↓C ↓B A↓

N.door

tomb

Jambs

SCOLIA

Niche
S.door Stoop

↑C ↑B B↑ A↑
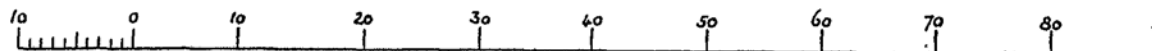
LYDD CHURCH

Arch. Cant. XLII, Pl. 1.

Saxon   Norman   E. English   Decorated   Perpendicular   Modern & various blockings

G.M.L.
1929.

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90

LYDD CHURCH.

BY GREVILE MAIRIS LIVETT, B.A., F.S.A.

(Hon. Canon of Rochester.)

I.

In Volume XIII (1880) of *Arch. Cant.* there appeared a paper on Lydd Church written by Canon Scott Robertson. It contains much curious lore, gathered from the inscriptions of the monuments, the wills of parishioners and other sources, concerning the numerous altars, images and lights that existed in the church in mediæval times ; and concerning the brotherhoods that supported them and worshipped, and perhaps transacted their business, in the various parts of the building assigned to them ; and it mentions among other matters of interest the annual meeting therein of the jurats for the assessment of the inhabitants of the cinque ports. But the Canon dealt somewhat cursorily with the architecture and did not attempt to solve the interesting problem of the evolution of the building. Moreover, he made one or two serious errors in his description : he assigned to the *E.Engl.* period the old work at the W end of the N aisle of the nave, which J. T. Micklethwaite about thirty years ago was the first to recognise as Saxon ; and he spoke of " the seven noble Early English arches " of the nave-arcades, failing to notice a marked difference in material and in order of architecture between the four easternmost arches with the columns that support them and the three westernmost. The former are certainly *E.Engl.*, but the latter, with the exception of the western responds, are *Perp.*

In my description of the church on the occasion of the visit of the Society in 1904, and again in 1929, I advanced a theory that the nave of the 13th-century (*E.Engl.*) church comprised only four bays, its W front crossing on the line marked *CC* on the plan ; that it was extended westwards in

the 15th century ; and that the later architect preserved the
western responds of the *E.Engl.* arcades and rebuilt them at
the end of his extension.   Subsequent study has led me to
abandon that theory.   I think there is evidence sufficient to
indicate that the 15th-century work was merely a rebuilding
of the three westernmost arches of the 13th-century church.
I hope also to show the probability that a Norman church
previously existed and was completely absorbed by the
E.Engl. builders, who also arranged their plan to include those
parts of the Saxon church which still remain at the W end of
their N aisle.   On such suppositions only can certain extra-
ordinary irregularities revealed by the ground-plan of the
nave be satisfactorily accounted for.[1]

Apart from the 15th-century W tower, and two or three
buttresses built up against the aisle-walls, the lines of the plan
of the church (which the reader is asked to study carefully)
seem to be of 13th-century date throughout.   On this
assumption the *E.Engl.* church consisted of a long and narrow
nave with arcades of seven arches of unequal span and fairly
wide aisles, and a long chancel of the same width as the nave

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[1] In such a case as this an accurate plan is essential for the solution
of the problem of development.   It is not always easy to get.   The diffi-
culty here arises from an irregular leaning outwards of the columns and
walls caused by the weight of the roof, the roof that preceded the existing
15th-century roof.   It is impracticable to attempt measurements at the
ground level—they must be taken breast-high, and in plotting the plan
allowance must be made for this irregular displacement.   Some pains
have been taken to represent the original lines fairly correctly.   A block
plan was made in 1904.   In view of the 1929 meeting the church was
re-measured, with the help of Mr. Elgar, and another plan made.   Sub-
sequently Mr. Elgar kindly visited the church again, tested the lines of
my plan by triangulation and pronounced them practically correct, and
inserted all windows and doorways and the details of the tower and W
entrance.   I have to thank him also for the sections of moldings which
appear in the illustrations of this paper.

Some members may like to learn my method—an amateur's method
—of measuring a church.   A rough plan is drawn.   Longitudinal and cross
measurements are taken throughout the inside.   Then a string is stretched
from end to end along the axial line and from it numerous ordinates (i.e.,
lines at right angles to the string) to side-walls and arcade-walls and
columns are taken.   Convenient points are fixed (by small safety pins)
on the string and from them diagonals are measured to all interior angles
and to fixed points here and there on the walls.   The thickness of walls
is ascertained through arches, windows and doorways.   Lastly the
external measurements are taken.   The period-plan which illustrates this
Paper was drawn to the scale of ½-inch to the foot, and reduced to ¹⁄₁₆ inch
in reproduction.

with side-chapels running eastward for half its length in continuation of the nave-aisles. We have now to consider the evidence.

In *E.Engl.* churches the nave-aisles were usually narrower than the chancel-chapels built to the east of them. That the aisles of Lydd were from the first of the same width as the chapels, and that the present line of their walls is not a result of subsequent widening, is shown by the span of the arches that cross (on the line marked *A A* on the plan) between aisles and chapels. Moreover the technique of the construction with wrought stone of the re-entering angles on the two sides of the external buttresses (*A A*) that resist the thrust of those arches is identical, showing that the walls running E and W from them are contemporary—in other words, a continuous wall in the case of both N and S aisles. In the case of the S wall a 13th-century date for its whole length is rendered likely by the fact that the pair of corner-buttresses at the W end have the same projection as those of the chancel and its chapels. (They are absent at the W end of the N aisle, where the wall is Saxon.) It is true that their re-entering angles do not show the same construction, and that the face of the wall generally does not show a technique that is seen in the chancel-walls ; but if the rectors held themselves responsible for the building of the chancel and its chapels only, leaving the nave to the parishioners, such difference would be natural. It is true also that except at the end of the N aisle the aisle-walls contain no remains of the jambs of such lancet-lights as are seen in all the walls of the chancel and its chapels, both inside and out ; but this again is not surprising, since in every bay of the nave the position of such a lancet is occupied by a larger window of *Dec.* or *Perp.* date. The door in the S wall is likewise a *Dec.* insertion. The N door, however, is *E.Engl.*

Perhaps the strongest evidence in favour of an *E.Engl.* date for the aisle-walls throughout their whole length is afforded by the simple round string-course that runs from E to W inside the building under the windows of the S aisle, and appears at intervals along the walls of the N aisle. It

is a continuation of the string-course that runs round the sanctuary and the chancel-chapels. Here and there in the nave it has been renewed, probably when the later windows were inserted.

Other evidence is to be seen in the 13th-century character of the little light built into the blocking of the central arch of the Saxon portion of the N aisle.[1] It is fairly certain that similar little windows were then placed in the other two arches, and it is only reasonable to assume that they were intended to give light to the two westernmost bays of an aisle built at the same time. It is probable that the Saxon basilica was no longer in use : perhaps it had fallen into ruin : certainly its N aisle had been demolished. Again : a nave of only four bays is too short for a church of such importance and of so great a breadth ; and it postulates an awkward and unusual position for a N door, in the first bay of the aisle, quite close to the W end. Lastly : not only is the *E.Engl.* date of the W responds of the arcades, previously mentioned, shown by the form of bases and capitals and by the material (Caenstone and Upper Greensand stone[2]) and the character of the tooling, but close inspection has convinced me that they occupy their original position : they exhibit none of the usual signs of removal and rebuilding.   Thus there is an accumulation of evidence in favour of the view that, in spite of the later character of the three western arches of the nave-arcades, the lines of the existing church with its nave of seven bays are those of the 13th-century building.

Passing on to consider the significance of the remarkable irregularity of the lines of this *E.Engl.* church, let us look at the facts as presented by the plan. A striking feature is the gradual increase in the width of the nave from W to E. At the W end the width is $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. ; at the third column it is 20 ft. ; at the E end, from the 6th column eastwards, it is 20 ft. 3 ins. Furthermore, the arcades do not run in straight

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[1] See the elevation in Plate 3 (fig. 4).

[2] Known as 'firestone,' quarried in the neighbourhood of Reigate and Godstone, Surrey, and widely used in Kent in the 13th century.

lines throughout : in the N arcade there is a slight divergence from the straight line at the third column and a marked divergence at the sixth ; while in the S arcade there is again a slight divergence at the third column, but none further east. The side-wall of the N aisle presents divergencies corresponding to those of the arcade : the first occurs at the junction of the Saxon and the later wall ; the second, which is very noticeable in the building as well as on the plan, nearly opposite the sixth column (on the line *BB*), where the aisle, 14½ ft. wide, is 9 in. wider than it is along the Saxon wall at the W end. As to the wall of the S aisle, toward the W end there is some irregularity due probably to rebuilding, but it seems to have been the intention of the master-builder to run it parallel to the arcade, and I have plotted it straight. The width of the S aisle throughout, like that of the N aisle at its E end, is 14½ ft.

In contrast with these irregularities in the lines of the nave the accurate rectangularity of the chancel and its chapels is most marked. The matter is one of moment for the history of the church. The difference postulates a clear space for the erection of the chancel and the existence westward of some earlier building which prevented the *E.Engl.* architect from laying out the lines of the rest of the church on a fairly rectangular plan. If he had had a fair and open field throughout, such as he evidently had for his chancel, he could have planned his nave so as to include parts of the Saxon building without so eccentric a result. Moreover, it is inconceivable that the small Saxon church should have sufficed to meet the needs of the parish throughout the 12th century when Lydd was growing and increasing in prosperity and larger churches were being built in several places of less importance in the neighbourhood. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that a Norman church, detached from the Saxon building, once stood on the site of the nave and caused the irregularity of its lines. Indeed, positive evidence may be detected in some of the materials found in the present building. In the little *E.Engl.* light described above, as included in the

blocking of one of the arches of the Saxon church, some
of the wrought stones of the splays show the vertical
chisel-tooling characteristic of *E.Engl.* bankerwork, but
others show the diagonal tooling of the Norman banker-
man's method of facing his stones with the axe.[1] These
stones evidently came from some destroyed Norman window
of slightly narrower splay, for they do not accurately fit
the splay of their present position.   Similar Norman stones
may be seen, together with *E.Engl.* stones, in the rere-arches
of the *Dec.* windows towards the W end of the S aisle.   Old
materials were re-used again and again by successive builders.

The ground-plan of a Norman church that fits into that
of the *E.Engl.* building is indicated on the accompanying plan
(Plate 1) by ' close tint.'   It represents a church of normal
type, namely an aisleless nave and square-ended chancel,
of which there are several examples in Romney Marsh, such
as Dymchurch, Hope All Saints, Hythe and West Hythe.
They are seldom accurately rectangular, and if the nave of
this one is more irregular than usual it is not without parallel
in that respect, nor is it more so than the plan of its *E.Engl.*
successor, which it serves to explain.[2]

A study of the complete plan and its irregularities will
enable the reader to imagine how the lines of the *E. Engl.*
building could be marked out on the ground round such a
Norman church, the architect having in view the absorption
both of the Norman building and also of the site and some of
the remaining walls of the Saxon church, which stood apart
to the NW of it.   It would be tedious to attempt to describe
the whole process of his planning and building.   He would
certainly commence building at the E end, providing accom-
modation for worship there before demolishing the Norman

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[1] See the elevation, Plate 3.

[2] I have plotted the chancel of my proposed Norman church
accurately rectangular and at right angles to its chancel-arch wall (on line
BB) placing the *E* end in line with the *E.Engl.* chancel-arch (on *AA*) :
it may have been slightly rhomboidal, but in either case its E end would
be parallel to the line of the existing chancel-arch.   I find that
the chancel as shown tallies in size with that of West Hythe.   This is,
of course, purely accidental.   The West Hythe nave is slightly smaller ;
the thickness of walls is the same.

sanctuary. He may then have continued building west-wards, running his nave-arcades on the lines of side-walls of the Norman nave ; or, as seems to me more likely, he may have begun again at his W end, utilising parts of the Saxon oratory and completing his aisle-walls and the first three arches of his arcades before he touched the Norman church. In studying this subject the reader may notice that the architect minimised the awkward effect of the irregular lines of the nave by adopting for his chancel an axial line parallel to the S side of the Norman nave. An axis parallel to the N side, or a compromise between the two, would have looked more awkward. Inferences may also be drawn from the difference in the span of the arches of the nave-arcades, comparing the three arches west of the third column of each arcade with those east of it, and each group of one arcade with the corresponding group of the other. I may add that it is not unlikely that if the walls above the arches were stripped of plaster some signs of blocked Norman windows would be disclosed, as in Hythe church.
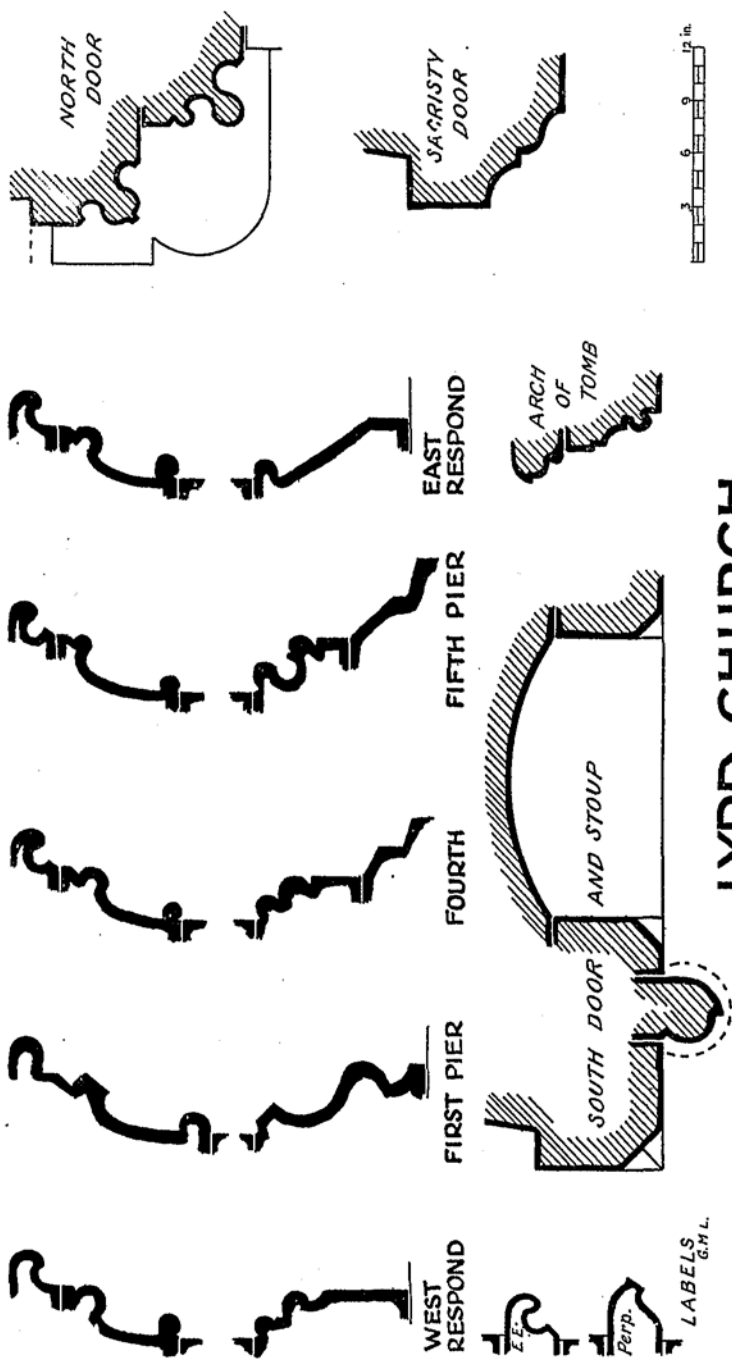
The eastern half of the chancel was originally lighted by three lancet-lights in the E wall, where they have been replaced by a *Perp.* window of five lights, and three in each of the side-walls. On the S side the head of a *Perp.* doorway runs up into the first lancet. The door opens outwards, to give access to a small chamber which has been destroyed. Probably this was a sacristy. An ankerhold has been suggested, but the only communication of an anchorite's cell with the sanctuary would be a lychnoscope. It was a low building with a sloping roof, the marks of which can be seen on the E wall of the adjoining chapel and in the remains of lead flushing that run along the chancel-wall under the sills of the other two lancets. Under those lancets, inside, to the detriment of the sanctuary, modern *sedilia* have been constructed : their purpose would have been served better by a bench or seats of wood. The N side of the sanctuary shows the original scheme of the lighting unaltered ; the three lancets have trefoiled heads that spring from the splays

without shafts or corbels. The side-chapels were similarly
lighted by triplets of lancets, but their rere-arches were not
enriched with trefoils. One of those lancets survives in the
side-wall of the S chapel : *Perp.* windows have replaced all
the others. In the side-wall of the N chapel there is a
14th-century tomb : the detail of its arch is included in Mr.
Elgar's moldings. Between the chancel and the chapel on
either side there is a plain arch of one order : under the one
on the N side stands a tomb ; the other is blocked by the
organ, which nearly fills the S chapel. East of each arch is a
small doorway communicating with the side-chapel and giving
entrance to it along its E wall, where there must have been
a passage behind the altar, which, of course, has disappeared.[1]
All the side-walls of the *E.Engl.* church were raised in height
in the 15th century to carry ridgeroofs of lower pitch than
the original roofs.

We now turn to the W end of the nave to examine the
three *Perp.* arches of the arcades on either side. In general
appearance they closely match the *E.Engl.* arches further
east : the columns, though slightly thinner (21 in. in diameter
as compared with 25 in.), are only 2 or 3 in. less in height,
the difference being compensated by the greater height of the
bases and capitals, so that the arches spring from the same
level ; while the grinning masks from which the hoodmolds
of adjoining arches spring (2½ ft. above the imposts in the
Perp. section of the arcades, and 3 in. higher in the *E.Engl.*)
are so much alike that those of the *Perp.* section may be
E.Engl. masks preserved and re-used.

There is, however, a difference in the design of the two
sections that cannot fail to strike the eye. The bases of the
E.Engl. section rest on circular plinths or ground-tables,
while the *Perp.* bases rest on bench-tables of considerable
projection, sufficient to serve for seats. A difference of
material and workmanship is equally perceptible. In the
Perp. section the stone is Kentish rag, an intractable material
ill-suited to the delicate and deep-cut moldings of the *E.Engl.*

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[1] A similar arrangement, carried out in the *Dec.* period, exists at
New Romney church.

NORTH DOOR

SACRISTY DOOR

Measured and Drawn by
W. H. Elgar

3 6 9 12 in.

EAST RESPOND

ARCH OF TOMB

FIFTH PIER

FOURTH

AND STOUP

FIRST PIER

SOUTH DOOR

WEST RESPOND

E.E.

Perp.

LABELS
G.M.L.

LYDD CHURCH
MOLDINGS

Arch. Cant. Vol. XLII. Plate 2

period, and the blocks are of large size. In the *E.Engl.*
section there is both Caenstone and 'firestone,' and the
blocks are comparatively small. The *Perp.* columns, just
under 5ft. in height, are composed of 4 circular drums ; the
E.Engl. columns, just over 5 ft., of 8 or 9 courses of small
stones. A similar difference appears in the size of the
voussoirs, the *Perp.* ones being as usual much longer than the
E.Engl.—9 stones as compared with 15 in the lower order,
and 15 in contrast to 18 or more in the upper. The *Perp.*
capitals are cut out of one huge stone without joint between
bell and abacus, while the bell of the *E.Engl.* capitals is made
up of 4 stones. The turnover of the *Perp.* bell shows the sharp
edges characteristic of the style, but the abacus is a plain
bowtel and both these members are round instead of
octagonal, evidently influenced by the round capitals of the
E.Engl. columns. The *E.Engl.* capitals and bases as well as
the hoodmolds or labels are normal in contour. The *Perp.*
bases are of the usual inverted bell-shape, but (like Herne,
Kent) they have not the usual underlying cushion, and in
place of the usual necking there is the uncommon feature
of a sharp-edged slope (as in one of the members of the tall
bases of Louth and Carbrook figured in Paley's *Gothic
Moldings*, plate XV, 6th ed.). The hoodmolds, again, show
a characteristic sharp-edged molding.[1]   The fore-
going analysis is somewhat laboured, but it has seemed
necessary not only in proof of the 15th-century date of the
three westernmost arches of the nave, but also to indicate the
modifications of form adopted by the architect to bring them
into line with the remaining *E.Engl.* arches.

Now the question arises, what were the conditions which
prompted the reconstruction of this section of the arcades,
carried out with such modifications of the prevailing style
as would leave the change as little noticeable as possible ?
The answer that suggests itself is that the old nave was
showing signs of weakness requiring radical measures of
preservation. The spreading of the *E.Engl.* columns further
east indicates that the walls were not substantial enough to

[1] See sections shown in Plate 2.

carry the weight and to resist the outward pressure of a roof that, in all probability, was not framed in a sufficiently stout manner to prevent its expansion and to keep the walls vertical. In that part of the nave a new roof and a couple of substantial buttresses on either side evidently sufficed to avert further trouble, but further west a greater danger of collapse may have shown itself. The irregularities of the wall west of the S door defy description on paper ; but they are manifest to anyone who takes the trouble to examine it.[1] It is not unreasonable therefore to assume that increasing instability was the cause and the occasion of the reconstruction of these three arches of the arcades. Wills quoted by Scott Robertson prove that large bequests were made in the 15th century towards the reparation of the nave and the erection of a new roof. The earliest is dated 1444, and the latest, 1484.

The great W tower, according to the same authority, was in building between 1435 and 1450, when " much money was expended upon the bells, the belfry, and the repairs of the church ; as we learn from the municipal records." I think there was no earlier tower upon its site. Possibly there was a porch. But that a church of this size and importance had no tower before the 15th century is inconceivable. At the recent meeting of the Society I ventured to suggest that it had a wooden tower, standing apart like that at Brookland ; and after the meeting I was told of a local tradition that the Brookland tower was transplanted thence from Lydd by Cardinal Wolsey.[2]

The tower stands four-square about 5 ft. from the *E.Engl.* front, joined thereto by thick walls in line with the nave-arcades. The narrow strip of plastered roof which those

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[1] It is probable that some movement had been noticed here as early as the 14th century, to which date I am inclined to assign the westernmost of the three buttresses. On the inside the *E.Engl.* string-course also shows signs of disturbance : it is very uneven and in some places it has been renewed.

[2] The Norman churches of the Marsh appear to have been built without a tower. The W tower of New Romney church was added later in the period. Had there been one at Lydd it could not have failed to affect the lay-out of the *E.Engl.* building. An *E.Engl.* timber-tower is a reasonable conjecture.

walls carry, rising from wall-plates at a slightly higher level than those of the nave-roof, has an awkward and unsightly junction with the latter ; but one does not notice it as one looks from the nave up to the tall arch and vault of the tower beyond. The vault is a remarkable example of vaulting with a beautiful design of lierne ribs and bosses of foliage, a crowned and other heads, and two angels seated and holding across the knees what may be a scroll. A collotype reproduction of a photograph taken by Mr. F. H. Greening of Lydd will enable readers with the aid of a magnifying glass to appreciate the delicate carving of the bosses of this vault.

II

THE SAXON BASILICA.

The remains of a small church or chapel of basilican type, incorporated in the walls of the W end of the N aisle of the *E.Engl.* church, were recognised as Saxon work by the late Mr. J. T. Mickelthwaite, F.S.A., in 1898 and described by him as " a remarkable monument, and one which, by analogy of form, seems to belong to the earliest days of English Christianity."[1]

Professor Baldwin Brown in the second edition of his work on Anglo-Saxon Architecture[2] gives a brief description of the building illustrated by a small-scale plan and section showing the condition of the remains before 1907, in which year the walls were stripped of their plaster at the instance of the late Mr. Arthur Finn, to whom the church owes so much. The Professor speaks of the remains as " part of the N and W walls of an early basilican oratory," which " appears to be early in Period C " (i.e., 950 to Conquest).

Archæologia Cantiana, Vol. XXXVII (1925), contains a paper from the pen of Mr. F. C. Elliston Erwood, which describes the remains with great fulness of detail, illustrated by a complete plan with sections and elevations and photographs, all of which the reader is advised to study carefully.

[1] *Arch. Journ.* LV, 343.
[2] *The Arts in Early England*, Vol. II, *A.S.Arch.* (2nd Ed., 1925), pp. 320 and 469.
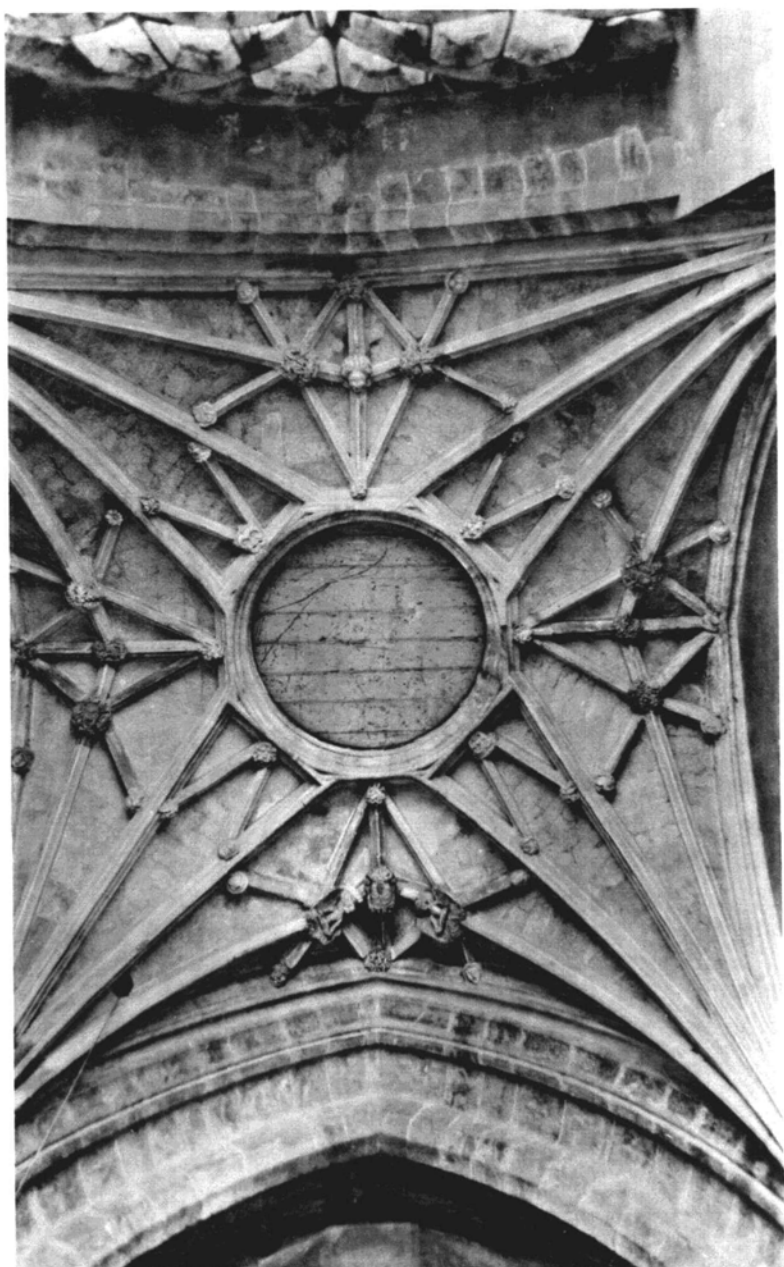
Photograph by E. H. Greening

Emery Walker Ltd. Collotypers

LYDD CHURCH, VAULTING UNDER TOWER

He assigns the building to a date " somewhere between 725 and 825." I should not venture to supplement Mr. Erwood's paper were it not that in the course of my own recent survey features have been revealed which lead to conclusions differing from his in some important respects.

I am inclined to assign the building to a date not earlier than the middle of the 10th century. This is not to deny the possibility of the existence of a church here at a much earlier date. Royal charters prove that in the 8th century there were spots on the broken seaboard of the Marsh which were inhabited by fisherfolk and shepherds. By those grants the archbishops and canons (? or monks) of Christ Church, Canterbury, became the overlords, and it is not likely that their people were left long without spiritual care. As early as 740 there was an oratory of St. Martin on the site now occupied by New Romney. But such oratories as the archbishops built in the Marsh might be of wood,[1] and whether of wood or stone they would surely suffer destruction at the ruthless hands of the Danes in 893 when they sailed by them up the Rother to make their camp at Appledore.[2]

The term *basilica* as applied to a Christian church implies an oblong, aisled nave with an entrance, with or without a porch, at one end and an apsidal presbytery, or sanctuary, at the other. Colonnades or pier-arcades separate the nave from its aisles and carry walls which rise above the aisle-roofs and, being pierced by windows, form clerestories. Such are the essential parts of a basilican church.[3]

[1] Our member, Dr. F. W. Cock, F.S.A., reminds me in a letter that in the Saxon period Walland Marsh was dry enough to grow big oak. See also his *Riddles of Rye.*

[2] *A. S. Chron.*, Rolls Series, Trans., p. 69.

[3] The plan is believed to have been derived from the *basilica*, or quasi-private hall, which according to Vitruvius formed part of the mansion of every wealthy Roman. The only extant example in Rome is that of the Domitian palace on the Palatine, of which the plan alone remains. See Francis Bond, *Eng. Ch. Arch.*, ii, 965 *et seq.* Outside the Porta Maggiore, however, the small underground basilica discovered in 1917, which is of first-century date and may have been a church, supplies a complete example : a passage leads down to a small porch by which entrance is gained to an aisled nave with pier-arcades of four arches and a semi-circular apse at the end.

The Saxon church at Lydd conformed to type. The remains of an arcade-wall with oblong piers and clerestory above prove that it had aisles, and the plan of its nave (Plate I) may be accepted as approximately correct; while there is sufficient evidence to warrant the acceptance also of a porch and an apse, but the plotting of these is conjectural. English pre-Conquest examples of the type are rare. While the erection of a few others has been attested, only four (as Mr. Erwood, following Baldwin Brown, reminds us) can be cited as actually remaining, viz., Brixworth (Northants), Reculver (Kent), Wing (Bucks), and Great Paxton (Hunts). Of these Reculver and Great Paxton do not really come into the picture : the latter because it is a mixture of Saxon and Norman in architectural detail, and unique in plan—indeed, Baldwin Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 475) pronounces it as " probably in time post-Conquest " ; while Reculver (late VII) has recently been proved to have been non-basilican. Thus we have only Brixworth and Wing remaining for comparison with Lydd.[1] A brief description of each may be essayed.

Brixworth, a cell of the abbey of Medeshamstede (Peterborough), founded late in the 7th century, was a fine basilican church with nave-arcades of four arches, rising from oblong piers, and a square choir, flanked by small chapels, between nave and apse. The aisles and chapels have been
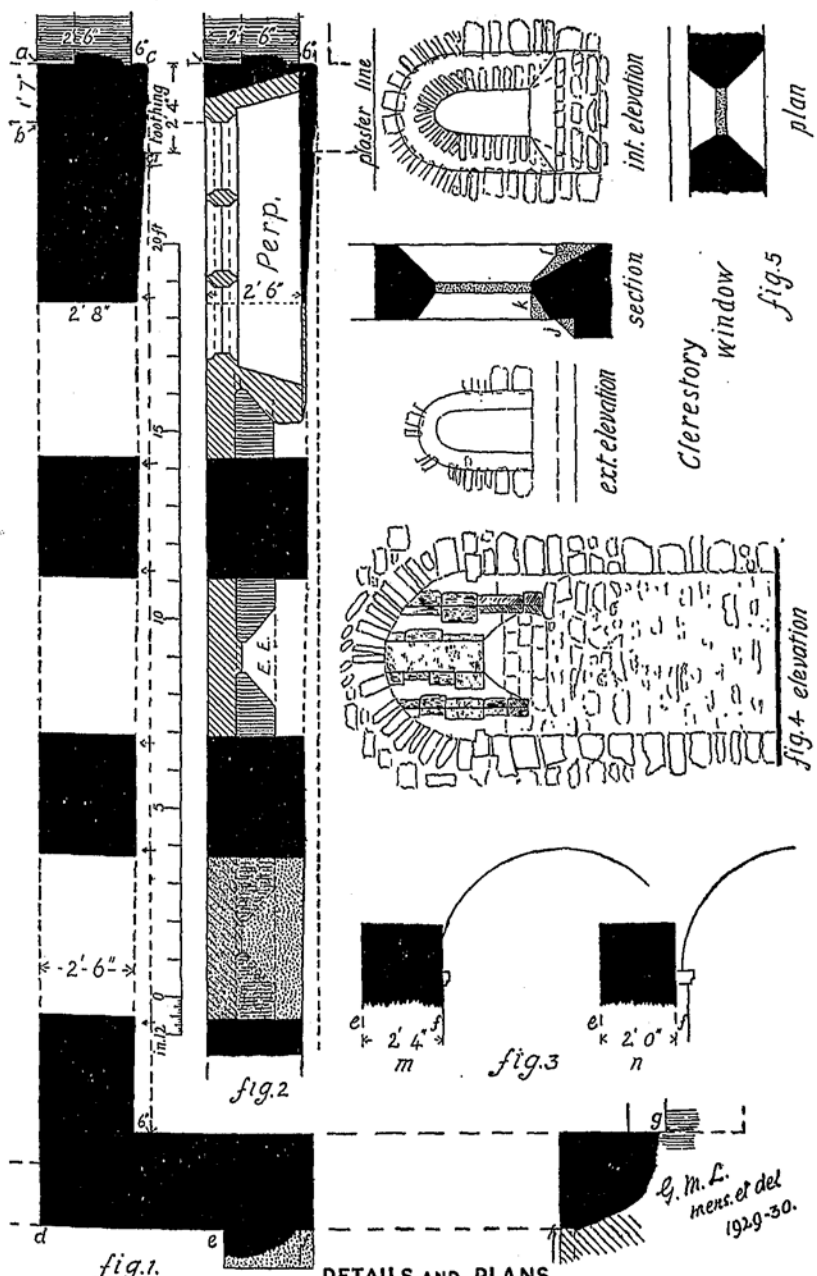
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[1] St. Peter and St. Paul (St. Augustine's), Canterbury, also was non-basilican (B.B., *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 90), its nave being flanked, not by aisles with arcades, but by chapels (*porticus*) with small doors of entrance from the nave. Therefore the inclusion of Reculver and St. Augustine's for comparison with Lydd in the plate of " comparative plans of pre-Conquest basilican churches " in A.C., XXXVII., p. 184, is not warranted ; and it may indeed be misleading in respect of a suggested triple-arched chancel-screen for Lydd. With regard to Reculver, of which only the foundations of the Saxon church founded in 669 remain, George Dowker's plan (A.C., XII., 258), showing aisles with pier-arcades, must be scrapped—it was originally built on an 'Augustinian' plan. A century or more afterwards the chapels flanking the junction of nave and apse were extended west-wards and returned across the W front, which gave a semblance of basili-can form to the building, but " the nave-walls were not pierced with arcades," and the extensions took, by means of cross-walls, " the form of rooms enclosing the old nave." See a Paper by C. R. Peers, O.B.E., in *Archæologia*, vol. 77, pp. 128, which gives the results of recent excava-tions, in the course of which I was courteously allowed to measure and plot the building. I may add that the form of the apse was found to be cir-cular within and polygonal without.

destroyed and the arches blocked. The nave, which measures 60 by 30 ft., was screened off from the choir by an arcade of three arches, which have been converted into a wide single arch, and the choir from the apse by a single arch 9½ ft. wide. The apse, which is polygonal without and circular within, is for the most part modern. Judging from an old bit of wall that remains on the N side it is not unlikely that it was re-built in the 10th century. About that time considerable alterations were carried out at the W end, where the lowest stage of the tower was erected over the original porch, which had side-openings giving access to some sort of wings, forming a narthex. The openings have been blocked and the wings have disappeared. The church is built largely of Roman brick. The clerestory windows are wide openings, little removed from classical form, slightly splayed on the inside.

Wing I have not seen. Judging from descriptions and views the walls of its nave and aisles have been heightened and large windows inserted. The nave is about the same length as that of Brixworth, but it is narrower by about 9 ft. The aisles, however, are wider, about 12 ft. as compared with 9 ft. I suspect a widening as well as a heightening of the aisles in the fifteenth century. It has pier-arcades of four arches, the construction of which appears to bear considerable resemblance to the Lydd arches. Unfortunately, the piers and walls being covered with plaster, any comparison of the masonry with that of Lydd is impossible. The original apse-arch has been destroyed and a wide arch substituted, but above there remains a double window with mid-wall shaft. The apse is polygonal both within and without, and under it there is a crypt (*confessio*). The erection of a late W tower has destroyed evidence of the existence or otherwise of a porch or possible narthex. As to date, modern opinion makes it late-Saxon : Baldwin Brown (*op. cit.*, 321), early 11th century ; Rivoira (*Lombardic Arch.*, 189) a little later ; while C. R. Peers, O.B.E. (*Archæologia*, vol. 77 (1928), 249), and W. H. Knowles, F.S.A. (ditto, 164), assign it to the 10th century, a date which may be accepted.
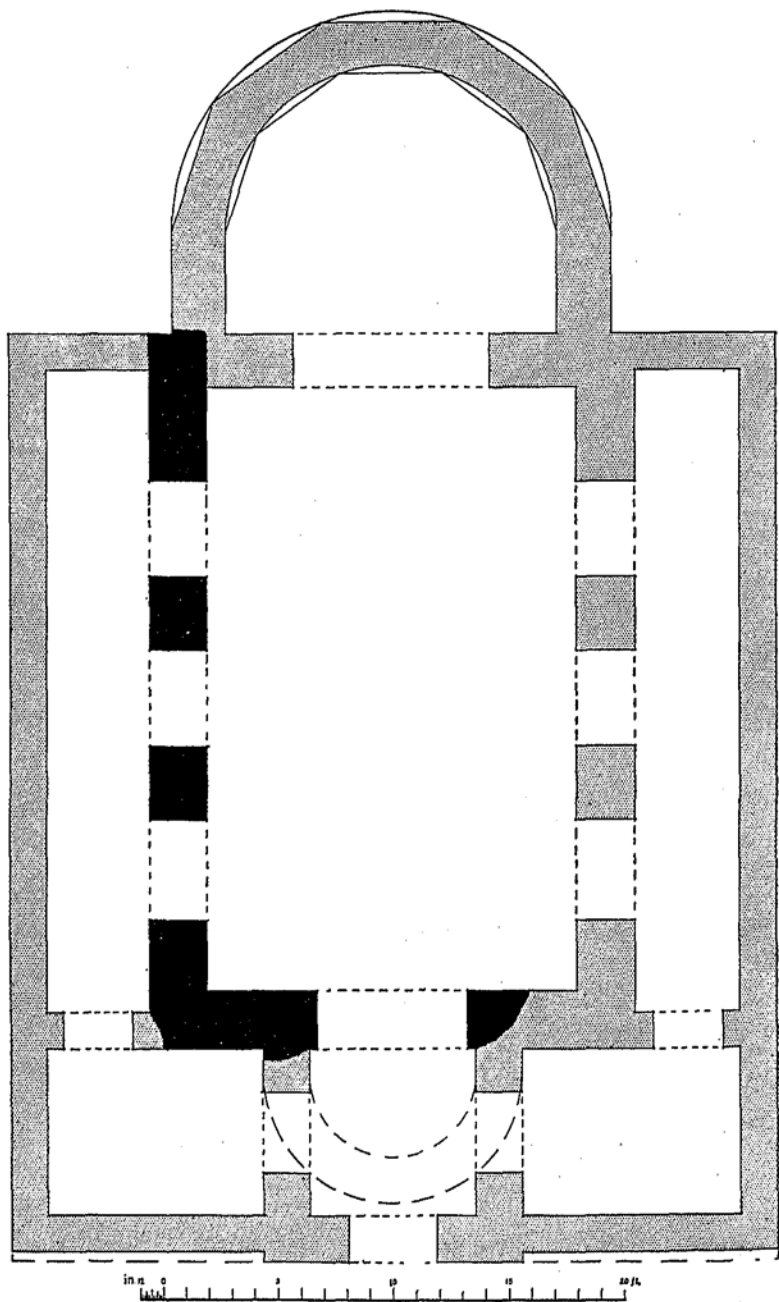
Compared with these two churches, and indeed with the great majority of Saxon churches, Lydd is diminutive in size. Among Saxon churches all told those as small as Lydd may be numbered on the fingers of one hand.　With the exception of Lyminge, the nave of which measured 32 by 18½ ft., the aisleless Augustinian churches of the 7th century are round about 40 by 26.　The nave of Lydd measured only 26 by 16. But a building of small capacity would suit the purpose of an oratory for the use of the fisherfolk and others, who cannot have been very numerous.　Probably the "oratory of St. Martin," which was built for the same purpose but has left no remains, was equally small.　The pre-Augustinian (late 6th-century) church of St. Martin, Canterbury, built on a Roman site as an oratory for Queen Bertha and her maidens, was still smaller.

To come to details.　I agree with Mr. Erwood in regarding the "cement-rendered buttress" outside the W wall (see Plate 5, fig. 2) as being a "fragment of the toothing of a return wall" : an examination of the outer re-entrant angle (Pl. 3, fig. 1, e) is decisive.　Thus a porch is conjecturally shown in Plate 1.　Some addition of the kind is supported by the great width and proportions of the blocked arch which is 6½ ft. wide and 11½ high—this is too large for a Saxon doorway.　But I am not satisfied that the inner face (f) of the buttress, which is 2 ft. 4½ in. wide, preserves the line of the inner face of the side-wall of a porch, for it lines, as Mr. Erwood says, with the jamb of the arch, and overlaps the springing, where the arch is some inches wider than the span of its jambs.　The impossible effect of this is shown at m in Plate 3, fig. 3 ; while n shows the relation which the side-wall of a porch must have borne to the arch.　I have therefore plotted it 2 ft. thick : walls of 2 ft. would be quite thick enough to carry the roof of a porch.　The west wall, by the way, is not more than 2½ ft. thick, and I do not think the upper part, north of the later window, has been rebuilt : there is no sign of rebuilding inside, and outside, where part of the face has been repointed,

2'6" 6 c

a 1'7"

b 2'

footing

2' 8"

2' 6"

2'4"

Perp.

20ft

15

E.E.

10

- 2' 6" -

5

in. 1 2

0

6

fig.2

6

d

fig.1.

e

plaster line

int. elevation

section

Clerestory window

fig.5

plan

ext. elevation

fig.4 elevation

e l 2' 4" f
m

fig.3

e l 2' 0" l
n

g

G. M. L.
mens. et del
1929-30.

DETAILS AND PLANS
OF THE REMAINS OF

A.C. XLII. THE SAXON BASILICA, LYDD. PLATE 3

THE LYDD BASILICA

Arch. Cant. XLII. Pl.4   Conjectural ground·plans, shewing possible alternatives   G.M.L. 1930

here and there remains of the old pebbly roughcast peep through. In my opinion the clerestory quoin (Pl. 3, fig. 1, *d* and Pl. 5, fig. 2) is original : but below the offset the quoin of large stones was made when the aisle was destroyed and the arcade-wall was incorporated in the *E.Engl.* aisle.

[Since the foregoing paragraphs were written, some months ago, it has occurred to me that the suggested porch may have formed part of a narthex that extended along the whole length of the front. The nave, as we have seen, measured 26 ft. in length by 16 in breadth. Adding a minimum of 14 ft. for the arcade-walls and the aisles we get a total breadth of 30 ft., that is, 4 ft. wider than the length. Such a proportion is abnormal ; in a basilica the length is almost always greater than the breadth. In the little church of Silchester they are nearly equal, but there an approach to the normal proportion is afforded by the addition of a narthex.[1] I have ventured, therefore, in a separate plan (Plate 4) to add to each side of the porch a wing which would give entrance to its adjacent aisle and restore normal proportions to the building. The whole of this western addition is conjectural and the form I have given it is open to criticism—perhaps I should have drawn the W face flush throughout, as indicated in broken line—but I think it cannot be lightly set aside.

The separate plan shows another possible feature which does not appear in the general plan of the church. In the latter I have shown the stilted form of semi-circular apse which is the usual form of Saxon apsidal presbyteries. In the separate plan I have indicated in addition the alternative of a polygonal form of two straight and five canted sides both within and without. There is a third possibility, namely circular within and polygonal without (shown tinted in the plan) like Reculver and Brixworth, mentioned above. Wing, as we have seen, has the polygonal form within and without. So also has the priory church of Deerhurst. Mr. Knowles gives comparative plans of this church in

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[1] A chapel adjoining the great basilica of Tebessa in Algeria has a square nave fronted by a narthex.

his Paper on Deerhurst Priory Church in *Archæologia*, vol. 77, p. 157.]

The arcade-wall at its W end is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick, but as it runs eastwards it increases in thickness and its lines are very irregular. In the plan of this wall shown in Plate 3, fig. 1, the outer face is drawn as a straight line ; the inner face has been obtained by taking from a string a number of ordinates of successive points (indicated on the plan by darts) and by joining those points. At about $28\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the inner face of the W wall it is 3 ft. thick, and there it ends in a rough quoin (*c*) which returns 6 in. to the plaster face of the *E.Engl.* wall that runs on from it with a thickness of $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft.[1]

It is evident, as proved by an excavation which I was recently allowed to make, that the end of the *E.Engl.* wall was built up against the end (*ac*) of the Saxon wall. Later the *Perp.* builders destroyed a stretch of about 9 ft. of the upper front of the Saxon wall and clerestory for the purpose of inserting their three-light window above the easternmost arch of the arcade. This work involved not only a destruction of the upper part of the arch and the mid-wall *E.Engl.* light it contained, but also the blocking of the lower part to support the sill of their window. It accounts for the quoin which returns the face of the *Perp.* wall back to that of the Saxon clerestory on the outside, and explains on the inside the singular ledge, about 9 ft. from the floor, from which the sloping sill of the *Perp.* window rises. At the same time the *E.Engl.* mid-wall lights in the middle and westernmost arches, being no longer necessary, were blocked externally with masonry to make the outer face of the wall flush throughout. At a still later time the blocking of the westernmost arch was removed to make a doorway ; it has been reblocked quite recently, and the *E.Engl.* door further east, which also had been blocked, has been brought again into use.

Fig. 1 in Plate 5 is a photograph of the junction of the *E.Engl.* and Saxon walls disclosed by my recent excavation, which was hurriedly carried out and extended only 2 ft. deep

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[1] Mr. Erwood's plan, making the primitive wall the same thickness throughout, reduces the thickness of the *E. Engl.* wall to 2 ft. My correction is a matter of some importance.
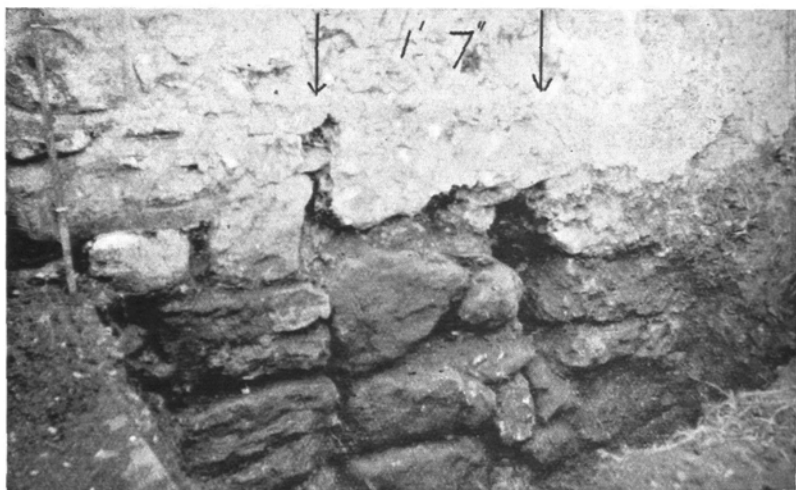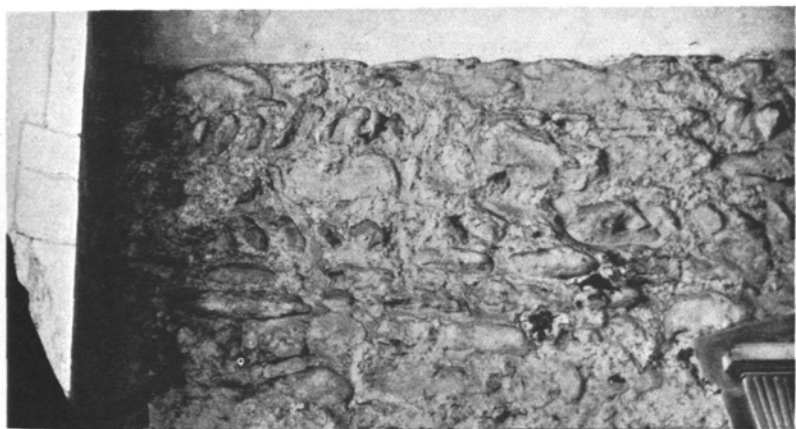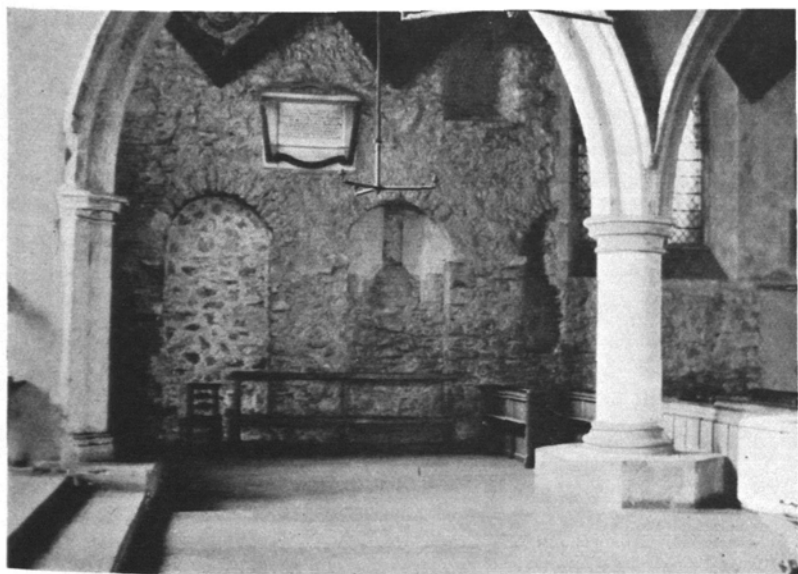
Fig. 1. See p. 80.

Fig. 2.

THE LYDD

Fig. 3. See p. 84.

BASILICA.

Fig. 4.

Photos., E. H. Greening.

without reaching the bottom of the masonry. It shows a clean wide verticle joint (Pl. 3, *a*) without bonding. In those 2 ft. the *E.Engl.* wall ended in five slabs of Kentish rag ; while the Saxon wall has three big rough blocks. It is doubtless due to patching and plastering that no sign of the joint is seen above ground. It occurs at a distance of 30 ft. 11 in. from the W end (*d*) of the Saxon wall. It is exactly in line with the rough quoin inside and denotes the end of the arcade-wall. At a distance from *a* of about 1 ft. 7 in. there is a rough uneven joint (*b*) with slight signs of bonding : it indicates the re-entrant angle of the arcade-wall and the end-wall of the aisle, and gives us the thickness of the latter.

This introduces the question of the apse, which has wholly disappeared. That the basilican nave ended in an apsidal and not in a rectangular chancel may be accepted without discussion. As to its form, in view of the joint (*a*) a semi-circle springing directly from the ends of the arcade-walls, like Roman Silchester, seems to be precluded. Moreover, apart from the strange example of North Elmham there is extant no Saxon church, basilican or non-basilican, early or late, that has an apse that is not stilted.[1] Assuming then that the Lydd apse was stilted (and of unknown axial length) its disposition has to be determined. Now if the straight sides of such an apse had run on in continuation of the arcade-walls the *E.Engl.* builders would not have destroyed them : there would be no joint at *a* and the junction of the two works would have to be sought for several feet eastwards. The apse must, therefore, have been narrower. When the excavation was made a probe inserted in the joint met with obstruction 10 or 12 in. within. I have plotted the strike of the side-wall of the apse accordingly, and have made the wall 2 ft. 4 in. thick. That was the thickness of the destroyed

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[1] On N. Elmham see Clapham and Godfrey, *Antiq. Journ.*, vi, 402. The authors regard it as late 10th-century or early 11th. With aisleless nave and W tower, long eastern transept and apse, and lateral chambers in the angles of nave and transept, it affords no parallel to Lydd. I see that Mr. Peers suggests a similar transept and semi-circular apse for the destroyed E end of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in *Archæologia*, vol. 77, p. 208. May I venture to doubt ?

E wall of the nave, in other words the apse-arch wall, as
indicated by the rough toothing left on the face of the arcade-
wall. I have imagined the jambs of the apse-arch as being
square, like those of the western arch, and the arch as a single
Arch of Triumph. I doubt if one is warranted in plotting
here a triple-arched screen in place of a single arch. It is
peculiar to the early-Kentish Romano-Saxon churches of
St. Pancras, Rochester, Lyminge and Reculver ; these are
non-basilican, and Lydd therefore cannot be regarded as a
church of " allied character."

The remains are remarkable for the roughness of the
masonry. Outside it is hidden to a great extent by roughcast,
some of which, mixed with small pebbles, may be original.
Inside the walls were plastered. To strip ancient walls of
their plaster is, of course, wrong in principle, but it has the
merit of showing the technique of the masonry. Large
rough blocks of Kentish rag are seen in the face of the lower
parts of the walls and in the quoins of the arches, where a few
of the stones show some slight signs of shaping and tooling.
Higher up the stones for the most part are smaller and many
thin slabs occur, with a few flints. Some of the stones are
set aslant. Towards the top distinct indications of herring-
bone work appear, the significance of which may be con-
sidered later on.

Saxon doorways and similar openings are often tall and
narrow. The arches at Lydd are comparatively low and
broad.[1] The manner in which the arches are turned must be
noticed. The voussoirs are slabs of ragstone, for the most
part thin, imitating Roman tiles. They are set radially, for
the lowest one on either side is unduly tilted upwards on a
wedge-shaped stone or stones that lie upon the impost, and
the rest are laid with only a slight increase of tilt so that at
the crown they meet in a V-shaped form, which is filled with

[1] Compare the proportions of an apse-arch of the old church of St.
Frideswide, Oxford (the cathedral), begun in 1044, illustrated in Rivoira,
Lombardic Architecture, ii, 163. It has no impost-moldings and the stones
are larger, but the technique, especially of the voussoirs, is similar to that
of the Lydd arches.

a wedge of stones. This lack of the arch-technique seen in classical Roman and in Norman building is no indication of date : I have seen it in buildings of the 6th century in Rome, while in England, in the long intervening period, it occurs early, as at Brixworth, and late, as in the church of St. Mary-in-Castro, Dover, and even in churches of the Saxon-Norman overlap.[1]

The rude character of the work is emphasised by a lack of decorative treatment. The only molded work, if it may be so called, is seen in the imposts of the arches. These project on the reveal only and are cut out of slabs of rag about $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. on the so-called 'step pattern,' in imitation of imposts formed of Roman tiles superimposed one upon another, the upper one overlapping the lower. In most of them the cutting is rudely done and forms an obtuse angle. In one, on the north side of the western arch, it is rounded like a deep hollow chamfer.[2] Step-pattern imposts of Roman tile occur in the Romano-Saxon churches of St. Martin's and St. Pancras, Canterbury, and Brixworth. A late instance, to which Mr. Arthur Collins has called my attention, may be seen in the W window of St. Mary-in-Castro (X). The earliest example wrought in stone seems to be that of Somerford Keynes (VIII or IX), where it is three-stepped. The arcades at Wing (X) afford a later example closely resembling Lydd's. Repton (Derbyshire) has a 2-stepped example in a string-course, and Longford (XI) a 3-stepped impost. At Worth (Sussex) (XI) a label, molded in 2-step pattern, encircles the chancel arch. All this seems to favour a late rather than an early date for Lydd.

A study of Saxon wall-construction leads to some interesting results. Mr. Erwood says the walls of Lydd are thicker than late-Saxon walls. My measurements make those that remain standing $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. thick or less. The walls of

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[1] Examples are illustrated in Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* pp. 67 and 425.

[2] In the hollow, by the way, is a cylindrical hole, $\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in diameter and 2 or 3 ins. in depth, partly cut away. Similar holes, at one time plugged with wood, occur in several other stones : " probably (says Mr. Erwood) the stones are re-used (? Roman) material. . . . . and the holes are 'lewis' holes "—i.e. holes into which an iron contrivance for lifting stones could be inserted.

the great majority of Saxon churches, late and early, are less than 2½ ft.[1]; but those of several late-Saxon churches, such as Bosham, Boarhunt and Barton-on-Humber, are as much as 2½ ft.; while those of Wing are 3 ft.; and of Worth, more than 3ft.

The existence of herringbone masonry in the walling seems to have escaped detection by previous observers. It is most apparent in the upper part of the clerestory-wall, partly hidden by a pair of armorial escutcheons. Thanks are due to the rector, Canon P. H. Collins, for permission to remove one of the escutcheons in order that the photograph reproduced in Plate 5 (fig. 3) might be taken. There are two or three rough courses of thinner stones set aslant. The work is patchy, rude and irregular. Professor Baldwin Brown warns us to regard with suspicion the attribution of buildings which show herringbone work to the Saxon period. The warning is necessary in respect of buildings where herringbone appears to any extent in a systematic and regular form, in which case they may be safely assigned to the Norman period; but it must not blind our eyes to the occasional use of herringbone in a different manner by Saxon builders. It may be instructive to consider briefly the difference and its causes.

The method of wall-construction followed by early-Norman builders was a survival of Roman and Lombardic methods which they brought with them from the continent. A long stretch of three or four courses of stone, reaching a height of about 2 ft., was built upon the foundation to form to that height one face of a wall; parallel to it a similar 'skin' was built to form the other face; and the intervening space was filled with rough stones and mortar to form a rubble core. The process was repeated until the required height of the wall was reached. Even in walls that were not faced with ashlar, or squared stones, the coursing of the rough stones or flints remains quite distinct. In such work the usual but by no means exclusive method of forming these facing-courses was to lay the stones aslant, in herringbone or semi- herringbone

[1] See a list in Baldwin Brown's Index ii under " Walls."

fashion, with occasional stones of larger size laid flat in the course.[1]

The history of herringbone work may be read in Rivoira (*op. cit.*, 163, *et seq.*). It had its origin in Augustan Rome where pavements were constructed of thin 3-inch bricks laid edge upwards herringbone-wise. Its general use for wall-facing seems to have begun in the 8th century in North Italy; whence it gradually spread northwards. Our forefathers in this country must have known of the method in the late-Saxon period, but they did not employ it to the same extent or in the same way. In building their thin walls they did not adopt the initial skin-face method : they constructed them wholly of rubble, forming the face at the same time as the core with varying materials as they came to hand, so that it exhibits little attempt at coursing. Here and there, if the material that came to hand was suitable, they might lay a short stretch, seldom more than two or three feet, herringbone wise. Here and there again they might lay only two or three stones together in the same way. Even so examples are rare : it occurs at Worth (XI), and I have seen it in a few churches elsewhere.[2] Such is the explanation of its occurrence at Lydd.

In advocacy of an early date for the Lydd basilica Mr. Erwood speaks of "the absence of all characteristics of late pre-Conquest work, such as long-and-short work, double windows with mid-wall shafts, pilaster strips, stripwork round openings." This negative evidence need not be taken as decisive, for there are not a few churches acknowledged

[1] See illustrations of the early-Norman curtain-wall of Rochester castle in *Arch. Cant.* XXI, *Med. Roch.*, Plate 1. The most remarkable example in stone is that of Tamworth castle, illustrated by A. Hamilton Thompson in his *Military Architecture*, p. 48 ; and in re-used Roman tiles, at Colchester, *ditto* p. 101. In Kent flint-pebbles were used in a great number of early-Norman churches, whereby remains of that period may be recognised when other indications of date are lacking : perhaps Trottiscliffe church affords the finest example. A note may be added of a difference between the Roman and Norman adaptation of the same method of wall-construction. The Romans faced their stone walls with squared blocks, not with herringbone ; but in the core they sometimes laid the stones aslant. In the great 4th-century walls of Richborough and Reculver, in places where the facing-stones have been torn away, the exposed core presents the appearance of herringbone work.

[2] Short courses appear abundantly in the delightful drawings of Deerhurst Priory Church, by Mr. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., *Arch. Journ.*, vol. 77.

to be of late-Saxon date which show none of these features. In Kent, Cheriton, Leeds, Shorne and Whitfield may be cited as examples : and all of them have double-splayed windows.[1] In my judgment the little double-splayed clerestory-window affords positive evidence decisive in favour of a late date for Lydd. Mr. Erwood belittles this evidence, remarking that the window is far from being untouched and is not a good specimen of its kind, that its external splay is slight, and that it may be either early or late. It seems to me, however, to be a perfectly normal example, very similar to the mid-wall light in the S wall of Whitfield church (illustrated in *Arch. Cant.* Vol. XL, p. 152, fig. 5) and much like those of Boarhunt and Barton-on-Humber ; apart from the sills and the blocking I cannot detect any sign of alterations ; and as to date it is now, I believe, generally acknowledged that double-splayed windows are not found in early-Saxon buildings but are a characteristic feature of late-Saxon work. Professor Baldwin Brown doubts the early date that has been given usually to Bradford-on-Avon, where they occur, and Rivoira (*op. cit.*, ii, 174) definitely assigns that church, on account of its pilaster-strips and blank arcading, to the 11th century. It is worth while to record the history of the mid-wall form of light as gathered from Rivoira's work. The earliest surviving example exists in a row of narrow and slightly-splayed loops in a cryptoporticus in the 1st-century villa of Sette Bassi, on the Via Latina, near Rome. The builders of Ravenna were the first to use it in church architecture, the oldest surviving example being the windows of the church of Bagnacavallo, assigned on evidence of construction to the 6th century. The form appears next at Toscanella in the 8th century. It crossed the Alps early in the 9th century and was used at Germigny des Prés. In Germany it is found at Gernrode, mid-10th ; and in England " the earliest dated instance of this form of aperture " occurs at St. Michael's, St. Albans, c. 950.

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[1] For Sussex see P. M. Johnston in *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xliii, and Prof. Baldwin Brown's note thereon, *op. cit.*, 456.

I have carefully measured the Lydd window. The wall is 2 ft. thick : from the blocking masonry to the plane of the interior face of the wall 12 in., and to the exterior 9 in., which, with blocking of 3 in., make up 2 ft. The sides of the blocked light incline inwards as they rise, but the slope is only slight and may be due to some irregularity in the blocking. One would expect the window to be directly above the arcade-pier, but it is a few inches to the west of such position. A careful survey of the wall-face behind the escutcheon above the western pier has failed to detect any sign of a second window—indeed the wall-face there has a herringbone course running across the position, indicating that it has never been pierced or other-wise disturbed. But Saxon churches were often poorly lighted ; and, moreover, there may have been small lights in the low side-walls of the aisles, such as are seen in the added aisle·walls of Reculver. Doubtless there were win-dows in the sanctuary also, as well as one, perhaps some-what larger and of a different pattern, as at Whitfield, in the W gable. A section and elevations of the middle arch of the arcade and of the clerestory-window are shown in Plate 3 (figs. 4 and 5).

My study of the church has led me to agree with the date which Professor Baldwin Brown in the 1925 edition of his work has assigned to it. But I confess to a feeling that the question of date, whether the existing church were built in the 8th or the 10th century, whether before or after the Danish invasions, is not of vital importance. The real interest lies in its rude simplicity and in the character of its surroundings, which I have endeavoured to portray in an Additional Note.

III.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The charters mentioned on page 73 have some bearing upon the condition of the site of Lydd and its surroundings. In the year 740 Aethelbert of Kent granted to the Church of

St. Mary at Lyminge, of which monastery Archbishop
Cuthbert was abbot, a fishery in the mouth of the river
Liminœa, and a parcel of land in which was situated the
oratory of St. Martin with the dwellings of the fishermen,
and beyond it a fourth part of a ploughland round about the
same place ; and another parcel of his right for the pasture
of 150 cattle adjoining the marsh called *Biscopeswic* as far
as the wood called *Ripp* and to the borders of Sussex, as.
formerly had been held by Romanus, priest at the church
of the B.V.M. in Lyminge.[1] In the following year this
charter was confirmed by a grant made to the. Church of
Christ in *Dorobernia* by King Eadbert Eating, the wood being
therein spelt *Rhip*.[2]

In the year 774 Offa, King of England, made to Jaenbert,
archbishop of Christ Church, a grant of three *sulungs*, or
ploughlands, in the west part of the region called *Merscware*
(i.e. the land of the marshmen) where it was named *ad hlidum*.
The boundaries of this parcel of land are noted in the charter
as follows : the sea on the north-east (literally, in the east
and north), on the south the land of King Edwy where it is
called *denge mersc* as far as the stone placed at the end of
that land, and on the north-west the bounds of the King at
Bleching.[3]

It is now generally admitted that the *ad hlidum* of Offa's
charter may be identified with the site of our Lydd ; and

[1] Ego Aethilberht rex Cantuariorum . . . capturam piscium
quod est in ostio fluminis cujus nomen est liminæa et partem agri in qua
situm est oratorium sci martini cum edibus piscatorum et extra eam
quartam partem aratri circa eundem locum et alterem partem juris mei ad
pascendum CL jumentorum juxta marisco qui dicitur biscopes unic usque
ad silbam qui appellatur Ripp et ad terminos suthsaxoniæ sicut olim habuit
romanus presbyter ad ecclesiam beatissimae virginis mariæ quod . est in
liminiæae libenter donavi atque dono regimen habente ejusden monasterii
domno cuthberhto archiepiscopo tunc temporis abbati . . .—(Kemble,
lxxxvi, vol. 1, p. 103 ; Birch, p. 231.)

[2] Eadbert of Kent, 741.—Kemble, vol. V., p. 46.

[3] Ego Offa rex totius Anglorum patriæ dabo et concedo Jaenberhto
archiepiscopo ad aecclesiam Christi aliquam partem terræ trium aratrorum,
quod Cantianice dicitur threora sulinga, in occidentali parte regionis quæ
dicitur Merscuuare, ubi nominatur ad hlidum. Et hujus terræ hæc
territoria : mare in oriente et aquilone, et ab austro terra regis aduui ubi
nominant denge mersc usque in lapidem adpositum in ultimo terræ, et
in occidente et aquilone confinia regis ad Bleccing.—(Kemble, cxxii, vol. 1,
p. 150 ; Birch, p. 301.)

there is no doubt that the pasture-land described in Aethelbert's charter as once held by the priest Romanus lay to the south-west of the three sulungs of Offa's charter.[1] The placenames are significant. *Bishopswic* may be identified with the "Wick," which represents probably a creek or inlet of the sea now cut off by the beach that runs from W to E and ends in Dungeness. *Ripp Wood*, marked on the maps as "Holmstone," a narrow stretch of holm oaks that flourish on a bank of shingle running NNE, ends in what is now known as the "West Rype," which continues the line onwards to the S end of Lydd. The "East Rype" is a similar stretch of rich pasture-land that runs in the same direction from the N end.[2] The line in its whole length represents a shingle-bank which bounded the Marsh sea-wards before Dungeness began to protrude itself eastwards. The name *Ripp, Rhip* or *Rype* may well derive from the Latin *ripa*, a bank or shore ; and it has been suggested that Lydd has a similar origin, derived from the root of *litus* or *littus*. If so it indicates a Roman occupation of the site, when it would be known as *Ad-littus*, the settlement "on the shore." This name the Saxons would preserve in some such form as *At-lyd*, which would be Latinised in their charters as *Ad-Lydum*, or *Ad-Lydem*. The *ad* of the 774 text, *ubi nominatur ad hlidum*, need not be regarded as redundant. In course of time and in common speech the *ad* would be dropped and the name would become simply Lyd or Lydd. We have several examples of similar elision : *Ad-Pontem* into Paunton (Linc.) ; *Adthanatos*, Thanet ; *Adtropam*, Thrup ; and *Athesis*, Tees. Material indications of Roman occupation of the Marsh are scarce, but a factory of Romano-British pottery has been discovered near Dymchurch. It is only on the line of the original shingle-bar that they may be looked for with any hope of success, and nothing has yet been turned up either at New Romney or at Lydd. In both places there is a considerable deposit of humus on the shingle : on the site of St. Nicholas,

[1] Dr. Gordon Ward, who has favoured me with some notes, is contributing a paper on this subject to the next volume.

[2] The East and West Rypes lying NNE and SSW of Lydd would be more correctly denominated the North and South Rypes.

New Romney, the shingle is reached about 3 ft. below the present surface.

Romney Marsh may be regarded as an alluvial flat formed by the deposit of silt from the river Rother in a lagoon behind a shingle-bar that formerly stretched in a NE direction from Fairlight to Hythe, with a slight re-entering or concave curve, by Lydd, New Romney and Dymchurch.[1] Borings here and there have discovered a deposit of sand of unknown depth underlying 30 feet or more of alluvium. The bar was formed by the "Eastward Drift" of shingle from the chalk cliffs of Beachy Head and beyond, due to the strength of the tides under the influence of the prevailing SW winds. Dungeness is the result of some obstruction which diverted the shingle eastwards. Round its point as it was extended a succession of northerly spits formed themselves to enclose Denge Marsh and cut off the sea from Lydd. Their gradual progress and direction are clearly shown by the 'fulls' marked on the map of the geological survey.

The condition of the Marsh and the changes it underwent in the Saxon period cannot be exactly determined. The waters of the Rother must have found their way from Appledore out to sea by two or three mouths. Nennius (late 8th cty.) in his fantastic description of the Lommon Marsh speaks of many rivers flowing into it and of only one river, called the Lemn, going out of it into the sea.[2] That

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[1] See H. J. Mackinder, *Britain and the British Seas*, 1907 ed., pp. 43, 234, and *passim*. But it must be remembered that we can deal only with the structure of the Marsh in its *modern* geological aspect. What was the condition of the Fairlight-Hythe bay before its shingle-bar was formed ? The mind staggers at the complexity of the problem. Time was when the Weald of Kent was joined to the Bas Boulonnais, and the valley of the Rother, with tributaries from the Bas B., on its way to the Rhine or the North Sea, cut through the North Downs when they continued across what is now the Straits of Dover, just as the Stour and Medway now cut through them. Along that same valley the English Channel eventually cut its way to form the Straits, gradually widening itself by the recession of the land on either side. During all the long period of recession there must have been a bay or estuary of the Rother continually changing its structure under the influence of tides and local currents, forming a succession of lagoons and alluvial flats, each one swept away by storms, like the storms of the 13th century, to be succeeded by another, until at length the process has been arrested by some sort of stability attained in historic times by the work of men's hands.

[2] Quoted by Furley, *Arch. Cant.*, XIII, 179.

river must have been the branch of the Rother whose course made a southerly arc and flowed out south of New Romney— the mouth of the Liminæa mentioned in the charter of 740 and the haven of the cinque ports of later times. That there was still another branch, likewise known as the Liminæa, which flowed along under the hills and debouched at West Hythe, the *Portus Lemanis* of the Romans, seems to be proved by a charter of 833 whereby Egbert of Kent granted to the abbess of Lyminge salt-pans in a small parcel of land which had the river *Liminœa* on the S and *Hudenfleot*, i.e. West Hythe, on the NW. The Rhee Wall or channel, attributed by Somner, Dugdale and later writers to the Romans, or possibly to the Britons before them, must have been built later, for its construction effectively cut off this second branch of the river at its source.[1] There is no record of its origin. No mention of it earlier than the 14th century is known. There would be no need of such a channel so long as the Appledore-Romney exit of the Rother remained navigable, and if the object had been the enclosure of the Romney Level a single bank would have sufficed. Moreover, a significant clue to its late date lies in the fact that it cuts across several of the parishes, dividing each into two parts. A very small portion of the parish of Old Romney, for instance, lies with its church to the north of the wall, the greater part of it stretching away to the south. Its date cannot be earlier than the delimitation of the parish boundaries. Probably it was the work of the archbishops who " inned " the marshes on the south of it in the 12th and 13th centuries. Very few years would elapse before silting up began to cause trouble. It was found necessary to construct a new mouth for the Rhee about the middle of the 13th century.

The foregoing attempt to trace the gradual development of the Marsh may serve, with the help of Offa's charter, to throw light upon Lydd and its surroundings. The 3 sulungs

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[1] I regret that in writing a preface to a Guide to New Romney church, recently published, I accepted the old tradition of the Roman construction of the Rhee. I have since had the privilege of going over the ground and examining the site of the Romney haven, into which the Rhee water flowed, under the guidance of Major Teichmann-Derville, O.B.E.

of the grant lay in the west part of *Merscware* where it is named *ad hlidum*, having Denge Marsh on the S and the sea on the NE. Therefore Lydd, which is certainly situated on the original lagoon-bar and was aforetimes open to the sea on the E, whence its name *ad hlidum* at the time of the charter, had on the E dry land, *Merscware*, formed by silting up and doubtless inned, but open to a bay or inland arm of the sea as described below. On the S it had Denge Marsh bounded in its E side by the Denge Ness shingle-bank running up in a NE direction and ending at the " Stone End " of the period,[1] some distance S of the Stone End of to-day. I take it that Merscware E of *ad hlidum* or Lydd was actually a part of Denge Marsh at its then N limit, and that there was a great bay of water, bounded on the W by Merscware and the lagoon-bar running through it to the N, and on the E by the extending northerly spit of Dungeness. This bay communicated freely with the open sea through the mouth of the Rother, the whole of it constituting Romney haven. Thus the fishermen of Lydd would still have easy access over Merscware to the sea, and, two or three centuries later, Lydd would still be qualified to become a member of the cinque port of Romney, contributing one ship to the port's service to the crown.

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[1] Not to be confused with the charter's *lapidem adpositum in ultimo terræ*, which was S of Lydd.