

Bar Locks and Early Church Security in the British Isles





*Professor John F. Potter BSc, PhD, FGS, CBIol, FSB, FIEnvSc
6th July 1932 - 27th November 2019*

Bar Locks and Early Church Security in the British Isles

John F. Potter

Access Archaeology





ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD

Summertown Pavilion

18-24 Middle Way

Summertown

Oxford OX2 7LG

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-78969-398-0

ISBN 978-1-78969-399-7 (e-Pdf)

© John F. Potter and Archaeopress 2020

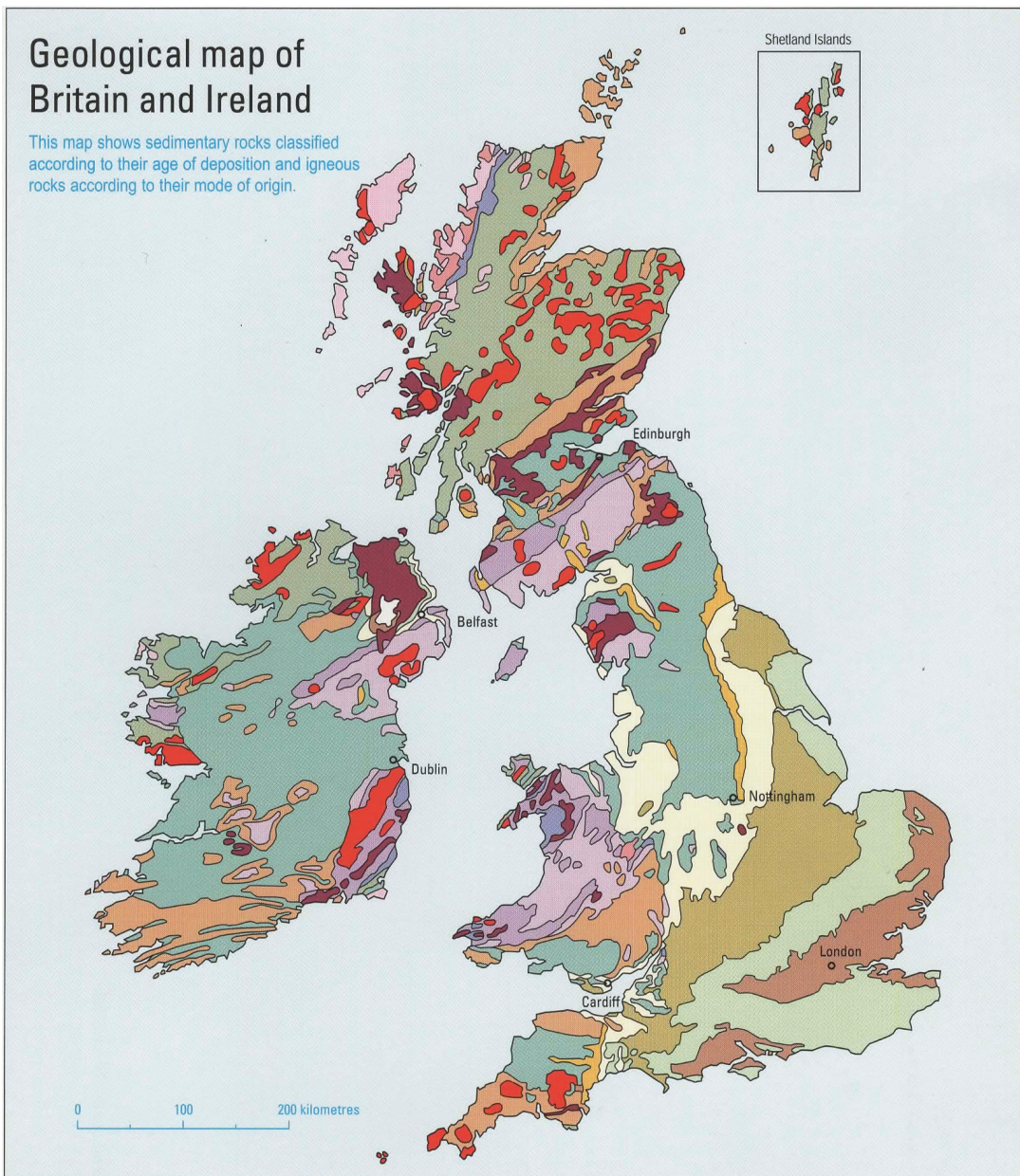
Cover: The north aisle door at Stragglethorpe, Lincolnshire (SK 913 524) which is retained in position by a bar lock. Whilst this Monograph largely describes and pictures holes in church walls, these helped to provide security to churches in the past. To remind ourselves that behind those holes are attractive church buildings, the back cover picture provides a view of the south side of Meldreth church in Cambridgeshire; a church kindly brought to the author's attention by Peter Draper.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

Geological map of Britain and Ireland

This map shows sedimentary rocks classified according to their age of deposition and igneous rocks according to their mode of origin.



SEDIMENTARY ROCKS

CENOZOIC

Tertiary and marine Pleistocene Mainly clays and sands up to 65
Pleistocene glacial drift not shown

MESOZOIC

Cretaceous Mainly chalk, clays and sands 65-140

Jurassic Mainly limestones and clays 140-195

Triassic Marls, sandstones and conglomerates 195-230

PALAEOZOIC

Permian Mainly magnesian limestones, marls and sandstones 230-280

Carboniferous Limestones, sandstones, shales and coal seams 280-345

Devonian Sandstones, shales, conglomerates (Old Red Sandstone) slates and limestones 345-395

PALAEOZOIC continued

Silurian Shales, mudstones, greywacke; some limestones 395-445

Ordovician Mainly shales and mudstones; limestone in Scotland 445-510

Cambrian Mainly shales, slate and sandstones; limestone in Scotland 510-570

UPPER PROTEROZOIC

Late Precambrian Mainly sandstones, conglomerates and siltstones 600-1000

METAMORPHIC ROCKS

Lower Palaeozoic and Proterozoic Mainly schists and gneisses 500-1000

Early Precambrian (Lewisian) Mainly gneisses 1500-3000

IGNEOUS ROCKS

Intrusive: Mainly granite, granodiorite, gabbro, and dolerite

Volcanic: Mainly basalt, rhyolite, andesite and tuffs

Figures indicate age in millions of years

Frontispiece: A simplified geological map of Britain and Ireland after the British Geological Survey.
Published here by kind permission of the Natural Environment Research Council.

Contents

List of Figures	iii
List of Tables	xvii
Acknowledgements	xviii
Chapter One: Keys and Bar Locks	1
1.1 The evolution of this study	1
1.2 Church security	2
1.3 What is a bar lock?	2
1.4 Keys and locks	3
1.5 Early bar locks	5
1.6 Dating bar locks.....	7
1.7 Limitations of this study	11
Chapter Two: Church Bar Locks in England	14
2.1 The extent of bar lock studies in England	14
2.2 The Border country	34
2.3 Bar locks / draw bars in churches in England.....	34
Chapter Three: Church Bar Locks in Scotland	36
3.1 The extent of bar lock studies in Scotland	36
Chapter Four: Church Bar Locks in Wales	38
4.1 The extent of bar lock studies in Wales	38
4.2 What of bar locks?	39
4.3 Welsh church security	39
Chapter Five: Church Bar Locks in Ireland	47
5.1 Church studies in Ireland	47
5.2 Evidence of bar locks / draw bars	47
Chapter Six: Comments and Conclusions on Bar Locks	51
6.1 Discussion.....	51
Chapter Seven: A Review of Possible Church Modifications to Enhance Security	52
7.1 Introduction.....	52
7.2 Church security in the borderlands (Brooke)	52
7.3 The building of floors at a higher level	56
7.4 Window size and position.....	57
7.5 Thickness and construction of walls	58
7.6 Appropriate geographical situations	61
7.7 Conclusion.....	61
Chapter Eight: Church Security in England	62
8.1 Survey of the evidence.....	62

Chapter Nine: Church Security in Scotland.....	91
9.1 Introduction.....	91
9.2 Discussion.....	110
Chapter Ten: Church Security in Wales.....	113
10.1 Summary findings.....	113
Chapter Eleven: Church Security in Ireland.....	118
11.1 The extent of church studies in Ireland.....	118
11.2 <i>Antae</i> and their purpose.....	121
11.3 Irish round towers.....	126
11.4 Double-vaulted churches.....	131
11.5 Megalithic and face-bedded stonework.....	131
11.6 The west doorway – ‘A Priest in Residence?’.....	132
Chapter Twelve: Conclusions.....	135
12.1 Discussion.....	135
Important Note and Resulting Apologies.....	138
Glossary.....	139
References.....	142

List of Figures

Frontispiece: A simplified geological map of Britain and Ireland after the British Geological Survey. Published here by kind permission of the Natural Environment Research Council.

Chapter One: Keys and Bar Locks

- Figure 1.1. Simple bar lock as figured by Dr R. Borg in his ‘Lexicon of locks and keys’. The bar locks in churches are typically held within holes in the wall. As illustrated here the principle of operation can be more easily observed 1
- Figure 1.2. The essential parts of a key from Borg’s ‘Lexicon of locks and keys’ 4
- Figure 1.3. Borg’s sketches of Celtic Viking long iron keys from the Värnamo area of Sweden 4
- Figure 1.4. A bronze key with a clawed blade probably of Viking origin dated to about AD 300 4
- Figure 1.5. A further clawed key thought to be of Anglo-Viking origin and dated to about AD 900 5
- Figure 1.6. A pull-ring lock Swedish key (dated to 1312-1313) photographed by Dr R. Borg. The mechanism requires two hands operate – one to draw the bolt, the other to turn the key..... 5
- Figure 1.7. The north aisle door at Stragglethorpe, Lincolnshire (SK 913 524) which is retained in position by a bar lock..... 6
- Figure 1.8. Bedding stratification in sedimentary rocks and the resulting typical shape of hewn rocks (after Potter 2005b)..... 9
- Figure 1.9. The Anglo-Saxon quoin illustrated displays all possible orientations in which a stone may be positioned within the structure and the annotation first proposed (Potter, 2005b) to describe them. The notation (BVFR-BH-BVFL) refers to the bedding orientation in each stone and not to the stone shape ... 10
- Figure 1.10. Detail of the lowest three stones (in the long and short Anglo-Saxon style) in the south-west nave quoin at Strethall church (TL 484 398) in Essex (after Potter, 2009c). From the lowest stone upwards, the bedding orientations are BVFR, BH, BVFL. The rock type used is Barnack Stone, imported into the region..... 11
- Figure 1.11. A slightly modified Anglo-Saxon arch to illustrate the disposition of its possible stonework. The stone notation, first proposed in Potter, 2005b, permits the bedding orientations to be distinguished. Anglo-Saxon masons appear to have used only BH (Bedding Horizontal) and BVFIA (Bedding Vertical Face Into Arch). The figure, however, shows one stone (on the right) set BVEIA (Bedding Vertical Edge Into Arch) an attitude which together with BH stones would indicate the work of Norman masons 12
- Figure 1.12. The Norman north nave door at Hales Church, Norfolk (TM 383 960). Note all stone carving occurs on the relatively smooth bedding plane surfaces of stones which face to the north (or BVEIA) 13
- Figure 1.13. At Monkwearmouth, Durham (NZ 402 577) the Anglo-Saxon sea-bird carvings related to the west doorway can be seen on the relatively smooth bedding plane surfaces in the north jamb, and therefore on stones orientated BVFIA..... 13

Chapter Two: Church Bar Locks in England

- Figure 2.1. Advertisement in search of bar locks..... 15
- Figure 2.2. (Table 2.1). Attention was kindly drawn to Meldreth church, South Cambridgeshire (TL 375 466) by Peter Draper, FSA. The church south aisle was rebuilt in the 15th C. and the south doorway appears to be of this date. The interior of the doorway is shown here 20

Figure 2.3. (Table 2.1). At Meldreth church the bar lock holes for the south aisle doorway survive, they were probably created in the 15th C. The west hole shown has in the past been repaired with wood ..20

Figure 2.4. (Table 2.1). Astbury church, Cheshire (SJ 846 616), door to the north aisle showing partially blocked deep bar lock hole..... 20

Figure 2.5. (Table 2.1). Evidence of an earlier bar lock, or more precisely its hole, may be seen in the west jamb, of the south door of Repton church (SK 303 272) 20

Figure 2.6. (Table 2.1). The central, west front door to Exeter Cathedral (SX 921 925), view north, with the bar lock in place. Note the pin to roll the weight of the bar on. The wooden roller appears to be a recent addition although the pin holding it may be original. Figures 2.6 to 2.9 kindly supplied by Diane A. Walker 21

Figure 2.7. (Table 2.1). The two-leaf south door of the west front of Exeter Cathedral, view towards the south jamb (with the long hole). The iron bar hanging from the wall was designed to hook into a cup on the back of the door to help to hold the south leaf of the door closed..... 22

Figure 2.8. (Table 2.1). The north leaf of the same south door, this time viewed towards the north jamb from the inside. The iron bracket is to support the bar on the back of the door..... 22

Figure 2.9. (Table 2.1). The lockable iron bracket in Figure 2.8 has been opened. This facility permits the bar to be removed and means the bar need not be passed into a long bar lock hole. It would seem likely that the ironwork associated with Figures 2.7-2.9 are additions to the door and possibly as late as Victorian in age..... 22

Figure 2.10. (Table 2.1). Haughton-le-Skerne church (NZ 307 158) reveals bar lock holes in both its south aisle and west tower doorways. The door jambs show their post-Norman bar lock holes to be deeper for the south aisle door, as shown, on its west side, and for the west tower door deeper in the north jamb .. 22

Figure 2.11. (Table 2.1). Pittington church (NZ 328 426) south nave doorway has a bar lock hole, about half a metre deep, on its east jamb 23

Figure 2.12. (Table 2.1). The bar lock hole in the west jamb of the south nave doorway at Barton-upon-Humber church (TA 035 219) 23

Figure 2.13. (Table 2.1). A deep bar lock hole is present on the east side of the south door of South Kyme church, Lincolnshire (TF 168 497). The original door has been replaced by a newer door 24

Figure 2.14. (Table 2.1). Stow (-in-Lindsey) church (SK 882 819), Lincolnshire, preserves many interesting early features. The bar lock holes do not photograph well, but this Anglo-Saxon doorway on the west wall in the north transept with its interesting cut backs is always worth further examination!..... 24

Figure 2.15. (Table 2.1). Acle church in Norfolk (TG 401 103) reveals a bar lock hole in its south nave doorway. The visible hole is in its west jamb. The door would appear to be more recent in age than the hole..... 24

Figure 2.16. (Table 2.1). A relatively modern wooden bar is in place in this north nave aisle doorway at the church of St Andrew, Bedingham, Norfolk (TM 285 934). The door and the bar lock holes are of different ages with the worn holes the earlier. Note, a short iron bar is used additionally high on the door, using the bar lock principle to the east jamb 24

Figure 2.17. (Table 2.1). Dr Brooke kindly provided this photograph of the complex bar locks visible on the west door of Bywell, St Peter church, Northumberland (NZ 049 614). These would appear to relate to the bar provision for two adjoining doors: the farthest from the camera with the door rebate only visible over the top of the door, indicates that this door opened towards the viewer (the two lower bars would replace the requirement for the rebate to continue to the bottom of the door). The closure nearer to the camera

appears not to have a rebate but the photograph fails to show the uppermost area of the door. The older parts of the church are described in Potter (2016, 26-7); the tower was built in the 13th C..... 25

Figure 2.18. (Table 2.1). Edlingham church in Northumberland (NU 114 091) possesses a west nave doorway which now leads to the later (probably late 13th C) west tower. The bar lock hole on the south jamb is visible. It presumably pre-dates the tower and from the stonework of the doorway is likely to be of Anglo-Saxon age 26

Figure 2.19. (Table 2.1). The south nave porch, and the view to the south nave door of Old Newton church, Suffolk (TM 059 625). Details of this church kindly supplied by M.J. Renshaw and Dr V.R. Harding..... 26

Figure 2.20. (Table 2.1). Old Newton church, and a view of the interior of the south nave doorway to show the bar lock holes. The doorway probably dates from the 13th-14th C 27

Figure 2.21. (Table 2.1). Old Newton church, detail of the west bar lock hole from the south nave doorway. The hole is lined with timber (as is the east hole) to permit easier movement of the bar. The lining was probably inserted about Victorian times..... 27

Figure 2.22. (Table 2.1). This figure was also kindly submitted by M.J. Renshaw and Dr V.R. Harding. It illustrates what the author has been advised is the only window in the upper storey of the chantry chapel (the ground floor was subsequently the vestry, and is now the parish office) to the north of the chancel of St Peter and St Mary church, Stowmarket, Suffolk (TM 049 247). The chapel probably dates to the 15th C., but the window (with leaded lights) was most likely modified in the 19th C.. Bar lock holes are evident either side of this window 27

Figure 2.23. (Table 2.1). The bar lock hole to the east of the window shown in Figure 2.22 can be seen to be lined with sawn planks. It has been suggested that the room may have once provided accommodation for the chantry priest. As to why the window should have been bar locked is uncertain but the room must at one time have been used to retain church valuables. 28

Figure 2.24. (Table 2.1). The south nave door, Thornham Parva church, Suffolk (TM 109 727). Details of this church kindly supplied by M. Renshaw and Dr V. Harding 28

Figure 2.25. (Table 2.1). View of south nave door from the inside of Thornham Parva church; the earlier Norman doorway is also evident 28

Figure 2.26. (Table 2.1). The east side bar lock hole for Thornham Parva south nave door 29

Figure 2.27. (Table 2.1). The west side bar lock hole for Thornham Parva south nave door. The hole shows how it has been cut (probably through the earlier Norman walling) to accommodate the needs of a new bar lock and door (such as a change in door thickness or an adjustment to the door rebate) 29

Figure 2.28. (Table 2.1). The lower part of the west tower at St Peter's church, Old Woking, Surrey (TQ 021 568) as seen from the west. Internal bar lock holes are deep (north side over a metre and into Chalk walls) and may date to an earlier structure (a porch rather than a tower) and a wider door 30

Figure 2.29. (Table 2.1). St Michael Bongate, Appleby, in Westmorland (NY 688 199), is now a private residence. Shown here is the internal view of the upper portion of the north nave doorway. Plait-work carving on the lintel stone is from an Anglo-Saxon hog-back. The door reveals bar lock holes at a lower level. The hole to take the east side of the bar is 1.32m deep which suggests that the doorway (now under a metre wide) was probably once wider 30

Figure 2.30. (Table 2.1). Long Marton church (NY 666 240), Westmorland, here exhibits the one time south bar lock hole for this west nave doorway, when at about table top height the bar lock hole was used to the east of the door's rebate. This hole proves to be about 1.2m deep and is presumed to be of Anglo-Saxon age. When the tower was built, about the early 12th C., the nave door probably became redundant..... 31

Figure 2.31. (Table 2.1). In the instance of Morland church (NY 598 225), rather than the west nave door, the locking system relates to the tower's east doorway. The tower door is reached by steps from the nave floor31

Figure 2.32. (Table 2.1). From within the Morland church tower, a bar lock hole is here visible in the north jamb. This occurs inside, in turn, the door and its rebate. The tower was probably originally a separate building from the church32

Figure 2.33. (Table 2.1). St Gregory, the Bedale church in Yorkshire (SE 265 884), has as its main entry point a porch on the south side of its tower. Inside the church, to the east of the porch a small doorway provides an entrance to higher levels of the tower. This narrow doorway, as illustrated, between the upper levels of the south porch and the tower looks highly innocuous32

Figure 2.34. (Table 2.1). The Bedale church doorway illustrated in Figure 2.33 proves to contain a portcullis within a groove in the doorway's structure (only discovered when the portcullis fell). The portcullis would have barred the access to the higher levels of the church32

Figure 2.35. (Table 2.1). The doorway between the porch and the tower at Bedale church provided further protection. On the east jamb of the doorway the presence of a bar lock hole is revealed. The protective structures all appear to relate to a period of around the first quarter of the 14th C.....32

Figure 2.36. (Table 2.1). The disused church at Pateley Bridge, in Yorkshire (SE 164 656) retains the bar lock holes for three doorways. Shown here is the north doorway, with the bar lock hole in its east jamb33

Chapter Four: Church Bar Locks in Wales

Figure 4.1. (Table 4.1). Capel Bettws, Carmarthenshire (SN 278 282) is a 13th C. ruin viewed here from the south-east. The chapel has a chancel arch and a very narrow north aisle, all in ruins. 40

Figure 4.2. (Table 4.1). Capel Bettws is here viewed to show the interior of the nave and the position of the west doorway. Over the last few years the wall surrounding the west door has collapsed and the draw bar holes are no longer visible..... 41

Figure 4.3. (Table 4.1). A further Carmarthenshire, 13th C. chapel ruin is Capel Dyddgen (SN 465 126). The principal remnant of the chapel which can be distinguished is the tower, here seen from the north-west. 42

Figure 4.4. (Table 4.1). Capel Dyddgen tower arch, as seen from the vestige of the nave which still exists to its east beneath the ivy. The ground floor of the tower has a stone pointed barrel roof. 42

Figure 4.5. (Table 4.1). From within Capel Dyddgen tower the bar lock holes of the south jamb of both the one time west nave door and the tower's eastern door (the nearer) may be seen. The relationship reveals that the chapel originally terminated at its west door, but with the addition of the tower that was to become the secure stronghold by placing a further bar locked doorway at the tower's eastern entrance..... 43

Figure 4.6. (Table 4.1). A unicelled church, St Teilo, Llanfihangel Abercynwyn is also a ruin in Carmarthenshire (SN 303 134). The church shows evidence related to rebuilding, including an early extension to its east end. The west wall of the church has been rebuilt and thickened, probably when the bell tower was built, and a new west nave chamfered doorway inserted in a position which would have made the visible bar lock holes redundant. (This interpretation is different to that given in Potter (2013, 436) where the presence of a west tower was suggested). 43

Figure 4.7. (Table 4.1). The ruin of Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd church in Denbighshire (SJ 145 598), this also provides a view along the internal axis of the church from the east (the chancel) end. Initially the church must have been significantly smaller for the north and south walls, where built of Silurian 'Denbighshire Grits', terminate 8.67m from the western end, to be extended subsequently in red Triassic

sandstone. Unfortunately, because of repairs, there is nothing to confirm a probable Anglo-Saxon age for the eastern end of the church. 44

Figure 4.8. (Table 4.1). The south doorway to the extended Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd church is built of local red Triassic sandstone, in a position just west of the south wall's junction with the 'Denbighshire Grits'. Two bar lock holes are shown in the east jamb of the south door, the upper one probably succeeding the lower in its use (the sandstone is relatively soft). 44

Figure 4.9. (Table 4.1). The church of St Mary, Rhuddlan, Denbighshire (SJ 021 781) is double-aisled. The north aisle was regarded as having been constructed in the 15th C., but building work in 1981 uncovered a doorway, probably of 13th C. date. The door concerned possesses bar lock holes which once secured this doorway, these occurring mid-way up each jamb..... 44

Figure 4.10. (Table 4.1). The Benedictine abbey church of St Dogmael, Pembrokeshire (SN 164 458) is also a ruin. This doorway is preserved towards the western end of the northern wall of the nave and is here viewed from the inside to show the west jamb and a bar lock hole..... 45

Figure 4.11. (Table 4.1). This view of the St Dogmael nave north door shows the appearance of the same bar lock hole from the exterior. 45

Figure 4.12. (Table 4.1). The same north nave door at St Dogmael church viewed to show the east jamb from the exterior. The external ball-flower ornament has been described as of late 13th C. date. A worn lower possible bar lock hole is visible towards the base of the jamb..... 46

Figure 4.13. (Table 2.1). In Montgomery, the church of Llansantffraid-ym-Mechain (SJ 221 204) provides an example of a bar lock using one side of the doorway only. The bar operates into the east jamb of the south door of the nave, with the door hinged on the west. This bar lock remains in use and is poorly visible above the mid-door horizontal support. Examples of half door bar locks have been rarely observed elsewhere in these studies. Although difficult to date none of these half bar locks appear unduly old. 46

Chapter Five: Church Bar Locks in Ireland

Figure 5.1. A map of Ireland indicating the positions of the Patterned churches examined by the present author in Potter (2009)..... 48

Figure 5.2. The inside of the west doorway to Glendalough Cathedral (T 123 968). The stonework is laid to typical Anglo-Saxon (Patterned) style with the exception of the doorway jambs which have been cut into and modified to provide a setting for a later door (if a date, has to be suggested in the 13th -14th C.)..... 49

Figure 5.3. The outside of the west doorway to Glendalough Cathedral seen in Figure 5.2. The stonework is clearly to 'Patterned' style (Folder 310mm long). 49

Chapter Seven: A Review of Possible Church Modifications to Enhance Security

Figure 7.1. This copy of (Brooke, 2000, Figure 3) is kindly provided by that author, he also advises that, the final version was drawn by Peter Ryder. Resulting from the much more extensive geographical and historical present study, and in wishing to acknowledge the value of the figure, it is now republished here for further consideration. 53

Figure 7.2. Kindly supplied by Dr Brooke, this figure of part of Blanchland abbey (NZ 946 448), Northumberland, displays an instance of a staircase where a mid-wall has been built which restricts the width available in which people could circulate. 54

Figure 7.3. This figure is again from Dr Brooke; it illustrates the tower parapet at Biggar church, south Lanarkshire. The parapet was clearly hurriedly built (following difficult times related to the restoration of the monarchy {1660-90} and a requirement for defensibility)..... 55

Figure 7.4. Newton Arlosh church in Cumberland (NY 198 553) has monastic origins, and the tower at height, as kindly displayed here by Dr Brooke, carries a garderobe.....56

Figure 7.5. The church of St Michael, Heckfield, Hampshire (SU 723 605) has its Victorian nave walls built in ferruginously-cemented gravel. When the Anglo-Saxon walls were knocked down in 1876, their strength was such that the wall material was reused.....58

Figure 7.6. The Norman walls of the ruined Agha church, Carlow (S 730 654) in Ireland. The outer walls consist unusually of well-fitted boulders of hammered granite but their interior is only of rubble of limited strength.59

Figure 7.7. View north, of the rampired walls, City of York.59

Figure 7.8. With the removal of rampires as shown here at Great Yarmouth, some defensive systems, as gun emplacements and arrow slits were retained in the walls..... 60

Figure 7.9. The church of Bywell, St Peter (NZ 049 614), see also Figure 2.17, stands by the north bank of the River Tyne. Three of the four of the round-headed windows on the north side of the higher levels of the nave are of Anglo-Saxon build. Brooke (2000, 187) dated the tower to the 14th C. and indicated the presence (his text Figure 99) to a set of ‘draw-bar’ slots in the west entrance. A view down into the nave was once served by a small lancet, now blocked. He concluded that the tower was a ‘defensible’ refuge but doubts must remain as to whether the church was ever defended60

Figure 7.10. St Andrew’s church, Bywell (NZ 048 615), see Tables 1.3 and 2.1, retains its Anglo-Saxon tower (Potter, 2016, 22-26) and characteristics which include a south facing belfry outlined in strip work and a doorway opening into space. Brooke (2000, 187) suggested that the south doorway may have been secured by two draw-bars, now plastered over and not seen by the present author61

Chapter Eight: Church Security in England

Figure 8.1. (Table 8.1). Aston by Trent church, Derbyshire (SK 414 294), and its tower viewed from the south-east..... 63

Figure 8.2. (Table 8.1). On this Aston by Trent buttress, at the join of the nave south wall and the chancel, the stonework has been used for possible sharpening..... 63

Figure 8.3. (Table 8.1). The chancel arch at Repton church (SK 303 272) when viewed from the east shows traces centrally of a higher, Anglo-Saxon blocked smaller arch 70

Figure 8.4. (Table 8.1). Hart church, Durham (NZ 470 357) showing the Norman chancel arch and, as seen from the chancel, above it traces of an earlier chancel arch and a triangular doorway. The triangular doorway typifies Anglo-Saxon work, but this doorway has been rebuilt, for all jamb stones are laid BH 71

Figure 8.5. (Table 8.1). Norton church (NZ 442 221), in Anglo-Saxon style, has the lowest walls of its square tower broader than the adjoining adjuncts, so that all four quoins of the tower are visible. The areas above all four arms of the church (nave, chancel, and both transepts) were it appears accessible from the higher floors of the tower by means of triangular headed doorways. In this view the high doorway over the arch to the nave may be seen from the tower 72

Figure 8.6. (Table 8.1). A second of the tower doorways at Norton church can be seen in this picture, where on the north side of the tower a triangular doorway once provided access to the floor over the north transept. The trace of the early transept roof can be seen on the tower’s north face..... 72

Figure 8.7. (Table 8.1). St Laurence church, Pitlington (NZ 328 436) here displays one of its archaeological attractions. This elaborate Norman north arcade is thought to date from about 1180. The arcade cuts earlier windows which retain paintings probably of 12th C. date..... 72

Figure 8.8. (Table 8.1). Above the tower arch at Staindrop church, Durham (NZ 131 206) an off-centre, high level doorway, now blocked, once connected to a higher level in the nave..... 73

Figure 8.9. (Table 8.1). Alton church, in Hampshire (SU 717 396), where local aspects of the Civil War, in 1643, left musket shot holes on the outside of the south nave door. The door has subsequently been thickened on the inner surface 73

Figure 8.10. (Table 8.1). In Lincolnshire, at Alkborough (SE 882 219), the village cross has clearly been much used as the village whetstone 74

Figure 8.11. (Table 8.1). The south face of both the Anglo-Saxon tower and western annexe at Barton-upon-Humber church (TA 035 219), Lincolnshire 74

Figure 8.12. (Table 8.1). On the east face of the tower, and above the tower arch, at Barton-upon-Humber church this Anglo-Saxon doorway clearly reveals its patterned stonework..... 74

Figure 8.13. (Table 8.1) The lowest stones in the northern jamb of this doorway at Barton-on-Humber church, Lincolnshire (TA 035 219) have been used as whetstones, probably for sharpening swords (note vertical cuts). The church is fully described in Potter (2015, 144-153)..... 74

Figure 8.14. (Table 8.1). In Broughton church tower, Lincolnshire (SE 960 086) one arch jamb reveals its past use as a whetstone, from the height of the wear possibly for sharpening arrows..... 75

Figure 8.15. (Table 8.1). The church of St James, Castle Bytham (SK 988 183) possesses high level windows/doors, these on the west wall of the nave..... 76

Figure 8.16. (Table 8.1). This keyhole window is preserved at a relatively low level on the south wall of the tower of Coleby church, Lincolnshire (SK 975 606). The cut back visible and stonework indicate the window to be of Anglo-Saxon age 76

Figure 8.17. (Table 8.1). The tower arch at Corringham church, Lincolnshire (SK 872 917), seen from the nave, shows above it a blocked doorway at first floor level 76

Figure 8.18. (Table 8.1). St Mary-le-Wigford church, Lincoln (SK 974 708) carries a high level doorway above its Tower arch. When this doorway was unblocked the jambs were said to convey an Anglo-Saxon age 77

Figure 8.19. (Table 8.1). Little Bytham church (TF 013 180) showing the tower arch as seen from the nave. Unfortunately, all stone detail relating to the high level doorway is covered in plaster 77

Figure 8.20. (Table 8.1). St Giles church, Scartho in Lincolnshire (TA 267 063) is yet another church in the county to carry a high level doorway above its tower arch 78

Figure 8.21. (Table 8.1). Thurlby church (TF 105 167), like others in Lincolnshire, has a doorway above its tower arch. The doorway in this instance is with a triangular head and likely to be Anglo-Saxon. Paul Ratcliffe, a local resident had permission to visit the higher levels of the tower and he kindly took this photograph (the doorway viewed from inside the tower). Unfortunately, no stonework orientations could be read 78

Figure 8.22. (Table 8.1). Much of Winterton church (SE 928 126) has been modernised. The doorway above the tower arch probably in 1904 when it was stated it was modelled on the earlier doorway replaced. The ‘long and short’ stones in the part of the doorway visible suggesting an earlier Anglo-Saxon style 78

Figure 8.23. (Table 8.1). Hartburn church in Northumberland (NZ 090 161) has a blocked tower arch, seen here as from the nave, to presumably give the tower security. But to maintain limited tower access, two doorways have been opened in the blocking on a line central to the church. The earlier and higher, of these doorways is thought to have been used by means of a removable ladder to maintain security,

the lower doorway is relatively modern. Higher in this wall there is a window and above it (not visible) a further blocked doorway 78

Figure 8.24. (Table 8.1). Ingram church, Northumberland (NU 019 163). Brooke (2000, 94-95) noted that the tower was restored in the 19th C. although the openings were in size minimal; but that the original Norman tower arch remained and the various records for the 16th C detailed Scottish raids 79

Figure 8.25. (Table 8.1). The doorway high above the chancel arch at Lindisfarne church, Northumberland (NU 125 418), as seen from the chancel. The stonework suggests the doorway to be Anglo-Saxon in age 80

Figure 8.26. (Table 8.1). Ovingham church in Northumberland (NZ 085 637), showing the upper south face of the tower. The stonework of the double belfry window (all stones BVFIA or BH) indicates it is of a Patterned, Anglo-Saxon build. Below the belfry there is a doorway which opens into space; clearly not an indication of increasing church security. Other Anglo-Saxon similar doorways are known elsewhere as at Earl's Barton in Northamptonshire and St Andrew, Bywell, always on the tower south wall, their purpose is as yet unknown. 80

Figure 8.27. (Table 8.1). The west face of the nave, inside Ormside church Westmorland (NY 701 176) displays the doorway to the tower. Unfortunately, heavy plaster cover prevents any interpretation of the stonework. Note the blocked doorway higher in the wall 80

Figure 8.28. (Table 8.1). At Hovingham church, in Yorkshire (SE 666 757) the tower arch has apparently been created by cutting straight through the west nave wall, quite possibly by enlarging a smaller earlier arch. Viewed here from the nave, high above the arch, a doorway exists somewhat north of the central line of the church of the church. This doorway must have once permitted communication between the tower and the nave. 81

Figure 8.29. (Table 8.1). Viewed from the nave and seen high above the tower arch, a blocked early doorway may be seen at Kirby Underdale church (SE 808 585). The jamb stones from their setting suggest that the doorway may be Anglo-Saxon. 82

Figure 8.30. (Table 8.1). Viewed from the east the western wall of the interior of Stonegrave church (SE 655 778) is evident. The nave west door (now the tower arch), with higher, the lower portion of a doorway from the tower to a chamber over the present nave, are visible. 82

Figure 8.31. (Table 8.1). The Holy Cross church, Whorlton-in-Cleveland (SE 484 025) here displays the west side of its blocked Norman chancel arch, and higher, a later doorway. To the south of the arch the low walling, over a small area, is constructed of boulders, a possible intimation of an earlier age. 83

Figure 8.32. (Table 8.2). Cross Canonby church, Cumberland (NY 069 390). Brooke (2000, 296) commented 'there are very few windows earlier than the 17th or 18th centuries' and 'there are no obvious defensible features'. The north wall of the nave and chancel are shown (constructed of Roman squared stones), the windows illustrated are late additions to the walls (note the irregular relationship with the wall stones) ... 86

Figure 8.33. (Table 8.2). Escomb church, Durham (NZ 189 302). Escomb church is renowned for features of its preservation, for windows, doors and quoins all retain evidence of the distinctive Patterned style of stonework. Nearly all elements of the stonework of the church reflect 'The Escomb Style' surely confirming no elements of past disturbance or destruction 87

Figure 8.34. (Table 8.2). Jarrow church, Durham (NZ 339 653). In many respects Jarrow church having been in use for a millennium or more years is complex to interpret. The south wall has elements of various doorways which remain visible. The three monosplay Anglo-Saxon windows in the south chancel walls each have BVFIA and BH stones creating the window jambs. Several years ago the present author commenced an analysis of the Patterned wall masonry that occurred patchily on the south chancel wall, in which Face Bedded stones were common (Potter, 2015, 98). This analysis was not completed 88

Figure 8.35. (Table 8.2) A keyhole window in the south wall of the tower of Hainton church, Lincolnshire (TF 180 844), fully described in Potter (2015, 200-205)	88
Figure 8.36. (Table 8.2). Longhoughton church, Northumberland (NU 243 654). As noted by Brooke (2000, 85-86) the church was used as a defensive refuge during the mid-16th C.....	89
Figure 8.37. (Table 8.2). Easby church, Yorkshire (NZ 185 003). This Norman style window in low in the south wall of the chancel has clearly been extensively repaired. The shallow buttress is also an additional feature	89
Figure 8.38. (Table 8.2). The crypt in Lastingham church, Yorkshire (SE 728 904) appears to show very limited modification since its original inception	90
Figure 8.39. (Table 8.2). Newton Kyme church, Yorkshire (SE 466 449) displays three similar but unlike windows in the south wall of the chancel	90

Chapter Nine: Church Security in Scotland

Figure 9.1. (Table 9.1). Abernethy round tower (NO 190 165) in Perth and Kinross, is today Scotland's only wholly free-standing tower. It is here viewed from the north.....	91
Figure 9.2. (Table 9.1). The stonework to the doorway of Abernethy round tower reveals a 'Patterned' style. A full description of the tower is given in Potter (2009a, 64-65).	91
Figure 9.3. (Table 9.1). Borline ruined church, Loch Eynort, Skye (NG 375 260) as viewed from the south-east. The church is built of vesicular basalt.	94
Figure 9.4. (Table 9.1). The doorway to Brechin Cathedral round tower (NO 596 601) possesses all the characteristics of being constructed in 'Patterned' style. The stones in the doorway are set BVFIA and exhibit cut backs.	94
Figure 9.5. (Table 9.1). Cill Chriosd chapel, Strath Suardl, Skye (NG 617 207) viewed from the south-east. Although ruined, the north-east and south-east quoins both exhibit pre-Conquest, 'Patterned' construction.	95
Figure 9.6. (Table 9.1). St Margaret's chapel, Edinburgh Castle (NT 253 735) has been described in detail Potter (2008b, 205-222). Various periods and styles of building are displayed in the south face shown here.	95
Figure 9.7. (Table 9.1). The north-west quoin of St Margaret's chapel, where the stones are set to 'Patterned' style.	96
Figure 9.8. (Table 9.1). The outline of an earlier infilled window still shows some Anglo-Saxon ('Patterned') characteristics in the north wall of St Margaret's chapel, Edinburgh Castle.	96
Figure 9.9. (Table 9.1). The ruined Egilsay church, Orkney (HY 466 304), seen here from the north to show the tower and north nave door. The church was probably built early in the 12th C. and Patterned features are not apparent.....	96
Figure 9.10. (Table 9.1). In this view the interior of the west end of Egilsay church is visible; this shows the nave door to the tower and a second doorway above.	96
Figure 9.11. (Table 9.1). In the opposite direction to Figure 9.10, Egilsay church chancel's early single-splayed windows to north and south are now blocked and above the chancel a further room existed. 97	
Figure 9.12. (Table 9.1). Egilsay church, in this view, is observed from the south east.....	97
Figure 9.13. (Table 9.1). St Columba ruined church on the Eye Peninsula, Stornaway, Lewis, is viewed here from the south-east.....	98
Figure 9.14. (Table 9.1). A closer view of the south nave wall of the Eye church to show what is probably a 13th C. doorway and to its left a taller blocked doorway which preserves some 'Patterned' characteristics.....	98

Figure 9.15. (Table 9.1). A view of the inside of the south east quoin, of St Ciaran, Fetteresso ruined church (NO 854 857), which retains areas of Anglo-Saxon (Patterned) workmanship.	99
Figure 9.16. (Table 9.1). Although only preserving its principal features, Glenearn church (NO 107 164) here shows the north-east quoin to best advantage.....	99
Figure 9.17. (Table 9.1). In this view the south-east quoin of Glenearn church clearly displays the 'Patterned' features of its stonework.	100
Figure 9.18. (Table 9.1). A general view of Old St Andrews ruined church Gullane (NT 480 827), as viewed from the south.....	100
Figure 9.19. (Table 9.1). The north face of the east jamb of the north door to the nave of Gullane church has its stonework set mainly to 'Patterned' style.....	101
Figure 9.20. (Table 9.1). The much overgrown ruined site of Inch church (NX 103 609).	101
Figure 9.21. (Table 9.1). This doorway to Inch church has well preserved late Anglo-Saxon ('Patterned') features. Note the cut back voussoirs that create the arch.	102
Figure 9.22. (Table 9.1). The early Christian High Cross, at Kildalton, Islay (NR 458 507), is here viewed from the south-west. The church shows some evidence of 'Patterned' stonework in the lowest stones of the four principal quoins.....	102
Figure 9.23. (Table 9.1). The ruined church of St Serf, Kirkton, Burntisland (NT 232 864) in its visibly closest south-west quoin displays a quoin structure representative of Anglo-Saxon style workmanship	102
Figure 9.24. (Table 9.1). The ruined church of Little Dalton, in Dumfries (NY 090 747), in the Scottish West March, possesses a south-east quoin where the stonework is 'Patterned'	103
Figure 9.25. (Table 9.1). The south wall and south-west quoin of the same Little Dalton church is somewhat later in age; note the horizontally bedded rocks which are used to create the quoin.	104
Figure 9.26. (Table 9.1). A further ruined church, that at Preston in Berwickshire and in the Scottish East March (NT 786 570), shows some evidence of early Anglo-Saxon building, as in a few stones in the south jamb of the later unusual chancel arch.....	104
Figure 9.27. (Table 9.1). The moderately distant building seen from the west is of St Peter, Restenneth (NO 482 516), a church recognised by Taylor and Taylor (1965, 710-711) as partially of Anglo-Saxon origin. The roof line of the nave is visible on the west wall of the tower	104
Figure 9.28. (Table 9.1). The east side of the tower arch of Restenneth church reveals a significant amount of building in Anglo-Saxon ('Patterned') style.....	105
Figure 9.29. (Table 9.1). The south door of the tower at Restenneth is here viewed from the exterior. The cut back pilaster-strip (architrave) can be seen cut to the width of the third stone above the ground in the right jamb.....	105
Figure 9.30. (Table 9.1). The same tower south door at Restenneth viewed from the interior. The structure of this doorway is closely similar to that of the two Heysham churches in Lancashire.	106
Figure 9.31. (Table 9.1). The south-west quoin of St Mary, Rothesay, Bute (NS 085 636) remains partially built to 'Patterned' style.	106
Figure 9.32. (Table 9.1). The ruin of Rudh' an Teampuill chapel, Harris (NF 970 913) in which the north-west and north-east quoins show evidence 'Patterned' style building.	107
Figure 9.33. (Table 9.1). The church of St Rule, St Andrews (NO 515 167) as viewed from the south-east. Taylor and Taylor (1965, 711-713) recognised this church as of Anglo-Saxon age.....	107

Figure 9.34. (Table 9.1). A view of St Rule, St Andrews from the north-west provided to show the relationship of the tower and the chancel. 108

Figure 9.35. (Table 9.1). The tower blocked west arch and door at St Rule, St Andrews..... 108

Figure 9.36. (Table 9.1). The detail of the plinth and stones 1 to 5 in the south-west chancel quoin of St Rule: above the plinth the stones in ascending order are set with their bedding orientated, BH, BVFL, BVFR, BVFL, BVFR, in Anglo-Saxon or 'Patterned' style. 109

Figure 9.37. (Table 9.2). The ruined church at Bassendean, Berwickshire (NT 631 457) which is described by Brooke (2000, 29): in this view the south-east quoin is visible. The lowest 3 stones used in this side-alternate quoin are set to Anglo-Saxon fashion possibly suggesting an early Anglo-Saxon origin..... 109

Figure 9.38. (Table 9.2). Access to the interior of Bassendean church is through the south door, as seen towards the west-south-west. Brooke observed 'there is evidence of a substantial draw-bar and lock-mortices to protect a door'. Regrettably, these were not observed by the present author. 111

Figure 9.39. (Table 9.2). The collegiate abbey at Dunglass (NT 767 718) as viewed from the north. The building is described by Brooke (2000, 47-49)..... 111

Figure 9.40. (Table 9.2). Brooke (2000, 205-208) gives an extensive description of Jedburgh Abbey (NT 650 204) viewed here from the south. 112

Chapter Ten: Church Security in Wales

Figure 10.1. The Anglesey church of St Peiro, Rhosbeiro (SH 391 918) as viewed from the south, although here no longer used, is typical of the type of single-storey church which might be described as 'primitive' in character..... 113

Figure 10.2. St Tanwg, Llandanwg, Merionethshire (SH 569 282) is similar in character to Rhosbeiro church. Seen here from the south-west it is partially buried in sand dunes (to the extent that it was derelict for much of the 18th century). 114

Figure 10.3. The chancel of St Caradoc church, Lawrenny, Pembrokeshire (SN 016 068) had received an unsatisfactory coat of fairly recently applied lime plaster when this photograph was taken. On the east face of the tower the one time contact with a much higher nave roof line (above the clock) is just visible. Such a roof would have included the nave aisles in its cover. The aisles have been replaced by transepts where the aisle hagioscopes can now be used. 115

Figure 10.4. The Carmarthenshire church of St Maelog, Llandyfaelog (SN 414 119) viewed from the south-east to show the east gable of the nave. The chancel has been rebuilt at a lower level than its predecessor. The outline of a doorway can be seen on the heavily rendered east nave wall. This doorway provided, for Wales, a facility for unusual high level communication between nave and chancel, a feature considered as assisting the defensibility of the church. The window in the nave gable appears to be above the earlier chancel roof line. 115

Figure 10.5. St Illtwd church, Llantwit Major, in Glamorgan (SS 966 687) has Anglo-Saxon origins some of which are best shown in the stonework of the south chancel wall of the 'East Church' (Potter, 2013, 215-9). High early roof lines are visible inside the church on the east wall of the tower..... 116

Figure 10.6. A characteristic of many churches regarded as showing defensible features is the occurrence of tower or chancel arches having been reduced in size. This is seen at Holy Trinity church, Llandow, Glamorganshire (SS 943 734), where the original Norman chancel arch (the age of which can be identified from the jamb stonework), which is seen here from the west, has been replaced by a smaller (probably 13th C.) arch..... 116

Figure 10.7. St Aelhaiarn, Guilsfield, in Montgomeryshire (SJ 219 116) is one of only a few churches in Wales which has a two storey porch; this example was built prior to 1739. The second storey in some similar porches, and possibly in this instance, was used to provide accommodation for a priest in residence. 117

Chapter Eleven: Church Security in Ireland

Figure 11.1. Temple Benan, Inishmore (L 884 071) viewed from the north-west (the church is orientated with its 'west' door towards the north. 118

Figure 11.2. Palmerston church ruin, Dublin (O 090 355) is still relatively simple in structure but it possesses a south door, a chancel and chancel arch, and is partially Romanesque in age. It is here viewed from the south-west. 119

Figure 11.3. Viewed from the south, the church at Kilsheelan, South Tipperary (S 288 233) with west tower and south porch could possibly be mistaken for an 'English' church in appearance. It has evidence of some Norman workmanship. 120

Figure 11.4. The west face of Ullard church, in Kilkenny (S 724 482) with its remarkable west doorway. The church contains both Patterned and Romanesque workmanship. 120

Figure 11.5. The plan of an early, simple unicameral Irish church with antae is shown. Typically, there is a lack of apparent bonding between the gables and the adjoining walls and often this takes the form as illustrated. 121

Figure 11.6. Kilmalkedar church, Dingle, Kerry (Q 403 062) is viewed here to display the west gable. The antae rise to roof height where they are 'capped' with slightly broader stones; they then continue a very short distance in line with the roof. The finials are, however, constructed on the top of the gable and are not associated with the antae. There are two, possibly three, building periods involved with the construction of the west gable wall, the earliest rising in height only to the top of the arch jambs. ..121

Figure 11.7. A nomenclature for the possible dispositions of stones which might appear in an anta. 122

Figure 11.8. Detail of two stones in the north-east quoin of Rattoo church, Kerry (Q 878 336). The bedding in these calcareous sandstone blocks, which represented stones 2 and 3 in the quoin, is orientated BVFL, BVFR, as such in Patterned style. That Irish churches may preserve ornamented quoins tends to be overlooked. The church is not referred to in Ó Carragáin (2010). Rebuilding work subsequent to 2009 could mean that the stones may no longer be in the same position in the quoin. 122

Figure 11.9. The west face of Clonkeen church (R 689 547) as viewed from the south-west. Although the lowest part of the west gable wall (and short stretches of the north and south walls) are considered to be of Patterned age, the antae have been entirely rebuilt (probably, in part, since the church fell into disuse in the mid-17th C.), with some of the stones being relatively modern. The stonework settings of the west doorway are Romanesque (possibly partly including re-used earlier stones). 123

Figure 11.10. Labbamolaga small church, County Cork (R 764 176), classified by Ó Carragáin (2010, 66) as a shrine-chapel with antae, is viewed here to show the south-east anta (folder length, 315mm.). Note that the stones of which the anta is created are all laid with their bedding horizontal. 124

Figure 11.11. The same Labbamolaga church to show the shorter north-west anta and the west doorway which is set to Patterned style (vertically bedded jamb stones). The north-west anta is built in the same manner as that in the south-east with all stones set BH and both antae have been rebuilt. Ó Carragáin (2010) indicates that just the south-east has been rebuilt. 124

Figure 11.12. The abbey of St Ruadhan, Loorha, North Tipperary (M 920 046) to show the north-west anta as viewed from the south-west. When visited the church antae were under repair and the masons involved were invited to give their views as to the purpose of these structures. Although partially

rebuilt the antae examined showed sufficient original, generally megalithic and orientated stones, to be considered of Patterned age.	125
Figure 11.13. The south-east anta at Clara church, Kilkenny (S 578 564) is slightly displaced from the east gable wall. Bonding between the two walls when viewed from the east appears to be negligible, and of the two walls in this view the gable wall appears to be of a more recent date.	125
Figure 11.14. In the years leading up to 2009 the north-east anta at Sheastown church, Kilkenny (S 544 523) started to fall away from its adjoining east gable wall. The east end of the site is viewed in this photograph.	126
Figure 11.15. A map of Ireland to illustrate the position of those churches which are known to possess antae. Those churches examined by the present author are marked with a solid circle, others, typically more inaccessible, are shown with a cross. A few churches for which traces of antae have been claimed, such as Ardpatrick (R 637 208), are omitted because no evidence of an anta could be seen. All churches are close to navigable waters and were, therefore, in potential danger from Viking attack (particularly during the period 800 to 1100). Area A is drained by the River Shannon and its tributaries; in Area B the churches may be reached by the river systems of the Suir, Nore and Barrow, draining into the Waterford estuary; and in Area C the River Blackwater flows into the Youghal Estuary.....	127
Figure 11.16. The lower part of the tower at Donaghmore, South Tipperary (S 188 291) which is built of Carboniferous Limestone. Sufficient evidence is visible from the stonework to determine that the tower is of Romanesque age. Note the height of the doorway.	128
Figure 11.17. The round headed doorway to Ratoos tower, Kerry (Q 878 336) is of interesting stonework and is probably of early Romanesque age. The door is relatively modern.	128
Figure 11.18. Viewed from the south-east the Glendalough round tower, Wicklow (T 123 968) dominates the Cathedral site.	129
Figure 11.19. The west window at the top of the Glendalough round tower is constructed of blocks of phyllite which are clearly set in Patterned style. The jambs, each of three stones, are placed in long and short setting and orientated BVFIA, BH, BVFIA.....	129
Figure 11.20. The south window at the top of the Glendalough round tower, is similar to the west window (Figure 11.19), but the right jamb appears to have three BH between the BVFIA stones.....	130
Figure 11.21. Such well illuminated windows in Irish round towers are so rare that one further window from the Glendalough display is shown in this figure. The east window on the level below those at the top of the tower (Figures 11.19 and 11.20) is captured in this photograph. It shows the jambs are in this instance constructed of single large BVFIA stones. The lintel stone attracting the lichen may be of granite.....	130
Figure 11.22. The doorway to the Glendalough round tower is largely reconstructed of granite (upon which lichen grows readily). Any lineation in the granite stones is, therefore, impossible to determine.	130
Figure 11.23. St Columcille's house, Kells, Meath (N 740 758) is viewed here from the south-west. A wall fabric change near the base of the south wall can be distinguished. The south doorway is reasonably modern and now provides the access to the building.	131
Figure 11.24. Inside St Columcille's house, Kells, the interior of the west wall displays a fabric change at gable level, indicating rebuilding at the time of construction of the vault and the roof, now accessed by ladder.	132
Figure 11.25. The 'propping arches' which are built into the interior of the roof of St Columcille's house, Kells	133

Figure 11.26. Viewed from the north-east, St Kevin' house, Glendalough, Wicklow (T 123 967). Evidence of an upper floor can be observed externally by the small windows which can be seen at the appropriate level when walking round the site..... 133

Figure 11.27. The east wall of St Mel, Ardagh, Longford (N 204 686) showing the megalithic blocks of face-bedded Lower Carboniferous calcareous sandstone. The wall has been capped more recently with limestone..... 134

Chapter Twelve: Conclusions

Figure 12.1. Viewed from the north-west the original 'island' setting of the ruined Monaincha Abbey, North Tipperary (S 170 884) can be seen; both the high cross (centre), and to its left the sacristy, are visible..... 136

Figure 12.2. In Anglesey, North Wales, the church of St Cwyfan, Llangwyfan ((SH 336 683) is built upon an off-shore island, The church may be accessed at low tide by means of a rough causeway. 136

List of Tables

Chapter One: Keys and Bar Locks

Table 1.1. Itemising, for the period 800 to 1350, some of the more critical periods of unrest throughout the British Isles. These would no doubt require religious buildings to require maximum security. Brooke (2000) effectively describes the extent to which both the English and the Scottish actively pursued the destruction of both churches and other property in the Border country over the period 1290 to 1590..3

Table 1.2. Architectural Styles c. AD 800–1530.....7

Chapter Two: Church Bar Locks in England

Table 2.1. Churches in England with evidence of bar locks surveyed by the author..... 16

Table 2.2. A list of Border churches within England, still preserving bar lock/draw bar evidence, from information originally prepared by Brooke (2000).35

Chapter Three: Church Bar Locks in Scotland

Table 3.1. Churches to the north of the English-Scottish administrative Border, and therefore, within Scotland, still preserving bar lock/draw bar evidence as observed by Brooke (2000, his page numbers given, to ease identification).37

Chapter Four: Church Bar Locks in Wales

Table 4.1. Localities in Wales in which evidence of bar locks has been observed to date and their details. ...40

Chapter Five: Church Bar Locks in Ireland

Table 5.1. West doorway widths for various early Irish churches. Measurements are recorded to the nearest five millimetres50

Chapter Eight: Church Security in England

Table 8.1. Churches in England with evidence of enhanced church security surveyed by the author (the evidence for bar locks is also stated in the table - see also Table 2.1)..... 64

Table 8.2. A selection of churches with early windows recorded in counties in Northern England. Those asterisked were examined separately both by the present author and also by Brooke (2000). Only two of these churches (both of later 15th /16th C. age) might be regarded as having at one time been possibly defended (Ingram, Fig. 8.23 and Longhoughton, Fig.8.24). Despite examination, each church (and their windows) referred to in this Table, failed to reveal any evidence relating to (the term used by Brooke) 'defensibility'.84

Chapter Nine: Church Security in Scotland

Table 9.1. Ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland which clearly display appropriate vertically bedded stone orientation in quoins and jambs: these being sufficient to suggest construction in Anglo-Saxon (Patterned) style. If present, features which may relate to the individual church security are listed here..... 92

Table 9.2. Scottish churches showing provision for enhanced security following analysis by Brooke.110

Acknowledgements

This work covers assimilated knowledge and associated studies accumulated over a period of 43 years. It is perhaps appropriate to acknowledge those, who now, to my memory, are nameless persons from the British Geological Survey who at that time telephoned the present author to enquire if he was aware of the building stones used in the chancel of the Ripley church, Surrey (TQ 052 566)? This was to be the first of very many thousands of churches to be examined by the author, for the walls at Ripley proved to be constructed unusually of iron-bound (ferruginously-cemented) blocks of gravel. These studies, and the numerous publications which resulted from them, were often dependent in part upon both professional support, and assistance generously offered in the field, particularly in the provision of help in determining the location of some of the more remote, ruined and overgrown churches. All must remain anonymous, for a substantial number of their names can no longer be recalled. However, just one of the many persons from the author's early formative years must be acknowledged, for the late Dr Harold Taylor, who kindly offered friendship, encouragement and understanding, should not go unrecorded.

Indirectly supporting this study, the extensive field work in the past which was undertaken across the British Isles received financial assistance to alleviate some of the costs from both the British Academy, and for work in Scotland, the Council of British Archaeology. Certain libraries have over the years provided helpful and cooperative assistance which enabled the author to gain access more readily to some of the more obscure publications cited in this work. In particular, I wish to recall the kind help received from staff of the following libraries: Fleet Library, Hampshire; University of Reading Library and the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. The author is also indebted to both the Ordnance and the Geological Surveys: for the quality and availability of their maps as always proved invaluable. The geological map that provides a frontispiece to this volume is published here by kind permission of the Natural Environmental Research Council.

Encouragement and assistance has always been forthcoming from the Publishers, Archaeopress of Oxford. In particular, as author, I am extremely indebted to the Director, Dr David Davison, for he has provided both interest and very extensive help, while in addition his staff have offered much support which has helped to simplify and ease the final production of this work. Apart from the many persons encountered on visits to ecclesiastical sites who were keen to learn more and to also provide useful information about their building, three important individuals must also be profusely thanked. These are: Dr L. Siss, who kindly proof read early manuscripts and gave enormous useful help and guidance; Dr Raine Borg, whose expertise following his PhD on churches and bar locks in southern Sweden in 2002, and his knowledge of early keys and locking systems, greatly assisted the early stages of this study. Finally, Dr Christopher Brookes, whose profound and wide-ranging knowledge on all subjects related to the defensibility of churches, following his truly excellent study of the ecclesiastical sites of the Scottish Borderlands, was always freely imparted.

Never to be forgotten is the support kindly provided by my loved ones; my always patient wife, my children and grandchildren, together with my friends. It is they that have suffered my long periods of absence and lack of attention during the protracted periods of researching and compiling this work.

ALWAYS IN MY THOUGHTS

Chapter One

Keys and Bar Locks

1.1 The evolution of this study

Forty plus years of detailed study of the fabrics and structures of early Christian ecclesiastical sites and buildings, throughout the British Isles (as, in more recent years, Potter, 2005b, 2009c, 2013a, 2015, 2016b), have led the author to some unexpected discoveries. One, in particular, has been that very little examination, discussion or observation has been made as to how the earlier of these buildings were made secure when they were first built. That castles should possess defensive features such as the moat, drawbridge, portcullis and thick walls, all constructed to provide defence and security, has never been questioned. In 2004, Harrison in a description of many of the larger, predominantly monastic, religious structures in the northern hemisphere described them as 'Castles of God'. Indeed, he states (page 4), that paramount to inclusion in his excellent study, '*architecturally, the ecclesiastical edifice is subservient to the military*'. Early churches, perhaps erected at much the same time and on occasions presumably in the possession of valuables, would often appear to remain lacking in any similar level of protection.

The populace at large today, and most persons associated with churches, including those whose work or study embraces these churches, in response to comment or the question as to how the early protection of the buildings was accomplished, may well answer '*with doors and keys, of course*' (Manning, 2010). A very limited number of persons have used, or are aware of instances of, a means of locking a church door without a key. Scrutiny of some older doorways does, however, certainly reveal evidence in the jambs of what might be termed 'wooden sliding cross bar security systems', or briefly, 'bar locks' (Figure 1.1). Figure 1.1 In the British Isles, as far as the present author originally believed, no attempt had been made to fully describe the function, distribution, or use and implications of this means of security. In the earliest years of the second millennium the present author identified and recognised the importance of bar locks which he had observed in Wales for the first time. At that time, bar locks, had been recently reported in churches in Southern Sweden and described in the PhD thesis of Dr Raine Borg (2002). Possibly without intention, Dr Borg intimated, in correspondence, that this occurrence was the first to be recorded in Europe. More recently, the present author was to discover the large amount of study (as that of Brooke, 2000) undertaken in recent years on the subject of the defence of churches and like buildings. An earlier study in France (Bonde, 1994) also refers to the defensive aspects of large churches.

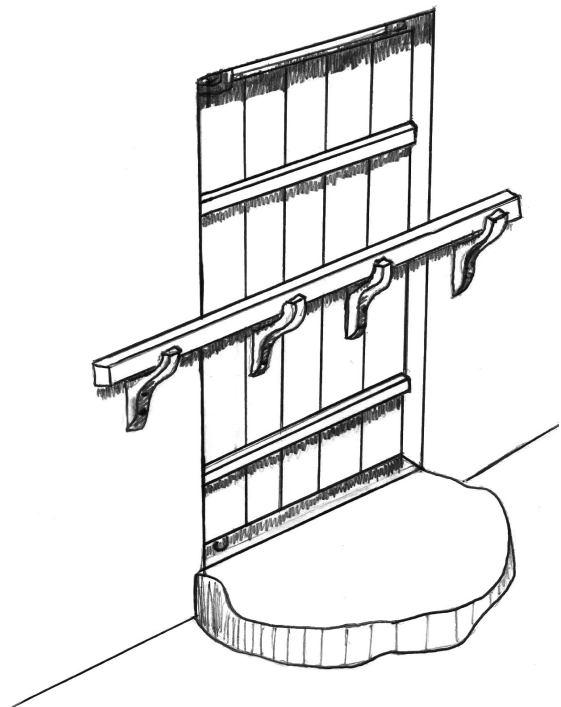


Figure 1.1. Simple bar lock as figured by Dr R. Borg in his '*Lexicon of locks and keys*'. The bar locks in churches are typically held within holes in the wall. As illustrated here the principle of operation can be more easily observed.

1.2 Church security

In past times, just as today, it has always been necessary for buildings to provide security. This has been sought in order to protect various possessions, and to offer personal refuge and safety within the building. Before the invention of the locking devices with which we are familiar today, and in particular, the innovation of keys, the requirement must have created major and significant problems. For those with money and power, the ultimate protective structure in the past was provided by the sanctuary of the castle. At that time, in contrast to the castle, the early churches and the smaller monastic properties of the period were established to provide religious services and leadership, as well as the facility for personal private prayer. These were offered by invitation, and as today, they were dependent upon the buildings involved being open for attendance. Unless permanently supervised and controlled, the churches and their valuable contents could have, therefore, been subject to substantial damage and possible loss.

The historical records disclose that Viking, Norse and Danish marauding visitors found churches especially, relatively easy picking. Some of these raids have been documented by the current author (Potter, 2009c, 168-169, and Figure 6.5) and certain periods of Viking and Danish activity are referred to in Table 1.1 of the present work. These particular accounts highlight the need for church security in fraught circumstances, but it is easy to imagine the routine need for church security in much less difficult 'everyday' circumstances, both in earlier and later periods. At the simplest level there would be a need to keep undesirables, animals and the weather out of churches. (The special circumstances of the churches in the Border country between England and Scotland in the early medieval period are examined below).

The relatively recent recognition that some early churches, in the absence of keys, were kept secure from the inside of the church, by means of thick wooden bars (bar locks), confirms the requirement that often permanent occupation by a person or persons must have become a necessity. Only from within the church was the positioning of bar locks possible.

The capability to lock a strong church door from the inside would have been the first fundamental step in securing the building and possibly providing some sanctuary for temporary occupants who had fled from their more fragile dwellings. The shuttering and provision of bar locks for windows is analogous. Instances are evident where the original church may have needed supplementary structural protection beyond that provided by the installed door bar locks, and these measures could have major implications for structural change and design in the buildings. These supplementary protective requirements and methods for achieving them are many and various and are considered below. The recognition of the role of bar locks in securing churches led the present author to consider the further measures introduced to enhance church security, but the starting point of this study is an examination of the evidence for bar locks which takes up the first half of this work. The more varied measures taken to enhance more general church security provide the basis for the second half of this work.

1.3 What is a bar lock?

Typically constructed of metal such as iron or steel, a modern bar lock might be described as a long bolt which may be attached to the inside or outside of a door, so that the shaft of the bolt may be slid into a housing either built into, or attached to, the door jamb on the opposite side of the door to the door's hinge. Commonly, in current modern systems, the bolt may be additionally secured, or prevented from further movement, by some form of locking system involving a key. An enormous range of modern bar locks exists and modified forms of this type of security range from the standard 'push-bar' emergency

Table 1.1. Itemising, for the period 800 to 1350, some of the more critical periods of unrest throughout the British Isles. These would no doubt require religious buildings to require maximum security. Brooke (2000) effectively describes the extent to which both the English and the Scottish actively pursued the destruction of both churches and other property in the Border country over the period 1290 to 1590.

Period	Events/Activity	Area particularly involved
9th C	Viking raids began (790). In Mercia, Offa and Wat dykes built. Mercia, partially Christian, conquered by Wessex (829). Alfred, King of Wessex, (886)	Initially north and east. Presumably to subdue those to the west. North and central England. Captured London and halted Danish advances (Edlington, 878)
10th C	Wessex defeats - Edgar, first King of England (973). Danish (Viking) raids intensify (980-1016).	Scots, Welsh, Irish and Vikings (937)
11th C	Cnut, King of England (1016-1035). King Harold and the Norman Conquest (1066); King William (1066-1087). Stone castle building commenced.	British defeated (at Ashingdon). Battle of Hastings First from the south, raids into Wales, Scotland and Ireland (with eventual infiltration and dominance).
12th C	Civil war on King Henry I (1100-1135) death and anarchy of King Stephen (1135-1154), and Matilda Becket murder (1170), King Richard I (1189-1199) absent at crusades.	Widespread upheaval. Unsettled conditions
13th C	King John (1199-1216) and Magna Carta (1215). Barons' wars (1260s). De Montfort (defeated 1265). King Edward I (1272) Scots Wars of Independence (1290-1320s) – William Wallace and Robert the Bruce (1300)	Widespread disagreements with Barons. Evesham. Subdued Wales (Castles). Scotland and North England (Bannockburn, 1314 and Halidon Hill, 1333).
14th C	Black Death (1348-1351)	Population reduced to possibly quarter size (perhaps to 1-2 million persons)

exit, to other instances of longer bars across a full door width, such as where a central key withdraws a catch from the housings on both door jambs.

If security is required only from one side, as in the home, it is more common to separate the mechanical functions of the bolt from those of the lock and key. Simple effective door bolts may be applied manually. Outside the scope of this discussion there are the many non-mechanical means of modern origin (such as electronic and electrical methods), which can provide safe-keeping.

The term 'draw bar' has been used by certain authors (as Brooke, 2000) as an alternative term for bar lock, placing the emphasis on the unlocking rather than the locking process.

1.4 Keys and locks

The security of buildings today may be optimised both inside and outside by using a locking system which typically involves one or more keys. For a single key to access both sides of a door locking system, a key-hole is necessary. The simplicity of this form of security poses the question as to

how long locks and keys have been available, and in particular, for how long have they been used in churches? Both locks and keys vary enormously in their structure. Raine Borg has defined keys as being instruments that are programmed or coded through the shape of the bit, which matches the pins and wards of the lock (See Figure 1.2). The turning of the key typically closes or opens the lock. The bit is that part of the key which acts directly on the locking mechanism.

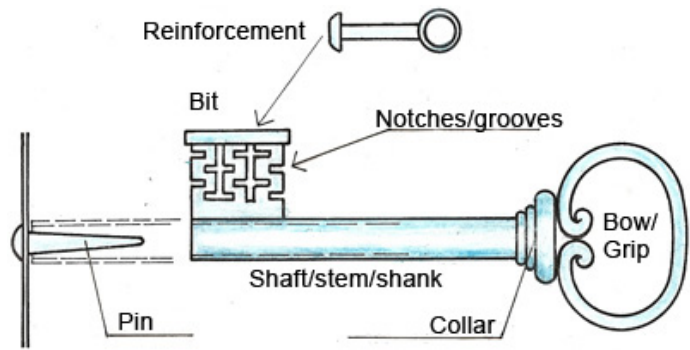


Figure 1.2. The essential parts of a key from Borg's 'Lexicon of locks and keys'.

It is possible that the earliest locks and keys were constructed five or six thousand years ago and wooden keys and locks are recorded from ancient Egypt. Such a wooden device was recorded in Assyria in the city of Nineveh at the palace of Khorsabad (in Iraqi, Kurdistan) and said to date from 704BC (de Vries, *et al.*, 1992, 32). It is probable that originally gravity-controlled pins fell into position to control the movement of a security bolt. The bolt was then freed by inserting a large and cumbersome wooden key which was used to manually lift and free the pins. The ancient Greeks may have invented and certainly used the keyhole and metal (typically bronze or iron) locks and keys. Homer's *Odyssey* (Book 21) recounts how Penelope, wife of Odysseus, '... quickly undid the thong attached to the hook, passed the key through the hole, and with an accurate thrust shot back the bolt.' Elsewhere, Penelope is said to use a 'well-made bronze key with an ivory handle' and the 'bolting and barring' of the courtyard gate is requested. Metallic bronze and iron keys were widely used by the Romans. Raine Borg suggests that the Romans could manufacture sufficiently suitable iron to create springs to enable padlocks to be created. The craft indeed was so sophisticated to allow the creation of somewhat similar so-called small 'puzzle padlocks' bearing a face or 'mask' in Celtic style. The padlocks were designed to secure small bags or money pouches and their distribution extended across Europe (Slocum and Sonneveld, 2017)

Keys are collected widely but dating them and determining where, or for what purpose, they were used is difficult to ascertain. A useful 'lexicon of locks and keys' can be found on the web site www.historicallocks.com/en/site/h/historicallocks/dictionary/. This site gives details of the many varied locks and keys which may be found and their possible functions.

Figure 1.3, again from a sketch by Raine Borg, illustrates several iron keys with claws, each long

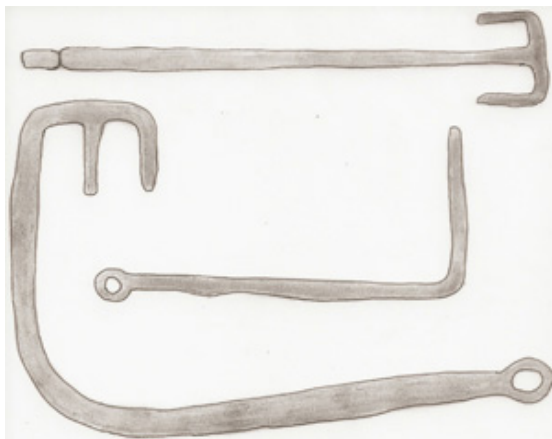


Figure 1.3. Borg's sketches of Celtic Viking long iron keys from the Värnamo area of Sweden.



Figure 1.4. A bronze key with a clawed blade probably of Viking origin dated to about AD 300.



Figure 1.5. A further clawed key thought to be of Anglo-Viking origin and dated to about AD 900.



Figure 1.6. A pull-ring lock Swedish key (dated to 1312-1313) photographed by Dr R. Borg. The mechanism requires two hands operate - one to draw the bolt, the other to turn the key.

key, used to manually release different locking systems. They were probably of Viking (Celtic) age and were found in the Värnamo area of Sweden. They were in all probability used in much the same manner as described by Homer. Figure 1.4 illustrates a bronze key identified as of Viking source with a clawed blade (*Historia om nycklar 3 liten*) which is believed to have been used about AD 300; while Figure 1.5, which is a similar clawed key, has been described as of Anglo-Viking origin and dated to about AD 900 (author J. F. Smith). Dr Raine Borg holds a large personal collection of keys, and he has produced a drawing of one of his keys from southern Sweden which is thought to date from the early 1100s. It is believed to have been operated as a metallic (iron) mechanism within a block of wood and, as the key is more than 150mm long, it is possible to presume that locking could be achieved from either side (of a door) by means of a keyhole. In many locking mechanisms little of the action can be readily viewed and the workings may be encased. The pull-ring lock from Sweden (shown in Figure 1.6) required two hands to operate, one for pulling the ring whilst the other turned the key. It is dated to 1312-13 and is photographed here by Raine Borg.

1.5 Early bar locks

Figure 1.1, taken from the above-mentioned web site, shows the very simplest of bar locking systems created in timber. It has no key. Critically, it would protect only those people or objects on the side of the door bar lock. Such a locking system has not been observed by the present author in an ecclesiastical site. However, on occasions somewhat modified examples exist. Typically they are strengthened with metal parts and padlocks, to be used on rarely-used doorways in small churches, in order to secure the building. Such an example may be observed at Stragglethorpe church (SK 913 524), in Lincolnshire (Figure 1.7). The door illustrated must be of relatively modern construction. In other churches, bar locks of no great age and without supportive padlocks may provide security to a minor entrance, where the church has keys with locks to control principal entrances to the building.

There is ample evidence that bar locking systems were used in many churches of much greater age. In the oldest examples it is possible to attribute their origin to the Anglo-Saxon period. Typically, thick wooden doors were barricaded by an interior bar locking system. This amounted to a long, bulky



Figure 1.7. The north aisle door at Stragglethorpe, Lincolnshire (SK 913 524) which is retained in position by a bar lock.

length of solid wood about 0.08 to 0.12m in cross section, which ran across the back of the door and was held in position by a hole in the wall on either side of the door. On occasions there were two bars of this nature, one towards the top of the door, the other towards the bottom. This (or these) left the door immovable between the door rebate and the bar. To open the door the bar was slid into a cavity in the wall which was deep enough to accommodate the full length of the bar. The cross bars were typically at least 1.5m long, more than sufficient to cover the full width of the doorway aperture. Full evidence of the door (or the cross bar) involved is observed only rarely in the British Isles, but it is possible that, for ease of use, the weight of the bar was supported by appropriate attachments on the back of the door.

In his studies in Southern Sweden, Borg (2002) discovered three instances where remains of the cross bar were still present (all in Gotland County), and in all, 16 instances of churches with cross bar holes or 'grooves'. Twelve of these were in Gotland County. In many examples in Southern Sweden, two, three or even four doorways (but generally all the doorways

in an individual church) carried evidence of cross-bar locking. The churches involved, were given building dates mainly within the early 13th C., but in the range of 1086 (Lärbro, Gotland) to 1400 (Sjösås, Kronoberg County). Dr Borg has advised that the work is to be published in the www.historicallocks.com web site (of which he is the author).

In the British Isles, with the invention of simple, cheap and effective mechanical key locking systems, the bar locks tended to fall into disuse and the holes for the bars were often filled and forgotten. In many instances the presence of a bar lock hole is difficult to ascertain for it may have been infilled with stone or wood when it was no longer required. It must be accepted that if all entry points to a church possessed a bar locking system those persons involved in locking the church (or other building) would have to remain inside the premises.

In the majority of churches where bar locking systems of the type just described occur, it is evident that the buildings were secured, therefore, for the defence of both people and property. This involved both the clergy and, if necessary, local inhabitants. According to the number of doors, each door would have been similarly protected in times of potential danger or need for security. It is clear that those involved in security by this means remained within the church until any imminent danger had disappeared. Occasionally these bars would have been of such a size and weight as to require more than one person to be able easily to fit them into position, rather than individuals.

What regrettably cannot be determined is the date from which each church acquired a key locking system to permit both exit and entry. That keys were readily available to the wealthy is clear from carvings on gravestones, typically those dated to about the 15th C.. Keys were certainly known much earlier but they were uncommon. King Henry VIII is known to have been accompanied always by a door key locking system which was fitted for his privacy, wherever his geographical locality. The British Museum holds three keys, described as padlock keys, tentatively dated to the period 9th to 11th C.. Although they might possibly have been used in a church, they have not been related to any specific church by locality: neither has their precise function been suggested.

1.6 Dating bar locks

The earliest bar locks go back to the earliest days of the church and the security system lasted for many centuries. Other than obviously modern structures (which may in their fabric include metals or plastics), bar locks appear rarely to have been created later than the 16th C. From about that date (or a century or so before), church doors appear to have generally been secured with door locks and keys, enabling a means of protection which could be offered and operated from both inside and outside the church. However, because they remained effective, and were simple and easy to use, the bar locks in many instances, continued to provide a service until overcome by their dereliction. Even today, there are rare instances of their use, as for example, in the west front doors of Exeter Cathedral (see Table 2.1, Figures 2.6 to 2.9).

Preserved bar locks, or their past evidence as seen through the bar lock holes, are clearly not all of the same age. This may be particularly evident in certain instances; especially where the door-frame into which the holes of the bar lock is constructed can be dated. It is very difficult to prove, without demolishing the wall, but there are occasions where the holes for bar locks appear to have been built at the same time as the wall containing them. In these circumstances it is vital to be able to date the door construction.

In some instances, features such as the shape of a door or window arch, have been thought to be sufficiently distinctive to be datable. The terms in Table 1.2 are widely applied in standard architectural literature, each recognisable by features which are distinguishable in the period. Typically the features involved are related to arch shapes (with variants such as triangular, round or pointed), window shape and the varieties of window elaboration, and to ornamentation. For *Anglo-Saxon*, the current author has suggested that '*Patterned*' should be used, because of the distinctive stonework (Potter, 2008d, and see below). This provides a term which enables use in areas beyond England and that of Anglo-Saxon dominance. It is used until the Norman Conquest.

Table 1.2. *Architectural Styles c. AD 800-1530*

<i>Anglo-Saxon</i>	(better referred to as ' <i>Patterned</i> '). About 800 to the Norman Conquest.
<i>Norman</i>	(often described as ' <i>Romanesque</i> '). Typically post 1066, and 11th or 12th C. In the south of England may sometimes be slightly earlier.
<i>Transitional.</i>	About 1175 to 1200. Introduces the <i>Gothic</i> pointed arch. From this period quoin stones are laid with bedding horizontal in all structures.
<i>Early English.</i>	1190 to 1250. A popular name for a division of this period of <i>Gothic</i> architecture.
<i>Decorated.</i>	About 1290 to 1350, the name derived from the type of window tracery.
<i>Perpendicular.</i>	Approximately 1335-1350 to 1530. The main time interval referred to in the period collectively known as the <i>Gothic</i> . This commences with Transitional architecture and is increasingly typified by tracery windows with vertical panels, etc..

Table 1.2 Provides the customarily-recognised intervals of time in architectural fashion and literature over the approximate time interval of AD 800 to 1530. It is clear that it is likely to be very difficult to date bar locks accurately, indeed their earlier existence may well be obscured by the infilling of cavities related to the bar locks in later centuries and the reconstruction or partial re-building of the church doorways and associated structures. The identification of the presence of early bar locks is often only likely to be possible by the very careful ‘excavation’ of the remaining structures which opportunity is only likely to occur in the rarest circumstances. In any event, it will be very important to consider the detailed construction methods of the associated doorways which may be able to confirm the contemporaneity of any bar lock holes present, or indeed their filling in at a later date, while also providing a guide to the general dating of the construction beyond that provided simply by architectural styles. The analysis of church doorways, in particular, in the light of the methodology presented below, will be essential to help to determine the possible presence and date of bar locks and associated structures.

Until recently, the distinctions between the architectural styles listed in Table 1.2 were determined by viewing the differences in the detail of items such as window tracery and features such as the shape of arches. The present author has in recent years been able to illustrate that it is possible to determine differences between the main periods of architecture (Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Gothic) by different and perhaps simpler means. This involved examining the structure of the building blocks of stone which make up important elements of the buildings, such as those which create the quoins between walls and in arch and window jambs (Potter, 2003b; 2005a; 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2009c, 2009d).

For those who are unfamiliar with the articles by the present author (as referred to above), a limited explanation is provided immediately below. Certain distinctive patterns in the use of stone were archaeologically originally recognised more than a century ago, as for instance one in which the stones used in wall quoins were thought to be of Anglo-Saxon age (Rickman, 1836). The identified pattern, described as ‘long and short’, was related to the stone shapes. This author wrote:

‘...there is a peculiar sort of quoining... consisting of a long stone set at the corner and short one laying on it...’

Rickman (1836, 28-29)

Other authors have contributed to the gradually-increasing understanding of the stonework and masonry detail which is typical of the earliest periods of English ecclesiastical architecture. The works of Micklethwaite (1896; 1898); Brown (1903; 1925) and Clapham (1930; 1934) each assisted extensively in determining characteristic features of Anglo-Saxon architecture and distinguishing it (in the British Isles) from Norman and later Post-Conquest work. Ultimately, Taylor and Taylor (1965) and Taylor (1978) produced a work in three volumes detailing all the then recognised features which were distinctive of Anglo-Saxon architecture, relating these to almost all the recognised churches of that period in England.

The present author, a geologist by training, has examined the stones used in the church construction in rather more detail. Often this has involved using a powerful hand lens to enable close examination of the stone used. The rock magnification enables any layering or lines of weakness within the rock (and, therefore, directions of strength) to be more readily identified.

Those first working and using stone for building purposes, must have acquired the knowledge that most rock types varied in strength in different directions. This would have been noted particularly as the rocks were hewn or worked into shape (Figure 1.8.). Any planar layering would have been used to help break or split the rock, and provide evidence that the rock was stronger in a direction normal to (perpendicular to) any layering. When stone was used for building purposes, the stones would be laid normally to carry the weight of the building, that is, the planar surfaces would be placed horizontally.

**Typical quarry or cliff face
from which stone is to be extracted**

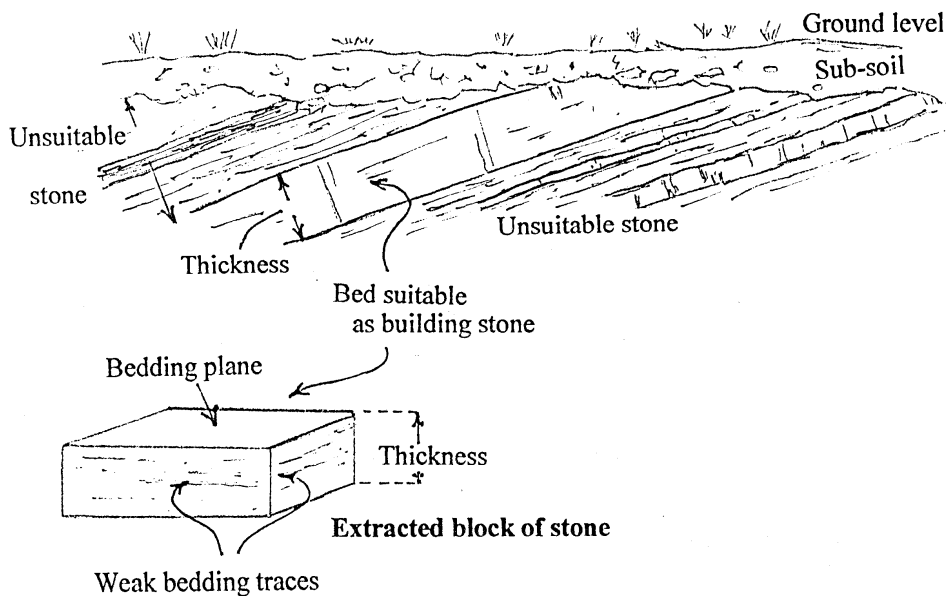


Figure 1.8. Bedding stratification in sedimentary rocks and the resulting typical shape of hewn rocks (after Potter 2005b).

Thus, in walls built by the Romans, stones were always placed in this situation. It was also recognised that stonework was less susceptible to water penetration and weathering when the planar surfaces were set horizontally. Most rock built structures, both today and over time, have been built, therefore, to this attitude. If wall features show evidence of having been built with their rock planar surfaces vertical, it is possible to assume that this was not without reason.

Most people possess sufficient geological knowledge to be aware that the commonest rock types that can be extracted in the British Isles are collectively described as 'sedimentary' (involving rocks such as sandstones, limestones and mudstones); and that these rocks develop this planar structure, which is generally spoken of as bedding, and developed naturally in the processes of deposition. The two additional collective terms used to describe rocks are 'igneous' (rocks cooled from a molten state) and 'metamorphic' (rocks altered by heat and/or pressure). These rocks may also show planes of weakness: in igneous rocks possibly due to the crystallisation processes or flow in the molten state and, in metamorphic rocks due especially to pressures (as may be well seen in slates).

In 2005, the present author published the results of his examination of the stonework of those churches in England previously described by Taylor and Taylor, 1965, as of Anglo-Saxon age. Most of these churches were built to display structural stones which possessed vertical planar surfaces or lineation, and it was realised that this orientation was adopted for a reason. This practice of inserting critical stones with vertical orientation could be found in wall quoins, pilasters, and window and arch jambs, as recorded in Potter, 2005b. Where the local rock failed to provide a suitable stone with a lineation, as in the flint or septarian nodule areas of south-east England, lineated rock was in some instances imported from elsewhere to provide the patterning. Indeed, in order to use rock types which remained strong and resilient when used with their bedding in a vertical situation, the Anglo-Saxons, presumably based on experience, were very selective. In south-east England, for instance, they found the compacted shelly rock types, such as Quarr Stone from the Isle of Wight and Barnack Stone from near Peterborough, particularly suitable. Both these

important quarrying sites became monastically controlled and the rocks, thanks to their included fossil shells, provided an easily visible lineation. Elsewhere in the British Isles, other rock types were chosen selectively in order to meet the requirements of visible lineation and strength.

The Anglo-Saxon use of stones with clear patterning for decorative purposes affords a means of identifying their churches. To enable their rock patterns to be described and individual rocks distinguished the present author then proposed a simple nomenclature (Potter, 2005b). Stones placed in their orthodox attitude, with bedding or lineation horizontal were to be simply described as BH, Bedding Horizontal. Those stones placed with their lineation vertically, however, could for instance in a quoin, have the face of the plane (the bedding plane) directed to the left or to the right. They could be Bedding Vertical Face Left, BVFL, or Bedding Vertical Face Right, BVFR. This terminology is illustrated in Figure 1.8. and an example of such work in rocks which display the structures clearly is shown in Figure 1.9. In 1946, Gilbert had recognised that Anglo-Saxon stonework in certain churches displayed patterns but he related this to stone shape and for this reason his classification could not be used universally. The BVFR-BH-BVFL classification may be used for rocks regardless of their shape.

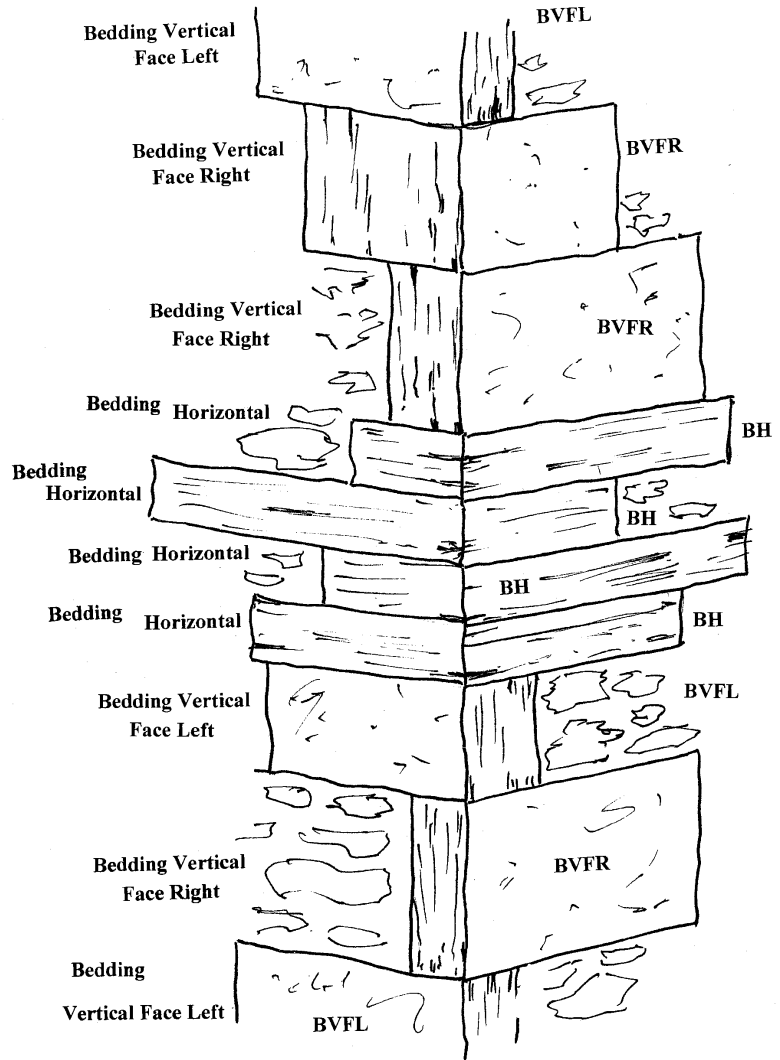


Figure 1.9. The Anglo-Saxon quoin illustrated displays all possible orientations in which a stone may be positioned within the structure and the annotation first proposed (Potter, 2005b) to describe them. The notation (BVFR-BH-BVFL) refers to the bedding orientation in each stone and not to the stone shape.

The author's study in England revealed that Anglo-Saxon workmanship with vertical stone emplacement was not confined just to wall junction quoins. Vertically bedded stones played an important role in the construction of their doorways, arches and windows and in decorative pilasters. In such instances the descriptive nomenclature required an element of modification. Horizontally layered stones (BH) helped to tie all these structures into the adjoining walls, functioning just as BH stones in wall quoins.

Some of the significant differences between the stonework of Anglo-Saxon and Norman doorways and windows are shown in Figures 1.10 and 1.11. There are further differences between the stylistic details of the two periods of building - evident in the structure of features such as pilasters and walls - or

the presence of Anglo-Saxon cut backs. These, however, have been described elsewhere as in Potter, 2009c and Potter 2009d. It has been shown that the differences between Anglo-Saxon and Norman stonework relates to the manner in which the stone was used. In both periods, the smoothest faces of the stones were decorated with carvings and the masonry was appropriately orientated. The Norman doorway typically displays these carvings being best illustrated as the doorway is approached; the mason preferred to work on the BVEIA stones to utilise the flattest outward facing rock surface available (Figure 1.12). Anglo-Saxon masons selected the smooth BVFIA stonework to carve and their resulting carvings may be observed where they face into the arch (as at Monkwearmouth church, NZ 402 577, in Durham; Figure 1.13).

Although both Anglo-Saxon and Norman structures and church walls included bedded vertical stones in their creation, by about 1200, vertically emplaced stones ceased to be used and in Gothic work all masonry was with bedding set horizontally, BH. Gothic influences, therefore, tended to stabilise wall thicknesses.

1.7 Limitations of this study

The identification and dating method outlined above have been applied to the material which the author has been able to consider in each of the principal countries of the British Isles and the results are set out below. However, these studies as they may have been applied to early ecclesiastical buildings are far from complete. To achieve a fully comprehensive cover, every church of any age would have to be examined, for instance, for traces of any past or present bar locks. For such an analysis all churches would of necessity have to be open, and all doors unlocked (the whole task whose requirement would extend beyond the length of a normal lifetime).



Figure 1.10. Detail of the lowest three stones (in the long and short Anglo-Saxon style) in the south-west nave quoin at Stretthall church (TL 484 398) in Essex (after Potter, 2009c). From the lowest stone upwards, the bedding orientations are BVFR, BH, BVFL. The rock type used is Barnack Stone, imported into the region.

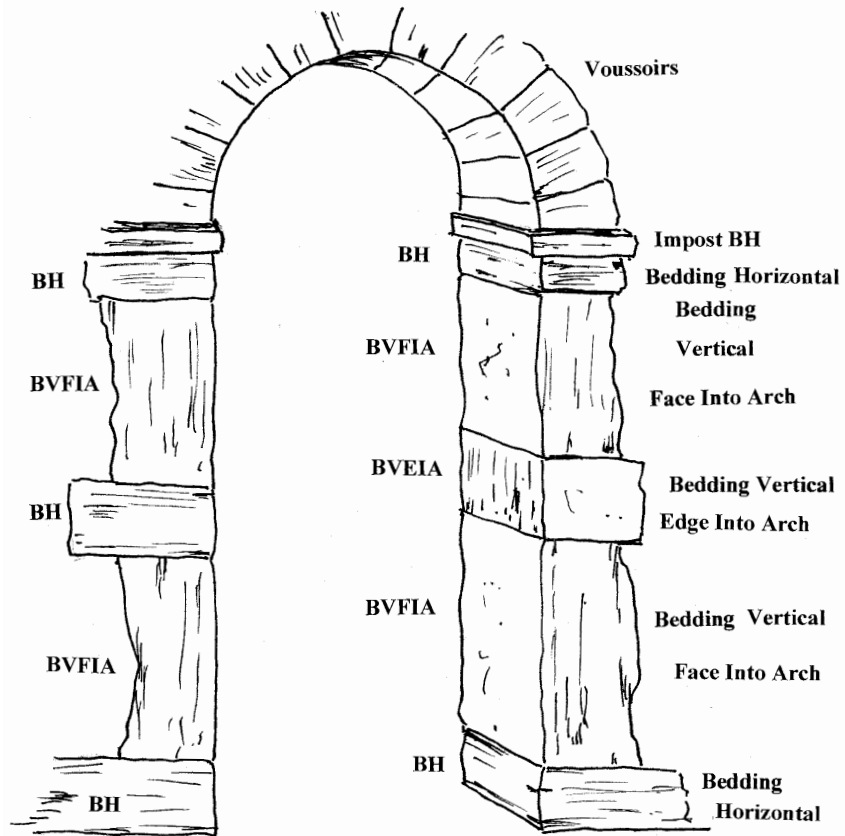


Figure 1.11. A slightly modified Anglo-Saxon arch to illustrate the disposition of its possible stonework. The stone notation, first proposed in Potter, 2005b, permits the bedding orientations to be distinguished. Anglo-Saxon masons appear to have used only BH (Bedding Horizontal) and BVFIA (Bedding Vertical Face Into Arch). The figure, however, shows one stone (on the right) set BVEIA (Bedding Vertical Edge Into Arch) an attitude which together with BH stones would indicate the work of Norman masons.



Figure 1.12. The Norman north nave door at Hales Church, Norfolk (TM 383 960). Note all stone carving occurs on the relatively smooth bedding plane surfaces of stones which face to the north (or BVEIA).



Figure 1.13. At Monkwearmouth, Durham (NZ 402 577) the Anglo-Saxon sea-bird carvings related to the west doorway can be seen on the relatively smooth bedding plane surfaces in the north jamb, and therefore on stones orientated BVFIA.