70km   **Dis. from water:** 0.5km

References:-

Bailey, R. et. al., (1988: 127; 165).

Hodgson, J.C., (1897: 130).

Stannington , St. Mary the Virgin

Grid ref.: NZ 421010 579440

Period C3(?)

Dis. from R. road: 0.35km   **Dis. from R. site:** 12km   **Dis. from water:** 13km

Tweedmouth, St. Bartholomew.

Grid ref.: NT 399550 552290

Period B1(870)

Dis. from R. road: 0.5km   **Dis. from R. site:** 0.5km   **Dis. from water:** 0.2km

Tynemouth, Priory site.

Grid ref.: NZ 437370 569378

Period A

Altar dating from C3rd AD found in 1785 re-used in Priory site now in Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle. Base damaged and reconstructed by antiquarians. Sides squared so that it could be built into the building.

Height: .97m   Width: .345m Length: .45

Dis. from R. road: 2km   **Dis. from R. site:** 1.15km   **Dis. from water:** 0.5km

References:-

Allason-Jones, L., (1989: 10)

Wall, St. Oswald in Lee.

NMR No.: NY96NW37

Grid Ref.:NY393689 569555

Period A2(634AD)

Altar at rear of church. Square shaped scoop for re-use as cross base; open at the front; vine motif carved around the base;

Height: 1.33m   Width: .40m   Length: .6m

Fragment of altar in porch showing evidence of having been scooped out for re-use; squared scoop with no evidence of stepping.

Height: .37m+   Width: .2m+   Length: 35m+

Associated with *Hadrian's Wall* (1km); and Milecastle (26) (.6km).

Dis. from R. road: 1.85km   **Dis. from R. site:**.1; .6km   **Dis. from water:** 4.85km

References:-

Bailey, R. et. al., (1988:145)

Wallsend , Holy Cross

Grid ref.: NZ 430540 567200

Period C

Dis. from R. road: 4.5km   **Dis. from R. site:** 1.2km   **Dis. from water:** 1.2km

Warden, St. Michael

NMR No.: NY96NW40

Grid Ref.: NY391345 566480

Period A3(704)

Tower arch; N. side impost; three pieces, corner modern, two pieces of re-used Roman stone.

①Height: .235m Length: .4m

②Height: .23m Length: .36m

Tower arch ; S. side impost; two pieces of re-used roman stone; corner modern.

Height: .71m Length: .24m

In porch and not *in situ*:-

① R. altar split in half vertically and re-used as grave cover.. Remains of moulding at both top and bottom of slab. Appears to have been upturned; Anglo-Saxon carving featuring figure of a man with lattice infil; shears on left hand side. Square at top; hipped and waisted, splays out at base.

Height: 1.3.m Width: .51m

② Part of column split and re-used as grave cover. Decorated with long central rib.

Height: 1.34m Width: .355m(dia) Length: 1.115m

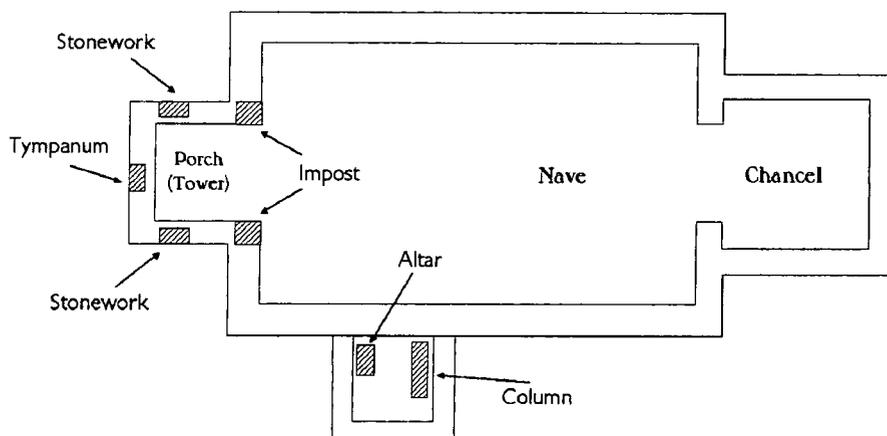③ Part of column split and re-used as grave cover. Carved with cross in circle.

Height: .775m Width: .345m(dia) Length: 1.084m

Externally, Roman stonework visible in the Tower, including large block with lewis hole used as cornerstone on the S.W. angle.

Associated with *Hadrian's Wall* (3.7km) and the *Stanegate* (2.15km).

Dis. from R. road: 2.15km **Dis. from R. site:** 3.7km **Dis. from water:** 0.25km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 128; 170).

Hodges, C.C., (1893: 65-85).

Morris, R., (1983).

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 632-34).

Wark, St. Michael.

Grid ref.: NY 385800 577545

Period A3(688)

Dis. from R. road: 10km **Dis. from R. site:** 6.25km **Dis. from water:** 0.35km

Warkworth, St. Lawrence.

Grid ref.: NU 424719 606200

Period A2(?)

Dis. from R. road: 9.5km **Dis. from R. site:** 12.5km **Dis. from Water:** .5km

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 129; 171).

Whittingham, St. Bartholomew

Grid Ref.: NU0663 1193

Period A3(737)

Dis. from R. road: 1.3; 2.2km **Dis. from R. site:** 3.50 **Dis. from water:** 14km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 128; 172).

Dodds, M.H., (1935: 493-98).

Hodges, C.C., (1928: 81-87).

Honeyman, H.L., (1935: 177-82).

Taylor, H.M. & Taylor, J., (1965: 657-60).

Woodhorn, St.Mary the Virgin.

NMR No.: NZ38NW20

Grid ref.: NZ 430162 588850

Period A(737)

Dis. from R. road: 18km **Dis. from R. site:** 13.5km **Dis. from water:** 1km

References:-

Bailey, R. et.al., (1988: 45; 173).

Taylor, H. M. & Taylor J., (1965: 682-83).

APPENDIX 3: Altars as 'fonts'

The traditional explanation for the inclusion of hollowed out Roman altars within a church building has been that they have been remodelled for use as fonts. Included below are some thoughts on this designation. I have increasingly felt that this classification has been made without any careful analysis of the purpose of these altars. The combined argument provided by the points below persuades me that these altars were not originally re-used as fonts but were most likely water stoops or cross bases. Any use of them as fonts must have originated at a later date when the practice of aspersion was introduced.

① At Haltwhistle the font supposedly used by Paulinus is a simple bowl shape carve from a lump of stone, a style which compares with other known Anglo-Saxon examples. This is despite the fact that Roman stone was readily available as is indicated by the use of a small Roman column to form the support for a font of later date.

② Most altars have been designated as fonts but only Chollerton has a drainage channel at back.

③ Haydon and both altars at Wall have squared hollows indicating they may have been used as cross bases - the intact altar at Wall has a vine leaf scroll and almost certainly was used as a cross base. The altar from Beltingham has a narrow socket which may have supported a cross.

④ Most of the altars are weathered indicating that they have been outside the church at some point in their history: the altar at Halton is still in the churchyard.

④ Although I have made repeated enquiries no-one has been able to satisfactorily explain the baptismal rites of the early Anglo-Saxon Church. Bede talks of mass baptism by Paulinus in the River Glen and it seems more probable that it was immersion rather than aspersion that was practiced. If this was the case then the hollowed out tops of altars would not have been suitable!

⑤ It may be that it was perception of the altars as fonts that has ensured their later survival since Stocker (1997: 24-25) has compiled a list of churches throughout the country where fonts have been singled out for specific treatment. This includes deliberate burial and the remodelling of a new font on the base of an old font. Recent evidence of

the practice of font burial in Northumberland was discovered at West Chevington where one font was discovered beneath the plinth of another (Williams, A., 1998: 11).

APPENDIX 4: Example of the pro forma used to record details of stonework in the field.

STONES RECORDING SHEET		
CHURCH:		
DEDICATION:		
RECORD No.	DATE:	
CLASS of STONE:		
CONTEXT:		
INTERNAL:	EXTERNAL:	
GEOLOGY:		
MEASUREMENTS:		
PHOTOGRAPH No.		
REMARKS:		

APPENDIX 5: *Chi squared* test results.

These are the results of the *chi squared* testing. In the pairs of figures the first is the number of sites with a particular feature etc. the second is the number of sites without. The letters refer to the dating periods used throughout the text. the percentage figure given is the degree of significance. For further explanation see Chapter Four.

A/BC/ stones	11;8 / 6;30	=	0.001654	1%
A/BC/ site<4km	11;8 / 11;35	=	0.049067	5%
A/BC/ R.road<4km	12;7 / 18;18	=	0.351393	
A/BC/ Water<4km	15;4 / 19;17	=	0.051393	10%
B/AC/ stones	1;8 / 16;30	=	0.159911	
B/AC/ site<4km	5;4 / 17;29	=	0.297595	
B/CA/ R.road<4km	3;6 / 27;19	=	0.162275	
B/CA/ Water<4km	6;3 /28;18	=	0.743386	
C/AB/ stones	5;22 / 12;16	=	0.050862	10%
C/AB/ site<4km	6;21 / 16;12	=	0.024477	10%
C/AB/ R.road<4km	15;12 / 15;13	=	0.882553	
C/AB/ Water<4km	13;14 / 21;7	=	0.04045	5%
A/BC/road/river	9;10 / 6;30	=	0.015054	5%
A/BC/road/site	9;10 / 7;29	=	0.030145	5%
A/BC/site/river	8;11 / 7;29	=	0.072756	10%
A/BC/road/site/river	6;13 / 5;31	=	0.118852	
B/AC/ road/river	2;7 / 13;33	=	0.709891	
B/AC/ road/site	3;6 / 13;33	=	0.75929	
B/AC/site/river	3;6 / 12;34	=	0.655306	
B/AC/road/site/river	2;7 / 9;37	=	0.855392	
C/AB/road/river	4;23 / 11;17	=	0.041638	5%
C/AB/road/site	4;23 / 12;16	=	0.022074	10%
C/AB/site/river	4.23 / 11;17	=	0.041638	5%
C/AB/road/site/river	3;24 / 8;20	=	0.105588	
A/BC/stones+site	8;11 / 5;31	=	0.019173	5%
A/BC/stones+road	10;9 / 6;30	=	0.00523	1%
A/BC/stones+water	10;9 / 5;31	=	0.00217	1%
B/AC/stones+site	1;8 / 12;24	=	0.333488	
B/AC/stones+road	1;8 / 15;31	=	0.194078	
B/AC/stones+water	1;8 / 14;32	=	0.23387	
C/AB/stones+site	4;23 / 9;19	=	0.130495	
C/AB/stones+road	5;22 / 11;17	=	0.090032	10%
C/AB/stones+water	4;23 / 11;17	=	0.041638	5%
A/BC/altars	6;13 / 5;31	=	0.118852	
B/AC/altars	1;8 / 10;36	=	0.466018	
C/AB/altars	4;23 / 7;21	=	0.345151	
A/BC/building stone	8;2 / 4;3	=	0.115993	
C/AB/building stone	4;2 / 8;3	=	0.793258	
A/BC/altars	6;4 / 5;2	=	0.627477	
B/AC/altars	1;0 / 10;6	=	0.446491	
C/AB/altars	4;2 / 7;4	=	0.900569	

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