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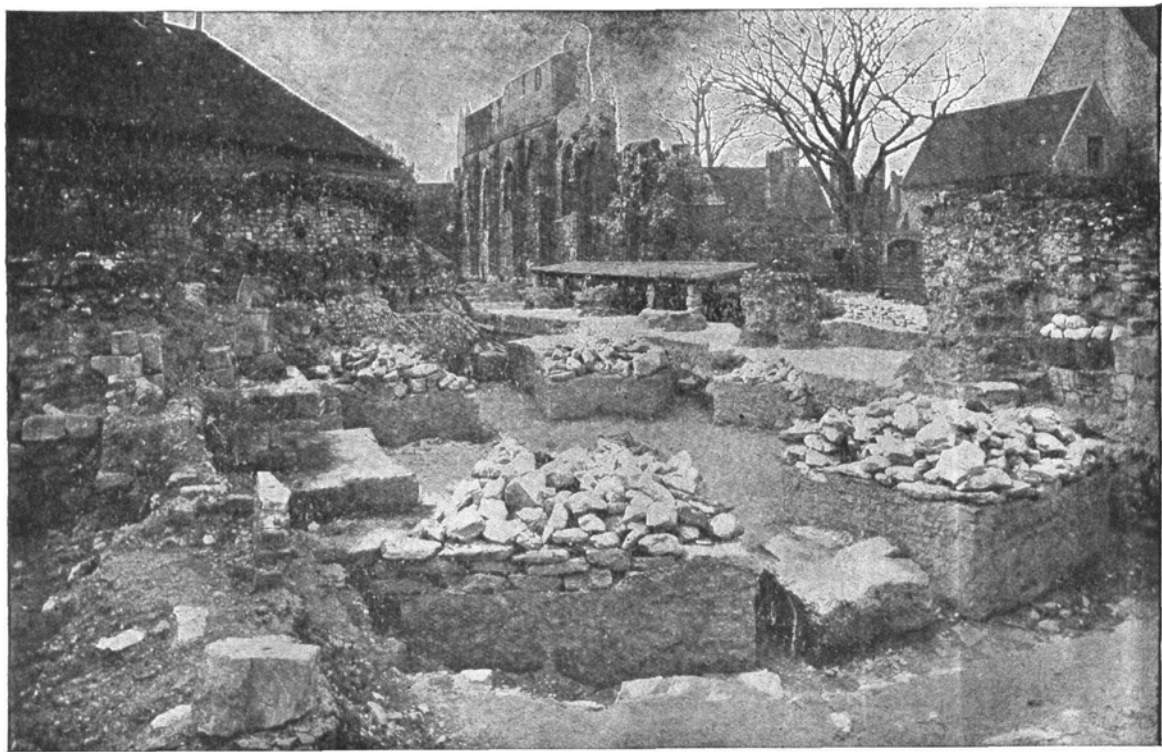


FIG. 1.—ST. AUSTIN'S ABBEY, CANTERBURY. REMAINS OF ABBOT WULFRIC'S BUILDING, LOOKING WEST.

Archæologia Cantiana.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ST. AUSTIN AT CANTER- BURY.

BY SIR WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, LITT.D., D.C.L.

IN the last Volume (XXXI.) of *Archæologia Cantiana* there is printed* a short account of certain discoveries of exceptional interest that have lately been made on the site of the church of St. Austin's Abbey at Canterbury, consisting of the plan of a round building begun by abbot Wulfric in King Edward's days, and of the site of the *porticus* or chapel in which Austin himself and his five immediate successors were buried, and of the actual remains of three of their tombs.

When the account was written, early in March 1915, several important questions were still under consideration, and the important work of planning the remains uncovered had not yet been completed. These matters have now been settled satisfactorily, and the fuller details promised can be laid before the Kent Archæological Society.

The discoveries in question were made, exactly where some of us had hoped to find them, under the eastern part of the nave of the abbey church. Of this, only a small section, a triangular piece at the north-east corner, belongs to St. Augustine's College, but it fortunately includes nearly all the remains of abbot Wulfric's building, and of the chapel containing the tombs of the Saxon archbishops. The rest of the site of the nave belongs to the Kent and Canter-

* Pages 294—296.

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bury Hospital, which has generously leased to the College, for a nominal rent, a broad strip alongside the north aisle wall. But it is impossible for more to be acquired at present until the hospital laundry that blocks the way can be moved elsewhere.

The first steps towards these important discoveries had been taken a little while ago by the excavation of the site of the monks' quire, which, with its screens, occupied the crossing under the middle tower, as well as the eastern part of the nave. This area when cleared showed a raised platform of earth between the transepts, intersected in its western extension by the foundations of the *pulpitum* and rood-loft, with the place of the nave altar beyond. In view of the interesting questions involved it was decided to remove the earthen platform, leaving the screen foundations to be dealt with later. There then came into view, as the earth was taken away, a ring of strong stone piers, arranged about a wide central space, with traces of a circumscribing ambulatory (fig. 1). To enable this discovery to be followed up, careful plans, notes, and photographs were taken of the screen foundations,* which were only of rough chalk blocks, and then these too were cleared away. Further discoveries forthwith followed, which suggested investigations in other directions and with the same success.

The planning of the remains uncovered shows that underlying the area of the tower and the first three bays of the nave, as well as the adjoining parts of the transepts and aisles, are the foundations of a very remarkable building. (See Plan.)

It consists of a circular area about 25 ft. in diameter, enclosed by a ring of eight segmental blocks to carry piers, each $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, and expanding in width from 5 ft. to 6 ft. on the inside to 8 ft. to 10 ft. on the outside. The interspaces also have diverging sides as well as varying widths, from $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. to 5 ft. within to $6\frac{3}{4}$ ft. without (fig. 2). They

* I am indebted to Mr. Aymer Vallance for most successfully undertaking this.



FIG. 2—PIER-FOUNDATIONS OF ABBOT WULFRIC'S BUILDING, LOOKING EAST.

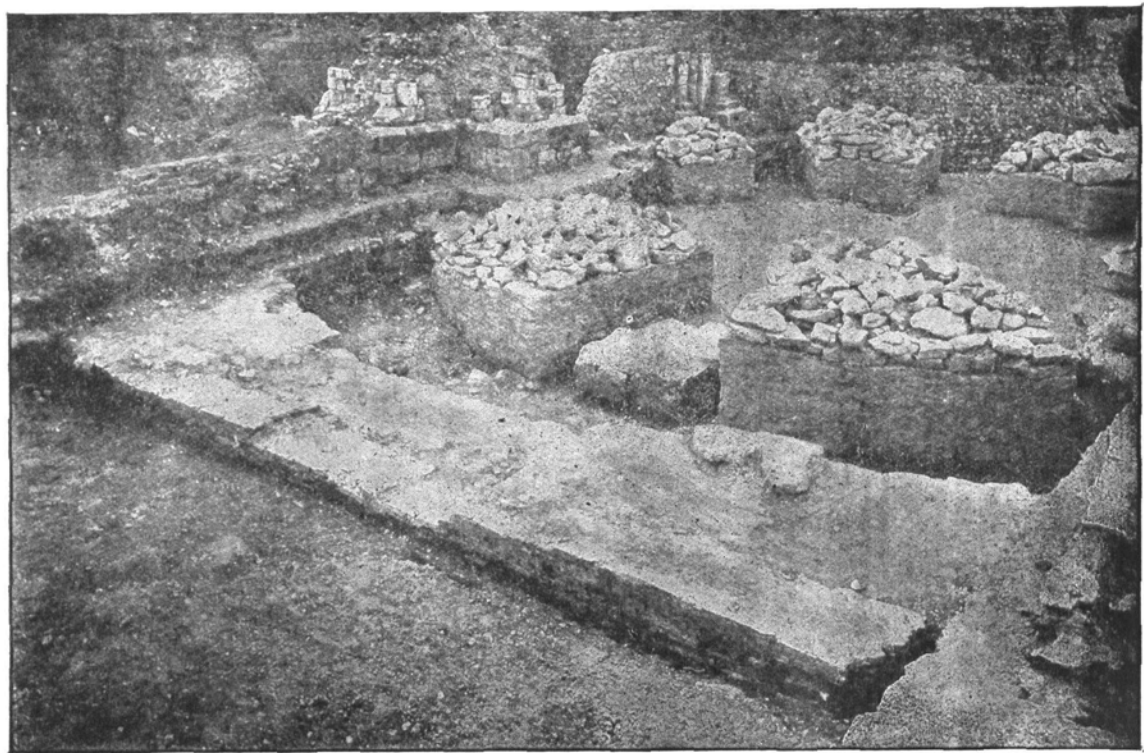


FIG. 3.—EAST FACE AND PIERS OF ABBOT WULFRIC'S BUILDING, LOOKING WEST.

open into an encircling ambulatory 6 ft. wide, round within, but octagonal outside, with an opening towards the west $9\frac{3}{4}$ ft. broad.* There is a wall 25 in. thick, constructed of Roman bricks, upon the outer edge of the eastern side, with a doorway $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide in the middle (fig. 3). The sides of the octagon measure $26\frac{1}{2}$ ft., and the total width of the building externally is $64\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The masonry is of rough pieces of thin oolitic sandstone, carefully laid, and faced with a thin layer of mortar or plaster.

The building is overlaid to a considerable extent on the north and south, especially as to the outer ring, by the broad and massive sleeper walls of the late eleventh-century work which superseded it (see fig. 4), but there is no reason for thinking that any important features are thereby hidden.

Several minor points may be noticed. First, the considerable depth, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the top of the sleeper walls, to which the building is carried. It has also outside the north-west side a set-off 2 ft. wide, which possibly extended all round, except on the east side, where it is lacking; the south-west face is unhappily beneath the hospital laundry. The west wall, for some reason, includes the set-off in its thickness, which exceeds by so much that of the other seven sides. It likewise slightly oversails on the west a thick wall of earlier date.

According to the chronicles of the abbey, in the middle of the eleventh century the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, begun by King Ethelbert in 598 and hallowed in 613, had to the east, but separate from it, a lesser church or oratory of our Lady, built by Ethelbert's son and successor Eadbald, on his conversion from paganism in or soon after 620. Between the buildings lay the cemetery of the monks.

It was the intention of the fortieth abbot, Wulfric, who succeeded in 1047, to enlarge the greater church by coupling to it, by an intermediate structure, Eadbald's oratory of the Blessed Virgin. Soon after Wulfric was sent to Rheims to

* The ground plan of the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (begun by bishop Ecclesius, 526—534) shews a similar circle of eight massive piers with an encircling aisle of eight sides.

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pope Leo IX., from whom he sought and obtained leave to carry out his purpose.

One of the chroniclers, Gocelin, a contemporary inmate of the abbey, states that on his return home Wulfric accordingly "first demolished his temple," that is the great church, "from the front," or east end. Then

he threw down also the western part of the oratory of the holy mother of God, together with the "porches" (*porticibus*) with which it was surrounded, and, when the cemetery of the brethren hard by had been cleansed, he takes the whole space between the two churches for the building, raises walls, and constructs columns and arches. Kent rejoiced in the new work, although the want of skill of the builders had made it unsuitable for a monastic habitation.*

But the new work was not allowed to go on, for the Blessed Virgin, so write the chroniclers, was displeased with the destruction wrought on her chapel, and the unfortunate abbot was smitten with a disease from which he died in 1059.

Wulfric's successor, Egelsin, did not attempt to finish or interfere with the new work, which remained as it was left until the coming of another abbot, Scotland by name, in 1070.

This man (says the monk Gocelin), after he like the rest of his predecessors had been established in his monastery, when he began to put forth his great mind to the building of his church now further to be lengthened, was sorely troubled by the work already standing (and) awkwardly extended; he was troubled also by the narrow space for the proposed plan. He was afraid moreover of the judgement of the mother of God against the previous abbot for her church which he had overthrown: he was afraid of the danger of ruin with respect to the old monastery consumed by long decay. In the midst of these anxieties he is carried off to Rome on a royal embassy to pope

* "templum suum a fronte diruit Partem quoque ab occidente oratorii sancte Dei Genetricis cum porticibus quibus circumcingebatur deiecit. et inter utramque ecclesiam fratrum cimiterio quod adiacebat purgato. totum spacium ad fabricam corripit. parietes erigit. columnas et arcus componit. Letabatur novo opere Cantia. quamquam monastice habitacioni incongruum fecisset artificum imperitia." Lib. ii, cap. iii, Cott. MS. Vesp. B xx, f. 127.



FIG. 4.—PART OF THE NORTH SIDE OF ABBOT WULFRIC'S BUILDING.

Alexander. There, after the king's business had been settled, he receives from the same pope counsel and benediction concerning the translation of the saints, the pulling down and building up of his basilica according to his own wishes, and with the sanction of the gracious Being on high . . . Then the faithful abbot, amazed and thankful in consequence of the testimony of so great a man, hastens home, and pulls down the unfinished portion of the new work. But the remaining part of the virgin oratory of the exalted Mary awaited his attack.*

After describing the removal from the building of the body of St. Adrian and of various bishops, abbots, and other holy men who had been buried within it, Gocelin continues :

So when the aforesaid church had been thus emptied of its relics, it is thrown down and levelled to the ground, and soon on that very front that was battered down the forepart of the new "hall" is erected and embraces all that interior of the old site with much more room. In that same first and choicest place of hers the highly exalted Virgin acquires a new crypt and the resting-place of Austin; the "house," too, of the princes of the apostles (*i.e.*, St. Peter and St. Paul) is elevated above.†

A later chronicler, William Thorn, adds that abbot Scotland "finished that new work beginning from the

* "Hic ut ceteri antecessores ordinatus in suo monasterio. cum in ecclesie sue longius protendente edificium largum extenderet animum. graviter offende-
bat eum assans opus impediore productum. offendeat et angustum decreta
machine spacium. Terrebat vero Dei Genitricis in abbatem superiorem de
prerupta ecclesia sua iudicium. terrebat de veteri monasterio longa carie
consumto ruine periculum. In his angoribus rapitur legatione regia Romam.
ad Alexandrum papam. Ibi post regia responsa. consilium accipit ab ipso papa
et benedictionem. de transferendis sanctis. de destruenda et reformanda basilica
sua pro suis votis. ac nutu superne largitatis." Lib. ii, cap. vi, Cott. MS.
Vesp. B xx, f. 128.

† "Tum abbas fidelis ad tantum tanti viri testimonium obstupesceat et gracias
agens. domum properat. incoctam molem novi operis subvertit. Verum residua
pars virginalis oratorii summe Marie ejus impetum morabatur." Lib. ii,
cap. vii, *ibid.* f. 128.

† "Sic itaque predicta ecclesia suis pignoribus evacuata. ad solum evertitur
et complanatur. moxque in ipsa fronte arietata nove facies aule erigitur.
totumque illum veteris spacii uterum. cum ampliori capacitate complectitur.
In ipso priori atque electissimo loco suo criptam novam altissima Virgo nan-
ciscitur. et Augustini thalamus. et principum apostolorum domus desuper
caominatur." Lib. ii, cap. xvi, *ibid.* f. 132.

abovesaid oratory of the Virgin to the aisle of St. Austin in which he formerly rested.”*

Now there can not be any question as to the position and extent of Scotland's work, since the crypt which he undoubtedly built, and wherein he was buried, has been discovered and excavated, as have the remains of his transepts, tower piers, and eastern part of the structural nave. Moreover, the massive foundations of these works overlie the remains of a building which was obviously pulled down to make way for them, and this building we are told was Wulfric's. The octagonal structure under notice must therefore have been that begun by Wulfric, and carried up as high as the arcade story (which Scotland destroyed), between his visit to Rheims and his death in 1059.

How the building was intended to be finished is an interesting question. Its plan suggests a dome, perhaps for a lantern or tower above, supported on strong piers and arches, with a vaulted ambulatory all round. The dome itself was also of course a vault. The eastern side seems to have been connected with Eadbald's church of our Lady by a screen or arcade with a doorway in the middle. There was also a wide entrance on the west from the nave of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, to which the building was joined, and the principal apse or presbytery of this had apparently been destroyed to make way for it.

Analogy with other early buildings in France, Italy, and elsewhere, suggests that Wulfric perhaps intended his new work to serve as a baptistery, like several such that he might have seen abroad.

Buildings specially constructed as baptisteries seem, however, to have gone out of fashion before Wulfric's time, and in the middle and north of France, according to M. Enlart, polygonal baptisteries had ceased to be built during the Carolingian period.† M. Robert de Lasteyrie

* “Perfecit autem abbas Scotlandus ipsum opus novum incipiendo a supra-dicto virginis oratorio usque ad porticum Sancti Augustini in qua antiquitus quiescebat.” Thorn, col. 1790.

† Camille Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie française : architecture religieuse*, i. (Paris, 1902), 192.

points out as the reason for this, that owing to changes in the ancient practices relating to the administration of baptism, baptisteries gradually lost their utility.* Their use, nevertheless, continued in Italy, but in Gaul it seems to have ceased about the time of Charlemagne, and in the Romanesque period baptisteries were not built at all.

Circular buildings to hold the remains of the dead were common even in Roman times, and a well-known Christian example is the tomb of Theodoric at Ravenna. A more pretentious round building for the same purpose is the church of St. Constance in Rome, erected towards the end of the reign of Constantine to hold the tomb of his daughter. This has an inner ring of twelve pairs of coupled columns, with a circular aisle with recesses, and a porch covering the entrance.† The round part of the church of the Holy Sepulchre also had a ring of columns with an encircling aisle.

To come down to a period nearer to that of Wulfrie, reference may be made to the church of Neuvy-Saint-Sépulcre (Indre), which was founded in 1045 "ad formam Sancti Sepulchri Ierosolimitani."‡ This has a ring of ten massive round columns with an encircling aisle and a later upper story with a dome.§

But there is a somewhat earlier building of the same type, to which Mr. John Bilson has called my attention, the round part of the church of St. Benignus at Dijon, which resembles Wulfrie's structure in that it connects the east end of an earlier church with an older chapel to the east. Its plan shews an inner ring of eight and an outer ring of sixteen columns, with an encircling aisle flanked by round staircases to the upper works.|| This was begun by abbot

* R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1912), 280.

† Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* 180, figs. 112 and 113.

‡ Victor Mortet, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture* (Paris, 1911), 123-5.

§ Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* fig. 269, p. 276, and Enlart, *op. cit.* fig. 65, p. 216.

|| M. de Lasteyrie (*op. cit.*) gives a plan (fig. 270) and section (fig. 271) of this building, from drawings published by Dom Plancher in his *Histoire de Bourgogne* in 1739-81. See also *Histoire de l'église Saint-Bénigne de Dijon*, by Abbé L. Chomton (Dijon, 1900).

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William of Volpiano in 1001 and consecrated in 1018. As Mr. Bilson says, "it would be interesting to know if any connexion can be traced between Wulfric and the school of William, who was a great influence in his time."

Another round building of similar plan to that at Dijon, also connecting the nave of a church with an apsidal presbytery and encircling chapels to the east, formerly existed at Charroux in Poitou, but only some fragments now remain. It was built in the eleventh century, and consisted of three concentric rings of columns with an encircling aisle.* Other buildings which seem to come within the same category are Rieux-Mérinville (Aude), which has an arcade forming a polygon of seven sides, with an encircling aisle of fourteen sides;† and the little building attached to the north side of Saint-Léonard (Haute-Vienne), which has a ring of eight round columns and an encircling aisle, also round, with four small apses projecting from its cardinal faces.‡

If the theory be accepted that these later buildings were imitations of the church of the Holy Sepulchre it is quite possible that, like it, they were meant to contain a tomb or tombs, and that Wulfric began his round structure to hold eventually the tomb of St. Austin and other notable persons.§

It has already been pointed out that Wulfric's building partly oversails on the west the thick foundation wall of an

* Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* 277-8, and plan, fig. 272. I am indebted to Mr. Sidney Toy for calling my attention to the Charroux building.

† Plan and description in the volume of the *Congrès archéologique de France* (Carcassonne and Perpignan), 1906, pp. 54-6.

‡ *L'Église Saint-Léonard et la Chapelle du Sépulchre*, by René Fage, in the *Bulletin Monumental*, lxxvii. (1913), pp. 59-72, with plan and section. Plan in Lasteyrie, *op. cit.* fig. 276, p. 282.

§ In the chronicle of Abingdon abbey it is recorded of St. Athelwold, who was made abbot in the days of King Ædred, 947-55, and became bishop of Winchester in 963, on finding that the abbey of Abingdon had been ruined by the Danes, that

Tunc coepit sanctus Athelwoldus aedificare ecclesiam hanc habentem formam. Cancellus rotundus erat, ecclesia et rotunda, duplicem habens longitudinem quam cancellus; turris quoque rotunda est (*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson (R. S.), ii. 277).

This may mean that the church had an apsidal or round-ended presbytery, a nave with central ring of pillars and an encircling aisle of a diameter twice the length of the presbytery, and a dome carried up as a round tower, like Wulfric's intended building.



FIG. 5.—PART OF AN EARLIER APSE OVERLAID BY ABBOT WULFRIC'S BUILDING.

earlier structure. It also breaks through on the north-west what seems to have been an apse belonging to this same early work (fig. 5 and fig. 4).

These traces of an older building have been exposed for some time, along with the remains of Wulfric's octagon; but it is only lately that they could be further elucidated, and again by the sacrifice of certain screen foundations that stood in the way.

Baeda tells us that when Austin died in 605,

his body was placed out of doors near the church of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul . . . because that had not yet been finished nor hallowed. But as soon as it was hallowed it was brought within and decently buried in the north aisle (*porticu*) of it; in which were also buried the bodies of all the succeeding archbishops, save two only, namely Theodore and Berctuald, whose bodies were placed in the church itself, because the aisle aforesaid could not take any more. This (aisle) has, almost in the middle of it, an altar dedicated in honour of the blessed pope Gregory, at which their services are solemnly celebrated every Saturday by a priest of that place.*

The Book of Customs of the abbey, compiled *circa* 1320—30, says that the mass of Our Lady was wont of old time to be sung daily at her altar in the crypts until the time of abbot Nicholas of the Thorn (1273—83); who, by consent of the whole chapter, transferred that mass to the altar of St. Stephen and St. Mary Magdalene "which is in the aisle on the north part of the nave of the church where the Blessed Austin was first buried and there rested for five hundred years until his translation."†

* "Defunctus est autem Deo dilectus pater Augustinus, et positum corpus ejus foras juxta ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, cujus supra meminimus, quia ea necdum fuerat perfecta nec dedicata. Mox vero ut dedicata est iatro inlatum et in porticu illius aquilonali decenter sepultum est; in qua etiam sequentium archiepiscoporum omnium sunt corpora tumulata, praeter duorum tantummodo, id est, Theodori et Berctualdi, quorum corpora in ipsa ecclesia posita sunt, eo quod praedicta porticus plura capere nequivit. Habet haec in medio pene sui altare in honore beati papae Gregorii dedicatum, in quo per omne sabbatum a presbytero loci illius agenda eorum solemniter celebrantur." *Baedae Historiae Ecclesiasticae Gentis Anglorum*, lib. ii, cap. iii.

† "Solebat antiquitus missa Dei Genetricis cantari solempniter per notam cotidie ad altare ejusdem Dei Genetricis in criptis, usque ad tempora pie memoriae dompni abbatis Nicholai de Spina. Sed ipse, de consensu totius

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When William Thorn wrote towards the close of the fourteenth century, the chapel of St. Stephen and St. Mary Magdalene had come to be known as that of our Lady,* and after quoting the statement from Baeda noted above, he adds: "This aisle was in the old church where now is the chapel of the blessed Virgin."†

The excavation of its site has brought to light, first, the base of a wall running north and south, with large stones built into it, and the start of an apse on the east, but this is cut off abruptly by the outer wall of Wulfric's building (fig. 5). A little to the west is the angle of an older structure, with part of a wall going eastwards; a wall running southwards, broken off and interrupted by Scotland's sleeper wall; and at a much lower level the foundation of a wall continuing westwards, which has since been followed to its return southwards at a distance of 53 ft. These walls are only 21 in. thick, largely built of Roman tiles, and faced on both sides with a thin coat of plaster. There likewise can not be any doubt that they formed part of the church begun by King Ethelbert in 598, and they also enclose the very *porticus* or aisle in which St. Austin and his immediate successors were buried; and standing in line against the north wall are three of their actual tombs (fig. 6).

The first of these occupies the north-east corner of the building, and has at its foot the standing fragment of the east wall. To the west of the second tomb, between it and the third, is a patch of an early cement floor, with a surface of pounded Roman tile. To the west of the third tomb at 29 ft. from the east wall is a foundation only 13½ in. thick and plastered on both sides, which apparently

capituli, illam missam transtulit ad altare sancti Stephani et sanctae Mariae Magdalene quod est in porticu septentrionali parte navis ecclesiae ubi beatus Augustinus primo sepultus erat et per quingentos annos usque ad suam translationem ibi quiescebat." Ed. Henry Bradshaw Society, 1902, i, 144.

* This chapel occupied a corresponding position to the old Lady Chapel in the cathedral church, in the eastern part of the north aisle, and outside the screens that formed the western barrier of the quire.

† "Haec porticus erat in veteri ecclesia ubi nunc est capella beatæ virginis." W. Thorn, col. 1765.

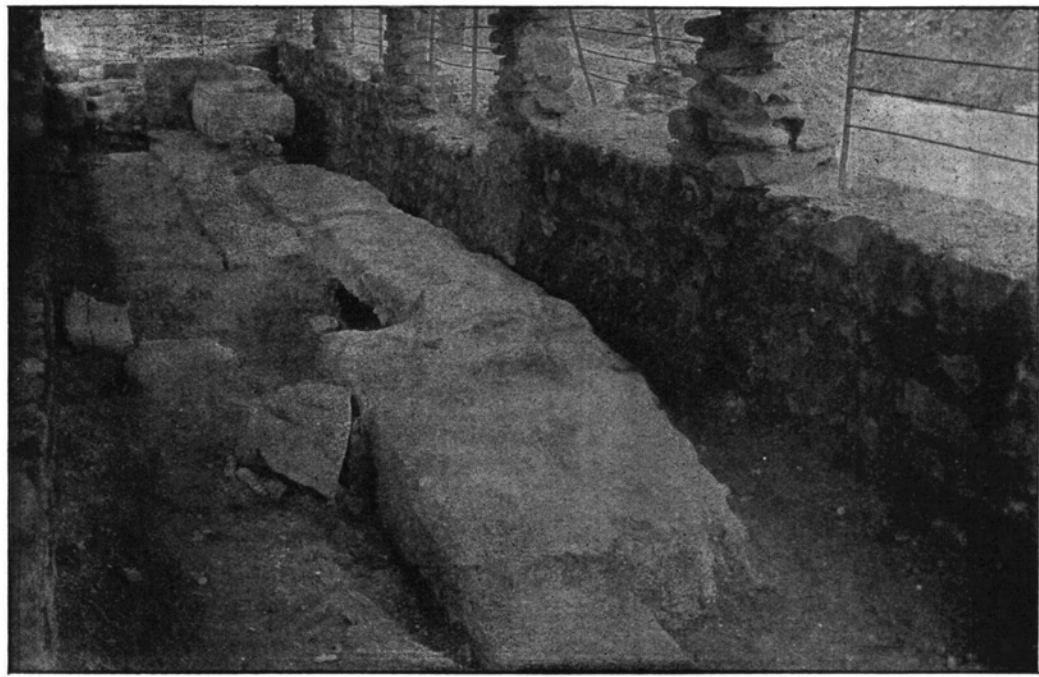


FIG. 6.—REMAINS OF THE NORTH *porticus* OF KING ETHELBERT'S CHURCH, WITH
THE TOMBS OF ARCHBISHOPS LAURINCE, MELLITUS, AND JUSTUS.

carried a wall or screen enclosing the burying-place on the west. Just beyond this are the remains of a concrete platform, perhaps for an altar.

Before dealing with the tombs, several other features must be noticed; and first, another patch of red cement flooring. This lies opposite the interval between the first and second tombs; but it is to the north of the wall against which they stood, and clearly belongs to a later extension of the building. This extension probably included the destroyed apse to the east, and it necessitated the taking down of the north wall of Ethelbert's work for its whole length to enable the new floor to be continued over its line.

The extent of the new work can approximately be fixed. Its east wall remains with the beginning of an apse. Its western limit may be indicated by a foundation $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide which crosses Ethelbert's building near its west end. The north wall seems partly to have been preserved as a base for abbot Scotland's aisle wall, and is still visible on the cloister side for its whole length.* The enlarged aisle was apparently 52 ft. in length. Its date is an open question, but may be connected with a dedication of the church in 978 by archbishop Dunstan, in honour of the holy apostles Peter and Paul and of St. Austin,† an event which evidently points to some unrecorded reconstruction or rebuilding on a large scale.

It is somewhat unfortunate that present investigations are limited in two directions: to the north, by the deep foundations of abbot Scotland's aisle wall; to the south by the strong and broad sleeper wall of his nave arcade. The first is not very serious, but the southern obstruction is 10 ft. broad and nearly 6 ft. deep, and its extraordinary solidity makes it difficult to burrow into or under. Its removal, too, is undesirable, owing to its forming an important chapter in the history of the building.

* The two works are readily distinguished by a difference of colour in the mortar, and the rubble masonry here and there is rudely laid herring-bone fashion.

† 978. "Dedicata fuit ista ecclesia a beato Dunstano in honore sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancti Augustini." Thorn, col. 1780.

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The story can, however, be continued by the description of certain features south of it.

Partly overlaid by the western wall of Wulfric's building, and more or less in line with the eastern wall of Ethelbert's work, is a concrete foundation nearly 7 ft. broad. It has a clean face to the east, but the west side is rough and much cut about. It appears to mark the eastern limit of the nave of the Saxon church, but to belong to the tenth-century reconstruction rather than to Ethelbert's work. Parallel with it to the west, at a distance of about 2 ft., is the foundation of another wall, $25\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, of doubtful purpose and date.

At the base of the sleeper wall, here 5 ft. 10 in. deep, there extends westward from below the thick cross wall on the east the concrete foundation of an older wall which has been traced for about 25 ft. from the face of Wulfric's octagon. At a distance of $23\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the same point it rises vertically to a higher level, 4 ft. 9 in. below the sleeper wall, and forms a jamb of Roman brick. Eastwards of this the foundation is set back 15 in. for a length of 6 ft. This apparently marks the place of a doorway, which, as will be seen from the plan, comes exactly in the middle of the burying-place to the north wherein stand the three tombs. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible, that we have here the south side of Ethelbert's *porticus*, with the place of the entrance into it from the nave of the church, but it is curious that this wall is not parallel with the one to the north. It has not been possible to fix its thickness. This was greater than that of the outer wall, but the inner face is everywhere overlaid by the sleeper wall, and burrowing under this has not so far shewn what is wanted.

"The book of the translation of St. Austin the apostle of the English and of his fellows," now amongst the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum,* which the monk

* Vespasian B xx.

Gocelin wrote towards the close of the eleventh century,* is of special interest as being a contemporary record of works that were carried out in the abbey church under abbots Wulfrie, Scotland, and Wido. The first began to link together the two early churches with his octagonal structure; the second replaced the Saxon church of our Lady and Wulfrie's building by a new presbytery with the existing crypt and transepts; while Wido continued Scotland's work down the nave.

Before each of these operations was begun, it was necessary temporarily to transfer elsewhere the remains of the saints and famous men who had been buried in the building about to be dealt with.

In 1030 the remains of St. Mildred had been translated to St. Austin's from Minster in Thanet, and laid before the principal altar of St. Peter and St. Paul. Here they rested until the destruction of the presbytery by Wulfrie for his new building, when they were moved into the aisle of St. Austin and placed against its north wall.

The destruction by Scotland of Eadbald's oratory of our Lady involved the translation of the remains of St. Adrian, the seventh abbot; of Albin his successor and several other abbots; and of the bodies of four kings, including Eadbald, who built the chapel, and Lothair, the son of St. Sexburg. All of these, with the exception of Adrian, abbot Scotland (according to Gocelin) placed in a western tower of the monastery before the altar of the Holy Mother of God, until the new church being rebuilt they could be re-deposited with new honour.†

Gocelin gives a minute account of the removal of the altar and tomb of St. Adrian, whose body was found entire within "a large sarcophagus of white marble." At the

* In the prologue to Book I he describes the miracles wrought "*per hoc fere ab ipsa translatione septennium*," that is, in the seven years following the translation by abbot Wido in 1091, which would give 1097 as the date of his work and that accepted by the Bollandists. [Note by the Rev. R. U. Potts.]

† "*in occidentali turri monasterii omnia composuit ante sancte Dei Genetricis altare. donec nova ecclesia reedificata. novo reconderentur honore.*" Lib. ii, cap. xiii, *ibid.* f. 131.

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suggestion of Odo bishop of Bayeux, who happened then to be at Canterbury, the body was not taken out, but together with "his great block of stone beautifully decorated," it was lifted out entire upon very strong beams; borne forth into the *porticus* of the most beloved father Austin; and among his most blessed associates and near to his first successor, archbishop Laurence, entombed with fitting reverence.*

It was Scotland's intention, on the completion of the new presbytery which he had built above his crypt, to translate thither the bodies of Austin and his successors, as well as the relics already noted, but his own death in 1087 delayed for a time the carrying out of this plan.

Scotland was succeeded by Wido, who, in 1091, effected the translation of all who had been buried in Austin's *porticus*, but not until their remains had narrowly escaped total destruction through the impatient throwing down upon them of the building that stood to the east. The story of this extraordinary proceeding is eloquently told by Gocelin, but he goes on to say that

when such great heaps of stones, beams, and leaden roofs, which had overwhelmed the sacred bodies, had been removed, all the sepulchral monuments of those men, although they were fragile and of tilework, and also the sculptures and angelic images with the Majesty of our Lord, wonderfully wrought over the tomb of the noble Austin, appeared unhurt, while all acclaimed the wonderful works of God.

Meanwhile (continues Gocelin) the south wall remained near which lay the kindly Austin and the holy Deusdedit, and this being at length loosened by much battering, while it was believed that it must certainly crush the saints, straightway by the unspeakable mercy of God it made a sort of a leap, and fell down flat, all in one solid mass, to the south, against those who were pushing it.†

* "Totus itaque desiderabilis Adrianus cum saxosa mole sua speciose adornata robustissimis trabibus excipitur. cum dulcimodis laudum organis astra ferientibus effertur. in porticum desiderantissimi patris Augustini gratissimus collega deponitur. et inter beatissimos ipsius consortes. ac juxta primum ejus successorem Laurentium archipresulem sanctissimum condigna sanctitate reconditur." Lib. ii, cap. xi, *ibid.* f. 130 b.

† "Nam ubi tante moles lapidum. trabium. tectorumque plumbatorum.

Despite this careless treatment of the most sacred relics of the church, they were eventually taken up and translated in 1091 into the new presbytery, under circumstances described at length by Gocelin, which may for the present be passed over. He inserts, however, in his story, a chapter that is of special interest in connexion with recent discoveries, to this effect :

It is a sacred duty to let posterity hear, what is no longer to be seen, in what position the saints formerly rested here. Austin first of all occupied the south side of his aisle, and with his sacred feet was pressing the eastern wall. On his left his first successor and companion Laurence, as has been shown, was stretched out in a similar space, only removed from him by so much room as the altar of their most blessed patron Gregory was occupying, claiming as its own one on either side. The other part of the breadth to the north, on the left of the good Laurence, received the holy Adrian. But the virgin of Christ Mildred, the one jewel of the fathers, by the north wall corresponded in a like place with Austin on the south. Of the translation of these (saints) we have above declared. At her head, as at that of the blessed Austin, stood an altar. But at the sacred head of Laurence, Mellitus, as his next successor, projected into the middle of the church. Mellitus makes room at his head for the righteous Justus, according to his succession to himself. On the right of Justus is blessed Honorius, the successor of Justus, and on the right of Honorius the holy and God-given Deusdedit was placed in the order of his succession. He indeed deserved a resting place on the same south wall at the head of mightiest Austin ; only the door in the middle by which one entered divided them. Yet all the tombs of those angels of God

que sacrosancta corpora obruerant sunt ablate. omnes ille illorum sepulchrales edicule cum essent fractiles et lateritie. sed et sculpture et imagines angelice cum dominica maiestate super tumbam magnifici AUGUSTINI mirifice formate. cunctis miracula Dei acclamantibus illese apparuere." Lib. i, cap. iii, *ibid.* f. 96 b.

"Restabat interim paries australis qua parte almus AUGUSTINUS sacerque Deusdedit quiescebant. Qui tandem multo ariete solutus. dum certo nutu sanctos oppressurus crederetur. protinus inestimabili Dei virtute quasi in saltum excutitur. et ad austrum contra impellentes totus integra soliditate prosternitur." Lib. i, cap. iii, *ibid.* f. 96 b.

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were so separated that a passage between each of them was possible.*

The recent excavation of the *porticus* and its surroundings, although incomplete for the reasons above stated, makes it comparatively easy to understand Gocelin's description.

The original aisle had in its eastern corners and up against the east wall the tombs of Austin to the south and of Laurence to the north, with the altar of St. Gregory between them. There was also a smaller altar at the head of Austin's tomb. Before the main altar was a space, entered by the doorway on the south, which had opposite to it against the north wall the tomb of Mellitus. The western part of the chapel had, against the wall or screen that enclosed it, the tombs of Justus and Deusdedit in the corners with Honorius between.

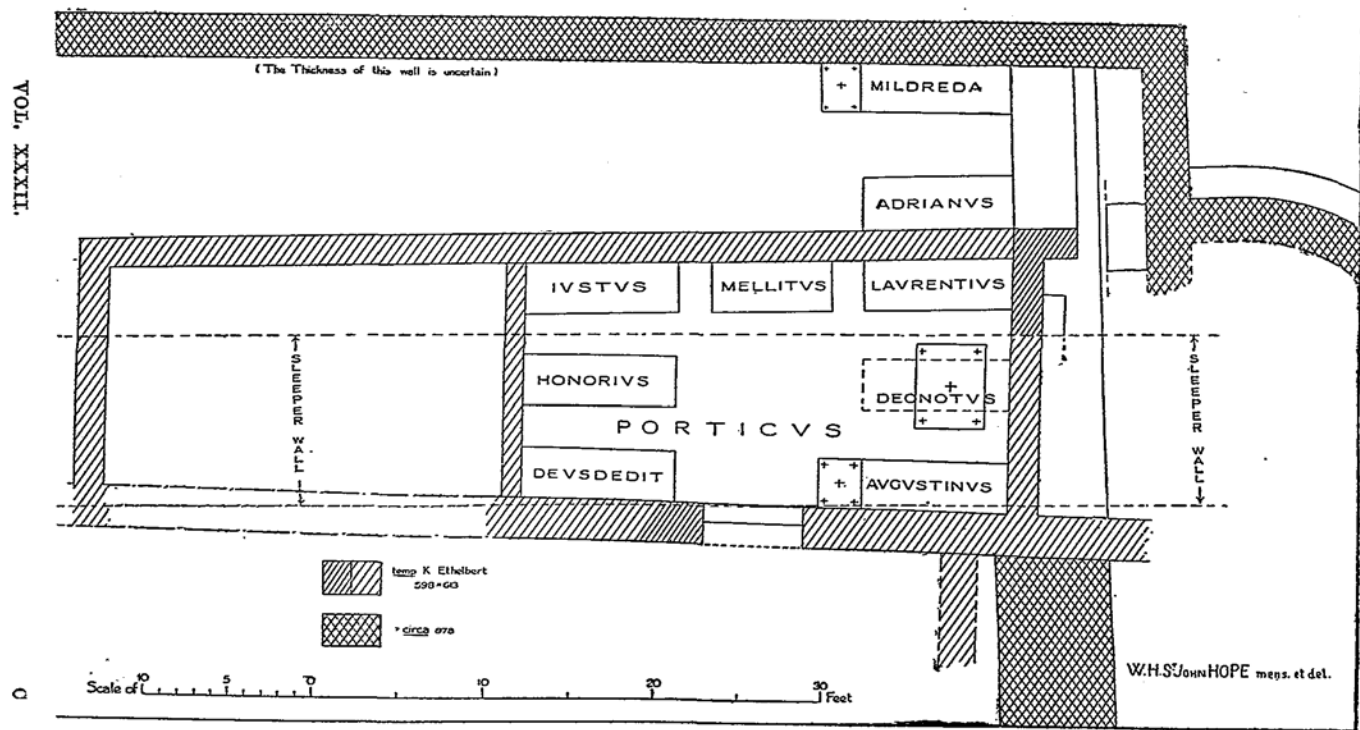
Besides these six tombs there were two others; these stood, however, not in the original *porticus*, but in the later extension of it to the north.†

* [f. 101] "*Pium est etiam posteros audire, quod jam non est videre, quia hic sancti prius requieverint positione. Primus Augustinus sue porticus australe latus possidebat, et sacris vestigiis orientalem maceriam pulsabat. Ab ejus leva primus successor et lateralis Laurentius ut premonstratum est simili spacio protendebatur, tantummodo remotus, quantum loci altare beatissimi auctoris sui Gregorij hinc inde utrumque ascissens occupabat. Cetera pars aquilonalis latitudinis, a sinistra almi Laurentii Adrianum sanctum exceperat. Virgo autem Christi Mildretha unica patrum gemma, a boreali pariete australi Augustino concordi respondebat regione, quos supra translato extulimus. Ejus vertici ut beati Augustini, altare astabat. At capiti sacro Laurentii, Mellitus ut proximus successor, in producta ecclesie area imminebat. Mellitus justifium Justum, secundum suam successionem sibi accommodat ad caput. A Justo vero dextera beatus Honorius successor Justo, a dextera Honorio, sanctus et a Deo datus Deusdedit, successionis sue ordine subjungebatur. Is nempe a capite summi Augustini, ejusdem [f. 101 b] australis parietis thorum commeruit, quos tantum medium ostium quo intrabatur discrevit. Sic tamen erant omnia illa angelorum Dei mausolea distincta, ut transitus haberetur inter singula."* Lib. i, cap. xvii, *ibid.* ff. 101, 101 b.

† The Rev. R. U. Potts has kindly sent the following important note:

"The fact of the extension of the original *porticus* of which the stones first told us, has since been confirmed by the following statement from Gocelin's life of St. Austin:

Theodore too the seventh, a noble follower of the high Roman tradition, was buried on the right side of father Austin with only the internal wall of the church between them, because the porch *as yet not enlarged* could not hold all; but *afterwards when it had been enlarged*, to these fellow saints is added Adrian beloved of all generations, the most kindly abbot of that monastery; also the

FIG. 7.—RESTORED PLAN, WITH PROBABLE ARRANGEMENT OF *porticus* AND TOMBS.

Beyond Laurence lay Adrian, whose empty grave can now be seen,* and against the north wall, in the corner, lay Mildred, with a small altar at the head of her tomb, but the place of her burial is now covered by Scotland's aisle wall. The three tombs that have lately been found in a row are clearly those of Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus. The places of the others and of St. Gregory's altar are unhappily covered by the sleeper wall.

Before describing the tombs it may be well to quote from a further chapter by Gocelin another discovery that was made :

Now in taking up the body of the blessed Laurence, while it was being decided that the pavement which lay before St. Gregory's altar, between him and the renowned Austin, should first be taken up, so that an easier exit might be prepared for the saint from the tomb broken through on the side, wonderful to say the hardness of the bricks mocked the iron tools and the wits [or engines] of them all At length the stubborn strength yields to frequent blows, yet the very strong construction of the brickwork is not broken up. But, wondrous sight, a sort of wooden boarding nailed together, about the size of a large door, is taken out entire. And while from the pavement thus pulled up this boarding is torn out and lifted up, a small sepulchral crypt, which was hidden before or

fairest lily of the English, Christ's royal virgin Mildred with her own brightness most happily illumines the splendid tombs of these great fathers. Thus then the most blessed father of them all, pope Gregory, has his altar in the middle, like a patrician's chair of state, and protects the same *porticus* consecrated to God, embracing in his eternal affection not the graves of those who are buried together but the couches of those who banquet together" (? not the sharers of a common grave but the partakers of a common feast).

The original text runs:

Ch. 53. "Septimus quoque Theodorus, Romanæ præcellentiæ subsecutor egregius, almo Augustino a dextro consepultus est latere, una tantum monasterialis alvi maceria interstito quia *nondum amplificata* porticus omnes nequiebat suscipere: qua *postea dilatata*, his sanctis consortibus adjungitur omnibus amandus sæculis Adrianus, ejusdem monasterii abbas clementissimus: item candidissimum ex Anglis liliū, regia Christi virgo, Mildretha suo candore gratissime illustrat splendida tantorum patrum ornamenta. Horum igitur omnium auctor beatissimus papa Gregorius, habens altare medium velut patricium solium, ipsamque servans Deo dicatam porticum æterna dilectione circumplectitur non tam funera consepulcorum quam triclinia convivantium." Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, lxxx. 92.

* In my earlier report it was suggested that this was the place of St. Mildred's remains, a view no longer tenable.

even under the altar itself, is disclosed by a small stone being pulled up in like manner. A small opening being thus made, straightway a prodigious vapour of sweetness never before experienced, boiling up, not only smote the bystanders in the face as a mighty blast, but blew through the whole cloister of the monastery and the brethren resident therein with a new aroma of spices. . . . Under the same altar of St. Gregory then, the most holy body of the buried man lay towards the same east wall hard by, as did those of Austin and Laurence, and lying exactly in the middle as the son of both fathers, was as it were cherished under the wings of each.*

The remains of this person, whose burial was unrecorded and his name unknown, were enclosed in a leaden coffin and translated into Scotland's new work. As his name was known only to God he was henceforth entitled Deonotus.

Gocelin describes with his usual eloquence the issuing forth of fragrant vapours from the tombs of Austin and Mellitus, and follows up the account of the translations with the following interesting notes :

On the Monday following, the site being cleared, the building of the nave of the church goes on. A great column is founded in the northern rank in that very place whence the richest treasure, the body of Austin, was taken up. That (column) encloses in a spacious cavity, as sacred relics, the hallowed bricks of his tomb or little crypt. Of the pavement laid below, on which the most blessed body lay, the bright

* [f. 101 b] "Igitur efferendo beati Laurentii corpore. dum pavimentum quod coram Gregoriano altare inter ipsum et preclarum Augustinum patebat prius evellendum censeretur. quatinus a latere fracta tumba facilius exitus sancto pararetur. mirum dictu. ferramenta et ingenia omnium. ridebat durities laterum. . . . Tandem rebellis fortitudo crebris ictibus subjicitur. nec tamen munitissimus laterculorum textus solvitur : verum mirabile visu. quasi ligneum tabulatum conclavatum ad spatium ample janue integer sustollitur. Dumque sic excrustato pavimento evulsa crates erigitur. sepulchralis criptula que coram ipso vel sub ipso altari latebat evulso pariter lapillo violatur. Ita modice foramine facto. protinus ingens vapor. inexpecte suavitatis ebulliens. non solum astantes ut vehemens flatus in faciem percussit. sed et totum claustrum monasterii ac fratres in eo residentes nova aromatum virtute perf lavit. . . . [f. 102] Sub eodem itaque Gregoriano altare. sacrosancta gleba sepulti ad ipsum orientalem parietem contiguum sicuti Augustini et Laurentii porrigebatur : qui tanquam filius geminorum patrum eque medius. velut utriusque alis fovebatur." Lib. i, cap. xviii, *ibid.*, ff. 101 b, 102.

purple tiles, united together in a level flooring, and reeking with nard of saffron hue, are eagerly stripped off and enclosed in the altar of the new porch of the blessed Gregory Under these tiles lying on the top was found most pure earth, half a foot thick, from the foundation that projected from the old wall of the Augustinian *porticus*. This earth, too, the odour of Austin penetrating the tiles, was fragrant with marvellous sweetness. The earth taken out about the flints of the aforesaid foundation they decided should be distributed through the sacred tombs of Laurence, Mellitus, and Justus, which had escaped the ruination of the ecclesiastical structure, and so be preserved.

Gocelin concludes with this important memorandum :

Moreover, lest our posterity, those who shall be sons of the love of so great a father, shall grieve that henceforth they know not the place as described of his ancient monument, let him note who will that this column, which we have described a little before, contains the tile tomb, and let him number and know that it is the third from that which is arched for the eastern tower.*

It may be pointed out, also for the sake of those who come after us, that the flint rubble core of this third pillar is still standing to a height of 2 ft. 5 in., but though this has been carefully taken to pieces and rebuilt, there were no remains in it of the tiles of Austin's tomb, which

* "Secunda dehinc feria, patente spacio structura navis ecclesie procedit. Fundatur columna spaciosa in aquilonali serie, ipso loco unde opulentissimus thesaurus Augustini corporis assumptus est. Cujus tumbe vel criptule sacratos laterculos, alvo capaci pro sacris pignoribus illa complectitur. Substrati vero pavimenti cui beatissima gleba incubuit lateres puniceos, nitidos, plano tabulatu contextos et crocea nardo fumantes, certatim excrustantur, et in altari nove porticus beati Gregorii supra memorato reconduntur. Sub his lateribus inventa est terra mundissima, semipedis spissitudine, fundamento quod de pariete veteri Augustiniane porticus prominebat superjecta. Hec quoque terra penetrante lateres Augustini odore mirifica fraglabat suavitate. Quam ad predicti fundamenti silices exhaustam, per sacrata busta Laurentii, Melliti ac Justi que ecclesiastice structure persecutionem evaserant, distribuendam ac servandam censuerunt. Ne vero posteris nostro hi qui fuerint filii dileccionis tanti patris se nescire doleant hactenus descriptum ejus antiqui monumenti locum, notet qui voluerit hanc columnam quam paulo ante designavimus ejus continere latericiam tumbam, numeretque et sciât ab illa que turri orientali arcuatur terciam." Lib. i, cap. xxix, *ibid.* ff. 108 b, 109.

were probably therefore built into it higher up.* Black earth similar to that referred to by Gocelin has been met with in several places. A layer of it, except where interrupted by graves, extends under the red cement floor of the nave, and it occurs again further east to the north of the destroyed apse.

From the particular mention of the preservation of the three tombs along the north wall, and the account of the way in which the materials of Austin's tomb were disposed of, it must be taken for granted that everything else in the original chapel was entirely destroyed for the building of the sleeper wall.

It only remains to describe the tombs that have been so fortunately spared.

The easternmost, that of archbishop Laurence, who died in 619, appears outwardly as a flat-topped rectangular mass of concrete raised 3 ft. above the red floor (fig. 8). It is 3 ft. wide, and was originally 9 ft. long, but was seriously damaged in the thirteenth century by being cut through for the foundation (lately removed) of a transverse screen-wall in the aisle above. It now consists of a large section towards the east 5 ft. 7 in. long, and a fragment to the west containing the head of the grave. The concrete mass, which abuts at its foot against a section of Ethelbert's wall that has been preserved on account of it, consists of an upper layer, 26 in. thick, of pieces of Roman tile bedded in white mortar, and resting upon an under layer of pink cement which enclosed the coffin on all sides (fig. 9). The coffin was 6 ft. 8½ in. long, with sides 18 in. deep, and had a coped lid with a flattened ridge 6 in. broad and rounded ends (fig. 10). The total depth of the coffin was 2 ft. 2 in. and the width about 2 ft. throughout. The coffin was a wooden one, and the interior of the tomb is actually a cast of its outward form, since the pink cement was evidently poured over it in a semi-fluid state after it had been laid in the grave, until it was completely covered

* In the heart of the rubble core was a large piece of a Roman millstone, and a piece of worked Caen stone which may have formed part of one of Wulfrie's piers.

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to a depth of 6 in. above the lid. The grave was 23 in. deep and floored with similar cement, and the foot of the coffin was 2 ft. 6 in. from the wall against which the tomb abuts. Whether the coffin contained an inner one of lead we cannot now tell, but archbishop Laurence must have been a very tall and sparsely built man.

It is evident from Gocelin's account of the discovery of Deonotus under St. Gregory's altar, that the altar was

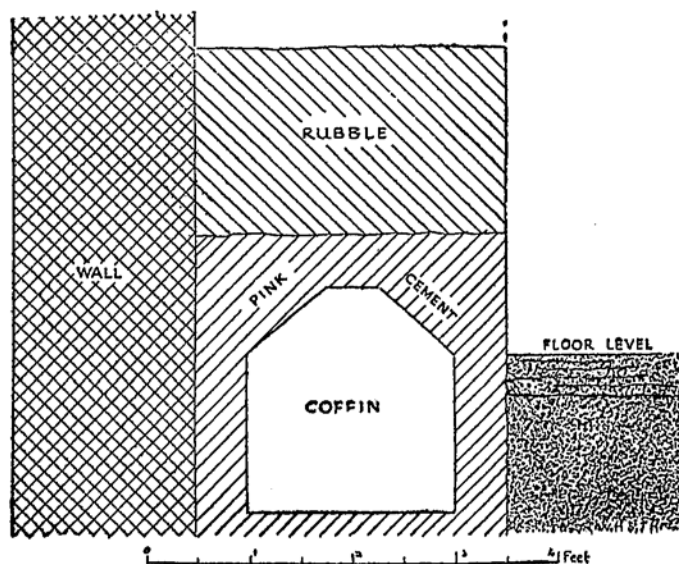


FIG. 9.—SECTION OF THE TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP LAURENCE.

removed and the flooring south of the tomb taken up, so that the side of the tomb could be broken through and the contents withdrawn. The breach is still visible, but if the tomb had not been partly cut away in the thirteenth century it would have been difficult for us to see the interior owing to the close proximity (less than 18 in.) of the sleeper wall.*

The second tomb, that of archbishop Mellitus, who died in 624, stands 23 in. to the west of the first. It is 7 ft. 1 in. long and 3 ft. broad, but its flat top is raised only 3 in.

* When the original wall to the north was taken down for the enlargement of the aisle, the side of the tomb thereby exposed was roughly plastered over.

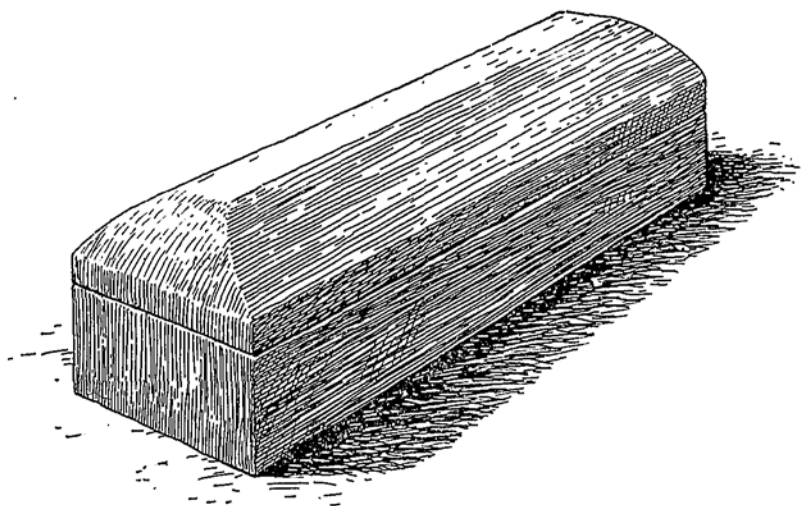


FIG. 10.

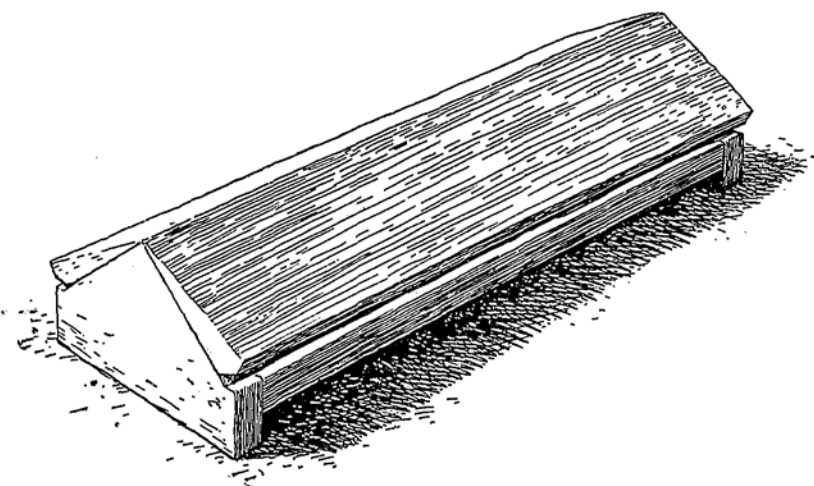


FIG. 12.

COFFINS OF ARCHBISHOPS LAURENCE AND JUSTUS.

Drawn by Mr. George E. Kruger from models by Sir William St. John Hope.

above the floor. The tomb is outwardly of white cement. There is a breach low down along the south side, through which the contents were taken out in 1091, but owing to the nearness of the sleeper wall it is impossible now to see inside.

Another interval, of 25 in., divides the second tomb from the third, that of archbishop Justus, who died in 630. This is 9 ft. 4 in. long and 3 ft. wide, with a roughly levelled top 6 in. above the floor. Owing to the fact that in 1091 the tomb of archbishop Honorius was alongside it on the south, the tomb of Justus was not opened on that

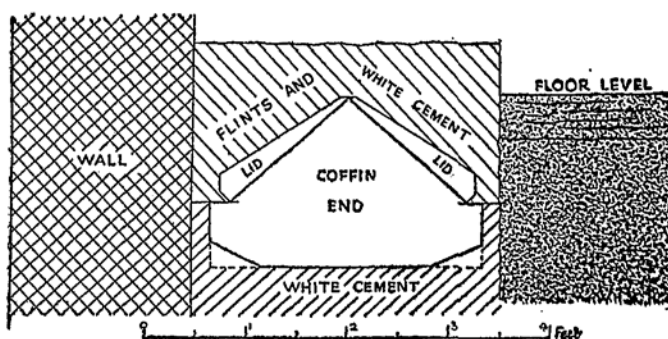


FIG. 11.—SECTION OF THE TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP JUSTUS.

side, but on the north, by cutting down the foundation of Ethelbert's wall. The long breach then made through which the contents were taken out enables the interior to be examined with ease. As in the case of archbishop Laurence, a large wooden coffin, or outer shell to an inner one, was laid in the grave. The body of the coffin was then surrounded up to its depth with semi-fluid white cement, and upon this when sufficiently set there was laid along the sides at the level of the lid a line of pieces of Roman brick. These were placed horizontally on the south side, but on the wall side they were laid aslant. The sloping sides of the lid were then covered up with a concrete of flints and white cement until the coffin was completely buried to a depth of 6½ in. above the ridge (fig. 11).

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The interior of the tomb, like that of Laurence, is practically a cast of the shape of the coffin, but owing to the use of a finer and more liquid cement, it is in better preservation.

The coffin was 7 ft. 7 in. long, with a uniform width outside of 2 ft. 8 in., and 1 ft. 8 in. deep from the ridge of its coped lid or cover. The ends were formed of pieces of planking $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 3 in. thick, square at the bottom and gabled at the top. The bottom was made of three planks: a middle one 20 in. wide, and side planks only 6 in. wide canted up outwardly at a small angle. The coped lid was 2 in. narrower in width than the coffin, and formed of two thick planks increasing in thickness from 1 in. at the ridge to $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. at the edge, which was chamfered on the under side (fig. 12). The imprint of the boards, even to the grain in places, is plainly visible on the cement, which was evidently fluid enough to run in between the planks at the ends and elsewhere where they were not closely nailed together.* The foot of the coffin actually extended 9 in. beyond the tomb under the pink floor, which, if not contemporary, ought therefore to be of a later date, and the ends and south side of the tomb are coated with fine plaster. The size of the enclosed coffin suggests that archbishop Justus, like Laurence, was a very tall man.

Not many early architectural remains came to light during the recent excavations. The remarkable capital shewn in fig. 13, and another like it, may have been part of Wulfric's work: the smaller fragments, which are also pre-Conquest, were embedded in the destroyed screen foundations.

Of the interest attaching to the discoveries just described it is somewhat difficult to speak.

The finding of the veritable tombs of three of the earliest archbishops of Canterbury is in itself a noteworthy event, and the singular recovery of the forms of two of the contained coffins is another exceptional matter.

* For the details of the inside of this tomb I am greatly indebted to Mr. Wilfrid J. Hemp, who spent a considerable time within it, examining it and taking the necessary notes and measurements.



FIG. 13.—EARLY CAPITAL, PERHAPS PART OF WULFRIC'S WORK, AND OTHER FRAGMENTS
FOUND DURING THE RECENT EXCAVATIONS.

We have also got an instalment towards the plan of one of the first important churches recorded to have been built in England, begun from the foundations so early as 598.

The foundations of Wulfrie's abortive building that have so fortunately been preserved form yet a third remarkable find, and it is to be hoped that some further light may be thrown upon its possible origin and purpose by the publication of its singular plan and arrangement.

It must also be borne in mind that these discoveries in the north part of the church ought to be balanced by similar finds of quite corresponding interest on the south part, of the site of the *porticus* or aisle of St. Martin, wherein were buried St. Letard, Queen Bertha, King Ethelbert, and King Eadbald and his queen Emma, but for these we must await the removal of the hospital laundry which so unhappily and effectually stands in our way. Until this has been removed and the rest of the nave laid open it will also be safer to reserve for consideration several questions relating to the original plan and enlargement of the church.

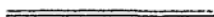
In conclusion, the indebtedness of all archæologists is due to the authorities of St. Augustine's College, especially to the warden, Bishop Knight, and the sub-warden, the Rev. R. U. Potts, for their careful and patient unravelling of the important relics of the first abbey church. The college has also with commendable foresight already roofed over for protection from the weather so much of the excavated section of the north aisle as contains the archbishops' tombs and their surroundings. Most useful help, too, has been constantly given by some of the students of the college, especially Mr. Bertram Lamplugh and Mr. Harold Pyner, the latter of whom has also arranged with much skill and judgement in the vestibule of the Library the large number of architectural and other remains that have been accumulating for some years from the excavations.

For the several plans, etc. I am myself responsible. The photographs reproduced are by Mr. E. C. Youens.

For the translation of the difficult Latin of Gocelin's

chronicle, towards which Bishop Knight and the Rev. R. U. Potts have also made some suggestions, I am indebted to my old friend the Rev. Dr. J. T. Fowler.

It only remains to state that the three surviving trustees, Lord Northbourne, Mr. F. Bennett-Goldney, and myself, in whose hands the property known as the Abbey Field was vested on its purchase by private subscription in 1900, have now been able to transfer it to St. Augustine's College, and so once more to unite two important sections of St. Austin's Abbey that have been separated ever since its suppression in the sixteenth century.



[NOTE.—We are indebted to the Society of Antiquaries for the use of all the illustrations in the foregoing article, except Figures 2, 10, 12 and 13.—ED.]