

**CHURCH, LAND AND LORDSHIP IN WEST SUSSEX
680-1200**

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by

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VOLUME 1: TEXT

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ABSTRACT

This thesis contributes to the debate on the nature of Anglo-Saxon minsters and regional variation in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Church by relating form, setting and endowment of churches to origin and function, examining the relationship between minster *parochiae* and estates in contrasting landscapes, and assessing the effects of the Norman Conquest at a local level. Extensive survival of Saxo-Norman churches in western Sussex allows a classification and chronology to be developed, while a systematic approach to topography and records of glebes defines settings, enclosures and endowments. Anglo-Saxon charters, episcopal, capitular and monastic records, manorial documents and state papers are the basis for analysing rights and dues between churches.

High-status churches were frequent, but, except in two cases, probably dating from the ninth or tenth centuries, *parochiae* were ill-defined. They were smaller than the estates which differed in form between the coastal plain, Downs and Weald and differed from the extensive estates of eastern Sussex and Kent. It is likely that ecclesiastical and lay institutions failed to develop fully, at least in part as a result of exploitation by Wessex. There were probably few churches outside estate centres in 1066, but the types of church built in the period c. 1070 – 1120 reflect the pre-Conquest pattern. Two-cell churches were at small manors on poor land around the compact estates. Centrally-sited unicellular churches on the estates and in large Wealden parishes may be an indication of systematic pastoral provision. Larger churches at known or possible minster sites may be late Anglo-Saxon but are more likely to reflect the post-Conquest importance of collegiate churches.

The form and siting of churches is found to be a helpful method of interpreting the institutional development of the Church, but rights and dues can be traced mainly to c. 1070-1120. The study points to a contrast between marginal areas like western Sussex and the heartlands of the major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Original documents

Add.Ms.	Additional Manuscript
Bod.L.	Bodleian Library
B.L.	British Library
Cap.	Capitular Papers at the Diocesan Registry, W.S.R.O
Ep	Episcopal Papers at the Diocesan Registry, W.S.R.O
Grimm	B.L.Add.Ms.5674-7. Drawings c. 1770-90
H.R.O.	Hampshire Record Office
J.F.	W.S.R.O. PD2586. Drawings by J.F. 1795
M.P.	Miscellaneous Papers at the W.S.R.O
N.M.R.	National Monument Record
P.H.A.	Petworth House Archive
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Par.	Parish Records at the W.S.R.O
Sharpe	The Sharpe Collection of Watercolours by Henry Petrie, 1805
Tracey	W.S.R.O. PD2011. Drawings by Adelaide Tracey, 1850s
W.D.A.	West Dean Archive
W.S.R.O.	West Sussex Record Office

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<i>A-S.E.</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> .
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1: MINSTERS AND LOCAL CHURCHES

Over the past 30 years there has been much research into the organisation of the Anglo-Saxon church and the survival of its institutions after 1066. Some of the central themes have included: the pastoral care provided by minsters; the relationship between minster *parochiae* and estates; manorialisation and the fragmentation of *parochiae*; the development of the parish; the fate of minsters under Anglo-Norman lords; the effects of the twelfth-century canon law reforms; and local variation in ecclesiastical organisation. Anglo-Saxon and early Norman church buildings have also been studied, but such work has only intermittently been brought to bear on these issues. This is a result of the localised patterns of survival of fabric of this period and the tendency of much research to deal with high-status churches rather than studying all of the buildings within a locality. However, in western Sussex there is a remarkable number of churches variously ascribed to the Anglo-Saxon, early Norman or 'Saxon-Norman Overlap' periods. They give scope for an area-based study of churches in relation to ecclesiastical organisation and lay lordship. It is the overall aim of this thesis to contribute to debate on the themes listed through a study of the full range of evidence available for western Sussex, but taking particular account of the churches themselves.

This chapter sets the context for such a study by reviewing the literature on minsters and local churches, identifying the issues raised by local studies, and discussing the sources available. The following chapter explains the objectives of the thesis, the choice of study area and the sources and methods used. The rest of the thesis is divided into five sections: Chapter 3 describes the Anglo-Saxon context and the medieval pattern of land use and settlement. The following two chapters give a classification and chronology of churches, their churchyards, enclosures, endowments and settings. Chapters 6-9 reviews groups of churches linked by rights and dues and assess the relationships of groups and of individual churches to secular land units. Chapters 10 and 11 draw together the themes and issues identified in the preceding chapters as an account of the development of the church and lordship in Sussex generally and the study area in particular. The final chapter sets out conclusions. Volume 2 contains figures, which are grouped by theme, and information sheets on wall openings and individual churches.

The Minster Hypothesis

Although Page put forward some of the basic principles of the minster hypothesis as early as 1915 and the classic accounts of the Anglo-Saxon church by Stenton, Barlow, Godfrey and others discuss the rôle of minsters in some depth, the fully-developed concept is based on more recent work.¹ Studies between the 1960s and the 1980s initiated widespread interest in the

¹ Page, 'Churches', pp.61-102; Stenton, pp.130-176; F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (1979), pp.159-208; Lennard, pp.396-404; C.J. Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo Saxon England* (1962), pp.310-30.

organisation of the church, the nature of pastoral care and the development of the parish. This has been taken forward in research and publications since 1988 by Blair, Hase and others.²

The hypothesis states that, shortly after the conversion of England, a network of minsters had been established with responsibility for the cure of souls over *parochiae* about 10-15 times the size of a modern parish. Distinctions between coenobitic communities and minsters with pastoral responsibilities are an anachronism, since all *monasteria* were closely linked to the world around them.³ Many of the early minsters were at the royal centres (*villae regales*) within the *regiones* which were the earliest land units of the Anglo-Saxon period and in many cases probably equivalent to petty kingdoms.⁴ Recent studies have drawn parallels between the *regiones* and the Celtic and Irish units of the *tuath* and Sawyer and others have remarked on the close relationship between royal *tuns* and early minsters.⁵ Hase, for instance, considers that 'nowhere in Hampshire even in the depths of the New Forest was further than six miles from a church even in the eighth century' and attributes the early minsters of the Wessex heartlands to King Ine (688-726).⁶ But although some early minsters may have been the result of royal policy, many others were founded by aristocratic families: those in Mercia between c. 660 and c. 750 are among the best documented.⁷ Some no doubt justified Bede's condemnation as 'false *monasteria*' and the later eighth century saw attempts by both kings and bishops to bring the private minsters within royal or episcopal control.⁸

The Viking invasions were once said to have been so devastating that little of the minster system survived, but this is no longer thought to be the case for central and western parts of England, although it may have been so in the east.⁹ However, the very localised pattern of minsters in parts of Yorkshire and County Durham has been interpreted as a true reflection of early ecclesiastical provision in these areas and the distribution of minsters listed in Domesday

² E.g. B.R. Kemp, 'The churches of Berkeley Hernesse', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 87 (1968), pp.96-110; Hase, thesis; J. Blair, 'Land holding church and settlement in Surrey before 1300', unpub Univ. Oxford D.Phil. thesis (1982); the majority of papers in Blair, *Minsters* and Blair and Sharpe; Hase, 'Wessex', pp.47-81; Basset, 'Landscape', pp.147-73.

³ *Parochia* is used for the area over which a minster had pastoral responsibility, although the contemporary term was *hernes* (J. Blair, 'Introduction: from minster to parish church' in Blair, *Minsters*, p.1, Attenborough *Laws*, p.20.) 'Parish' is used for the post-Conquest area pertaining to churches, although this does not imply that the church had full pastoral responsibility for that area in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. 'Minster' is used as the equivalent of *monasterium* as discussed by S. Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon minsters, a review of terminology' in Blair and Sharpe, pp.212-25.

⁴ Hase 'Wessex', pp.52-4; S. Bassett, 'In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms' in *Origins*, pp.17-20; Morris, *Landscape*, pp.131-132.

⁵ Blair, 'Introduction', pp.4-7; Sawyer, 'Royal tun', pp.273-99.

⁶ Hase, thesis, pp.17-18; Hase, 'Wessex', p.68; Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.181-191.

⁷ Sims-Williams, *Religion*, pp.1-16.

⁸ C. Plummer, ed., *Baedae Opera Historica 1. Epistola ad Ecgbertum*, cc.11-4; Sims-Williams, *Religion*, pp.144-176; Blair, 'Introduction', p.3; Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.174-206; Kelly, pp.ixvi-viii.

⁹ Stenton, pp.427-31; Blair, 'Introduction', p.2; R.K. Morris, 'Churches in York and its hinterland: building patterns and stone sources in the eleventh and twelve centuries' in Blair, *Minsters*, pp.191-7; Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.107-12.

Book could have been in part influenced by cultural and economic factors.¹⁰ However, there is no doubt about the substantial scale of founding and re-founding minsters associated with hundredal centres, allied to the military and administrative reforms of King Alfred and his successors.¹¹

There were forces leading to the break up of minster *parochiae* by at least the late ninth century when the large estates based on royal, ecclesiastical and aristocratic centres had begun to fragment into much smaller units with the emergence of a class of landed thegns.¹² These changes may be closely related to other trends in the middle and late Anglo-Saxon period such as nucleation of settlements.¹³ There is evidence of sub-minsters of intermediate status and some religious houses established churches on their estates that subsequently became alienated. But the main forces appear to have been seigneurial.¹⁴ Household priests were provided with their own churches which gradually acquired some kind of independent status, although often still owing dues to a minster.¹⁵ By the time of the *Gethyntho* a ceorl who aspired to thegnhood had to possess 'fully five hides of his own land, church, kitchen, bell-house, *burh-geat*, seat and special office in the king's hall'.¹⁶ But there was not a simple pattern. Some minsters flourished under lay patrons, and it is clear that lesser churches were sometimes founded in consultation with minsters and served by minster priests.¹⁷

The tenth- and eleventh-century law codes of Edgar, Athelstan, Ethelred and Cnut are seen as successive attempts to regulate the pressures for change. Edgar's laws of 959 x c.962 described a hierarchy of: old minster; churches with graveyards on thegns' booklands; and churches without graveyards.¹⁸ The first may have represent the pre-Viking minsters and the second and third the new churches created by estate fragmentation. Tithe, church scot and hearth pennies were owed to the old minster. Similar dues were owed under the laws of Athelstan. Under Edgar's laws a thegn who had a church with a graveyard could pay a third of his tithes to his own church and two thirds to the minster. The laws of Ethelred and Cnut had

¹⁰ E. Cambridge, 'The early church in county Durham: a reassessment', *J.B.A.A.* 137 (1984), pp.65-85; Morris, *Landscape*, pp.133-138; Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.191-201.

¹¹ Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.112-132; H.R. Loyn, 'The hundred in England in the tenth and early eleventh centuries', in H.R. Loyn and H. Hearder, eds., *British Government and Administration* (1974), pp.1-15; Cam, *Manerium*, pp.64-90; Cam, 'Early hundreds', pp.91-105.

¹² T.H. Aston, 'The origins of the manor in England', *T.R.H.S.*, 8 series 8 (1958), pp.519-83; Blair, 'Local church', pp.265-78; P. Stafford, *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (1985), pp.173-5; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.109-157; Morris, *Landscape*, pp.227-74.

¹³ E.g. several papers in Fox, *Origins*; Faith, *Lordship*, pp.1-14.

¹⁴ Blair, 'Introduction', p.7; Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.106; Hase, 'Hampshire', p.49; Hase, 'Wessex', p.62; D.M. Pallister, 'Review article, the "minster hypothesis"', *E.M.E.* 5 (1996), pp.204-14.

¹⁵ Blair, 'Local church', p.268.

¹⁶ A. Williams, 'A bell-house and *burh-geat*: lordly residences in England before the Norman Conquest', *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood* 4 (1992), pp.221-40; Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.243-255.

¹⁷ Blair, 'Landscape', p.57; Hase, 'Hampshire', pp.51-58.

¹⁸ Attenborough, *Laws*, pp.20-72, 116-125; Morris, *Church*, pp.64-65; Cambridge and Rollason, 'Debate', pp.199-201.

four categories: principal churches; churches of medium rank; lesser churches without churchyards; and rural chapels (*feldcircan*). But although widely quoted, these categories are only given in relation to the relative importance of rights of sanctuary and it is not clear whether the laws described ideal or reality: they may have been attempts to impose hierarchies rather than to record the status quo.¹⁹ By the time of the laws of King William, the hierarchy was simply *cathedralis*, *matrix ecclesia parochialis* and *capella*.²⁰

Although the Reform movement led to the expulsion of canons and their replacement by Benedictine monks, this appears to have affected the larger religious houses rather than the majority of minsters and the anti-monastic reaction after the death of Edgar may have been underestimated.²¹ In the period up to 1066 there was certainly patronage of minsters by the king and aristocracy and new minsters like St. Mary de Castro at Dover and Harold Godwineson's at Waltham were founded.²² They were also increasingly seen as a means of maintaining chaplains and other clergy in the service of the king, such as King Edward's gift of Bosham in Sussex to his chaplain, Osbern.²³ This became increasingly possible as *parochiae*, and therefore the need for canons, shrank, but the minsters retained significant endowments.²⁴

Current debate

Cambridge and Rollason have put forward three principal objections to the minster hypothesis.²⁵ First, they argue that there is a case for *oratoria* and episcopal churches in the pre-Viking period as well as minsters and that the evidence of pastoral care from minsters is thin. Second, they consider that the hypothesis has not taken full account of the role of bishops. They refer to Cubitt's work on church councils and Sims-Williams' demonstration that in the diocese of Worcester pastoral provision emerged piecemeal, often as a result of independent minsters being brought under episcopal control.²⁶ Third, they question whether comprehensive pastoral care was ever an objective of the pre-Viking Church and whether subsequent occupation of a minster site by a parish church reflects continuity of function.²⁷ An alternative model is suggested: there was major change under Alfred and his successors, reflecting the influence of earlier Carolingian reform, hence the tenth-century emphasis on

¹⁹ Cambridge and Rollason, 'Debate', pp.193-212.

²⁰ Morris, *Church*, p.64.

²¹ The Reform movement and its effect are described in several papers in D. Parsons, ed., *Tenth-Century Studies* (1975). For the reaction see Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.117-118.

²² Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.120-121; Blair, 'Introduction', p.6; L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall, *The Waltham Chronicle* (1994), pp.26-30. T. Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury', p.110.

²³ D.B., p.392.

²⁴ Denton, *Chapels*, pp.133-44; Barlow, *English Church*, pp.129-36.

²⁵ Cambridge and Rollason, pp.87-104; D.W. Rollason, 'The ecclesiastical context' in Fox, *Origins*, pp.73-90.

²⁶ C. Cubitt, 'Pastoral care and conciliar canons: the provisions of the 747 council of *Clofesho*', in Blair and Sharpe, pp.193-211; C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650 – c. 850* (1995); Sims-Williams, *Religion*, pp.144-176.

²⁷ The much-discussed reference to the priest at Breedon is taken as being concerned only with tenants of the minster's estates.

tithes enforced by royal authority. The old minsters of the tenth-century laws could have been 'eminent' or 'great' rather than old. Hierarchies that emerge immediately after the Conquest, such as that in the *Domesday Monachorum* could have been an attempt to establish rural deaneries (although in this case there is no similarity between its groupings of churches and the thirteenth-century deaneries).²⁸ They contend that the role of minsters increased at this time because they became important centres for the cult of saints and because they began to receive tithes, provided that they appointed clergy to the churches under their control.

Blair's rebuttal of these arguments begins by confirming the great variety of *monasteria*.²⁹ He questions the evidence for pre-Viking episcopal churches, and for small independent churches, placing the rise of the latter in the tenth century but noting the numerous dependant devotional and cult sites.³⁰ He acknowledges the tenth-century changes in line with Carolingian practice, but considers that these are compatible with the hypothesis. Tithes were enforced for the benefit of mother churches and there have been many studies of encroachment by manorial churches. The examples for minster survival used by Cambridge and Rollason are from the eastern side of the country, heavily affected by Viking disruption. In contrast, in areas like Worcestershire there is a good correspondence between minsters and high-status churches recorded after 1100. The evidence for continuity of function on the same site is often credible and cults of saints would have persisted from pre-Viking times. The neglect of the role of bishops is acknowledged, but it is suggested that early bishops were likely to have worked through a network of minsters rather than having a direct pastoral role. Blair concedes that it is difficult to confirm that *parochiae* apparent from the tenth century onwards were contemporary with minsters established before that time, but points to local studies in developing this issue.

The development of a parish community is related to this debate. Several studies have assumed that this is implied by an eleventh-century church, but although parishes were a familiar institution to the Normans from the 1030s onwards, there is little evidence for them in pre-Conquest England.³¹ Gilds, for instance, seem to have been a different type of communal organisation and Warner has traced the gradual emergence of the 'modern reality of parochial separateness' in East Anglia in the eleventh century.³² The parish responsible for all Christian

²⁸ Franklin, 'Minsters', p.74.

²⁹ W.J. Blair, 'Debate: ecclesiastical organisation and pastoral care in Anglo-Saxon England', *E.M.E.* 2.2 (1995), pp.193-212; Pallister, 'Review', pp.204-14.

³⁰ Also discussed at a seminar by Dr. Blair at University College London in February 2000.

³¹ E.g. Rushton, 'Parochialisation', pp.132-53; G.W.O. Addleshaw, *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (786-814) to Urban II (1088-1094)*. St. Anthony's Hall Publications 6 (1954), pp.7-15; W.J. Blair, 'The making of the English parish', *Medieval History* 2.2 (1995), pp.13-19.

³² G. Rosser, 'The Anglo-Saxon gilds' in Blair, *Minsters*, pp.31-4; P. Warner, 'Shared churchyards, freemen church-builders and the development of parishes in eleventh-century East Anglia', *Landscape History* 8 (1986), pp.39-51.

souls within a defined area seems more likely to have come from the enforcement of canon law reforms in the twelfth century.³³

The Norman Conquest and the Gregorian Reforms

There is less controversy about the fate of minsters after the Conquest. The status and wealth of many were undermined by the granting away of land, churches and demesne tithes.³⁴ Some became the basis of new religious houses, and in the immediate post-Conquest period lords like Roger Montgomery, earl of Shrewsbury, re-distributed lands to create new foundations and endow chaplains.³⁵ Indeed, between the Conquest and the early twelfth century, Norman lords on both sides of the Channel showed a particular interest in collegiate churches (*collégiales*) free of the constraints of bishops and Benedictines.³⁶ Colleges like Leominster enjoyed a new lease of life and Gardiner has discussed the importance of the 'college by the castle gates' in Sussex.³⁷ However, many minsters became prebends of secular cathedrals and their *parochiae* and endowments were fragmented as bishops sought to provide for cathedral dignitaries.³⁸ But the acquisition of minsters by royal clerks continued and some survived as royal free chapels.³⁹ Throughout this period local churches continued to increase rapidly.⁴⁰ The great majority of these were simple two-cell buildings which are impossible to date accurately on the stylistic criteria used for high-status buildings and are usually ascribed to the range c. 1050 – c. 1150.⁴¹

By the third quarter of the twelfth century the increase in local churches, the shifting role of minsters and lay domination of the Church were coming to a halt. Not only former minsters but many local churches were in the hands of the religious.⁴² In some areas provision had reached saturation point and there was a decline when churches could no longer be supported

³³ D.M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, History of Lincolnshire 5 (1971), pp.1-16; G.W. O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and Early Thirteenth-Century Canon Law*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications 9 (1956).

³⁴ Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.125; Stenton, pp.155-6; Brett, *Church*, pp.225-7.

³⁵ Mason, 'Officers', pp.224-57; M. Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical patronage and the growth of feudal estates at the time of the Norman Conquest', *Annales de Normandie* 8 (1958), pp.103-18.

³⁶ Musset, 'clercs', pp.5-38.

³⁷ Gardiner, 'Hastings', pp.39-48; Gardiner and Whittick, pp.261-2; B. Kemp, 'Some aspects of the *parochia* of Leominster in the twelfth century' in Blair, *Minsters*, pp.83-97; Hase, 'thesis', pp.51-61.

³⁸ Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.125-126; K. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (1949), pp.1-19; *Acta*, pp.3-61; *Fasti*, pp.xv-xxvii.

³⁹ Denton, *Chapels*, pp.1-22.

⁴⁰ Morris, *Landscape*, pp.140-167. 'After their coming to England, they revived the true rule of religion which had there grown lifeless. You might see great churches rise in every village, and, in the town and cities, monasteries built after a style unknown before' (William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed., W. Stubbs R.S. 90 2 (1889), p.306.). In 1050 'England was being filled everywhere with churches'. (Gem, 'Great rebuilding' p.21 quoting, Goscelin of St.-Berthin).

⁴¹ Gem, 'Great rebuilding', pp.21-30; J. Blair, 'Parish churches in the eleventh century', in *Domesday Studies: the Sussex Domesday* (1990), pp.65-7; Fernie, p.171.

⁴² E.g. Lewes Priory held 56 churches in Sussex alone (V.C.H. 2, p.45) as well as churches in several other counties.

by inadequate endowments and populations.⁴³ However, the principal force for change was the three main reforms of the canon law. First, all priests were to have a real physical area of land or glebe which formed the *titulus* of the church: this had the effect of ensuring that dues like tithes were jealously guarded. Second, the local church was to be a corporation sole with inalienable land. Third, all places were to lie in a known parish.⁴⁴ The reforms thus stopped the founding of any new church which harmed the rights of an existing one. In many parts of the country they left 'a mass of complex anomalies and illogicalities.... reflecting the accidents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries'.⁴⁵

Local Studies and Regional Variation

Recent studies have begun to give a picture of regional differences in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman church. They are briefly discussed here in order to pick out some of the major themes.

The sparse evidence for minster churches in the northern Danelaw and their apparent concentration in clusters, perhaps representing a combination of optimal sites for early settlement and the founding of daughter cells, has been discussed by Cambridge, although there were certainly major late sub-minsters like Beverley within the diocese of York.⁴⁶ There is even less evidence further south within the Danelaw, although within the Roding parishes in Essex, perhaps representing a sixth-century estate, Bassett has been able to identify a probable minster, with the remaining churches being chapels adjacent to manor houses. But this pattern cannot be dated.⁴⁷ In Lincolnshire, Owen has traced a pattern of many parish churches with single chapelries that appears to be related to colonisation from early centres, rather than subdivision of larger estates, which is almost certainly post-Conquest: however, Everson and Stocker have also been able to prepare a convincing list of possible minsters based on topographical, documentary and sculptural evidence.⁴⁸

Within the eastern and central midlands, Franklin's studies in Northamptonshire show a much greater frequency of minsters than to the north and east, with a distinction between those of the pre-Viking period with income from land and church scot and later minsters endowed

⁴³ Hase, 'Wessex', pp.69-73; Morris, *Landscape*, pp.230-40; A. Brown, 'Parish church building: the fabric' in Blair and Pyrah, pp.63-65.

⁴⁴ Hase, 'Wessex', pp.69-73; Addleshaw, 'Rectors', pp.1-22.

⁴⁵ Hase, 'Wessex', p.63.

⁴⁶ Cambridge, 'Early church', pp.65-86; Pallister, 'Review', pp.204-14.

⁴⁷ S. Bassett, 'Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origins of the Rodings (Essex)', *Landscape History* 19 (1997), pp.25-42.

⁴⁸ D.M. Owen, 'Chapelries and rural settlement: an examination of the Kesteven evidence' in *English Settlement*, pp.35-40; P. Everson and D. Stocker, *The Corpus of Anglo-saxon Sculpture of England: Lincolnshire* (1999). See also D. Stocker, 'The early church in Lincolnshire', in A. Vince ed., *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, Lincolnshire Archaeological Studies 1 (1993), pp.101-22.

mainly with tithes.⁴⁹ This is one of the few areas where the church fabric has been related to status and although there is very little pre-Conquest evidence, a type of minster church characterised by a western tower and short, high nave, fossilised in later churches as the 'clasped tower' plan, has been identified.⁵⁰ Blair's studies of Oxfordshire and the Thames Valley have shown a phase of minster foundation at strategic riverside sites under Mercian domination in the late seventh and eight centuries.⁵¹

There have been several studies in western Britain and the west midlands identifying large *parochiae*, some of which were co-extensive with lay estates and hundreds.⁵² Many probably owed their origins to the British Church in which *clasau* with their communities of canons were similar to minsters and where *parochiae* such as those centred on urban churches like St. Mary de Lode, Gloucester and St. Helen's, Worcester may have belonged to British bishoprics.⁵³ Indeed, it has been possible to identify a substantial number of minsters and *parochiae* in Worcestershire and to follow their fragmentation.⁵⁴ In south-eastern Shropshire, Croom's study has shown a high density and survival of minster or collegiate churches which she attributes to the remoteness of the area and the slowness of manorialisation, although the picture may be confused by the radical changes brought about by Roger Montgomery and the possible founding of collegiate churches after the Conquest.⁵⁵ The survival of features of the British Church has been one of the principal themes of the work of Thomas and Pierce for Cornwall and Devon, emphasising continuity with the Roman and sub-Roman periods and the persistence of ancient *parochiae*, like that of Hartland, through to the late Middle Ages, together with the links of the earliest churches and chapels to pre-existing burial grounds.⁵⁶

Studies of greater Wessex are of particular interest in that a contrast might be expected between the British-influenced church west of Selwood and Anglo-Saxon institutions east of it.⁵⁷ In fact, the distribution of probable minsters close to royal vills is broadly the same. In the west they may have been linked to the sixth-century monastic revival, perhaps superseding

⁴⁹ M.J. Franklin, 'Minsters and parishes: Northamptonshire studies', Unpub. Univ. Cambridge Ph.D. thesis (1982), pp.193-322; Franklin, 'Minsters', pp.76-88.

⁵⁰ H. Richmond, 'Outlines of church development in Northamptonshire', in Butler and Morris, pp.176-87; Franklin, 'Minsters', pp.77-88. See below, pp.171-2 for central compartment churches in Northamptonshire.

⁵¹ Blair, *Oxfordshire*, pp.56-77, 111-16, 179-181; J. Blair, 'The minsters of the Thames' in J. Blair and B. Golding eds, *The Cloister and the World* (1996), pp.5-28.

⁵² Bassett, 'Landscape', pp.147-73.

⁵³ S. Bassett, 'Church and diocese in the west midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control' in *Origins*, pp.13-40.

⁵⁴ Sims-Williams, *Religion*, pp.115-46; Bond, pp.127-137.

⁵⁵ J. Croom, 'The fragmentation of minster *parochiae* in south east Shropshire' in Blair, *Minsters*, pp.67-82; above, fn. 37; Mason, 'Officers', pp.224-57.

⁵⁶ S. Pearce, 'The early church in the landscape: the evidence from north Devon', *Arch. J.* 142 (1985), pp.235-75; C. Thomas, 'Christians, chapels, churches and charters', *Landscape History* 11 (1989), pp.19-26; C. Thomas, 'Recognising Christian origins: an archaeological and historical dilemma' in Butler and Morris, pp.121-5.

⁵⁷ Hase, 'Wessex', pp.47-81.

more isolated earlier sites. In the east, they appear to be foundations by the West Saxon kings, but may well reflect similarities of territorial and ecclesiastical institutions to those in the west. In Wessex and Hampshire in particular, the importance of the church as a landowner meant that the post-Conquest fragmentation of *parochiae* and the rights of mother churches were generally well recorded.⁵⁸

The distribution of probable minsters in Surrey, Kent and Sussex was largely determined by a narrow fringe of good land and early settlement around the infertile Weald (Fig. 1).⁵⁹ Everitt has demonstrated how the old minsters, secondary minsters and subordinate churches of Kent represents the relationship between the anciently-settled land in the east and the less fertile lands in the Weald.⁶⁰ Blair has discussed a similar pattern for Surrey. He identifies the ancient centres, often coincident with *villae regales* and follows the development of manors and local churches around them, relating this to the limited evidence of church fabric.⁶¹ The Sussex evidence is discussed in chapter 2.

The principal issues that emerge from these studies are: the uncertainty of whether local distributions of minsters and associated *parochiae* are patterns of survival or real institutional and cultural differences; the difficulties of interpreting retrospective evidence and of establishing an absolute chronology; and the importance of using as wide a range of sources as possible. The following section discusses the availability and use of these sources.

The Evidence

The evidence falls into four categories: contemporary Anglo-Saxon and Norman documents; the churches; topography; and survival of rights, dues and other evidence of relationships between churches in later periods.

Contemporary sources

Anglo-Saxon documents, principally in the form of charters and wills, in sufficient numbers to provide a substantial body of evidence, are restricted to a few areas like Worcestershire and parts of Kent.⁶² Sussex, with the benefit of the *Life of St. Wilfrid* and a modern edition of the most important charters, is no worse off than many other places.⁶³ It was on circuit 1 in Domesday Book, which gives the fullest record of churches, although this was certainly not

⁵⁸ Hase, 'thesis', pp.45-51.

⁵⁹ P. Drewett, D. Rudling and M. Gardiner, *The South East to A.D. 1000* (1988), pp.307-339; P.F. Brandon and B. G. Short, *The South East from A.D. 1000* (1990), pp.1-18.

⁶⁰ Everitt, *Continuity*, pp.181-224.

⁶¹ Blair, *Surrey*, pp.91-159.

⁶² H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (1964); Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.130-54.

⁶³ *Life*; Kelly, 1-21.

complete, as the *Domesday Monachorum* shows in Kent.⁶⁴ Domesday Book has been intensively used as a source for the history of the eleventh-century church and Blair has identified widely accepted criteria for the identification of minsters in it.⁶⁵ The post-Conquest record is often poor since many grants of land, tithes and pensions were without written record and the events of the period usually have to be pieced together from confirmation charters, disputes and forgeries.⁶⁶

Perhaps the biggest difficulty is the extent to which single instances or exceptional information from outside a study area can be applied within it. For example, it is generally accepted that the clergy of late Anglo-Saxon minsters held their property in common, but at Waltham there were at least some individual prebends.⁶⁷ Was this an exception, or did it, for instance, apply to lands held *in prebenda* in Sussex T.R.W., which could thus have been pre- or post-Conquest?⁶⁸ Can the studies of well-documented collegiate churches like Christchurch be a basis for generalisation, or were they governed entirely by local circumstances and individual actions? Much of our understanding of what eleventh-century bishops did is shaped by the accounts of St. Wulfstan's life.⁶⁹ Was he exceptional in carrying Anglo-Saxon traditions into the Norman period, or did Anglo-Norman bishops of good reputation like Ralf Luffa of Chichester (1191-1123) behave in the same way, travelling through their dioceses and founding churches?⁷⁰ The difficulties of importing general models or area-specific examples into a study area with sparse evidence are discussed in the following chapter.

Church form and fabric

It is unlikely that there was ever a simple relationship between form and function of Anglo-Saxon churches: for example the church at Kingston on Thames, where the late Anglo-Saxon kings were crowned, was a simple rectangle.⁷¹ It seems logical, nevertheless, that status and liturgical function would be reflected in the type of building, but attempts to do this have been hampered by the difficulties of dating Anglo-Saxon fabric.⁷² Baldwin Brown, Clapham and Fernie discuss in depth a limited number of churches that are definitely datable to the period. They describe the early Kentish style of wide nave, eastern apse and flanking *porticus*, the

⁶⁴ Morris, *Landscape*, p.142; Blair, 'Local churches', pp.265-75; Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.106-114; Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury', p.105; Rushton 'Parochialisation', pp.148-152; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.109-10 argues that the record for Surrey may be more complete than for Kent.

⁶⁵ Below, pp.38-9.

⁶⁶ D. Greenaway, 'Conquest and colonisation: the foundation of an alien priory, 1077' in J. Blair and B. Golding eds, *The Cloister and the World* (1996), pp.46-56; Matthew, *Norman*, pp.27-34; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (1963), pp.134-6.

⁶⁷ Franklin, 'Minsters', p.73; Watkiss and Chibnall, 'Waltham' pp.40-60.

⁶⁸ D. B., pp.422, 431.

⁶⁹ R.R. Darlington ed., *William of Malmesbury: Vitae Sancti Wulfstani*, Camden Society 40 (1928), pp.40-60.

⁷⁰ H. Mayr-Harting, *The Bishops of Chichester 1075-1207*, Chichester Papers 40 (1963), pp.2-4.

⁷¹ Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.112; S. Keynes, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture and the historian', *A-S.E.* 8 (1985), p.301.

⁷² D. Parsons, 'Liturgy and architecture in the Middle Ages', *Third Deerhurst Lecture* (1986), pp.1-2.

Mercian basilican type and the Northumbrian long, narrow plan, although the occurrence of such churches south of the Humber is not an indication of Northumbrian influence.⁷³ Taylor set rigorous criteria for identifying bona fide Anglo-Saxon buildings which were subject to detailed analysis, producing a typology but not relating this to status except in a few cases.⁷⁴ However, recent research shows that some of Taylor's churches are likely to be post-Conquest, even if they reflect pre-Conquest forms.⁷⁵ Indeed, most Anglo-Saxon churches have always been considered to be late. Gem, in reconsidering the 'Saxo-Norman Overlap' period discussed by Baldwin Brown, Clapham, Fernie and others, concluded that there was a long period of a mixed Saxon-Norman style extending from the mid-eleventh to the mid-twelfth century.⁷⁶ Many churches or parts of churches combining these features are probably post-rather than pre-Conquest.⁷⁷

Suggestions for minster church types, apart from the early regional ones, have been tentative. Hase suggests that Titchfield (Fig. 45), dated by Hare to the late seventh century, may have been the early minster type for Wessex, but gives only this example.⁷⁸ Radford suggested that the typical late minster was cruciform with a tall, aisless nave, north and south *porticus*, a rectangular chancel and salient corners at the east end of the nave.⁷⁹ Blair agrees with this suggestion but notes that *porticus* may be absent and sees in this form the predecessor of the axial tower plan after the Conquest.⁸⁰ However, this does not fully take into account the importance of the space at the east end of the nave, where a crossing or central chamber was formed at churches like Hadstock (Fig. 45), or the overall importance of the crossing in churches ranging from Stow to the timber church within the *burh* at South Cadbury.⁸¹ After the Conquest a number of minster churches were rebuilt to a cruciform plan and axial tower churches also had high status.⁸² Although churches of the latter type in East Anglia are described as pre-Conquest, they too, show features of the Overlap period and may have been built after 1066.⁸³ All of these types were radically different from the two-cell 'manorial' church which was common before and after the Conquest. It is first found in significant

⁷³ Baldwin Brown, pp.26-300; Clapham, *Before*, pp.16-106; Fernie, pp.32-111; Taylor, pp.353-4; Fisher, p.15; M. Biddle and B. Kjolbye-Biddle, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture and the archaeologist', *A-S.E.* 8 (1985), pp.302-8.

⁷⁴ Taylor, pp.735-6.

⁷⁵ E.g., Milbourne Port (Gem, 'Great rebuilding', p.27); Norton (E. Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque architecture in north-east England: a style and its patrons' in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwick, eds, *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193* (1994), pp.145-8).

⁷⁶ Gem, 'Great rebuilding', pp.21-30; Gem, 'Periodise', pp.146-55.

⁷⁷ Gem, 'Great rebuilding', p.27

⁷⁸ Hase, 'Wessex', p.61; M.J. Hare, 'The Anglo-Saxon church of St. Peter Titchfield', *P.H.F.C.A.S.* 32 (1976), pp 5-48, M.J. Hare, 'Investigations at the Anglo-Saxon church of St. Peter Titchfield, 1982-9', *P.H.F.C.A.S.* 47 (1992), pp.117-44.

⁷⁹ C.A.R. Radford, 'Pre-Conquest minster churches', *Arch. J.* 130 (1973), pp.120-140.

⁸⁰ Blair, 'Parish churches', pp.66-7.

⁸¹ Fernie, pp.112-136; Gem, 'Architecture', pp.105-15; R.D.H. Gem, 'Part 1 the early church A.D. 400-1200' in Blair and Pyrah, p.4.

⁸² Tatton Brown, 'Canterbury', pp.110-11; Bond, pp.119-158.

⁸³ E.g., Newton by Castle Acre and Dunham Magna (Taylor, pp.460-2,217-21; Baldwin Brown, pp.346-50).

numbers as timber churches in the tenth century and quite often in groups so similar in size as to indicate that they were built within a short period of time.⁸⁴

Topography

The siting of churches, the origin and location of Christian burial grounds, the relationship of churches to manorial buildings, the form of enclosures around burial grounds and manorial complexes, and the location and extent of glebe lands have all been considered in recent studies.

There has long been interest in the siting of churches in relation to prehistoric earthworks and Roman settlements.⁸⁵ Some midland hillforts were certainly the sites of minsters, but in Wessex, according to Hase's analysis, they were avoided.⁸⁶ There may, therefore, have been regional differences in the choice of high-status sites, although many minsters are associated with sub-rectangular enclosures in places ranging from Cornwall, where they probably represent enclosed developed cemeteries, to the towns of Wessex where the shape of the *burh* influenced later layouts.⁸⁷ Roman forts and small towns were certainly important (a minster within the fort/town with a royal centre a short distance away was a frequent arrangement) but these usually belonged to the first phase of minster establishment, as at Chesterfield.⁸⁸ There is evidence too, of the establishment of graveyards and churches within the ruins of villas, particularly the south west, and minsters were present in the large Roman towns, often re-using Roman structures, as at Leicester, but the issue of continuity in the post-Roman period is unresolved.⁸⁹ The proximity of pagan Anglo-Saxon burials to churchyards and churches has been linked with the conversion of pagan cult sites and topographical studies following these themes have included Bampton and Barton-upon-Humber. Blair emphasises the importance of considering minsters not as single buildings but as complexes of churches, chapels and cult sites spread across the landscape.⁹⁰ In general, whether near earlier sites or not, minsters were

⁸⁴ Morris, *Landscape*, pp.227-74; Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.230-2; D.G. Buckley ed., *Four Church Excavations in Essex*. Essex County Council Occasional Paper 4 (1984).

⁸⁵ Morris, 'Church', pp.40-5; Morris, 'Landscape', pp.140-67; Blair, 'Topo', pp.226-46; W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: aspects of topography and planning' in Faull, pp.1-23.

⁸⁶ Hase, 'Wessex', pp.54-61.

⁸⁷ Thomas, 'Christians', pp.19-26; J. Haslam, 'The towns of Wiltshire', in J. Haslam, ed., *Anglo Saxon Towns in Southern England* (1984), pp.87-147.

⁸⁸ Morris, 'Church', pp.40-45; Rodwell, 'Topography', pp.1-14; Blair, 'Landscape', p.41.

⁸⁹ R. Morris and J. Roxan, 'Churches and Roman buildings', in W.J. Rodwell, ed., *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain*, B.A.R.R.B.S. 77 (1980), pp.175-209; M. Biddle, 'A widening horizon', in Addyman and Morris, pp.65-83; Rodwell, 'Topography', pp.1-3.

⁹⁰ Morris, *Church*, pp.51-8; D. Bullough, 'Burial community and belief in the early medieval west' in P. Wormald, ed., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (1983), pp.177-201; E. O'Brien and C. Roberts, 'Archaeological study of church cemeteries: past, present and future' in Blair and Pyrah, pp.159-181; Blair, 'Landscape', pp.53-55; W.J. Rodwell, 'St. Peter's Church Barton-upon-Humber: excavation and structural study 1978-91'. *Ant. J.* 62 (1982), pp.283-315; Rodwell, 'Topography', pp.17-18; J. Blair, 'Churches in the early English landscape: social and cultural contexts' in Blair and Pyrah, pp.6-18; J. Blair, 'Bampton as an Anglo-Saxon minster', *Current Archaeology* 160 (1998), pp.124-30.

usually located on prominent, sites rarely far from water or good quality land. Blair suggests that they formed the nuclei of a number of later Anglo-Saxon towns.⁹¹

The relationship between churches and secular buildings is also informative. Two types of setting have been identified for minsters. On the one hand there are sites where the lay estate centre was between a few hundred metres and three or four kilometres from the minster.⁹² On the other, excavated sites like Cheddar and Northampton show an apparent close relationship between royal hall and minster, although it has been suggested that the 'hall' may have been part of the minster complex rather than a secular building.⁹³ The relationship between manor houses and local churches was often very close. Studies in Essex have shown that churches with Anglo-Saxon fabric are far more frequent adjacent to manor houses than in any other type of setting, although this may simply reflect the fact that manorial churches were less subject to major rebuilding.⁹⁴ However, excavations at Raunds, Goltho and elsewhere demonstrate the complex, shifting topography of churches and manorial buildings in the late Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest period.⁹⁵ Morris has reviewed the evidence for the earliest known minor churches on a range of sites and identifies a significant number where there was a tenth-century timber church, noting many cases where the present church is in a different position. His overall conclusion is that there was a widespread class of pre-Conquest seigneurial settlement, of which the church is the main present-day evidence.⁹⁶

The evidence of churchyards is complex. The concept of pagan burial grounds being abandoned and replaced by Christian ones nearby, perhaps with an intermediate 'final phase', is open to question. It is now generally agreed that there is not a simple equation of burial without grave goods and east-west orientation with Christianity.⁹⁷ Indeed, burial within consecrated ground for most of the laity may not have been a concern of the Church until the tenth century when the first consecration rites for churchyards are known.⁹⁸ However, there is certainly evidence for early mortuary chapels or churches within burial grounds in western England and at Roman burial grounds like St. Pancras, Canterbury. Moreover, a close relationship between pagan burial ground, possible Christian burial ground, settlement and Anglo-Saxon church is known from several sites and in Cornwall the locations of early

⁹¹ Blair, 'Landscape', pp.47-50; Blair, 'Thames', pp.5-28.

⁹² Blair, 'Landscape', p.41.

⁹³ Blair, 'Topo', p.21; J.H. Williams, M. Shaw and V. Denham, *The Middle Saxon Palaces at Northampton* (1985); Gem, 'Architecture', pp.39-40; J. Blair, 'Palaces or minsters? Northampton and Cheddar reconsidered', *A-S.E.*, 20 (1996), pp.97-121.

⁹⁴ Morris, *Landscape*, pp.250-72.

⁹⁵ A. Boddington, *Raunds Furnells: the Anglo-Saxon Church and Churchyard* (1996); G. Beresford, *Goltho: the Development of an Early Medieval Manor 850-1150* (1987); Morris, *Landscape*, pp.227-274.

⁹⁶ Morris, *Landscape*, pp.227-74; Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.230-232.

⁹⁷ Morris, *Church*, pp.51-62; O'Brien and Roberts, 'Cemeteries', pp.159-81; Blair, 'Contexts', pp.7-9.

⁹⁸ Above, fn. 30.

churches appear to have been influenced by pre-existing burial grounds.⁹⁹ The evidence for such influence is less strong in many other parts of the country and where it occurs it may have been the result of continuity of settlement rather than continuity of religious practice. However, there is more clear-cut evidence for large areas of burials around minster churches, at least in the late Anglo-Saxon period. These subsequently shrank but burials have been found well outside the present day graveyards at Brixworth and elsewhere.¹⁰⁰

Round churchyards are typical of *lan* sites in Devon and Cornwall and their presence beyond the south west has sometimes been considered an indication of an early burial ground and British connections.¹⁰¹ Larger enclosures, perhaps up to 200m across, containing both the church and the manorial site have been traced around high-status churches as far east as Lambourn and Bampton and fit within the widely-distributed category of ovoid religious enclosures found in Gaul and the Celtic world.¹⁰² However, within Wessex, at least, an enclosure around the estate centre with the church on the edge was generally the rule.¹⁰³

The amount and location of glebe is the final form of topographical evidence to be considered. Blair and Lennard confirmed the widely-held view that, in general, the glebes of manorial churches were equivalent to the typical villan holdings of one virgate and were often detached from the church and parsonage.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, there are several examples of the formation of these endowments at the instigation of lords, such as the requirement of the tenants of Keddington, Lincolnshire to give an acre from each bovat to form the glebe.¹⁰⁵ In contrast, minsters usually had substantial endowments of at least a hide, which were often geld-free.¹⁰⁶ They often lay within their own lands, as at Witham, and the large holdings sometimes survived as rectorial manors like Godalming.¹⁰⁷

Retrospective Sources: Church Rights and Dues

Many studies have relied heavily on post-Conquest rights and dues as evidence of pre-Conquest relationships. Hase, for instance, considers that 'evidence of a parish church receiving income or performing profitable dues in the parish of another, no matter how late,

⁹⁹ Bell, 'Saxon settlements', pp.37-44; Thomas, 'Origins', pp.121-2.

¹⁰⁰ P. Everson and D. N. Hall, 'Brixworth Archaeological Records', *J.B.A.A.* 130 (1977), pp.72-3; O'Brien and Roberts, 'Cemeteries', p.162. Blair, 'Topo', pp.232-3; Blair, 'Contexts', p.9.

¹⁰¹ Pearce, 'Devon', pp.258-263; Brook, 'Church', pp.77-87; M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (1992), pp.86-91.

¹⁰² Blair, 'Topo', pp.231-5.

¹⁰³ Hase, 'Wessex', p.54.

¹⁰⁴ Blair, *Surrey*, pp.135-142; Lennard, pp.307-314.

¹⁰⁵ Owen, 'Lincolnshire', p.13.

¹⁰⁶ Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.106; below, p.38.

¹⁰⁷ W. Rodwell, *The Origins and Early Development of Witham, Essex*, Oxbow Monograph 26 (1993), pp.69-70; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.97-8; P. Woods, 'The parsonage and rectory manor of Godalming', *Sy.A.C.* 22 (1909), pp.115-36.

can be related back to a mother church'.¹⁰⁸ The most frequent of these are church scot, tithes, mortuary dues or sepulture, pensions and the status of a church as a *capella*.

Church scot began as a render of a measure of wheat, perhaps an adaptation of a pagan custom or to provide seed corn for minster estates.¹⁰⁹ By the time of Domesday Book it was often a cash sum or a render to the lord of the manor. Payment was made by all landowners within a *parochia*, as at Fawsley in Northamptonshire.¹¹⁰ Landowners also paid tithes but it was not until the 920s that they were said to be compulsory in England, by which time they were often regarded by French lords as purely secular.¹¹¹ In the laws of Edgar, a third of the tithe went to the local church (provided that it had a graveyard) and two thirds to the minster.¹¹² However the punishment for non-payment was in the hands of the king's reeve, rather than the Church and it may be that they or lords had a role in collection, from which it would have been a short step to appropriation.¹¹³ Norman lords certainly granted demesne tithes away freely, and disputes about these often continued for centuries.¹¹⁴

Mortuary dues have been widely used in the study of minsters, and claims by mother churches for mortuary payments and requests by dependent churches for the right to bury their dead persisted into the fifteenth century.¹¹⁵ Although in the early Anglo-Saxon period the 'Church showed itself surprisingly indifferent to where Christians were laid to rest', by the tenth and eleventh centuries mortuary fees were jealously guarded.¹¹⁶ Ethelred's code of 1008 stated that for any body buried outside its proper parish, payment should be made 'to the minster to which it belonged', although the burial of the poor was often a matter of indifference.¹¹⁷ The rise of the importance of sepulture has been interpreted as an effort to reinforce ancient dues when the authority and finances of the minsters were under threat and Kemp has noted that such dues survived more frequently into the post-Conquest period where minster churches came under monastic control.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁸ Hase, thesis, pp.18-19.

¹⁰⁹ Clifford, thesis, pp.189-204; N. Neilson, 'Customary rents' in P. Vinogradoff ed., *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* 2 (1910), pp.188-201; J. Kemble, *The Saxons in England* (1849), p.490 and appendix; Attenborough, *Laws*, p.36; W. A. Chaney, 'Anglo-Saxon church dues: a study in historical continuity', *Church History* 32 (1963), pp.268-77; Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.116; Stenton, pp.152-4.

¹¹⁰ Franklin, thesis, pp.183-9.

¹¹¹ G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes* (1964), pp.9-56.

¹¹² Blair, 'Secular minster', p.119; Robertson, *Laws*, p.122.

¹¹³ Brett, *Church*, p.230 quotes a letter by St. Anselm complaining that lay lords stood at the altar taking oblations, contrary to canon law.

¹¹⁴ Stenton, pp.155-6; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.148-50; Brett, *Church*, p.227; Hase, thesis, pp.18-9.

¹¹⁵ Blair, 'Landscape', pp.50-3.

¹¹⁶ D. Bullough, 'Burial', p.186; Morris, *Church*, p.50; Matthew, *Norman*, pp.38-41; Blair, 'Cuthman', p.174.

¹¹⁷ Blair, 'Introduction', p.8; Robertson, *Laws*, p.114.

¹¹⁸ Kemp, 'Leominster', p.88.

Pensions are difficult to interpret. Hase considers that they may reflect commutation of an ancient due to a cash payment, but while this may sometimes have been the case they also arose from other, post-Conquest sources.¹¹⁹ For instance, Croom notes that they could have been the result of appropriation or a gift from a layman.¹²⁰ In some cases they were used to resolve disputes over status, and although the dispute may have arisen over an ancient due, there was rarely a straightforward relationship between the two.¹²¹

Blair notes that a *capella* was not necessarily smaller or less important than an *ecclesia*: it merely occupied an inferior position.¹²² Twelfth- and thirteenth-century canon law was clear about the status and rights of *capellae* in relation to parish churches, and in a prosperous county like Lincolnshire, undergoing expansion of settlement, the hierarchy appears to have been strictly observed.¹²³ Yet the Abingdon Chronicle used *ecclesia* and *capella* interchangeably for the same church in several instances, and the Taxation of Pope Nicholas and *Valor* record *capellae* which were independent churches earlier in the Middle Ages and had become chapels as a result of the merging of parishes.¹²⁴ Thus, like all of the rights and dues most frequently found, *capellae* need to be interpreted with great caution.

Defining a Local Study

A local study cannot address equally all of the current issues in the development of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Church and major constraints are imposed by the nature and survival of the sources. Several local studies have concentrated on single aspects, such as tracing the fate of an individual minster, and some have made uncritical use of the evidence, particularly of rights and dues. A study based on the analysis of the fabric and setting of churches but covering all sources and dealing in depth with a single area may help in the debate on at least some of the issues. The approach and method for such a study are set out in the following chapter.

¹¹⁹ Hase, thesis, pp.18-19.

¹²⁰ Croom, 'Fragmentation', p.68.

¹²¹ Kemp, 'Monastic possession', pp.130-60.

¹²² Blair, *Surrey*, p.154.

¹²³ Owen, 'Chapels', pp.35-40.

¹²⁴ Lennard, pp.298-303; Brown, 'Fabric', pp.63-8.

2: OBJECTIVES, SOURCES AND METHODS

Objectives

There are five objectives for this thesis. Beginning with the churches and their setting, the first is to assess the extent to which their form and development may reflect changes in ecclesiastical organisation and lay lordship. This requires an improved dating of Overlap churches, based on an understanding of why they were built, rather than just stylistic evidence, and on the development of a typology.¹ The second objective is an assessment of whether the rights and dues widely used in the definition of *parochiae* in other studies really were pre-Conquest or may have arisen later, such as in the period of very rapid change of the first two generations after the Conquest. Third is an assessment of the relative development of the Downs, Weald and coastal plain into which Sussex is divided (Fig. 4) and the extent to which estates and *parochiae* reflected patterns that have been described for broadly similar landscapes in south-eastern England.² Fourth is to understand how and why minsters and their *parochiae* came to occupy their positions in the landscape, their relationship to the see of Selsey and what became of them after 1066. Current research shows a very localised distribution (Fig. 1) which could reflect the true picture in the Anglo-Saxon period or could be the vestige of systematic provision. If it was the former, were there areas outside *parochiae* and if so, how was their development different from those within? The final objective is to analyse the changes to the Church brought about by the Norman Conquest. This is often described as having accelerated the decline of minsters but only having had a minor impact on the development of local churches.³ Since there was undoubtedly radical political, military and tenurial change in Sussex, it is an ideal location to test this idea.⁴ It would be impossible to study all of the medieval churches in Sussex at sufficient depth for this thesis and a study area has to be selected.

Sussex and the Choice of a Study Area

Sussex is a county of strong contrasts (Fig. 4). In the south west, the coastal plain extended up to a mile further south in the early Anglo-Saxon period and supported dense Roman and earlier settlement.⁵ The Downs rise abruptly from it, punctured by the main north-south river valleys of the Arun, Adur, Cuckmere and Ouse. Beyond the steep scarp slope lies the heavy

¹ Gem states the impossibility of using just stylistic evidence (Gem, 'Great rebuilding', p.24; Gem, 'Lewes', pp.236-7) but also points to a way forward in understanding why churches were built (Gem, 'Great rebuilding', pp.21-30; Gem, 'Periodise', pp.146-55; Gem, 'Architecture', pp.29-66).

² Faith, *Lordship*, pp.1-14; Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.126-9, 240-79; Everitt, *Continuity*, pp.76-90, 181-222; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.91-159.

³ Blair, 'Local church', pp.265-75.

⁴ Cownie, pp.11-12; S. James and D. Thorn, 'Landholders in Sussex 1066-1086', *Domesday Studies* (1990), pp.20-5.

⁵ M.W. Pitts, 'A gazetteer of Roman sites and finds on the West Sussex coastal plain', *S.A.C.* 117 (1979), pp.63-83; below, pp.42-3.

clay of the Low Weald rising to the sandstones and clays of High Weald in the north and east.⁶ The distinction between eastern and western Sussex is an ancient one, probably reflected in *regiones* and certainly apparent in history, economy and settlement pattern.⁷ Cutting across the east-west lie of the landscape there were many north-south routes linking settlements on the coastal fringe, river valleys and scarp foot with the Weald used for seasonal movement of swine and, perhaps, cattle (Fig. 8, Appendix 1). But here, too, there was a distinction between east and west, with the latter characterised by *-falod* place-names in the Low Weald, in contrast to the *dens* of the High Weald in the east, similar to those in Kent.⁸

Archaeological evidence shows that the pagan South Saxons were a fairly distinct cultural group extending into eastern Hampshire.⁹ The material evidence for the pagan period with sites clustered along the river valleys and Downs is particularly good and Sussex may have enjoyed some early importance, since its first known king, Aelle, was the first of Bede's *bretwaldan*.¹⁰ By the 660s it was under Mercian control, but was conquered by the West Saxons in 686.¹¹ In the 770s it was again under Mercian influence, finally becoming part of greater Wessex after the battle of *Ellendun* in 826.¹² It was said not to have been converted until the arrival of St. Wilfrid in 680-1, with this *monasterium* at Selsey becoming a cathedral in 705 and the see remained there, at least in name, until it was moved to Chichester in 1070 x 5.¹³

In contrast to Kent, the Anglo-Saxon territorial and administrative organisation of the county is obscure. In 1086 it was divided into the rapes of Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, Bramber and the rape of Roger Montgomery which was probably not divided into the rapes of Arundel and Chichester until the thirteenth century (Fig. 4).¹⁴ Although the rapes may have had pre-Conquest origins, in their Domesday Book form they are best described as Norman castelries.¹⁵

⁶ Brandon, *Landscape*, pp.25-37; Brandon, *South Downs*, pp.20-46; P.F. Brandon, 'The South Saxon Andredesweald' in *South Saxons*, pp.135-59.

⁷ Kelly, pp.lxxv-vii; M. Welch, 'The kingdom of the South Saxons: the origins' in *Origins*, pp.78-80.

⁸ Brandon, *South Downs*, pp.1-18, 47-78; Smith, *Elements* 1, p.129-30, 164-5; Gelling, *Place-Names*, p.202; K. P.Witney, *The Jutish Forest: a Study of the Weald of Kent from 450 to 1380 AD* (1976), pp.56-77; Brandon, 'Andredesweald', p.150. In Sussex there has not been a study equivalent to Witney's and transhumance links are derived principally from Brandon's work. Evidence ranges from Anglo-Saxon charters to post-medieval extents, as noted in Appendix 1.

⁹ Welch, 'Origins', pp.75-83; Bell, 'Saxon settlement', pp.36-53; B. Cunliffe, 'Saxon and medieval settlement pattern in the region of Charlton, Hants', *M.A.* 16 (1972), pp.1-12; B. Cunliffe, 'Chalton, Hants: the evolution of a landscape', *Ant. J.* 53 (1973), pp.173-90.

¹⁰ Welch, pp.253-67; H.E., pp.148-50.

¹¹ H.E., pp.372, 380.

¹² Kelly, pp.lxxxvii-ix; A.S.C., p.60.

¹³ H.E., pp.372; Kelly, pp.lxxxviii-ix.

¹⁴ The rape of Chichester is first mentioned in the hundred roll of 1275 (V.C.H. 4, p.2).

¹⁵ L. F. Salzman, 'The rapes of Sussex', *S.A.C.* 72 (1931), pp.24-29; J.F.A. Mason, 'The rapes of Sussex and the Norman Conquest', *S.A.C.* 102 (1964), pp.68-93; T.P. Hudson, 'The origins of Steyning and Bramber', *Southern History* 2 (1980), pp.11-29; Thorn, pp.26-40.

Within this very varied county there is a concentration of early church buildings at the western end (Fig. 9).¹⁶ The study area therefore comprises the rape of Chichester plus the parishes within Arundel rape that were within the post-Conquest honor of Petworth since they form an apparently well documented *parochia* (Fig. 10).¹⁷ In addition, three other churches in Arundel rape are included because they belonged to Boxgrove Priory, as is Warblington in Hampshire, which was attached to Westbourne in 1086.¹⁸ Post-Conquest, non-parochial churches and chapels in Chichester such as that of the Greyfriars are excluded. In all, 86 standing medieval churches are considered (Fig. 14). Three other features make this a good study area. First, few churches were completely rebuilt after the twelfth century. Restoration was limited and conservative and there has been little significant development around many churches and manor houses since the mid-nineteenth century. The development of churches, the form of the churchyard and relationship to manorial buildings can therefore be traced in many cases. Second, topography and land use vary greatly. Eighteenth-century maps give a clear picture of probable early land use, and parish boundaries are often marked by distinctive topographical features (Fig. 12).¹⁹ Reading the landscape and understanding the medieval use of natural resources is easier than in a more uniform area. Finally, recent studies have suggested a high density of pre-Conquest minsters in the area, which is borne out by the charter and Domesday Book evidence (Figs. 2,3, Table 1). It also contained the Anglo-Saxon cathedral and its Norman successor.

Sources

The sources are of three kinds: those relating to church buildings; those concerned with place-names and topography; and documentary sources relating to the status of churches and their relationship to land units.

Church buildings

These sources and the use made of them are described in Appendix 2. Documentary sources held by the diocesan registry at the W.S.R.O. include faculties, plans and visitation books. Restorers' accounts are preserved in the working papers of Leeny and Dunkin and in published papers, particularly those by P.M. Johnston.²⁰ The descriptions and plans of Sussex

¹⁶ Taylor gives 12 Sussex churches in his definitive list of pre-Conquest churches with reliable evidence (pp.767-72), and discusses a further 19 in volumes 1 and 2. Fisher discusses 60 but at his own admission many of these are post-Conquest (pp.9-10). Baldwin Brown (pp.441-89) and Johnston ('Churches', pp.262-3, Ford) give lists more in line with Taylor.

¹⁷ Farrer, pp.16-22; Rushton, 'Parochialisation', pp.140-2.

¹⁸ D.B., p.425.

¹⁹ R.A. Skelton, 'Introduction and notes' to H. Margary, *250 years of Map Making in Sussex* (1970), T.R. Holland, 'The Yeakell and Gardner Map of Sussex', *S.A.C.* 95 (1957), pp.94-104.

²⁰ Johnston's principal papers on Sussex churches are listed in the bibliography. Johnston, 'Churches', pp.327-79 is a summary of his views.

churches in the V.C.H. are particularly good, benefiting from work by W. H. Godfrey. Burrell and Glynne visited many churches before they were restored.²¹ Three collections of sketches and watercolours of the period 1770-1805 provide almost complete coverage of the pre-restoration churches and some of the drawings of Adelaide Tracey in the 1850s are also of use (Appendix 2). Photographic evidence is available in the collections at W.S.R.O. and the N.M.R. The S.M.R. contains limited information and only a few church excavations have been carried out in the study area, some of which remain unpublished, although there have been several relevant excavations elsewhere in Sussex.²²

Place-names and topography

Although the E.P.N.S. volumes for Sussex are limited and partly outdated, some gaps were filled in later volumes and three studies by Dodgson provide the basis for what he termed 'a new look'.²³ This has been complemented by recent work by Professor Coates and his students.²⁴ In addition to the maps by Yeakell, Gardener and Gream, the tithe maps, estate maps (where available), and first edition Ordnance Survey have been used as a basis for topographical study. As elsewhere, the tithe maps vary in quality and information has generally been transferred to the Ordnance Survey maps for interpretation.²⁵ Parish boundaries shown on the tithe maps have been used and air photographs at 1:10,000 scale of 1947 held by West Sussex County Council have been studied. The principal medieval records of church lands are found in the Chichester and Canterbury chartularies and bishops' registers, the Parliamentary Surveys and in the Chichester capitular records.²⁶ The *Inquisitiones Nonarum* for Sussex was fuller than in many other places and there are seventeenth-century glebe terriers as well as the naming of glebes in charters and surveys.²⁷ However, there are no satisfactory documentary sources for the location of manorial buildings. Hardly any hearth tax returns survive for Sussex and a review of *inquisitiones post mortem* and manorial

²¹ Godfrey prepared most of the plans in the V.C.H. and published others in *Sussex Church Plans* (Appendix 7). Other observations are contained in *Sussex Church Guides* (Appendix 8) which he wrote with F. W. Steer; Burrell, B.L.Add.Ms.3699; Glynne, notebooks 29,55,101-3;.

²² For excavations at Chilgrove, Pagham, Selsey, Bosham and Singleton, Harting and Walberton see Church Information Sheets in Volume 2. Major excavations outside the study area are listed by church in Appendix 6.

²³ Dodgson, 'Ham'; Dodgson, 'Ingas'; Dodgson, 'New look'.

²⁴ R. Coates, 'Studies and observations on Sussex place-names', *S.A.C.* 118 (1980), pp.309-29; Coates, *Linguistic*; R. Coates, 'Place names before 1066' in *Atlas*, pp.32-4.

²⁵ B. K. Roberts, *The Making of the English Village* (1987), pp.16-7.

²⁶ M. E. Walcott, 'The medieval registers of the bishops of Chichester and kalendar of the episcopal register of Chichester', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 9 (1870), pp.215-55; *Rede Reg.*; *Praty Reg.*; Munby, 'Cart' is a full calendar of the episcopal charters (EpVI/1/1-5) most of which are in *Acta* and *Chl. Chart.* Capitular estate records are Cap I at W.S.R.O. Canterbury sources are in *Cant. Cust.* and M.P.438-99, and *Acta* listed in the bibliography.

²⁷ *Inq. Non*; EpI/25 (1615-93) transcribed as B.L.Add.Ms.39467.

Table 1: Minster Churches in the Study Area Suggested in the Literature

Church	Pre-Conquest	Domesday Book	Post-Conquest documentary evidence	Reference
*Aldingbourne	Kelly, 2.	10 hides between 3 <i>clerici</i> .	Lidsey chapel (p.119).	Blair 1, 2; Gardiner; Rushton.
*Bosham	<i>H.E.</i> p.342.	<i>Clerici</i> holding tithes. 2 churches	Collegiate church, royal free chapel. Rights over Funtington, Apuldram (pp.122-3).	Blair 1, 2; Denton <i>Chapels</i> , pp.44-7; Gardiner; Rushton.
Boxgrove	-	<i>Clerici</i> holding 1 hide.	-	Blair 1, 2; Gardiner; Rushton.
Chichester	Wm. of Malmesbury	16 hides held by <i>canonici</i> of Chichester?	Dean's peculiar of Chichester (pp.114-6).	Blair 1, 2; Gardiner, Munby 'Chichester', pp.322-8, Rushton.
Easebourne	-	-	Chapels: Midhurst, Lodsworth, Fernhurst, Todham in T.P.N.	Page, Gardiner, Rushton, V.C.H. 4, p.53).
Elsted	-	1½ hides and a <i>clericus</i>	-	Blair 2, Rushton.
Iping	-	church scot.	1 hide (p.99).	Blair 2; Gardiner 1; Rushton.
North Mundham	Kelly, 2	½ hide	-	Rushton.
Pagham	S 230	<i>Cleric</i> implied in Tangmere entry?	Chapels: S. Bersted, N. Bersted, St. Andrew, Bognor, two other locations (p.124).	Blair 1; Gardiner; Rushton.
Petworth	-	-	Chapels at Duncton, Egdean, Coates, Tillington River, Lurgashall, North Chapel (pp.140-3).	Gardiner; Rushton; Clarke, thesis, p.159.
*Singleton	-	3½ hides.	Linked to East Dean, West Dean, Chilgrove, Didling, Binderton (pp.129-32).	Page, 'Churches', p. 79; Gardiner 1; Rushton; V.C.H. 4, pp.120-1.
*Selsey	<i>H.E.</i> p.372; <i>Life</i> , pp.82-3.	-	-	Blair 1, 2; Gardiner, Munby, 'Chichester', p.319, Rushton.
Stoughton	-	1½ hides.	East Marden, N. Marden (pp.133-4).	Blair 1, 2; Gardiner; Rushton; Clarke, thesis, p.159.
Tangmere	-	<i>Clerici tenuit de archiepisco.</i>	-	Rushton.
West Thorney	-	4 hides.	-	Gardiner, Rushton.
Walberton	-	Priest with 2 virgates in <i>prebenda</i> .	-	Rushton.
Westbourne	-	2 churches. 4 hides held <i>ad monasterium</i>	-	Gardiner.
West Wittering	Kelly 7, 11.	-	Chapels at E. Wittering, W. Itchenor (p.118).	Blair 1, 2; Gardiner, Rushton.
Blair 1 Blair 2 Gardiner Rushton *	Blair, 'Cuthman', Fig. 1. Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.108-9. M. F. Gardiner, 'Late Saxon Sussex c. 650-1066' in <i>Atlas</i> , pp.30-1. Rushton, 'Parochialisation' and Rushton 'Sussex'. Royal tun or royal centre.			

documents yielded few identifiable locations.²⁸ Information has therefore been pieced together from a variety of sources and fieldwork.

Rights, dues and estates

The Selsey Chartulary, Domesday Book, bishops' *acta* and registers, the Chichester chartulary and those of Lewes and Boxgrove Priors, Durford Abbey and the Norman monasteries are available in translation or transcription.²⁹ Gaps in these published editions are largely filled by recent unpublished research for the purposes of this study.³⁰ For published records reference is made to the most authoritative version, originals have been studied only where a particular point is at issue. Canterbury records relating to the peculiar of Pagham (Fig. 10) were exhaustively studied by Fleming and limited further work has been carried out.³¹ Exeter *acta* and bishops' registers relating to the peculiar of Bosham have all been published. The limitations of the Record Commissioners' volume of the Taxation of Pope Nicholas are well known, and a fuller version, probably dating from the early fourteenth century has been used.³² The indexes of the published papal letters have been searched and sources such as exchequer records, the ministers' and receivers' accounts, charters and pipe rolls have been assessed using the references collected by Leeny, Dunkin and the V.C.H., the on-line search facilities for the British Library and Public Record Office and the indexes in the Rolls Series, Record Commissioners and P.R.O. volumes.³³ The Burrell Collection has also been taken into account.³⁴

Methods

Church Buildings

The fabric of each church within the study area has been surveyed using the methods described by Parsons, Rodwell and Taylor.³⁵ The V.C.H. plans have been used, supplemented by faculty plans and measured drawings. Resistivity surveys were carried out to answer particular questions (Appendix 3) and the documentary sources and illustrations listed in Appendix 2

²⁸ B.L.Add.Mss.39476-504,5687-90.

²⁹ Kelly; *Acta*; Munby, *Cart. Chi. Chart.*; *Lewes Chart.*; *Box. Chart.*; *Durford Chart.*; *C.D.F.*; *Ant. Ch.*

³⁰ Clarke, thesis; Munby, *Cart.*

³¹ M.P.438-99.

³² Record Commissioners, *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P.Nicholai IV, c. 1291* (1802); R. Graham, 'The taxation of Pope Nicholas', *E.H.R.* 23 (1908), pp.434-54; T.P.N.; M.J. Frankin, 'Minsters and parishes, Northamptonshire studies', Unpub. Univ. Cambridge Ph.D. thesis (1982), pp.37-47

³³ *C.P.L.* 1-18; Leeny working papers at Sussex Archaeological Society Library; B.L.Add.Mss.39351-39504..

³⁴ B.L.Add.Mss.5687-90.

³⁵ W. J. Rodwell, *Church Archaeology* (1989), pp.48-111; D. Parsons, *Churches and Chapels: Investigating Places of Worship*, C.B.A. Practical Handbook in Archaeology 8 (1998); T. Cocke, D. Findlay, R. Halsay and E. Williamson, *Recording a Church: an Illustrated Glossary* C.B.A. Practical Handbooks in Archaeology 7 (1989); H.M. Taylor, 'Structural criticism: a pleas for a more systematic study of Anglo-Saxon buildings', *A-S.E.* 1 (1972), pp.259-72.

were consulted. It was decided not to examine churchwardens' accounts before the nineteenth century or newspapers since the information yielded does not repay the large amount of time taken. Following Taylor, a classification was prepared based on: materials; constructional techniques; sculpture and architectural sculpture; wall openings (doorways, windows, arches and arcades); and plans. These categories were assessed in terms of: absolute dating from documentary and excavation evidence; comparison with similar dated features outside the study area; and development within individual buildings and groups of buildings. From this, a chronology was developed and accounts for each church up to c. 1200 are given as information sheets in Volume 2. The references given on each sheet are those strictly relevant to the study: they are not intended to be complete bibliographies. Comparisons are also made with minor churches in Normandy on the basis of a 10 day field visit, but the French literature has not been explored.

Topography

Four types of topographical analysis have been undertaken: the interpretation of past land use; assessment of boundaries and their relationship to early estates; an analysis of glebes; and the study of churchyards, enclosures and manorial buildings. The first has relied principally on early maps, studies of the Sussex landscape and place-names.³⁶ For the second, parish boundaries have been plotted from the tithe maps, although because of their complexity and the number of very small outliers they cannot always be shown with complete accuracy in the figures. They have been widely used in the interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon landscape and many studies have shown correspondence between them and Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries.³⁷ Within the study area there are few instances of this, although there are several to the east.³⁸ While they have to be used with caution, not least because even by the 1840s it was not always clear where the boundary was on the remoter wastes and commons, they are taken as indicators of old, possibly pre-Conquest, land units.

Analysis of church lands began with adjusting the glebe shown on the tithe maps against the glebe terriers and Parliamentary Surveys to establish the position in the seventeenth century. Lands which had become part of lay estates after the Reformation were occasionally traceable. It was assumed that if the glebe had the same area in the *Inquisitiones Nonarum* as it did in the seventeenth century, it was probably the same land, but accurate plotting beyond the seventeenth century was possible in only a few cases, based on capitular and episcopal records.

³⁶ E.g. Brandon, thesis; E.M. Yates, *A History of the Landscapes of the Parishes of South Harting and Rogate Harting Papers 3* (1972).

³⁷ W.G. Hoskins, *Fieldwork in Local History* (1967), pp.34-40; D. J. Bonney, 'Early boundaries and estates in southern England' in *English Settlement*, pp.41-51.

³⁸ Pagham (S. 230); East Dean (Kelly, 4); Tangmere (S. 230); S.E. Kelly, *Charters of Shaftsbury Abbey*. Anglo-Saxon Charters 5 (1996), 17; P.F. Brandon, 'Introduction, the Saxon heritage' in *South Saxons*, p.78; M. Welch, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex: from *civitas* to shire' in *South Saxons*, pp.32-3; Bell, 'Saxon settlements', p.44; H. Warne, 'Stanmer a restructured settlement', *S.A.C.* 127 (1989), pp.192-4.

Enclosures around churches include larger enclosures defined by lanes, banks or field boundaries as well as churchyards. The area around each church was examined in the field with the aid of Ordnance Survey and tithe maps and air photographs, and sketch plans of probable enclosures marked by substantial boundaries or changes in level were prepared. Examples of these are on Figs. 19-25.

Rights, Dues and Relationships

In this type of study it is easy to fall into circular arguments: e.g. a *parochia* defines an estate, and an estate defines a *parochia*, or potential minsters are identified and the often very ambiguous evidence for the churches around them is interpreted to allocate them to *parochia*. A critical view needs to be taken of the documentary evidence in terms of the meaning of words (e.g. *capella*) and what particular actions really meant. For example when a church was granted to a religious house, what was actually given?³⁹ Was it a right to an income which might give rise to a later pension, or did the monks take full possession of the church and its lands? No attempt has been made, therefore, to prepare a definitive list of minsters until all of the evidence has been fully examined in Chapters 6-9. But in order to set the scene, Table 1 gives minsters within the study area identified in recent studies and Appendix 4 gives suggested minsters within Sussex outside the study area. These include the charter evidence and the Domesday Book evidence, according to Blair's criteria of:

reference to groups of *clerici*, *presbyteri* or *canonici*;

endowment of at least one hide;

tenure of the church or its land separately from the parent manor, especially if the tenant is a royal clerk or other named ecclesiastic;

separate valuation of churches and surveys of their assets;

miscellaneous marks of status, including named dedications, eleemosynary exemptions from geld, and (very occasionally) references to church-scot or rights over neighbouring churches or chapels;

'royal or episcopal ownership has not in itself been used as ground for inclusion, but has been held in favour in some doubtful cases'.⁴⁰

³⁹ Clarke, thesis, pp.117-22; B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the twelfth century', *J.E.H.* 31.2 (1980), pp.133-60.

⁴⁰ Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.106.

From this, Selsey, Aldingbourne, Bosham, Pagham, Singleton, West Wittering, Boxgrove, west Thorney, St. Peter's Chichester and Stoughton emerge as possible minsters on the basis of Anglo-Saxon or Domesday Book evidence with Easebourne, North Mundham, Iping, Elsted, Tangmere, Westbourne, Petworth, and Walberton suggested in the literature (Fig. 14).

The Interpretation of Evidence

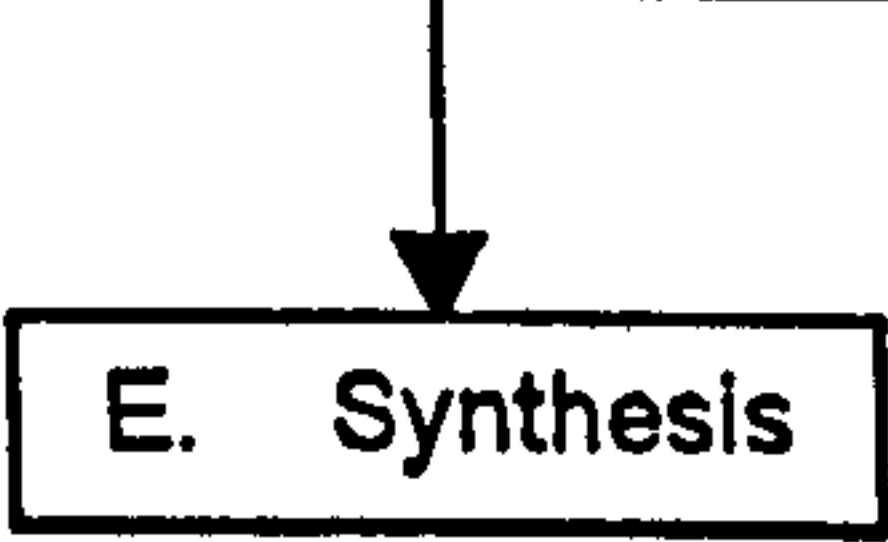
Within each type of evidence there is a gradient of certainty as suggested on Table 2. There is firm physical or contemporary documentary evidence (A), evidence which requires a deduction from good sources of a later period (B) and cases which have to be argued from limited later evidence (C). For example, some churches, have plans or wall openings which can be fitted into well-established typologies in published work (A). At an intermediate stage there are features that are probable, such as originally unitary naves interpreted by a study of arcades (B), and finally there are possibilities, such as lost plans traceable from present structures and alignments (C). For Anglo-Saxon estate boundaries there is a similar gradient from contemporary charter evidence through interpretation of parish boundaries combined with post-Conquest references, to purely field interpretation.

In practice, when considering aspects of individual buildings, sites or land units, preference is given to the best available evidence of whatever type and this presents few difficulties. For instance, for the Anglo-Saxon period there is very limited evidence afforded by church fabric: first importance has to be given to charter evidence followed by place-names and then by post-Conquest sources and fieldwork. The real difficulty comes in identifying patterns and trends with each category (D) and drawing together all information (E) to give accounts of particular areas or periods. The amount of speculation in these processes can be reduced by minimising assumptions and by avoiding general models. For example interpretation of church plans was initially confused because some researchers and restorers assumed that the two-cell church with square chancel was the earliest plan, tending to find it where there is evidence to the contrary. Similarly, Page's idea that there was one minster for each hundred can lead to attempts to make the only high-status post-Conquest church in a hundred a minster, or to reject a possible minster because one is already known in the hundred.⁴¹ There is an inevitable danger of circular arguments in this study but it can be reduced by using best available evidence and minimising assumptions.

⁴¹ Page, 'Churches', pp.61-4. J. Croom, 'The minster *parochiae* of south-east Shropshire' in Blair, *Minsters*, p.72 argues against a minster at Cleobury Mortimer because there was another minster within the same hundred. Hase, 'Hampshire', p.46 rejects Nursling as a minster site because it is too close to Eling and Southampton, despite its association with *Nuhtscelle* where St. Boniface was educated.

TABLE 2: Categories and Analysis of Evidence

	FABRIC	SETTING	BOUNDARIES	STATUS/ RELATIONSHIPS
A.	Dateable plan/feature.	Earthworks/building.	Charter description.	Contemporary source or authentic chartulary entry.
B.	Multiple evidence for lost features – e.g. unitary nave.	Description of lost features, evidence of glebe.	Parish boundaries for individual estates. Detailed later descriptions.	Implied relationships in customals, charter, etc.
C.	Ghost of earlier plan.	Analogy with another site.	Large estates defined from amalgam of parish boundary evidence.	Retrospective due, e.g. pension with no evidence of origin.
D.	Identification of patterns and trends within each category.			



3: LAND USE, SETTLEMENT AND LAND UNITS

Chapters 4-10 require an understanding of the landscape within the study area, its natural resources, medieval land use, the pattern and chronology of settlement and early territories and estates. This chapter discusses these, taking account of adjacent areas in Hampshire and Sussex where necessary.

Topography and Land Use

Fig. 4 shows the study area in the context of Sussex as a whole, while Figs. 10, 11 and 12 show its features, geology and probable medieval land use.¹ It consists of four units: the coastal plain, the Downs, the Rother Valley and the Weald. On the coastal plain, fertile brickearths and alluvium form a mosaic with areas of poor soil, many of which were still commons in the eighteenth century. Fig. 12 shows the approximate extent of these, together with the location of commons of unknown extent mentioned in medieval and later sources. The former abundance of woodland is evident from *leah* (Fig. 13) names and documentary evidence, and there were extensive salt and freshwater marshes.² It is generally considered that the plain was about a mile further south at the end of the Roman period.³ Parishes like Bracklesham have now been reduced to fragments and other settlements have been lost to the sea.⁴ Until the nineteenth century, Selsey and West Thorney were islands and tidal channels (rifes) extended a long way inland. The Anglo-Saxon landscape was thus one of low ground separated by extensive strips of alluvial marsh.⁵

Between the northern edge of the coastal plain and the dip slope of the Downs, head deposits and gravels gave rise to large commons such as Hambrook and The Broyle. To the north, the valley of the upper Lavant, with small settlements evenly spaced along it, curves through the Downs from north east to south west. The long ridges of the dip slope are capped with clay-with-flints and abundant ancient woodland, such as the royal hunting grounds of Stansted Forest.⁶ To the west, within Hampshire, the Forest of Bere extended

¹ EpI/I/5, ff.95-99v of c. 1378 list commons in Manhood hundred. Brandon, thesis, pp.327-353 lists parks and pp.334-342 lists commons enclosed between 1500 and 1700. Other information is taken from the eighteenth-century maps (Above, p.33, fn.19).

² Smith, *Elements* 2, pp.18-22; Gelling, *Place-names*, pp.198-207. The Manhood peninsula is named after the *maene wudu* or common wood (Mawer and Stenton, p.79; Kelly, p.20). Bede described Bosham as '*siluis et mari circumdatum*' (*H.E.* p.372).

³ A map of 1672 in Heron-Allen, *Selsey*, shows the tip of the island c. 100m further south than at present. F. G. Aldsworth 'Prehistoric and Roman Selsey', *S.A.C.* 125 (1987) Fig. 1 shows a linear rate of erosion since that time. V.C.H.4, p.205 suggest ½ mile of erosion of the coastal plain as a whole since the eleventh century and D. Robinson, 'The coast and coastal changes' in *Atlas*, p.8 gives 5-7km in the past 2000 years.

⁴ Brandon, 'Introduction: the Saxon heritage', in *South Saxons*, pp.1-12; S.W. Wooldridge and F. Golding, *The Weald* (1953), pp.196-197.

⁵ E.M. Yates, 'The *meare* marsh of Merston', *S.A.C.* 113 (1975), p.118.

⁶ V.C.H.4., p.122.

from the coastal plain to the edge of the Weald. Vast common pastures covered much of the Downs, some of which remained unenclosed until the nineteenth century.

Beneath the steep, wooded Downs scarp, colluvium has accumulated on a shelf of the Upper Greensand to form fertile soils. Settlements were close to the many springs that emerge at the scarp foot. Northwards, there is an abrupt change to the infertile, poorly-drained Gault Clay and the impoverished Folkestone Sands. These give rise to a zone of commons and marshes between the scarp foot and the fertile land of the Sandgate Beds along the River Rother. Beyond the river, commons and woodland on the poor sands and clays have dominated the landscape down to the present day.⁷

Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon Settlement

There was substantial Roman and Romano-British settlement in the study area. The new town of Chichester was at its centre and villas were frequent within the coastal plain, the downland valleys and to a lesser extent along the Rother Valley (Fig. 13).⁸ They included large complexes like Chilgrove within the Downs and there were many minor sites. Stane Street and other roads radiated from Chichester. Margary track 8 ran from Chichester through Singleton and Cocking to Hazlemere and Stane Street, there was a road through Iping extending northwards across the Weald and roads into the Manhood Peninsula.⁹ There is evidence for Roman sites and finds beneath, or close to, seven churches and a lead cistern with a chi-rho monogram has been found just to the east of the study area.¹⁰ But there is no evidence for continuity of Roman Christianity or of continuity of use of these sites. A possible Irish connection is raised by Blair's discussion of similarity of the St. Cuthman legend to early Irish hagiographies. He notes the link between Cuthman's traditional birthplace at Chidham and Bosham where Dicuill ruled an Irish *monasteriolum* in 681, but is difficult to convert this to evidence of Christian activity before the 680s.¹¹

⁷ Wooldridge, *Weald*, pp.82-8; S.G. McRae and C.P. Barnham, 'The soils of the Weald', *Proceedings of the Geological Association* 86.4 (1975), pp.593-610.

⁸ D. Rudling, 'The development of Roman villas in Sussex', *S.A.C.* 136 (1998), pp.41-66; M. W. Pitts, 'A gazetteer of Roman sites and finds on the Sussex coastal plain', *S.A.C.* 117, pp.63-83; M. Bell and T. Tatton-Brown, 'A field survey of the parish of Elsted and adjacent areas, west Sussex', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* 12 (1975), pp.58-64; J. Magilton, 'Elsted: the Roman villa of Batten Hanger', *A.C.D.* (1991), pp.22-7.

⁹ H.D. Margary, *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1968), p.265; J. Magilton, 'Roman roads in the Manhood Peninsula', *A.C.D.* (1996), pp.31-4.

¹⁰ G.M. Hills, 'The church of West Hampnett, Sussex', *S.A.C.* 21 (1869), pp.33-43. Iping: S.M.R.1163/4. Singleton: finds on display in church. Bosham: Pitts, 'Gazeteer', p.9 sh.O2; St. Olave, Chichester; P.Freeman, 'On some antiquities lately discovered in St. Olave's church, Chichester', *S.A.C.* 5 (1852), pp.213-38. Cathedral: A. Down and M. Rule, *Excavation* 1 (1971), pp.127-42. West Thorney: finds in church. Warblington: Hampshire S.M.R. SU70NW A,B: brick, tesserae, pottery in graveyard. E.C. Curwen, 'Roman lead cistern from Pulborough, Sussex', *Ant. J.* 23 (1943), pp.155-7. Roman material built into churches is discussed on pp.52-3.

¹¹ Blair, 'Cuthman', pp.172-3; below p.106.

Although most of the villas were deserted or had declined to squatter settlements by the late fourth century, a Germanic garrison at Chichester has been suggested largely on the basis of a belt buckle of the late fourth/early fifth centuries.¹² There is pottery evidence of late civilian activity and a *solidius* of 425 x 55 may indicate sub-Roman occupation.¹³ The absence of pagan Saxon burials, together with the alleged occurrence of early Anglo-Saxon place-names only around the coast, in contrast to the clusters of pagan sites further east, led Munby, Hill and others to propose a sub-Roman stronghold around Chichester.¹⁴ This was supported by the presence of sixth-century burials principally along the crest of the Downs above Chichester at Appledown, West Stoke and Singleton, and an occupation site just outside the county boundary at Chalton.¹⁵ However the soil conditions, continuous occupation and cultivation around the many small settlement sites on the coastal plain mean that archaeological evidence for any period is largely dependent on intensive fieldwork and excavation. Where this has been undertaken the evidence is rich.¹⁶ Moreover, the paucity of sixth- to eight-century finds within Chichester may not be conclusive. They are also very sparse at Canterbury where Anglo-Saxon use of the city, at least for royal and ecclesiastical purposes, is evident from charters and church fabric: both cities had a deep layer of organic material covering most areas in the post-Roman period.¹⁷ The fragility of the mid-Anglo-Saxon material means that it may not have been traced in early excavations, or was destroyed by later medieval development. The best evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation comes from the north-west quadrant, which was deserted until the end of the sixteenth century (Fig. 33).

Recent place-name interpretations support early Anglo-Saxon occupation of the coastal plain. *Ham* is now recognised as probably the earliest Anglo-Saxon place-name element.¹⁸ In Sussex it is very difficult to separate it from *hamm*, since most major pre-Conquest sites are likely to be near water.¹⁹ Nevertheless, eight probable *hams* and two *ham-stedes* are found on the edge of the coastal plain, and, more surprisingly, on the slopes of the Downs (Graffham, Up Waltham) and in the Rother Valley (Selham). There are five *burnas* and six

¹² D. Hill, 'The origin of the Saxon towns', in Brandon, *South Saxons*, p.177.

¹³ Munby, 'Chichester', p.322.

¹⁴ Munby, 'Chichester', p.315; Hill, 'Towns', p.178; M.G. Welch, 'Late Romans and Saxons in Sussex', *Britannia* 2 (1971), pp.232-7.

¹⁵ A. Down and M. Rule, *Excavations* 7 (1990), pp.11-76; Welch 2, pp.502-5; above, p.32.

¹⁶ A.B. Powell and A.P. Fitzpatrick, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery and un-dated features' in A. P. Fitzpatrick ed., *Archaeological Excavation on the Route of the A27 Westhampnett Bypass, West Sussex* (1992), pp.287-95. C. Place, Sussex Archaeological Society Conference, April 2000 described multi-period activity around Ford.

¹⁷ Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.16-7; K. Blockley, et al., *Excavations at the Marlow Street Car Park and Surrounding Areas*, *Archaeology of Canterbury* 5 (1995), pp.19-21, 463-5. A small amount of seventh- and eighth-century pottery has been found in Chichester (A. Down, *Roman Chichester* (1988), p.105).

¹⁸ Dodgson, 'Ham', pp.1-20.

¹⁹ Dodgson, 'New look', pp.61-2, 80-7.

egs which, according to Cox are likely to be early.²⁰ With one exception, these are on the coastal plain (Fig. 13).

Names ending in *-ingas* are now considered to relate to a period of expansion and boundary definition in the sixth century and not the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement.²¹ There is a remarkable number of them in Sussex: Dodgson listed 44, compared with 14 in Kent and eight in Surrey.²² These cannot all be the names of territories as large as those of the *Haestingas* (Fig. 2) or even the *Rodingas*. Fig. 5 shows that within Sussex as a whole they lie mainly at the edges of natural features: in the east they are around the edges of the probable early Bexhill estate, the Pevensey Levels and the Downs east of the River Ouse.²³ Further west they are on the scarp slope between Lewes and Steyning, on opposite banks of the River Adur, close to the coast between the Arun and the Adur, at the edge of the Manhood Peninsula, the edge of the Downs dip slope and beneath the scarp slope. They appear to mark not Anglo-Saxon colonisation around the edge of an area, but rather the outer boundaries of land units. There is some similarity with Kent, where they lie mainly on sites which could have been wastes or uncolonised land between early centres and at the boundary between east and west Kent.²⁴ In the Arun-Adur section of Sussex they appear to be at the southern edges of 'archipelago' estates of the Kentish type extending into the Weald.²⁵ Within the study area the scarp foot *-ingas* names could have been at the edges of much smaller territories. Wittering and Ippering could mark the edges of a unit with its western boundary at the edge of the Manhood Peninsula. Ashling may relate to a Downland unit, and Oving may mark the western edge of a unit, not least because the nearby *ufesford* in the Pagham boundary description, which may be seventh- or eighth-century, has the same personal name element.²⁶

The survival of these territories and their names could reflect the slow emergency of Sussex as an administrative or territorial entity. This is apparent in the survival of the *Haestingas* into the eleventh century and the contradictory Kentish charter evidence of what constituted the territory of the South Saxons in the eighth century.²⁷ It may be similar to the early history of the Middle Saxons where a dominant kingdom failed to emerge from a cluster of

²⁰ Dodgson, 'New look', pp.70-2; B. Cox, 'The place-names of the earliest English records', *J.E.P.N.S.* 8 (1976), pp.58-61.

²¹ Gelling, *Signposts*, pp.105-10; R. Coates, 'Place-names before 1066' in *Atlas*, p.32.

²² Dodgson, '*-ingas*', pp.21-27; Dodgson, 'New look', pp.64-5; Coates, *Linguistic History*, pp.19-23 discusses the authenticity of some of these names and concludes that they are genuine, but R. Coates, 'The plural of singular-*ing*: an alternative application of Old English *-ingas*' in A.R. Rumble and A.D. Mills, eds, *Names, Places and People* (1997), pp.26-49 identifies Steyning as probably a plural of *-ing*.

²³ For Bexhill, see Gardiner, 'Hastings', pp.38-48.

²⁴ S. Kirk, 'A distribution pattern: *-ingas* in Kent', *J.E.P.N.S.* 4 (1971-2), pp.37-49.

²⁵ J.E.A. Jolliffe, *Pre-Feudal England: the Jutes* (1933), p.7; Copley, 'Stane Street', pp.98-104.

²⁶ S. 230; Kelly, pp.99-103; below, p.125.

²⁷ M. Welch, 'The kingdom of the South Saxons' in *Origins*, pp.78-9 quoting S.24,1193.

petty kingdoms represented by *-ingas* names.²⁸ It seems quite likely, therefore, that Anglo-Saxon occupation, at least on the Downs and coastal plain was substantially completed in the sixth century. There is little evidence of survival of British names, although there was a Walton and *wialesflet* at Bosham.²⁹ Perhaps the 250 slaves that St. Wilfrid released in 680-1 were part of a servile British population.³⁰

Mid and Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement

On the coastal plain and in the Rother Valley the scarcity of known occupation sites of the mid and late Anglo-Saxon periods may well be because they lie underneath present-day settlements.³¹ There is documentary evidence for the establishment of minsters at Bosham, Wittering, Selsey and Mundham/Aldingbourne by the end of the eighth century (Table 1) and an occupation site close to Pagham church was abandoned at about this time.³² A sixth-century urn found within Pagham churchyard has been cited as proof of continuity between pagan and Christian use, but the evidence is incomplete.³³ A site at Medmerry near Selsey was in use for longer.³⁴ Late Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence, apart from the churches discussed in the following chapter, is largely confined to finds adjacent to churches at Harting, Walberton and Aldingbourne and next to the probable post-Conquest *aula* at Nytimber belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury.³⁵

On the Downs, there appears to have been a shift from hilltop sites to ones lower down and ultimately to the valley bottoms, as proposed by Cunliffe for the Charlton area (although elsewhere on the Hampshire chalk there is increasing evidence of occupation in the valley bottoms from at least the Roman period).³⁶ The pagan cemetery at Appledown (Fig. 10), next to a probable Christian one had been abandoned by the late seventh century. But a hilltop occupation site 800 m away adjacent to Up Marden church was in use until the end of the eighth century and mid-Anglo-Saxon buildings have been found at North Marden and Up Waltham (a probable *ham*).³⁷ Compton, towards the head of a dry valley about 1.7 km from

²⁸ K. Bailey, 'The Middle Saxons' in *Origins*, pp.108-122.

²⁹ Coates, *Linguistic History*, pp.17; Mawer and Stenton, p.80; Kelly, 20; below, p.123.

³⁰ *H.E.*, pp.374-6.

³¹ Bell, 'Saxon settlement', pp.36-53.

³² *H.E.*, p.374; Kelly, 2,7; V.L. Gregory, 'Excavations at Becket's Barn, Pagham, West Sussex', (1974), *S.A.C.* 114 (1976), pp.207-217.

³³ A.H. Collins, 'Saxon urn from Pagham churchyard', *S.N.Q.* 14 (1955), pp.207-17; Bell, 'Saxon settlement', p.51.

³⁴ G.M. White, 'A settlement of the South Saxons', *Antiq. J.* 14 (1934), pp.393-400.

³⁵ M.P.2677,2690,2691 (Harting); C. Place and M. Gardiner, 'A collection of late Anglo-Saxon pottery from St. Mary's Church, Walberton', *S.A.C.* 132 (1994), p.194; Bell, 'Saxon settlement', p.51; Guernonprez, pp.145-55.

³⁶ Above, p.32, fn.9; C. Lewis and P. Mitchell Fox, 'Settlement in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight', *M.S.R.G.A.R.* (1995), p.8; M.G. Welch, 'Rural settlement patterns in the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods', *Landscape History* 7 (1985), pp.15-25;

³⁷ A. Down, *Excavations* 7, pp.1-10; P. Drewett, *et. al.*, 'The excavation of a Saxon sunken building at North Marden, West Sussex 1982', *S.A.C.* 124 (1986), pp.109-18.

Appledown may have been a staging post in the move to the valley bottoms, as may Graffham (another probable *ham*) where the church and manor house are on the valley side away from the main settlement around the spring line (Fig. 30C). All other substantial medieval downland settlements appear to have been along the valley bottoms, principally in the upper Lavant and south west of Stoughton where the predominance of *tun* names, with a sprinkling of *worths* support the idea of a 'middle Saxon shift' (Figs. 13, 16).³⁸ *Tuns* and *worths* are also found in clusters on the coastal plain and in the Rother Valley and may be related to the formation of small estates and manorialisation.³⁹

Transhumance and Intercommoning

Pannage in the Weald and grazing on the Downs, the coastal plain commons and the marshes were essential to the medieval economy (Figs. 8, 12).⁴⁰ Jolliffe proposed Wealden and Downland pastures common to the whole of a rape, similar to those of a Kentish lathe, suggesting Arundel Park and Charlton Forest for the rape of Earl Roger (Fig. 12).⁴¹ There is no evidence for this, although Warblington, attached to the manor of Westbourne in 1066 but within Hampshire, shared in the common grazing of the *Meonware* in Bere Forest.⁴² However, a more localised pattern was certainly present (Appendix 1), best illustrated by Gardiner's study of the Weald in the rapes of Chichester and Arundel. In the east, particularly within the large parish of Kirdford, land was divided between many manors and outliers with frequent *falods*.⁴³ In contrast, much of the Wealden part of Chichester rape comprised strip parishes with nearby outliers, showing a complex sharing out of different types of common and waste (Fig. 40). To the east and west of these, outlying pastures were mainly clustered in distinct groups, such as *Buttesworth* marsh, the northern part of Rogate parish and Fernhurst/Linchmere, but they pertained largely to settlements north of the Downs.⁴⁴ Some settlements were even closer to their pastures, such as River, Petworth, Tillington and Upperton clustered around the edge of River/Petworth Commons (Fig. 12).

Within the Downs, almost every parish had land extending from the valley bottom up through common pastures to woodland on the clay-with-flints. Many manors showed a similar pattern. By the later Middle Ages there was a sophisticated system of folding the sheep from the Downs on the small common fields around each village, and only at

³⁸ Costen, 'Worth', pp.65-83; H. Hamerow, 'Settlement mobility and the "Middle Saxon Shift": rural settlement and settlement patterns on Anglo-Saxon England', *A-S.E.* 20 (1991), pp.1-17.

³⁹ R. Coates, 'Place-names before 1066' in *Atlas*, pp.32-4.

⁴⁰ P.F. Brandon, 'The South Saxon *Andredesweald*' in *South Saxons*, pp.135-139; Brandon, *South Downs*, pp.47-57; Brandon, thesis, pp.42-4.

⁴¹ Jolliffe, *Jutes*, p.90.

⁴² D.B. p.425; Jolliffe, *Jutes*, p.82.

⁴³ Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77; Smith, *Elements* 1, pp.164-5; Brandon, 'Andredsweald', p.150.

⁴⁴ Gardiner, 'Weald', pp.79-82.

West/East Dean and Slindon have outliers beyond the Downs been traced (Appendix 1).⁴⁵ South of the Downs there was a similar absence of long-distance links (Fig. 12). On the western part of the coastal plain, Hambrook Common, the *maene-wudu* between West Wittering and Sidlesham and the commons northwards from The Broyle were used by the surrounding settlements.⁴⁶ To the east, the meres and marshes along the rifes served the same function and the settlements on the northern edge of the plain had access to the commons and woods at the edge of the dip slope.⁴⁷ Only a few outlying pastures of coastal plain manors in the Weald are known (Appendix 1). The custumals of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Pagham estate refer to movement of animals between the coastal plain and the Wealden part of Slindon, but since the latter was only acquired between 1086 and 1106 there is no parallel with the archbishop's possible multiple estate at South Malling.⁴⁸ The long drove routes from coastal manors to the Weald, which characterise eastern Sussex and Kent, are absent: the westernmost example of a dispersed estate of the Kentish type appears to be that of the *Polingas* along the Arun proposed by Copley (Fig. 2).⁴⁹ There was thus not a simple pattern of exploitation of the interior from the edge, as proposed for south-eastern England in general, but a more complex one in which settlements on the pockets of good land on the coastal plain, Downs and Rother Valley had abundant pannage and grazing, generally no more than 5-10 km away.⁵⁰

Territories and Estates

The location and nature of the earliest Anglo-Saxon land units requires consideration of the rapes and rural deaneries across Sussex as a whole. The Domesday Book rapes were undoubtedly post-Conquest creations, but were not contemporary: Bramber rape was formed between 1070 and 1073 by taking land from Earl Roger's rape and the rape of Lewes, and it is possible that Pevensey rape was also a late development (Fig. 4).⁵¹ There may thus have originally been three units: the rape of Hastings, which appears to preserve the boundaries of the *Haestingas* first mentioned in 771 and still distinguished from the rest

⁴⁵ Brandon, *South Downs*, pp.58-64; Gardiner 'Weald', p.81.

⁴⁶ The parishes of Chidham, Racton, Funtington and Westbourne included parts of Hambrook Common which extended further south into Chidham Parish before 1673 (Brandon, thesis, p.335). Yeakell and Gardener show commons extending from West Wittering to Donnington and EpVI/1/5ff.95-9 describes rights of common for Sidlesham, Donnington, Highleigh and other settlement around Manhood Common. Before 1552 Sidlesham common was 400 acres larger (Brandon, thesis, p.340). Place-names on the edge of the common (e.g. Newick Farm), imply late clearance. Commons at East Lavant, Fishbourne and West Stoke had been enclosed before 1795. The Broyle common was emparked by the Bishop of Chichester in 1278 X 79 (B.L.Add.Ms.5689,f.92).

⁴⁷ Commons at Aldingbourne, Eastergate, Hunston and Walberton were enclosed before 1700 (Brandon, thesis, pp.326,336-342).

⁴⁸ *Cant. Cust.*, pp.1-20; M.P.448 transcribing Bod.L.Tanner Ms.223; Jones, 'Multiple estates', pp.9-34.

⁴⁹ Brandon, *Landscape*, pp.71-75; K.P. Witney, *The Jutish Forest as Study of the Weald of Kent from 450 A.D. to 1380 A.D.* (1976), pp.56-77; Copley, 'Stane Street', pp.98-104.

⁵⁰ P.F. Brandon and B.G. Short, *The South East from AD 1000* (1990), pp.12-15.

⁵¹ Above, p.33, fn.15.

of Sussex in 1011; a western area defined by the boundary between the archdeaconries of Chichester and Lewes; and the remainder of eastern Sussex.⁵² Several authors have suggested that the two principal divisions may have accorded with the two kings, and, under Mercian rule, the two earldoms mentioned in the seventh and eighth centuries.⁵³ These or other units may have been called rapes before the Conquest, since the Domesday Book entry for the customs of Lewes seems to imply that some form of rape existed T.R.E.⁵⁴ Jolliffe suggested that rape was an early term for land division in south-eastern England, having found the phrase '*fortis rapum*' in a Surrey charter of 947.⁵⁵

The rural deaneries, which are post-Conquest institutions, fit within the rape boundaries once the origin of Bramber rape has been explained.⁵⁶ In some places such as Cumbria deanery boundaries appear to have been broadly similar to those of pre-Conquest territorial units, and this may have been the case in western Sussex.⁵⁷ The boundary between Midhurst, Boxgrove and Arundel deaneries lies just behind the scarp crest of the Downs (Fig. 4). This forms a similar division to the one along the Hogs Back which separates the *regiones* of western Surrey, creating units of about the same size as the territories of the *Sunningas* and *Readingas* in Berkshire (Fig. 2).⁵⁸ It also appears to be marked by *-ingas* names (Fig. 6) and may well have continued westwards into present-day Hampshire up to the boundary of East Meon *parochia* and probable *regio* just south of Butser Hill. It would have included the downland ridge on which lie Chalton and Catherington with their evidence of pagan South Saxon activity.⁵⁹ The eastern edge is indistinct. The western edge of Arundel deanery follows the boundary of the rape of Chichester, and the northern boundary is cut by the *Polingas* estate. However, the deaneries of Midhurst and Boxgrove correspond with the location of manors which had *hagae* in Chichester (Fig. 18), perhaps taking these units back to at least the late ninth century.⁶⁰

It is tempting to see cultural distinctions between the compact *regiones* of Berkshire, eastern Hampshire and western Sussex on the one hand, and the linear *regiones*, rapes and lathes to the east. However, they are more likely to be topographical, since the central and eastern

⁵² T. Arnold ed., *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia Historia Regum* R.S. 75.2 (1885), p.44; A.S.C., pp.91,114; C. Adams 'Medieval administration' in *Atlas*, pp.40-1

⁵³ Kelly, pp.lxxv-lxxviii; Welch, 'Kingdom', pp.78-80.

⁵⁴ D. B., p.354 and Salzman's footnote.

⁵⁵ Jolliffe, *Jutes*, p.85; S. 528.

⁵⁶ W. Hudson, 'The ancient deaneries of the diocese of Chichester', S.A.C. 55 (1912), p.179-88.

⁵⁷ A. H. Thompson, 'Diocesan organisation in the Middle Ages', *Proc. Brit. Academy* 29 (1943), pp.179-84; A.J.L. Winchester, 'The multiple estate, a framework for the evolution of settlement in Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavia Cumbria' in J.R. Baldwin and I.D. Whyte, eds, *The Scandinavians in Cumbria* (1985), pp.89-101; Early medieval institutions were different in Cumbria and there were variations at the edges between the rural deaneries and early units but the principle of broad boundary continuity seems to apply.

⁵⁸ Blair, *Surrey*, Fig. 8; M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire* 3, E.P.N.S. 51 (1976), p.815.

⁵⁹ Hase, 'Hampshire', pp.303-4.

⁶⁰ Below, pp.111-2.

parts of Sussex, the eastern half of Surrey and central Kent are characterised by large areas of infertile Weald Clay and sandstone with very narrow fertile strips at their extreme edges, in contrast to the less localised pattern of good land to the west.

If an early territorial structure was provided by these *regiones*, a pattern of estates appears to have fitted within them, based around the royal and ecclesiastical centres listed in Table 3 which, as might be expected, generally lay in the lower river valleys, coastal inlets and scarp foot zone (Fig. 6). These estates certainly preceded the hundreds, which in Sussex were very variable, fluid and weakly structured institutions. In 1066 they ranged from 258½ hides at Steyning to one and a half hides at *Latille* and were in state of flux then and subsequently.⁶¹ For instance, the six and a half hides on the Manhood Peninsula which formed Earl Roger's hundred of Wittering T.R.W. were absorbed back into the hundred of Manhood shortly afterwards, while *Ghidenetroi* hundred is only recorded in Domesday Book.⁶² In contrast to most of the rest of England, the hundreds were not the units of local administration after the Conquest, and their courts were superseded by those of the rapes. The chief local official was the bailiff of the rape, not the hundred. There were only nine hundredal manors out of 59 Domesday Book hundreds, compared with 28 out of 38 in Hampshire so that there were no institutions to maintain their integrity.⁶³ They seem more likely to have been based on units of local regulation since 41 out of 59 hundred centres have central meeting places remote from major settlement (Fig. 6) but the antiquity of these units is unknown.⁶⁴

The Anglo-Saxon Landscape

The Anglo-Saxon landscape of the study area appears to have been a diverse and fragmented one in which permanent settlement sites, lying mainly close to water and valley bottoms, were separated by very large tracts of commons and waste. Contrary to established opinion, the area may have been settled at an early date in the Anglo-Saxon period. Seasonal movement of stock was over short distances because woodland, heath, marsh and downland were within easy reach. As economic units, therefore, estates were likely to be quite compact, and they fitted within a pattern of *regiones* similar to central southern England. The form and development of these estates is integral to a discussion of the church in the Anglo-Saxon period which is developed in Chapters 7-10 after the evidence of churches, their setting, lands, rights and dues have been discussed in the following chapters.

⁶¹ Haselgrove, pp.213, 218; O.S. Anderson, *The Hundred-Names of the South-Eastern Counties* (1939), pp.66-108.

⁶² D. B., pp.427, 425; Mawer and Stenton, p.79.

⁶³ Cam, *Manerium*, pp.81-3.

⁶⁴ Gelling, *Signposts*, pp.209-14; Thorn, pp.26-40.

TABLE 3: Royal Centres in Sussex		
Royal centre	T.R.E. estate in hides	References
Aldingbourne	36	S.Rt, p.290; below, pp.81-2.
Alciston	50	D.B., p.393.
Angmering	10	S.Rt, p.290.
Beddingham	60*	S.Rt, p.291.
Broadwater	29	D.B., p.447.
Beeding	32	S.Rt, p.291. S.168.
Bosham	100*	D.B., pp.387; below, pp.119-3.
Burpham	5	D.B., p.429; Burghal Hidage. ¹
Compton?	10	A.W., p.431; D.B., p.426; S.1503.
Cocking	12	D.B., p.422; below, pp.145-6.
Singleton/Dene	97 ½	S.Rt., p.293, D.B., p.421.
Eastbourne	46	D.B., p.408. ²
Ditchling	46	S. Rt., p.392.
Falmer	21	D.B., p.436; S.550. ³
Felpham	21	S. Rt., p.294; below, pp.141.
Filsham	15 (no geld)	D.B., p.397.
Hamsey	25	S. Rt., p.294.
Lancing	16	D.B., p.449.
Lewes	Borough	D.B., p.435.
Lyminster	20 (no geld)	S. Rt., p.295; D.B., pp.428-9.
Petworth	9 + 1	D.B., p.423; below, pp.142-5.
Pevensay	Borough	D.B., p.407. ⁴
Pulborough	16	D.B., p.428.
Rotherfield	3	S. Rt., p.296.
Rameslie	20	D.B., p.391.
Selsey	10	Life, p.82.
Steyning	99h 7 ac.	S. Rt., p.296.
Sutton	8 ½	S. Rt., p.296.
Dean (East Sussex)?	100	Hazelgrove, p.215; D.B., pp.411-2.
<p>S. Rt., Sawyer, 'Royal tun'.</p> <p>¹ D. Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage: the establishment of a text', <i>M.A.</i> 13 (1969), pp.84-92; Land was given for a minster at Peppering 500m from Burpham in 705 x 716 (Kelly, 5).</p> <p>² Gardiner and Whittick, 'Pevensay', pp.261-2.</p> <p>³ Warne, 'Stanmer', pp.192-4.</p> <p>⁴ P.Combes and M. Lyne, 'Hastings, Hastingsaeaster and Hastingsport: a question of identity', <i>S.A.C.</i> 133 (1995), pp.213-224.</p> <p>* Figure takes account of small estates held of the king in addition to demesne.</p>		

4: CLASSIFICATION AND CHRONOLOGY OF CHURCHES

There has been no systematic classification of Sussex churches as a whole, apart from the overviews by Denman, Nairn and Marks, since Johnston's for the V.C.H. in 1907.¹ Jessep's book on Sussex Anglo-Saxon churches dates from a few years later: both contain useful information but are very selective. Since then, the work of the Taylors and Baldwin Brown has set early Sussex churches within national classifications, Winterbotham has discussed Overlap and Norman churches and there have been studies of individual buildings, particularly by Aldsworth and Gem. However, general accounts such as those by Fisher, Brandon and Kirby have created confusion.² They have tended to use criteria like wall thickness uncritically, despite Taylor's discussion of its doubtful value and to give a very wide meaning to 'Saxo-Norman Overlap' despite Baldwin Brown's original definitions of it as buildings with elements of Anglo-Saxon style and construction methods erected after the Conquest.³ Poole's attempt to identify the 'Domesday Book' churches of Sussex (those built between 1066 and 1086) failed because fine distinctions of dating are not possible for the churches involved, but it showed the benefits of a more rigorous approach.⁴

This chapter attempts a classification and relative chronology within the study area from the earliest evidence to the end of the twelfth century, when an elegant Early English style, emerged, most evident in chancels and nave arcades.⁵ Following Taylor's approach, materials, construction techniques, sculpture and architectural sculpture and wall openings (Volume 2, sheets 1-4) and plans are discussed as a basis for the classification given in sheets A-O.⁶ Twelfth-century and earlier features of each church are listed in Appendix 5. The latter part of the chapter discusses the context in which these churches might have been built and the relationship between form and function. All plan dimensions are internal unless stated otherwise and Chichester Cathedral is discussed only in terms of the relationship of its fabric to other churches.⁷

¹ J. L. Denman, *A Short Survey of the Structural Development of Sussex Churches on Behalf of the Sussex Historic Churches Trust* (1967); Nairn, pp.223-31; R. Marks, 'Medieval churches in Sussex' in D. Beever, R. Marks, J. Roles, eds, *Sussex Churches and Chapels* (1989), pp.1-12; Johnston, 'Churches', pp.338-340.

² Baldwin Brown, pp.456-7; Fisher; Brandon, *South Downs*, pp.79-89; D.P. Kirby, 'The church in Saxon Sussex' in *South Saxons*, pp.160-73.

³ Taylor, p.760; Baldwin Brown, pp.377-85.

⁴ Poole, pp.29-76; Gem, 'Lewes Group', pp.236-7.

⁵ Johnston, 'Churches', p.371 dates this to c. 1200-1220, but places some of the most typical arcades in his range 1180-1200.

⁶ Taylor, pp.735-765.

⁷ As used by Taylor. P. Huggins, K. Rodwell and W. Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian building measurements' in P.J. Drury, ed., *Structural Reconstruction: Approaches to the Interpretation of the Excavated Remains of Buildings*, B.A.R.R.B.S. 110 (1982), pp.21-65 and E. Fernie, 'Anglo-Saxon lengths and the evidence of buildings', *M.A.* 1991), pp.1-5 discuss Anglo-Saxon buildings based on standard units of the northern rod (perch) and modern foot and the setting out of plans from wall centre-lines. The plans used in this thesis are not accurate enough to allow such an analysis, although they are sufficient to establish that standard ratios were used. It is difficult to see why a stone church should be set out from the wall centre line, unless it re-used a trench dug for a timber building. For Chichester, see T. Tatton-Brown, 'The medieval fabric' in Hobbs, *Chichester*, pp.25-46.

Materials

The principal walling materials in the churches correspond with the availability of flint on and around the Downs, sandstones to the north of them, and the presence only of pebbles and poor sedimentary stones, such as those derived from the Bracklesham Beds, on the coastal plain.⁸ The only indigenous materials that could be used as dressed stone were clunch and Lavant stone (which are forms of chalk marl) and sandstone.⁹ Quarr and Caen stone were imported in considerable quantities and rubble construction was supplemented by the use of Roman masonry, tiles and bricks.¹⁰ Bembridge limestone (Binstead stone) appears to have been imported from the same source as Quarr stone. *Ditrupa* limestone is also found, although this may be re-used Roman material.¹¹ Small amounts of tufa are found as re-used Roman masonry and in post-Conquest contexts.¹²

Roman material has been identified in 15 churches (Appendix 5). At Rumboldswyke, Westhampnett and Eastergate, there are, or were, substantial sections of wall with tiles in herringbone pattern, as well as a lost chancel wall and arch constructed largely of Roman tiles and brick at Westhampnett (shs.3.1,E8). In the remaining churches, lesser amounts of tile and brick were used, but blocks of tufa and other masonry in the lower parts of Bosham and Warblington naves mixed with Roman tile and brick (shs.O2,O9) appear to be Roman. *Ditrupa* and Bembridge limestone in Bosham tower are probably re-used Roman stone, as are the fragments of pre-Conquest crosses at Pagham and Selsey.¹³ The churches with Roman material are generally very near Roman buildings. Hills thought that Westhampnett church was early because of its abundant use of Roman material, the supply having diminished later. But this seems unlikely, since there was standing Roman masonry on the coastal plain well after the Conquest.¹⁴ Moreover, the material was used very crudely in contrast to the early churches of Kent where the workmanship was skilled and where there may have been some continuity with Roman practice.¹⁵ Perhaps the most surprising thing in an area of intensive Roman settlement and high-status buildings, without indigenous sources of good stone, is the infrequent use of

⁸ Fisher, pp.21-6; Johnston, 'Churches', pp.333-8.

⁹ D. and A. Bone, 'Recent work on Lavant stone: a newly-recognised medieval building stone from west Sussex', *A.C.D.* (1992), pp.66-9.

¹⁰ F.W. Anderson and R.N. Quirk, 'Note on the Quarr stone' in E.M. Jope, 'The Saxon building stone industry in southern and midland England', *M.A.* 8 (1904), pp.115-7; T.W.T. Tatton-Brown, 'The use of Quarr stone in London and east Kent', *M.A.* 24 (1980), pp.213-5; T.W.T. Tatton-Brown, 'La pierre de Caen en Angleterre', in M. Baylé, ed., *L'Architecture Normande du Moyen Age* (1997), pp.304-14; T.W.T. Tatton-Brown, 'Building stone at Canterbury, c. 1070-1525' in Parsons, *Stone*, pp.72-3.

¹¹ Aldsworth, 'Bosham', pp.70-1.

¹² Tufa was used at Fishbourne Roman Palace and was in use mixed with Caen stone by, at the latest, 1073 at Bramber 20km from the study area. (E.F. Salmon, 'St. Nicholas Bramber', *S.A.C.* 75 (1932), pp.187-91).

¹³ Aldsworth, 'Bosham', pp.70-1; below, pp.58-9.

¹⁴ G.M. Hills, 'The church of West Hampnett, Sussex', *S.A.C.* 21 (1869), pp.33-43. E.g. one of the Roman buildings at Fishbourne appears to have been re-occupied in the thirteenth century (J. Manley, pers. comm.)

¹⁵ E.g. St. Pancras, Canterbury (Taylor, pp.146-8).

large masonry compared with Kent. It can be seen only in the bases of Bosham chancel arch, one stone at Fishbourne and a re-used piece of architrave at Selham (shs.O2,J5,3.5).

Sandstone was used much more frequently, in five principal forms as:

rubble walling in 24 churches varying from very thin stones at Selham (sh.D3) to sub-rectangular at Easebourne (sh.K2);

coursed walling of regular blocks with small joints, e.g. Linchmere (sh.K3);

irregular quoins of variable sizes with wide joints (e.g. Selham sh.D3);

regularly-shaped quoins with small joints (e.g. Chithurst, sh.C1);

dressed stone for doorways, windows and arches.

It was also used for 21 grave markers and grave slabs at Cocking, Chithurst and Stedham, dated by Tweddle as probably mid-eleventh century.¹⁶ Moreover, Domesday Book records three quarries in the Iping/Stedham area, so that it was probably in use before the Conquest.¹⁷

Conflicting evidence for the extent of pre-Conquest quarrying is given by Stedham and Woolbeding churches. At the former, when the axial tower church was demolished in 1850 it was found to have nave walls of re-used grave markers and about 36 blanks formed as 'chests' infilled with rubble and broken masonry. It seems unlikely that these would have been brought from a quarry and used in such ramshackle construction if normal masonry was being cut. On the other hand, Woolbeding, 5 km away, on the basis of its pilaster strips, door with Escomb jambs and other characteristics may well be pre-Conquest and is built entirely of well-finished sandstone (sh.E9). The most likely explanation is that there was localised quarrying in the pre-Conquest period, a subsequent phase of using whatever materials came to hand and the later development of a quarrying industry supplying almost all of the churches north of the Downs with dressed stone and rubble, and supplying dressed stone as far as the coastal plain.

Clunch was widely used from at least the late twelfth century for interior carving (e.g., Aldingbourne, sh.M1) and exterior rubble (e.g., Harting, sh.L6). Lavant stone was also used for exterior work c. 1125 x 47 at East Lavant (sh.1.6) and at Boxgrove chapter house which

¹⁶ Tweddle, pp.188-211.

¹⁷ D.B., pp.422,424,451. These were *quadrariae*. A fourth quarry to the east at Bignor was for millstones, *molaria* (S. H. King, 'Sussex' in H. C. Darby and E. M. J. Campbell, eds, *The Domesday Geography of South East England* (1962), pp.473-4).

cannot be earlier than c. 1115 (sh.K1). These dates coincide with the decorative use of hard forms of chalk marl elsewhere in England.¹⁸ There are three earlier instances: the first phase at Elsted, into which arches, probably of the late eleventh century have been inserted (sh.4.1); the central part of the nave in the adjacent Treyford (sh.A7), perhaps of a similar date, and the phase 1 belfry opening and corbel table at Bosham which are almost certainly pre-Conquest (shs.O2,2.9). The Bosham material could be re-used Roman stone (as the rest of the belfry opening probably is) and Elsted/Treyford could have been localised quarrying prior to the development of a more extensive industry.¹⁹

However, importing Quarr and Caen stone implies systematic building campaigns and the resources to carry large quantities of stone, such as the Quarr used at Stoughton (sh.O8), far inland. Quarr is found principally as quoins (Appendix 5), in the re-facing of earlier windows at Bosham phase 2, and in double-splayed windows at Stoughton and Singleton (sh.2.7). It is present in Bosham phase 1 in pre-Conquest long and short work (sh.O2) mixed with Bembridge limestone. The stone in the double-splayed windows is of uniform size and at Bosham it was cut to give symmetrical elevations. The quoins stones other than those at Bosham phase 1 are large, but not massive (despite Taylor's term megalithic), and are also quite uniform in size. There are thus no definite pre-Conquest uses other than the very large, irregular blocks at Bosham and it seems that much of the stone within the study was cut to standard dimensions. The work at Bosham phase 2 and Stoughton can be dated to c. 1070 x 1090 (sh.3.2), and the first two phases of the cathedral, which date from the same period, are entirely of Quarr.²⁰ The stone was produced in large quantities for churches around the Hampshire basin from very soon after the Conquest until the quarries were worked out by c. 1120.²¹ There was a very similar pattern in the hinterland of Rochester immediately after the Conquest when quarrying of tufa for the new cathedral stimulated the production of large quoin stones for churches in the Medway Valley.²²

The use of Caen stone in a probable pre-Conquest capital at Bosham and elsewhere in Sussex at Bishopstone and the *ex situ* carvings at Sompting can be explained by re-use of Roman material.²³ But it was also used in larger quantities cut to uniform size in the pilaster strips, quoins and double-splayed window of phase 1 of Sompting, which is probably pre-Conquest,

¹⁸ E. Roberts, 'Tottenhoe stone and flint in Hertfordshire churches', *M. A.* 18 (1974), pp.66-89.

¹⁹ Bone, 'Lavant', pp 66-9.

²⁰ Tatton Brown, 'Fabric', pp.27.

²¹ Tatton-Brown, 'London', pp.213-5.

²² G.M. Livett, 'Early Norman churches in and near the Medway Valley', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 20 (1893), pp.137-54.

²³ Sh.O2; Tweddle, pp.124-6, 173-84. See below pp.149-50 for a possible post-Conquest date for the Sompting carvings.

and it was in use before 1173 at Bramber.²⁴ It was used within the study area at Eartham in the Caenais style of small blocks with wide joints dated to c. 1070-1090 (shs.1.5,C4) but the limestone similar to Caen stone used at a slightly later date at Selham is probably re-used Roman masonry (shs.3.5,D3). Winterbotham records the use of Caen in small quantities in churches outside the study area at Lyminster, Willingdon, Rottingdean, Coombes, Exeat and Ford in late eleventh- or early twelfth-century contexts and it is found at West Stoke mixed with Quarr stone (sh.E10).²⁵ It was used in Boxgrove in all phases from c. 1115 onwards, as might be expected of a daughter house of Lessay, but not in the cathedral until c. 1120.²⁶ Within the study area, its principal use was internal, particularly for arcades, dating from c. 1180 onwards (sh.4.5,6). The pattern, therefore, seems to have been importation in small quantities until the 1120s for decorative work, perhaps with a few instances before the Conquest, and substantial use only after c. 1180.

Constructional techniques

The techniques which could be indicative of Anglo-Saxon workmanship found in the study area are: long and short, side-alternate and random megalithic quoins; thin walls; pilaster strips; Escomb fashion jambs; and double belfry lights.²⁷ In addition, there are 19 instances of herringbone masonry, which is known to have been in use before and after the Conquest.²⁸

Quoins

Long and short quoins are found only at Bosham, where the stones are of very variable size (sh.O2). Taylor describes this as a type found in several Sussex churches where the 'longs' are very big and the 'shorts' are much larger on one face than another.²⁹ However, no other examples are given in Taylor's gazetteer: they seem to have been subsumed within 'random megalithic'. Indeed, Bosham does not feature in Jackson and Fletcher's gazetteer of long and

²⁴ Aldsworth, 'Sompting', pp.106-113; Winterbotham, p.48; E.F. Salmon, 'St Nicholas, Bramber', *S.A.C.* 73 (1932) pp.187-191; Tatton-Brown, 'Caen', p.314 suggests that Sompting phase 1 could have been post-Conquest on the basis of the Caen stone. It is possible that Sompting church was held by Fécamp Abbey before the Conquest, which might also explain the Caen stone. Mortuary rights and '*jus parochialis*' were held by Steyning in Sompting in 1185 (*Acta*, 139) and the former church was almost certainly given to Fécamp by Edward the Confessor (Matthew, *Norman*, pp.19-22). The scale of post-Conquest importation is evident from the episode in the *Miracles of St. Augustine* when between 1070 and 1087 14 of a fleet of 15 ships carrying Caen stone sank, but the survivor beached at Bramber (R. Gem, 'Canterbury and the cushion capital, a commentary on passages from Goscelin's *De Miraculis Sancti Augustini*' in N. Stratford, ed., *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki* (1987), pp.83-101).

²⁵ Winterbotham, pp.48-51. Exeat was described by its excavator as 'Saxon', but is likely to be post-Conquest (below, pp.67-8).

²⁶ Sh.K1; Tatton-Brown, 'Fabric', p.29.

²⁷ Taylor pp.762-3.

²⁸ Taylor, pp.212-3,760; J. and H.M. Taylor, 'Herringbone masonry as a criterion of date', *J.B.A.A.* n.s. 27 (1964), pp.4-13.

²⁹ Taylor, p.82.

short work and is a crude version of their type 2, itself the least developed form.³⁰ Side-alternate quoins as described by Taylor are present only at Singleton tower, Stoughton, Selham and Woolbeding. The double-splayed windows at Singleton and Stoughton (sh.2.7), and the chancel arches at Selham and Stoughton (sh.3.7) place these churches probably in the early post-Conquest period, whereas Woolbeding (sh.E9) may be pre-Conquest. The technique is thus of limited use in dating, as is random megalithic quoining. At 10 churches such as West Stoke (sh.E10), all of the quoins have large stones with joints of 15mm wide or more. A further 22 churches have at least some large quoin stones, almost always at the lowest level, with smaller stones or modern replacements above: in some cases they were repositioned in the restoration (e.g. Rumboldswyke, sh.D4). In others they are found within a part of the church which appears to be thirteenth-century or later and may have been re-used from an earlier church on the same site (e.g. Up Marden, sh.J6). Indeed, only a few structures such as West Thorney tower (sh.M6) have the uniform quoins of small stones usually attributed to Norman work. With the exception of Bosham and some parts of Stoughton, the stones are of moderate and uniform size compared with the large sizes and variety of dimensions found in acknowledged Anglo-Saxon churches like Bishopstone.³¹

Walls

Walls of 750 mm or thinner are often considered to be potentially pre-Conquest, in contrast to Norman walls, which may be 900 mm or more.³² However, thin walls became common again in the thirteenth century, and within the study area thin walls apparently pierced by twelfth- or thirteenth-century arcades are sometimes the result of rebuilding in the nineteenth century (e.g. Mid Lavant, sh.E5). Moreover, there is much variations in thickness within individual walls and accurate measurement can only be obtained at wall openings. Using the classification of openings discussed below, walls can be classified as: probably pre-Conquest; c. 1070-1120; and thirteenth-century (Appendix 9). The small number of walls that may be pre-Conquest have an average thickness of $687\text{mm} \pm 27.2$, those of the Overlap period $689\text{mm} \pm 15.5$, and thirteenth-century walls $722\text{mm} \pm 10.5$. There is thus no significant difference between pre- and post-Conquest thicknesses and it seems safest to agree with Poole that wall thickness cannot be used as a criterion of date.³³

Pilaster strips are found in the study area only at Woolbeding (sh.E9). Within Sussex they are also found at Sompting and Worth, but the Woolbeding style is different.³⁴ It consists of only upright stones, rather than alternating long and short, and is similar to some of the six churches

³⁰ E.D.C. Jackson and E.G.M. Fletcher, 'Further note on long and short quoins in Saxon churches', *J.B.A.A.* n.s. 12 (1949), pp.1-17.

³¹ Taylor, pp.71-3; Appendix 6.

³² Taylor, pp.12-13.

³³ Poole, p.34.

³⁴ Aldsworth, 'Sompting', p.106-114; Taylor, pp.558-62.

in eastern Hampshire with pilaster strips described by Taylor and Tweddle, all of which are within period C3.³⁵ Pilaster strips are known from post-Conquest locations at Milbourne Port and Langford and it has been suggested that those at Sompting are post-Conquest because they are of Caen stone.³⁶ However, several features combine to indicate that Woolbeding is probably pre-Conquest (sh.E9).

Escomb jambs are found only at Woolbeding, Bosham phase 1 (tower arch and belfry, shs.3.7,2.9) and the lost chancel arch of Westhampnett. All of these are likely to be pre-Conquest on the basis of other evidence and Escomb jambs could be considered a pre-Conquest construction technique, but they are found in post-Conquest contexts at Jevington and outside Sussex.³⁷ Double belfry openings are found only in phases 1 and 2 of Bosham tower and in Singleton tower (sh. 2.9). The last has a continuous mid-wall shaft, similar to those in post-Conquest Lincolnshire towers and Bosham phase 2 has a shaft with a chamfered cubic capital, so that both can be attributed to the period 1080-1100 suggested by Aldsworth.³⁸ Bosham phase 1 belfry opening is probably pre-Conquest on the basis of its Escomb jambs and irregular voussoirs.³⁹

Finally, herringbone work is found elsewhere in early post-Conquest contexts at Lewes, Bramber, Hastings and Pevensey castles and at Balsdean chapel dated by the excavator to 1121 x 1147.⁴⁰ Winterbotham argues from this that, within Sussex, it was a post-Conquest technique.⁴¹ There is certainly no evidence for definite pre-Conquest use: for instance it was used in Bosham phase 2 but not phase 1. However, the most significant feature is that the material was always thin and potentially fragile, such as Roman tiles and coarse sandstone. The latter was sometimes used in patches at locations like the north wall of Lurgashall church (sh.K5), where there are adjacent sections of squarer rubble laid at random without evidence of different phases of building. This and the herringbone courses in Roman tile at Westhampnett and Eastergate (shs.C8,C4) could have been a crude form of its use to strengthen rubble walls, but it seems more likely that it was simply a means of working with fragile material when nothing else was available.⁴² The first phase at Elsted was entirely herringbone (sh.E2), but this can be seen as a response to working with fragile clunch and there is no evidence that it

³⁵ E.G.M. Fletcher and E.D.C. Jackson, 'Long and short quoins and pilaster strips in Anglo-Saxon churches', *J.B.A.A.* n.s. 9 (1944), pp.12-29; Taylor, pp.919-20.

³⁶ Baldwin Brown, p.428; Blair, 'Oxfordshire', p.178; Tatton-Brown, 'Caen', p.314.

³⁷ E.D.C. Jackson and E.G.M. Fletcher, 'Constructional characteristics in Anglo-Saxon churches', *J.B.A.A.* n.s. 14 (1951), pp.14-18; Jackson and Fletcher, 'Long and short', p.23; below, p.149.

³⁸ Aldsworth, 'Bosham', pp.56-9.

³⁹ Taylor, p.872-883.

⁴⁰ N.E.S. Norris and E.F. Hockings, 'Excavations at Balsdean Chapel, Rottingdean', *S.A.C.* 91 (1953), pp.52-68.

⁴¹ Winterbotham, p.49.

⁴² W. Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon church buildings: aspects of design and construction' in Butler and Morris, p.161.

was used for aesthetic effect as in eleventh-century churches in Normandy, such as Périers in Calvados.⁴³ It is safest to conclude that herringbone work was purely a constructional technique for fragile material being used when nothing better was available, and to ask why such shortages may have arisen.

Sculpture, Architectural Sculpture and Fonts

Pre-Conquest sculpture

Pre-Conquest sculpture is present only in fragments, and none is *in situ*. It comprises two gable crosses (one lost), the Chithurst-Stedham grave markers and grave slabs (although it is possible that they are post-Conquest), fragments of two crosses and a capital at Bosham. A carving at Tangmere, re-used as a window-head, may be of pre- or post-Conquest date.

The gable cross at West Wittering is of millet seed oolite, perhaps re-used Roman stone, first used with an incised Greek cross and subsequently rotated and re-used with an incised saltire cross.⁴⁴ It is similar in style to the fragment of wheel-headed cross at Pagham in *Ditropa* limestone which Tweddle dates to the tenth/early eleventh century, noting the poor quality of the carving.⁴⁵ The lost Quarr stone gable cross at Walberton, found in the 1903 restoration was authenticated as Anglo-Saxon, but nothing else is known about it.⁴⁶ One grave cover has been found at Cocking, eight at Chithurst and six plus six grave markers at Stedham. Most belong to a primitive, indigenous style but show some similarities to late pre-Conquest covers in the Cambridge district.⁴⁷ However, Tweddle's type 3, present at Chithurst and Stedham (also at Steyning, outside the study area) have semi-circular heads of a type found elsewhere in the south east, notably at Rochester where they are decorated in the Ringerike style and have been dated to c. 1016-1042.⁴⁸ The Cocking slab was recovered from the foundations of the chancel (sh. C2) and the Stedham material from the demolished nave. The Steyning slab was also in foundations, in this case those of the mid-twelfth-century nave.⁴⁹ The slabs are very similar to a group found in the Surrey Weald, but are difficult to date and there is the danger of a circular arrangement in dating the slabs from churches overlying them.⁵⁰

The four fragments of the palm cross that stood in Selsey churchyard until the Reformation were carved in a poor 'flacid and disorganised' style in Bembridge limestone similar to the

⁴³ Rupricht-Robert, p.89.

⁴⁴ Tweddle, pp.186-7.

⁴⁵ Tweddle, pp.149-50.

⁴⁶ P.M. Johnston, 'Cocking and its church', *Arch. J.* 78 (1921), p.188.

⁴⁷ Tweddle, pp.190-1,188-90,193-211.

⁴⁸ Tweddle, pp.164-168.

⁴⁹ Freke, p.253.

⁵⁰ Tweddle, pp.83-4.

graveyard cross from Pagham. Both are probably re-used Roman stone.⁵¹ They are likely to be tenth- or eleventh-century, but Tweddle notes that the band of carved plaiting at Selsey appears to be an inferior version of that on the fragment reused in the probable twelfth-century chancel arch at Selham (sh.3.5).⁵² The Bosham capital is similar to the friezes at Sompting and may share a mid-eleventh-century date.⁵³ The Tangmere carving (in Pulborough stone, sh.2.3) has been identified as a very crude representation of the Presentation of the Christ Child at the Temple, ultimately based on Ottonian examples and probably late eleventh-century.⁵⁴ These fragments show a combination of inept workmanship and a wide range of influences which has parallels with the charter production of the period.⁵⁵

Post-Conquest architectural sculpture

There is only slightly more post-Conquest architectural sculpture. Most of it falls into three groups: c. 1070-1090; c. 1125-1145; and the end of the twelfth century. In addition, the carving at Selham chancel arch and carved Romanesque heads at two churches need to be considered. The Chichester Reliefs at the cathedral, which probably date from c. 1125 x 1150 and may have been a part of a choir screen, are of outstanding quality, but are not relevant to the present study.⁵⁶

Phase 1 of Chichester Cathedral of c. 1070-1090 has a corbel-table with details so similar to that at the top of phase 2 of Bosham tower that they must have been by the same masons.⁵⁷ The chancel arches of Stoughton (sh.3.2) and Eartham (sh.3.3) are built in the Caenais style of regular ashlar with wide joints ascribed by Gem to c. 1070-90 and the moulding of the Stoughton jambs fits these dates.⁵⁸ Both arches have volute capitals which are crude versions of those found in the triforium of the cathedral presbytery, of c. 1070-90.⁵⁹ The Stoughton *porticus* (shs.3.8,06) have late twelfth-century arches very similar to those in the cathedral retrochoir but with capitals and shafts probably re-used from the eleventh-century archways.

The second group consists of four doorways (sh.1.6) plus a collection of fragments at Bosham. The west doorway at East Lavant (sh.1.5), within a west front later than the rest of the nave, and the majority of the Bosham fragments are almost exact copies of the south-western door

⁵¹ Heron-Allen, *Selsey*, p.102; Tweddle, pp.171-2; Aldsworth 'Mound', p.106.

⁵² D. Tweddle, 'The pre-Conquest sculpture of south-east England', unpub. Univ. London Ph.D. thesis (1986), pp.252-3.

⁵³ Tweddle, pp.125-6.

⁵⁴ Observations kindly provided by Jane Hawkes.

⁵⁵ Kelly, pp.xlv-lii.

⁵⁶ T. Brighton, 'Art in the cathedral from the foundation to the Civil War' in Hobbs, *Chichester*, pp.72-3.

⁵⁷ Aldsworth, 'Bosham', p.68; Tatton-Brown, 'Fabric', p.27; T. Brighton, 'Art', pp.69-71.

⁵⁸ Gem, 'Great rebuilding', p.25; R.D.H. Gem, 'Holy Trinity church, Bosham', *Arch. J.* 142 (1983), pp.32-36.

⁵⁹ Tatton-Brown, 'Fabric', p.27.

of the cathedral south tower.⁶⁰ At North Marden and East Wittering, doorways with chevron patterns are probably contemporary with the naves (shs.H3,I3). At Hunston, a similar doorway was probably re-positioned (sh.E3). All can be dated to c. 1125 x 45 (sh.1.5). The Bosham fragments also contain a probable arcade capital of this period. They were found during restoration in the 1930s, and their original positions are unknown.⁶¹ The south aisle doorway (sh.1.5) and the capitals in the south chapel at Aldingbourne also follow cathedral models, in this case the retrochoir dated to 1188-1207.⁶²

It is only in the animal heads and in Selham chancel arch that the influence of the cathedral is lacking. The two heads at Aldingbourne (sh.1.7) may be contemporary with the north aisle arcade dated to c. 1070-1120 (sh.4.1), but they are very similar to those at West Itchenor. These could date from as late as 1175 when Hugh Esturmy obtained permission to build a chapel.⁶³ At Selham (sh.3.5) the shafts and the northern impost appear to be re-used Roman masonry and the northern abacus may be an Anglo-Saxon fragment (sh.3.5). Although the moulding and three-quarter round shafts place it in the first quarter of the twelfth century, it may have been assembled from Roman and Anglo-Saxon masonry.

Fonts

There are many crude tub-shaped and cup-shaped fonts in Sussex which have attracted interest as possibly being Anglo-Saxon. Apart from the difficulties of identifying any genuine Anglo-Saxon fonts in England, the Sussex fonts are impossible to date beyond the fact that most of the 16 (Appendix 5) within the study area are of Bembridge limestone, and are therefore likely to date from before c. 1120.⁶⁴ In addition, the fonts at Stedham and East Marden were probably originally of this type, but have been re-carved.⁶⁵ There does not appear to be a chronological distinction between the two types. The 11 undecorated fonts with square bowls, circular bases and angle shafts, made of Sussex or Purbeck marble were dated to the late twelfth century by Bond. This is probably correct since although Purbeck marble was used at Canterbury in the mid-twelfth century this is exceptionally early: its wider use came later.⁶⁶ The most notable feature is that the presence of the early forms in chapels like Lidsey and remote Wealden churches like Fernhurst (sh.I2) indicates the wide distribution of baptismal rights from an early date.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ K. Morrison and R. Baxter, 'Fragments of twelfth-century sculpture in Bosham church', *S.A.C.* 129 (1991), pp.33-38.

⁶¹ P.M. Johnston, 'Bosham church, Sussex', *J.B.A.A.* 39 (1933), pp.230-1.

⁶² Nairn, p.76-7; Tatton-Brown, 'Fabric', pp.29-30.

⁶³ *Acta*, 65.

⁶⁴ Johnston, 'Churches', p.352; J. L. André, 'Fonts in Sussex churches', *S.A.C.* 44 (1901), pp.29-33.

⁶⁵ Johnston, 'Cocking', p.187.

⁶⁶ F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (1908), p.149; Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury stone', pp.74-5.

⁶⁷ Below, p.119.

Wall openings

Ground level doorways

Of the 28 existing and demolished ground-level doorways which date, at least in part, from before the end of the twelfth century, Eartham (sh.1.5) can be assigned to the period c. 1170-90 and North Marden, East Wittering, Hunston and East Lavant to c. 1125-1145 (sh.1.6). Aldingbourne dates from slightly later. Of the remainder, the rubble doorway at Bosham (sh.1.3) and the flat-headed doorway at Woolbeding (sh.1.1) are probably pre-Conquest. The former is similar to the rubble-headed window at the western end of the chancel (sh.1.1) and fits Taylor's category of Anglo-Saxon rubble doorways and windows.⁶⁸ The latter has Escomb jambs and has been cut by a later round-headed top. Of the remainder, there is a group of three which are cut straight through walls, the 'Linchmere' group of 15 and an uncertain one at West Itchenor.

Of the first group, Selham (sh.1.2) was placed by Taylor in period C largely on the basis of its through stones, but it has no other Anglo-Saxon characteristics. The moulding is similar to that of post-Conquest chancel arches and the voussoirs, although very large, are radially symmetrical: if it is contemporary with the chancel arch, then it is certainly post-Conquest. West Dean doorway is very tall and narrow (7.75m by 535mm). The jamb stones are not throughs, but they are large and irregular. The voussoirs are radially symmetrical around a small dripstone. None of these characteristics is definitively Anglo-Saxon and dripstones are rare in the period. There were equally tall, narrow doorways in eleventh-century Normandy but it is possible that it is pre-Conquest.⁶⁹ West Stoke has no distinguishing features and it is not possible to tell if the stones are throughs. If it is contemporary with the quoins (sh.E10) it is likely to be post-Conquest.

Linchmere doorways (sh.1.4) have more-or-less radially symmetrical voussoirs and fairly uniform blocks of sandstone. The substantially complete ones have higher rear arches, but there is a very similar doorway outside the study area at Lyminster which is cut straight through the wall, and some of the fragments listed in sh.1.4 may be of this type.⁷⁰ Although higher rear arches are common in post-Conquest churches they were also present before the

⁶⁸ Taylor, pp.758-9.

⁶⁹ E.g. Rupricht-Robert, pp.94-6.

⁷⁰ Taylor, p.410; P.M. Johnston, 'The church of Lyminster and the chapel of Warning Camp, 'S.A.C. 46 (1903), pp.195-230.

Conquest. Taylor noted differences between interior and exterior arches at Ledsham and Deerhurst and Parsons illustrates his suggestion that the very tall doorways in the Anglo-Saxon church at Worth may have had lower doorways set within them with an Anglo-Saxon drawing dating from the second half of the eleventh century.⁷¹ Taylor dated Lyminster to C1 largely on the basis of thin walls, height and the cutting of the early doorway by a round-headed one. However, thin walls are not a satisfactory criterion, the church was heightened in c. 1170 and the round-headed arch is of indeterminate age.⁷² Lyminster church seems more likely to date from the establishment of a cell of Almenêches by Roger Montgomery shortly after the Conquest.⁷³ The Linchmere type thus cannot be found in likely pre-Conquest contexts and at Lurgashall the doorway of this type appears to be contemporary with typical Norman narrow buttresses (shs.1.4,K5). This and the uniform masonry and radially-symmetrical voussoirs probably place the type in the post-Conquest period. Finally, although at West Itchenor the south doorway has been obscured by bad restoration, the mouldings are certainly twelfth-century (shs.1.7,B9).

Tower doorways and windows

The tower doorways and windows at Warblington, Bosham and Singleton are best considered together. There is little doubt that the middle section of Warblington tower containing four doorways, two of which are open and have rubble and Roman tile heads and jambs, is pre-Conquest (sh.O9). Similar rubble construction is found at Bosham in the first phase of the chancel (shs.O2,2.1), the south chancel doorway (sh.1.3) and the first phase of the tower windows (sh.2.1). The two double and one single belfry openings within phase 1 (sh.2.9) are also probably pre-Conquest.⁷⁴ The pair of single rubble-headed openings in the east wall of the tower, the monolithic-headed doorway with rubble jambs in the second storey (sh.1.8) and the gable-headed doorway with Escomb jambs and through stones on the first floor are also of this phase.

The dating of Singleton hinges on the double-splayed windows (sh.2.7). They are very similar to those at Stoughton in materials, size and proportions and likely to be contemporary. There seems no reason to doubt that the Stoughton windows are contemporary with the rest of the building and the chancel arch of c. 1170-90, which would place Singleton tower in this period (sh.3.2). It has a gable-headed tower doorway very similar to the pre-Conquest one at Bosham, but of Quarr stone and without throughs. Such doorways are found in post- as well as pre-Conquest contexts.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Taylor, p.758; D. Parsons, 'The Saxon doorway of the church of St. Nicholas, Worth', *S.A.C.* 107 (1969), pp.12-13.

⁷² Above, p.56; Johnston, 'Lyminster', pp.205-15.

⁷³ *V.C.H.*2, pp.46,121; *D.B.*, p.429.

⁷⁴ Above, p.57; Aldsworth, 'Bosham', pp.56-8.

⁷⁵ Taylor, p.758.

Nave and chancel windows

The great majority of early windows (28) are of the Chithurst or Tangmere narrow types with single splays (shs.2.2,3). Both types have monolithic heads, and all except Westhampnett have dressed stone jambs. The rubble and Roman tile jambs at Westhampnett and the probability that the windows were contemporary with the chancel arch (sh.3.1) led Taylor to suggest that they were early pre-Conquest.⁷⁶ But there are good reasons to think that all of the others are post-Conquest. The jamb stones are of regular sizes with small joints and laid with their long axes horizontal, unlike most of Taylor's Anglo-Saxon examples.⁷⁷ Identical windows are found in phase 1 of the cathedral (c. 1070-1090) and in eleventh-century churches in Normandy.⁷⁸ At Tangmere, which has four nave windows of this type, the head of one is formed from a Saxo-Norman carving (sh.2.3) and the late pre-Conquest grave cover beneath the Cocking chancel window has already been noted.⁷⁹ The only difference at Westhampnett is the materials used.

Chancel, tower and porticus arches

There is great variety in the surviving chancel, tower and *porticus* arches. Selham and Earham have already been placed after the Conquest. The remainder are best discussed in the order Westhampnett, Bosham and Stoughton, and the Elsted and Cocking groups.

The destroyed Westhampnett chancel arch had Escomb-fashion jambs beneath a head formed of Roman tiles with the characteristic Anglo-Saxon wedge above the impost to start the radial arrangement (sh.3.1).⁸⁰ It seems probable that it was pre-Conquest. The Bosham tower arch also has Escomb jambs and a crude arrangement of the lower part of the arch, although the head has been rebuilt (sh.3.7). It, too, is likely to be pre-Conquest and contemporary with phase 1 of the tower. The head of the chancel arch at Bosham is almost identical to Stoughton and the moulding and cavetto place it in the period 1070-90 (sh.3.2).⁸¹ There is little reason to doubt that the whole of Stoughton arch is of this period and contemporary with much of the standing church (sh.05). However, at Bosham the head of the arch is inserted. The moulding in the jambs could be earlier than Stoughton and the imposts and bases are of pre-Conquest types, the latter being re-used Roman masonry. It is possible, therefore that the Bosham arch was pre-Conquest but was substantially rebuilt in the late eleventh century.

⁷⁶ Taylor, pp.643-5.

⁷⁷ Taylor, pp.847-852.

⁷⁸ Tatton-Brown, 'Fabric', p.26; e.g., St. Arnoult near Honfleur.

⁷⁹ Above, p.59.

⁸⁰ Hills, 'West Hampnett', pp.34-7; Taylor, pp.644-5.

⁸¹ Gem, 'Bosham', pp.32-6; Winterbotham, pp.77-9; Fernie, p.167.

Of the three arches comprising the Elsted group (sh.3.3), the Elsted arch was inserted into a herringbone wall, but the other two are probably contemporary with the main fabric of the churches. Taylor placed Chithurst and Rumboldswyke in C3 but there is a strong similarity across the group and Baldwin Brown placed them all in his Overlap category. It is possible that they are pre-Conquest, but there are no reliable Anglo-Saxon characteristics. The Cocking group differs from the Elsted one in being lower and wider and although the extent of survival varies in the seven cases given in sh.3.4 it must surely be a post-Conquest type. The church at Coates was probably not built until c. 1140, Cocking had a mid eleventh-century grave marker built into the foundations and a case already has been made for the post-Conquest date of Singleton (sh.O5).⁸²

Arcades

None of the arcades is pre-Conquest and the majority are Early English. Their interest lies in whether they are original features or were cut through earlier walls. Of the 29 churches with arcades only Sidlesham appears to have had an original aisled plan although even this is open to doubt (sh.O7). In the remainder, it seems probable that arcades were cut through nave walls in all cases. The criteria for this are:

a poor fit between the ends of walls and the tops of piers, sometimes resolved by tapering the wall (e.g. Warblington sh.O9) or carving (e.g. Selsey, sh.K6);

irregular spacing of archways (e.g., Aldingbourne, sh.M1) and width of piers (e.g. Barnham, sh.M2);

evidence of insertion of the arches in exposed masonry (e.g. Elsted, sh.4.1).

blocked windows in the nave walls, e.g. Cocking (sh.C2).

Sixteen of the churches have arcades of the Apuldram and Bosham types (shs.4.5,4.6) which are generally on both north and south sides and are well-proportioned typical late twelfth-century forms which are not considered further.

In 12 churches there is a more varied pattern reflected in the first four categories on sh.4. The first consists of round-headed pairs of arches of one order with square piers at irregular intervals. At Elsted they are probably contemporary with the chancel arch, and Johnston placed all of this group in c. 1070-1120 (sh.4.1). The pairs of arches must surely have led to side chapels, as they would have done in the second group dating to the mid-twelfth century

⁸² *Lewes Chart.* 2, p.103; above, pp.58,62.

with pointed arches, where at Barnham (sh.M2) there would have been access to the chancel as well as the nave. The third group, comprising round-headed arches of one or two orders with circular piers, can be dated to the end of the century. The fourth, very mixed, group is probably also of this period. A date as late as the fourteenth century has been proposed for Harting (sh.4.4) but an earlier one for the simple arches cut straight through the wall is more likely.

Plans

Sheets A-O describe the earliest identifiable plans for each church and their subsequent development up to the thirteenth century, or beyond where appropriate. Post-Reformation churches and additions to medieval churches are not discussed, but care has been taken to assess features which may have had medieval precedents. For example, arches cut in the nineteenth century either side of the twelfth-century chancel arch at Eartham (sh.C4) were based on medieval altar recesses.

The principal difficulty in defining the earliest plans arises in deciding the form of the chancels. Most were partly or completely rebuilt between c. 1180 and c. 1220, although eight have north and south walls apparently contemporary with the nave. These are aligned in the common medieval fashion on the inside faces of the nave walls in all cases except Chilgrove (sh.H1) which is aligned on the centre line of the nave wall. In four churches (e.g. Compton sh.E1, Fig.47), the chancel is one wall thickness wider than the nave, and it is probable that the wall was built immediately outside an earlier one. This form of rebuilding is evident from the excavation at Pagham (sh.M3). There are 11 cases where there is no distinction between nave and chancel or evidence of separate construction and they are included within the same roof span: i.e. they are single-cell churches usually of three-square proportion. However, in several cases the evidence for a separate chancel is unclear, since there are differences in construction and/or roof height between nave and chancel, even though the walls are continuous. Both of these could be the result of new chancel walls being built outside the originals, or they could be differences in rebuilding when responsibility for the nave was that of the vicar and parish and the chancel that of the rector or impropriator.⁸³ They were often in different states of repair and were being restored and rebuilt at different times from at least the seventeenth century onwards.⁸⁴ Such churches could originally have been unitary. Each case has been assessed individually, attempting to avoid special pleading.

The plans have been divided into five categories, which are discussed below:

⁸³ Brown, 'Late medieval', pp.64-6. Davidson, thesis, pp.115-26 discusses the different responsibilities, first evident in the Statute of Winchester of 1224.

⁸⁴ E.g., observations on many churches in *Visitations* and by Burrell (B.L.Add.Ms.3699).

- A uncertain one or two-cell;
- B single-cell;
- C-J two-cell;
- K-N churches containing an originally unitary nave, with or without a chancel of the same width or date, usually three-square but sometimes longer;
- O other plans including cruciform, turriform and axial tower.

A: Uncertain one or two-cell

The difficulties of identifying a one or two-cell plan are illustrated by Treyford (sh.A7), which is now a ruin with a single-cell plan. When it was recorded by Troke in the 1950s he considered that it originally had a nave (with a Linchmere north doorway) about 9 m long, enlarged to the east and west in the thirteenth century. Troke's church would have been fractionally smaller than Elsted (sh.E2) in the adjacent parish, also built of clunch. However, Troke's drawings showed no differences between nave and chancel walls and it is possible that there was a unitary church of 20.9 m x 4.9 m. But Troke gave no evidence of later insertion of windows, and the 9 m nave seems more probable, particularly since it would have comprised two squares (Appendix 10).⁸⁵ In the remainder of the group, Bepton, Graffham, Chichester St Pancras and Heyshott have been so radically rebuilt that the original plans are unclear. However, the thirteenth-century church at Heyshott may have been rebuilt on a three-square footprint and following the same reasoning as at Treyford it is likely that Racton was also originally a two-cell church with a two-square nave.

B: Single-cell

Of the 13 churches in this category only North Marden (sh.H3) and West Itchenor (sh.B9) have any pre-Early English features, although Trotton (sh.BI2) and All Saints in the Pallant (sh.B1) are Domesday Book churches.⁸⁶ Because of its apse, North Marden is considered within category H. All Saints and St. Andrew, Chichester are virtually identical and only 200m apart. The chapels of Halnaker and Nytimber are a similar pair. At East Marden, Earnley, West Itchenor and Merston (shs.B5,6,9,10) there is little difference between nave and chancel walls, but the chancel roofs (all post-Reformation) are slightly lower. It is possible that they were originally two-cell churches in which the chancel was widened, with all walls subsequently being rebuilt or re-faced. But at West Itchenor and Merston the internal proportions are exactly 3:1, as they are in the nave at Earnley, where there is a break between the nave and chancel walls on the north side. It is likely therefore that these churches belong to the three-square category discussed below.

⁸⁵ Below, p.67.

⁸⁶ D.B., pp.389, 422.

C-J: Two-cell

Of the 39 two-cell churches, only Woolbeding and Westhampnett (shs.E9,8) have wall openings or other features which are likely to be pre-Conquest. Other than Compton (sh.E1) and Bosham phase 1 (sh.O2), their chancels are the only ones set at an angle to the nave. This has been suggested as a pre-Conquest characteristic, and although it is far too widespread for this to be the case, the remaining churches in the study area are regular in plan. Nineteen churches have features which can be dated to c. 1070-1120 (Appendix 5). Of the remainder, East Wittering (sh.I3) can probably be dated to c. 1130-1145 on both stylistic and documentary evidence and Egdean (sh.J4), although rebuilt in 1622, may be on the footprint of a church first built in 1145.⁸⁷

Of the c. 1070-1120 churches, the original chancel can probably be traced in eight cases and these have internal width-length ratios of either 1:1.25 or 1:1 (Appendix 10). In the two cases where the original chancel is present beyond doubt (Chithurst and Selham) it is exactly square. The possible original nave dimensions have been traced for 24 churches which date from before c. 1145 and five after it. With the exception of small urban churches like St. Olave, Chichester and the three larger churches in category I, they appear to have nave width to length ratios of between about 1:1.6 and 1:2.3 with clusters around 1:1.6, 1:1.8 and 1:2. Explanations of these plans based on the complex ratios used in major buildings seem improbable. If, however, it is assumed that they were set out from a two-square rectangle in which the chancel wall could have been included with the rectangle, as noted by the R.C.H.M.E. in north-east Northamptonshire, or in any of the combinations of setting out of walls shown on Fig. 47, then 25 they would have been set out from rectangles with ratios of between 1:1.9 and 1:2.1, with the majority being almost exactly 1:2.⁸⁸ Moreover, there appear to have been standard modules approximately to present-day imperial measurements of 15ft x 30ft (e.g. Burton and Coates in adjacent parishes), 17ft x 34ft (Elsted and Eartham) and 20ft x 40ft (Chilgrove and Up Waltham). Of the churches with no evidence earlier than the mid-twelfth century, Slindon and East Dean are of very similar plan and at Didling, Fishbourne, Up Marden the thirteenth-century fabric incorporates dressed stone from earlier churches. Since these fall within the two-square pattern, they may well have been rebuilt on earlier footprints.

Two groups stand out. In H, Chilgrove and Up Waltham belong to a class of small Sussex churches with apsidal chancels that includes Exeat and Balsdean outside the study area.⁸⁹ North Marden can be dated to c. 1125 x c. 1144 on the basis of its doorways. It and Up Marden are the only ones in the class still standing and apses are generally rare on Sussex

⁸⁷ *Lewes Chart*. 2, p.77.

⁸⁸ R.C.H.M.E, *Northants*, p.lxxix.

⁸⁹ W. Budgen, 'Exete and its parish church', *S.A.C.* 53 (1916), pp.138-70; Norris and Hockings, 'Baldsdean', pp.52-62.

minor churches.⁹⁰ Similar churches are found in similar remote downland locations in Kent, and although Davidson argues convincingly that apses were a very widespread but short-lived feature of minor churches, this group is distinctive in being originally apsidal and unchanged.⁹¹ The second group (I) comprises three larger churches. Fernhurst is of three-square plan, while the original size of East Lavant is difficult to judge because the west end was rebuilt in the mid-twelfth century but all three may have had three-square naves with chancels.

The great majority, however, are within the class of two-cell churches widespread throughout southern England. The special characteristics are the uniformity of proportions, the positions of the doors and small size. Nine churches probably had only west doors, with south doors being the earliest in eight, north and south in one and north in the other. This is in contrast to the predominantly north-south entrances identified in early churches across Sussex as a whole and the true number may have been obscured by the rebuilding of west ends and the construction of towers.⁹² The post-Conquest churches are considerably smaller than the two possible pre-Conquest plans of Westhampnett and Woolbeding (Appendix 10). Most are smaller than the Surrey manorial churches and are within or below Rodwell's small class of 'Rivenhall group churches'.⁹³ If, as seems likely, the altar was to the west of the chancel, the congregational area would have been very small.⁹⁴ They were clearly manorial churches in the sense that only 10% of them were in ecclesiastical hands in 1086, but were they also manorial in the sense that they served only the lord and his household? A plot of nave area against a very crude measure of Domesday Book population (the number of individuals listed for each vill) shows an unsurprising correlation of increasing area with increasing population (Fig. 48) but this is only approximate and larger nave size may represent no more than higher status.⁹⁵ The probable use of standard sizes for the naves suggests that there was no easy relationship between the size of the community served and floorspace, nor is there evidence that Norman lords showed any interest in the pastoral care of a widely-scattered Anglo-Saxon population. This theme is explored further in chapter 11.

K-N: Three square or longer churches

There are seven churches with twelfth-century or earlier fabric in category K in which the original plan of the nave was three-square, although at Boxgrove (sh.K1) the evidence is thin

⁹⁰ There is an apse at Newhaven (M. A. Lower, 'Notes on the churches of Newhaven and Denton', *S.A.C.* 9 (1857), pp.89-101) and at Keynor (B.L.Add.Ms.5677), Eastdean in East Sussex (Fisher, pp.101-3) and Alciston (H. Clarke and P.E. Leach, 'The medieval churches of the Cuckmere Valley', *S.A.C.* 123 (1985), pp.97-8).

⁹¹ E.g. A.R. Martin, 'The ruined church at Maplescombe, Kent', *J.B.A.A.* n.s. 34 (1935), pp.225-33.

⁹² Poole, p.66. Davidson, thesis, pp.209-11 describes north/south doorways as by far the most common arrangement, suggesting that they may have allowed liturgical space at the west end.

⁹³ Blair, *Surrey*, pp.109-133; Rodwell, *Rivenhall*, pp.128-35.

⁹⁴ D. Parsons, 'Sacrarium: ablution drains in early medieval churches' in Butler and Morris, pp.105-20; H.M. Taylor, 'The position of the altar in early Anglo-Saxon churches', *Ant. J.* 53 (1973), pp.52-8.

⁹⁵ Bond, pp.142-3.

and it is quite possible that at West Dean (sh.K7) there was originally a two-cell church with a two-square nave. At Easebourne, Linchmere and perhaps Lurgashall, there were not separate chancels, but one seems likely at West Wittering and Selsey, so that these latter churches may well have been almost identical to Fernhurst (sh.I2). In category L there are eight churches where the same three-square nave plan can be inferred with varying degrees of certainty. For example at Oving (sh.L8) it is only apparent from poorly-reported nineteenth-century excavations and at Birdham (sh.L2) from the 'ghost' of the plan within the later church. The form of the early chancel is unknown. For most churches it is impossible to identify the positions of the original doorways. They were certainly north/south at Easebourne, Lurgashall, West Dean, West Wittering and Chidham and west at Linchmere, but towers and rebuilding may have removed west doorways.

Naves and unitary churches of three-square plan were common on the continent and in England either side of the Conquest and several of the thirteenth-century single-cell plans in category B are also of these proportions. The plan is found in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical (e.g. Deerhurst, Wing) and secular buildings and several of the churches within the study area approximate to c. 16 by 48 imperial ft., corresponding roughly to the northern rod of 16½ ft (Appendix 11).⁹⁶ Similar plans are found in post-Conquest context elsewhere in Sussex, for example at Botolphs, Wisborough Green, the first phase of Rottingdean, West Blatchington and Old Erringham.⁹⁷ The last two are dated to the late eleventh/early twelfth century by excavation and were built on undisturbed ground, although this does not mean that they were the first churches in the locality.

The most significant features of the type within the study area is their large number, particularly if some of the churches considered in categories A and B also belong here. They are present in the larger parishes, generally those in ecclesiastical hands in 1086. Similar churches were established in the hinterland of Rochester Cathedral where there is good evidence that ecclesiastical organisation had virtually collapsed by the time of the Conquest.⁹⁸ They were hastily constructed of tufa to serve scattered communities, with chancel arches being inserted in the thirteenth century. At that time the plan was also used on the estates of

⁹⁶ Taylor, p.1033; Huggins *et al.*, pp.21-65.

⁹⁷ Botolphs has been considered as pre-Conquest on the basis of its soffit roll, quoins and blocked south window. (Fisher, pp.61-7, Taylor, pp.84-5; Baldwin Brown, p.445) but the soffit roll is not an exclusively Anglo-Saxon feature (Winterbotham, pp.78-79) and Botolphs appears to be a crude copy of a more competent model. The other features at this church fall within post-Conquest types described in this chapter. For Wisborough Green and Rottingdean see Plans, 53, Guides, 10 and Godfrey, 'Axial-towers', pp.113-5. J. Holmes, 'A Saxon church at West Blatchington', *S.A.C.* 128 (1988), pp.77-91 describes West Blatchington as 'Saxon' but all of the features are likely to be post-Conquest. For Old Erringham see E. W. Holden, 'Excavations at Old Erringham, Shoreham, West Sussex: part ii the chapel and ringwork', *S.A.C.* 118 (1979), pp.257-97.

⁹⁸ Livett, 'Medway Valley', pp.137-54; M. Brett: 'Gundulf and the cathedral communities of Canterbury and Rochester in R. Eales and R. Sharpe, eds, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches Saints and Scholars*, 1066-1109 (1995), p.17.

religious houses in the Kentish Weald as part of the process of colonisation.⁹⁹ In Normandy the type is found at chapels, such as the isolated and crudely-built St Cyr d'Estancourt in a remote part of the *pays d'Auge* and the chapel near the monastery of St. Gabriel north west of Caen with its inserted thirteenth-century chancel arch. Neither has the elaborate west front usually associated with churches of the period in Normandy.¹⁰⁰ At Battle, when a separate church was built for the laity to replace their use of a parochial altar in the abbey in c. 1120, this plan was used.¹⁰¹

These churches were probably thrown up as basic buildings to serve scattered communities, without the status implied by chancel arches or west fronts. The type continued into the thirteenth century where it was used in Chichester at St. Andrews and All Saints in the Pallant (shs.B1,2), and rural locations like East Marden (sh.B5) where it may have been contemporary with the establishment of a prebend.¹⁰² A 'double' three-square plan, in which north and south naves shared a common wall may have been present at Easebourne (sh.K2). The type has been found by Holmes at Findon, 25 km away, although his attribution of the two naves to 'Saxon' and 'Norman' is unlikely to be correct.¹⁰³ At first sight the very large demolished south aisle at West Thorney seems to imply this pattern, but resistivity survey suggests that the north aisle may have been of the same size (Appendix 3, sh.M6). Such plans are found in early monastic contexts.¹⁰⁴

The four-square and longer plan (L,M) is best seen at Barnham where chancel and nave are contemporary and the original nave length can be traced (sh.M2). It can also be traced clearly at Aldingbourne (sh.M1) and Pagham (sh.M3) and with more difficulty at the remaining sites. It is possible that six of these churches were based on a module of 15-24 ft x 90 ft (Appendix 11). The incomplete evidence makes them difficult to date. Pagham phase 2 (sh.M3) can probably be placed in the late eleventh century. Aldingbourne (sh.M1) probably had clerestory windows and must have pre-dated the north arcade of c. 1100. Rogate (sh.M4) had at least one chapel with a Linchmere door and the nave must pre-date the late eleventh-century arcade. There is no pre-Conquest evidence and the group can be tentatively ascribed to the late eleventh century.

There are Anglo-Saxon precedents for four-square or longer naves (e.g. Cirencester) and Baldwin Brown quoted Ickworth as a four-square early Norman nave.¹⁰⁵ But it is not a

⁹⁹ T. Tatton-Brown, Unpublished reports at the Kent S.M.R.

¹⁰⁰ Field observations. For St. Gabriel see H. Decaens, *Itinéraires Romains en Normandie* (1979), p.83. For west fronts see Rupricht-Robert, pp.88-9, 155-7.

¹⁰¹ Plans, 73; E. Searle, ed., *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (1980), p.124.

¹⁰² *Fasti*, pp.36-7.

¹⁰³ J. Holmes, 'A Saxon church at Findon', *S.A.C.* 127 (1989), pp.252-25.

¹⁰⁴ Clapham, *Before*, pp.2-3.

¹⁰⁵ Taylor, pp.982, 986; Baldwin Brown, p.318.

widely-recognised type in the literature. Like the three-square churches they lay mainly within the larger parishes on ecclesiastical estates. Aldingbourne, North Mundham, Pagham and West Thorney were in locations where there is charter and Domesday Book evidence for a minster (Table 1). If the late eleventh-century date is right, Rogate and North Mundham were in the hands of Sées Abbey at the time of their construction and Walberton appear to have been attached to a prebend of Arundel College which was under the control of Sées.¹⁰⁶ This link is explored further in chapter 11.

Other Plans

Three of the churches in this category can be safely placed in the post-Conquest period. St. Bartholomew, Chichester was a round church of the early twelfth-century type (sh.O1). Sidlesham (sh.O7) appears to have been an aisled cruciform church built or rebuilt in the thirteenth century. The demolished axial tower church at Stedham (sh.O8), was of a type common in Sussex and in England and Normandy generally.¹⁰⁷ It was post-Conquest, but masonry used in its construction also appears to have been post-Conquest and it may have been rebuilt twice, or at least enlarged to axial tower plan. This was certainly the case elsewhere in Sussex, e.g. at Rottingdean.¹⁰⁸ Petworth (sh.O4) was a cruciform building of the post-Conquest type without salient corners which may have been built around an earlier long, narrow church. This also happened to churches elsewhere in Sussex such as Burpham, but the evidence for Petworth is only the narrowness of the chancel compared with the nave.¹⁰⁹

Westbourne church (sh. O10) has a clasped tower, but there is no visible fabric older than the thirteenth century. It is possible that it may have had an eleventh-century plan of western tower with short, high nave, but the evidence is slight.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, Stoughton (sh.O6) is of the pre-Conquest salient corner plan, but all of the evidence points to it having been built after the Conquest in c. 1080-90.¹¹¹ There is no evidence that there was a crossing of the Breamore type (Fig. 46) and the nave was probably about the same length as Worth (Appendix 6).¹¹² It seems likely to have been rebuilt on an earlier footprint, or to be a conscious harking back to an Anglo-Saxon style, as at Milbourne Port.¹¹³

The post-Conquest date of Singleton (sh.O5) has been established from the evidence of the windows and chancel arch. It is possible that it was originally a free-standing turriform

¹⁰⁶ Below, pp.94-6.

¹⁰⁷ Godfrey, 'Axial tower', pp.91-120; Davidson, thesis, pp.139-40 discusses their distribution in England; Musset, *Haute*, p.17; Musset, *Basse*, p.22; Rupricht-Robert, pp.101-2.

¹⁰⁸ Godfrey, 'Axial tower', pp.112-4.

¹⁰⁹ Plans, 72.

¹¹⁰ Above, p.22.

¹¹¹ Above, p.25.

¹¹² Taylor, pp.94-96, 214-7, 688-93.

¹¹³ Gem, 'Great rebuilding', p.27.

building which could not have been a defensive, since there were large windows low down, nor is there firm evidence of adjacent chambers as at Barton-upon-Humber, Newhaven and Eastdean.¹¹⁴ Unlike the church at Earls Barton, there is no evidence that the ground floor stage was originally a chapel, and the tower is in some respects a smaller version of St. Leonard's East Malling, which appears to have been a purely secular building.¹¹⁵ However, the upper window, from which an Anglo-Norman lord would have displayed his *dominatio*, may not be *in situ* (sh.O5), nor is it clear if the doorway from the tower into the nave is an insertion, so that the case for a secular building is uncertain.

Two churches of Anglo-Saxon form and fabric are left to be considered. Bosham phase 1 (sh.O2) comprises the lower three stages of the tower or western *porticus*, the base of the chancel arch, the western end of the chancel and part of the upper nave walls. The plan is similar to Titchfield about 15 km to the west, although the Titchfield *porticus*, which, unlike Bosham, has a western portal, is smaller.¹¹⁶ The plan is also found outside south-eastern England at a smaller scale, e.g. at Lavendon.¹¹⁷ Titchfield has been dated by Hare to the late seventh or eighth century. He gives a ninth-century date for Bosham, but the double belfry opening (sh.2.9) and the long and short work place it much later than this.¹¹⁸ The second church, Warblington (sh.O9) has been explained as originally an Anglo-Saxon single-cell church with a western tower or *porticus* but it is possible that it may have been have been two churches linked by a tower, as at Jarrow. The latter is post-Conquest, but the Warblington tower is surely pre-Conquest.¹¹⁹

The Development of Churches in the Study Area

Pre-Conquest churches

Only at Bosham, Warblington, Pagham phase 1, Woolbeding, and West Wittering is there firm evidence for pre-Conquest fabric, with less clear evidence for West Dean and a probability at Westhampnett. Neither Warblington, Westhampnett nor phase 1 of Pagham can be dated with any accuracy, but Bosham and Woolbeding probably belong in the mid-eleventh century, while West Dean, if it is pre-Conquest at all, is very late. The absence of any architectural detailing or similarities between the churches, other than the plans of Woolbeding and Westhampnett,

¹¹⁴ W.J. Rodwell and K.A. Rodwell, 'St. Peter's church, Barton-upon-Humber: excavation and structural study, 1978-81', *Ant. J.* 62 (1982), pp.283-315; Taylor, pp.52-7.

¹¹⁵ D. Parsons in M. Audouy, B. Dix and D. Parsons, 'The tower of All Saints church, Earls Barton', *Arch. J.* 152 (1995), pp.86-94; D. F. Renn 'Burh-geat and gonfanon: two sidelights in the Bayeux Tapestry', *A-N.S.* 17 (1994), pp.177-98.

¹¹⁶ Above, p.25, fn.78.

¹¹⁷ Taylor, pp.976, 986.

¹¹⁸ M. J. Hare 'Bosham Church', *Bosham Life* (March-May 1973); above, pp.46-7.

¹¹⁹ Taylor, p.987.

make further analysis difficult, except to note the probable influence of West Saxon models for Bosham (Titchfield) and Woolbeding (the Corhampton group).

The form of minster churches

Of the possible minster churches listed in Table 1, Bosham and Stoughton have minster plans, even if the fabric of the latter dates from after the Conquest. Petworth, has a post-Conquest cruciform plan which is characteristic of some minster churches elsewhere, while Pagham, North Mundham, West Thorney, Aldingbourne and Walberton have a four-square and longer plan. The remaining churches are three-square (Selsey, West Wittering, Boxgrove) or two-cell (Tangmere, Elsted, Iping). The turriform building at Singleton was probably not a church and the Domesday Book entry for the church (Table 1) probably refers to the nearby West Dean. Of the churches not previously cited as minsters, Warblington may have been a large church (or two churches) of unusual plan, Stedham was rebuilt on the axial tower plan which often indicated high status and Rogate, Barnham and South Bersted were of the four-square plan. This correspondence is explored in chapters 10 and 11.

The Norman Conquest and afterwards

Of the 86 standing or excavated churches within the study area, 45 (52%) have fabric probably dating from the period c. 1070 – c. 1125: this percentage increases to 70 for the 27 churches for which there is evidence in Domesday Book. They can be ascribed to the Overlap period in Baldwin Brown's original sense of buildings with Anglo-Saxon features built after the Conquest. The most frequent of these features – rubble construction, large quoin stones, narrow monolithic windows and tall, narrow doorways – are also found in eleventh-century Normandy, but they may be no more than the lowest common denominators of church building of the period.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, as well as standard plans there were standard forms of construction such as Linchmere doorways and Chithurst and Tangmere windows. Such uniformity implies a concerted building campaign, particularly if the churches for which there is no evidence of Overlap fabric, but which have plans similar to those with it, are taken into account. On this basis, there are 30 small two-cell churches, 21 possible three-square churches and eight four-square or longer, all within a narrow range of sizes.

If the churches were built within a short period of time when strict east-west orientation was considered to be important then it might be expected that there would be a large number on this alignment.¹²¹ Of the 80 churches outside Chichester, 30 are orientated due east-west or within five degrees of it, but there are also clusters and 80°, 100° and 115° (Appendix 12). It is difficult to see any pattern in this. Orientation may not have been important for minor

¹²⁰ E.g. La Roche Mabile on the Montgomery lands in the *département* of Orne.

¹²¹ Morris, *Landscape*, pp.208-9.

churches, or there may have been a mixture of new churches and rebuilding of Saxon churches on the same footprint.

It seems likely that the building campaign began when there was insufficient good stone even for random rubble construction, so that fragile sandstone and Roman material were used herringbone fashion at churches like Burton (sh.D1) and Eastergate (sh.E4). As a stone industry developed, better quality rubble, and eventually blocks were used, as at Linchmere (sh.K3) and from 1070 onwards the building of the cathedral stimulated the use of Quarr stone. The churches seem most likely to have been built by local masons working largely in the Anglo-Saxon tradition: the only sculptural effects are derived from copies of work in the cathedral. The campaign had come to an end as the mid-Norman style was emerging, since the evidence for this period is either small and remote late churches in marginal areas or a second phase of building, as at East Lavant (sh.I1).

The two-cell churches were those of small manors which belonged to Earl Roger's lesser tenants and sub-tenants in 1086. They are in parishes with an average area (based on nineteenth-century boundaries) of 738 ha as opposed to the average of 1468 ha for three-cell and larger churches, although the settlement densities (using places and locative names in the lay subsidies) appear to be about the same.¹²² Although it is impossible to date most churches other than within the period c. 1070-1120, it is tempting to see them as 'very small churches on very small manors built by relatively humble and hitherto landless knights of the first post-Conquest generation'.¹²³

The three-square churches seem most likely to have been simply constructed places for worship or assembly in areas of dispersed settlement. Most were centrally located within the parishes. They appear to show a concern by post-Conquest bishops for the pastoral care of the people on their estates, perhaps implying that this had not been catered for before. They were also present within the large Wealden parishes such as Linchmere (sh.K3) and Lurgashall (sh.K5). Within the Chichester estates the instigation for these churches could be attributable to Bishop Ralph Luffa (1091-1123), both from their probable date and his reputation as a pastor, but there is no firm evidence.¹²⁴

Church building c. 1125-1200

After what appears to have been a period of intense activity up to c. 1120, there was a phase of minor additions before the development of aisles and more elaborate chancels towards the end

¹²² *Subsidies*, pp.68-105.

¹²³ J. Blair, 'Parish churches in the eleventh century'; in *Domesday Studies: the Sussex Domesday* (1990), p.66; J.F.A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his sons', *T.R.H.S.* fifth series 13 (1963), pp.7-9.

¹²⁴ Above, p.24.

of the twelfth century. As early as c. 1070-1120 pairs of arches were being cut through the nave walls at Elsted, Aldingbourne and Walberton for side chapels (sh.4.1). This process continued in a further 10 churches (sh.4.2-4), all except two of which were in ecclesiastical hands. Some of these were later rationalised into aisles which continued the length of the nave: others remained as narrow chapels until the nineteenth-century restorations. Even when a continuous aisle was built, it was often as narrow as 2-3m with a low roof and very low side walls that continued the roof line of the nave. It is difficult to see how these could have significantly increased the area for congregational use, as suggested for the development of aisles in minor churches.¹²⁵ Late twelfth/early thirteenth-century developments also saw the construction of vestries and/or chapels alongside the chancel, but only at Rogate (sh.M4) is it likely that this development took place earlier. Pagham, Oving and East Dean were enlarged to cruciform shape (shs.M3,L7,F1). Superficially there seem to have been attempts at earlier cruciform plans at West Wittering (sh.K8), Aldingbourne (sh.M1), Westhampnett (sh.E8) and East Lavant (sh.I1). However, it seems far more likely that this was the independent addition of chapels and towers.

The Value of Church Fabric as Evidence

The evidence of this chapter suggests three possibilities for the Anglo-Saxon period: very limited survival; loss during a major rebuilding campaign shortly after the Conquest; or very few Anglo-Saxon churches. There is at least some circumstantial evidence of rebuilding. For example, Selsey with its three-square church adjacent to a typical eleventh-century ringwork shows no evidence for the Anglo-Saxon cathedral (if it was at that site) while at Aldingbourne masonry of unknown date has been found in a more central position within the churchyard than the present church.¹²⁶ These issues are discussed in the individual studies in chapters 7-9 and drawn together in Chapter 10. The evidence of the siting of churches, the form of early enclosures, their relationships to manorial buildings and their endowments have the potential to increase understanding of the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical pattern and the extent to which this was reorganised after the Conquest. These are the themes of the following chapter.

¹²⁵ Morris, *Landscape*, pp.289-295.

¹²⁶ Morris, *Landscape*, pp.262-3; below, p.80; Appendix 3; Rev. Simon Holland pers. comm.

5: SITING AND ENDOWMENT OF CHURCHES

The first part of this chapter reviews the setting of churches in relation to burial grounds, enclosures and manorial buildings. It gives a classification of church sites and discusses this in relation to the origin and function of churches. The second part describes the location and origin of glebe lands, their relationship to the status of churches and the relationship between the glebes and the phase of post-Conquest church building described in the previous chapter.

Fig. 14 shows church locations based on a simple topographical classification. There is an unsurprising association of churches with water features, whether as coastal inlets, tidal rifies, springlines, or rivers. Wells, as at Up Marden and Funtington (which may contain the place-name element *funta*) may also have been important, and may explain the siting of some of the churches in categories 6-8 on Fig. 14, but no further evidence for this has been found.¹ The principal category away from water is on the edge of, or near, commons. A more informative interpretation is possible when type and size of enclosure around the church and the location of manorial buildings are taken into account, as discussed below.

The Evidence for Early Churchyards and Manorial Sites

Tithe maps give the earliest consistent evidence across the study area as a whole for the size and shape of churchyards.² In Appendix 13 they are grouped by size class and shape. The former are similar to those given for the Welsh Marches by Brook and there is some correspondence between churchyards of over 1 acre (0.4 ha) and churches that may have had early importance on the basis of the evidence given in Table 1. This corresponds with the findings of Brook and Thomas.³ However, a better explanation is that churchyard sizes were proportional to parish size and thus probably to early modern populations, as can be seen from the appendix. For example, Fernhurst was a chapelry of Easebourne and Funtington did not have its own burial rights until the fifteenth century, but both had large churchyards.⁴ At least six churchyards were enlarged in the early nineteenth century, and Woolbeding's was reduced in 1743.⁵ Moreover, many churchyards are rectangular, with early nineteenth-century walls having superseded the fences shown on earlier engravings. If more complex shapes were originally present, they were lost at this time. Nevertheless earlier forms are suggested by three other sources of evidence. In six cases there is, or was, glebe contiguous with the churchyard, giving convincing ovoid or rectangular enclosures like North Mundham (Fig.

¹ Up Marden has a 'Well House' adjacent. Funtington well can be seen in the churchyard. For *funta* see Coates, *Linguistic History*, p.5. The *bourne* at Easebourne is said in a church guide to flow beneath the church, and this seems likely from the lie of the land.

² W.S.R.O. TD/W137. Estate maps have also been looked at but the most accurate ones were the basis for the tithe maps.

³ Brook, 'Churches', pp.77-87; C. Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (1971), pp.30-2.

⁴ Fernhurst, below, p.145; Funtington, below, p.122.

⁵ EpI/88/3, ff.5-40.

19AD). It is unlikely that these regular shapes were formed by adding adjacent tenements to smaller churchyards, and they may thus be of early origin. Second, at Westbourne finds outside the present churchyard indicate a more extensive burial ground (Fig. 20).⁶ Third, the map and air photograph evidence combined with field observations of banks and changes in level indicates that there may have been larger earlier enclosures around the present churchyards, e.g. West Wittering (Fig. 19BL), or around the church and manor house, e.g. Barnham (Fig. 19AA).

The location of manorial centres presents difficulties. Within the study area there is archaeological evidence for pre-Conquest buildings near the church only at Harting, Walberton, Pagham and (possibly) Aldingbourne.⁷ Medieval fabric is known from only 12 probable manor houses (Appendix 14) although this may reflect the lack of detailed study.⁸ The lack of documentary evidence has been discussed above. In common with other studies it has been assumed in many cases that surviving manor houses are probably on the sites of, or near, the medieval ones.⁹ Where there is no other evidence, they may be represented by the Manor Farm. There is some support for this in the fact that many Domesday Book manors were absorbed into the honors of Arundel and Petworth, or were acquired by religious houses, so that the status of the manor house declined in the Middle Ages and it may no longer be recognisable as such: e.g. at Up Waltham it was divided into cottages.¹⁰ Savidge notes that some manor houses became rectories when no longer required, and this was probably the case at Selsey and Westbourne.¹¹

Enclosures and Settings

Enclosures, distinctive settings of churches and churches grouped with manorial buildings can be placed in the following categories: villages; burys; greens; triangular forms; rectangular and sub-rectangular forms; and round or ovoid enclosures. These are described below, illustrated by examples in Figs. 19-25 and listed in Appendix 14.

⁶ Below, p.79; above, p.28.

⁷ Above, p.45; below, pp.127-8.

⁸ Above, p.45: the principal sources used have been English Heritage citations for Listed buildings and the V.C.H.

⁹ Morris, *Churches*, pp.248-250; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.134-5.

¹⁰ V.C.H. 4, p.174.

¹¹ A. Savidge, *The Parsonage in England, its History and Architecture* (1964), p.33. The manor house at Selsey was built in the sixteenth century (V.C.H. 4, pp.206-7) but the rectory has twelfth-century fabric and is about 300m from the church, perhaps replacing a manorial building associated within the eleventh-century ringwork (Fig. 19AF). The fourteenth-century rectory at Westbourne (50 m from the church) appears to have been the original manor house, replaced by 1663 with the present one (J.H. Sperling, 'The parochial history of Westbourne', *S.A.C.*, 22 (1870), p.96; V.C.H. 4, p.126).

Villages

Within the six village sites (Fig. 21), the church lies just outside an irregular loop of lanes around which the modern village is distributed, except at Oving where it lies inside (Singleton is considered under round/ovoid enclosures). There is some similarity in this arrangement to the enclosures with a church outside described by Hase and Hall in Wessex, although except at Oving, the shapes are very irregular.¹² Moreover, changes are known to have taken place at Slindon in the 1150s when the glebe was re-organised and in the early thirteenth century when the archbishop's park was formed, probably removing part of the churchyard, so that this may not reflect an early form.¹³

Burys

This category comprises sub-rectangular enclosures around church and manor house (Fig. 22), or in two cases around the manor house only. Sizes are as small as 1 ha but there are several of about 4 ha. In some cases fields within or adjacent to the enclosure are called *bury*. There are many *bury* field names as well as minor place-names in the study area such as Oldbury Farm (Boxgrove), Bury Barns (Wittering) and Barfold (Lurgashall). They usually lie close to a manorial centre (e.g. at Singleton, North Mundham and Bosham) and *bury* in this sense appears to be no more than a term for fields, barns or *falod* belonging to the manor or the manor itself, as probably it is in the midlands.¹⁴ At Harting the form of the enclosure is related to the construction of a moat in the thirteenth century, but the enclosures are otherwise impossible to date and are certainly not related to the sub-rectangular *burys* which characterised West Saxon settlement west of Selwood or to Anglo-Saxon defended sites.¹⁵

Green-sides

Green is used here not in the sense of a planned layout around a central space found, for instance, in East Anglia and Co. Durham, but in the sense of an unstructured settlement around a common, similar to those found in Suffolk.¹⁶ The church was at the edge of the green which lay at the junction of several trackways. If there was a manor, the manor house was a considerable distance away. At Egdean the post-medieval enclosure of common around the church can be traced (Fig. 23). It seems likely that churches such as Rogate and Fishbourne which are now surrounded by fields, but are at the meeting point of trackways and where there

¹² Hase, 'Wessex', p.58; T.A. Hall, 'Minster churches in the Dorset landscape', unpub. Univ. Leicester M.Phil, thesis (1997), pp.105-43.

¹³ V.C.H. 4, p.237; P.R.O.E40/14200,15775.

¹⁴ Paul Courtney pers com. Dr Courtney points to Burystead at Raunds as an example of a manorial site.

¹⁵ M.P.2677,2690-1; W.G. Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion of Wessex* in W.G. Hoskins and H.P.R. Finberg, eds, *Devonshire Studies* (1952).

¹⁶ P. Wade-Martins, 'The origins of rural settlement in East Anglia' in P.J. Fowler, ed., *Recent Work in Rural Archaeology* (1975), pp.135-57; B.K. Roberts, *Rural Settlement in Britain* (1977), pp.117-58; P. Warner, *Greens, Commons and Claylands Colonisation: the Origin and Development of Green-Side Settlement in East Suffolk* (1987). Blair, *Surrey*, p.58 discusses similar sites.

is some field boundary evidence of greens may be of similar origin.¹⁷ If this wider view is taken, 14 churches would fall into this category, 10 of which are of three-square or longer plan, reinforcing the idea that they were centrally-sited to serve a scattered community. Only three have manor houses within 100 m. Indeed, most of the manors in these parishes appear to have been established long after the Conquest, indicating that the churches were probably originally isolated, and perhaps a focus for settlement, as they were in similar locations in Suffolk.¹⁸

Triangular forms

Of the six sites in this category, Earnley and Tillington seem to be no more than the result of the meeting of trackways at the edges of the commons. Compton is only roughly triangular and is similar in location to Graffham (Fig. 25D). Aldingbourne, Bosham and Westbourne (Figs. 20, 24) are very similar in the relationship of the church to a watercourse.¹⁹ However, at Westbourne it is likely that there was originally a larger burial ground, altered by the re-routing of the road very close to the church to serve the market established by 1231 x 2 (a fair may have been present as early as 1071) so that the triangular form is late and an original sub-rectangular enclosure of about 3-4 ha is more probable.²⁰

Rectangular and sub-rectangular forms

Most of these enclosures (Fig. 25), which surround the church and manor house, are marked by lanes and hedgebanks. But they may be no more than the distinction between paddocks, gardens and orchards around the manor house on the one hand, and the fields on the other. At Woolbeding, for instance, the layout was altered by eighteenth-century landscaping.²¹ There is, nevertheless, a consistency of size and shape. Chidham (Fig. 25A), Iping and Funtington (Fig. 25B) have distinct north-south orientated enclosures marked by lanes, and these may be of similar but equally un-datable origin as the *burys*. The enclosures at Coates (Fig. 25C), Rumboldswyke, Up Waltham and Westhampnett (Fig. 25D) cover an area of about an acre (0.4 ha) and may represent early burial grounds which have subsequently shrunk.

¹⁷ North Chapel, Rogate, Linchmere, West Marden, Walberton, Fishbourne and Boxgrove are candidates. The isolated churches of the East Sussex Weald may also have arisen in this way (P.F. Brandon and B. G. Short, *The South East from A.D. 1000* (1990), p.26).

¹⁸ The development of the manors is described in V.C.H. 4; Warner, *Greens*, p.2.

¹⁹ The Bosham channel is artificial and probably dates from before 1192. (H. Toller, 'An excavation at Broadbridge, Bosham, 1976', *S.A.C.* 119 (1981), pp.214-6).

²⁰ Sperling, 'Westbourne', pp.81,78; Mee, *Bourne*, pp.37, 39; J. Bleach and M. Gardiner, 'Medieval markets and ports' in *Atlas*, pp.42-3. There is similar evidence for a larger burial ground at Steyning (Welch, pp.457-8).

²¹ Epl/88/3,f.41.

Round and ovoid enclosures

There are 19 round or ovoid enclosures that can be discussed in eight categories. At Selsey (Fig. 19AF) there is a ringwork of a recognised eleventh-century type with the church at its edge. It contains a thick-walled building that was used as a bell tower in the later Middle Ages but was probably originally defensive.²² The ringwork occupies a prominent site overlooking Pagham harbour, and it is surprising that there is no evidence for similar structures in the study area. Apart from the de Bohuns' castle at Midhurst and the bishop's castle at Aldingbourne, Lodsworth is the only other known eleventh- or twelfth-century defensive site.²³ The form of Singleton (Fig. 21E), with a small round churchyard adjacent to a larger, more or less round, enclosure marked by lanes and water courses is similar in some respects to the West Saxon minster sites. But it is possible that the small enclosure contained a secular building in the eleventh century.²⁴ It may be related to the establishment of a hundredal centre, particularly since there is a Charlton 500 m away.²⁵

The third category comprises Chithurst, North Marden and East Dean. East Dean church is within a probable ovoid enclosure of about 0.2 ha, but nearby there is an circular enclosure of about 0.4 ha within deeply-cut lanes. Chithurst church and manor house (Fig. 19AB) are next to a circular enclosure of c. 0.4 ha. The church, which probably dates from the late eleventh century (sh.C1) is on an artificial mound too small for more than a handful of burials. The mid eleventh-century grave covers adjacent to it could have come from an earlier cemetery on the circular site, with the church being built or rebuilt in close proximity to the manor house by a new Norman lord.²⁶ There is a similar relationship at North Marden where the church was built c. 1125-45 (sh.H3). It may be no more than coincidence that these churches are orientated due east-west in the appropriate Norman manner.

In addition to East Dean, at Up Marden, West Stoke, East Wittering, Elsted, Aldingbourne and Stoughton the churches are within round or ovoid enclosures: sizes vary from c. 0.2 to c. 0.4 ha. Up Marden is the only churchyard with a substantial bank around it (Fig. 19BJ), although air photographs also show a curved bank in the adjacent field which may have been part of a larger enclosure related to the eighth-century occupation site found here.²⁷ It is the only true hilltop site in the study area (West Stoke, Graffham, Compton and Linchmere are on upper slopes below the crest). The thirteenth-century church, which incorporates earlier

²² F.G. Aldsworth, 'The Mound', at Church Norton, Selsey and the site of St. Wilfrid's church'. *S.A.C.* 117 (1981), pp.103-7; Aldsworth, 'Mound', pp.217-21.

²³ R. Jones, 'Castles and other defensive sites' in *Atlas*, pp.56-1.

²⁴ Hase, 'Wessex', p.58.

²⁵ D.B., p.421; H.P.R. Finberg, 'Charletons and Carltons' in his *Lucernae: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (1964), pp.144-60.

²⁶ Tweddle, pp.188-90.

²⁷ W.S.C.C. 1947 air photograph SU82NW; A. Down and A. Rule, *Excavations* 7 (1990), pp.1-10; J. Magilton, 'Compton: trial excavations at Up Marden', *A.C.D.* (1989), pp.21-2.

masonry, is set to one side of the churchyard, perhaps indicating that there was an earlier building at the centre, as at Witham in Essex. It may be that the churchyard was the successor to the pagan and conversion period cemeteries 800 m away at Appledown.²⁸ In contrast, East Wittering churchyard may date from the building of a chapel in c. 1125 x 45, although it is always possible that there was an earlier burial ground.²⁹ It is argued below that Elsted churchyard may also be late.³⁰ Of the remaining churches in this group, Aldingbourne and Stoughton (Fig. 19BI) certainly had high-status buildings and West Stoke (Fig. 19BK) is of interest because although it was a small parish within the Bosham estate with a two-cell church, it lies at the junction of the Lavant and Bosham estates and its *stoc* name may indicate early importance.³¹ Although there are parallels with *lan* churches in shape and area in this group, only Up Marden has a distinct boundary bank. Since they cannot be dated and since rectangular churchyards are known from at least the tenth century, the shape of the churchyard may ultimately not be significant.³²

The fifth category comprises North Mundham, West Wittering and Petworth (Figs. 19 AD, BL,G) where the enclosures are much larger than the typical *lan*, although the shape of Petworth is difficult to judge due to the post-medieval expansion of Petworth House. All three of these churches are at possible minster sites (Table 1). In the sixth category, oval enclosures of varying size containing church and manorial buildings are found at Barnham, Stedham, Linch and Cocking (Figs. 19AA,C,BH,M). The first two are similar in form to the minster enclosures at Bampton and Lambourn.³³ At Cocking there appears to have been an outer enclosure, marked for at least half its circumference by a watercourse, and a inner enclosure obscured by boundary changes and building demolition between 1840 and 1875, but these are far less regular than acknowledged circular enclosures.³⁴

The relationship between churches and manorial buildings

Appendix 14 shows that the great majority of two-cell churches have manorial buildings within 100 m and often much closer. Even when, as at Burton and Westhampnett, the manor house is further away, this may well be related to the building of more substantial manor houses in the late- or post-medieval periods. In the case of Slindon, the present manor house may date from the Archbishop of Canterbury's increased use from the early thirteenth century with the probable re-siting of the manor house and enlargement of the park, the boundary of which is

²⁸ W.J. Rodwell, *The Origin and Early Development of Witham, Essex Oxbow Monograph 26* (1993), pp.35,74; Down and Rule, *Excavations 7*, pp.1-10.

²⁹ Sh. 13; *Acta*, 94; *Chi. Chart.*, 191.

³⁰ Below, p.87.

³¹ Below, p.147.

³² Morris, *Landscape*, p.230-1.

³³ Blair, 'Topo', p.233.

³⁴ Blair, 'Topo', pp.229-35.

10 m from the church.³⁵ At Didling the reverse seems to have happened. A church was founded, or more probably re-endowed, in 1218 x 22: it is now isolated about 500 m from a small area of glebe close to the manor house and on the main track along the scarp foot zone.³⁶ It seems quite likely that this was the location of an earlier church, since the sites of lost churches remained glebe elsewhere, such as East Itchenor.³⁷

There appear to be two principal cases where manorial buildings were distant from the church, and for radically different reasons. In Wealden parishes such as Fernhurst and Linchmere, and also at green-side locations in the Manhood Peninsula like Birdham, a manor emerged very late, or not at all.³⁸ At Fernhurst for instance, the church was built on land belonging to Heyshott manor and at Linchmere a manor seems only to have emerged after the Reformation based on the estates of Shulebrede Priory.³⁹ In contrast, there are six cases on the coastal plain where early manors and manorial buildings are known. The manorial centre of the Bishop of Exeter's Bosham estate was at Chidham.⁴⁰ This is 1.6 km away from Bosham church which was part of the bishop's estate, but the church was immediately adjacent to the manorial centre of the Berkeley manor of Bosham, which was the successor to the royal manor T.R.E.⁴¹ It is argued in Chapter 8 that there was originally a single royal estate that included the church, which was given to Osbern, Edward the Confessor's Norman chaplain, and that the church and original estate centre lay side by side.⁴² However, at Aldingbourne, Pagham and Wittering, churches of the period 1070-1120 (shs.M1,M3,K7) were 800 m, 1.4 km and 1.2 km respectively from twelfth-century or earlier high-status estate centres (Appendix 14). All three had pre-Conquest minsters and the topography is similar to probable minster sites elsewhere in Sussex such as South Malling and Peppering.⁴³ At Warblington the earliest known manorial evidence is the moated site 200 m from the church.⁴⁴

The Characteristics and Origins of Church Sites

The above evidence allows Fig. 14 to be re-interpreted in the context of the coastal plain, Downs, Rother Valley and Weald. In the eleventh century, Bosham, Selsey and West Thorney had direct access to the sea. West Wittering, Warblington and Pagham were on tidal inlets and

³⁵ Above fn. 13; K. Major, *Acta Stephani Langton Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1207-1228* (1950), pp.165-7; E.N. Davis, *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury 1279-92* 2 (1969), pp.lx-xv, 10-14,186.

³⁶ *Acta*, 334; TA/W39.

³⁷ TA/W16; Fig. 28C.

³⁸ V.C.H. 4, pp.56,60-1,69,199-200.

³⁹ A.M. Tudor, *Fernhurst: a story of a Sussex Village* (1969), pp.5-6; *Reading Chart.*, 552,553; V.C.H. 4, p.69.

⁴⁰ Below, p.120-2.

⁴¹ H. Hall, *Bosham and its Berkeley Barons: a Medieval Manor 1483-1919* (1985), pp.1-21; D.B., p.387.

⁴² Below, p.121.

⁴³ Jones, 'Multiple estates', pp.20-23; unpublished work by John Bleach has identified a cruciform church at South Malling. For Peppering see below, p.171, fn.42.

⁴⁴ Hants S.M.R. SU70NW77B.

Aldingbourne and North Mundham were adjacent to rife which were almost certainly tidal. The last was on what would have been a substantial river until the diversion of the River Lavant.⁴⁵ The River Ems at Westbourne would have been a bigger watercourse and Barnham would have had access to open water. The documentary and archaeological evidence for probable pre-Conquest importance of all of these sites is thus supported by their topography. Tangmere and, more probably, Oving could have been of early importance on the basis of their enclosures but there is no other evidence to support this. On the Manhood Peninsula, Birdham, Earnley and Sidlesham had typical green-side settings around the edge of Manhood Common. But although the remaining coastal plain sites have manorial centres near churches, they are generally not a close group of the type found in the Downs and Rother Valley. Thus Donnington church is about 250 m from the manor house where the lord of the manor had a chapel in the late Middle Ages and where the church is of the three-square type.⁴⁶ The manor house of Apuldrum is about 200 m from the church, which was a chapel of Bosham until the seventeenth century: like Fishbourne it would have been close to the water's edge and may have been built to serve trading settlements rather than being purely manorial. The pattern on the coastal plain thus illustrates the importance of the major estates centres, the importance of the Manhood commons and the uncertain origin of the small estates.

On the Downs, hilltop or upper hillside round or ovoid enclosures at Up Marden, North Marden, East Dean and West Stoke may be associated with early to mid-Anglo-Saxon settlement, although there is only firm evidence at Up Marden. Larger enclosures at Compton and Graffham, perhaps places of significance because of royal status (Table 1) and a *ham* name respectively, are further down the valley sides, and the remaining church sites are at the valley bottoms, typically close to manor houses except at Stoughton and Singleton, both of which were of high status (Table 1). To the north, along the scarp foot zone and the River Rother, churches are generally very close to manor houses and without distinctive enclosures other than rectangular ones of indeterminate age (Fig. 25). The exceptions are Stedham, Cocking and Linch.⁴⁷ In the Weald, green-side sites and three-square churches predominate except at Petworth, sited on a hilltop overlooking the Rother valley within an ovoid enclosure and the site of a probable minster (Table 1) and with a cluster of small two-cell churches around it. Thus while there is no clear correlation between the possible minsters given in Table 1 and church fabric and plans, there is a more significant one with their topography.

The Landed Endowment of the Church

The pre-Conquest endowment of some churches is evident in the Selsey charters and to some extent in Domesday Book. A complete record of values is not available until the Taxation of

⁴⁵ Below, p.112.

⁴⁶ *Chi. Chart.*, 926.

⁴⁷ See below, pp.143-6 for the possible high status of the first two.

Pope Nicholas, it is not until the seventeenth century that there is a full record of the extent and location of glebes, although there is good coverage in the *Inquisitiones Nonarum*. Nevertheless, it is possible to piece together something of the history of ecclesiastical lands in Sussex and to identify how the distinctions between the lands of the Bishop of Chichester, the chapter, the peculiars of Bosham and Pagham (Fig. 10) and the glebes of individual churches emerged by the thirteenth century.

The pre-Conquest lands of the see and the Pagham estate

The difficulties of identifying the original endowment of the see have been analysed by Kelly.⁴⁸ The *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, written shortly after his death, states that on his arrival in Sussex in 680-1 he was given King Athelwealh's own estate (*villam suam propriam, in qua manebat*) to which were added 87 hides in Selsey.⁴⁹ This land appears to have formed the endowment of the South Saxon see when it was established in 705.⁵⁰ Kelly notes that such a precise figure is very unusual at this time, suggesting that it was the accumulation of several grants and that Selsey must have been the centre of an extensive estate, since the island could never have contained 87 hides.⁵¹ Forged charters of the tenth century give the original endowment as 55/42 hides in the Manhood peninsula plus 32/33 (*recte* 34/38) hides around Aldingbourne and North Mundham.⁵² In 1066 the bishop held 36 out of 42½ hides comprising the hundred.⁵³ But although some of the original endowment may have been in the peninsula, authentic charters of c. 700, 714, 930 and 945 adding land in Highleigh, Sidlesham, Medmerry and Bracklesham show that it was never the whole of it.⁵⁴ Moreover, another basically authentic charter of 733 x (747 x c. 765) granted 18 hides at Wittering for the foundation of a proprietary minster and one of 692 x 709 gave 33 hides for the foundation of a proprietary *monasterium basilicamque* at Aldingbourne/Mundham.⁵⁵

The evidence for the location of the see's Manhood lands ranges from the thirteenth century to the Parliamentary Surveys of the seventeenth.⁵⁶ However, this may reflect early medieval locations, since the episcopal and capitular records give only minor and piecemeal increments, mainly related to augmenting capitular offices, although there was much shuffling of land and tithes as prebends were formed and rearranged.⁵⁷ This evidence shows that the bishop's lands lay south of Manhood Common around the Witterings, Selsey and Sidlesham (Fig. 31). The

⁴⁸ Kelly, pp.iv-ixxiii.

⁴⁹ *Life*, pp.x-ix.

⁵⁰ *H.E.*, p.299; Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.178-9.

⁵¹ Kelly, pp.ix-ixiii. The D. B. 10 hide manor occupied most of the island.

⁵² Kelly, 1,20.

⁵³ D.B., pp.390-1.

⁵⁴ Kelly, 3,6,17,18.

⁵⁵ Kelly, 7, 2.

⁵⁶ P.R.O.SC6/1131/11; EpVI/17 (Aldingbourne); P.R.O.SC12/31/24 (Selsey); EpI/I/33(Wittering/Cakeham) W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.6165; *Chl. Cust.*, pp.1-32,33-9,56-60,126-33; Cap I/30/2-3, I/48/1 (Parliamentary Surveys).

⁵⁷ *Fasti*, pp.xv-xxvii.

18 hides granted to Wittering in the eighth century probably survived as the 14 hides of the Wittering estate T.R.E., with another hide having been secularised.⁵⁸ This land appears to have been split by the twelfth century between the bishop's manor of Cakeham (which included over 460 acres of demesne arable in the fourteenth century) and a mosaic of lands forming the prebends of East Thorney, Somerley, Highleigh, Bracklesham and Sidlesham which were ordained between 1086 and 1197 x 8.⁵⁹ Similarly, the bishop's manor of Sidlesham (242 acres and 27 virgates in the fourteenth century) was split between centres around Sidlesham and Ham. The remaining parts of what is now the parish of Sidlesham were split between the prebendal lands of Gates, Hurst, Sidlesham and Highleigh which extended northwards to abut the Archbishop of Canterbury's Pagham estate.⁶⁰ The island of Selsey was divided between the bishop's manor and the prebends of Waltham and East Thorney.⁶¹ Brooks has suggested that the Pagham estate was originally part of the Selsey endowment, given to Canterbury in exchange for help in recovering the episcopal lands seized at some times before 957.⁶² The exchange required the forged charters Kelly 1 and 20, together with S230 which probably made use of an earlier boundary description of the core estate, perhaps as early as the seventh century.⁶³ The outlying parts of the estate recorded in Domesday Book appear to have been later acquisitions.⁶⁴ It is no more speculative than other proposals for the original endowment to suggest that it may have extended from Selsey northwards and eastwards around Pagham Harbour to include the Pagham estate (Fig. 31).

Aldingbourne (and perhaps the other lands granted in 692 x 709) was in royal hands by the ninth century, but it was the centre of a 36-hide episcopal estate in 1086.⁶⁵ The relationship of this estate to the endowment of the see is best understood by considering the post-Conquest Aldingbourne manor and the prebendal lands in the area, together with the 16 hides which the canons of Chichester held '*communiter*' in 1086.⁶⁶ The dean's manor, and parts of Bracklesham and Somerley prebends formed a block of land (191 acres of demesne in the seventeenth century) between the west gate of Chichester and the road to Kingsham (Fig. 32).⁶⁷ Part of Ipthorne prebend (13 acres in 1649) lay between Kingsham and St. Pancras just

⁵⁸ D.B., pp.391,427.

⁵⁹ *Chi. Cust.*, p.126; R. A. Pelham, 'The agricultural geography of the Chichester estates in 1388', S.A.C. 78 (1937), pp.205-6; Cap I/48/1ff.1-20; CapII/49/1; TD/W 51; *Acta* 101; *Fasti*, p.xvii.

⁶⁰ W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.1990; *Chi. Cust.*, pp.22-32,127; Pelham 'Estates', p.206; CapI/481,ff.17-20,63-8; CapII/49/1; TD/W21.

⁶¹ Harper-Bill, *Selsey*, map of 1672; *Chi. Cust.*, pp.22-32; P.R.O.SC6/1028/16, SC12/31/24; CapI/481ff. 1-4,138.

⁶² Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.240-3.

⁶³ Kelly, pp.99-103; below, pp.124-6.

⁶⁴ Below, pp.123-8.

⁶⁵ Kelly, 2; A.W., p.494; D.B., p.390.

⁶⁶ D.B., p.391.

⁶⁷ B.L.Add.Ms.5689,f.31; CapI/48,ff.5-161; TD/W28. In general, the prebendaries kept land in hand near the city with copyholds in the outlying areas.

outside the east gate.⁶⁸ The bishop acquired land from the king here and to the north in the former royal hunting grounds of The Broyle in 1229.⁶⁹ Several prebendaries held strips in the Portfield. To the east, were the precentor's manor of Oving (410 acres and 12 virgates), the prebends of Woodhorn (133 acres and 8 virgates) and Colworth (4 hides in 988, 169 acres and 8 virgates in 1649), and the episcopal manor of Aldingbourne (38½ acres of demesne able and 27 virgates) with the prebend of Gates (240 acres). Beyond this was Eartham (possible 11 hides in 1322) and Up Waltham (390 acres).⁷⁰

Since 10 hides of Aldingbourne's 36 T.R.E. were attached to the church (Table 1), the scattered prebendal lands would have accounted for much of the rest of the 1066 endowment and may have been acquired in the following way. Aldingbourne became royal property before the late ninth century when it is mentioned in Alfred's Will. Some of the land, such as the nine hides at North Mundham, became, or had become, permanently secularised.⁷¹ The acquisition may have been at about the same time that the *burh* of Chichester was created and where a nunnery was founded, which by 1066 had become St. Peter's minster, the *parochia* of which probably comprised the post-Conquest Dean of Chichester's peculiar (Fig. 32).⁷² The land around the city within the *parochia* appears to have been originally mainly in royal hands. The Broyle belonged to the king until the thirteenth century, Kingsham and the land beyond the east gate until the 1120s.⁷³ It is possible that, between the end of the ninth century and 1066, land within the *parochia*, which included the land that later formed the deanery manor and the prebendal lands, was granted to St. Peter's minster. This would never have amounted to 16 hides, so that the canons' common holding must have included some of the land to the east. The process may have been quite late, since Colworth was granted to a layman in 988.⁷⁴ If the land around and to the east of Chichester was granted to St. Peter's minster and not the see, this would partially explain a forged post-Conquest charter based on an authentic diploma of King Edgar justifying Chichester's possession of 60 hides, probably located in the region of Oving, Halnaker, Eartham and Up Waltham.⁷⁵ However they were acquired, the bishop of Selsey's lands in Manhood, around Chichester and between Up Waltham and Aldingbourne formed the endowment of bishopric, chapter and individual churches after 1066.

⁶⁸ CapI/48/1, f.152.

⁶⁹ *Chi. Chart.*, 137.

⁷⁰ CapI/48/1, ff.21-6, 62-83, 90-112, 138; *Chi. Cust.*, pp.33-99; Kelly, 21. No early documentary evidence for Eartham has been found, but the bishops' two tenants at Eartham were responsible for 11 perches of the paling at Aldingbourne Park, which equated to a holding of 11 hides (*Chi. Chart.*, pp.40-1; V.C.H. 4, p.152).

⁷¹ Kelly, pp.lxxii-iii.

⁷² *Hic Stigandus ... ubi factus episcopus mutavit sedem in Cicestram dioceses suae civitatem proper mare ubi antiquus et Sancti Petri monasterium et congregatio fuerat sanctimonialium.* (William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ed., N.E.A.S. Hamilton R. S. (1870), p.205). See also Peckham, 'Parishes', pp.69-70. It is, however, possible that the royal lands were acquired from the escheat of the Montgomery estates in 1102 (below, p.141).

⁷³ *Chi. Chart.*, 137; *Book of Fees* 1, pp.72-3.

⁷⁴ Kelly, 21, 17.

⁷⁵ Kelly, 19.

There is slight evidence of pre-Conquest episcopal lands in two more places: *Dene* and Treyford. Twenty hides at *Hugabeorgum* and *Dene* were granted to the bishop in a forged charter of the tenth century, perhaps based on an eighth-century original.⁷⁶ *Hugabeorgum* cannot be traced, but *Dene* may have been East or West Dean (Fig. 43).⁷⁷ It was probably also the Dean where Asser first met Alfred and is near Ellingsdean, the probable site of *Aethelingadene* where the Hampshire *fyrð* fought Vikings in 1001.⁷⁸ If it belonged to Selsey, *Dene* was presumably acquired by the West Saxon kings in the same way as Aldingbourne. In 1066 East and West Dean were within the 97½-hide Singleton estate of Earl Godwine. A prebend of West Dean and East Dean belonged to Arundel College in the twelfth century, but the canons of Chichester, perhaps as successors to the canons of St. Peter's minster, had rights in it.⁷⁹ The three and a half hides belonging to Singleton church in 1086 survived as the endowments of Singleton and East Dean churches (one and a half hides combined in 1341), plus the rectorial manor of West Dean, valued at 8 marks in 1341 and having the equivalent of at least 8 virgates as late as 1734.⁸⁰

Two hides at Treyford has been widely discussed because they were held '*in prebenda ecclesie de cicestre*' T.R.W. and from the bishop '*in feudo*' T.R.E.⁸¹ Treyford did not survive as an independent prebend. Ipthorne prebend held land in Treyford but this was of low value in the *Valor*, probably corresponding with the 22 acres in the Parliamentary Survey.⁸² It seems unlikely that prebend at this time meant full possession of the land and may have been a cash or food render. The Domesday Book prebend of two virgates held by Acard the priest at Walberton, perhaps attached to Arundel College, may have been similar.⁸³ However, a case can be made for the late partition of lands in the Elsted/Treyford area between the see, the Bosham estate and New Minster, Winchester (Fig. 26). The parish boundaries indicate that Treyford/Elsted was originally one unit with the glebe of the two parishes and the prebendal lands towards the centre.⁸⁴ Elsted church is on a low ridge overlooking the Gault Clay. It differs from Treyford and the rest of the scarp foot zone in being away from the springline and not having outliers: it may therefore be a more recent land unit. The 11-hide manor of Treyford was said to belong to New Minster T.R.E. when Elsted (13 hides) was held by

⁷⁶ Kelly, 4.

⁷⁷ Kelly, pp.27,29; M.F. Gardiner and R. Coates, 'Ellingsdean, a Viking battlefield identified', *S.A.C.* 125 (1987), pp.251-2; E. Barker, 'Sussex Anglo-Saxon charters', *S.A.C.* 86 (1947), pp.65-9; R. Fosberg, 'A contribution to a dictionary of Old English place-names', *Nomina Germanica* 9 (1950), pp.63-4 suggests East/West Dean in East Sussex.

⁷⁸ Gardiner and Coates, p.251; S. 904; W.H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (1904), p.7.

⁷⁹ D.B., p.421; *Chl. Chart.*, 117; below, pp.96,129-32.

⁸⁰ *Inq. Non.*, p.364; Cap I/46; below, pp.129-32.

⁸¹ D.B., p.422; *Acta*, p.42,76; *Fasti*, xvii; Kelly, p.ix.

⁸² *Fasti*, xviii; Cap I/48/1, ff.152-4.

⁸³ D.B., p.431; below, p.140.

⁸⁴ TD/W129,53.

Osbern.⁸⁵ Treyford/Elsted may thus have originally been royal land, contiguous with the 80-hide royal estate of Harting and within a probable royal estate which formed the strip parishes, partitioned between the Bosham estate and New Minster, with a token two hides being given to the diocese.⁸⁶

The origin of Domesday Book endowments

In summary, the endowment in 1066, which remained largely unchanged as the lands of the bishopric and chapter throughout the Middle Ages, had been acquired by the end of the eighth century, even if Aldingbourne was subsequently alienated to the king and re-acquired. The exception was probably the land around Chichester, which may date from a tenth-century endowment of St. Peter's minster. Lands granted to minsters at Wittering, Aldingbourne/Mundham in the eighth century were absorbed into the episcopal estates, with only Aldingbourne church having an endowment (10 hides) in 1066. The three and a half hides belonging to the church of the Singleton estate may ultimately have derived from a grant to the see, but the evidence is tenuous.

In addition to the episcopal lands and their churches, Domesday Book gives endowments for Bosham, West Thorney, Elsted, Boxgrove and Stoughton churches and mentions ecclesiastical lands at Rogate and Westbourne. There is no evidence for glebe at Bosham before 1066 when Earl Godwine held a manor of 56½ hides and Osbern held 65 hides.⁸⁷ The church had tithes valued at 40 shillings and five *clerici* held two hides between them. When the college at Bosham was reconstituted in 1123 the prebends were endowed with tithes, with the exception of Walton, where the block 87½ acres of tithe freeland in 1846 has all the appearance of the residue of the original two hides.⁸⁸ Ralph the priest, who held a hide at Elsted, may have been the Ralph who held a hide of the church at West Thorney, both of which were within the Bosham estate. At the latter, one *clericus* held a hide and four *clerici* held a hide in common. One hide still belonged to West Thorney in 1341.⁸⁹

As well as the prebend at *Dene*, Arundel College held four hides within the Harting estate which became the manor of Rogate College.⁹⁰ This comprised at least 400 acres in the sixteenth century, but was soon afterwards merged with the manor of Rogate Bohunt and its location cannot now be traced. Nor can a convincing connection be made with the endowment of Rogate church and the location of the land at Westbourne held *ad monasterium* is

⁸⁵ D.B., pp.392,422.

⁸⁶ Below, pp.128-9,145-7.

⁸⁷ D.B., p.387, 392.

⁸⁸ Below, pp.122-3.

⁸⁹ D.B., p.392; *Inq. Non.*, p.365; Appendix 15.

⁹⁰ D.B., p.422; V.C.H. 4, pp.22-4.

unknown.⁹¹ The one hide at Boxgrove which belonged to *clerici* has been taken as evidence of a pre-Conquest minster but a case against this is argued in Chapter 9.⁹² Finally, nothing is known about pre-Conquest Stoughton, but in this case the topographical and architectural evidence indicate that its one and a half hides in 1066, which survived as a rectorial manor, were probably those of a minster.⁹³

Post-Conquest endowments

The size and location of glebes after 1086 can be identified from the *Inquisitiones Nonarum*, glebe terriers and tithe maps.⁹⁴ In a few instances, individual endowments are recorded in the chartularies and the extents of alien priories, although the location is never given.⁹⁵ Appendix 15 has been prepared on the basis of this information, listing glebes in the categories of half, one, two and four virgates and rectorial manors. In arriving at these figures it has been necessary to consider:

- the size of the Sussex virgate or yardland;
- the relationship between the amount of glebe and the value of a living;
- the use of customary acres (variable, but generally 80% of a statute acre);
- the nature of untithed land;
- declines and increases in individual endowments.

Virgates varied greatly in size, but were usually small on the better land. Within the study area there was a broad pattern of about 16 acres on the coastal plain, 20-30 on the Downs and larger figures within the Weald, but there was variation even within the same manor: for example at Westbourne there were virgates of 18, 24, 28 and 40 acres.⁹⁶ Although Sussex virgates and hides have been described as nominal units related to services due, virgates, at least, were consistent units which took account of land quality.⁹⁷ For instance, variation in Westbourne manor reflects the range of soils from the poor gravels at the edge of Hambrook Common to alluvium within the flood plain of the River Ems.⁹⁸ At Tangmere the virgate was only eight acres, but the virgater's share of common marsh must have been of significant value.⁹⁹ This consistency is reflected in the general picture of between one and two virgates as the typical holding of freemen and the better-off villans and copyholders.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ B.L.Add.Ms.5689,f.27; below, pp.128-30; D.B., p.425; below, p.135.

⁹² D.B., p.433; below, pp.136-7.

⁹³ D.B., p.426; above, pp.71,81.

⁹⁴ Above, p.37.

⁹⁵ *Acta*, p.94; *Chi. Chart.*, 246, 334; *Lewes Chart.* 2, pp.73,85; P.R.O.E106/8/19.

⁹⁶ Mee, *Bourne*, p.63.

⁹⁷ *Cant. Cust.*, p.xxii. A hide on the Pagham estate was said to equal 60 acres in 1221 (*Fines* 2, p.180).

⁹⁸ *Chi. Cust.*, pp.13-21.

⁹⁹ *Cant. Cust.*, pp.11-6.

¹⁰⁰ Brandon, *South Downs*, p.60. It is also evident from the holdings listed in almost all the custumals studied.

Most sources give only the area of glebe in statute or customary acres. These have been converted to virgates by comparison with manorial virgates and by an assessment of the quality of the glebe land shown on the tithe maps. Accurate information on land quality is not available: Agricultural Land Classification mapping is not sufficiently detailed and in any case may not correlate with land quality in medieval terms. A judgement has been made on the basis of topography and soil type. Inferences have also been drawn from values given in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas. These were less than the real values of the benefices, although they are generally considerably higher than the values given in 1341, but they offer a consistent basis of comparison.¹⁰¹ Churches with an endowment of half a virgate generally had a value of £5 or 5 marks, one virgate churches of £5-10, two virgates of £10-15 and four virgates and rectorial manors of £20 and over. Some inconsistencies may be accounted for by the fact that the 1341 figures were usually for arable land and sometimes only the vicarial glebe was given.

Glebe and some prebendal lands were free of tithes, except when they were not occupied by the incumbent, and some areas of former glebe may have been.¹⁰² However, downland, waste, most woodland and marshes were also tithe-free and remained so after enclosure or emparkment.¹⁰³ Thus the former common marsh at Elsted was divided into tithe-free portions, the large area of tithe-free land near the church at Aldingbourne was formerly the bishop's park and the small plots of tithe-free land in West Wittering parish were on, or at the edges of, former commons.¹⁰⁴ Tithe-free land cannot therefore be interpreted as former glebe without supporting evidence.

There was considerable stability in the glebes of individual churches. All of the 1086 endowments had been reduced by 1341 (Appendix 15), but while those of most churches remained the same between 1341 and the seventeenth century, and often as late as the 1840s, this was not always the case. When prebends were formed and religious houses appropriated churches, the glebe was absorbed into the general estate. It subsequently passed to lay impropiators and generally cannot now be located.¹⁰⁵ Other changes took place at the Reformation: at Egdean the glebe was seized by the lord of the manor and never restored, and it is possible that this happened elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ However, the principal change was the increase in glebe through piecemeal donations as at Westbourne, purchase through Queen Anne's Bounty, or a complete reorganisation, as at Selsey where the medieval 16 acres appear to have

¹⁰¹ R.A.R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (1930), p.79; R. Graham, 'The taxation of Pope Nicholas', *E.H.R.* 23 (1908), pp.234-54.

¹⁰² E.g. Walton, below, pp.122-3.

¹⁰³ Stated in the preamble to tithe apportionments TD/W1-147.

¹⁰⁴ TD/W53,1,147.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Compton's endowment of 32 hides was alienated after 1414 when the church was appropriated by Easebourne Priory (*Inq. Non.*, p.365; *Reg. Rede.* 2, pp.137-8).

¹⁰⁶ P.H.A. 7483-94.

replaced with 52 acres of reclaimed marshland around the rectory between 1778 and the 1840s.¹⁰⁷

Despite these constraints, it is possible to see a pattern more complex than the majority of churches having endowments of about a virgate and mother churches with larger, ancient endowments.¹⁰⁸ About a third probably had no more than half a virgate (Appendix 15). Fourteen of these were dependent churches or chapels, or had become so by the late Middle Ages. With the exception of Fernhurst and Lurgashall, where the true extent of glebe was probably lost after their acquisition by religious houses, they were the two-cell churches of small, remote parishes on marginal land. In contrast, 12 of the 19 one-virgate churches were in the hands of the religious by the early twelfth century. A standard endowment seems likely to have been a condition of acceptance in some instances, as at Egdean when 36 acres were attached to a very small former chapel given to Lewes Priory in 1145.¹⁰⁹ Five of the 11 two-virgate churches and three of the five four-virgate churches had endowments derived from an assortment of larger ones in 1086. All except Warblington and Iping were in ecclesiastical hands by the time that the glebe is first recorded. The endowments of the rectorial manors are less easy to identify, except at Petworth (Fig. 27A) where a block of land of over 300 acres persisted into the eighteenth century.¹¹⁰ At Stoughton the one and a half hides in 1086 had been reduced to two virgates by 1341, when the rector had the perquisites of a court.¹¹¹ The surviving glebe occupies a similar position in relation to the church and settlement centre as Petworth (Fig. 26B) and may be the remains of the manor. Westbourne had only one virgate in 1341 but was valued at £40 in 1291 and a court was again mentioned.¹¹² At West Dean, the rectory was farmed by John Alwyn in 1535 who subsequently held it as the manor of West Dean Canons.¹¹³

The location of the glebe

Glebe locations fall into three categories. In the first (Figs. 27, 28) which includes rectorial manors, there was a single principal block of land a short distance from the church and manorial site. There may have been a parsonage within the glebe or separate, but there was no glebe adjacent to the churchyard. The livings were mainly rectories and the category is a

¹⁰⁷ Mee, *Bourne*, p.96; Ep I/63; a map of 1778 shows the Selsey glebe area as marshland (Harper-Bill, *Selsey*).

¹⁰⁸ Lennard, pp.306-10; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.135-142.

¹⁰⁹ *Lewes Chart 2*, p.77.

¹¹⁰ The glebe terrier of 1610 (B.L.Add.Ms.39467ff.287-9) gives 142 acres of demesne, as does P.H.A.1405 of 1621. However there were also free tenants with rents of £19.10.8 and an eighteenth-century calculation in P.H.A. 1407 appears to be the sum of all lands, totalling 340a2r4p.

¹¹¹ *Inq. Non*, p.390.

¹¹² Mee, *Bourne*, p.193; T.P.N., p.12; Appendix 15.

¹¹³ *Valor 1*, p.295; V.C.H. 4, p.49; CapI/46.

particular feature of the Rother Valley, occupying land close to the river. It also formed the vicarial glebe at Donnington and the probable twelfth-century endowment of West Itchenor.¹¹⁴

In the second category (Fig. 29) the glebe was widely dispersed and in eight cases consisted principally of shares in the common fields. By the thirteenth century, Sussex common fields consisted of three or more small (by midlands standards), hedged fields around the principal settlements within a parish: for instance there were 11 in Westbourne.¹¹⁵ The glebe usually lay in several of these fields rather than in those nearest the church. Within the East Sussex coastal strip at Laughton, Moore noted a similar pattern of even distribution, which he dated to the thirteenth century.¹¹⁶ Where common fields were absent (e.g. Bepton, Fig. 29A) a share in the resources of the parish from valley bottom to downland is evident. Most livings in this category had rights of pasture attached and they are generally, but not exclusively, found on the Downs or at their edges. At Slindon, East Wittering and Didling the endowment probably dates from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹¹⁷ The third category (Fig. 29) comprises glebes which were in part contiguous with churchyards and in part scattered in the open fields or in small closes. It is probable that the glebe adjacent to the present churchyard was part of a larger burial ground or early enclosure and that the allocation of glebe as such was the same as category A.¹¹⁸ Only at Graffham (Fig. 30C) were church, glebe and parsonage in one block.¹¹⁹

The location of glebe lands thus conforms to the general pattern of lay landholding apparent by the thirteenth century, and in some cases this is attributable to post-Conquest reorganisation. The exceptions to this are of interest in two respects. Where there are unexplained small areas of glebe at East Itchenor, Didling and Walderton, they may indicate the site of a lost church.¹²⁰ Second, the general correspondence with lay holdings reinforces the idea that glebe contiguous with churchyards is likely to represent former burial grounds or enclosures and not just part of the agricultural land.

¹¹⁴ *Acta*, 67, 110.

¹¹⁵ A.R.H. Baker and R.A. Butlin, *Studies in Field Systems of the British Isles* (1973), pp.423-9; Mee, *Bourne* pp.40-63 and untitled map of common fields.

¹¹⁶ J. S. Moore, *Laughton: A Study in the Evolution of the Wealden Landscape*, Occasional Papers, Department of English Local History, Univ. of Leicester 19 (1965), p.50.

¹¹⁷ Slindon: above, p.78. East Wittering: below, p.118, Didling: above, pp.81-2. At Didling the glebe in 1840 was of the same size as in 1220, so that Fig. 29B may show the endowment in 1220.

¹¹⁸ Above, p.71.

¹¹⁹ Above, p.73.

¹²⁰ East Itchenor church was parochial in c. 1197 (*Chi. Chart.*, 28). It was united with Birdham in 1441 (*Reg. Praty*, p.212) and demolished by 1640 (V.C.H. 4, p.201) but can be traced to 2 acres of glebe on the tithe map for Birdham (TD/W16). For Didling see above, pp.81-2. No church is known at Walderton, but there were several pockets of glebe within the hamlet (TD/W21).

The Significance of Church Lands

There is a good correlation between minsters (or at least early high-status churches) based on other criteria and substantial endowments in Domesday Book (e.g. Aldingbourne) or later (e.g. Petworth). At first sight, there also appears to be a relationship between two and four-virgate churches and three or four-square plans. However, three-square churches originally in lay hands, such as Fernhurst and Lurgashall, appear to have been poorly endowed. It seems much more likely that these larger endowments related to the establishments of prebends (of Bosham and Arundel College as well as Chichester) at these churches and the need to provide adequate incomes for prebendaries. These may date from the time of Bishop Hilary (1147-1169), a renowned canon lawyer, since many were in existence by the end of his episcopate. As a protégé of Henry of Blois he was Dean of Christchurch and reorganised the prebends there, continuing this duty after he became bishop.¹²¹ The land that formed these endowments appears to have come from the pre-Conquest estates of the bishops, which received hardly any increase after 1066.

The great majority of churches in lay hands had endowments of half or one virgate. Those with larger endowments at Petworth, Stoughton, Iping and Cocking can be linked to royal estates and, in the case of the first two, probable minsters. It is quite possible that many of the figures given in Appendix 15 for the remaining lay churches had diminished before they were first recorded, often as late as 1615. It is notable that at Egdean, North Marden and West Itchenor (but not East Wittering) where endowments were not granted until the twelfth century, the amounts of land are greater than for those churches which had presumably been endowed earlier without written record.¹²² The larger, later endowments may imply the implementation of the canon law reforms, while the earlier endowments could have been supplemented by the lord, or perhaps there was no resident priest. The focus of piety for the greater lords within Sussex certainly lay elsewhere in the period immediately after the Conquest, as discussed in the following chapter.

¹²¹ *Acta*, pp.41-8; *Fasti*, pp.xv-xxvii; Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, pp.257-269; H. Mayr-Harting, 'The bishops of Chichester 1075-1207', *The Chichester Papers* 40 (1963), pp.7-12; Hase, 'Hampshire', p.52.

¹²² *Lewes Chart.* 2, p.77; *Chl. Chart.*, 345; *Acta*, 67, 110.

6: RIGHTS, DUES AND POST-CONQUEST PATRONAGE

Rights of one church in the income or parish of another and dues owed by one church to another have been amongst the most widely used forms of evidence for *parochiae*. Within the study area, these dues are tabulated as status as a chapel, mortuary dues, church scot, tithes, Peter's Pence (*romscot*), chrism and pensions in Appendix 16. They are central to the discussions of groups of churches in chapters 7-9. This chapter gives an appraisal of their likely pre- or post-Conquest origin within the context of the poorly-documented patronage of religious houses by lords within western Sussex in the period 1066 – c. 1120. By the end of this period, Lewes Priory had become the focus for gifts of land and churches. As the canon law reforms come into effect and donations passed through the hands of bishops, they became better documented.¹ One of the most important issues in this early period is the origin and status of Arundel College adjacent to Montgomery's *caput*. Although outside the study area exerted, it considerable influence within it.

Post-Conquest Patronage and Arundel College

In the period 1066 to c. 1105 the Montgomery family, their tenants and their successors made grants to the abbeys of Lessay, Troarn and Sées. William the Conqueror's gift of a hide at Graffham and land in Chichester appears to have been one of very many small gifts from all over the country and perhaps of symbolic significance, as may the hide held by a monk of St. Evroult within the Singleton estate in 1086.²

The gift of Boxgrove and six churches plus tithes and land by Roger de la Haye to Lessay in 1105 was to assist in the completion of the abbey church there, begun under the patronage of his uncle, Turstin Haldup.³ This and subsequent rights and dues of churches are well documented as post-Conquest relationships.⁴ Troarn Abbey had been founded by Roger Montgomery in 1050 x 9 to replace a college founded by his father and it enjoyed extensive patronage from the family.⁵ Before 1086 he had given it the vill of Runcton and three hides at Up Waltham.⁶ A priory of unknown size and location was established at Runcton and in 1100 x 7, but probably before 1105, Turstin de Fontanis gave land and tithes in North Mundham, adjacent to Runcton, to Troarn.⁷ Robert de la Haye's grant to Lessay included the church of

¹ Cownie, pp.111-22; Clarke, thesis, pp.116-154.

² *Regesta Will.*, 255; D.B., p.421.

³ *Box. Chart.*, p.xxix; L. Fleming, 'Lessay Abbey, mother house of Boxgrove Priory', S.A.C. 97 (1959), pp.119-20.

⁴ Below, pp.137-8.

⁵ Musset, 'Clerics', p.30; M. Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical patronage and the growth of feudal estates', *Annales de Normandie* 8 (1958), pp.103-18.

⁶ D.B., p.434.

⁷ C.D.F., 470,480; *Bruton Chart.*, pp.345,351. In 1260 Bruton Priory exchange its lands in Normandy for Troarn's lands in England (*Bruton Chart.*, pp.310-3).

North Mundham but apparently so did de Fontanis's and a dispute between Boxgrove and Troarn continued until the end of the twelfth century.⁸ Grants by Montgomery of tithes of Hunston and East Marden and the chapel of St. Cyriac in Chichester with two *hagae* nearby are better documented.⁹

In 1086 the church of St. Nicholas at Arundel had part of the income from the port there.¹⁰ A charter of the following year was witnessed by *Gaulfridus decanus de Arundello*.¹¹ It is most unlikely that he was a rural dean since the office is not mentioned in Sussex until the thirteenth century and so early a date seems improbable for a diocese where ecclesiastical administration evolved slowly.¹² Canons of Arundel were mentioned in 1147 and there were 10 prebends in 1150 when a priory of Sées superseded the college.¹³ A pre-Conquest origin for the college and the Domesday Book *castrum* has been suggested, linked with the moving of the *caput* of the lower Arun Valley from Burpham, 5 km inland and a mid eleventh-century grave slab indicates a pre-Conquest church.¹⁴ However the college seems more likely to have been a foundation by Montgomery under the patronage of Sées. Montgomery made grants of English lands to Sées (founded by him c. 1055) from at least 1078 x 82 onwards.¹⁵ Within the study area the known grants comprised: land and churches at Harting, Fishbourne and Eastergate; 40 shillings from the tithes of Stoughton; land at Worth (near Aldingbourne); and a burgess at Arundel. Outside it, he gave land at Climping and the church and tithes of Littlehampton.¹⁶ His huntsman gave 'all his lands' and his sheriff the manor of Tottington on their deathbeds.¹⁷ There is something to be said for Matthew's suggestion that one of the roles of the college was to administer these lands as well as providing the services of a 'college by the castle gates'.¹⁸ Indeed, Montgomery turned to Sées for help in founding his new abbey at Shrewsbury shortly after this.¹⁹

⁸ *Box. Chart.*, 4; *C.D.F.*, 921; M.P.444 quoting *C.P.R.* 1358-9, p.373 referring to the gift of the church of Mundham by de Fontanis; *Acta*, 60.

⁹ *C.D.F.*, 470,480

¹⁰ *D.B.*, p.421.

¹¹ *C.D.F.*, 655.

¹² Rural deans are implied in a regis roll entry of 1206 (*Acta*, p.24) but they do not appear as such until the Taxation of Pope Nicholas.

¹³ *Chi. Chart.*, 59, 263. As recently as the *V.C.H.* (5.1, p.86) a monastic cell existing in parallel with the college from 1102 has been described. However, this is based on a papal letter of 1380 and an inaccurate or forged *inspeximus* of the same date (*C.P.L.* 4, p.329). None of the contemporary documents (*Chi. Chart.* 59, 64, 113, 117, 160, 263, 298) mentioned the cell, as discussed by Matthew, *Norman*, pp.55-6..

¹⁴ *D.B.*, p.421; F.W. Aldsworth and D. Freke, *Historic Towns in Sussex and Archaeological Survey* (1976), p.13; Tweddle, p.121.

¹⁵ Matthew, *Norman*, pp.54-5; *Regesta Will.*, 271.

¹⁶ *Regesta Will.*, 271; *D.B.*, pp.426, 432; *C.D.F.*, 655-7. Savaric fitz Cane's gift of Easebourne to Sées (*C.D.F.* 699) was in c. 1105, three years after the Montgomery lands had been confiscated by the crown.

¹⁷ *C.D.F.*, 655-6.

¹⁸ Matthew, *Norman*, p.55, above, p.20.

¹⁹ Chibnall, 'Patronage', pp.111-5.

Only two prebends of Arundel College are known for certain: one comprised a group of three churches at Singleton, East Dean and West Dean, the other was at Cocking.²⁰ The other holdings of the college may have included some of the lands of the priory which are first mentioned when, and shortly before, it was re-converted to a college in 1380.²¹ These consisted of the churches of Yapton and Billingshurst, pensions from Goring and Preston churches (in addition to Harting, Bourne and Stoughton) together with land at Yapton, and at Kirdford, Billingshurst and elsewhere in the Weald.²² Such a dispersed endowment in contrast to the localised holdings of the colleges at Bosham, Steyning and Hastings (which included the endowment of Bexhill minster) implies a late foundation.²³ If the college was not founded by Montgomery, then he clearly found it useful. The difficulty of interpreting the rights and dues in the churches of Singleton/*Dene*, Cocking and its subordinate church of Linchmere, Harting and Rogate, and the churches around Eastergate and Yapton discussed in the following chapters may have arisen entirely from post-Conquest grants.²⁴

The last major phase of gifts to religious houses was those between 1120 and 1180 to Lewes Priory. These included the churches of Tangmere, Stoughton, Up Marden, Racton, Mid Lavant (1120s) the Petworth group (1125 x 45), Compton (1124 x 5) and Coates (c. 1180).²⁵ The nature of these gifts is complicated by four forged charters purporting to be of the 1120s, but actually drawn up 200 years later, listing tithes and pensions due to the priory.²⁶ But, as Appendix 16 shows, most, if not all, of these forged tithes and pensions are confirmed by genuine charters.

The motives for the gifts to religious houses in Normandy were probably a mixture of sharing in the spoils of victory, providing an income for specific projects, fulfilling promises and following the royal example set by gifts to St. Etienne, Caen and elsewhere. They may have been combined with Montgomery's need to have his own clergy at hand in the Norman manner.²⁷ However, the later gifts to Lewes were probably linked not only to piety but also to relieving the burden of churches which by then had parochial responsibilities, as discussed in chapter 11.²⁸

²⁰ *Chl. Chart.*, 160, 263, 298.

²¹ *C.P.L.*, 4 329; P.R.O.E135/15/3.

²² Bourne may have been Easebourne or Westbourne, since there was land at the latter held *ad monasterium* in 1086 (below, pp.132-3.)

²³ Bosham: below pp.120-3. Steyning: V.C.H. 2, pp.121-2. Hastings: Gardiner, 'Hastings', pp.42-8.

²⁴ Below, pp.128-32, 143-5, 140.

²⁵ Clarke, thesis, Appendix 5.

²⁶ Clarke, thesis, pp.1-37; *Acta*, pp.62-8.

²⁷ Cownie, pp.1-2; Mason 'Officers', pp.224-57.

²⁸ Below, p.168.

Chapels

Capella appears to have referred to the status of a building, not its form.²⁹ Although several very small two-cell churches such as Coates (sh.D2), Egdean (sh.J4) and Chilgrove (sh.H1) were said to be chapels (Appendix 16), many more, such as Selham (sh.D3), Burton (sh.D1), and Up Waltham (sh.H2) appear to have been independent when first mentioned. Gifford suggests that Domesday Book *ecclesiolae* were chapels and listed seven in eastern Sussex, only one of which appears to have been a chapel on the basis of later evidence.³⁰ Only Ovingdean has fabric that could have been contemporary with the Domesday Book entry, but this was a relatively large two-cell church.³¹ She omitted the *ecclesiola* at Chithurst which did not become a chapel until 1482 when it was annexed to Iping because of its poverty.³² The term probably meant 'small church' and several large churches, such as Fernhurst, Lodsworth and East Wittering, were described as chapels in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³³ Within the Petworth group of churches and in twelfth-century references to the Singleton group, the larger churches were *ecclesiae* and the smaller ones *capellae*, but this is almost certainly the result of the way that these groups were formed.³⁴ Nor is the similarity of three-square churches to eleventh-century chapels in Normandy related to their status.³⁵

Assessing the status of a church from that of its clergy is difficult. For instance, a sequence of thirteenth-century documents in the Chichester chartulary relating to a small addition to Lordington's endowment refers principally to the chaplain, but there was also a rector, although the church was usually called a chapel.³⁶ In a note to his edition of Bishop Praty's register (1438-45) Canon Deeds, who had studied most of the episcopal records, states that *capellanus* referred to clerical rank not office. It meant one who had not studied at university, whereas *clericus* meant one who had, but even if this was the case in the fifteenth century, it could not have been true earlier.³⁷

The chapels fall into four categories. The first comprises ten which were mentioned only once or twice from the thirteenth century onwards and have now disappeared. However, few, if any, of these were late medieval buildings serving the final phase of medieval expansion, such as those described in Kent, Lincolnshire and Bedfordshire.³⁸ For instance, the lost chapel of

²⁹ Blair, *Surrey*, p.154 reaches a similar conclusion.

³⁰ Gifford, thesis, pp.170-171. Hooe was a dependent church of Bexhill minster (Gardiner, 'Hastings', p.45).

³¹ Fisher, pp.156-61.

³² EpI/1/3, f.5.

³³ T.P.N., p.314; *Acta*, 94.

³⁴ Below, pp.140-3, 129-32.

³⁵ Above, p.69.

³⁶ *Chi. Chart.*, 681-7.

³⁷ *Reg. Praty*, p.92.

³⁸ Everitt, *Continuity*, pp.205-22; D. M. Owen, 'Bedfordshire chapelries: an essay in rural settlement history' in W. G. Smith *et. al.*, *Studies presented to Joyce Godber*, Bedfordshire Historical Records Society 57 (1978), pp.9-20. Owen's related work on church organisation - e.g. D.M. Owen, *The Records of the Established Church in England*, British Records Association: Archives and the User 1 (1970) - is generally based on canon law and prosperous and well-organised dioceses and is of limited relevance to eleventh- and twelfth-century Sussex.

Lidsey was mentioned first in 1232 and only a few times subsequently but Lidsey and Aldingbourne were places of equal status in the eighth century. It had baptismal rights and the font is likely to date from before the first quarter of the twelfth century.³⁹ The chapel at Cowdray Farm was only mentioned once in 1197, but it was fully parochial despite being subordinate to East Itchenor.⁴⁰ The chapels at Hermitage and Nutbourne at river crossings may have been cult sites.⁴¹ Moreover, late first references often just reflect the survival of evidence. For example Milland was first mentioned as a church in 1532 and as a chapel in 1545 but the surviving building is at least twelfth-century (sh.E6).⁴² The second category is ten chapels attached to manor houses. These appear to have functioned as chapels-of-ease, although they are never called that. There is more justification for these being a late development, not least because there are records of their establishment at Dumpford, Wenham and Easthampnett, but there is no evidence that manorial chapels established after the mid-twelfth century took on a parochial role, as they may have done in Kent.⁴³

The third category comprises churches called *ecclesia* and *capella* at different times. At East Dean, Singleton, Didling and Chithurst, independent churches appear to have become chapels for administrative reasons in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. There are also instances of the merging of parishes, with one church sometimes subsequently being called a chapel before it disappeared, such as Earnley with Almodington and Birdham with East Itchenor.⁴⁴ In the remaining cases, *ecclesia* seems to have been used when the building was being discussed and *capella* referred to status, but this is not always clear.⁴⁵ The fourth category comprises 20 chapels always referred to as such. The term 'parochial chapel' was not widely used. Thus Fernhurst was a chapel of Easebourne by 1291, but there is a reference to the 'parish of Fernhurst' in the twelfth century. It is unclear whether it was an independent parish at this time, before it formed part of the endowment of Easebourne Priory which is first mentioned in the early thirteenth century, or whether it was already a 'parochial chapel'.⁴⁶

In summary, some chapels such as those around Petworth may well be good evidence of a pre-Conquest *parochia*, but elsewhere the evidence has to be viewed with caution.⁴⁷ Sussex, north of the coastal plain was a poor area. Independent churches became chapels in the late medieval decline as parishes were merged or churches were used to enhance the endowments

³⁹ H. M. Davey, 'Ancient chapel at Lidsey', *S.A.C.* 37 (1890), p.129; Kelly, 1, 2, 20.

⁴⁰ *Chi. Chart.*, 28; *Box. Chart.*, 5.

⁴¹ Below, pp.132-3.

⁴² *Wills* 45, p.206; *V.C.H.* 4, p.39.

⁴³ *Chi. Chart.*, 334, *Durford Chart.*, p.57; *Box. Chart.*, 8; Everitt, *Continuity*, pp.205-22

⁴⁴ *EpI/1/5*, f.143; *Reg. Praty*, p.212.

⁴⁵ E.g. Bognor was a parochial chapel in 1327, a chapel in 1383, a parish church in 1465 and a chapelry in 1496 (M.P.443).

⁴⁶ A.M. Tudor, *Fernhurst: the Story of a Sussex Village* (1934), p.5; below, pp.143-5.

⁴⁷ Below, pp.140-3.

of religious houses. Nor does chapel imply that there were no baptismal rights. Bearing in mind the example of Abingdon, it may be that *capella* did not convey a sharply-defined status to contemporaries.⁴⁸

Chrism, Peter's Pence and Synodals

Reference to chrism has only been found in the unusually full description of the establishment of Egdean chapel in 1145 and Lanfranc's edict that the Pagham clergy should obtain it from Canterbury rather than the bishop of Chichester.⁴⁹ Peter's Pence (*romscot*) is mentioned in the Egdean charter but, together with synodals is otherwise listed only in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas and a later schedule.⁵⁰ The units of their collection were the peculiars of Chichester, Pagham, Bosham and the rural deaneries. Payment appears to have been directly to the rural dean, an office for which there is no evidence until the thirteenth century, so these dues are of little help in seeking pre-Conquest relationships.⁵¹

Mortuary

Post-Conquest grants of churches to Lewes and Boxgrove Priors often state that mortuary payments were also being donated, but only five other references to mortuary which demonstrate the rights of one church in another have been found, in contrast to the frequency of this due in Hampshire. This probably reflects the adequacy of the surviving records, the poverty of the study area and the fact that, unlike in Hampshire, there were few powerful religious houses to enforce dues.⁵² The disputes recorded elsewhere in Sussex, such as that between St. Cuthman's church at Steyning and Sele Priory, a daughter house of St. Florent de Saumur, were probably more about the income from the mortuary payment than jurisdiction, since when Funtington was granted its own burial rights in 1405, it emerged that burials of holders of half a virgate or less were already taking place.⁵³ The financial basis is also apparent in an agreement of c. 1190 concerning the churches of Iping and Stedham, both of which had already been given to Lewes Priory. Richard Musard of Iping obtained a licence from the priory to build a chapel with a churchyard at Iping in return for the gift of the hide of *Trepnham*.⁵⁴ The rector of Iping had to give a pension of two shillings to the priory. The church of Stedham received the mortuary fees and other dues from *Trepnham*, presumably because it had an interest in Iping before its acquisition by the priory. It is not clear whether the churchyard and chapel were completely separate or attached to Iping church, but even minor chapels like Chilgrove had their own graveyards.⁵⁵ Only at the urban churches, at

⁴⁸ Above, p.30.

⁴⁹ *Lewes Chart.* 2, p.77. M. Rule ed., *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia* (1884), pp.20-21.

⁵⁰ *Chl. Chart.*, pp.308-314; *Reg. Rede*, p.414.

⁵¹ Above, fn. 12.

⁵² Hase, thesis, p.9.

⁵³ Matthew, *Norman*, pp.38-41; *Reg. Stafford*, p.11.

⁵⁴ *Lewes. Chart.* 2, pp.73,116.

⁵⁵ Aldsworth, 'West Dean', pp.110-7.

Fishbourne and at the late and marginal sites of North Marden and Coates were they absent.⁵⁶ In an impoverished locality like much of the study area it is possible that many of burials required no mortuary fee or an insignificant amount. At the end of the twelfth century, the parishioners of East Itchenor give 'what they willed' as mortuary, and the rector was unable to exact what he considered to be the appropriate payment of best, or second best, ox.⁵⁷

Church Scot

By 1086 church scot in Sussex appears to have been a secular due rendered to the manor, not the church. It was granted away by Norman lords in the same way as tithes, as it was in other parts of the country.⁵⁸ Thus in endowing Boxgrove Priory in 1105, Roger de la Haye gave it the church scot from his demesnes including six in Sussex.⁵⁹ The Archbishop of Canterbury granted the church scot from his demesne lands of Pagham to Lewes Priory in 1114 X 25, and in the Pagham custumal of 1279 X 88 it was a due paid by virgaters to several manors within the estate.⁶⁰ The only mention of church scot in Domesday Book was at the royal manor of Iping where it was surely due directly to the king as lord of the manor.⁶¹ The *grosse annone* paid by the mill at Arundel T.R.W. was probably the later and more onerous form of church scot (also described as a tithe), but it, too, was paid directly to the lord.⁶² Only in the grant of c. 1150 of the churches of Stoughton, Merston, Racton and (Mid) Lavant to Lewes Priory is the evidence unclear.⁶³ The listing of churches in the chartulary has several gaps and the charter ends abruptly as 'the church of Louentune and all the *cerescet*' as if some words on the original document have been lost, so that it could quite well have continued 'of my demesne lands'.

Gifford's analysis of church scot in Domesday Book and Neilson's discussion of its post-Conquest survival, principally in southern and midland England, shows that it had a wide variety of forms, often different from the measure of wheat from each landowner described in the laws of Ine and of the tenth-century kings.⁶⁴ The nature of the Stoughton render is unknown. At Iping it was money and at Boxgrove a measure of wheat. Within the Pagham estate it was a measure of wheat at Aldwick manor, but beans elsewhere and the payment was much more onerous for Pagham manor than the others. Moreover, all were due at the Feast of the Purification (2 February), not at Martinmas as prescribed in the laws.⁶⁵ The Canterbury

⁵⁶ Below, pp.114-5; EpI/1/2, ff.84-106; *Chl. Chart.*, 343; *Lewes Chart.* 2, p.103.

⁵⁷ *Chl. Chart.*, 28.

⁵⁸ Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.116.

⁵⁹ *Box. Chart.*, 4; *C.D.F.*, 921.

⁶⁰ P.R.O.E40/15415; *Acta*, p.55; *Pag. Cust.*, pp, xxxii-xii.

⁶¹ D.B., p.451.

⁶² D.B., p.421; Gifford, 'thesis', pp.195-204.

⁶³ *Lewes Chart.* 2, p.79.

⁶⁴ Above, p.29.

⁶⁵ *Pag. Cust.*, p.lix; P.R.O.E40/15415 granting the church scot from Pagham township to Lewes Priory gives a much higher figure (36 seams) than all of the other manors in the custumal (13 seams, 6 bushels).

estates in Sussex in general and Pagham in particular had several obscure renders (e.g. hokeday, allerselver, honigauel, rodselver), and it may be that the Pagham 'church scot' was a rationalisation of a due of a different origin. But however it arose, in no case within the study area can it be shown to be a payment due from one church to another.

Tithes and Pensions

The early patronage of Sées, Troarn, St. Evroult and Lessay described above gave rise to the grants of demesne tithes on the well-established national pattern (Appendix 16).⁶⁶ These can be difficult to distinguish from grants of tithes that may reflect older relationships, and the pattern is masked by donations of land that were detached portions of a manor in another parish. For example Troarn's tithes in Hunston manor given to it in c. 1170 X 80, were of a portion within the parish of North Mundham.⁶⁷ The parishes concerned in such grants – Stoughton, Graffham, Birdham, Lodsworth and North Mundham – are characterised by extensive wastes and commons, although the situation at North Mundham was more complex.⁶⁸ The majority of other grants were also mainly for marginal land, so that the new lords' generosity was not as great as it first appears. With one exception, all of the tithes due from one parish to a church in another can be traced in post-Conquest charters or confirmation charters. Tithes from land acquired before 1066 were frequently used to endow prebends, but this, too, was a post-Conquest feature and no case can be found of a prebend receiving a tithe which was not ultimately derived from the see's possession of the land in question. The exception is the peculiar of Bosham, where the church held the tithes T.R.W. and it is likely that the endowment of the prebends of the re-constituted college in 1123 was a re-arrangement of the pre-Conquest endowment.⁶⁹

Like tithes, almost all pensions that have been traced arose from post-Conquest relationships. For example in 1105 Robert de la Haye endowed Boxgrove Priory with, amongst other things, the churches of Hunston, Westhampnett, Walberton, Barnham, North Mundham, West Itchenor and Birdham plus a church in Middlesex and one in Warwickshire.⁷⁰ A confirmation charter of 1180 X 7 refers to the '*antiquas pensiones*' paid to the priory by West Itchenor, Birdham and the Middlesex and Warwickshire churches because they had been appropriated.⁷¹ Another instance began at some time between 1078 and 1093 when Earl Roger gave the churches of Harting and Rogate to Sées.⁷² Henry Hussey obtained the churches from Sées in

⁶⁶ Stenton, pp.155-6; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.148-50; Brett, *English Church*, pp.225-7; E. Mason, 'English tithe income of Norman religious houses', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 48 (1975), pp.91-4.

⁶⁷ *Bruton Chart.*, 349.

⁶⁸ Below, p.125.

⁶⁹ Below, pp.120-3.

⁷⁰ *Box. Chart.*, 4; *C.D.F.*, 921.

⁷¹ *Box. Chart.*, 5.

⁷² The gift of Harting is first recorded in *Regesta Will.*, 271 (a modern edition of *C.D.F.* 657) of 1078 x 82, but Rogate is not recorded until *C.D.F.* 656 dated to 1087 x 93 by Round.

1194 X 5 at the cost of a pension of 75 shillings to the abbey.⁷³ These pensions passed to the college of Arundel which was reconstituted from the priory of Sées at Arundel in 1380.⁷⁴ Only two cases where a pension may relate to pre-Conquest relationships have been found. One was being paid from Linchmere to Cocking in 1224.⁷⁵ This may have originated in an unrecorded grant of Linchmere to Sées which also held Cocking, and there are other poorly-recorded acquisitions such as those by Reading Abbey in the Linchmere/Fernhurst area.⁷⁶ The second is the similar relationship between Stedham and Iping, recorded in a grant of 1170 X 90.⁷⁷

Advowsons

The great majority of advowsons, when they can first be identified, belonged to the lord of the manor although many of these were gradually acquired by religious houses from the late thirteenth century onwards when advowson disputes are recorded in the *de banco* rolls. Only in Chichester, where the advowsons belonged to the crown or bishop, does this shed any light on the relationships between churches.⁷⁸

The Evidence of Pre-Conquest Rights and Dues

Although there is no doubting the ancient, pre-Conquest origin of dues such as church scot, most of the rights and dues discussed in this chapter appear to have arisen after the Conquest. Tithes, pensions and advowsons are likely to be of very limited use in the search for minster *parochiae*, mortuary evidence is sparse and status as a chapel or implied subordination in the early charters needs to be interpreted with care. The extent to which this may reflect the post-Conquest origin of groups of churches is discussed in the following chapters, after the significance of Selsey, Chichester and the episcopal lands have been reviewed.

⁷³ P.R.7 Richard I, p.243.

⁷⁴ P.R.O.E42/466; Above, pp.95-6.

⁷⁵ EpI/I/5f.60.

⁷⁶ *Reading Chart.*, pp.550-3, 558-9.

⁷⁷ Above, p.99.

⁷⁸ Below, p.116.

7: SELSEY, CHICHESTER AND THE PREBENDS

This chapter discusses the nature of the Anglo-Saxon see, its relationship to pre-Conquest Chichester, the origin of the lesser churches of Chichester and of the post-Conquest prebends. The see was poorly endowed and shows many signs of having been ineffectual. For instance, the bishopric was allowed to lapse for at least 20 years in the eighth century and perhaps 40 years in the tenth, and a credible case has been made for a retreat to Chichester during the Viking invasions.¹ But how weak was it and why, and what were the consequences of this weakness? What was its relationship to St. Peter's minster, which was replaced by the new cathedral at Chichester?

The full development of the prebends and the ecclesiastical organisation of the city and suburban churches under the Dean of Chichester are only evident in the late thirteenth century.² A second set of questions concerns how these were formed and whether they can be related to pre-Conquest institutions. Why was it a secular cathedral? How did the prebendal churches originate? Did the peculiar jurisdiction of the dean, encompassing all of the city's intra- and extra-mural churches (except the Archbishop of Canterbury's peculiar of the Pallant) plus Rumboldswyke and Fishbourne (Fig. 32), preserve a pre-Conquest *parochia* of St. Peter's?

Post-Roman Chichester and Selsey and the Origins of the See

At first sight, the Roman town of Chichester seems a more likely location for an Anglo-Saxon cathedral than Selsey: the reasons why it was founded and remained at the latter are probably bound up with the development of the two places over several centuries.³ The Roman new town replaced an *oppidum* defended by the Chichester Dykes. These have been dated to the late Iron Age, but with a probable late medieval section near Halnaker (Fig. 34).⁴ Stane Street, which preceded the Roman town, ran north-eastwards from the probable port at Copperas Point, and one of the dykes formed the eastern edge of the new settlement.⁵ Selsey has been proposed as the site of the *oppidum*, at least partly on the basis of the number of finds, including coins spanning the period c. 180 B.C. – c. A.D. 40. But the apparent concentration

¹ Kelly, pp.lxxxvi-v; S. E. Kelly 'The bishopric of Selsey' in Hobbs, *Chichester*, p.6.

² Twenty-three prebends were listed in 1197 x 8 (*Acta*, 101; *Fasti*, pp.xviii-xx) and 28 plus the three capitular offices in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas. For Chichester see Peckham, 'Parishes', pp.65-97 and below pp.114-6.

³ Roman enclosures were used mainly in the conversion period and Hase notes that there was regional variation. In Wessex for instance, the high-status churches were founded outside the enceinte (Blair 'Top.', pp.235-246; Hase, 'Wessex', p.54.)

⁴ D. Rudling, 'The Chichester Dykes', *Arch. J.* 42 (1985), pp.39-41; S. Hamilton and J. Manley, 'The end of prehistory c. 100 B.C.-A.D. 43' in *Atlas*, pp.22-3.

⁵ J. Magilton and D. Rudkin, 'Roman Chichester and Fishbourne' in *Atlas*, p.26; J. Magilton 'Roman roads in the Manhood Peninsula', *A.C.D.* (1996), pp.31-4.

may be the result of ease of finding at Selsey on the eroding foreshore and the large numbers of coins in a small number of hoards.⁶ But the dykes would have been a poor defence for Selsey, not least because the island extended much further south than at present.⁷ It was thus probably a separate entity from the *oppidum*, which was of the territorial type like *Camulodunum* and it is quite likely that the dykes enclosed more than one settlement.⁸ These could have been at Fishbourne, on the site of Chichester, or, on the basis of a small amount of pottery evidence, just north west of it.⁹

Roman occupation of Selsey continued until at least the mid-fourth century, although the greatest concentration of finds belongs to the early period.¹⁰ There is then no archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity until *sceattas* of the early seventh century, but in 681 it was a royal estate, given to St. Wilfrid so that its status as an important centre must have been resumed.¹¹ On the other hand, although there may have been some sub-Roman activity at Chichester, and much earlier Anglo-Saxon occupation of the Chichester area than was thought to be the case until recently, the evidence for its continuation as a centre of authority is slight.¹² Kingsham, 800 m south of the Chichester (Fig. 32) has been suggested as a royal centre in the same relationship to a substantially empty Roman enclosure as, for example, the Domesday Book manorial centre of Newbold was to Chesterfield.¹³ However, Kingsham could be a late name: the only record before 1279 is a later interpolation into a charter of 930, although it was probably the *Orrea Regis* in the early twelfth century.¹⁴ It was in royal hands at that time but this also applies to much of the land around Chichester.¹⁵ There is also a Kingsham in Chithurst parish, so too much significance should perhaps not be attributed to the name and Bourne's national study has shown that Kingsham very rarely signified a place of importance.¹⁶

The church of St. Pancras is 150 m outside the Roman east gate and 160 m from the western edge of a Roman cemetery which covered at least 6 ha. The latter was partially re-used in the

⁶ O. Bedwin, 'The development of prehistoric settlement on the west Sussex coastal plain', *S.A.C.* 121 (1983), pp.31-44; F.G. Aldsworth, 'Prehistoric and Roman Selsey', *S.A.C.* 125 (1987), pp.41-50; J. S. Brown, 'The gold finds from Selsey Bill, Sussex', unpub. BA dissertation, Univ. London (1979).

⁷ Above, p.41.

⁸ Bedwin, 'Coastal plain', pp.38-40; Hamilton and Manley, 'Prehistory', p.22.

⁹ S. Frere, *Britannia* (1972), p.22; A. Down, 'Roman Chichester', *Arch. J.* 42 (1985), p.7.

¹⁰ Pitts, 'Roman gazetteer', pp.72-75.

¹¹ Welch 2, pp.494-7; *Life*, p.82.

¹² Above, pp.42-5.

¹³ I.C. Hannah, 'Kingsham near Chichester', *S.A.C.* 64 (1923), pp.122-7; M.G. Welch, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex: from *civitas* to shire' in *South Saxons*, p.29; M. Welch, 'The kingdom of the South Saxons: the origins' in *Origins*, p.79; Blair, 'Landscape', p.41.

¹⁴ Mawer and Stenton, p.69; Kelly, pp.76-7; V.C.H. 3, p.104; *Book of Fees* 1, pp.72-3.

¹⁵ Above, p.86.

¹⁶ Mawer and Stenton, p.25; J. Bourne, 'Kingston place-names: an interim report', *J.E.P.N.S.* 20 (1987-8), pp.13-37.

Middle Ages when it was known as the Litten.¹⁷ The parish of St. Pancras once extended much further east: Martinsgrove, Drayton, Shopwyke, and the lost *Egley* were severed from it under Henry I and become part of Oving parish (Fig. 32).¹⁸ Moreover, Rumbolsdwyke parish appears to have been carved out of St. Pancras's which probably originally covered most of the south-eastern quadrant around the city. The possibility of continued use of the cemetery from sub-Roman times is suggested by the mention of 'Saxon' burials in the V.C.H. and the fact that in the thirteenth century interments took place only within the precinct of the cathedral, St. Andrew Oxmarket, All Saints in the Pallant and the Litten.¹⁹ However, modern excavations of the Roman cemetery (outside the medieval burial ground) yielded no interments after the third/fourth century and the earliest documentary evidence of medieval use is 1100 x 18.²⁰ A chapel of St. Michael is first mentioned in 1226 when it became a chantry for King John, having earlier been a mortuary chapel within the cemetery and separate from St. Pancras.²¹ The cemetery site was in royal hands and unhidated before 1086 and subsequently alternated between royal and episcopal lordship.²² Thus although continuity is possible it seems more likely that the cemetery was re-used after the foundation of the lesser churches without graveyards in the eastern part of the city. This may have been stimulated by the reduction of burial space around the minster site when the cathedral was begun in c. 1070, and by the expansion of the episcopal and prebendal buildings when the bishop and chapter acquired the south-western quadrant of the city in 1147.²³ On balance, it appears that Chichester had been abandoned in the early and mid-Anglo-Saxon period and that royal authority had reverted to the old centre of Selsey, perhaps because in a culture where all major settlements were easily accessible by water, Chichester was not.

Nothing is known about the nature of this authority, beyond the foundation legend of Aelle and his three ships, until Athelwealh of Sussex appears as a client king of Wulphere of Mercia in 661, when he was given the province of the *Meonware* and the Isle of Wight. He married a Christian princess of the Hwicce and was baptised in Mercia with Wulphere as godfather.²⁴ This may have been the first substantial contact of the South Saxons with Christianity,

¹⁷ A. Down and M. Rule, *Excavations* 1, pp.53-126.

¹⁸ V.C.H. 3, p.71; *Book of Fees* 1, p.25.

¹⁹ St. Andrew's: J. Kenny, 'St. Andrews Church, East Street', *A.C.D.* (1991), p.9. For All Saints, see *Excavations* 8, p.15; Cathedral: T. Tatton-Brown, 'The buildings of the bishop's palace and the close' in Hobbs, *Chichester*, pp.225-7; See also EpI/26/5f.23-4.

²⁰ *Chi. Chart.*, 103.

²¹ *C.Ch.R.* 1, 1226-57 (1903), p.16; Dugdale 6.3, p.1170; Peckham, 'Parishes', p.96; H.M. Whitley, 'Sanctuary in Sussex', *S.A.C.* 61 (1920), p.86.

²² D.B., p.372; Down and Rule, *Excavations* 1, p.55; *Chi. Chart.* 99, 100. It was held by a royal sergeant in the 1080s. (H.W.C. Davies, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normanorum* 1066-1154 (i). *Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066-1100* 1 (1913), p.352).

²³ Tatton-Brown, 'Buildings', p.225; *Chi. Chart.*, 94-6.

²⁴ For Aelle see: *Welch* 1, pp.253-260; *A.S.C.* p.14; *H.E.*, p.372.

although a South Saxon became Bishop of Rochester in the 650s.²⁵ The arrival of St. Wilfrid at Athelwealh's court in 681 is generally portrayed as a missionary expedition.²⁶ Most historians consider that there was no intention to found a see, with Wilfrid's monastery just becoming one of many under his control.²⁷ But there may be more to it than this. In 661, Athelwealh and his '*duces ac miles*' were baptised in Mercia and the rest of the people were baptised '*vel tunc vel tempore sequente*' by the priests Eppa, Pudda, Burghelm and Oiddi.²⁸ In 681 there were Irish priests at the *monasterium* at Bosham. They or the four priests may have been a missionary force sent back to Sussex with Athelwealh (as implied by '*vel tempore sequente*'), since Wulfhere is known to have made use of Irish clergy.²⁹ If this was the case, the missionaries had little effect and it may explain Wilfrid's arrival. He had previously undertaken duties for Wulfhere '*ad officia diversa episcopalis*' while at Ripon between 665 and 668, and had founded monasteries on the many lands given to him in Mercia.³⁰ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle states that in 661 Wilfrid and a priest were sent to the Isle of Wight by Wulfhere. Colgrave dismisses this, noting that Wilfrid was then only a deacon.³¹ But this was probably why a priest was sent with him, although the events of 661 and 686 when, after Caedwalla's conquest of the island, Wilfrid received 300 hides, may have been conflated.³² Wulfhere died in 675, yet when Wilfrid was driven out of Northumbria in 680 he was first given refuge by Aethelred, Wulfhere's successor.³³ It is possible that Wilfrid went to Sussex to resolve the confused situation, which may have included reversion to paganism, and perhaps to found a see. Bede, who was not an admirer, stated that Wilfrid '*merito omnibus honorabilis officium episcopalem et verbo excebat et opere*'.³⁴ When Athelwealh was killed by Caedwalla of Wessex in 685, Wilfrid appears to have remained bishop and supported Caedwalla in the conversion of the Isle of Wight, but left in 686. Sussex was absorbed into the see of Winchester, rather than a new appointment being made to a Mercian foundation.³⁵

²⁵ *H.E.*, p.278.

²⁶ Bede appears to have used an early version of the *Life* as a principal (but not the only source) for his account of Wilfrid in Sussex. (D.P. Kirby, 'Bede, Eddius Stephanus and the Life of Wilfrid', *E.H.R.* 98 (1983), pp.101-14).

²⁷ *Life*, pp.80-83; *H.E.*, p.372; Welch 1, p.30; Kelly, p.lxxvi; H. Mayr-Harting, 'St. Wilfrid in Sussex' in M. J. Kitch, ed., *Studies in Sussex Church History* (1981), pp.1-17.

²⁸ *H.E.*, p.372; D.P. Kirby, 'The Church in Saxon Sussex' in *South Saxons*, p.169.

²⁹ *H.E.*, p.280; Sims-Williams, *Religion*, pp.105-8.

³⁰ *Life*, pp.30-1.

³¹ *A.S.C.*, pp.32-4; *Life*, p.176.

³² *H.E.*, p.382.

³³ *Life*, pp.80-1.

³⁴ *H.E.*, p.374. For Bede's attitude to Wilfrid see Kirby, 'Bede', pp.101-14 and for historians attitudes in general, E. John, *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England* (1996), pp.34-7.

³⁵ *Life*, p.84-5; *H.E.*, p.389.

In 705 Winchester diocese was divided by the appointment of St. Aldhelm as Bishop of Sherbourne.³⁶ This was intended to consolidate Wessex's power west of Selwood and the absorption of British elements into the Anglo-Saxon Church in which Aldhelm had already distinguished himself.³⁷ In contrast, the founding or re-founding of Selsey, probably at some time between 705 and 709, seems a half-hearted affair, with the division apparently forced on the Bishop of Winchester by a synod.³⁸ Two successive abbots of Selsey were consecrated bishop, but the see was then allowed to lapse and was ruled from Winchester in the 720s. There was a new bishop in 733, but between then and c. 771 when Mercia was again in control, the only evidence of bishops is a few attestations of charters.³⁹ The most likely origin of the see is thus as an instrument of Mercian control of Sussex which was of no interest to the West Saxon kings in their period of domination between 685 and c. 771.

The Location of Wilfrid's *Monasterium* and the Cults of St. Wilfrid and St. Andrew

Eddius's *Life* states that Wilfrid was given a royal vill to found a see, to which 87 hides in Selsey were added later.⁴⁰ This has been interpreted as implying that Selsey was not intended as the original site of the see, but Bede, who had Bishop Daniel of Winchester as a correspondent, states that Wilfrid's foundation was indeed at Selsey.⁴¹ If there was an earlier intention it can never be known, and the implication may just be the result of Eddius's cumbersome Latin. Current opinion follows Munby in placing the site of the cathedral at Church Norton (Fig. 38).⁴² This is based on interpretation of the topography, Bishop Reed's request in 1382 to be buried at Selsey '*quondam diocesis mei ecclesie cathedralis*' and the recovery at 'The Mound' adjacent to the church of an Anglo-Saxon bronze tag of a type frequently found in ecclesiastical contexts.⁴³ But there is an alternative explanation. Munby's suggestion that there was an early settlement at Norton which shifted to the site of the present village seems unlikely. Norton is first mentioned with the lost *Sutton*, *Easton* and *Westone* in a custumal of c. 1300.⁴⁴ Although *Sutton* has been equated with the present village of Selsey, in 1302 it was referred to as the 'prebend of Sutton at Selsey'.⁴⁵ Since Selsey prebend consisted entirely of tithes and pensions, *Sutton* is more likely to have been in the part of East Thorney prebend within the parish of Selsey, to the south west of the present village.⁴⁶ It seems

³⁶ *H.E.*, p.289.

³⁷ Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.178-181.

³⁸ *H.E.*, p.289; Kelly, pp.lxxxviii-ix.

³⁹ Kelly, pp.lxxxvii-ix.

⁴⁰ *Life*, pp.82-3.

⁴¹ Kirby, 'Church', pp.168-9; Kelly, pp.lxi-ii; *H.E.*, p.4.

⁴² Munby, 'Chichester', p.319; F.G. Aldsworth, "'The Mound" at Church Norton, Selsey and the site of St. Wilfrid's church', *S.A.C.* 117 (1979), pp.103-7; Kelly, 'Bishopric', p.2.

⁴³ *Wills* 45, p.102; the tag is described by D. Hinton in Aldsworth 'Mound', p.221.

⁴⁴ Mawer and Stenton, p.83; *Cant. Cust.*, pp.13-20.

⁴⁵ P.R.O.SC6/1028/16; Heron-Allen, *Selsey*, p.146.

⁴⁶ CapI/48/1, ff.1-4, 26; Fig. 31.

probable that the *tuns* lay around an older settlement, perhaps on the site of the present village, which had a silted-up tidal inlet very similar to the minster site of Wittering (Fig. 19BL). Munby notes that Norton field system was different from the open fields that surrounded the village, but it is quite likely to have arisen from piecemeal enclosure and reclamation from Pagham harbour, where there are records of land passing in and out of cultivation from at least the fourteenth century.⁴⁷

The nave of Norton church was moved to the present village in 1865 and re-erected faithfully, leaving the chancel on the original site (sh.K6). It has a three-square plan, perhaps with a narthex, and is probably of the immediate post-Conquest period, contemporary with, and just outside the adjacent ringwork with the thirteenth-century chancel extending over the ditch (Fig. 19AF).⁴⁸ The 16 acres to the west of the church which formed part of the prebend of Waltham by 1341 may well have been its original endowment of one virgate: the church and ringwork thus formed a typical eleventh-century manorial group.⁴⁹ Earlier evidence at Norton comprises the four fragments of the ninth/tenth-century cross which stood in the churchyard until at least 1545 and the unstratified tag.⁵⁰ This is hardly evidence for a seventh-century *monasterium*. Moreover, if there had been an Anglo-Saxon building at Church Norton, its masonry could well have been re-used in the Norman church, given the shortage in the locality, but despite the interest taken in the nave when it was dismantled (sh.K5), there is no evidence of this. There is no direct reference to another church or ruins at Selsey other than Camden's description in 1586 of the ruins of the cathedral exposed at low tide.⁵¹ This is generally regarded as fantasy, but may contain real observation, since in the years leading up to 1911 large amounts of masonry were collected from the sea and marsh to the south and east of Church Norton. It appears to have been mainly late medieval and could well have been the chantry demolished at some time after the fifteenth century.⁵²

Bishop Reed's will is puzzling. It states that Selsey church was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, although the pre-Conquest invocation was St. Peter.⁵³ Holy Trinity was a late dedication, otherwise found only at the cathedral, Bosham after 1330, Cuckfield, Rudgwick and Steyning (Appendix 17). By 1547 the invocation of Church Norton was St. Mary.⁵⁴ Dedication or re-

⁴⁷ V. C. H. 4, p.227; Fleming, *Pagham*, pp.196-7; Robinson, 'Coastal changes', pp.8-9.

⁴⁸ Aldsworth, 'Mound', pp.103-7; Morris, *Landscape*, pp.261-6.

⁴⁹ Above, p.74; *Inq. Non.*, p.336; *Wills* 45, p.101.

⁵⁰ Heron-Allen, *Selsey*, p.102; above, pp.58-9.

⁵¹ G.J. Copley ed., *Camden's Britannia, Sussex and Surrey* (1977), p.35.

⁵² Heron-Allen, *Selsey*, p.106.

⁵³ Kelly, 12; *Wills* 45, p.102 states that burial was to be before the high altar in the chancel. The wording does not permit the interpretation that the altar but not the church was dedicated to the Trinity.

⁵⁴ *Wills* 45, p.101.

dedication to the Trinity may have emphasised the importance of the church, perhaps also reflected in the large early thirteenth-century chancel. But if this was the case, why was the dedication changed later?

Two more issues surrounding Selsey and Wilfrid need to be considered. About 140 years after Bishop Reed's bequest, another attempt was made to link Church Norton with Wilfrid's foundation. Lambert Barnard's painting (Fig. 35) shows Caedwalla giving Selsey to Wilfrid with a church and tower in the background, considered to be those at Church Norton.⁵⁵ This is unlike the buildings known to have been at Church Norton at that time (sh.K6) and the surroundings are different, showing what appears to be a view towards the Isle of Wight, but this may well be artistic licence. The second issue is the link between St. Wilfrid and dedications to St. Andrew, who was associated with several early or possibly early foundations in western Sussex (Appendix 17).⁵⁶ Ferring's eighth-century dedication appears to be genuine, and reasons for considering West Dean and West Stoke as early centres are given in the following chapter, but Steyning's dedication is also likely to be early.⁵⁷ However, it is the Pagham churches that have been most closely linked with Wilfrid. The estate was probably acquired by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the mid-tenth century since it is not mentioned in the Canterbury records before that time.⁵⁸ The dedication of Pagham minster to St. Andrew is given in a tenth-century forged charter (S. 230) based on an original of unknown date, while the other dedications were first recorded after the Conquest.⁵⁹ In addition, the probable minster at Tarring was acquired by the Archbishop before the Conquest, but the dedication is first recorded in 1372. The most likely source of these dedications is the Canterbury cult of St. Wilfrid which began when his remains were taken from Ripon to Christ Church in 948 although it is always possible that an older tradition persisted. Frithegod's *Life* of Wilfrid was written there shortly afterwards and Wilfrid's name was inserted at the head of Selsey bishops' lists in the Christ Church chartulary only from 980 onwards.⁶⁰ Dedication of Pagham churches to a saint for whom Wilfrid was believed to hold particular veneration may well have been part of this and not an earlier pattern.

⁵⁵ The painting of 1519 is on the west wall of the cathedral south transept. Aldsworth, 'Mound', p.103.

⁵⁶ Fleming, *Pagham*, p.586; Blair, 'Cuthman', p.179. *Life* pp.146-7 names St. Andrew and St. Peter as those whom Wilfrid '*maxime diligebat et substantiam suam cum subditis dedicavit*'.

⁵⁷ Blair, 'Cuthman', p.179, contrary to V.C.H.6.1, p.243 and T.P.Hudson, 'The origins of Steyning and Bramber, Sussex', *Southern History* 2 (1980), p.13, considers that there was not an earlier dedication to St. Cuthman. Eleventh-century references to 'St. Cuthman's church' and St. Cuthman's burial rights' show his links with the church, but Anglo-Saxon saints did not dedicate churches to themselves, whereas apostolic dedications were the norm.

⁵⁸ Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.240-3.

⁵⁹ Kelly, pp.99-103.

⁶⁰ Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.227-30; Kelly, p.lxxxvi.

In summary, it seems at least as likely that Wilfrid's *monasterium* and the Anglo-Saxon cathedral were elsewhere on the peninsula as at Church Norton. The claims of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and the dedications to St. Andrew probably relate to contemporary claims for the ancient authority and endowment of the see rather than any substantive evidence. Not only has the fabric disappeared without trace, but no ancient rights or pastoral responsibilities were ever claimed for the church of Selsey after the see was moved in 1070 x 5, contrary to the other sees moved in the 1070s, perhaps indicating that the Anglo-Saxon cathedral had ceased to have a pastoral role.⁶¹

Selsey and Chichester 770-1070

The period of West Saxon control c. 686-770 was the main phase of proprietary minster establishment in Sussex. The known foundations were at Aldingbourne, Pepperering, Wittering, Ferring, Stanmer, Henfield and Beddingham.⁶² Bexhill, an episcopal minster, was established shortly after Mercia regained control in 770.⁶³ There were conflicting trends in the following 50 years of Mercian overlordship.⁶⁴ On the one hand, some episcopal authority may be evident in the foundation of Bexhill and perhaps in the gaining of control over the proprietary minsters of Ferring and Wittering, reflecting a possible trend discussed for Canterbury and Worcester dioceses.⁶⁵ On the other, there is no evidence of the appointment of bishops of any distinction and the Mercian kings themselves appropriated Beddingham minster.⁶⁶ Moreover, it is quite possible that Mercian control of the western edge of Sussex fluctuated, since the great majority of Mercian charters concern land in the east of the county.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Rushton, 'Parochialisation', p.139 argues that because there are no churches with fabric of c. 1100 or earlier in the Manhood peninsula outside the Wittering estate, this reflects the survival of a Selsey *parochia* comprising the peninsula less Wittering. However, there were lost churches at East Itchenor, Almodington, Bracklesham and Cowdray Farm. Birdham was present by 1105, and Sidlesham has been substantially rebuilt so that it is impossible to say how many churches were present in 1100. Of the other sees moved in 1075, Dorchester was a probable post-Conquest mother church after the see was moved to Lincoln (Blair, *Oxfordshire*, p.116; N. Doggett 'The Anglo-Saxon see and cathedral of Dorchester-on-Thames: the evidence reconsidered', *Oxoniensia* 51 (1986), pp.49-61). Lichfield retained its secular canons (Blair, 'Secular minsters', p.13; A.J. Kettle and D.A. Johnston, 'The cathedral of Lichfield', in M.W. Greenslade, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England The County of Stafford* 3 (1970), pp.140-3). Sherbourne was re-endowed as an abbey (V.C.H. *Dorset*, p.64) and North Elmham was promptly rebuilt as a large, aisled church (N. Batcock, 'The parish church in Norfolk in the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in Blair, *Minsters*, pp.189-90). Similarly, Crediton and Ramsbury from which the sees were moved in 1050 remained important mother churches after the Conquest. C.J. Elrington, *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Wiltshire* 12 (1983), pp.42-3.

⁶² Kelly, 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13; S14, 50. See also Table 1 and Appendix 1.

⁶³ S.108.

⁶⁴ Kelly, p.lxvii.

⁶⁵ Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.175-206; Sims-Williams, *Religion*, pp.169-79.

⁶⁶ Kelly, 14, 15, pp.61-5.

⁶⁷ Kelly, pp.lxxx-iv.

Mercian power in south-eastern England collapsed in the 820s and the picture in Sussex again becomes very obscure.⁶⁸ The only ninth-century charter is the grant of the 80-hide Malling estate in eastern Sussex to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the see may have been vacant between 860 and 900.⁶⁹ The extent of Viking disruption is unknown: Sussex is first mentioned in this respect in 894 when the *burhware* of Chichester inflicted a defeat on the invaders, although this was only an incidental result of a raid on Exeter.⁷⁰ West Saxon activity at this time is evident from the establishment of the other Sussex *burhs* at Burpham, Lewes and *Eorpeburnan* and from the fact that, although the earliest archaeological evidence for the town and port of Steyning is tenth-century, it was sufficiently important for King Aethelwulf to have been buried there in 858.⁷¹ Charltons near Singleton, Pagham and Steyning may be associated with West Saxon centres of this period and perhaps the establishment of a hundredal centre at Singleton.⁷² But King Alfred's possession of the minster estate of Aldingbourne and Beddingham was probably a legacy from the Mercian period, and Smyth considers that the gift in his will of the Sussex and Surrey estates to his nephews indicates their secondary importance.⁷³

Chichester was in many respects a typical *Fluchtbург*, but it was possibly also intended as a fortified town.⁷⁴ *Burhware* can be translated as 'garrison', but the *burhware* at Canterbury consisted of the burgesses, and the *hagae* in Chichester held by surrounding manors recorded in Domesday Book (Fig. 18) may have been contemporary with the establishment of the *burh*, although there is no evidence of the status of Chichester as a town until Domesday Book, and even then there is no specific entry.⁷⁵ Hill interprets *hagae* as enclosures behind burgage plots, but the Chichester entry equates *hagae* with *mansurae* which are generally taken to be the burgage plots themselves.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the Domesday Book entries for Felpham and Halnaker imply that burgages and *hagae* were different.⁷⁷ Hay described 11 plots on the southern side of West Street belonging to Bosham which corresponded to the 11 *hagae* in Domesday Book, and 14 between Crane Lane and Northgate (Fig. 33) corresponding to the 15 *hagae* of Stoughton. He also stated that lands in the Portfield, The Broyle, Greylingwell and

⁶⁸ A.S.C., p.60.

⁶⁹ S.1438; Kelly, pp.xc-xci.

⁷⁰ A.S.C., p.88; D. Hill, 'The origin of Saxon towns' in *South Saxons*, pp.179-80.

⁷¹ D. Hill, 'The Burghal Hidage: the establishment of a text', *M.A.* 13 (1969), pp.84-92; M. F. Gardiner, 'Archaeological excavations at Steyning 1992-5', *S.A.C.* 135 (1997), p.169; D. Whitelock, ed, *English Historical Documents c. 500-1042* (1979), p.174.

⁷² H.P.R. Finberg, 'Charletons and Carletons' in this *Lucernae: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (1964), pp.144-60; below, pp.131-4.

⁷³ A.P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (1995), pp.418-20.

⁷⁴ Hill, 'Saxon towns', pp.180-182.

⁷⁵ Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.27-28; J. Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (1936), pp.8,22-3,99.

⁷⁶ Hill, 'Saxon towns', p.182; D. B., p.421.

⁷⁷ D.B., pp.395, 433.

the surrounding meadows were attached to plots in the town (as they were, for example, at Canterbury), which is supported by thirteenth-century descriptions of meadows belonging to burgages.⁷⁸ Unfortunately there has been no systematic analysis of Chichester burgage plots, so the discussion cannot be pursued, although the Bosham and Stoughton *hagae* seem to correspond approximately with the burgage plots in 1785 (Fig. 33).

Further evidence of planning comes from the Burghal Hidage. The Chichester entry refers to the dry ditch defences only: the south-eastern quarter was defended by the diversion of the River Lavant which Magilton suggests was made to power a mill near the city and is most likely to have been done when Chichester was re-occupied.⁷⁹ Moreover, Chichester was the site of a mint from Edward the Elder's reign onwards.⁸⁰ Archaeological evidence before the mid-eleventh century is poor (Fig. 11) comprising mainly cesspits rather than structures and the group of mid to late Anglo-Saxon burials at East Street unrelated to known churches may indicate a sparsely-settled area and little urban development.⁸¹ From the archaeological, coin and Domesday Book evidence, it appears that the principal expansion of the city took place in the late eleventh century.⁸²

If Chichester's significance was faltering in the late Anglo-Saxon period, Selsey's certainly declined. When the West Saxon dioceses were reorganised in 909 no changes were made to Selsey, although a new bishop was consecrated after a long vacancy.⁸³ Yet by the mid-century a substantial part of the Selsey endowment had been seized by Alfsige, who was either the Bishop of Winchester or a layman.⁸⁴ Brooks suggests that the estates were restored to Selsey at the cost of ceding Pagham to Canterbury, which produced the necessary forgeries, while Kelly considers that the large amount of land involved may have been a later interpolation.⁸⁵ But the bishop was clearly powerless. A charter of 940 is remarkable in apparently granting episcopal lands to the Bishop of Selsey as his own personal property, and over the following 120 years there were substantial grants of land to religious bodies outside Sussex: Christ Church, Canterbury; New Minster; the Bishop of Winchester; Abingdon, Fécamp, Shaftsbury

⁷⁸ A. Hay, *A History of Chichester* (1804), pp.199-238; Munby, 'Chichester', pp.324-5; J. Holmes, 'The Chichester Dykes', *S.A.C.* 106 (1988), pp.70; Record Commissioners, *Rotuli Claustrum Litterarum*, ed., T.D. Hardy (1833-4) 2, p.80.

⁷⁹ J. Magilton, 'Chichester – the Burghal Hidage and the diversion of the River Lavant', *A.C.D.* (1996), pp.37-41.

⁸⁰ I. Stewart, 'The Sussex mints and their moneyers', in *South Saxons*, p.99.

⁸¹ R. Browse, '69-70 East Street', *A.C.D.* (1991), p.8.

⁸² Under William I and II coin production exceeded Lewes's for the first time, but declined under Henry I (Stewart, 'Mints', pp.117-123).

⁸³ Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.99-100; Kelly, pp.xc-xci.

⁸⁴ Kelly, 20. It is possible that this was the refusal by a layman to surrender land at the end of a lease of lives.

⁸⁵ Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.237-40; Kelly, pp.88-91, 101-3.

and Westminster Abbeys; East Meon church; and Osbern, King Edward's chaplain (Fig. 7).⁸⁶ In contrast, with the exception of the difficult grant probably in the Oving/Up Waltham area described below, there were only small grants to Selsey of land at Medmery and Hazelhurst and of land at Salehurst and Crowhurst to Bexhill minster.⁸⁷ Domesday Book records other pre-Conquest estates of the Bishop of Winchester at Harting and of New Minster at Treyford.⁸⁸ It was symptomatic of the situation that in 988 when Bishop Aethelgar, who held Selsey and the abbacy of New Minster in plurality, was granted South Highton as Bishop of Selsey it ended up in the possession of New Minster.⁸⁹ He was a former Glastonbury monk and a close associate of Aethelwold, as were his two successors, and from 1032 until c. 1070 (with the exception of 1047-57) the bishops were former Christ Church monks. There is no evidence of the Reform movement at Selsey but if the bishops were monks, it seems possible that the chapter was too.⁹⁰

At some time between 1070 and 1075 the see was moved to Chichester.⁹¹ The idea that the Cathedral was built on the site of St. Peter's minster is supported by a small group of charcoal burials partially overlain by the first phase of the cathedral.⁹² The V.C.H. suggests that the Anglo-Saxon building would originally have been parallel to Canon Lane (Fig. 33) which was re-built in 1187 on its pre-Conquest alignment, and that the Norman cathedral was re-orientated due east-west. The parochial altar to St. Peter in the new cathedral may also indicate continuity from the minster.⁹³ However, although parochial altars were common features of Anglo-Saxon minsters that retained their high status after 1066, they were also present in post-Conquest foundations like Battle Abbey.⁹⁴ A thirteenth-century Chichester capitular seal (Fig. 36) showing an Anglo-Saxon church cannot be related to either St. Peter's or Selsey.⁹⁵ On balance, it seems likely that the minster was on the cathedral site, not least because there is no archaeological evidence for it elsewhere.

⁸⁶ S.1630,185,914,1047,1631,746,714,708; Matthew, *Norman*, pp.19-22; D.B., p.395; S.774,894,1011,1039-41, 1043,1293:283; D.B., p.392

⁸⁷ Kelly, 17, p.97; S.108.

⁸⁸ S.776, 779, B.46; D.B., p.422.

⁸⁹ Kelly, p.xcii

⁹⁰ Kelly, pp.cii-xciv. Kelly 19 was probably produced in c. 956 but has later interpolations. It refers to the *fratres* of Chichester. This may be an interpolation for Selsey, or may refer to a cell of Selsey founded within the city.

⁹¹ H. Hall, 'Stigand, bishop of Chichester', *S.A.C.* 43 (1905), pp.88-104, concluded that it was in 1075; above, p.86.

⁹² Down and Rule, *Excavations* 1, pp.127-142.

⁹³ V.C.H. 3, p.105; *Chl. Chart.*, 361.

⁹⁴ M. Franklin, 'The cathedral as parish church, the case in southern England' in D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rabin, eds, *Church and City 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke* (1992), pp.173-98; Above, p.70.

⁹⁵ Baldwin Brown, pp.269-70. Kelly compares it with a Canterbury drawing of an Anglo-Saxon/Carolingian church as an ideal rather than a real building (Kelly, 'Bishopric', p.10, Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.46-9). The seal is attached to B.L.Ms.Cotton Fragments XII 80.

What was the origin and role of St. Peter's? There is no evidence for an early foundation, and its central position differs from the typical peripheral one of early urban minsters like St. Helen's, Worcester.⁹⁶ If it was originally a nunnery, a West Saxon royal foundation of the ninth century seems possible.⁹⁷ The *monasterium* could have been a cell of the Selsey community established as a retreat from the Viking disturbances, but it could also have been a secular minster which formed the basis of the chapter of the post-Conquest cathedral.⁹⁸ This would explain how a possible monastic church mainly ruled by monks from Reformed houses from 980 – 1070 became a secular cathedral. It would also explain the 16 hides held by the *canonici* of Chichester in 1086, perhaps the rights in Arundel College which Chichester chapter held until c. 1149, and the *ad hoc* and fragmented way in which the relationship between bishop and chapter was established in the twelfth century.⁹⁹

The development of late Anglo-Saxon Selsey and Chichester can be summarised in the following way. There was an attempt to extend episcopal control under Mercian domination after 770, but from c. 836, when Sussex became part of greater Wessex, until 1066 no significant increase was made in the Selsey endowment, yet Winchester diocese and several Hampshire religious houses acquired substantial holdings throughout Sussex. From the end of the ninth century, Chichester may have grown very modestly as a fortified town, acquiring a nunnery and probably a royal minster, but significant development is unlikely before the eleventh century. Land which formed part of the post-Conquest episcopal and capitular estates around the town and to the east of it may have belonged to this minster which may have been a focus for the West Saxon kings, in contrast to the often vacant see at Selsey.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, the Dean of Chichester's peculiar (Fig. 32) showed some of the characteristics of a pre-Conquest *parochia* which could have belonged to St. Peter's, and this requires further discussion.

The Dean of Chichester's Peculiar and its Churches

The peculiar, first described in 1260, persisted until 1845.¹⁰¹ It included the extra-mural parishes of St. Pancras and St. Bartholomew, the outlying parishes of Rumboldswyke and Fishbourne and six intra-mural parishes, but not the cathedral precinct or the Pallant. Its extent was again described in 1324, and St. Andrew in the Pallant, St. Andrew Oxmarket, St. Olave, St. Bartholomew, Fishbourne and Rumboldswyke were said to be chapels in the thirteenth

⁹⁶ S. Bassett, 'Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control' in Blair and Sharpe, pp.13-42.

⁹⁷ Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.201-3.

⁹⁸ Kelly, pp.82-84; Above, pp.81-2.

⁹⁹ *Acta*, pp.41-8; *Fasti*, pp.xvii-xxvii; Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, pp.257-69.

¹⁰⁰ Above, p.86.

¹⁰¹ Peckham, 'Parishes', p.65.

century.¹⁰² Fishbourne did not acquire its own graveyard until 1442, and the dean and chapter held two thirds of the tithes of Fishbourne and Rumboldswyke.¹⁰³ St. Pancras was not described as a chapel, but in 1262 x 3 it was said to be within the liberty of Chichester.¹⁰⁴

Several of the parishes shown on Figs. 32 and 33 appear to have been carved out of a parish of St. Peter the Great served by the parochial altar in the cathedral. A Dean of Chichester is first mentioned in 1108: the lost round church of St. Bartholomew (sh.O1) would have dated from about this period, and as late as the seventeenth century most of St. Bartholomew's parish comprised the dean's lands.¹⁰⁵ It may have been an estate carved out of the original common endowment of 16 hides or some form of pre-Conquest allocation may have been regularised. From its shape, Fishbourne parish may also have been carved out of St. Peter's. To the north of the city there were commons and chases: the King's Broyle was separated from the others by ditches and belonged to St. Peter's parish.¹⁰⁶ To the east, there was the parish of St. Pancras.¹⁰⁷

Within the city, small churches with small parishes lay along North and East Streets. But although there is archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation in the north-western quadrant, there is no evidence for lost churches or parishes there (Fig. 33). Along, or close to North Street, the very small Overlap churches of St. Olave, St. Peter-the-Less and St. Martin, were within burgage plots (shs G1-3). The V.C.H. suggests that in common with other churches of this dedication, St. Olave may have been built between the saint's death in 1030 and the Conquest (he was not canonised until 1154) perhaps to serve a Scandinavian community.¹⁰⁸ But the dedication is not known until the fourteenth century and the standing church is post-Conquest. At St. Andrew Oxmarket the thirteenth-century three-square church was rebuilt on earlier foundations and it is probable that All Saints in the Pallant was rebuilt on the site of the church present in 1086 (shs.B1,2).¹⁰⁹ The demolished St. Peter-sub-Castro (sh.B3) was slightly smaller. The three churches are similar in plan and size to twelfth-century

¹⁰² *Chl. Chart.*, 472, 952, 957; *Box. Chart.*, 151; *Rede. Reg.* 2, p. 141; Peckham, 'Parishes', p. 67; *Fines* 2, p. 71.

¹⁰³ Above, pp. 99-100; *Chl. Chart.* 752 (this is an undated extent and it is possible that the tithes of Fishbourne were acquired by sequestration of the lands of the alien priory of Arundel).

¹⁰⁴ Whitley, 'Sanctuary', p. 86.

¹⁰⁵ B.L.Add.Ms.5689, f. 31. The lands in St. Bartholomew parish appear to have been the original endowment of the deanery since the earliest reference c. 1170 is to the acquisition of meadows between St. Bartholomew's and the city and the making of a postern to give access to this area (*Chl. Chart.*, 125). There were several augmentations (*Fasti*, pp. 6-7) as the office of dean grew in importance.

¹⁰⁶ *Chl. Chart.*, 737.

¹⁰⁷ Above, pp. 104-5.

¹⁰⁸ V.C.H. 3, p. 166; Fisher, p. 73. See Morris, *Landscape*, p. 176 for other dedications to St. Olave.

¹⁰⁹ F. Aldsworth, 'The structure of St. Andrew's church' in A. Down, *Excavations* 5 (1981), pp. 7-10. At All Saints, excavation north of the church revealed a medieval cemetery, but no earlier building (A. Down, *Excavations* 2 (1974), pp. 75-82). The church abuts the probable early lane of West Pallant on the southern side.

urban churches in Lewes.¹¹⁰ The lost chapel of St. Cyriac near the north gate had no parochial responsibilities but was also founded at this time.¹¹¹

The small parishes of the medieval churches had complex shapes (Fig. 33) indicating that they were probably established after the majority of tenements.¹¹² Since the north-western quadrant was quite densely occupied in the late Anglo-Saxon period but remained entirely within the parish of St. Peter-the-Great, it seems likely that the churches and their parishes date from the late eleventh century, perhaps after the Conquest. This may reflect royal or ecclesiastical planning, since the advowsons belonged either to the king or to the dean and chapter.¹¹³ The peak of Chichester's growth and the founding of the churches may have been around 1066-1086 when 60 new tenements were formed, in addition to any that may have been re-located as a result of the construction of the castle.¹¹⁴

There is thus a case for a *parochia* of St. Peter's which included the whole intra-mural area except the Pallant and a radius of about 2km around it, taking in meadows, the common fields, the head of a navigable waterway at Fishbourne and common north of the city (Fig. 32). The burial arrangements for the medieval town support this. At first sight, the *parochia* is similar to, but smaller than, the probable Roman *territoria* around Silchester and Winchester, but since there is no evidence of continuity from the Roman period, it seems more likely that it originated in the late ninth century or later with the nunnery or minster as its church.¹¹⁵ However it arose, there is more certain evidence that the lesser churches and their parishes within the *parochia* date from the later eleventh century and are probably post-Conquest.

Prebends and Prebendal Churches

There are hints of the beginning of the prebendal system in Domesday Book. The land held *in prebenda* at Treyford has already been discussed and the three *clerici* at Aldingbourne in 1086 may have been part of the bishop's *mensa* rather than having pastoral duties at Aldingbourne.¹¹⁶ It is also possible that other episcopal tenants were clergy, since, although not named as such, they were separated from *milites*, a distinction rarely made elsewhere in Sussex.¹¹⁷ The tortuous route to the prebends of the thirteenth century has been fully explored

¹¹⁰ V.C.H.7, pp.39,49.

¹¹¹ A. McCann, 'The chapel of St. Cyriac, Chichester', *S.A.C.* 113 (1975), pp.197-199; *C.D.F.* 480.

¹¹² Morris, *Landscape*, p.206.

¹¹³ V.C.H. 3, pp.164-6.

¹¹⁴ D.B., p.389. Construction of the castle may have required demolition of tenements at the northern end of St. Martin's Lane (Fig. 33), but excavations indicates that Priory Road may have been a Saxo-Norman feature. (A. Down and J. Magilton, in Down, *Excavations* 8, p.15.)

¹¹⁵ Munby, 'Chichester', p.326; M. Biddle, ed., *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages* (1976), pp.225-8.

¹¹⁶ Above, pp.87-8; D. B., p.390.

¹¹⁷ D.B., pp.389-91.

by Mayr-Harting, Greenaway and Crosby.¹¹⁸ The purpose of this section is to see if the rights and dues of the prebendal churches and those attached to the capitular offices of precentor and dean were retained from before the Conquest, or whether they were the result of post-Conquest changes. Excluding West Singleton/*Dene*, which is first recorded as a prebend of Arundel College, there were five groups of prebendal churches: the post-Conquest donation of East Marden; the lost churches of Bracklesham and East Thorney; Eartham; Sidlesham; and West Wittering, Aldingbourne, Oving and Selsey. The first two are not considered further and Selsey has already been discussed.¹¹⁹

Eartham was formally made a prebend in 1174 x 8 following a dispute over its status.¹²⁰ This arose because the church had originally been given to Bishop Hilary's chaplain in 1147 x 57 in free alms with its land and tithes, perhaps an indication that the prebendal system was still emerging.¹²¹ The Caenais style of the church probable dates is to c. 1070-90 (sh.C4). It had six altars within a very small building but no right or due in relation to another church is known.¹²² Sidlesham was a *ham* and part of the original endowment of the see, with a large episcopal manor throughout the Middle Ages.¹²³ Much of the rest of the parish was divided between the prebends of Sidlesham, Highleigh and Bishophurst, although the prebend is unknown until 1291.¹²⁴ The area was dominated by commons with scattered settlement along the stream leading to the mill at the edge of Pagham Harbour (Fig. 38).¹²⁵ Despite its *ham* name, Sidlesham appears to have been a green-side settlement abutting the southern edge of Manhood Common (Fig. 23). Almodington, a formerly independent parish, which was united with Earnley to the west of Sidlesham in 1526, may have had some early significance since there is a nearby Easton (Fig. 38).¹²⁶ A chapel of St. Peter at Easton was mentioned in 1461 and 1525. This was presumably the same building as the church of 1531 and 1533. The prebendary of Sidlesham held the advowson of Earnley in 1440-4, but no other connections between Earnley, Almodington, Easton and Sidlesham are known.¹²⁷ The present church (sh.O6) dates from c. 1200-20, perhaps contemporary with the adjacent moated site and the establishment of a prebend: it may be that this group superseded a more modest green-side church.¹²⁸

¹¹⁸ *Acta*, pp.41-48; *Fasti*, pp.xv-xxvii; Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, pp.257-269.

¹¹⁹ Above, pp.80,105-8.

¹²⁰ *Acta*, 61.

¹²¹ *Acta*, 28.

¹²² *Wills* 42, p.91.

¹²³ Dodgson, 'New look', p.96.

¹²⁴ Above, pp.84-5.

¹²⁵ Munby, 'Chichester', p.220; *Chi. Chart.* 971.

¹²⁶ EpI/1/5f.143.

¹²⁷ *Wills* 45, p.128; V.C.H. 4, p.215; *Reg. Rede.* 2, p.252; *Reg. Praty*, pp.112,122,134.

¹²⁸ Noted from fieldwork.

The charter evidence for a minster at (West) Wittering is supported by the Anglo-Saxon gable cross, by its ovoid enclosure (Fig. 19BL) and by its strategic waterside setting.¹²⁹ A prebend was first mentioned in 1174 X 80 when the consent of the prebendary was obtained to build a chapel at (West) Itchenor, subject to a pension.¹³⁰ In 1187 X 97 the bishop granted a licence for the chapel to become a '*matrix ecclesia*' with a pension of half a mark to him.¹³¹ In 1196 X 1202 Oliver de Wittering granted his chapel of East Wittering to the cathedral.¹³² His manor is likely to have been one of the two separated from the main 14-hide estate of Wittering T.R.E.¹³³ The present church dates from c. 1125-1145 (sh.I3). The earliest phase of West Itchenor is compatible with construction shortly after 1147 and both churches are three-square. It seems likely therefore that a *parochia* of Wittering, surrounded by sea and commons (Fig. 38) persisted until the twelfth century, when the two chapels at the eastern edge were built.

The prebend of Aldingbourne, comprising the churches of Aldingbourne, Amberley and Wisborough Green is described only in 1229 when it was broken up and Aldingbourne was attached to the deanery.¹³⁴ The three churches appear to have been brought together to provide an adequate endowment for a prebend, since no links between them can be traced. There were bishop's palaces at Aldingbourne and Amberley, but the latter came into regular use later and originated as a manor house with a two-cell church adjacent, both of which were substantially enlarged in the late Middle Ages.¹³⁵ The references to Amberley in the pre-Conquest sources are probably later interpolations, although the bishops certainly held land in the area and it has been suggested that the two hides held by a priest and the three held by a *clericus* indicate a collegiate church.¹³⁶ It is not known when Wisborough church was appropriated: it is a substantial, probably fortified, building of the early twelfth century.¹³⁷ Aldingbourne church and castle lie alongside a rife at the junction of Oving, Aldingbourne, Tangmere and Boxgrove parishes (Fig. 38). Although the last two were separate estates by 1066 when Tangmere was part of the Archbishop of Canterbury's holdings, it is possible that they were originally part of an Aldingbourne estate which extended from the Pagham estate to the dip slope of the Downs. Tangmere seems to have been carved out of a larger unit and it remained a rectory, unlike the chapels within the Pagham estate.¹³⁸ It is possible that the

¹²⁹ Kelly, 2; above, p.81.

¹³⁰ *Acta*, 65.

¹³¹ *Acta*, 110.

¹³² *Acta*, 94.

¹³³ D.B., p.391.

¹³⁴ *Chi. Chart.*, 210.

¹³⁵ G.A. Clarkson, 'Notes on Amberley, its castle, church etc', *S.A.C.* 17 (1865), pp.185-239.

¹³⁶ Kelly, 1, 20, pp.6, 22, 35, 89 D.B. p.390; Rushton 'Parochialisation', p. 140

¹³⁷ *Guides*, 10; *Plans*, 53.

¹³⁸ Below, pp.124-8.

clerici who held Tangmere from the Archbishop T.R.E. were those of Aldingbourne not Pagham minster, which is not heard of after the mid-tenth century, and that the *clerici* who held a hide at Boxgrove were also those of Aldingbourne.¹³⁹ But the only real evidence for churches subordinate to Aldingbourne is the chapel at Lidsey. Aldingbourne church was originally a four-square single-cell building, perhaps with a clerestory, which may have succeeded an earlier building to the north (sh.M1, Appendix 4). Between its probable construction in the late eleventh century and the end of the twelfth century it underwent substantial enlargement. But after the break-up of the prebend, when most of the income would have gone to the deanery, the church ceased to develop. It appears to have been entirely separate from the bishop's palace, about which very little is known.¹⁴⁰

The *-ingas* name of Oving and the fact that 2 km away there was a *ufes ford* (Fig. 42) which shares the same personal name element, suggest that Oving may have been a settlement at the western boundary of an early estate.¹⁴¹ But no connection with Aldingbourne is known and the only chapel within the parish was at Colworth, first mentioned in 1510, which seems to have been a chapel-of-ease for the prebendary.¹⁴² The church is three-square and close to a manor house, but the unusual orientation (Appendix 12) and the ovoid enclosure (Fig. 21) may indicate an early origin.

Overall, the prebendal churches had only a few chapelries, which are recorded very late. No rights over, or dues from, other churches are known. Since the prebendaries were usually poor and always litigious some record of earlier relationships might have been expected to have survived in disputes. Eartham, Sidlesham and perhaps the lost Bracklesham and East Thorney may have been estate churches, perhaps established directly by the bishop. West Wittering was a classic example of a small minster *parochia* which may have been as early as the grant of 733 x 765, but if Aldingbourne had a *parochia* it had dissolved by 1086 leaving just Lidsey chapel and independent churches on the episcopal estates. There is no trace of Selsey's former status. This pattern of largely independent churches is a contrast with those of the peculiars and the large royal and lay estates to be discussed in the following two chapters, where different processes were at work.

¹³⁹ Below, pp.136-7.

¹⁴⁰ Above, p.82.

¹⁴¹ Mawer and Stenton, p.75; Kelly, pp.101-3; above, pp.34-5.

¹⁴² V.C.H. 4, p.134.

8: PRE-CONQUEST ESTATES AND *PAROCHIAE*

This chapter considers the structure of large estates, other than those of the Bishop of Chichester, which are recorded in Domesday Book and which persisted into the late Middle Ages (Figs. 38-40). Across Sussex there were several pre-Conquest estates belonging to bishops and religious houses from outside the diocese.¹ Within the study area there were the Bishop of Exeter's Bosham estate and the Archbishop of Canterbury's Deanery of Pagham. Two other estates were in royal hands before the Conquest. The 80-hide Harting estate, said to have been given to Aethelwold by King Aethelstan and subsequently returned to the crown when the former became Bishop of Winchester, was only ever split into two parishes.² The Singleton/*Dene* estate, comprising 97½ hides T.R.E., may have been granted to the Bishop of Selsey in the eighth century, but it was in royal hands from the ninth until the early eleventh century when 60 hides were granted to Wherewell Abbey.³ It was subsequently acquired by Earl Godwine.⁴ The earl's 36-hide estates at Westbourne and Stoughton are also considered here in the context of possible early estates in the Ems Valley (Fig. 38).⁵

Bosham

In 1066 Bosham was the centre of two estates: one of 56½ hides belonging to Earl Godwine and of one of 112 hides belonging to the church and held by Osbern, who had been King Edward's chaplain and became Bishop of Exeter in 1072. Forty-seven hides had been severed from the bishop's estate by 1086.⁶ Most recent authors have followed Round in believing that the church estate was originally 147 hides, comprising 32 at Plumpton and 17 at Sedlescombe in East Sussex, 10 hides at Farringdon in Hampshire, 13 hides at Elsted, six at Woolavington (East Lavington), three at Preston and one at (East) Itchenor plus the 65-hide core estate.⁷ However, this does not appear to be correct. There seems no reason to doubt Round's suggestion that Godwine seized Plumpton and Sedlescombe and perhaps Itchenor, which subsequently passed to lay hands after the Conquest. However, the 22 hides at Elsted, Preston and Woolavington listed under separate hundred headings in Domesday Book were included in the later 65-hide chapelry of Bosham described in the *Book of Fees*, so Round counted these twice.⁸ Moreover, the 10 hides at Farringdon which appear under Hampshire do not seem to have been taken into account in the Sussex entry.⁹ The structure of Osbern's estate

¹ E.g. Canterbury's estates at South Malling, Stanmer and Patching, Westminster's at Parham, Fécamp's at Rye, Steyning and Bury (D.B., pp.388-9, 391-2). See also above, p.110, Fig. 7.

² E. O. Blake, *Liber Eliensis* (1962); S. 776, 779.

³ Above, pp.81-2; D. B., p.422; Kelly 4; A.W., p.493; S. 904.

⁴ D.B., p.421.

⁵ D.B., pp 425-6.

⁶ D.B., pp.387, 392-3.

⁷ J.H. Round, 'Note on the Sussex Domesday', *S.A.C.* 44 (1901), pp.140-3; F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (1979), pp.190-1; R. D. H. Gem, 'Holy Trinity Church, Bosham', *Arch J.* 142 (1953), pp.32-6.

⁸ *Book of Fees*, 2, p.690.

⁹ V.C.H. *Hants* 1, p.469.

seems clear if the wording of Domesday Book is followed. There was a 65-hide estate given to Osbern. Forty-seven hides were subsequently added but then seized by Godwine. The 65 hides consisted of a core estate of 43 hides (Fig. 41) with the following later additions: Elsted, where the probably late separation of this area from an earlier Elsted/Treyford land unit has already been described; Preston which lay within the Singleton/*Dene* estate; and Woolavington which comprised four widely-dispersed parcels in the Weald.¹⁰ The original Bosham estate is thus likely to have been a 100-hide unit made up of Osbern's 43 hides plus the 56½-hide estate which had been acquired by Godwine, allowing for half a hide being lost. This is represented by the post-Conquest hundred, plus outliers of the royal manor (which became Berkeley Manor) at Buckholt in the Weald and South Mundham/Bowley on the Pagham estate.¹¹ Godwine's acquisition probably took place before 1048 when the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* implies that he was in control of the port of Bosham.¹²

The churches and Domesday Book entries give some indication of the organisation of the estates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The lower part of the tower, nave and western third of the chancel at Bosham probably date from the first half of the eleventh century (sh.O2). The extension of the chancel, chancel arch and upper part of the tower may be linked to Bishop Warlewaste's re-founding of the collegiate church in 1123 although there may have been an intermediate phase when the chancel arch was rebuilt (sh.3.2).¹³ A church on the royal estate is also mentioned in Domesday Book and the V.C.H. suggests that this was at West Stoke (Fig. 41). If there was a church there in 1086, it could have been the present one (sh.E10), but the manor belonged to the bishop, not the king.¹⁴ There are two other possibilities: about 2.5 km south east of the church is an area known as 'Churchfield' since at least 1312 where resistivity survey has indicated the remains of a building but not its plan (Fig. 41).¹⁵ There would have been access from this site to the sea via an inlet which is now silted-up, but it is impossible to pursue this without archaeological investigation. But there may have been a church attached to the manorial complex immediately north of the present church, where there is still a rectangular building of rubble construction and probably twelfth-century, between the church and the manor house. This may have been the 'St. Bede's chapel' described by Smyth in 1637.¹⁶

¹⁰ Above, pp.87-8.

¹¹ In 1200 it was *Bosham cum lestagio et cum hundredeo et cum aliis pertinentis* (Thorn, p.34). For the outliers see J. Smyth, 'Manor of Bosham in the county of Sussex', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 10 (1883-6), pp.250-77.

¹² *A.S.C.*, p.168.

¹³ F. Barlow ed, *English Episcopal Acta 11 Exeter 1046-1184* (1976), p.xxii; G. Oliver, *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis* (1846), pp.134,317. It is generally assumed to be a re-foundation but there is no direct evidence that there were canons at Bosham in 1086 or before.

¹⁴ *D.B.*, pp.392-3.

¹⁵ Mawer and Stenton, p.59; D. Combes, pers. com.

¹⁶ Smyth, 'Bosham', p.254; V.C.H. 4, p.182

There was also a collegiate church at West Thorney but there is no evidence in the Exeter *acta* and bishops' registers of a post-Conquest connection with Bosham, and none of its land or tithes were included in the reconstituted college.¹⁷ West Thorney appears to have had a four-square plan (sh.M6) and had clerici T.R.W. It is probable, therefore, that the 12-hide estate there was one of several building blocks which made up the 100-hide estate. There is further evidence for some of these blocks in the nature of the prebends and tithings.

At the re-founding of the college in 1123, six prebends and the office of sexton were established. The locations of their endowments were not described in full until the seventeenth century, but none of the many disputes in the records of the bishops of Exeter is concerned with them, so the following may reflect the originals:

Bosham parochial - tithes of Bosham with a parochial altar in the nave of Bosham church;
Walton – messuage and tenement, with tithe of Walton and with 87 ½ acres of tithe-free land;
Funtington – great and small tithes of Funtington and of East and West Ashling;
Chidham – great tithes of the parish of Chidham (originally all of the tithes, a vicarage had been ordained by 1291);
Apuldram – croft, tithes and renders;
Westbrook – a share in the general property of college, with part of tithes derived from tithings of Walton, Westbrook, Southwood and other parts of the parish of Bosham.

The sexton had a small tenement near the church and the rectory of Funtington was attached to the office.¹⁸

The prebends were created because six canons were re-located from the bishop's estate at Plympton in Devon when an Augustinian house was founded.¹⁹ The Bosham endowments were contrived to make six units and the pre-Conquest endowments are unknown. But only lands in Apuldram, Bosham and Funtingdon parishes (i.e. the eastern and central parts of the estate) were concerned, which is where the tithings of the post-Conquest royal manor lay (Fig. 41).²⁰ Only Funtington and Apuldram churches are known to have been linked to Bosham. Mortuary rights were retained over the former until 1405, and although the manor of Apuldram was granted to Battle Abbey in c. 1130, the canon holding the prebend of Apuldram was responsible for providing a priest to serve the chapel there.²¹ Bosham held mortuary rights until 1447 and in 1664 was still said to be the parish church.²² No link between Chidham and

¹⁷ Above, p.83.

¹⁸ CapI/28/4; T.P.N., p.313.

¹⁹ Gifford, thesis, p.180.

²⁰ Smyth, 'Bosham', pp.264-5.

²¹ *Reg. Stafford*, p.31; *Ant. Ch.*, 11; E. Searle, ed., *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (1980), pp.122-5.

²² *Reg. Stafford*, p.32; B.L.Add.Ms.39368, f.189.

Bosham churches is known and post-Reformation burial rights of Chidham in West Thorney may reflect an earlier relationship between the two.²³ Nor is a link known between Bosham and West Stoke church where the name and topography may indicate early importance.²⁴ However, the shape of the parish boundary fits the northern edge of an estate comprising the parishes of Bosham, Apuldram, West Stoke and Funtington and perhaps land around Birdham in addition to the outlier at East Itchenor (Fig. 38).²⁵ Such an estate would have controlled the Chichester Channel and extended from the coast to high up the dip slope of the Downs.

The estate may have been of early origin. Walton Farm lies about 1 km north east of the church within a sub-rectangular enclosure in a similar relationship to the church as the Charltons at Pagham and Singleton.²⁶ The name is derived from *wealh* but, unlike many other *wealhs*, it is associated with good, not poor, soil and the channel leading to the open sea from Bosham was once *wialesflet*, derived from the same element.²⁷ There were 87½ acres of tithe-free land adjacent to Walton Farm that may be a survival of the hide held by the *clerici* in 1086.²⁸ Walton is one of a small cluster of *wealh* names in western Sussex and eastern Hampshire which includes a Walton in similar relationship to Fareham, 30km away.²⁹ The original arrangement may have been a church and estate centre close together at the present site and a servile settlement at Walton. This may have been present when Dicuill's *monasterium* was active in 681 within an estate comprising mainly the land of the royal estate T.R.E. at Bosham, Apuldram, Funtington and possibly East Itchenor (Fig. 41). At this or a later stage the estate may have been part of a larger unit, since Bosham shares the element *Bosa* with Bosmere Hundred at the western edge of Hampshire.³⁰ Chidham and West Thorney (where the probable minster is evidence of independent status) were added to make the 100-hide unit which was subsequently split between the Domesday Book estates of Godwine and Osbern, with royal land at Elsted, Woolavington, Preston, Sedlescombe and Plumpton having been added to the latter. This pattern of an early centre and core estate to which there were several additions is also found at Pagham.

²³ F. H. Arnold, 'Thorney Island', *S.A.C.* 32 (1882), p.12 states that bodies 'had been brought' from Thorney to Chidham and that rights of way were consequently claimed over a road in Chidham.

²⁴ Below, p.147.

²⁵ Below, p.139.

²⁶ Below, pp.126; above, p.80.

²⁷ K. Cameron, 'Meaning and significance of O. E. *wealh* in English place-names', *J.E.P.N.S.* 12 (1979-80), pp.1-52; Kelly, 1.

²⁸ D.B., p.392-3; TD/W 17.

²⁹ Cameron, '*wealh*', p.34.

³⁰ Mawer and Stenton, p.58.

Pagham

In 1066 there was a Pagham estate of 50 hides belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury with a church that had presumably succeeded the minster of St. Andrew mentioned in the tenth-century forgery, S.230. It included the Pallant in Chichester and the church of All Saints within it.³¹ The archbishop also held Tangmere (Fig. 38), which was grouped with Pagham in S.230 and which was said T.R.E. to have been held of the archbishop by *clerici*. A church was recorded at Tangmere in 1086 but not at Lavant, another of the archbishop's estates. By the thirteenth century, the deanery of Pagham was said to comprise, in addition to the above, the church of South Bersted, perhaps subsumed in Pagham in 1086, and Slindon which had been added between 1086 and 1106.³² However, the evidence for dependent churches is late. The churches within the estate are listed separately in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas, but Pagham had a chapel, perhaps the present St. Andrew's (Fig. 42, sh.A1).³³ South Bersted was first said to be a chapel in 1317 and a chapel at the manorial centre of North Bersted, subject to South Bersted, is mentioned only once, in 1440.³⁴ The lost church of Bognor described variously as *ecclesia* and *capella* was first mentioned in 1277.³⁵ St. Andrew's chapel was first mentioned as such in 1456 but has thirteenth-century fabric.³⁶ There was also a chapel at the head manor of Nytimber, probably contemporary with the twelfth-century *aula*.³⁷ It was rebuilt in the early thirteenth century and is almost identical to All Saints in the Pallant (shs B1,8). There may also have been chapels at Bowley manor house and an unknown site in Pagham.³⁸ However, the detached portions of Pagham deanery at Tangmere, Slindon and East Lavant were rectories.

The impression that the relationship between churches fluctuated, and the late medieval pattern may not have been very old is reinforced by the other evidence. It was not until Lanfranc's time that the Pagham clergy obtained their chrism from Canterbury rather than Chichester, and the church scot of all the Pagham demesnes was granted to Lewes Priory by the archbishop in exactly the same way that it would have been granted by a layman where it had become a secular due.³⁹ Moreover, the estate does not show the intricate relationships between tithings and hamlets and the pattern of carrying services to be found in the archbishop's peculiar of South Malling to the east, which Jones and others have proposed as a multiple estate, although there are equally detailed late thirteenth-century customals.⁴⁰

³¹ D.B., pp.388-9.

³² V.C.H.4, p.222.

³³ T.P.N., p.322.

³⁴ *Reg Rede.*, pp.88, 93.

³⁵ M.P.444; above, p.98, fn.45.

³⁶ M.P.448.

³⁷ Guernonprez, pp.145-152.

³⁸ P.M. Johnston in footnote to Guernonprez, p.146.

³⁹ Above, pp.100-1.

⁴⁰ Jones, 'Multiple estates', pp.20-9; *Pag. Cust.*; *Cant. Cust.*, pp.30-120. But see below p.163 for an alternative explanation.

The estate described in Domesday Book may have been made up of at least three units. The bounds given in S.230 (Fig. 42) are probably based on a genuine original, perhaps as early as the seventh century, before Pagham belonged to the archbishop since it is not mentioned in the Canterbury records until the tenth century.⁴¹ East of Langness (Fig. 42), estate and parish bounds were probably concurrent, but the *lang port*, *uning londe*, *inufes ford* and *cynges wic* between there and Honer Farm (*horan fleot*) are more difficult to identify. The description of the next point on the boundary clockwise from *horan fleot* implies that the *fleot* was Bremer rife and that the boundary followed the eastern bank past the *lang port* to *uning londe*, swinging eastwards to cross the tidal Pagham rife at *ufes ford*.⁴² *Ufes ford* and Oving may have been at the edge of an estate abutting Pagham and a *lang port* is mentioned after Oving in the forged Lewes charters produced in c. 1320.⁴³ The Pagham boundary could have been north of South Mundham, placing the king's *wic* to the west of Crimsham Farm, or it could have extended to North Mundham past Hunston (derived from *stane not tun* and perhaps referring to a boundary marker) with the *wic* at or near Runcton on the edge of Pagham Rife, which would have been more substantial before the diversion of the River Lavant.⁴⁴ The first of these possibilities is more likely. The archbishop never made a claim to North Mundham, but South Mundham was one of the subjects of the dispute between Becket and Henry II in the 1160s, when it was said to be part of the royal manor of Bosham and the royal *wic* was most likely to have been within this land.⁴⁵ Mundham first appears in the Aldingbourne charter of 692 and subsequently in three Canterbury forgeries.⁴⁶ Only in S. 230 are North Mundham and another Mundham mentioned. But in the Aldingbourne charter, text describing two hides on the eastern bank and three on the western follows the Mundham entry and probably refers to it. Edwards suggests that this was an error for five and six hides respectively which would correspond with S. 230.⁴⁷ This would explain the split between North Mundham and Runcton, but not South Mundham which is first mentioned as such in 1220.⁴⁸ The tentative conclusion is that there was an early estate centred on Mundham which had been broken up by the time of the charter, with South Mundham being included within the core Pagham estate.

There appear to have been at least two other units within the estate, based around Pagham and the Bersteds. Fig. 41 shows Pagham, Nytimber and the lost Charlton close to the eastern edge

⁴¹ Kelly, pp.101-103; Brooks, *Canterbury*, pp.240-3.

⁴² A. Cole, 'Fleot: distribution and use of this Old English place-name', *J.E.P.N.S.* 29 (1996-7), pp.79-87.

⁴³ *Acta* 10,39; above, p.44.

⁴⁴ Mawer and Stenton, p.71; above, p.112.

⁴⁵ F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (1986), pp.108,229; J. C. Robertson ed., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury* R.S. (1875-85) 6, p.602, 7, p.174; In *Pag. Cust.*, p.xlvi the jurors stated that the manor of (South) Mundham was originally part of 'the manor or demesne' of Pagham.

⁴⁶ Kelly, 1,2,20; S.230.

⁴⁷ H. Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, B.A.R.B.S. 198 (1988), p.295; Kelly, pp.lxlii-lxv,lxx-lxxiv,21-22.

⁴⁸ M.P.444.

of Pagham Harbour and the sea.⁴⁹ North and South Bersted were at the edge of Flansham Brooks at the opposite end of the estate. The hundred meeting place at Aldwick lay centrally between them.⁵⁰ There is evidence for use of the land immediately south of Pagham church from the sixth or seventh century onwards, and the cross fragment found beneath the church indicates a graveyard by at least the late tenth or early eleventh century.⁵¹ There was an occupation site adjacent to 'Becket's Barn' (part of the thirteenth-century rectorial buildings) and the first church on the site was a small structure with Saxon mortar (sh.M3).⁵² The second phase four-square church, may have been contemporary with the *aula* and chapel 1.2 km away at Nytimber.⁵³ The *aula* was of similar form to a two-cell church but orientated north-south and with doorways on the long axis. The surviving south doorway had been rebuilt, but it is impossible to date the structure other than within the Overlap period. There was certainly an archbishop's chapel by 1108 when Anselm consecrated the bishop of London there.⁵⁴ The church lay within its own demesne of at least 40 acres which was part of a rectorial manor which had detached portions in the Weald at Plaistow and at Headacre just outside Chichester.⁵⁵ Nytimber was the manorial centre with 366 acres of arable demesne in 1279 x 88 and a mixture of free and customary tenants and acermen (Table 4).⁵⁶ Charlton was about 1 km equidistant from Pagham and Nytimber and had only customary tenants.⁵⁷ The three centres thus appear to have been minster church, manorial centre and servile settlement dating from at least the late Anglo-Saxon period, with church and *aula* becoming important in the eleventh century.

⁴⁹ For Charlton see: Fleming, *Pagham*, pp.129-135; L. Fleming, 'Charlton in Pagham', *S.N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), pp.148-50,165-8.

⁵⁰ Fleming, *Pagham*, p.174.

⁵¹ V.L. Gregory, 'Excavations at Becket's Barn, Pagham, West Sussex, *S.A.C.* 114 (1976), pp.207-17; A.H. Collins, 'Saxon urn from Pagham churchyard', *S.N.Q.* 14 (1955), pp.207-17; A. Down and M. Rule, *Excavations* 7, p.11.

⁵² A. H. Collins and L. Fleming, 'Becket's Barn, Pagham', *S.A.C.* 96 (1958), pp.135-148; Freke, pp.247-8.

⁵³ Guemonprez, pp.147-54; Taylor, pp.473-6.

⁵⁴ Fleming, *Pagham*, pp.15-16.

⁵⁵ *Inq. Non.*, p.360; C. E. Woodruff, 'A survey of the Sussex estates of the dean and chapter of Canterbury taken 1671', *S.A.C.* 53 (1910), pp.196-7; W. A. Pantin, ed., *Canterbury College, Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society n.s. 6 (1947), pp.206-26.

⁵⁶ *Pag. Cust.*, pp.xli,xliv,1.

⁵⁷ *Pag. Cust.*, pp.xxxix-xl.

TABLE 4: The Tenants of Manors on the Pagham Estate

	Free tenants	Customary	Acermen	Area of arable demesne in customary acres
Aldwick	14	7	3	186
Bognor	4	19		
Charlton		14		
North Bersted	22	9	3	246
Nytimber	12	5	3	366
Pagham	42			
Shrimpney	9		3	306
South Bersted		20		

The evidence for Bersted is less substantial. Mawer and Stenton thought that the name derived from a personal name plus *stede* partly because of the pre-war fashion for finding personal names everywhere, but mainly because it could not have been *beorgh-ham-stede* since there is no hill.⁵⁸ However, Eckwall and Sandred support the latter derivation and the land around South Bersted church is slightly elevated.⁵⁹ The curved road to the north of the church may indicate the remains of an ovoid enclosure. It could have been the religious or servile focus of a Bersted estate since there were only customary tenants, in contrast to the many free tenants at the manorial centre of North Bersted where there was a large demesne and three acermen (Table 4).

Lavant and Tangmere were separate estates (Figs. 38, 39) joined to Pagham at some time before the Conquest, perhaps when Canterbury acquired the estate in the tenth century. The early history of Lavant, which by 1066 had been split into Mid and East Lavant is obscure.⁶⁰ The name is British and the combined parish boundaries form a distinct land unit defined by two ridges (Fig. 39), but it is not mentioned in the Canterbury records before S. 230.⁶¹ East Lavant's church was of the large two-cell type (sh.I1). Mid Lavant originally had a very small two-cell church (sh.E5) granted to Lewes Priory, probably before 1121, without any claim being made for its subordination to East Lavant then or subsequently.⁶² At Tangmere, which may have been carved out of an earlier Aldingbourne estate, *clerici*, probably of St. Andrew's Pagham, had ceased to hold the church by 1086. The small two-cell building (sh.C3) was granted by John de Pagham (presumably the archbishop's tenant) to Lewes Priory in the 1120s, but had reverted to Canterbury at some time between 1180 and 1233.⁶³ No other links

⁵⁸ Mawer and Stenton, pp.90-1.

⁵⁹ E. Eckwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Placenames* (1960), p.39; K.I. Sandred, *English Place-Names in-Stead* (1963), pp.251-2.

⁶⁰ D.B., pp.382, 421-2.

⁶¹ Mawer and Stenton, p.5.

⁶² Clarke, Appendix 5 citing B.L. Cotton Vesp.XV, ff.12-15; *Ant. Ch.* 8.

⁶³ P.R.O.E40/14140; *Acta*, 118; C.P.R. 17 Henry III, p.21; M.P.448, transcribing Bod.L.Tanner Ms.223.

between Tangmere and Pagham are known and further connections with Lewes are found only in the forged fourteenth-century charters.⁶⁴ Slindon was the subject of the same forgeries, having been granted to Canterbury in c. 1106.⁶⁵ The grant states that this was a restoration of a former estate, but there is no evidence to support this in the Canterbury records and in 1086 it belonged to a freeman.⁶⁶

The deanery of Pagham as it appeared in the thirteenth century thus seems to have been made up of several layers. Slindon was added after the Conquest. Tangmere and Lavant were perhaps added in the tenth century to an estate where the boundaries had probably been fixed by the seventh or eighth century but which may have included part of an earlier Mundham estate (Fig. 41). Yet the topography of the manorial and ecclesiastical sites and the late evidence for relationships between churches indicate this estate in turn may have been made up of several units and it is difficult to be confident that there was ever a distinct *parochia* of Pagham.

Harting

There are several Roman and Romano-British sites within the scarp foot zone at Harting, including one beneath the rectory, and the *-ingas* name implies an early land unit extending northwards across the Rother Valley (Figs. 5, 40).⁶⁷ The hidation in the tenth-century charters is the same as in Domesday Book and probably approximates to the present parishes of Harting and Rogate.⁶⁸ However, Bramshott in Hampshire and Trotton and Terwick to the west of Rogate had rights of pasture at its northern end and the parish of Rogate had four manors in contrast to Harting's one.⁶⁹ This conjunction of land between the scarp foot and the River Rother with a large area of Wealden common grazing is similar to that at Petworth and may indicate that the estate was not as old as the *-ingas* name implies.⁷⁰

A weak manorial structure was also present at Harting. Although it had a single post-Conquest manor at South Harting, Yates' analysis demonstrates a very dispersed early settlement pattern and he considers that South Harting was probably a later settlement than East and West Harting: there was a Saxo-Norman occupation site very close to Harting church.⁷¹ The present form of South Harting village is superficially similar to that at Westbourne (Fig. 20) where there is evidence for an ancient centre, but it is likely to have arisen from the

⁶⁴ Below, p.141, fn.41.

⁶⁵ M.P.448.

⁶⁶ D.B., p. 432.

⁶⁷ H.D. Gordon, *A History of Harting* (1887), p.18.

⁶⁸ D.B., p.422; above, p.120.

⁶⁹ Gardiner, 'Weald', p.79; W.S.R.O.Add.Mss.5183-4; B.L.Add.Ms.28529,f.174; V.C.H.4, pp.28-6.

⁷⁰ Below, pp.140-3.

⁷¹ E. M. Yates, *A History of the Landscapes of the Parishes of South Harting and Rogate*, Harting Papers 3 (1972), pp.41-3; M.P.2677,2691,2690.

construction of a moated enclosure and enlargement of the church in the thirteenth century, together with diversion and widening of the road related to the grant of a market in 1271.⁷² Apart from the demolished church of St. Mary and St. John built at some time before 1164 to serve the Premonstratensian abbey founded at Durford by Henry Hussey, the only other known church on the estate was at Rogate.⁷³

In 1078 x 82 Roger Montgomery granted the church of Harting to Sées Abbey.⁷⁴ A church of Rogate is not mentioned until the twelfth century, but it is possible that the principal church of the estate was at Rogate and not Harting. In 1189 x 99 Osbern, priest of *La Rogate*, was said to hold the church and that of Harting in farm of Sées, which may imply some sort of superiority. Although the six hides held by Arundel College in Harting T.R.W. cannot now be traced, they formed the manor of Rogate College and may have been linked to an endowment of the church.⁷⁵ Rogate church was subsequently given to Durford Abbey in 1195 x 1204 after Henry Hussey had purchased the advowsons of both churches from Sées in 1194 x 5.⁷⁶ High status for Rogate is implied by its four-square Overlap plan and its substantial side chapels (sh.M4). Harting church was a more modest three-square structure, that may also have been Overlap (sh.L6). On the other hand, the siting of Rogate in a remote area of marginal land is unpromising, and, like Westbourne, Harting was a sinecure rectory.⁷⁷ It has been suggested that such an arrangement may indicate a minster church, perhaps having arisen through the survival of the office of dean. However at Harting it is not mentioned until the fifteenth century and may have arisen through the acquisition of the very rich benefice (£33.6.8 in 1291) by an episcopal official or pluralist.⁷⁸

On balance, there is not a strong case for either church having superior status before or after the Conquest. The lack of manorialisation may be attributable to ecclesiastical lordship for part of the time before the Conquest. After it, an alien monastery's control of the churches until the canon law reforms came into effect may have prevented the formation of chapelries.

Singleton/Dene

Page's influential 1915 paper proposed a hundredal minster at Singleton (Fig. 39) on the basis of the Domesday Book entry for Earl Godwine's 97½-hide estate when it was said to have had three hides and one virgate and *clerici* who had two ploughs and five *bordarii*.⁷⁹ The V.C.H. suggests that West and East Dean, Binderton, Chilgrove, Diding and Dumpford formed its

⁷² J. Bleach and M. Gardiner, 'Medieval markets and ports' in *Atlas*, pp.42-3.

⁷³ *Durford Chart.*, pp.i-xi 1, 2, 3.

⁷⁴ *Regesta Will.*, 271.

⁷⁵ *C.D.F.*, 676; *D.B.*, p.422.

⁷⁶ *Durford Chart.* 11; *P.R.* 7 Richard I, p.243; *Fines* 2, p.3.

⁷⁷ Below, pp.134-5.

⁷⁸ *EpI/1/1f.54*, *T.P.N.* p.313.

⁷⁹ Page, 'Churches', p.81; *D.B.*, p.421.

parochia on the basis of a grant of farm of the rectorial manor of West Dean in 1481 and a list in Cranmer's visitation of 1535.⁸⁰ In the former, all of the churches other than West Dean are referred to as chapels. However, this ignores a wider and earlier range of sources which show that the '*parochia*' described in 1481 was more complex.

Didling and Dumpford were probably outside the Domesday Book hundred of Singleton and within the head manor of Trotton.⁸¹ In 1218 x 22 Alan de St. George, lord of Trotton endowed Didling church with half a virgate to support a chaplain who would also serve his chapel at Dumpford, and Didling was called a chapel from 1335 x 6 onwards.⁸² It is possible that this church replaced an earlier one.⁸³ The dean and chapter held the advowson in 1218 x 22 when they also held the prebend of Singleton/*Dene*, and Didling and West Dean are both dedicated to St. Andrew.⁸⁴ Thus there is a case for the early independence of Didling, but a connection with Singleton/*Dene* before 1218 x 22 is implied. However, Dumpford was certainly not part of an early unit.

There is similar difficulty at Binderton, where a church was present in 1086.⁸⁵ It was described as a chapel in 1355 and 1481 and could have been one of the *capellae* mentioned in Bishop Hilary's charter of 1154 x 63 when the prebend of Singleton/*Dene* was granted to the dean and chapter of Chichester.⁸⁶ But in 1526, 1545 and 1563 it was said to be a parish church, and the parish was not formally united with West Dean until 1933.⁸⁷ Although burials are known from the sixteenth century onwards it is very unlikely to have been a medieval chapelry which became a parish, because there is strong evidence of settlement shrinkage and the amalgamation of parishes elsewhere on the Downs. It could have been a daughter church of Singleton/*Dene* which had become a parish church before the canon law reforms came into effect, or an independent church joined to Singleton/*Dene* in the late Middle Ages. Chilgrove, on the other hand, was always said to be a chapel of West Dean from the first record in 1210 onwards.⁸⁸ It was of the small two-cell apsidal type (sh.H1) similar to other demolished twelfth-century churches in marginal locations. St. Roche's chapel (sh.B13) is intriguingly

⁸⁰ *Chl. Chart.*, 735, 784.

⁸¹ V.C.H. 4, p.96; *Fines* 2, p.451; Cal. I.P.M. 13, 46 Ed. III, 173. V.C.H. 4, p.36 states that the Domesday Book entry for Trotton is also likely to have included Didling since it was within Dumpford Manor in Trotton parish in the later Middle Ages. But as late as 1360 it appears to have been independent of Dumpford (*C.P.R.* 35 Edward III 11 (1911), p. 535).

⁸² *Chl. Chart.* 334.

⁸³ Above, pp.81-2.

⁸⁴ Above, p.109.

⁸⁵ D.B., p.421.

⁸⁶ *Acta*, 30.

⁸⁷ *Wills*, 41, pp.145-7; V.J.B Torr, 'An Elizabethan return to the state of the diocese of Chichester', *S.A.C.* 61 (1920), p.110; V.C.H. 4, p.89; Aldsworth, 'West Dean', pp.109-124.

⁸⁸ L. F. Salzman, 'Sussex deeds at Althorp', *S.A.C.* 77 (1936), pp.254-5; Aldsworth, 'West Dean', p.110.

sited within the Iron Age hill fort at The Trundle (Fig. 43) and was attached to Singleton, but the only evidence is post-Reformation.

The transfer of the prebend of Singleton/*Dene* from Arundel College to Chichester chapter is documented in charters of the bishop and of the earl of Chichester, and royal writs and papal letters.⁸⁹ It is variously called the prebend of West Dean, West Dean and East Dean and Singleton, although the earlier documents usually call it West Dean. In Bishop Hilary's grant it was described as '*ecclesiam de Sengelton et ecclesiam de Westden' et ecclesiam de Eastdean' cum capellis terris et decimis et alliis omnibus*'.⁹⁰ The formula was repeated in a papal letter of 1163, and again in 1190 and 1197 x 1204.⁹¹ The churches therefore appear to have been of equal status. The church buildings, topography and pre-Conquest grants offer some clues about how these relationships arose.

It is possible that the earliest part of the church at Singleton (sh.O5), the post-Conquest tower, was originally secular.⁹² It is more probable that the Domesday Book church was West Dean. The present nave of this church (sh.K6) may be pre-Conquest, perhaps with a central compartment and *porticus* although a two-cell church is more likely. The rectorial manor was at West Dean, but the relationship with the 1066 endowment is unclear. In the seventeenth century the manor comprised about 20 acres immediately around West Dean church with the majority of the land being intermixed with copyholds and the Singleton glebe north of Singleton.⁹³ The latter was probably the two virgates and a separate hide at East Dean present in 1204 x 7 and in 1341 (Appendix 15).

The three parishes plus Binderton form a credible estate of the upper Lavant Valley (Fig. 43), defined in the north by the top of the scarp slope, in the south by hills and ridges of the upper dip slope, in the east by Heath Hill, and in the west by a ridge separating it from the upper Ems valley. There are barrows at many points on this boundary. It was probably the *Dene* of King Alfred's Will, and the boundary description in the much-altered charter Kelly 4, even if it is no earlier than the tenth century, it is most likely to have been the approximate area of East Dean parish.⁹⁴ *Lease* (Fig. 43) could have been Teglease and the boundary with Mid-Lavant parish could have been *lavingtunes dic*.⁹⁵ There are sufficient barrows and hills to supply the majority of the rest of the markers given, but they cannot be located exactly. At the end of the boundary clause there appears to be a list of six swine pastures, of which *saengelwicos* could

⁸⁹ *Acta*, 30, 88; *Chl. Chart.* 59, 62, 64, 91, 92, 113, 117, 127, 160, 243, 263, 298, 295, 1093.

⁹⁰ *Acta*, 30.

⁹¹ *Chl. Chart.*, 62, 1093.

⁹² Above, pp. 71-2.

⁹³ *Capl*/3/30, ff. 407-59; W.D.A. 7.

⁹⁴ Above, p. 87.

⁹⁵ Kelly, 4, pp. 26-29; Mawer and Stenton, p. 50.

have been 'the single' in Cowdray Park and *sceales burna* would have been Easebourne, both of which are due north of East Dean.⁹⁶ The charter may thus show that the estate was being divided-up by the tenth century. The 60 hides at *Dene* granted to Wherwell Abbey in 1002 were presumably the western part of the estate, although if it was originally of 80 hides, it had been enlarged to 97½-hides by 1066.⁹⁷

The development for the estate may have begun with a centre at West Dean. The hundredal centre, in the middle of the estate and on Margary track 8 (Fig. 13) may have been established in the early tenth century, with the religious centre remaining at West Dean with a *parochia* that included Chilgrove and Binderton (Fig. 43). The estate was broken up by the tenth century or earlier when East Dean was granted away, although if it was ever in the bishop of Selsey's hands there is no evidence of it beyond the forged charter, and the date of Binderton's separation is unknown. The grant of 1002 removed most of the estate from royal hands, but there is no evidence that the land was received by Wherwell, and it may have reverted to the crown, since three hides at Preston (Fig. 39) were granted to Osbern as part of the Bosham estate. The Wherwell lands were probably seized by Godwine, but his 97½-hide estate cannot be reconciled with the possible 80-hide estate from the charter evidence, although it may have been a 100-hide estate with 2½-hides at Didling which was subsumed in Trotton in 1086. It is clear, however, that there was not a simple pattern of single estate centre and minster with clearly-identifiable daughter churches, but a changing one dictated by royal and ecclesiastical administration and the earliest identifiable *parochia* seems to have been equivalent to the parish of West Dean.

The Ems Valley

In the Middle Ages the Ems Valley had extensive woodland, wastes and commons on its eastern and western edges. The latter were dominated by Stansted Forest and by an outlier of the Forest of Bere (Fig. 12). Hambrook Common lay to the south east and the headwaters were enclosed within a mosaic of woodland and open downland. At the southern end there was a 36-hide estate at Westbourne T.R.E., one of the same size at Stoughton in the middle section and a group of several small estates totalling 33 hides in the upper valley.⁹⁸ The total of 105-hides could imply a 100-hide Ems Valley estate, but the evidence points to three or more separate units.

Within Westbourne parish there were chapels at Hermitage and Nutbourne and perhaps a chantry close to the church, now known only from the name of a lane. In the eighteenth century there was said to be a chapel 'now used by dissenters' at Prinstead, implying earlier

⁹⁶ Kelly, p.29; Mawer and Stenton, pp.17,53; Gardiner, 'Weald', p.81.

⁹⁷ S. 904.

⁹⁸ D.B., pp.425-6,452.

Anglican use, but nothing else is known.⁹⁹ In the sixteenth century, Hermitage was a roadside chapel, with the hermit being responsible for a road and a bridge. Sperling says that it existed in 1301 but gives no source and the first undisputed reference is 1513.¹⁰⁰ The V.C.H. suggests that Nutbourne manor was the four hides held *ad monasterium* T.R.E., but only because both had a mill.¹⁰¹ It has been suggested that the *monasterium* was Arundel College but if this was post-Conquest, it is unlikely to have been called a *monasterium*.¹⁰² Bosham or even Selsey seem more probable. The manor was certainly in existence by the early twelfth century and a chapel, first mentioned in 1312, was in use as late as 1537 x 8. It lay 'outside the gates of the manor', adjacent to its glebe, rather than the manor house and it may thus have been a wayside chapel or cult site, as Hermitage could have been.¹⁰³ No connection with Westbourne church is known, and although the manor of Warblington was said to be part of Westbourne T.R.E., no medieval connection between the churches has been found.¹⁰⁴

The grant of Stoughton church with its appurtenances plus North Marden, Racton and Mid Lavant to Lewes Priory in c. 1142 has been interpreted as the grant of a minster with its churches.¹⁰⁵ However, the wording of the charter does not imply a link between them, although there is a good case for a minster at Stoughton on other grounds. The appurtenances are likely to have included Lordington, which was always a chapelry of Stoughton: it was first mentioned in 1180 x 1204 and last heard of in 1555.¹⁰⁶ In addition to Up Marden, there were Domesday Book estates of West, North and East Marden. The last is likely to have been the Marden said to have been a chapel of Stoughton in c. 1140 since there were outliers of Stoughton parish in both of the two parcels which comprised East Marden parish, including part of the East Marden glebe (Fig. 39).¹⁰⁷ Stoughton's *parochia* would thus have also included North Marden, which was only separated from East Marden shortly before 1180 x 97.¹⁰⁸ Geoffrey fitz Azo gave East Marden to Chichester chapter to form a prebend and subsequently gave other land which compensated East Marden for the 'tithes and corpses' that it had lost following the consecration of North Marden churchyard. This Stoughton *parochia* partially encircled Compton and Up Marden. The latter had a chapelry at West Marden, first recorded in 1196 x 1204 and secularised by 1585.¹⁰⁹ Both Compton and Up Marden were held by Lewes Priory until the early fifteenth century when they were given to Easebourne

⁹⁹ Gomme, p.239.

¹⁰⁰ J.H. Sperling, 'The parochial history of Westbourne', *S.A.C.* 22 (1870), p.97; J.H. Sperling, *Westbourne Parish Magazine* (Dec. 1864); Mee, *Bourne*, p.19, quoting a rental of 1513.

¹⁰¹ V.C.H. 4, p.128.

¹⁰² Above, pp.94-6.

¹⁰³ Mee, *Bourne*, p.71; *Wills* 45, p.323; Sperling, 'Westbourne', p.97.

¹⁰⁴ D.B., p.425.

¹⁰⁵ *Lewes Chart.* 2, p.79; Clarke, thesis, pp.159-66.

¹⁰⁶ *Acta*, p.vii; *Wills* 45, p.2.

¹⁰⁷ D.B., pp.425-6; *C.D.F.*, 1389; TD/W121, 49.

¹⁰⁸ *Chi. Chart.*, 345.

¹⁰⁹ *Acta*, 118; *Reg. Rede.*, p.163; *Wills* 45, p.270.

Priory: the livings were united in 1439.¹¹⁰ No connection between Racton and Stoughton is known: it was a separate parish until united with Lordington due to poverty in 1445.¹¹¹ Nor was there a link with the royal chapel at Stansted, which is likely to have been present by at least the twelfth century, and there may have been a church at Walderton.¹¹²

At the head of the valley, Compton may have been the Compton in Alfred's Will given to his nephew Aethelhelm, although it is listed with a mixture of Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire names and could have been Compton in Surrey.¹¹³ The chances of its being the *Cumtune* granted to Godwine, son of Wulfnoth, in the Aethling Athelstan's will of 1015 are greater.¹¹⁴ It is also the most likely successor to the seventh/eighth-century sites at Appledown and Up Marden: it may have been the secular centre while the religious focus remained at Up Marden.¹¹⁵ If there was a subsequent move to a valley-bottom centre, then Stoughton church with its round enclosure is most likely to have served it. But if the estate was originally royal, by 1066 the king had only Lordington, Up Marden and Racton.¹¹⁶ The rest of the land as far as the coast was held by the Godwine family, whose grip on the area may have begun with the grant of 1015. However, the process of fragmentation was underway well before this, at least in the upper valley. The Selsey chartulary contains a record of a much-adapted, but probably genuine, transaction of 899 x c. 909. Four hides at (Up) Marden were granted by the thegn Goda to Wiohstan who subsequently purchased another hide and sold the land to the bishop of Selsey in 931 x 9.¹¹⁷ By 1066 there were five Marden estates and five-hide estates at Lordington and Racton.

However, although land was being transferred from the manor of Stoughton to that of Westbourne in the eleventh century, there is a case for a distinct lower Ems valley estate.¹¹⁸ No connection between the churches of Stoughton and Westbourne is known and Westbourne occupies a very similar position in relation to the River Ems as Aldingbourne does to Aldingbourne Rife: Warblington parish may represent the western part of such an estate (Fig. 38). There was probably an early large enclosure around Westbourne church (Fig. 20) and in contrast to the rest of the large manor, Westbourne itself was dominated almost entirely by cottar holdings.¹¹⁹ It lay near the junction of commons and was surrounded by wet pasture. It

¹¹⁰ *C.P.R.* 3 10 Henry IV, p.102; *Reg. Rede*, pp.162-4.

¹¹¹ *Reg. Praty*, p.104.

¹¹² There were building works at the royal hunting lodge at Stansted between 1181 and 1184 and blocks of clunch are built into the post medieval chapel (P.R.28 Henry II, p.91; 29 Henry II, p.107; 30 Henry II, p.127; L. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of King Henry II* (1878), p.217. For Walderton, see above, p.92.

¹¹³ *A.W.*, p.431.

¹¹⁴ *S.*1503.

¹¹⁵ Above, p.80.

¹¹⁶ *D.B.*, pp.425-6.

¹¹⁷ Kelly, 16.

¹¹⁸ *D.B.*, p.426.

¹¹⁹ Above, p.79; Mee, *Bourne*, pp.43-52.

may have been the central place of an estate, although its relationship to the Anglo-Saxon church at Warblington is unknown.¹²⁰ Westbourne was a sinecure rectory, but like Harting it was a rich endowment held by pluralists, and the sinecure is more likely to have arisen from this than to have been the residue of a collegiate church.¹²¹

The Pattern and Origin of Estates and *Parochiae*

There was not a simple pattern of development of the estates discussed in this chapter. At Harting manorialisation was late: in the upper Ems valley it was well under way by the early tenth century. On the coastal plain the Bosham and Pagham estates appear to have been made up of earlier building blocks, but the core estates may date to the seventh century or earlier. The most striking feature is the small size of the pre-Conquest *parochiae*, where they can be identified with reasonable certainty and separated from post-Conquest accretion. The antiquity of these units and their relationship to the contrasting models of the fission of large early territories on the one hand and the enduring nature of smaller building blocks on the other are discussed in chapter 10.

¹²⁰ Below, p.156.

¹²¹ E.g. in 1329 John, son of the Earl of Arundel, held the livings of many churches, including Westbourne where there was a perpetual vicar (*C.P.L.* 2 (1305-42), p.310).

9: POST-CONQUEST GROUPS OF CHURCHES AND THEIR ORIGINS

The previous chapter discussed estates for which there was some pre-Conquest evidence, however tenuous. After the Conquest, groups of churches emerged associated with Boxgrove Priory (which was founded by the lord of the honor of Halnaker), the honor of Petworth and Easebourne Priory. In addition, Stedham and Cocking appear to have had smaller numbers of dependent churches. This chapter discusses these groups and the churches of the small manors which lay within the framework of the groups and the pre-Conquest estates.

Only the Boxgrove group was on the coastal plain, principally in areas dominated by wetland or poor, gravel-derived soils lying between the large ecclesiastical estates (Fig. 38). The remaining groups were north of the Downs, but included several springline settlements in the scarp-foot zone (Figs. 39, 40). Between the eastern edge of the Harting estate and the boundary of the study area, there were three broad divisions of early medieval land use which are reflected in the pattern of parishes. From Chithurst to Woolbeding there are strip parishes extending from the scarp foot across the Gault Clay and Rother Valley to the heathlands and marshes of the Hythe Beds. Each parish had outliers, generally within the Chithurst/Woolbeding area, and the impression is of the fission of an estate of about the same size as Harting into small manors, a process which was probably complete by 963 when Ambersham was given to the church of St. Andrew, East Meon by King Edgar.¹ The second section between Woolbeding and Lodsworth has more extensive Weald Clay in the north, where the Linchmere/Fernhurst area provided common grazing for at least six manors to the south east and west: in the southern part there is a confusing pattern of parishes around Cocking and Easebourne.² In the third section, which comprises churches and manors within the honor and probable *parochia* of Petworth, outliers were principally within another part of the honor, although Buckfold on its eastern edge belonging to Bosham.³ In contrast, the very large parish of Kirdford which made up the rest of the hundred of Rotherbridge and which was entirely on the Weald Clay had outliers of at least 10 manors to the south, many of which had more than one parcel of land.⁴

Boxgrove

In 1086 Boxgrove was the meeting place of the hundred of *Boxgrave* and *clerici ecclesiae* held one hide there.⁵ This has been interpreted as a minster at or near the site of the monastic church which overlay an Anglo-Saxon site and where there may have been an earlier building

¹ S. 718.

² Gardiner, 'Weald', pp.79-81; Brandon thesis, p.326, Appendix 1; *Reading Chart.*, 552, 553, 559; below, pp.143-5.

³ Above, pp.46-7; Appendix 1.

⁴ Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77; Brandon, thesis, p.325; S.562.

⁵ D.B., p.433.

or graveyard within the twelfth-century cloisters (sh.K1). The usual Sussex Domesday Book formula for land attached to a church is *ecclesia ad quam pertinet* or *ecclesia in quam jacet* and it is possible that the *clerici* to whom the church belonged were not at Boxgrove.⁶ Although this may be putting too fine an interpretation on the words, and the affiliation of the *clerici* would still have to be explained, the site of Boxgrove is unlike that of any other minster identified, being well away from water and on poor, gravelly soil. Moreover, location at a hundredal centre unsupported by other evidence does not seem to be a strong criterion for a minster.⁷ Nor was a hide a particularly large endowment: for example East Dean and Elsted, neither of which was of high status had endowments of one and one and a half hides respectively (Appendix 15), although Blair and Hase take one hide as an indicator of superior status in 1086.⁸ Robert de la Haye gave two and a half hides around Boxgrove church to Lessay in 1105.⁹ This was described as its *territorium* in a confirmation charter, but there is no evidence that it belonged to the church before that time.¹⁰

Clerici, however, imply a collegiate church, the origin of which may lie in the formation of the honor of Halnaker. This had emerged by 1102 when the Montgomery estates were confiscated.¹¹ At that time it comprised the manors of Halnaker, Boxgrove, East and Westhampnett, Strettington, Walberton, Barnham, Middleton, Birdham, Hunston, Todham and Itchenor (Fig. 38). Compton was added before 1121 and North Mundham before 1180 x 7.¹² With the exception of the downland estate of Compton, these manors of between 10 and three hides with one known Wealden outlier made up most of the land on the coastal plain not in the hands of the church T.R.E. and were divided between 32 freemen.¹³ In 1086 they were all held by 'William', possibly William de Anneville who held land in Hampshire of Earl Roger.¹⁴

The honorial centre of Halnaker was mentioned in the Oving charter, which was probably a mid-tenth-century document altered after the Conquest by the addition of names to the rubric to justify the bishop's holding of 60 hides east of Chichester. It also had *hagae* in Chichester (Fig. 18).¹⁵ There is no pre-Conquest documentary evidence for an early centre, and although Curwen and Steer thought that it might have been an early high-status site, there is no

⁶ Above, p.118.

⁷ Of the suggested minsters on Table 1 and Appendix 1 only 6 were at hundredal centres. At Singleton the minster, if there was one, was probably at West Dean (above, pp.129-32).

⁸ Blair, 'Domesday', p.106; Hase, 'Wessex', p.61; Iping was given a hide in the twelfth century, although it was a subordinate church (below, p.148). See also S. Bassett, 'Continuity and fission in the Anglo-Saxon landscape: the origin of the Rodings (Essex)', *Landscape History* 19 (1997), p.38.

⁹ *Box. Chart.* 4; *C.D.F.* 921.

¹⁰ *Box. Chart.* 5.

¹¹ Farrer, p.5; J.F.A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his sons', *T.R.H.S.* 5th series 13 (1963), pp.19-28.

¹² *C.D.F.*, 510; *Ant. Ch.*, 13; *Box. Chart.*, 5.

¹³ D. B., pp.426-435.

¹⁴ Farrer, p.56.

¹⁵ Kelly, 19; above, pp.111-2.

archaeological evidence to support this.¹⁶ Its exposed, dip-slope location is unlike the probable early centres on the coastal plain and Downs discussed in previous chapters. It is thus likely that the honor was forged from a disparate collection of small estates which lay principally on poor soil and wetland.

De la Haye's grant of his churches, the tithes and church scot of his demesnes, and of lands outside Sussex to Lessay in 1105 was intended to finance the completion of the abbey church rather than to endow a cell in Sussex.¹⁷ Three monks came to Boxgrove shortly after 1105, probably to administer the abbey's holdings.¹⁸ The *clerici* and the early building could thus have belonged to a *collégiale* founded by William, copying his liege lord at Arundel and the several other colleges in Sussex.¹⁹ Conventual life probably did not begin until the endowment was enhanced and the number of monks increased to six in 1115 when Roger St. John married de la Haye's daughter: the transepts and chapter house are certainly of this period (sh.K1).²⁰ In c. 1155 x 64, the complement of monks was increased to 13, a date roughly contemporary with the surviving fabric of the nave. This was at the same time as the conversion of the collegiate church at Arundel to a priory and the foundation of Durford Abbey, but it is difficult to see anything other than coincidence in these actions.²¹

Lessay Abbey and subsequently Boxgrove Priory at first held the churches of Boxgrove, Westhampnett, Hunston, Walberton, Barnham, Birdham and East Itchenor with glebe, advowsons, and tithes and also received pensions from them (Appendix 15).²² In 1176 x 80 Bishop Greenford, apparently with the active support of William St. John, took a third of each glebe, except those of Birdham and East Itchenor, to form vicarages, and the monks relinquished the pensions.²³ Birdham and East Itchenor remained rectories, paying pensions to Boxgrove until they were united due to poverty in 1441.²⁴

There is some evidence for relationships that pre-dated the honor if the churches are seen in the context of the areas on the coastal plain that lay outside the large estates. These comprise: the central section of the Manhood Peninsula; Halnaker and Boxgrove; the cluster of *tuns* and *wics* south and east of Chichester; and the group of small parishes between the Pagham estate and the River Arun (Fig. 38).

¹⁶ C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1954), pp.306-7; F.W. Steer, 'A short description of Halnaker House' (1958), p.2.

¹⁷ *Box. Chart.*, p.xxix; above, p.94.

¹⁸ *Box. Chart.*, p.181.

¹⁹ Above, pp.94-6; below, pp.175-7.

²⁰ V.C.H. 1, p.56; Farrer, p.56; J.H. Round, 'The families of St. John and Port', *The Genealogist* N.S. 16 (1899), p.4; *Box. Chart.*, 8.

²¹ *Box. Chart.*, 58; *Acta*, 20.

²² C.D.F., 921; *Box. Chart.*, 4,5; *Acta*, 20.

²³ *Box. Chart.*, 59; *Acta*, 58.

²⁴ *Reg. Praty*, p.212.

Although most of the Manhood Peninsula belonged to the bishop in 1086, the small hundred of Wittering with three and a half hides at Birdham, and one each at East Itchenor, Somerley and (East) Wittering was held by Earl Roger.²⁵ Much of this land lay within Manhood Common. Birdham church was probably three-square (sh.L2) and is on a green-side site (Fig. 23). Of the three late medieval manors, only the manorial centre of Birdham Broomer, about 300 m from the church is known.²⁶ The medieval parishes of Birdham and East Itchenor and the Somerley area (which became part of Earnley parish) were dominated by common and woodland. East Itchenor was part of the Bosham estate T.R.E., and West Itchenor was within the *parochia* of West Wittering.²⁷ In c. 1197 jurors stated that their ancestors had attended services and taken holy bread at the chapel of Cowdray (*la Codre*) at the eastern end of Birdham parish (Fig. 38), but were buried at East Itchenor church, so it seems likely that Birdham was a later, centrally-sited, addition.²⁸ If East Itchenor was originally the church of the area covered by the parish of Birdham, then Bosham's *parochia* T.R.E. would probably have extended around the southern edge of the Chichester channel from the edge of Wittering's *parochia* to the edge of Apuldram parish (Fig. 38, 41). The Domesday Book manors may thus represent the breaking-up of part of the Bosham estate.

The early medieval landscape is the key to interpreting the second and third groups. Before its diversion in the ninth century, the River Lavant flowed into what was probably a large wetland in the Drayton/Shopwyke area (Fig. 38). This divided near North Mundham to flow around an island of slightly higher land. To the north west was the Lavant estate, to the west drier land which included the Portfield. To the east, the extent of the Aldingbourne estate is uncertain, but it is likely to have included Oving and the wetland as far as the boundary of St. Pancras parish before the 1120s.²⁹ To the south, there was a similar wetland landscape between the bishop's and the archbishop's lands around the southern edge of Chichester. Boxgrove parish may originally have been part of the Aldingbourne estate, but there is no evidence for this other than the parish boundaries. The parish includes Strettington, where the *straet* name and three manors totalling 15 hides T.R.E., may indicate early importance.³⁰ To the east, the unusual number of cottars at Westhampnett (25 with no villans or slaves, Fig. 17) may indicate either common-edge settlement or perhaps smallholdings serving markets in Chichester. Overall, the second group appears to lie outside the established estate pattern. The third group, south of Chichester, may have been influenced by the suggested Mundham estate (Fig. 42) which had become fragmented by the seventh or eighth century when the boundary of the Pagham estate

²⁵ D. B., p.427.

²⁶ V.C.H. 4, p.199.

²⁷ D.B., p.392; Kelly 20; Mawer and Stenton, p.80; *Acta*, 65.

²⁸ *Chi. Chart.*, 28.

²⁹ Above, p.86.

³⁰ Coates, *Linguistic History*, p.4; Mawer and Stenton, 68; D.B., p.434.

was described.³¹ Runcton may have been outside the latter and perhaps within the Aldingbourne estate. Alternatively its location, the two *hagae* it held in Chichester (as opposed to none at North Mundham) and the large proportion of slaves T.R.E. may mean that it was the *cynges wic* of the Pagham charter.³²

Even more uncertainty surrounds the fourth group. Felpham, an Alfred's Will site granted to Shaftsbury Abbey in 953 and the centre of a 21-hide estate T.R.E., has a small two-cell Overlap church.³³ But Barnham, 4 km to the north which has a large, ovoid enclosure (Fig. 19AA) and a four-square church (sh.M2) could also have been an early religious centre. The Barnham glebe comprised two virgates plus free tenants in the fourteenth century (Appendix 15, although its location cannot now be traced) and there were several outliers of Barnham in Yapton parish (Fig. 38). Walberton church was probably also four-square (sh.M5), and there was a high proportion of slaves T.R.W. (Fig. 17).³⁴ Acard the priest held two virgates there 'in prebenda' T.R.W., and may have been the Acard who held two and a half-hide manor with a church in the adjacent Binstead hundred.³⁵ No connection between the see and Walberton is known, and it seems more likely that the prebend belonged to the nearby Arundel College. It is thus possible that within a royal estate centred on Felpham, Barnham may have been a religious focus, with four-square churches indicating continued high status at Barnham or links with Arundel College after the Conquest.

In summary, the churches that made up the endowment of Boxgrove came from areas of small estates on the marginal land of the coastal plain. These may have originated in the disintegration of early estates at Mundham and Felpham which had taken place well before the eleventh century, or as small units on poorer land not related to a large estate centre, or both. This is in marked contrast to the Wealden estates and *parochiae* described in the rest of this chapter.

Petworth

Although Domesday Book does not mention an estate at Petworth, it seems likely to have been the centre of a 50-hide royal estate which by 1066 had been divided into two 10-hide units at Petworth and Sutton (with one hide separated from the former) and six five-hide units at Tillington, Duncton, Barlavington, Glatting, Stopham and Burton (Figs. 40,44).³⁶ As described below, the estate would have included the later parishes of Coates, Egdean, North Chapel and (probably) Lurgashall. The division of the estate must have taken place by c. 960

³¹ Above, pp.124-8.

³² Below, p.146, fn.86.

³³ S.E. Kelly, *Charters of Shaftsbury Abbey*, Anglo-Saxon Charters 5 (1996), 17.

³⁴ D.B., pp.431.

³⁵ D.B., pp.432-3.

³⁶ D.B., pp.424-5.

when Tillington was one of 15 holdings in Berkshire, Hampshire and Sussex granted to Wulfric, *minister* by King Edgar: it is possible that he also held Woolavington (East Lavington) on the western edge of the estate.³⁷

By 1086 the estate was held of Roger Montgomery by his sheriff, Robert fitz Tetbald who may have held up to 36 manors in the county, many of which became part of the honor.³⁸ The manors of Petworth, Tillington and Duncton had several un-named Frenchmen holding units as small as one and a half virgates, a type of tenant rarely found elsewhere in western Sussex.³⁹ It seems likely that these were sergeants providing a military presence in a strategically important but sparsely-populated area.⁴⁰ The *caput* at Petworth was on prominent hilltop overlooking the Rother Valley and the Low Weald. The church, and perhaps the early estate centre, appears to have been within an ovoid or irregular enclosure (Fig. 19AE) which has been obscured by the enlargement of Petworth House.⁴¹ In this context, *worth* could have the high-status meaning of 'monastic enclosure' or 'enclosed farm attached to an ecclesiastical centre' suggested by Gelling.⁴² Worth parish, with its large pre-Conquest church 30 km to the north east of Petworth may also have this meaning, although in Sussex in general it is a minor place-name.⁴³

Unlike the rest of the Montgomery lands in Sussex, the Petworth estate was probably not escheated after the family's fall in 1102. It passed by marriage to Alan fitz Ivo who at some time around 1120 gave to Lewes Priory the church of Petworth its chapels, lands, tithes and pastures '*et ceteris congenitibus suis*', these being the churches of Tillington and Lurgashall and the chapels of Duncton and River.⁴⁴ Several subsequent charters confirmed the status of these churches and chapels.⁴⁵ The latter may have included North Chapel although this was not recorded until the sixteenth century (sh.B11).⁴⁶ Two other chapels on marginal land were not established until later in the century. At Egdean, a church and cemetery was dedicated in

³⁷ S.687; M. Gelling, *The Place-Names of Berkshire* 3 E.P.N.S. 51 (1976), p.825; Mawer and Stenton, pp.109-10; E. Eckwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (1960), p.290. *Wulf* may be the first element in Woolavington, although it is more likely to derive from *Lafa* or even Wulfwin who held the manor T.R.E.

³⁸ Mason, 'Officers', p.244; Farrer, pp.16-12; L. F. Salzman, 'The early history of the honor of Petworth', *S.A.C.* 68 (1927), pp.60-66; J. Dawtry, 'The honor of Petworth', *S.A.C.* 53 (1910), pp.188-91.

³⁹ D. B., p.431.

⁴⁰ Mason, 'Officers', p.251.

⁴¹ Above, p.75.

⁴² Gelling, *Berkshire*, pp.917,943-4; Faith, *Lordship*, pp.32-4.

⁴³ Taylor, pp.688-93; R. Coates, 'Place-names before 1066', *Atlas*, p.32.

⁴⁴ Salzman, 'Petworth', p.61; *Acta* 17; P.R.O.E40/14163; Clarke, thesis, p.73.

⁴⁵ P.R.O.E41/464; *Acta* 10; *Acta* 11; *C.D.F.*,509-13; *Acta*,39, *Acta*,40. These span the period c. 1121 to 1169. Several are known to be forgeries, and their authenticity is reviewed in Clarke, thesis, pp.17-33. She concludes that the information they contain is broadly correct since it is confirmed by other charters. River was said to be a free chapel in 1215 X 17 (*Chi. Chart.*, 944). It was a manorial centre of some importance in the later Middle Ages and there may have been a free chapel belonging to the manor with a separate parochial chapel.

⁴⁶ Dallaway 1, p.278.

c. 1145 subject to Petworth in Peter's Pence and chrism.⁴⁷ Coates was built as a chapel c. 1140 and consecrated as a parish church c. 1180.⁴⁸ It is also possible that the *parochia* included Burton: the church at *Budiktuna* given to Lewes Priory c. 1145 in the presence of Jocelin, lord of the honor of Petworth, and subsequently appears as the chapel of Petworth at *Budingethon* in a confirmation charter of c. 1196 x 1204.⁴⁹ The parish comprises several widely dispersed fragments (Fig. 44) and could originally have been much more extensive.

The charter evidence for a *parochia* is supported by the nature of the glebe and of the churches themselves.⁵⁰ There was a large rectorial manor at Petworth that possessed a substantial part of the tithes of Tillington.⁵¹ Duncton and Lurgashall glebes included the tithes of part of the southern end of Petworth parish and land at Ebernore, just to the east of North Chapel parish, was also part of Lurgashall glebe (Fig. 44).⁵² Petworth church was cruciform, possibly succeeding a four-square building (sh.O4). Duncton is a scarp-foot settlement where the single-cell church, now demolished, was close to the manor house and spring line. Egdean, Coates, Tillington and Burton were all on common or green-side sites (Fig. 23) and only Burton is known to have been near a manor house (Appendix 14). All are two-cell churches of very varied rubble construction. This may reflect the slow development of sandstone quarrying, but since the earliest phases of Petworth are ashlar it seems more likely to reflect the poverty of their builders. On the other hand, Lurgashall (sh.K5) was a three-square church with extensive use of uniform sandstone ashlar. It lies on a green-side within a large parish (Fig. 44) and was probably intended to serve the same functions as the roughly contemporary churches at Fernhurst and Linchmere to the west.⁵³ As far as can be judged, the demolished church at North Chapel was of similar plan and purpose. Clarke suggests that the absence of episcopal sanction for the grants of Egdean and Coates is a reflection of Petworth's status. But it is possible that these took place when the see was vacant, and in any case it is not clear that episcopal confirmation at the time of the grant (as opposed to later general confirmation charters) was universal practice in the diocese by this time.⁵⁴

Together with Wittering, Petworth is the clearest example of a *parochia* in the study area. It is unlikely that this reflects the quality of the sources, since Bosham, Pagham and the episcopal

⁴⁷ *Lewes Chart.*, 2, p.77; P.H.A., 7484-94.

⁴⁸ *Lewes Chart.*, 2, p.103.

⁴⁹ Mawer and Stenton, pp. 17,100,244; *Lewes Chart.*, 2, p. 77; Clarke, 'thesis', p. 159; *Acta*, 118; Round suggested that Burton may have been given by Joselin to Lewes in compensation for his refusal to confirm the Petworth churches to the priory, although one way or another they were all eventually confirmed.

⁵⁰ See Clarke thesis, pp.159-60 and Rushton, 'Parochialisation', pp.136-7 for recent discussions of the *parochia*.

⁵¹ P.H.A.7223.

⁵² TD/W41; Lord Leconsfield, *Petworth Magazine*, September 1956; P.H.A.1445; TD/W80.

⁵³ Above, pp.68-70.

⁵⁴ Clarke, 'Lewes', p.159. Approximate dates of 1145 and 1180 would coincide with the end of Seffrid I's and John Greenford's episcopates respectively.

estates are much better documented. Nor is it probable that it was an early *parochia* which survived because of the lack of change in the Weald: the adjacent strip parishes are evidence to the contrary. The *parochia* and estate extended from the Downs scarp to the Weald Clay, but the three parishes at the edge of the Downs, Burton, Barlavington and Duncton (only one of which was definitely within the *parochia*) may well be older units than the estate. Duncton western boundary for instance followed a ridgeline marked by barrows and Burton is split into several parcels, with Burton Down lying in Sutton parish. In contrast, north and east of Petworth there are several outliers of adjacent parishes and the boundary peters out into an indistinct one with the parish of Kirdford which was dominated by outliers of manors to the south.⁵⁵ The estate may have been assembled out of three types of building block: the small and perhaps ancient units of the scarp foot parishes; the caput of Petworth; and the surrounding wastes and commons extending deep into the Low Weald. A similar situation appears to have existed in the estates described below.

Easebourne and Cocking

Easebourne is considered to be a hundredal minster by the V.C.H., which cites the chapels of Midhurst, Fernhurst, Todham and Lodsworth listed in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas as part of its *parochia*. By that time an Augustinian nunnery had been founded with the churches as part of its endowment.⁵⁶ There is no Domesday Book entry for Easebourne and the hundredal heading appears to have been wrongly inserted within the entry for Rotherbridge.⁵⁷ The V.C.H. plausibly suggests that, as well as the heading, the description of Easebourne as a demesne manor of Earl Roger was omitted. This would explain the grant of Easebourne and Midhurst to Savaric fitz Cane following the escheat of the Montgomery estates in 1102: it is more likely than Hope's suggestion that the Todham entry was really that for Easebourne.⁵⁸ In 1105 fitz Cane granted the church to Sées Abbey conditional on the consent of Herlingus who held it.⁵⁹ However, there is no evidence that Sées took possession. The grant states that Sées would also receive 'his' forest clearings (*viridaria*) 'both old and new' if he should move his residence. 'He' was presumably Herlingus but it is not clear whether he was a layman or an ecclesiastic or if the *viridaria* belonged to the church.

Midhurst was a post-Conquest creation. The *caput* of the fitz Canes and later the de Bohuns was at St. Ann's Hill where there was a small chapel in the early twelfth century (sh.G4).⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Above, pp.46-7.

⁵⁶ V.C.H.4, p.53; T.P.N., p.314; Hope, *Easebourne*, p.95; V.C.H.2, p.84. In the early fifteenth century it was said to have been founded for a prioress and 10 nuns (*Reg Rede.*, p.47).

⁵⁷ D.B., pp.422-3; V.C.H.4, p.50; Thorn, p.34.

⁵⁸ V.C.H.4, p.50 states this, referring to Farrer, pp.66-7 who was in turn quoting *C.P.R.* 35 Edward III 9 (1911), p.534 which just states that Savaric fitz Cane held Easebourne *temp.* Henry II, perhaps a mistake for Henry I; Hope, *Easebourne*, pp.2-3.

⁵⁹ *C.D.F.*, 669.

⁶⁰ Hope, *Easebourne*, pp.2-3.

This was replaced by a turriform church in the castle bailey (sh.O3) which became the focus of the town of Midhurst. It has been suggested that Lodsworth was *Lodsorde* in Surrey, but the latter is more likely to be Lollesworth.⁶¹ There is clearer evidence for Todham manor which in 1066 was held by Wulfnoth of Earl Godwine.⁶² In 1105 its tithes were granted to Boxgrove Priory by Robert de la Haye with the consent of Ranulph de St. George.⁶³ About 80 years later, Ellis de St. George gave land to the priory in exchange for two thirds of these tithes and it agreed to relinquish its claim on the parsonage of his chapel.⁶⁴ The St. Georges may then have given the chapel to Easebourne Priory, while trying to retain the advowson, since in 1278 when William de St. George attempted to present to the chapel it was already occupied by the nominee of the prioress.⁶⁵

Fernhurst may offer the key to the development of the area. It contained outliers of several parishes and its boundary was so closely intermeshed with Linchmere that they must surely have originally been one unit (Fig. 40). Linchmere church may have been subordinate to Coking: the pension paid by it is the only pre-Conquest one found in the study area.⁶⁶ There is little doubt that Heyshott parish was carved out of Coking parish and given to Stedham. This is apparent from its boundary, which passes very close to Coking church, its name derived from *haeth sciete*, its position on the Gault Clay and its small late, green-side church (sh.A6).⁶⁷ It is first recorded as a chapelry of Stedham in 1125 x 45 and remained one until the Reformation.⁶⁸ Yet Heyshott had outliers in Fernhurst, which was given to Reading Abbey in 1154 x 80.⁶⁹ It is likely, therefore, that an original Coking/Heyshott unit had extensive rights in a Linchmere/Fernhurst unit (Fig. 40). In between was the Easebourne/ Midhurst unit which is only partially recorded in Domesday Book when Todham and Buddington were small estates held of Earl Godwine. There could well have been an estate of similar form to the adjacent Petworth, centred on Coking or Easebourne or perhaps both. This would have been fragmented by the granting of Heyshott to Stedham and by separation of Easebourne, possibly by the Godwine family.

Coking was a prebend of Arundel College, probably given to Sées in the time of Henry I.⁷⁰ The 12-hide manor was held of King Edward T.R.E. and the church had nearly a hide of land in 1234.⁷¹ It is at a strategic location on Margary track 8 (Fig. 13) and the Overlap two-cell

⁶¹ V.C.H. 4, p.73; James and Seal, 'Introduction', p.3; Thorn, p.20.

⁶² D.B., p.423.

⁶³ *Box. Chart.*, 4.

⁶⁴ *Box. Chart.*, 24.

⁶⁵ V.C.H. 4, p.53.

⁶⁶ EpI/I/5f.66.

⁶⁷ Mawer and Stenton, p.22.

⁶⁸ *Acta*, 17.

⁶⁹ *Reading Chart.*, 552.

⁷⁰ V.C.H. 4, p.47; *Fines* 2, p.48; Farrer, p.21.

⁷¹ D.B., pp.422-3; *Chi. Chart.*, 246.

church (sh.C2) lies within a large, ovoid enclosure partially surrounded by water, perhaps with an inner enclosure (Fig. 19AC). At Easebourne, like Aldingbourne and Westbourne, the church is immediately adjacent to the *burna*.⁷² Its first standing phase may be the southern part of a double three-square form (sh. K2), associated with religious houses elsewhere, and the glebe included 123 acres of arable in 1341, although some of this may have been an augmentation when the priory was established.⁷³ Thus while Cocking is the more likely estate centre, it is possible that there was a bi-focal estate with the religious centre at Easebourne (for which there may be parallels at Harting/Rogate and Felpham/Barnham). But if this was the case Todham was detached in the twelfth century, and it remains possible that it and the churches of Midhurst, Fernhurst and Lodsworth were not connected until they formed the endowment of the priory.

The Strip Parishes

The parishes are a mosaic of interlocking land units in which all of the parishes except Elsted had at least one, and usually more, detached portions, with the exception of widely-separated portions of Woolavington and of Steep in Hampshire. The evidence for relationships between churches concerns Trotton and Stedham. The first known reference to the chapel of Trotton at Milland is in 1532, but the two-cell church is late eleventh-century (sh.E6).⁷⁴ From the shape of their parishes, Chithurst and Terwick could have been within an estate centred on Trotton, although there was no connection between the churches.⁷⁵ The *ecclesiola* at Chithurst in Domesday Book was a small church not a chapel and was parochial in its own right, becoming a chapel of Iping due to poverty in 1482.⁷⁶

Stedham was amongst lands restored to Wulfric, *minister* in 960 at the same time as Tillington.⁷⁷ It may be no more than coincidence that in 1066 Stedham, Petworth and Tillington were all held by Queen Edith, or the group may have been part of a single holding in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁷⁸ In addition to Heyshott chapel, Stedham appears to have had rights in a chapel at Iping, which was separate from Iping church.⁷⁹ The church scot given by Iping in Domesday Book was probably a manorial render to the king.⁸⁰ Stedham is the most likely central place and high-status church within the strip parishes. The church and manor house, about 100 m apart, lie with an ovoid, riverside enclosure (Fig. 19BL). Unlike

⁷² Above, pp.43-4.

⁷³ Above, pp.70; *Inq. Non.*, p.363.

⁷⁴ *Wills*, 45, p.260; Mawer and Stenton, p.45.

⁷⁵ Above, p.97; D.B., p.422.

⁷⁶ EpI/1/4,f.5.

⁷⁷ S.687; above, pp.140-1.

⁷⁸ D. B., pp.422-4.

⁷⁹ Above, p.99

⁸⁰ Above, pp.100-1.

the two-cell churches of the other parishes, it was rebuilt in axial tower plan after the Conquest (sh.O8).⁸¹

While there is no other evidence for a Stedham *parochia*, a case can be made for a royal estate comprising the strip parishes, although the total T.R.E. hidage was 70, in contrast to the more standard units of 50 and 80 at Petworth and Harting. Six of the T.R.E. manors were held of the king, and Woolbeding and Iping were retained by King William.⁸² There was a Kingsham in Chithurst parish, and the Fulk who held Woolbeding T.R.E. was probably the king's thegn of that name who held land at Norton in Hampshire.⁸³ A block of his estates including Norton and Woolbeding were granted to Odo after the Conquest and the Hampshire connection may be reflected in the fabric of Woolbeding church.⁸⁴ Aelmer, who held Chithurst, and Wulfric, who held Linchmere, may also have been the Hampshire king's thegns recorded in Domesday Book.⁸⁵ Moreover, the strip parishes generally had the highest proportions of slaves T.R.E. within the study area (Fig. 17) a feature which seem to have been associated with royal manors.⁸⁶

Formation of the estates that made up the later parishes may have been complete when Ambersham was granted to East Meon and similar divisions in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey and Kent date from the tenth century.⁸⁷ The probable division of Elsted and Treyford between New Minster, the king's chaplain and the Bishop of Chichester could have taken place in the eleventh century, and the acquisition of Chithurst, Treyford and Stedham by the Godwine family may have accelerated the loosening of ties within the estate.⁸⁸ Previous suggestions of a early origin for the settlements in the strip parishes were strongly influenced by the idea that *-ingas* names represent primary colonisation.⁸⁹ Although this can be discounted, there are several small villas and Romano-British farms in the area, and the present settlements may occupy early sites.⁹⁰ Even if this is not the case, the four *-ingas* names still have to be explained. If as suggested above, they were at the southern edges of small territories, then either these territories were broken up to form the suggested royal estate, or they were very

⁸¹ Butler, 'Stedham', pp.19-21; D.B., pp.422-3,450-1; below, pp.170-2.

⁸² D.B., pp.422-3, 450-1.

⁸³ Mawer and Stenton, p.33; D. B. p.450, V.C.H., *Hants* 1, p.504.

⁸⁴ Above, pp.56-7.

⁸⁵ D.B., pp.422-3; V.C.H., *Hants* 1, pp.499,50.

⁸⁶ J.H. Hamshere, 'Domesday Book: estate structures and the west midlands' in J.C. Holt, ed., *Domesday Studies* (1987), pp.155-82; J.D. Hamshere, 'The structure and profitability of the Domesday estate of the church of Worcester', *Landscape History* 7 (1985), pp.41-52; J.S. Moore, 'Domesday slavery', *A-N.S.* 11 (1988), pp.191-220.

⁸⁷ D. Hooke, 'Anglo-Saxon estates in the Vale of the White Horse', *Oxoniensia* 52 (1987), pp.129-43; Blair, *Oxfordshire*, p.133; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.30-34; Everitt, *Continuity*, pp.175-9,280-1.

⁸⁸ Above, pp.87-8; D.B. p.422.

⁸⁹ E.g. Brandon, *Landscape*, p.71; T. H. Aston, 'The origins of the manor in England' T.R.H.S. series 8, 8 (1958) p.75.

⁹⁰ Above, pp.42-3.

small indeed and were amalgamated. Alternatively there may be an underlying pattern of very small units, at least as small as a parish and perhaps as small as a hide loosely grouped into the *-ingas* structure and subsequently re-ordered as building blocks. Some of the outliers, at least, were no more than a hide and may have originated in this way.⁹¹

Areas Outside or on the Edges of Estates

In the Downs and Weald, the great majority of parishes and settlements lay within the boundaries of estates described in this and the preceding chapter with varying degrees of certainty. The pattern is less clear on the coastal plain, particularly south and east of Chichester, but estates of greater than parish size still predominated (Figs. 38-40). However, Graffham, Selham, Compton, West Stoke and Westhampnett do not fit easily within this framework. They can only be linked to estates by the shape of their parish boundaries and they share some common characteristics. Selham parish appears to have been carved out of Graffham. They are both of interest as the only two *ham* place-names north of the coastal plain other than Up Waltham, although Dodgson considered that Selham might have been a *hamm* because of its location, despite early *ham* spellings.⁹² Graffham church and manor house are within a roughly triangular enclosure on the upper slopes of the Downs, and Compton church is in a similar setting (Figs. 24C, 25D, 30C). Compton may have been a royal *tun* and the successor to a conversion-period settlement at Up Marden.⁹³ There is not a distinct enclosure around West Stoke church and its acre of glebe, but the location is similar. The settlement, at the junction of the Lavant and Bosham estates was *Stokes* in 1209, and the *stoc* place-name root could apply to an early religious centre, although it could also apply to a farm serving such a centre (i.e. Bosham).⁹⁴ Westhampnett's only claim for early significance is its church, which is probable late pre-Conquest.⁹⁵ These circumstances may be no more than coincidence, but it remains possible that the Downland sites, at least, were early centres which subsequently became peripheral, either because the estate centre had moved to a more favourable valley-bottom location, or because very large estates centred on them had fragmented.

Honors, Estates and Origins

The estates discussed in this chapter offer interesting contrasts. The honors of Halnaker and Petworth were post-Conquest creations. Relationships between churches in the former were

⁹¹ D. Bonney, 'Early boundaries and estates in southern England' in *English Settlement* (1977), pp.41-51. Faith, *Lordship*, pp.137-40.

⁹² Dodgson, 'Ham', p.86.

⁹³ Above, p.134.

⁹⁴ Mawer and Stenton, pp.861,142,173; Smith, *Elements* 2, pp.153-6; Faith, *Lordship*, pp.20-21; Everitt, *Continuity*, p.142.

⁹⁵ Above, p.72.

also post-Conquest, reflecting the way that an Anglo-Norman lord assembled an endowment from a group of small manors for his family monastery 'back home'.⁹⁶ However, at the core of the honor of Petworth there was a well-defined *parochia* where chapelries were still being formed in the 1140s. Underlying the Boxgrove group there are hints of fragmented earlier estates centred on North Mundham and Felpham. The latter may have been similar in organisations to the possible bi-focal estate at Cocking/Easebourne, while the strip parishes offer a confusing mixture of early and late features but probably formed a royal estate in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

A contrast in the date and structure of estates between the coastal plain, Downs and Rother Valley/Weald emerges from this and the preceding chapter. *Parochiae* in general appear to have been small and perhaps not coincident with estates. Where they are well-defined as at Chichester and Petworth they are likely to be late. The majority, if not all, of the estates themselves appear to have been of royal origin, although this is masked by several features, not least the rise of the Godwine family in the eleventh century. In the following chapter an attempt is made to draw together these and other threads and to provide an overall picture of the Anglo-Saxon period.

⁹⁶ Cownie, 'Lordship', pp.111-22.

CHAPTER 10: CHURCH, TERRITORY AND LORDSHIP BEFORE THE CONQUEST

This chapter attempts to explore the main themes that have emerged for the Anglo-Saxon period within the study area, broadening them to Sussex as a whole where there is sufficient evidence. The first theme is the sparse, late and derivative character of church fabric and sculpture. Second, there is the apparent absence of central lay and ecclesiastical authority and the dominance of Mercia and Wessex. The third and fourth are the limited and uncertain extent of *parochiae* on the one hand and an apparently well-defined pattern of estates (Fig. 45) between 20 and 100 hides at T.R.E. assessment sharply differentiated between the coastal plain, Downs and Weald/Rother Valley on the other. Finally there is the localised but very dense pattern of manorialisation forming a sharp contrast to the large estates in 1066.

Anglo-Saxon Churches and Sculpture

The incidence of pre-Conquest fabric and plans across Sussex as a whole is low. Within the study area only at Bosham phase 1, Warblington, Pagham phase 1, Woolbeding, Westhampnett, West Wittering and possibly West Dean is there good evidence for pre-Conquest fabric.¹ Outside it, the application of the criteria developed in Chapter 4, which do not consider thin walls and large quoin stones with wide joints as pre-Conquest characteristics, show that of 45 churches considered by Johnston, Fisher, Taylor and others to be Overlap or Anglo-Saxon, only Worth, Bishopstone and Sompting phase 1 have firm evidence of pre-Conquest fabric (Appendix 6, Fig. 9).² Arlington and Poling have double-played rubble windows, although the latter has quoins of Quarr and Caen stone. Old Shoreham may also belong in this category. However, the tower at Jevington with its double belfry opening and crucifix in the Urnes style, for long said to be pre-Conquest, are undoubtedly post-Conquest.³ The chancel arches at Clayton and Botolphs and the tower arch and other phase 2 features of Sompting have been proposed as pre-Conquest. But they are more likely to be copies of orthodox Romanesque models in major churches, probably based on architecture in Normandy, but mediated through Sussex churches such as Steyning.⁴ The post-Conquest work at Selham (shs.B3,3.5) and the capitals of the Stoughton chancel arch (shs.O8,3.2) are similar half-understood imitations. At best, therefore, six churches in

¹ Above, p.72.

² See above p.55 for Tatton-Brown's suggestion that the use of Caen stone in Sompting phase 1 may indicate that it is post-Conquest.

³ Tweddle, pp.81,191.

⁴ Gem, 'Lewes Group' pp.121-3; R.D.H. Gem, 'The early Romanesque tower of Sompting church, Sussex', *A-N.S.* 5 (1982), pp.121-8. Tweddle (pp.173-84) gives a detailed analysis of the Sompting sculpture in terms of late Anglo-Saxon manuscript illustrations. It is certainly possible that the *ex situ* sculpture, which probably formed a screen, is late pre-Conquest, although it incorporates motifs found in work of c. 1130 at Steyning which, like Sompting, belonged to Fécamp (above, p.55). However, Aldsworth, 'Sompting', pp.105-44 demonstrates convincingly that Sompting phase 2 is post-Conquest.

Sussex outside the study area are pre-Conquest and the sceptical views of Baldwin Brown and Livett on the amount of Saxon fabric in Sussex appear justified.⁵ In addition, pre-Conquest churches have been excavated at Angmering, Bargham and St. Pancras, Lewes and a case has been made for pre-Conquest structures at Pevensey and Hastings.⁶ Sculpture and architectural sculpture is equally sparse. Apart from that within the churches already identified, it is found only in the form of grave slabs at Steyning, Bexhill and Arundel.⁷

There are likely to have been more pre-Conquest churches than those for which physical evidence survives. As well as those identified in charters (Table 1, Appendix 4) and Domesday Book (92) there are references like the church moved by St. Dunstan at Mayfield in the tenth century and the church associated with the legend of St. Lewina, which was probably at Alfriston.⁸ However, the material that survives shows some general characteristics. With the exception of Bishopstone, which Taylor dated to period A or B and Fernie to 'pre- or post-Danish' and the early phases of Bargham where the evidence is unclear, all of the churches are likely to date from the eleventh century.⁹ Bosham, Warblington and Worth have plans characteristic of high-status churches but the remainder are more modest buildings, and although the churches at Woolbeding and Westhampnett were larger than their post-Conquest two-cell equivalents, churches at important sites like Pagham and the royal estate of Angmering were very small.

The most obvious characteristic of the churches and sculpture are the prominence of outside influences and the absence of local traditions. Unlike Lincolnshire there were no distinctive Anglo-Saxon features which emerged in the fusion of styles in the Overlap period. Even as important a church as Bosham, with a plan apparently derived from a West Saxon minster, has no distinguishing features.¹⁰ The probability of Woolbeding's pilaster strips being related to Hampshire examples has already been described and the *ex situ* sculpture at Sompting which was probably part of an altar screen (if it was pre-Conquest) shows features derived from the Winchester school of manuscripts foliage carving.¹¹ Worth's architecture is certainly distinctive, but it may be linked to Surrey rather than a Sussex estate. It is on the

⁵ Baldwin Brown, pp.456-7; G. M. Livett, 'Three East Sussex churches: Battle, Peasmarsh, Icklesham, a study of their architectural history: part iii Icklesham', *S.A.C.* 48 (1905), pp.40-1.

⁶ A. Barr-Hamilton, 'The excavation of Bargham church site', *S.A.C.* 99 (1961), pp.36-65; O. Bedwin, 'The excavation of the church of St. Nicholas, Angmering', *S.A.C.* 113 (1975), pp.16-35; M. Lyne, *Lewes Priory: Excavations by Richard Lewis 1969-82* (1997), pp.12-7. A.J. Taylor, 'Evidence for pre-Conquest origins for the chapels of Hastings and Pevensey castles', *Château-Gaillard* 3 (1969), pp.144-51.

⁷ Tweddle, pp.197, 121-3.

⁸ See below, p.166 for the Domesday Book churches; W. Stubbs, *Memorial of St. Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury* R.S. 63 (1874), p.204; H. Thurston and D. Attwater eds, *Butler's Lives of the Saints* 3 (1956), pp.149-61. Churches at Donnington, Southease and Telescombe are mentioned in S.746, which is dated 966 but which is a New Minster forgery.

⁹ Taylor, pp.71-3; Fernie, p.178.

¹⁰ Above, p.72.

¹¹ Above, fn.4; Tweddle, pp.67-72,81.

Sussex/Surrey border about 7 km from the Alfred's Will site of Thunderfield in Surrey and about the same distance from Charlwood.¹² There are no equivalent high status or servile sites nearby in the Sussex Weald.

The grave slabs at Chithurst, Steyning and Cocking show a primitive indigenous style in some cases similar to that in the Surrey Weald but otherwise show parallels with the Cambridge area and the Ringerike style at Rochester.¹³ The Arundel and Bexhill slabs have no close parallels and the former is only doubtfully pre-Conquest. The latter certainly is, and has a unique combination of archaic form and late pre-Conquest motifs, perhaps indicating the isolation of the culture that produced it.¹⁴ The carving of the capitals at Selham and Bargham show an altogether higher standard of workmanship than elsewhere in Sussex (sh.3.5). But Selham chancel arch was partially re-assembled from Roman masonry and unless the capitals are also *ex situ* then the Selham carving is probably twelfth-century in the Anglo-Saxon tradition.¹⁵ Generally, the standard of workmanship is remarkably inept, as in the crosses at Pagham and Selsey and the Tangmere sculpture. Even the Sompting screen sculptures are very crude compared with eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon work elsewhere, although they are similar to early post-Conquest carving such as the corbels at the cathedral.¹⁶ This, at least, was a Sussex tradition, in that Selsey in the eighth century produced remarkably brief charters which showed residual Northumbrian and Hwiccan influences: the only surviving original, the Oslac charter of c. 780 is 'a sorry production ... marred by dreadful errors of syntax and orthography'.¹⁷

Authority in Anglo-Saxon Sussex

The earliest material evidence of Anglo-Saxon Sussex is clusters of pagan sites and finds of the fifth to seventh centuries in the river valleys and on Downland ridges. These led Cunliffe and others to suggest division between Anglo-Saxon and sub-Roman petty kingdoms.¹⁸ The *-ingas* names and the increasing number of archaeological finds of the pagan period within the coastal plain reduce the likelihood of a significant sub-Roman element, but the placename evidence and the estates described in Chapters 8 and 9 indicate a very diverse structure. There is certainly no evidence of a kingdom based in part on sub-Roman survival as in Kent, or centralising tendencies like those of the Gewisse.¹⁹ The role of *bretwaldan*

¹² D. Turner, 'Thunderfield, Surrey – central place or sheiling?', *A.R.M.S.R.G.* (1997), pp.8-10; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.20,103.

¹³ Above, p.58; Taylor, p.350.

¹⁴ Tweddle, pp.122-3.

¹⁵ Winterbotham, pp.78-9.

¹⁶ Above, p.59.

¹⁷ Kelly, p.xiv.

¹⁸ B. Cunliffe, 'Saxon Sussex: some problems and directions' in *South Saxons*, pp.221-6.

¹⁹ N. Brooks, 'The creation and early structure of the kingdom of Kent' in *Origins*, pp.55-76; B. Yorke, 'The Jutes of Hampshire and Wight and the origins of Wessex' in *Origins*, pp.84-96.

ascribed to King Aelle of Sussex by Bede was short lived, if it ever existed, and by the time that there is reliable information in 661, Sussex was already a client kingdom of Mercia.²⁰

In the first period of West Saxon control between 688 and c. 770, almost all of the minsters known from charter evidence were founded (Table 1, Appendix 4). All except Bexhill belonged to laymen, perhaps indicating an indifference to the authority of a see of Mercian foundation. This is in contrast to Hase's suggested royal foundation of minsters at about six to eight mile spacing at *villae regales* in eastern Wessex during the seventh and eighth centuries.²¹ However, Bosham, Wittering, Pagham and perhaps also Selsey and Warblington appear to form the eastern half of a regular pattern of minsters around Southampton water which may represent West Saxon planning (Fig. 3). Moreover, all of the Sussex minsters for which there is pre-Conquest evidence except Bexhill (an episcopal foundation) and Wittering were close to royal centres (Fig. 6) even if they were founded by laymen.

Between c. 770 and c. 836 Sussex was something of a frontier province with firm Mercian control only evident in the eastern and central sections. The defensive importance of Sussex to the West Saxons when they regained control in the ninth century is evident from the strategic location of sites in King Alfred's Will and the establishment of *burhs*.²² The port of Steyning and the probable planned town at Chichester are limited evidence of attempts to develop trade, presumably on royal initiative. Yet the neglect of the see of Selsey, the apparent appropriation of some of its estates by the Bishop of Winchester or a layman and the absence of bishops for substantial periods may have been more typical of West Saxon attitudes. The dominant feature of the charter and Domesday Book evidence is the granting of land in Sussex to laymen and religious houses in Hampshire. For example, Aethelwold as Bishop of Winchester and in his own right received estates at Donnington, Washington and Harting. But he exchanged the last two for land in Huntingdonshire and Ely to further his plans for the expansion of monasteries in the eastern counties, apparently ignoring the possibilities of reform at Selsey.²³

In the eleventh century the power vacuum appears to have been filled by the Godwine family, which held a third of Sussex by 1066. The presence of holdings by all members of the family on the western coastal plain and the importance to them of the port of Bosham probably indicates that this was the family's homeland.²⁴ The unimportance of Sussex to the West

²⁰ H. E., p.372; M.G. Welch, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex: from *civitas* to shire' in *South Saxons*, pp.23-27.

²¹ Hase, 'Wessex', pp.52-4.

²² Above, p.16.

²³ S.746,714,1377,776,779; B.A.E. Yorke, 'Introduction' in B.A.E. Yorke, ed., *Bishop Aethelwold: his Career and Influence* (1988), pp.1-12.

²⁴ A. Williams, 'Land and power in the eleventh century: the estates of Harold Godwineson', *A-N.S.* 3 (1980), pp.171-187.

Saxon kings and the absence of any strong local vested interests, such as an effective bishopric, would have made the Godwines' acquisition of estates much easier. Harold and his father are known to have seized church lands.²⁵ Although Harold endowed a large minster at Waltham there is little other evidence for the family as church founders.²⁶ Bosham minster, for instance, was in the royal part of the estate. Where the Godwines led, their thegns were likely to follow: it is perhaps not surprising that the great majority of evidence for eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon church building is on royal or ecclesiastical land. Thus from the eighth to the eleventh centuries Anglo-Saxon Sussex was largely free of central authority in church or state. It is within this framework, or lack of it, that minsters, *parochiae* and estates can be traced.

Parochiae and Anglo-Saxon Estates

Table 5 lists the churches for which there is evidence of minsters, or at least high-status churches, and *parochiae* in the Anglo-Saxon period. The pattern broadly conforms to that in Table 1, but Elsted, Iping, Tangmere, Singleton and Walberton have been eliminated on the basis of a different interpretation of the evidence.²⁷ Of the churches added, the cases for (South) Bersted and Felpham/Barnham are tenuous and West Dean and Stedham are effectively re-locations of the suggested minsters at Singleton and Iping respectively. There is thus broad agreement with previous studies and a high density of probable high-status Anglo-Saxon churches. However, the demonstrable extent of the *parochiae* is very limited (Fig. 45), in contrast to the estates that can be identified on topographical and other grounds.

²⁵ F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (1979), pp.57-8 quoting the C version of the A.S.C. 'he (Earl Godwine) did all too little reparation about the property of God which he had from many holy places'.

²⁶ L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall, *The Waltham Chronicle* (1994), pp.10-40.

²⁷ The only evidence at Elsted is the one hide belonging to the church T.R.E and the half hid held by a *clericus*: it was a small two-cell church. Iping was subordinate to Stedham (above, p.149) and reference to *clerici* at Tangmere T.R.E. is to Pagham (above, p.127). The minster church within the hundred of Singleton was probably at West Dean (above, pp.129-32) and the two virgates held *in prebenda* at Walberton probably pertained to Arundel College (above, p.140).

TABLE 5: Possible Minsters or High-Status Churches in the Study Area

Church	Royal tun/ estate	Pre- Conquest/ Domesday Book evidence	Architectural/ archaeo- logical evidence	Topographical evidence	Post-Conquest rights and dues	Cited in Table 1	Pre-Conquest estate
Aldingbourne	✓	✓	*	✓	1 chapel only	✓	Aldingbourne
(South Bersted)	-	-	+	✓	1 chapel only	-	Pagham
Bosham	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Bosham
(Boxgrove)	-	✓	✓	-	-	✓	Aldingbourne?
Chichester	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	Chichester
(Cocking)	✓	-	-	✓	1 pension	-	Cocking/ Easebourne
(West) Dean	✓	✓	□	-	✓	-	Singleton/ <i>Dene</i>
(Easebourne)	-	?	□	✓	✓	✓	Cocking/ Easebourne
(Felpham/Barnham)	✓	✓	-	✓	-	-	Felpham/ Barnham
(Up Marden)	✓	-	-	✓	1 chapel	-	Mardens/Upper Ems
Pagham	-	✓	*	✓	✓	✓	Pagham
Petworth	✓	-	+	✓	✓	✓	Petworth
Selsey	✓	✓	-	-	-	✓	Selsey
Stedham	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	-	
Stoughton	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Stoughton/ Upper Ems
West Thorney		✓	*	-	-	✓	Bosham
(Warblington)	-	-	✓	-	-	-	Lower Ems
West Wittering	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	Wittering
(Westbourne)	-	-	-	✓	-	✓	Lower Ems

Sites previously cited which do not appear have been minsters: Elsted, Iping, Tangmere, Singleton, Walberton.

() = uncertain.
 * four-square church
 + possible four-square church
 □ Possible early form of church

It is certainly possible that the *parochiae* shown on Fig. 45 reflect the quality of evidence and the results of the founding of independent churches, manorialisation and the disruption of the period 1066-1120. But this does not explain the high density and the close proximity of churches like Westbourne to Warblington, or Bosham to West Thorney, or the distinctions made between *capellae* and *ecclesiae* at Singleton/Dene. It could be argued that these cases resulted from the migration of the religious focus of an estate from one place to another, as is very likely to have happened with Up Marden and Stoughton, and occurred elsewhere, such as at Godalming in Surrey.²⁸ This explanation cannot be taken further since it is impossible to date the origin of the churches other than those for which there is Anglo-Saxon charter evidence. But in the better-documented cases where a minster was re-located, the *parochia* went with it, and an alternative explanation seems more likely. The density of probable minster sites, particularly on the coastal plain, is high and similar to that on the river valleys within Hampshire (Fig. 3). In the study area, at least, it cannot be argued that estate centres and minsters are clustered in favourable locations with large dispersed estates in the surrounding landscape, since the evidence points to compact estates with few outliers. This

²⁸ Blair, *Surrey*, pp.157-9.

may, however, be an appropriate model for the land east of River Arun where there were extensive estates (in Faith's terminology) extending from the coastal plain to the Weald.²⁹

The most logical explanation is that the churches were not minsters in the sense of having wide pastoral responsibilities, but reflected the status of the owner whether a lay lord, king, or the Church with, at best, a few outlying chapelries or shrines, separated from the next significant centre by marsh, woodland and heath. The larger *parochia* at Petworth and Chichester are inevitably defined through twelfth and thirteenth-century sources and parish boundaries. But if there was no concept of the parish, little, if any, pastoral care, and very few churches before the Conquest, the authority of these high-status churches may have petered out into the outlying settlements on the commons and only have been defined as a result of the canon law reforms of the twelfth century. This pattern fits the inchoate political and ecclesiastical structure of Anglo-Saxon Sussex.³⁰

The Chronology of Anglo-Saxon Estates

Fig. 45 summarises the estates identified within the study area and Table 6 lists these and the larger Domesday Book estates across Sussex. How did these estates originate, and what was their relationship to royal centres and the economic organisation of the multiple estate?³¹

TABLE 6: Domesday Book and Reconstructed Estates of 20 Hides and Larger in Sussex

c. 100 hides			36 hides		
Bosham	99½	(King) ¹	Aldingbourne		(Bishop of Chichester)
Singleton	97½h.	(Earl Godwine)	Westbourne		(Earl Godwine)
Steyning	99h 7ac.	(Fécamp)	Stoughton		(Earl Godwine)
c. 80 hides			c. 30 hides		
South Malling	80h	(Archbishop of Canterbury)	Plumpton	32h	(Earl Godwine)
Harting	80h	(Gytha)	Beeding	32h	(King)
Iford	77½h	(Edith)	Kingston	32½h	(Harold Godwineson)
Rodmell	79h	(Harold Godwineson)	Broadwater	29h	(Wigot)
c. 60 hides			Southease	28h	(New Minster)
Washington	59h	(Gyrth Godwineson)	c. 25 hides		
Patcham	60h	(Harold Godwineson)	Bishopstone	25h	(Bishop of Chichester)
Bosham	56½h	(King)	Hamsey	25h	(King)
Bosham	65h	(Osbern)	Amberley	24h	(Bishop of Chichester)
c. 50 hides			c. 20 hides		
Pagham	50h	(Archbishop of Canterbury)	Stanmer	20h	(Archbishop of Canterbury)
Alciston	50h	(Young Alnoth)	Preston	20h	(Bishop of Chichester)
Eastbourne	46h	(King)	Rameslie	20h	(Fécamp)
Beddingham	52½h	(King)	Bexhill	20h	(Bishop of Chichester)
Willingdon	50½h	(Earl Godwine)	Shiplake	22h	(Harold Godwineson)
Ditchling	46h	(King) ¹	Lyminster	20h	(King)
Petworth	50h	(King) ¹	Falmer	21h	(Archbishop of Canterbury)
c. 40 hides			Kingston	21h	(Harold Godwineson)
Hurstpierpoint	41h	(Earl Godwine)	Thackenhams	20½h	(King)
			* Probably early hidation, see pp.120-1.		
			¹ Reconstructed		

²⁹ Faith, *Lordship*, pp.1-14; E.g. the estates of the *Polingas* (Copley, 'Stane Street', pp.98-104), South Malling (Jones, 'Multiple Estate', pp.20-9) and the probable *parochia* centred on Steyning (Appendix 4).
³⁰ Above, pp.110-4.
³¹ Faith, *Lordship*, pp.9-14 makes a helpful distinction between administrative/territorial units and economic ones. 'Multiple estate' is used here in her simple sense of centre with dependent settlements rather than the complex entities described in Jones, 'Multiple estates', pp.11-40.

Some aspects are no doubt attributable to the activities of the West Saxon kings in the tenth century and later and perhaps the Godwine family in the eleventh. Round observed that the hidation of the large Sussex estates T.R.E. had little relationship to the hundreds but was nevertheless in standard units, such as the 80 hides at Harting, Rodmell and South Malling.³² A number of other patterns have also been remarked on, such as the equal hidation of the Bishop of Chichester's and the Archbishop of Canterbury's holdings in west Sussex.³³ In this context, therefore, attempts by Jolliffe and Clarke to identify an original 80-hide unit for the Sussex hundred were misguided.³⁴ At Bosham, it seems likely that a 100-hide unit was the basis of the division of the estate between Osbern and Earl Godwine, and a case can also be made for a 100-hide unit in the Ems Valley.³⁵ Pagham was assessed at 50 hides and the Domesday Book estate appears to have been nearly the same as the seventh- or eighth-century one, so that it seems most likely that the hidations were round figures ascribed to earlier units.³⁶ However, the *parochiae* of St. Peter's Chichester and Petworth, apparently assembled from older units on the Downs and Rother Valley in the one hand and dispersed holdings in the Weald on the other, seem likely to be tenth-century.³⁷

Looking beyond the tenth century involves much speculation. One starting point is that if the area was divided into two *regiones* where were the *villae regales*? In the northern *regio* the topography and royal status of Stedham, Petworth or Cocking makes them candidates, but there is no other evidence. Within the Downs, Compton and *Dene*, and on the coastal plain Bosham, Selsey, Aldingbourne, Pagham, Wittering and perhaps Westbourne and North Mundham, all have claims as significant centres (Table 5) on the basis of royal status, proximity of a minster or physical features. Yet the estates and *parochiae* around them were small and it is very difficult to identify their origins and relative importance. It is helpful to compare the study area with the administrative and ecclesiastical pattern of seventh- and eighth-century Hampshire, for which Hase describes probable *villae regales* with minsters six to eight miles apart.³⁸ The similarity of the setting of the Hampshire minsters on coastal inlets around the edge of Southampton Water to Bosham, Wittering, Pagham and perhaps also Selsey and Warblington has already been suggested.³⁹ All of the Sussex minsters for which there is pre-Conquest evidence, except West Tarring, were first established under the period of West Saxon rule between the 680s and the 770s and all except Bexhill and Wittering were

³² L. F. Salzman, 'The rapes of Sussex', *S.A.C.* 72 (1931), p.21.

³³ Haselgrove, p.199.

³⁴ J. E. Jolliffe, 'The Domesday hidation of Sussex and the rapes', *E.H.R.* 45 (1930), pp.427-35; D. Clarke, 'The Saxon hundreds of Sussex', *S.A.C.* 74 (1933), pp.214-225.

³⁵ Above, pp.120-3, 132-5.

³⁶ Above, pp.124-5.

³⁷ Above, pp.114-6, 140-3.

³⁸ Hase, 'Wessex', pp.52-3.

³⁹ Above, p.152.

close to royal centres (Appendix 4, Fig. 6).⁴⁰ It seems likely therefore, that there were several royal centres within each *regio*, and that this pattern could pre-date the establishment of minsters in the eighth century, although their relative importance and use could have changed over time. The analogy with Hampshire can be taken further in the Downs. There may have been early ridge-top sites of importance at Up Marden/Compton, Graffham and West Stoke, which were replaced by estates centred on valley bottoms in the Ems Valley, at Stoughton, *Dene* and Lavant with boundaries marked by ridgelines.⁴¹ Such a pattern has been dated to the ninth century in Hampshire and to rather earlier further west within Wessex.⁴²

Small, compact estates with few outliers seem to have been the dominant unit in the study area, and the evidence for multiple estates is very limited. For instance, the majority of outlying manors attached to Bosham T.R.E. were late additions, following the break-up of the 100-hide royal estate.⁴³ A dispersed estate is implied by the 87 hides given of St. Wilfrid at Selsey since it would have been much larger than the island and probably comprised scattered holdings within the Manhood Peninsula and beyond.⁴⁴ Perhaps an estate like Pagham in which there were principal settlements at Pagham, Shrimpney and North Bersted with servile settlements at Bognor, Charlton and South Bersted can be regarded as indicative of the more complex estates in western Sussex.⁴⁵ It is worth noting that the much-discussed case for a multiple estate at South Malling is based entirely on thirteenth-century customals and that it appears to have been carved out of a substantial royal estate at unknown date.⁴⁶ The *borgs* or territorial tithings which made up the estate were very similar to those at Pagham. They are a distinctive feature of Sussex and Kent and both estates may have arisen from the aggregation of smaller units with the complex services described for Malling having arisen in the development of relationships between the Wealden lands and those in the Lower Ouse Valley.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ West Tarring was included in a probably spurious grant (S.477) to Christ Church, Canterbury.

⁴¹ Above, p.147.

⁴² D. J. Bonney, 'Early boundaries in Wessex' in P.J. Fowler ed., *Archaeology and the Landscape: Essays for L. V. Grinsell* (1972), pp.169-88; M. F. Hughes, 'Rural settlement and landscape in late Saxon Hampshire', in M. L. Faull ed., *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, pp.65-80.

⁴³ Above, pp.120-1.

⁴⁴ Above, p.84.

⁴⁵ Above, pp.124-8.

⁴⁶ Jones, 'Multiple estates', pp.19-30; The Alfred's Will sites of Rotherfield and Beddingham were to the north and south east of South Malling. The cluster of ungilded Domesday Book villis south east of Beddingham, and around East Grinstead are probably the scattered inland of a royal estate. South Malling separates the several portions of the hundred of Danehill Horsted and cuts off Allington and Warningore from their outliers of Hazelden and Brockhurst. (A.W., p.492; D.B., pp.400-4; Faith, *Lordship*, pp.38-40; Mawer and Stenton, p.335; D.B., p.419).

⁴⁷ *Subsidies*, pp.xix-xxvi.

In summary, before the late seventh century, compact estates such as Pagham, Bosham and Dene were probably in existence. Downland estates may reflect the establishment of territorial units based on the movement of estate centres to valley-side or valley-bottom sites, superseding hill top locations. During the period c. 680 - c. 770, under West Saxon domination, minsters were established within these territories on the coastal plain, generally close to royal centres. When Mercian rule resumed in the 770s there was some attempt to bring these minsters within the control of the Bishop of Selsey, but this had very limited success. The estates, however, appear to have persisted into the late Anglo-Saxon period. Bosham, Wittering, Pagham and Dene became the basis of hundreds but in general these were based on different units of unknown date. Particularly where they were in ecclesiastical hands these estates appear to have been substantially without churches, except at the estate centre, until after the Conquest when the three-square churches sprang up and large parishes have survived to the present day. In contrast, the *parochia* of Petworth (which appears to be an amalgam of smaller units) and that of St. Peter's, Chichester, which is probably ninth-century, were divided by the twelfth century into small parishes or manors with very small two-cell churches. In addition the royal estates east of Harting, in the Ems Valley and within the interstices of the large estates, have a much denser pattern of churches on small estates (Fig. 15), with little evidence of mother churches. These are discussed in the following section.

Small Estates and Manorialisation

Domesday Book shows that there had been considerable manorialisation (in the sense of the formation of small estates held by laymen) within the study area by 1066: there were many more holders of manors than in 1086. For example, six thegns held a 10 hide manor at Graffham between them as an alod and six held four hides at Hunston: both were held by a single tenant T.R.W.⁴⁸ Outside the demesne estates of the king, the Church and the Godwines, manors ranged from one to 12 hides. There were many of four or five hides, representing the estate of a thegn-worthy man.⁴⁹ Indeed, the formation of small estates was largely complete by this time. Except on the ecclesiastical estates (where prebendal manors were formed in the period between the Conquest and the end of the twelfth century), the great majority of manors can be traced to Domesday Book estates, to divisions of them dating from the thirteenth century or later, or to very late origins, often resulting from the acquisition of land at the Reformation.⁵⁰ The granting of chapels on the marginal areas at West Wittering, West Itchenor, Coates and Egdean in the early part of the twelfth century was the very end of the principal phase of manorialisation.⁵¹

⁴⁸ D.B., pp.423,427.

⁴⁹ Above, p.17.

⁵⁰ V.C.H. 4 describes the origins of the manors in the rape of Chichester. V.C.H. 5.1, pp.108-115 gives Eastergate, Barnham and Walberton. For the Petworth group see Farrer, pp.16-30.

⁵¹ Above, pp.118,141-2.

Anglo-Saxon charter evidence for small estates is very limited. Up to the end of the eighth century, grants were almost entirely to the Church, although the units could be small, such as the four hides at Peppering given to found a minster (Appendix 4). There is then a 100-year gap in the record, but by 899 x c. 909 laymen were dealing in units of four and one hide at Up-Marden (Table 7). Thereafter, grants to Sussex laymen are known only for Durrington, Hankham and Washington outside the study area and Colworth within it. The last, which was of the same area as the post-Conquest prebendal manor, together with the grant of eight hides at Ambersham in 963, shows that at least some small estates traceable after the Conquest had been established by the second half of the tenth century.

Place-names ending in *tun* and *-ingtun* together with personal name prefixes give a larger body of evidence than the charters. The distinction between *tun* and *-ingtun* is not clear, but both were associated with the establishment of small estate centres from the eighth century onwards and were perhaps part of the same process as the establishment of minor farms at *worhs* and *wics*.⁵² Across Sussex as a whole, 68 medieval parishes had *tun* or *-ingtun* names, including the remarkable concentration of *-ingtun* names south of Arlington in east Sussex which must surely represent the formation of manors on the scattered inlands of a royal estate.⁵³ In other counties, *bury/burh* names appear to have been part of the same trend.⁵⁴ In Sussex the few *burh* names of parishes (e.g. Bury, Burpham) appear to be linked either to Roman remains or large defensive sites, but in general *bury* appears to be no more than a term for fields, barns or *falod* belonging to the manor.⁵⁵ Only Oldbury Farm cannot be linked to a known manor and may be a failed or superseded manorial centre, although recent work in Sussex has shown a correlation between *bury* field names and Roman sites.⁵⁶ Personal names in *tun* or other habitative element were probably associated with a grant to, or acquisition by, a layman, rather than commemorating an original founder. In Sussex they have to be treated cautiously since the E.P.N.S. volumes are likely to have followed the 1920s/30s trend of deriving personal names when descriptive terms are more likely.⁵⁷

⁵² R. Coates, 'Place-names before 1066' in *Atlas*, pp.32-3; Faith *Lordship*, pp.173-4; Costen, 'Worth', pp.65-83; D. Sanders, 'The Saxon *tun* an interim report', *Locus Focus* 2.1 (1998), pp.33-4.

⁵³ Coates, 'Place-names', pp.32-3; D.B., pp.400-4. Most of the land was free of geld (Faith, *Lordship*, pp.48-55).

⁵⁴ Faith, *Lordship*, p.174.

⁵⁵ Above, p.78.

⁵⁶ Dr. P.Cullen, pers. comm.

⁵⁷ Gelling, *Signposts*, pp.162-190.

TABLE 7: Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Grants in Sussex

Date	Location	Amount	T.R.E. hldation	Source
899 x c. 909	(Up) Marden	4 hides	4 hides?	Kelly, 16
* 930	Medmerry and Chichester	4 hides and meadow	-	Kelly, 17
X 934	Durrington?	12	12	S.425.
933/4	Hamm	?	-	S.1630.
** 941 for 940	West Tarring	-	18	S.515.
945	Bracklesham, Thorney	4, 2 hides	-	Kelly, 18.
946 X 7 (will)	Washington; Broadwater	?	50 hides	S.1504.
947	Hankham	3 hides	3 hides, ½ virgate	S.527.
947	Washington	20 hides	59 hides	S.525.
947	Patching	-	12	S.1631.
953	Felpham	30 hides	21 hides	S.562.
956	Oving/Aldingbourne	60 hides?	-	Kelly, 20.
956	Annington	16 hides	12 hides	S.624.
963	Ambersham	8 hides	-	S.718.
963	East Hale	4	-	S.708.
963	Washington	24	59 hides	S.714.
*** 966	Donnington, Southease, Telescombe	5, 28, 10 hides	5, 28,-	S.746.
969	Chillington	-	-	S.774.
988	Colworth	4 hides	-	Kelly, 21.
* 1002	Dene	60 hides	100 hides	S.904.
1018	Hazelhurst	Woodland		S.950.
* Authentic but some later changes		X	Doubtful identification	
** Authentic but substantial later changes				
*** Doubtful, possible authentic basis				

Twenty-four (30%) of the medieval parishes in the study area have names ending in *tun* or *-ingtun*, of which 10 are prefixed by personal names (Fig. 16). A further seven places which did not become parishes also have this ending. In addition, 41 places with personal name prefixes not ending in *tun*, *-ingtun* or *-ingas* were recorded in the E.P.N.S. volume. Most of the estates of 12 hides or less in Domesday Book have names in *tun/ingtun* or a personal name, or both, and names of this type which do not appear in Domesday Book have the same distribution (Fig. 16). Moreover, they corresponded with the areas of greatest density of documented settlements up to the lay subsidy of 1337. There is a correspondingly low density on the royal and ecclesiastical estates. However, many of these names are not known until the lay subsidy of 1296, so that the densities may reflect no more than the extent to which there was late medieval nucleation of settlement on the large estates, particularly on the Downs.⁵⁸ Within these constraints, 11 clusters or zones of small estates and *tun* names can be recognised and some of the processes of manorialisation can be suggested for each.

Within zone 1 there are frequent *tuns* and *wics* but few personal names. The area also had a high proportion of cottars and some of the few *servi* on the coastal plain T.R.E. (Fig. 17). Moreover, there were several quite large Domesday Book manors for which no churches are

⁵⁸ Brandon, *South Downs*, pp.58-78.

known and the churches present, with the exception of Merston, were at some distance from the manorial centre: elsewhere these are characteristics of the ecclesiastical and royal estates. The northern part of zone 1 may have been divided between the Aldingbourne estate and the city of Chichester until the boundary of the latter was moved eastwards in the early twelfth century.⁵⁹ The southern part may have taken its form from the early break-up of the possible Mundham estate (Fig. 42). It seems likely therefore that the *tuns* and *wics* were established not by thegns but by the Church or king, perhaps to serve markets in Chichester, and were subsequently alienated. Strettington, for instance, had five *hagae* in Chichester and the Aldingbourne estate, which probably extended up to the edge of the Chichester's Portfield had 16 (Fig. 18). This would place their origin probably in the first half of the tenth century with subsequent alienation to laymen.

Zone 2 has frequent *tuns* and personal names with small T.R.E. estates. In contrast to zone 1 there is a high density of small two-cell churches with adjacent manor houses, with the exception of Walberton and the possible royal and ecclesiastical centres of Felpham and Barnham.⁶⁰ The manors may have been formed by the break-up of a royal estate under different circumstances from zone 1, presumably by grants to thegns. The presence of a late Anglo-Saxon occupation site within the churchyard at Walberton may be an indication of this process.⁶¹ Zone 3 comprises no more than two *worths*, an *-ingtun* and two personal names around Westbourne and Warblington. Warblington was a possible high-status site, but the other place-names probably indicate no more than establishment of small, late farmsteads in the extensive areas of marginal land.

Zone 4 comprises the eastern and western ends of the Manhood Peninsula, and their histories are distinct. The *tuns* at Selsey in the east have topographical names and were hamlets within the bishop's manor. In the west, Bracklesham, Earnley, Somerley and Highleigh were mentioned in early pre-Conquest charters with small amounts of land, when they may already have been recognised as separate units, but East Wittering and West Itchenor were not separated from West Wittering until the twelfth century. Bracklesham and Almodington are lost parishes.⁶² Thus in contrast to the Wittering estate there was a central area of permanent or seasonal settlements forming part of the bishop's estate dispersed within the extensive commons.

Within the Downs, the *tuns* lie close together along the valley floors (zones 5, 6) but there were also small estates at the Mardens at the head of the Ems Valley. Lower down the valley

⁵⁹ Above, pp.104-5; *Book of Fees* 1, pp.72-3.

⁶⁰ Above, p.140.

⁶¹ Above, p.45.

⁶² V.C.H. 4, pp.202-3, 217.

the settlements are closely-spaced and have personal names. All appear to have had medieval churches, but only Racton's survives. Known settlements on the Singleton/*Dene* and Lavant estates are fewer, and only Binderton has a personal name. The remaining *tuns* relate to function (Preston and Charlton) suggesting the pattern of development in zone 1. To the north west, the Mardens (zone 7) surely represent the break-up of an estate centred on either Compton or Up Marden, or perhaps both in sequence, after the principal settlement moved to the valley bottom at Stoughton.

At the western edge of the scarp and Rother Valley there were only two, probably post-Conquest, *tuns* on marginal downland sites (zone 8) where fission may have been prevented by ecclesiastical lordship.⁶³ In contrast, the strip parishes at first sight seem to be a classic case of fission. This is supported by the frequent personal names, the two names in *stede* and the *tuns* implying that there were outlying or seasonal centres which became permanent, but the *-ingas* names indicate an earlier structure.⁶⁴ However it was formed, the royal estate that comprised the strip parishes had been divided between king's thegns by the eleventh century. The beginnings of this division may be indicated by the *Citta* in Chithurst who was probably the *Citta* of the nearby Hampshire parish of Chidden.⁶⁵

Within the Cocking/Easebourne area (zone 10) there are only two *tuns*, adjacent to the river. A two-cell church and adjacent manor house are present only at Cocking where they may have been additions to a circular enclosure (Fig. 19AC).⁶⁶ The extent of small estates is obscured by the lack of Domesday Book evidence, but it seems likely that manors did not develop to a significant degree before the Conquest, except at Ambersham and Lodsworth, because the area was dominated by outliers from other estates. In contrast, the Petworth estate (zone 11) has several *tuns* with personal names: the latter are also attached to *falods* in the northern part of the area. At the scarp foot, the arrangement of two-cell churches and manor houses is identical to zone 9. However, around Petworth the very small two-cell churches of Egdean, Burton, Coates, North Chapel and Tillington were originally on, or at the edges of, commons distant from their manorial centres, and Lurgashall is similar to the isolated three-square churches at Fernhurst and Linchmere in zone 10. There was an estate at Tillington by the tenth century but Egdean and Coates were not established until the twelfth.⁶⁷ This appears to confirm the impression in chapter 9 that land around Petworth was joined with older, smaller units around Duncton with subsequent fission and formation of small manors on the wastes and commons.⁶⁸

⁶³ Above, pp.128-9.

⁶⁴ K. Sandred, *English Place-names in Stead* (1963), pp.254; above, pp.44-5.

⁶⁵ Above, pp.145-7; Mawer and Stenton, p.33; R. Coates, *The Place-names of Hampshire* (1994), p.53.

⁶⁶ Above, pp.143-5.

⁶⁷ Above, pp.140-3.

⁶⁸ Above, pp.140-3.

To summarise, the process of manorialisation shows several features found elsewhere in southern England.⁶⁹ It was well underway by the mid-tenth century and resulted in the break up of whole estates or erosion of the edges of royal and ecclesiastical estates. The mechanism was probably either grants to king's thegns, as in the Weald, or alienation of *tuns* and *wics* originally initiated by the estate. Another process, which can only be guessed at, is that manors were established on marginal land which lay outside estates (and *parochia*). The process was largely complete by 1066. It resulted in strong contrasts in parish size and church type between the old estates and the high density of small manors that lay between them, except in parts of the Weald. Underlying it, at least in the Weald and perhaps in the Pagham estate, is the likelihood that some estates were formed by the amalgamation of small units that re-emerged as manors.

The Nature of Anglo-Saxon Sussex

At first sight there are contradictions in the history of Anglo-Saxon Sussex. On the one hand the compact estates forming distinct topographical units, the *-ingas* names, the continued importance of eighth-century minsters are early lordly and ecclesiastical features. On the other, all surviving church buildings except one appear to be very late, the fragments of sculpture and architectural sculpture are weak and derivative and there is no evidence for Anglo-Saxon churches in the great majority of sites despite an intensive pattern of manorialisation. However, these are two aspects of the same underlying character. In its beginnings Anglo-Saxon Sussex appears to have been a diverse mosaic of small territories. It acquired a see almost by accident which was largely ignored by the West Saxons after the reconquest in the 830s. From then until the late tenth century, lay and ecclesiastical properties were exploited from Wessex and during the eleventh century the county was dominated by the Godwines. None of this encouraged central organisation or systematic pastoral care. By 1066, therefore, the Church in the western part of Sussex was in a poor state. The see of Selsey may not have had an effective existence or may have become a sinecure for monks from Christ Church. Some small ancient *parochiae* survived, together with two probable tenth-century ones, but it seems unlikely that there were many lesser churches. Recent work has emphasised the continuity between the Anglo-Saxon and early Norman church at local level and the continuity of minor church building before and after the Conquest. But in western Sussex, at least, there was an abrupt and rapid change after 1066, which will be described in the following chapter.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Faith, *Lordship*, pp.151-177; Yorke, *Wessex*, pp.251-261; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.134-5.

⁷⁰ E.g. J. Blair, 'Introduction' in Blair, *Minsters*, pp.1-20.

11: THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND ITS AFTERMATH

There is no doubt about the political and administrative changes in Sussex brought about by the Norman Conquest. Whatever their origins, the rapes in 1086 were Norman institutions centred on new or completely rebuilt castelries, with the lord of each rape having his own sheriff and the rape courts superseding those of the hundreds.¹ A tenurial revolution had taken place: all of the pre-Conquest lay holders of manors, with a few minor exceptions, had been replaced and widely-scattered holdings T.R.E. were consolidated as estates within the same rape.² Most of the large lay estates were held in demesne by the lords of the rapes: in the rape of Earl Roger, the majority of medium-size estates were held by his sheriff. Manors split between several freemen or held as alods T.R.E. had become single tenancies held of the principal lord.³ As well as named tenants, there were unnamed Frenchmen with very small holdings in the more marginal areas, indicating the extent of the take over.⁴ In effect, the rapes were small marcher lordships. Four of the five lords were closely related to the king and held other strategic areas, such as Shropshire held by Earl Roger.⁵ In view of the importance of the Sussex coast and the need to stamp authority on the Godwine homelands, this is hardly surprising. Several aspects of the west Sussex economy prospered and the area remained of prime importance at least until the confiscation of the Montgomery estates in 1102.⁶

This is a well-established story and it is surprising that the effects of these changes on the Church have never been fully considered. Although there has been much discussion of whether individual churches are pre- or post-Conquest, there has been little attempt to understand why they were built, which might help with deciding when. Why, for instance, in such a heavily Normanised area, did Anglo-Saxon building techniques persist for so long? Indeed, the period following the Conquest was a mixture of radical change, such as the campaign of church building described in chapter 4, the granting of land and churches to Norman monasteries and the founding and re-founding of colleges, and of conservatism, such as the survival of the eighth-century endowment of Selsey largely unchanged as the basis of the new see. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the rate and nature of change in the 100 years following the Conquest in terms of: the form and function of churches; the relationship of the Norman lords and their tenants to secular colleges, monasteries, pastoral care, the endowment of churches and canon law reforms; the emergence of an effective diocesan administration and

¹ Cownie, pp.11-2; Mason, 'Officers', pp.244-57; Cam, 'Manerium', pp.81-3.

² S. James and D. Thorn, 'Landholders in Sussex 1066-1086', *Domesday Studies* (1990), pp.20-5.

³ E.g. Bosham, above, pp.120-1.

⁴ E.g. four at Duncton holding 1½ hides, 1½ virgates and 10 acres; three at Sutton holding 3 hides 1 furlong and two at Tillington holding 1½ virgates (D. B., p.423-4); above, p.141.

⁵ James and Thorn, 'Landholders', pp.20-5.

⁶ K. Thompson, 'Lords castellans, constables and dowagers, the rape of Pevensey from the eleventh to the thirteenth century', *S.A.C.* 135 (1997), pp.209-211; J.F.A. Mason, 'Roger de Montgomery and his sons', *T.R.H.S.* fifth series 13 (1963), pp.1-28.

cathedral chapter; the effect of the canon law reforms; and the survival of pre-Conquest features.

The Form and Function of Churches

Post-Conquest building or re-building?

In Chapter 4 it was established that the majority of standing medieval churches within the study area were built c. 1070 - c. 1120 and fall into four categories: two-cell, usually with two-square naves; three-square, some of which did not have separate chancels; four square and longer, probably without separate chancels; and churches with varied plans, many of which were of high status. In addition, there are several three-square thirteenth-century churches without separate chancels. These categories fit the national picture of large-scale building of minor churches in the period c. 1050-1150.⁷ But a comparison with the churches in the rest of Sussex and in other counties may throw light on the particular features of the study area. The choice of areas outside Sussex is restricted by the availability of good-quality plans and comprehensive cover to the R.C.H.M.E. work in Herefordshire, Northamptonshire and Wiltshire.⁸ In addition, Blair's analysis of Surrey offers some interesting parallels.⁹ The information from these sources and the rest of Sussex is sufficiently detailed to allow distinctions between: probable pre-Conquest churches; Overlap and early Norman; and mid- to late Norman churches of the period c. 1125 to transitional Norman/Early English. A distinction can be made between Overlap churches using Saxo-Norman construction techniques and styles in contrast to Norman buildings with good ashlar and similar features. However, Gem has demonstrated that such churches could be contemporary depending on location, status of the patron and availability of materials.¹⁰ They are therefore all grouped in the second category.

The occurrence of churches with evidence of Anglo-Saxon fabric is low in all areas, and although there are proportionately more mid to late Norman churches in Sussex outside the study area than within it, the occurrence of Overlap/early Norman churches in Sussex as a whole is much greater than in the other areas shown on Fig. 49. Moreover, although comparable figures cannot be produced for Surrey, several of the Surrey churches ascribed by

⁷ Above, p.20.

⁸ R.C.H.M.E., *A Survey of the Monuments of Herefordshire* 1-3 (1931-4); D. Parsons, 'Early churches in Herefordshire: documentary and structural evidence' in D. Whitehead, ed, *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*. British Archaeological Association Transaction 15 (1995), pp.60-74; R.C.H.M.E. *Northamptonshire*; R.C.H.M.E. *Churches of South-East Wiltshire* (1987). For Sussex, V.C.H.7 and 9, *Sussex Church Plans* (Appendix 7, 8) and Godfrey, 'Axial towers' are the principal sources. Bond gives much information for Worcestershire but it cannot be quantified on the same basis. Comparisons with Normandy are based on plans in Rupricht-Robert, supplemented by fieldwork.

⁹ Blair, *Surrey*, pp.109-33.

¹⁰ Gem, 'Great rebuilding', pp.25-30.

Taylor and Blair to the late Anglo-Saxon period such as Stoke d'Abernon and Hascombe could fall within the Overlap category on the basis of the criteria used in this thesis, particularly since much of the evidence is derived from the work of P.M. Johnston who tended to identify Overlap features as late Anglo-Saxon.¹¹ It is unlikely that Overlap construction techniques and style were in use in Sussex beyond the 1120s, even in a county without its own good ashlar, since mid-Norman work of c. 1125-40 in Caen stone is found in remote, Dowland churches like North Marden (sh.H3). Fig. 49 therefore probably shows real differences.

It is possible that the mid to late Norman churches in the comparative areas outside Sussex were rebuildings, since substantial numbers of pre-Conquest churches are known in some of these areas in these areas.¹² However, many of these were of high status, and the case for the widespread occurrence of stone churches which served solely a thegn or local community is unproven. In Sussex excavations have shown that the Overlap churches at West Blatchington, Old Erringham, Findon and Exeat had no predecessors on their respective sites, as was the case at Cuddington in Surrey.¹³ Within the study area, the probable absence of large numbers of Anglo-Saxon churches outside the estate centres has been discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁴ This implies that many of the 92 churches recorded in Domesday Book had been built between 1066 and 1086 and that Poole may have been right after all.¹⁵ Where there is more closely dateable evidence, such as the Caenais style in ashlar used at Eartham, the churches could easily have been built shortly after the Conquest and certainly by c. 1090, but for the great majority it is impossible to be so precise.¹⁶ The typical features of the Overlap churches – monolith-headed, single-splayed windows, large quoin stones with wide joints, rubble laid herringbone fashion, and simple but varied narrow doorways – are also those of minor eleventh-century churches in parts of Normandy without good ashlar, such as La Roche-Mabile on Montgomery's lands in the *département* of Orne and St.-Arnoult in the north of the *pays d'Auge*. It is possible that rudimentary masonry skills of this kind came with the influx of Frenchmen after 1066 but these may be no more than the lowest common denominators of eleventh-century church building, wholly different from the workmanship in the cathedral. It is probably through the form and siting of these churches rather than construction techniques that the best understanding of the period can be obtained.

¹¹ Blair, *Surrey*, pp.115-9. Taylor, pp.573-5,676-8,19-21 assesses Johnston's observations and gives a bibliography.

¹² D. Brook, 'Church', pp.77-87; above, p.12.; R.C.H.M.E. *Wiltshire*, pp.10-12; Morris, *Landscape*, p.142; unpublished R.C.H.M.E. work on Northamptonshire churches kindly provided by Dr. P. Barnwell.

¹³ J. Holmes, 'A Saxon church at West Blatchington', *S.A.C.* 128 (1988), pp.77-91; E. W. Holden, 'Excavations at Old Erringham, Shoreham, West Sussex: part ii the chapel and ringwork', *S.A.C.* 118 (1979), pp.257-97; J. Holmes, 'A Saxon church at Findon', *S.A.C.* 125 (1987), pp.77-91; W. Budgen, 'Exete and its parish church', *S.A.C.* 58 (1916), pp.138-70; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.124-6.

¹⁴ Above, pp.149-151.

¹⁵ A further 20 may be implied by a priest or a priest holding land (Rushton, 'Parochialisation', pp.148-52); Poole, pp.58-75.

¹⁶ Above, p.51.

The two-cell plan

Throughout Sussex two-cell churches are typical of small to medium-size lay manors, as they are in many other parts of the country.¹⁷ In the few instances where they survive intact in Sussex, chancels are usually rectangular and often square. There is no reason to suppose that the square chancels were originally apsidal nor is there widespread evidence of conversion to apses in the twelfth century. Square-ended chancels are common in eleventh-century churches in Normandy (as opposed to the almost universal apses of the twelfth century) as they are in Anglo-Saxon churches, so the plan could be derived from either Anglo-Saxon or Norman types, or both.¹⁸ Apses are associated with a probably later phase of church building in remote Downland and Wealden locations and in these cases may be derived from examples in Normandy.¹⁹

The churches within the study area are smaller than those in the rest of Sussex that were built during the period c. 1070 – 1120 (average nave area of 57.7 m² and 67.2 m² respectively) and smaller than mid- to late Norman churches in Sussex and Herefordshire (64.9 m² and 74.8 m²). It is quite possible that this is a reflection of the size of the population that would be served (if they had a parochial function) and there appears to have been a relationship between community size and church size at Raunds. Yet it is difficult to envisage such a role for these churches in eleventh- and early twelfth-century Sussex. A parish community was probably an alien concept. If a Norman lord acquired an estate with scattered settlements, as almost all of those in Sussex were, it is hard to see why he should have been concerned with the spiritual needs of people on the outlying parts of his lands.²⁰

The small two-cell churches were different only in proportions from twelfth-century castle chapels, such as that at Midhurst (sh.G4) which served the lord and his household. The variety of Overlap doorways and chancel arches of the small two-cell across Sussex as a whole appear to be demonstrations of status in contrast to the purely functional three-square buildings. It is difficult to see how the collection of Roman masonry and carving in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of the chancel arch at Selham (sh.3.5), put together without any understanding of the architectural principles of the arch, reflects anything else. The priest stood underneath the

¹⁷ J. Blair, 'Parish churches in the eleventh century' in *Domesday Studies: the Sussex Domesday* (1990), pp.65-70; Rodwell, *Rivenhall*, pp.128-38.

¹⁸ Rupricht-Robert, pp.57-9; Taylor, pp.976-91; Clapham, *After*, pp.101-2 Davidson, thesis, pp.131-40.

¹⁹ Above, p.67.

²⁰ Above, p.68. The extent to which a parish community can be said to have been present in the remote areas with a very dispersed settlement pattern and fragmented parishes remains an open question. In the seventeenth century, after Linch church had become ruined, the inhabitants of the parish simply went to the nearest of several churches (Cowdray Archives, 5128). Davidson, thesis, pp.89-99 argues that twelfth-century churches could have been built by local communities rather than lords, but all of the evidence in the study area points in the opposite direction.

chancel arch, imitating the priest beneath the arch of a major church. The lord entered facing the priest through the west door (which appears to have been frequent on these small churches) or perhaps stood above in a western gallery, as may have been the case at Stoke d'Abernon.²¹

This possible role of small churches appears to have persisted into the late twelfth century in remote areas. Clapham, quoting examples like Barfreston, Studland and Kilpeck noted that some of the most elaborately decorated late Norman churches are very small: examples from Herefordshire include churches like Aston and Cowardine.²² Within the study area, North Marden (sh. H3) is in this category. Such churches seem much more likely to have been private chapels than the equally elaborate but much larger parish churches of the twelfth century built to a standard plan in Normandy.²³ The process of 'parochialisation' must have varied greatly between and within regions, and it is surely misguided to equate the first evidence of a church with the existence of a parish as some recent research has done.²⁴ Nor is there evidence that the two-cell form was used by religious houses in Sussex, which are more likely to have established full pastoral care. The churches given to Lewes Priory, as well as the twelve given to Hastings College (generally before 1100), do not have common proportions or architectural features and it seems very likely that they were in their present form when acquired. Moreover, the long-held view that the remarkable series of Anglo-Norman wall paintings at Clayton, Hardham and Coombes were executed once they were acquired by Lewes Priory has also been dismissed.²⁵ Tiny churches like Burton and Coates were never enlarged, nor were churches which remained in secular hands like Chithurst.

Three-square churches

The difficulty of assessing whether three-square churches were built with or without chancels within the study area is made more difficult outside it by the lack of detailed studies. There were certainly early churches without chancels in the rest of Sussex, such as Findon, Wisborough Green, Cliffe and the first phase of Rottingdean (Appendix 6), although these were larger buildings within much larger parishes than the early three-square churches that definitely had contemporary chancels, such as Coombes and Botolphs. In Herefordshire there are some early examples without chancels, such as Martley and Method, and some such as Lenthall Starkers and Stretford with them.²⁶ However there are also several shorter single-cell Herefordshire twelfth-century churches which appear to have been chapels, and this was

²¹ Taylor, pp.573-4.

²² Barfreston's nave is c. 7 x 3.5m, Kilpeck's 9.5 x 6.2m, Cowardine's 9.1 x 3.9m, Aston's 8.2 x 4.6m. Studland is an axial tower church with a nave 11.3 x 5.2m (P.M. Johnston, 'Studland church and some remarks on Norman corbel tables', *J.B.A.A.* n.s. 24 (1918), pp.31-68).

²³ Rupricht-Robert, p.1.

²⁴ E.g. Rushton, 'Parochialisation', pp.32-53; Rushton, 'Sussex', pp.36-7.

²⁵ D. Park, 'The "Lewes Group" of wall paintings in Sussex', *A-N.S.* 6 (1983), pp.200-35.

²⁶ R.C.H.M.E., *Herefordshire* 1, p.24, 2, pp.78,141, 3, pp.104,189; Parsons, 'Herefordshire', pp.64-5.

certainly the case in Worcestershire.²⁷ In Wiltshire the few examples of long, early unaisled naves appear to have been just larger two-cell churches.²⁸

The particular concentration in the study area may reflect no more than the difficulties of identifying the type. The majority (12) were built on the estates of the bishops of Chichester and Exeter, and of the remaining four, two may have been in the hands of Sées Abbey at the time of their construction. Religious houses are known to have built churches in their estates both before and after the Conquest and such buildings might be expected to show similar uniformity of a plan, but no evidence was found within the comparative areas. For instance, the estates of Chertsey Abbey in Surrey do not appear to have had churches until the mid-twelfth century, but from the little that is known the plans were two-cell.²⁹

Four-square and longer churches

There is the same difficulty in identifying this plan in Sussex outside the study area as there is for three-square churches. For example, even with the analysis provided by the R.C.H.M.E. for Oundle and Rothwell churches in Northamptonshire, it is difficult to tell whether they were originally of this type or cruciform or had axial towers (Fig. 47).³⁰ Nevertheless, nine have been found in Sussex outside the study area. There is no association with minster sites as there is within the study area, but six were linked to religious houses. The Abbey of Grestain held Wilmington in east Sussex in 1086 and acquired West Dean shortly afterwards.³¹ Playden, described as a chapel, was given to Hastings College between c. 1090 and c. 1095 and was enlarged to an axial tower building about 100 years later.³² Sompting was acquired by the Templars in 1154 x 5 and Shipley in 1124.³³ Fletching was appropriated to Mitchelham Priory.³⁴ Of the seven examples within the study area, three are linked to Sées and thus to Arundel College, while there was a collegiate church at Pagham until at least 1086. If the three *clerici* at Aldingbourne mentioned in Domesday Book T.R.W. were resident, then a collegiate establishment is also likely there.³⁵ Within Herefordshire, the plan is found in the later twelfth-century churches at Elton, Holmer, Leintwardine and Bishops' Frome, and perhaps in the much earlier church at Ledbury as well as thirteenth-century religious houses like Creswell Priory.³⁶ It cannot be traced in the other comparative areas, but elsewhere it is associated with high-status churches like St. Mary de Castro, Leicester as well, perhaps, as with

²⁷ Bond, p.141.

²⁸ R.C.H.M.E., *Wiltshire*, pp.146,193,227.

²⁹ Blair, *Surrey*, p.129.

³⁰ Unpublished R.C.H.M.E. information.

³¹ D.B., p.412; L. F. Salzman, 'Some Sussex Domesday Book tenants: ii the family of Dene', *S.A.C.* 58 (1916), pp.171-89.

³² *Chi. Chart.*, 945; Godfrey, 'Axial', p.146.

³³ *Acta* 49; V.C.H. 2, p.92.

³⁴ EpI/1/5f.68.

³⁵ Above, pp.118-9.

³⁶ R.C.H.M.E., *Herefordshire* 3, pp.53,106; 2 pp.7,10,87.

Northamptonshire examples.³⁷ No examples from Normandy have been found, but if the plan was linked to early collegiate or monastic establishments, it is unlikely to have survived the dominance and uniformity of the Benedictine plan in the twelfth century.

Although West Dean in East Sussex had a contemporary narthex, in the majority of cases the plan appears to have been a simple rectangle. The function for colleges and monastic cells of a long, narrow building in terms of ritual, procession and separation from the laity seems obvious. It is difficult to believe that all of these churches (16) in Sussex served religious communities, but the numbers involved in any one establishment may have been very small. For instance there is no evidence of full conventual life at Wilmington before 1243, long after the church was completed, a single priest had a prebend at Walberton and there may have been as few as three *clerici* at Aldingbourne.³⁸ The survival of the plan in Sussex is thus probably a good indication of both the lack of development after the twelfth century and the widespread but piecemeal establishment of small colleges and monastic cells.

Pre-Conquest plans

The salient-corner church at Worth, which is remarkably similar to Stoughton in size and proportions, is the only building of distinct pre-Conquest plan in Sussex outside the study area, in addition to Bosham, Stoughton and Warblington within it. However, the nave, chancel and west tower plan of Old Shoreham is closer to pre-Conquest examples than their Norman equivalents.³⁹ Beddingham in East Sussex, where there was a pre-Conquest minster, and Westbourne within the study area are similar to the short, high nave and west tower plan that has been suggested as a possible minster plan in the east midlands, but at Beddingham, the height is probably the result of the insertion of a clerestory in the thirteenth century.⁴⁰

Cruciform and axial tower churches

Large churches belonging to monastic houses were built or rebuilt to aisled or aisleless cruciform plans across Sussex (e.g. Rye, Steyning), in the comparative areas, and throughout England.⁴¹ Although conversion to a cruciform plan has been suggested as a frequent fate of pre-Conquest minster churches, it appears to be only evident in Sussex at Petworth and Steyning.⁴² Such conversion also took place in the comparative areas at churches like

³⁷ Parsons, 'Herefordshire', p.64.

³⁸ V.C.H. 2, p.122; D.B., p.431; above, pp.118-9.

³⁹ Taylor, pp.544-5, 976, 986.

⁴⁰ Franklin, 'Minsters', pp.69-88.

⁴¹ Clapham, *After*, pp.18-50; Bond, pp.138-19; T. Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury', pp.110-1.

⁴² Sh.O4; Plans,22; Guides,23. Burpham church (Fig. 9) is also of interest because although there are no later claims to minster status, it is 500 m from Peppering where four hides appear to have been granted in 705 x (716 x ?) (Kelly, pp.29-35) for the founding of a church. The Bishop of Chichester was receiving rent from 4 hides at Peppering as late as 1508 x 36 and 221 acres at Little Peppering Farm belonged to the prebend of Highleigh (*Chl. Chart.* 801; CapII/36/4). An Overlap three-square church was enlarged to a cruciform plan in the twelfth century (Plans 72, Guides 26). At one time it appears to have belonged to Sées but the most likely

Fownhope in Herefordshire and Amesbury in Wiltshire.⁴³ The common thread in most of these cases is acquisition by religious houses in the late eleventh or early twelfth century combined with significant (often pre-Conquest) endowments. Apart from Burpham, the other two twelfth-century churches in lay hands that became cruciform (at North Stoke and East Dean) were very small. The favoured form of high-status lay churches seems to have been the axial tower, although it is also associated with a prebend at Rottingdean, a collegiate church at Kingston Buci and the Templars at Shipley.⁴⁴ The first two churches were originally of one or two cells and were enlarged in the twelfth century.⁴⁵

Within the study area, Stedham was also a rebuilding of a post-Conquest church of unknown plan (sh.O7) and it is possible that at West Dean (sh.K7) there was at least a square chamber between chancel and nave. In all there were 11 axial tower churches in Sussex (Table 8). The type is widespread in England and is common in Normandy, but with a localised distribution in the lower Seine Valley and along the coast.⁴⁶ There are eleventh-century examples such as the Virville and the first phase of Thaon, but it became much more frequent in the twelfth century.⁴⁷ The three-cell plan is also reproduced in minor churches without towers in Herefordshire such as Kilpeck and Moccas, although this type was found in Normandy well before the Conquest as at Notre-Dame Esquay.⁴⁸

At first sight axial tower churches appear to be a Norman import, but the plan also appears in Anglo-Saxon churches in Northamptonshire such as St. Bartholomew, Greens Norton.⁴⁹ A pre-Conquest three-compartment church may underlie Oundle church, while the three-compartment churches of Norfolk are of uncertain date.⁵⁰ Even in these areas however, axial tower plans are predominantly twelfth-century. Ultimately, their purpose can only be guessed at. In the Anglo-Saxon period the importance given to the crossing in major churches and to the altar in sources like *De Abbatibus* suggests that a central compartment, with or without a tower, would have been the position for the high altar. The third compartment may have served as a sacristy or perhaps housed relics or other altars.⁵¹ It may even be that the lord stood by the altar in this position, which would explain St. Anselm's remarks quoted above.⁵²

source of the cruciform plan is that it reflects the pretensions of the Aguillon family which subsequently gave the church to the bishop (*Chi. Chart.* 663,203; L. F. Salzman, 'The family of Aguillon', *S.A.C.* 79 (1938), pp.45-60).

⁴³ R.C.H.M.E., *Herefordshire* 1, p.80; R.C.H.M.E., *Wiltshire*, pp.103-6.

⁴⁴ Godfrey, 'Axial', pp.142-6.

⁴⁵ Godalming in Surrey is a similar example of this conversion (Taylor, pp.258-60).

⁴⁶ Musset, *Basse*, pp.11-2; Musset, *Haute*, p.17.

⁴⁷ Rupricht-Robert, pp.101-2.

⁴⁸ R.C.H.M.E., *Herefordshire* 1, pp.156,190; Clapham, *After*, pp.102-4; Rupricht-Robert, pl. lix.

⁴⁹ R.C.H.M.E. unpublished.

⁵⁰ Above, p.25.

⁵¹ Fernie, pp.112-126; H.M. Taylor, 'The position of the altar in early Anglo-Saxon churches', *Ant. J.* 53 (1973), pp.52-8.

⁵² Above, p.29, fn.113. Davidson, thesis, p.195 notes that there were many late post-Conquest instances of the laity being present in the chancel

There remains the possibility that by the twelfth-century, at least, towers, regardless of their position, were simply expressions of status, since in the same period in Normandy there are localised distributions of west towers, towers to the south of the nave and towers over porches.⁵³ The most notable feature of the study area is that, at most, two churches were developed on the axial tower plan and only Petworth was cruciform, with East Dean and Oving becoming so in the thirteenth century. As with other changes, the study area was largely passed by after the early twelfth century.

TABLE 8: Axial Tower Churches in Sussex

CHURCH	HIDAGE	
	TRE	TRW
Broadwater	29	?
East Blatchington	-	
Hastings		Collegiate church
Horsted Keynes	? (no geld)	4
Ifold	77½	77½
Kingston Buci	21	21?
Lancing	16	?
Playden	4	4
Rottingdean	2	2
Shipley	-	-
Stedham	14	14

Turriform churches and early post-Conquest towers

Turriform churches are found in the rest of Sussex but have not been identified in the comparative areas (Table 9). Singleton appears to have been a post-Conquest secular building converted to use as a church.⁵⁴ This could have been a more widespread feature. For instance, the tower at Bexhill had open sides at ground floor level, and the Anglo-Saxon minster probably lay to the west of the present site.⁵⁵ The central tower of the church of Hastings College may also have been of this form.⁵⁶ It seems likely that the turriform church at Midhurst within the bailey of the de Bohun's castle (which dates from no earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century) was a church from the start (sh.O3). However, its form is

⁵³ Rupricht-Robert, pp.96-104; Musset, *Basse*, pp.11-2; Musset, *Haute*, pp.16-18.

⁵⁴ Above, pp.71-2.

⁵⁵ J.E. Ray, 'The church of St Peter and Paul, Bexhill', *S.A.C.* 53 (1910), pp.65-8. Ray considered that the nave preceded the tower, but this appears to have been because it contained herringbone work and because he was unfamiliar with turriform churches. For the early church at Bexhill see Faith, *Lordship*, pp.30-2.

⁵⁶ Taylor, 'Chapels', pp.144-51; A recent review of work on the castle site at Hastings by David Martin (Sussex Archaeology Society Spring Symposium 2000) concluded that the pre-Conquest origin is still uncertain.

unsuitable for parochial use and it seems most likely to have been a private chapel replacing the one within the castle on St. Ann's Hill above, only later taking a parochial role as the borough of Midhurst developed.⁵⁷

In the absence of evidence for defensive early post-Conquest sites it might be thought that turriform churches, or at least towers attached to churches, would have had a defensive function, similar to the eleventh-century church at Morland in Cumbria.⁵⁸ Selsey tower, may have had such a purpose but although it was used as a bell tower in the late Middle Ages, there is no evidence that it was ever used as a church.⁵⁹ The turriform church at Newhaven, overlooking the harbour and almost identical in design and location to the church at Yanville in the lower Seine Valley, and the western tower built on the earlier church at Wisborough Green overlooking the upper Arun Valley may have been defensive. Yet neither is really designed for this purpose in the Cumbrian style, although they make admirable look outs and displays of status.⁶⁰ East Dean (in East Sussex) could have been defensive, but the number of ground floor openings and the integral apse make this unlikely.⁶¹

TABLE 9: Turriform Churches and Early West Towers

	Internal Dimensions in m	Wall Thickness	References
Possible pre-Conquest tower			
Old Shoreham	4.9 x 4.7	900 mm	Appendix 6
Secular towers converted to churches			
Singleton	5.33 x 5.18	790 mm	Sh.O5; above, pp.71-2.
Bexhill	5.5 x 4.5	1.05 m	Above, p.172; Appendix 6.
Turriform churches			
East Dean	3.55 x 3.50	935 mm	Fisher, pp.101-3.
Midhurst	5.265 x 3.34	900 mm	Sh.O3.
Newhaven	6.0 x 5.85	1.5 m	Lower, 'Newhaven', pp.89-101, Plans, 12.
Watchtower			
Selsey	4.2 x 4.2	3.0	Aldsworth, 'The Mound', pp.217-21.
Square west towers			
Beckley	4.4 x 4.2	1.5	Appendix 6
Bishopstone	4.5 x 3.3	1.2	Appendix 6
Guestling	3.0 x 2.7	1.2	Appendix 6
Sompting	4.35 x 4.00	900 mm	Appendix 6
Wisborough Green	6.6 x 8.77	1.2	Appendix 6
Round west towers			
Southease	2.7 m diameter	825 mm	Fisher, pp. 182-6, Plans 44, Guides,6, V.C.H. 7, p.73.
Piddinghoe	3 m diameter	c. 900 mm	V.C.H. 7, p.68; Guides,19.
St. Michael, Lewes			V.C.H. 7; Plans,63.

⁵⁷ V.C.H. 4, pp.74-7.

⁵⁸ Taylor, pp.446-8; C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: a Study of British Provincial Origins* (1996), pp.95-6.

⁵⁹ Aldsworth, 'The Mound', pp.217-21.

⁶⁰ M. A. Lower, 'Notes on the churches of Newhaven and Denton, S.A.C. 9 (1887), pp.89-101; Guides, 10.

⁶¹ Fisher, pp.101-3.

Large early post-Conquest west towers in a distinctive style without buttresses and with small offsets at each stage are found at Guestling, Bishopstone and Beckley. The late eleventh or early twelfth-century round tower churches in the lower Ouse valley form the most distinctive group of this type outside East Anglia (Table 9). They were, however, integral with the naves and, in some cases later than them. They were also unsuited for defence, and it seems most likely that they reflect the status of lords, being generally sited on large estates, although Davidson argues that west towers slightly later in the Middle Ages were baptisteries.⁶²

Churches as an expression of post-Conquest change

Within the study area and across Sussex as a whole there was not a major shift in the balance between ecclesiastical and lay estate after the Conquest, except at Bexhill.⁶³ The form and location of churches expresses the differences evident in the late pre-Conquest period. On church land and elsewhere in large areas of dispersed settlement, three-square churches were built as simple functional structures for pastoral care as they were in towns at Chichester, Battle and Lewes. The small lay estates, with their two-cell churches, many perhaps initially serving only the lord and his household, were crammed into the poorer and over-exploited areas following the pattern T.R.E. Only at the large demesne estates of the lords of the rapes or their major tenants was a variety of forms found, including cruciform, turriform, axial tower and Anglo-Saxon survival. This variety is also characteristic of eleventh-century Normandy, but there was no large-scale rebuilding in the high Romanesque style as there was there and in some parts of England.

Despite the scale of early post-Conquest church building in Sussex in general and the study area in particular, a distinctive Overlap style, failed to emerge.⁶⁴ This implies that there was neither a pre-Conquest tradition nor one brought in by the Norman minor lords. These could well have been drawn from the Montgomery lands on the margins of Lower Normandy where eleventh-century churches were equally unsophisticated.⁶⁵ There were certainly skilled masons at Chichester and Lewes from the 1070s onwards, and at Boxgrove, and elsewhere from the early twelfth century, but it was at least 50 years before the cathedral masons carried out work for outlying churches.⁶⁶ The inept copies of features of major churches to be seen at Botolphs and Sompting are probably more typical of Sussex as a whole than competent work at churches like Clayton. Only at Bosham and Stoughton was there late eleventh-century or early twelfth-century work of distinction and the masons here may well have been brought into the county by the Bishop of Exeter (sh.O2). Moreover, it might be expected that Boxgrove would have had at least some of the features of the full Benedictine style of its parent house at Lessay,

⁶² Davidson, thesis, pp.251-63

⁶³ Gardiner, 'Hastings', pp.39-48.

⁶⁴ Baldwin Brown, pp.385-98.

⁶⁵ Above, p.69.

⁶⁶ Above, pp.59-60.

but it does not.⁶⁷ The doorways and chancel arches of the minor churches reflect the ambition of minor lords but probably also their poverty and isolation.

Norman Lords, Colleges and Pastoral Care

Gifts to monasteries in Normandy

Benedictine Abbeys in Normandy acquired land and churches in Sussex before the Conquest to a greater extent than in any other part of England. Fécamp was given *Rameslie* and Brede by Cnut. From King Edward it received Eastbourne, property on the Pevensey Levels, land in Hastings and, probably, Steyning.⁶⁸ In the period immediately following the Conquest, Earl Roger gave land to Sées, Troarn, St. Evroult and Almenêches. His major tenants like Roger fitz Tetbald also made donations. There were similar gifts by the lords of the other rapes favouring Norman monasteries with family ties: Bramber to St. Florent de Samur, Pevensey to Grestain and Mortain, Lewes to Cluny and Hastings to Tréport.⁶⁹

There has been much debate on the purpose of these grants and it is clear that in the great majority of cases there was no intention of forming cells.⁷⁰ The Sussex donations provided an income which could be managed much more easily than in inland counties. A monk could step onto a boat on the quayside at Fécamp and step off again at Steyning the following day and this may be one of the reasons why Earl Roger gave to his family foundations in Normandy rather than establishing major new houses, as he did in Shropshire.⁷¹ There is no evidence of gifts to the see, which was poorer in 1086 than 1066, having been deprived of Bexhill. In the period 1066 – 1100 no new monasteries were founded but colleges played a significant role, whether as revival of Anglo-Saxon institutions or new foundations.

Colleges

Some Norman *collégiales* like Fécamp and Troarn became monasteries, but the abbey at Fécamp was content to maintain a college at Steyning until the thirteenth century (Table 10). In the eleventh century, when the founding family's role was particularly important, there may not have been a conflict between the two institutions.⁷² It is hardly surprising that the Normans favoured colleges in areas like Sussex where in 1066 there was no episcopal authority and no regular houses. Colleges at Bramber and Hastings, established in 1073 and 1090 respectively are well documented, with the latter acquiring several of the dependent

⁶⁷ L. Fleming, 'Lessay Abbey, mother house of Boxgrove Priory', *S.A.C.* 97 (1959), pp.111-29.

⁶⁸ Matthew, *Norman*, pp.19-21.

⁶⁹ Cownie, 'Patronage', pp.112-3.

⁷⁰ Matthew, *Norman*, pp.42-4.

⁷¹ Mason, 'Officers', pp.224-57; M. Gardiner, 'Shipping and trade between England and the continent during the eleventh century', *A-N.S.* 22 (1999), pp.74-83.

⁷² Musset, 'Clerics', pp.5-38; *V.C.H.* 2, pp.117-9.

churches of the episcopal minster of Bexhill.⁷³ Bosham, Pagham, South Malling, probably Aldingbourne and perhaps Amberley, are likely to have been survivals from the Anglo-Saxon period.⁷⁴ Steyning and Eastbourne may have been pre-Conquest royal colleges since it seems unlikely that they were established by Fécamp, and cases have been made in chapters 6 and 9 for the post-Conquest origin of Arundel and Boxgrove.⁷⁵ Each rape had its 'college by the castle gates' with the exception of the Cluniac foundation at Lewes. Several of the colleges did not last long. Pagham, Aldingbourne and Eastbourne had probably disappeared by the end of the eleventh century and the college at Arundel became a priory in 1164 (Table 10). Bramber was replaced by the priory of Sele only eight years after its foundation and in 1151 it was intended to replace the canons of Hastings with monks, but this came to nothing.⁷⁶ The Anglo-Saxon colleges appear to have survived with their pre-Conquest endowments, and Hastings and the short-lived college of Pevensey received in part the pre-Conquest endowments of Bexhill and Eastbourne respectively.

TABLE 10: Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Colleges in Sussex

	First record	Last record
Arundel	D.B.	1164 (Above, pp.94-6)
Bosham	1123 (possibly 681)	1548, V.C.H.2, pp.111-2; H.E., p.372)
Boxgrove	D.B.	1105, <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4.
Amberley	D.B.	D.B.
Aldingbourne	D.B.	D.B.
Pagham	C10. S.230	D.B.
Bramber	1073 (C.D.F. 409)	1090, V.C.H.6.1, p.212.
Steyning	1185 (<i>Acta</i> , 190)	1290, V.C.H.2, p.122.
South Malling	D.B.	1547, V.C.H.2, p.118.
Eastbourne/Pevensey	D.B.	? ¹
Hastings/Bexhill	1090 ²	1547, V.C.H.2, p.117. ²
St. Peter, Chichester?	Wm of Malmesbury	1075

¹ Gardiner and Whittick, pp.216-2.
² Gardiner, *Hastings*, pp.39-48.

There is no reason to doubt that the Anglo-Saxon colleges had a pastoral role in the accepted manner, although there is no direct evidence for it. But what was their role of colleges after the Conquest, apart from meeting the spiritual needs of the lord and providing sinecures? It is likely that they provided some form of literate administration, at least for the lords of the rape.⁷⁷ They may also have provided estate management for Fécamp and Sées, although by the thirteenth century these abbeys had ballivates at Warminghurst and Atherington respectively,

⁷³ C.D.F., 396-9; *Chi. Chart.* 945; Gardiner, 'Hastings', pp.43-6, which also discusses the unsubstantiated claim that Hastings was founded by Edward the Confessor.

⁷⁴ Above, pp.120-8, 118-9; V.C.H.2, pp.117-9; above, pp.118-9.

⁷⁵ Denton, pp.71-78; Matthew, *Norman*, pp.19-21; Gardiner and Whittick, pp.261-2.

⁷⁶ C.D.F. 396-7; C.D.F. 81; V.C.H. 2, p.113.

⁷⁷ Mason, 'Officers', pp.224-57.

and there was a bailiff at Fishbourne on Sées's lands.⁷⁸ Did they also provide pastoral care? There was a parochial altar at Bosham and the four-square churches at Rogate, Walberton and North Mundham, which may have belonged to Arundel College, seem likely to have had a parochial function.⁷⁹ If, as suggested above, many churches were newly established shortly after the Conquest, there would have been a shortage of priests, perhaps coupled with a reluctance of impoverished minor lords to maintain a household priest. Similarly, the establishment of many short-lived colleges in Lower Normandy may have been related to the same need to provide compliant priests in a newly colonised land. There is thus the ironical possibility of Norman lords reviving the essential feature of Anglo-Saxon minsters.

Manorial churches and monastic possession

Before and after the Conquest there were a few priests who were men of substance like Edmer who held Herstmonceux T.R.E. and Richoard the priest who held several churches in Lewes in 1091 x 8.⁸⁰ However, a shortage of priests and perhaps increasing expectation for churches to fulfil a parochial role may have been one of the causes of the widespread gifts of churches to Lewes Priory that had begun by the 1090s in eastern Sussex.⁸¹ At its peak it held about a fifth of the churches in the county and 21% within the study area.

The monks provided a chaplain and received the balance of the revenue, although what was being granted, other than a right to the income, is obscure.⁸² There were many advowson disputes, and the Petworth group of churches granted c. 1120 was still held in 1194 x 1204 but reverted to lay control later in the thirteenth century.⁸³ The need to secure the services of priests locally may have lain behind the gift of Tangmere church on the Archbishop of Canterbury's Pagham estates to Lewes before 1120 and the substantial gifts of church scot from the same source.⁸⁴ In reality, the monks were often reluctant to fulfil their obligations. It took a protracted dispute in the time of Bishop Greenford (1174-80) to obtain vicarages for Boxgrove's churches and in western Sussex many of the Lewes Priory churches remained rectories.⁸⁵

The poverty and lack of development of many manorial churches in the late Middle Ages may have their roots in the period 1070 – 1120. In contrast to churches belonging to the bishop and chapter, the endowments of churches on lay lands in the study area were small. There may

⁷⁸ V.C.H. 2, pp.120,124.

⁷⁹ Above, pp.94-5,122,128-9,140.

⁸⁰ D.B., p.396; *Lewes Chart.* 1, p.14.

⁸¹ Clark, thesis, Appendix 1.

⁸² B.R. Kemp, 'Monastic possession of parish churches in England in the twelfth century'. *J.E.H.* 31 (1980), pp.133-60.

⁸³ Clarke, thesis, pp.76,117-8,76; *Acta*, 117.

⁸⁴ Above, pp.127-8.

⁸⁵ *Acta*, 58, pp.57-61.

well have been a difference between early endowments of churches and later ones made when the full effects of the canon law reforms had been felt. Thus the early grants in the rapes of Pevensey and Lewes to Lewes Priory were generally endowments of one virgate. In several cases no land or appurtenances are mentioned, and the only other category is one hide, as at Clayton and Ditching where a case can be made for an early high-status church.⁸⁶ Later in the century, even a minor church like Egdean had an endowment of 36 acres.⁸⁷ Another consequence of the enforcement of the canon law reforms seems to have been a lack of interest of lords of the manor in what were now fully parochial churches, and thus the rise of manorial chapels.⁸⁸ For example, Diding appears to have been endowed so that the lord of the manor could obtain episcopal consent for a chapel within his manor house at Dumpford.⁸⁹ The many descriptions of dilapidated chancels that fill visitation books from the sixteenth century onwards are surely the culmination of this process.

Ecclesiastical estates and their churches after the Conquest

The period c. 1070-1120 saw substantial church building on ecclesiastical lands within the study area, and early re-organisation of the estates is evident from the freeing of slaves (Fig. 17).⁹⁰ However, there was no change in the balance between ecclesiastical and lay estates and there was little institutional change after the mid-twelfth century. At Bosham the endowment was reorganised in 1123 and remained the same throughout the Middle Ages with dependent churches only acquiring parochial rights in the fifteenth century.⁹¹ The colleges at South Malling and Hastings showed a similar lack of change.⁹² There was some reorganisation of the Pagham estate under Lanfranc, but in the thirteenth-century custumals it appears as a collection of semi-independent manors and there is no evidence of a hierarchy of churches until the fourteenth century.⁹³ In order to establish prebends, the bishop and chapter made the best use that they could of an endowment that does not appear to have been significantly increased since the beginning of the ninth century.⁹⁴

⁸⁶ *Lewes Chart* 1, pp.10-20. Ditchling was an Alfred's Will site and the centre of an ungelded 46 hide manor T.R.E. (D.B., p.436). There is no documentary evidence for Clayton's early status and the standing fabric is probably post-Conquest, but there may have been an earlier building with *porticus* and the outstanding quality of the eleventh-century wall paintings implies early importance (Park, 'Lewes', pp.200-35).

⁸⁷ Above, p.91.

⁸⁸ G.W.O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Century Canon Law*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications 9 (1956), pp.3-8; Hase, 'Wessex', pp.69-73; Blair, *Surrey*, pp.154-7.

⁸⁹ *Chi. Chart.*, 334.

⁹⁰ It is as likely that they were freed in order to obtain a greater income from rents as from Christian principles; above, p.140, fn.86.

⁹¹ Above, pp.120-4.

⁹² *V.C.H.* 2, pp.112-8.

⁹³ Above, pp.125-8.

⁹⁴ Above, pp.116-9.

Survival of Pre-Conquest Features and Post-Conquest Change

The framework within which the ecclesiastical organisation of the study area developed after the Conquest had been set well before 1066. Some fundamental aspects did not change. The balance between church and lay estates remained the same. The integrity of early estates and *parochiae* at Bosham, Pagham and Wittering and more recent ones at Petworth and Chichester was largely unaffected. Probable late pre-Conquest additions to Bosham were removed, and the lay estates continued to comprise a small number of large demesne manors on the better sites and a much larger group of small manors crammed into poorer land at their edges.

The freedom of Norman lords to grant away tithes, churches and church scot may have reflected similar freedoms enjoyed by their Anglo-Saxon predecessors. The probable absence of churches except at a small number of high-status sites was the cause of a period of construction in c. 1070-1120 in which differences in pastoral provision are reflected in the type of church. The great majority of church rights and dues appear to have originated in the same period, which also saw the flourishing of secular colleges of pre- and post-Conquest origin. In the post-Conquest period, at least, one of the principal purposes of the colleges was to enhance the status of lords and their favoured clergy. They may also have had a pastoral role which began to be superseded by monastic possession of parish churches from c. 1120 onwards and which may be a reflection of the shortage of priests acceptable to Norman lords.

Within the study area, the period of church building also saw economic expansion at Chichester and the importance of its harbours for access to Normandy. But prosperity did not last long. The high Romanesque style is hardly present, in contrast to the coastal churches such as New Shoreham further east, where the lower Adur seem to have become the focus of economic activity.⁹⁵ Anglo-Saxon church forms survived because there was no impetus (or wealth) to replace them and many of the Overlap churches did not receive significant additions until the almost universal rebuilding of chancels in the thirteenth century. Axial tower and cruciform plans, which elsewhere express status on large lay estates, are rare, and in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas several churches were untaxed due to poverty.⁹⁶ Decline continued in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the merging of parishes such as Chithurst and Iping and the disappearance of churches at East Itchenor, Almodington, Lordington and elsewhere. Although this picture of a brief period of prosperity and expansion and a long period of decline is repeated in many places, the particular features of the study area are the brevity of the period and the way that it fitted with a framework set in the Anglo-Saxon period.

⁹⁵ S. Woodcock, 'The building history of St. Mary de Haura, New Shoreham', *J.B.A.A.* 45 (1992), pp.89-103.

⁹⁶ T.P.N., pp.334-5.

12: CONCLUSIONS

The overall aim of this thesis has been to contribute to the debate on the nature of minster churches, their pastoral provision and the effects of the Norman Conquest through a local study. It has three main aspects. First has been the testing of different categories of evidence, particularly the form, chronology, setting and endowment of churches and the significance of post-Conquest rights and dues. Second, has been the identification of the local characteristics of church and lordship in western Sussex in the period from the conversion to c. 1200. This has included the contrast between the Downs, coastal plain and Weald, the nature and chronology of estates, *parochiae* and manorialisation and the area's response to outside influences, most notably conquest by the West Saxons and the Normans. Third has been to set the conclusions reached from the first two aspects within a wider regional context and national debate. This chapter sets out the conclusions reached on these topics.

Churches and their setting as Evidence of Ecclesiastical Organisation

Using the principles of analysis developed by Taylor and others it is suggested that the great majority of Sussex Overlap churches were built after the Conquest, which was the view of Baldwin Brown who originated the term: much analysis since this time has been based on misunderstandings and circular arguments.¹ If churches like Botolphs which have features previously described as Anglo-Saxon but which are much more likely to be very poor copies of post-Conquest Romanesque are discarded, only 11 standing Sussex churches appear to be pre-Conquest in contrast to approximately 74 which have Overlap characteristics.² The latter were built in the period c. 1070 – c. 1120. Where they can be dated more precisely they fall within the period c. 1070 – c. 1090, perhaps indicating greatest activity immediately after the Conquest. Four principal types of church can be identified: two-cell 'manorial'; three-square; four-square and longer; and varied plans including pre-Conquest ones. Many apparently later Sussex churches may have been rebuilt on footprints of these types.³ This classification has been possible largely because of the extensive survival of early fabric and the lack of major rebuilding after the thirteenth century. However, comparison with R.C.H.M.E. and other studies shows that the middle two categories were probably much more widespread nationally than appears to be the case from the literature.

The analysis demonstrates the lack of any local style. The poor quality of the few examples of Anglo-Saxon work indicate that there was probably no major indigenous tradition of church building, and a competently-built church like Woolbeding, for instance probably followed a

¹ Baldwin Brown, pp. 377-85.

² Above, pp. 149-50, 165.

³ E.g. Chichester, St. Andrew sh.B2.

Hampshire model.⁴ This, combined with the absence of a 'great rebuilding' in the mid-twelfth century, as there may have been in places like Herefordshire and Worcestershire, plus excavation evidence, probably indicates that many of these Sussex churches were the first stone buildings in their sites, although the landscape may have been alive with timber oratories, cult sites and crosses. The form that these churches took thus represents not only the intentions of the Norman lords and churchmen, but also the pattern at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period. Within the study area, there is a distinction between two-cell churches, with robust but crude marks of status in the form of doorways and chancel arches on the small manors which had been formed by 1066, and the longer, centrally-sited, plain, three-square churches of the ecclesiastical estates, large Wealden parishes and Chichester. The latter seem very like an attempt at pastoral provision where there had been none before, although their liturgical use, perhaps with partitioned east ends, as appears to have been the case at East Shefford in Berkshire, may have been the same.⁵ Four-square and longer churches may have been built before the Conquest, with at least two being associated with minster sites, but there is more compelling evidence for association with collegiate churches and alien monastic houses after the Conquest. Direct physical evidence for pre-Conquest minsters is confined to Bosham, but may be represented elsewhere by post-Conquest buildings in Anglo-Saxon style at Stoughton, and plans characteristic of high-status churches at Warblington. The variety (although not the form) of high-status early post-Conquest churches across Sussex is typical of Normandy in the same period.

A classification of the earliest forms of all churches within a study area thus seems to be an effective basis for analysing patterns of development. Where there is a sufficient body of accurate dated church plans, as is emerging in Kent, some similar trends can be observed.⁶ The evidence of topography and endowments is inevitably less precise, although the majority of churches identified as probably being of high status in the pre-Conquest lie within some form of distinctive enclosure. Other features identified include probable secular enclosures, as at Stedham and Singleton, and possible early burial grounds next to medieval ones, as at Chithurst. But there is no clear hierarchy of enclosures or very distinctive types such as those found in western Britain. Similarly, there is a correlation between large endowments and minsters (or at least high-status pre-Conquest churches) but endowments of individual churches appear to have been substantially modified between 1086 and 1341, perhaps at the time of Bishop Hilary (1147-69) and associated with the implementation of the canon law

⁴ Above, p.146.

⁵ Dr J Blair notes that a screen at East Shefford is implied by the position of the wall paintings, although Davidson, thesis, p.191 states that timber screens are unknown before the mid-thirteenth century

⁶ T. Tatton-Brown, 'New survey of Kent churches', *Church Archaeology* 1 (1997), pp.47-8.

reforms.⁷ As with other studies of minster churches, these forms of evidence can be used cumulatively for individual sites but they lack the certainty provided by the churches themselves.

The Evidence of Rights and Dues

These have proved of limited use. After the Conquest, tithes and church scot were freely granted to abbeys in Normandy and to Lewes Priory. They sometimes gave rise to pensions, which could be interpreted as the rights of one church in another, were the full story not known. Moreover, the lengthy tithe disputes often resulted in a compromise regardless of the original grant, and a church or religious house might receive a pension which had no basis in an ancient relationship.⁸ Church scot had become a secular due, so that, for example, the Domesday Book reference to it at Iping is to revenue due to the king from a royal manor.⁹ The evidence of chrism, Peter's Pence and mortuary is too sparse to allow generalisation, although it appears that a superior church's rights of burial were an issue only where a fee of significant value was available and that even very minor churches had their own burial grounds from early times.¹⁰ There is far more evidence of chapels, but the distinction between *capella* and *ecclesia* is unclear and may have changed over time. For example, the *capellae* within the Pagham estate are not identified as such until the fourteenth century and appear to disguise a more complex earlier arrangement.¹¹

Several studies identifying minster *parochiae* have been based on the assumption that they were originally sharply defined and that their fragmentation is partially and intermittently recorded in the surviving evidence of rights and dues.¹² But it is also possible that in some cases the rights and dues may have been ill defined from the beginning. Some churches in a geographical area or estate may have owed dues to a mother church and some not; some may have had varying degrees of independence as may have been the case at Pagham and Singleton/Dene.¹³ These relationships may then have been rationalised by post-Conquest ecclesiastical administrators. This is not to deny that the minsters concerned had *parochiae* or that rights and dues that cannot now be traced were in place in the Anglo-Saxon period, but it makes establishing pre-Conquest relationships difficult and neat maps of jurisdiction misleading.

⁷ Other mid-twelfth-century changes that may have been part of this process include the confirmation by the bishop of grants of churches and the acquisition by the cathedral of its own precinct within Chichester (Above, p.105).

⁸ E.g. Harting, above, p.129.

⁹ Above, pp.100-1.

¹⁰ Above, p.99.

¹¹ Above, p.124,129-32.

¹² E.g. Bassett, 'Landscape', pp.47-73.

¹³ Above, pp.124-8.

Churches, Estates and the Sussex Landscape

Contrasting landscapes

Overlap churches at Fernhurst, Milland and elsewhere indicate that by the eleventh century the western Weald within the study area was not just an area of seasonal settlement. Indeed it is possible, using Everitt's terminology, to see much of the area as a landscape of continuity inset with landscapes of colonisation at the northern edge of the Weald, on the Downland hilltops and the coastal wetlands.¹⁴ The Rother Valley made the study area different from the Sussex east of the Arun, where dominance from the edge, riverine estates and 'archipelago' estates similar to Kent appear to have been the norm.¹⁵ With its short-distance transhumance links, compact estates and possible division into two *regiones* it is much more like western Surrey (suggested as the original core of the county), the *regiones* of Berkshire and larger versions of the *regiones* proposed for Hampshire (Fig. 2).¹⁶ Although these distinctions seem as likely to have the result of the distribution of natural resources as cultural, there has not been the work on medieval settlement and society with western Sussex to allow such a comparison to be made.

There were, however, deep-seated distinctions between coastal plain, Downs and the Rother Valley/Weald. On the coastal plain there were medium-size estates with their *capita* on tidal inlets or coastal rifes, with boundaries defined by watercourses and extensive surrounding commons on marsh and heath. Outliers such as Bosham's manor of Buckfold in the Weald may be later acquisitions. Within the Downs, estates of perhaps similar date were defined by ridge lines. The principal settlements were in the valley bottoms, and there is likely to have been an earlier phase when settlements were at hilltop sites like Up Marden. Here, too, there is limited evidence for Wealden outliers and the estate pattern is similar to that found in the Hampshire Downs. Within the Weald, royal estates with centres in the Rother Valley extended from the scarp foot to the county boundary with a complex pattern of outliers a short distance away. The mosaic of parishes and outliers may reflect small ancient units, perhaps based on the hide, which were amalgamated to form large estates and subsequently re-emerged within the small estates which became parishes.¹⁷

Parochiae cannot be shown to be co-extensive with estates and appear to have been smaller (Fig. 45). While it is always possible that this reflects the survival of evidence, it may be that in the absence of any central ecclesiastical or lay authority they were always ill-defined and small,

¹⁴ Everitt, *Continuity*, pp.1-5.

¹⁵ E.g. Copley, 'Stane St.', pp.98-104.

¹⁶ J. Blair, 'Frithwold's kingdom and the origins of Surrey' in *Origins*, pp.97-107; Hase, 'Hampshire', p.43.

¹⁷ Above, pp.145-7.

petering out from the frequent estate centres to seasonally inhabited commons and wastes which ultimately became the foci for manorialisation.

Church and authority

The unstructured pattern of estates and *parochiae* and the survival of early features like the *-ingas* names indicate that the ecclesiastical, territorial and political structures evident in the heartlands of kingdoms like Kent, Mercia and Wessex did not emerge. From the 660s Sussex was under alternate Mercian and West Saxon control and was exploited by the West Saxon kings, nobles and bishops from at least the ninth century onwards. Further disruption came with the rise of the Godwine family in the eleventh century and their seizure of church lands. It is possible that the first phase of West Saxon domination in the seventh century saw the establishment of coastal minsters associated with royal centres, extending the Hampshire pattern around the whole of Southampton Water, but there is little evidence that this was extended inland.¹⁸ The second phase saw the establishment of Chichester as a modest fortified town and perhaps St. Peter's minster, which may have been a rival to the see. There is, however, no evidence in Sussex of a hierarchy such as the sub-minsters proposed for Kent and Surrey and there were not many hundredal minsters.¹⁹ Indeed, the relationships between hundreds, estates, royal centres and Domesday Book hidations remains obscure. Estates like Bosham and Petworth comprising 100 or 50 hide units can be identified, but these are probably made up of smaller, older building blocks. The pattern of estates and the royal centres largely ignored the hundreds. There is not a direct relationship between *parochiae*/estates, pre-hundredal units and hundreds as proposed for parts of the midlands, and the best evidence for systematic pre-Conquest hidation relates to individual major landholders not the hundreds.²⁰ The overall impression is that the West Saxons took sufficient measures for the defence of Sussex but there was no wholesale reorganisation of its pattern of small estates and frequent estate centres.

Post-Conquest Change

Lay domination of the Church in Sussex continued after the Conquest. At first, the many newly built two-cell churches may have only served the lord and his household. Land, tithes and churches were given to Norman monasteries and the pre-Conquest colleges were supplemented by new ones under the control of the lord. Several of them were short-lived, some were converted to monastic cells and others disappeared completely. They served as chantries and perhaps administrative centres but in an area with few churches in 1066 and without French-speaking priests amenable to the new lord they may also have had a pastoral role which began to be superseded by Lewes Priory's possession of parish churches from c.

¹⁸ Above, p.156.

¹⁹ Blair, *Surrey*, pp.113; Everitt, *Continuity*, pp.196-204.

²⁰ Above, p.156.

1120. The post-Conquest Church therefore saw rapid change, but institutionally this was superficial.

The endowment of the see was not increased and the bishop and chapter made the best use that they could of an estate that had probably been the same since the beginning of the ninth century. During the twelfth century in western Sussex Boxgrove and Lewes Priory become the principal objective of pious gifts, but there were only a few significant ones to the cathedral. The church lands around Chichester, on the Aldingbourne estate and in and around the Manhood Peninsula and Selsey Islands were re-ordered to form prebends and episcopal manors. The events of 1070 – 1120 thus gave physical expression to the Anglo-Saxon pattern.

The National Debate

The main contribution of this thesis to the national debate in the Anglo-Saxon and early Norman church is to illustrate the extent of local variation. A backward area like western Sussex does not appear to have developed the ecclesiastical, administrative and territorial structures evident in the heartlands of Mercia, Wessex and Kent, and to study areas like Sussex on the basis of models derived from these areas could well be misleading. It is also apparent that many of the rights and dues between individual churches, which might give neatly-defined *parochiae*, arose after the Conquest, often in the period 1066 – c. 1120, and it may be that modern critical editions of the documents of this period will help establish a clearer pattern.²¹ Similarly, the establishment of reliable earliest plans for all the churches in an area, may help define the nature of the late Anglo-Saxon church, even if, as here, it is reflected in the pattern of post-Conquest building.

Other general issues can only be touched upon within the evidence available. Manorialisation certainly appears to have arisen in some instances by the fragmentation of estates, as in the strip parishes, but this may have been a reversion to small early units from which the estate was assembled. On the other hand many manors were formed on the marginal land between estates and the extent to which these ever lay within a well-defined estate or *parochia* is open to question. The churches of these small manors point to the late development of the parish as an institution, but the early post-Conquest provision of larger churches in the ecclesiastical estates may indicate that the process was underway there in the eleventh century. The principal theme of local variation thus emerges again. Not only was the Church in western Sussex substantially different from adjacent areas, but there were probably significant differences within it, reflected in the nature of local or parish communities well into the twelfth century and expressed physically in the form of the churches.

²¹ M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (1999), pp.64-5.

APPENDIX 1: Transhumance Links in Western Sussex

The following list has been gleaned from Brandon, thesis, published sources and manorial documents, but it is undoubtedly incomplete. Only a few are in pre-Conquest or medieval sources.

PARENT MANOR	OUTLYING LANDS	First Record	REFERENCE
Amberley	Ashfold, Wisborough Green and Coldwaltham	C14	<i>Lewes Chart.</i> 1, pp. 42-63; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Bassett's Fee	Kirdford	C17	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77.
Bedham	Kirdford	C17	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77
Byworth and Warningcamp	Kirdford	C17	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77.
Bignor	Kirdford.	1334 x 5	P.R.O. C134/376 Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Bosham	Buckfold.	C17	Smythe, 'Bosham'.
Broadwater	Nuthurst and Thackenhurst	C17	J.R. Daniel-Tyssen, ed., <i>The Parliamentary Surveys of the County of Sussex</i> (1818), p.215; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Bury	Wisborough Green	1770	B.L.Add.Ms.5701f.150; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
	Arundel/Charlton Forests	1326 x 5	P.R.O. C134/103/1, C133/104; B.L. Add.Ms.5701f.143; Brandon, thesis, p.33.
Chithurst	Trotton		Gardiner, 'Weald', p.79.
Clayton	Twineham and Rusper	C17	E.S.R.O. S.A.T. N71; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Cocking	Fernhurst	C12	<i>Reading Chart.</i> ; Gardiner, 'Weald', p.79.
Coldwaltham	Kidford/Wisborough Green	C13	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.78.
Compton	Stansted Forest	1302 x 4	P.R.O. C133/104; B.L.Add.Ms5689f.96; Brandon, thesis, p.33.
Dene	Singelwicos, Easebourne? + 4 others	pre-Conquest	Kelly, 4
Didling	Fernhurst	1773	W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.241; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Eartham	Arundel/Charlton Forests	1326 x 7	P.R.O. C134/103/1; C133/104; B.L.Add.Ms.5701f.143; Brandon, thesis, p.33.
East Dean	Trotton		Gardiner, 'Weald', p.79.
Felpham	Egdean and Kirdford	963	Kelly, <i>Ch. of Shaftsbury</i> , 17.
Ferring	Billingshurst and West Chiltington	C14	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , pp.71-8.

PARENT MANOR	OUTLYING LANDS	First Record	REFERENCE
Graffham	Fernhurst	1610	W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.248; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Heyshott	Fernhurst	C12	<i>Reading Chart.</i> ; Gardiner, 'Weald', p.79.
Houghton	Kirdford/Wisborough Green	C13	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.78.
Kingston Buci	Shermanbury	1361 x 5	P.R.O.C135/158; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Lyminster	Kirdford	C17	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77.
Marden	Stansted Forest	1302 x 4	P.R.O. C133/104; B.L.Add.Ms.5689f.96; Brandon, thesis, p.33.
Midhurst	Fernhurst	1773	W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.241; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Pagham	Plaistow	C17	Parliamentary surveys. See p.126.
Petworth	Kirdford	C17	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77.
Pollingham	Kirdford	C17	Gardiner, 'Weald', p.77.
Rogate	Harting	C17	B.L.Add.Ms.28529; Gardiner, 'Weald', p.79.
Singleton	Arundel/Charlton Forest	1326 x 7	P.R.O. C134/103/1; C133/104; B.L.Add.Ms. 5701f.143; Brandon thesis, p.33.
Slindon	Kirdford	c. 1650	W.S.R.O. Slindon Ms1083/1/152.
Sompting	Rusper and Horsham	1549 x 50	B.L.Add.Ms.5686f.107; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
South Stoke	Wisborough Green and Fittleworth	c. 1650	W.S.R.O. Slindon Ms1083/1/152.
Storrington	Billinghurst	1799	W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.561; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Strettington	Arundel/Charlton Forest	1326 x 7	P.R.O. C134/103/1; C133/104; B.L.Add.Ms. 5701f.143; Brandon, thesis, p.33.
Sullington	<i>Billinghurst and Itchingfield</i>	1555 x 8	W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.246; Brandon, thesis, pp.325-6.
Tangmere	<i>Meos dunos</i>	pre-Conquest	S.230.
Treyford	Trotton		Gardiner, 'Weald', p.79.
Trotton	Fernhurst	1610	W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.248; Brandon, thesis, pp.235-6.
Washington	Horsham	pre-Conquest	S.525.
Westbourne	Stansted Forest	1302 x 4	P.R.O. C135/104; B.L.Add.Ms.5689f.96; Brandon, thesis, p.33.
West Tarring	Horsham and Shipley	C13	<i>Cant. Cust.</i> , p.27.
Woodmancote	Arundel/Charlton Forests	1326 x 7	P.R.O. C134/103/1; C133/104; B.L.Add.Ms. 5701f.143; Brandon, thesis, p.33.
Hampshire			
Steep	Ambersham	963	S.718.

APPENDIX 2: Sources Used for the Development of Churches

Plans

Most churches have plans prepared by W.H. Godfrey or W.D. Peckham for the V.C.H. or *S.N.Q.* (Appendix 7). These have been used with minor amendments in most cases. Fortunately, where they are not available, good nineteenth-century plans prepared by restorers, usually are. Only in a few cases has a new plan been drawn.

Documentary evidence

Bishops' copies of faculties are W.S.R.O. EpI/40. Parish copies are catalogued in the series Par. Faculties were also recorded in the Detection Books (EpI/17), indexed in EpI/88/3 but apart from a few enlargements of graveyards they are duplicated in EpI/40. They have been archived with architects' reports, specifications, drawings, bills and correspondence and have been the principal documentary source used.

Archdeacons' records are principally visitation books (EpI/26 and published as *Visitations*) containing only incidental information about the details of the fabric.

Parish registers, vestry minutes and churchwardens accounts sometimes mention repairs to the church, but since major work was covered by faculties, it was decided that the information gained by a comprehensive study of these sources would not justify the large amount of time involved. However, in some cases vestry minutes have been calendared or published and these have been used where appropriate.

Church restorers' and other contemporary accounts are to be found in *S.A.C.*, *The Ecclesiologist*, *Gentelman's Magazine* and in unpublished accounts under parish records at W.S.R.O. Additional information is contained in the working papers of O.H. Leeny, E.H. Dunkin (working papers at Sussex Archaeological Society Library plus notes on Sussex churches in B.L.Add.Mss.39364-5,8), W.D. Peckham and L. Fleming (both at W.S.R.O.) and the Burrell collection (B.L.Add.Mss.3699). Sir Stephen Glynne's notes are less complete in West Sussex than elsewhere, but nevertheless are of use.¹

Post-war records such as quinquennial inspections and faculties granted since 1960 have been inspected at the Diocesan Registry.

¹ Anon, 'Sir Stephen Glynne's description of Sussex churches', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp. 158-160; V. J. Torr, 'Glynne on Sussex churches', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.53-62; Glynne notebooks 29, 55, 101-3.

The S.M.R. contains no information on churches which is not obtainable elsewhere and has not been cited. However, the N.M.R. has useful photographs of the 1950's particularly of churches which have been demolished or rebuilt.

Illustrations

There are three major collections: Grimm and Lambert's sketches and drawings of the 1770s to 90s in the Burrell Collection, the Sharpe collection of watercolours of c. 1805 by Petrie and J.F.'s sketches of 1795.²

Grimm and Lambert illustrated about 20% of the churches, but Petrie and J. F. painted and drew almost all. Petrie tended to exaggerate the size and proportions of churches and occasionally to leave out inconvenient details. J.F. was a poorer artist but seems to have tried to reproduce what he saw faithfully, and has been used as the principal source.

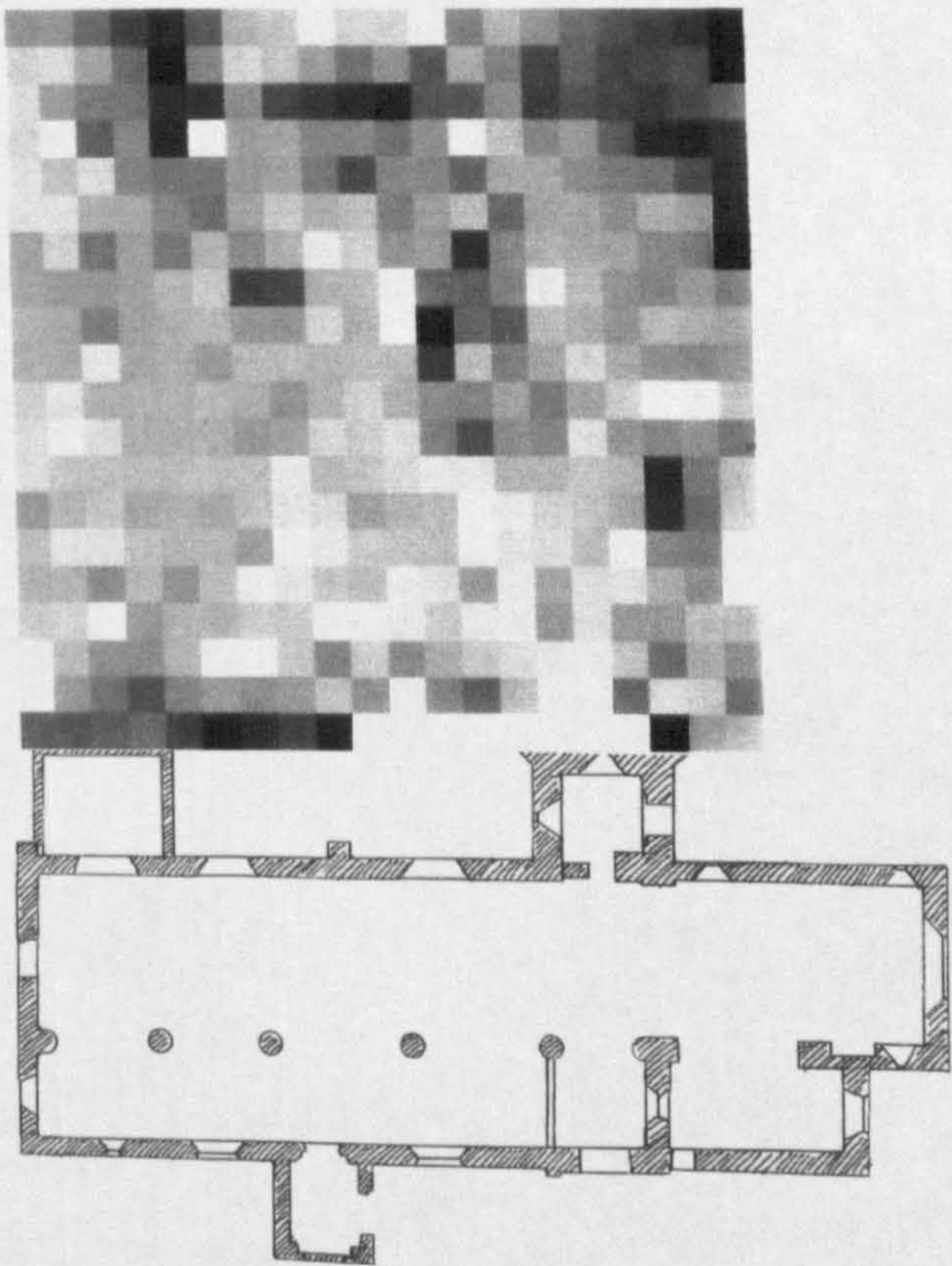
² W.H. Godfrey and L.F. Salzman, eds, *Sussex Views Selected from the Burrell Collections* S.R.S. 50 (1951) gives a selection. The complete collection is B.L.Add.Mss.5674-7. The originals of the Sharpe collection are held by the Sussex Archaeological Society at Michelham Priory. For J.F. see P.D. 2586; W. H. Godfrey, 'Sketches of Sussex churches', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), p. 94; W. H. Godfrey, 'Sketches of Sussex churches', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp. 76-7.

APPENDIX 3: Resistivity Survey Results

Resistivity surveys were carried out at five churches on 17 April and 17 June 2000 using a 1 x 1 m grid. Graves and hard surfaces prevented readings being taken at several points and these appear as blank areas on the plots. Other churches with demolished aisles or west ends were considered but could not be surveyed due to paving, density of graves, vaults, and other obstacles.

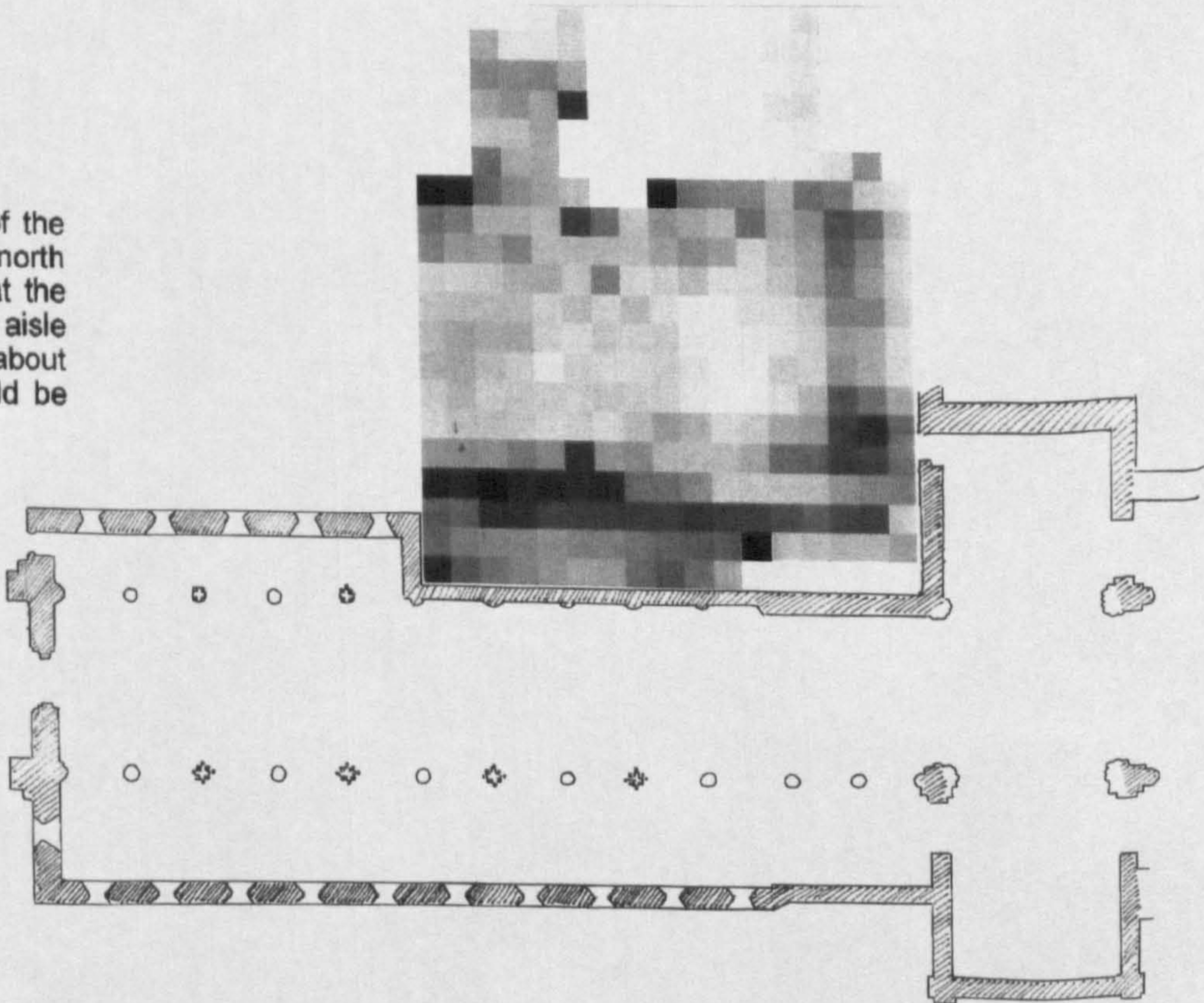
BOXGROVE

The objective was to see if there was any feature within the cloister which may have prevented the north aisle from being extended further east. The only feature discovered was the inner square of the cloister, which is shown in the V.C.H. plan.



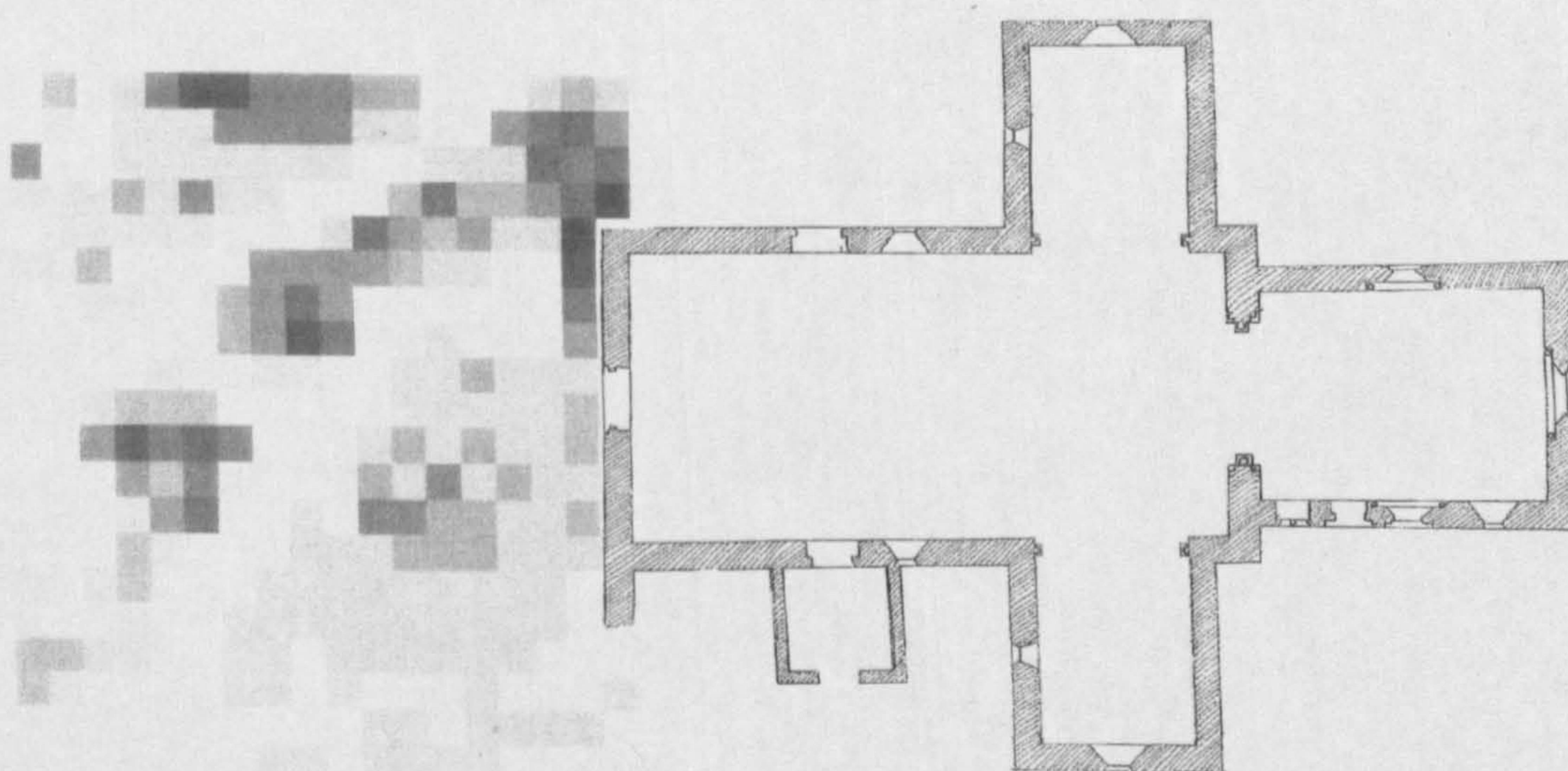
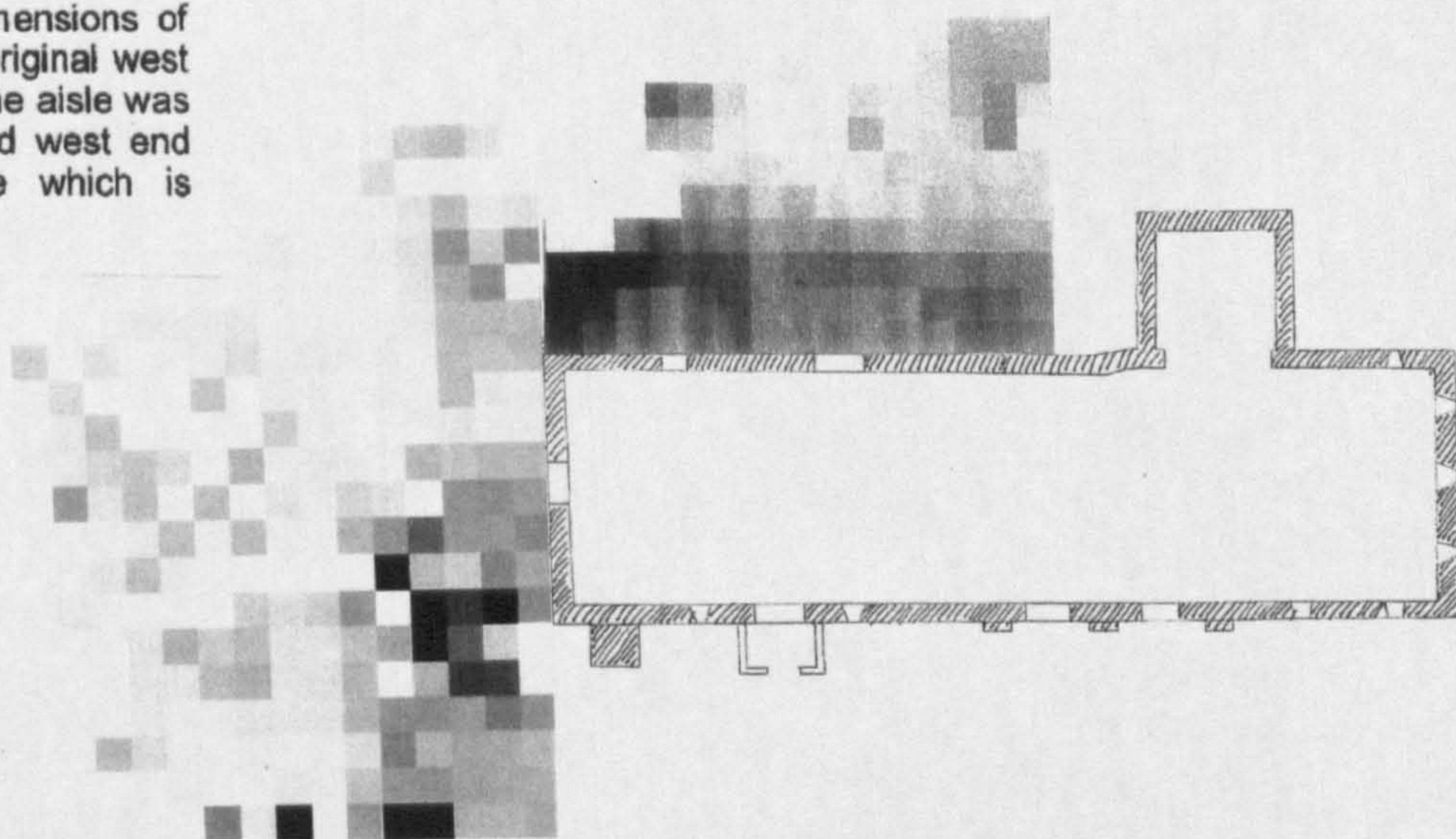
ALDINGBOURNE

The objective was to plot the dimensions of the north aisle/side chapels. Access up to the north wall was not possible, but it is possible that the high resistivity on the first row indicates an aisle about 3m wide. A feature is also present about 15m to the north of the church which could be related to an earlier building.

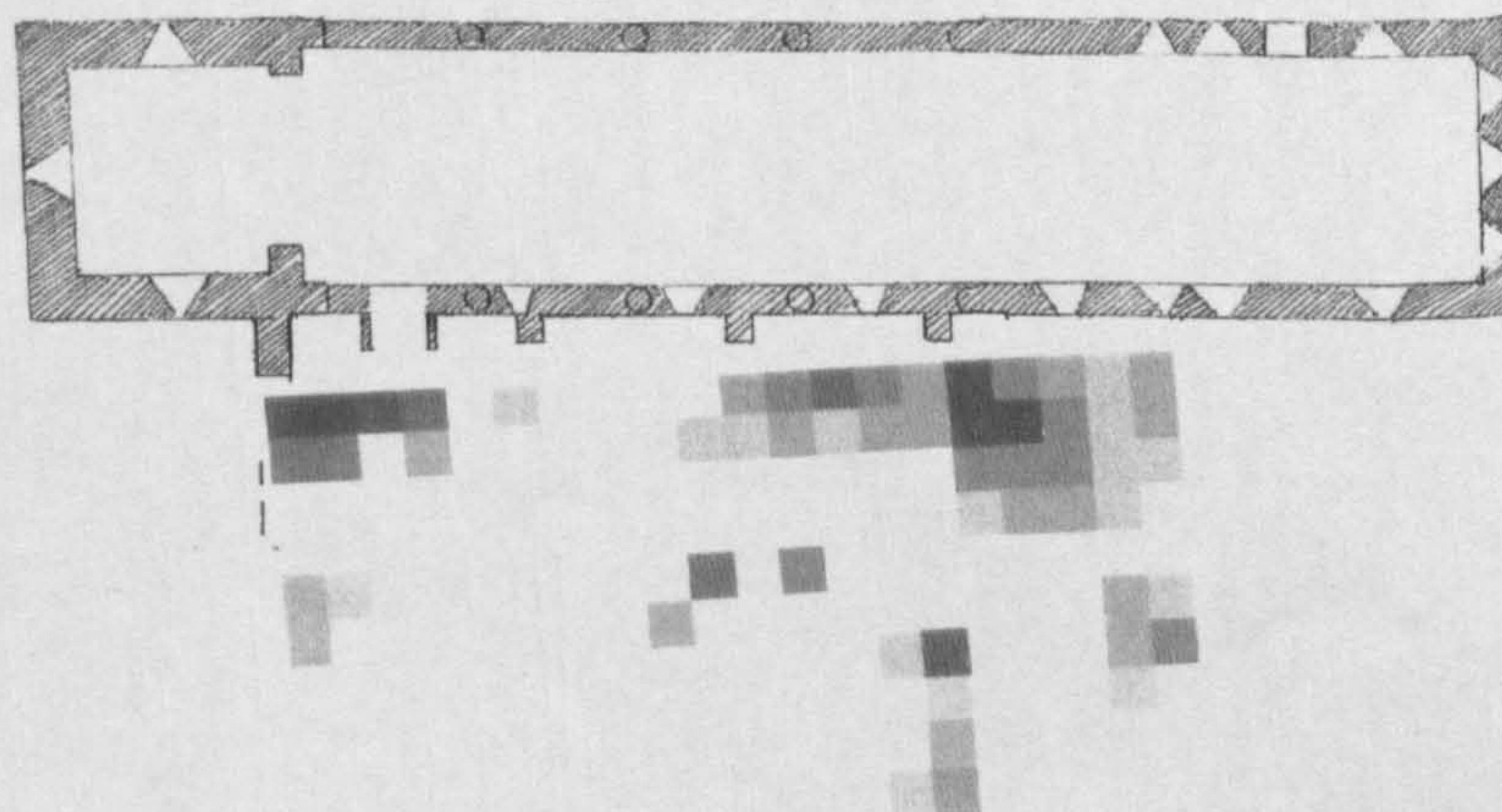
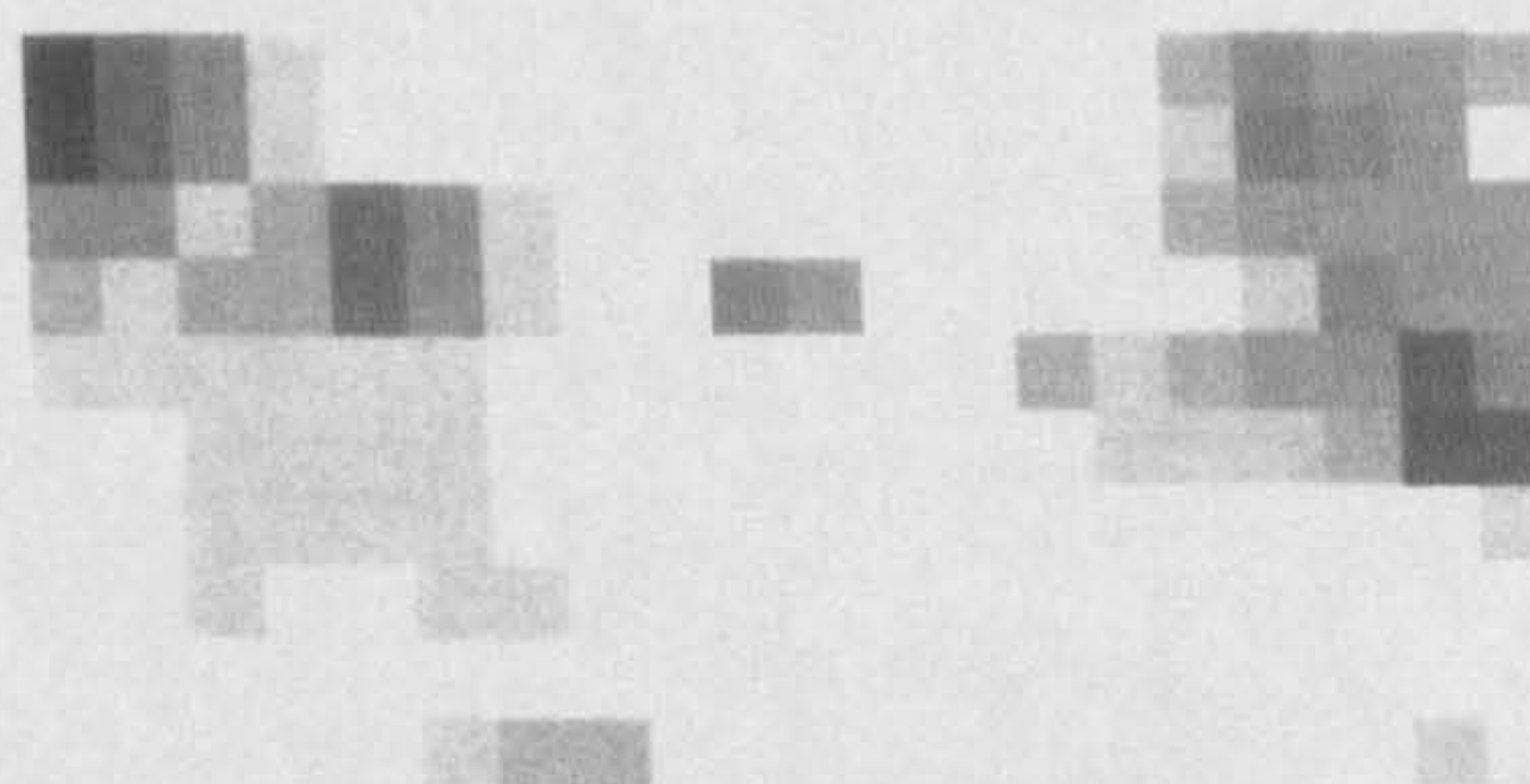


BARNHAM

The objective was to identify the dimensions of the aisle on the north side and the original west end. The plots appear to show that the aisle was about 2.5m wide and the demolished west end was 3m beyond the present one which is confirmed by documentary evidence.

**STOUGHTON**

The objective was to see if the west end, which has been rebuilt, was originally further west, giving a plan similar to Breamore or Dover. The high reading near the present west end is caused by a retaining wall and cremation urns. There are features extending north east/south west across the site, perhaps drains, but a western extension of the church cannot be identified.

**WEST THORNEY**

The objective was to check the dimensions of the exceptionally wide south aisle shown on the V.C.H. plan and to see if there was a corresponding north aisle. Only intermittent readings were possible, but they appear to indicate aisles corresponding roughly with the V.C.H. plan.

APPENDIX 4: Possible Minster Churches in Sussex Outside the Study Area

Church	Pre-Conquest	Domesday Book	Post-Conquest Evidence	Source
Amberley	-	<i>Clericus</i> and priest holding 5 hides.	Chapels of Houghton and Up Waltham (<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 42).	Blair 1, 2; Rushton.
Arlington		Ungelded	2 hides (<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 178). ¹	Rushton; Gardiner and Whittick.
Arundel		Ch. of St. Nicholas with tithes.	See pp.95-6.	Blair 1, 2; Gardiner 1, Rushton.
*Beddingham	Kelly, 14.	Held by priest T.R.E.	-	Gardiner 1, Rushton Combes.
Bexhill	S.108.	<i>Clerici</i> with land in <i>prebenda</i> .	Pensions from Ninfield and Hooe. Burial rights in Hastings parishes plus Ninfield and Hooe. (Gardiner, 'Hastings')	Blair 1; Gardiner, 'Hastings', Rushton.
Burpham/Pepperin g	Kelly, 5.	-	See pp.170, fn.42.	Rushton.
Bury	-	-	C.D.F., 81, Westburton chapel T.P.N., p.311.	Rushton.
Clayton	-	-	Keymer chapel, T.P.N., p.316.	Rushton.
*Eastbourne	Granted with endowment to Fécamp. (Matthew Norman, pp.20-1).	<i>Clericus</i> with 3 virgates. Hide at Horseye.	Unnamed chapel T.P.N., p.306.	Gardiner and Whittick; Blair 2; Gardiner 1; Rushton.
Ewhurst	-	-	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 945. ²	Rushton.
Ferring	Kelly, 9, 13.	-	Chapel at Preston and Kingston. East Angmering? (<i>Acta</i> 25, T.P.N., p.311. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> 174, 304).	Blair 1, Gardiner 1, Rushton.
Filsham	-	No geld. Priest with 1 virgate, church with 1 virgate.		Rushton.
Henfield	Kelly, 10	-		Gardiner 1, Rushton.
Herstmonceux	-	Manor held by Edmer, priest.		Rushton.
Horseye	-	<i>Clerici</i> one hide in common, T.R.E., TRW held of Eastbourne	Chapel in T.P.N. ³ and later (<i>Chi. Chart.</i> 1072, p.319).	Rushton, Gardiner and Whittick.
Lewes/Stanner	S.50	-		Rushton, Blair 2.
Lyminster		No geld.	Pensions from Bargham, Littlehampton, Climping, Rustington. Pallingham and Warning Camp attached. Possibly Codelaw and Ford. (C.D.F., p.170,	Blair 1, 2, Gardiner, Rushton.

Church	Pre-Conquest	Domesday Book	Post-Conquest Evidence	Source
			<i>Acta</i> , 71; <i>Chi. Chart.</i> pp.221-2).	
Nunminster	-	Held by Esmelt the priest.	-	Rushton.
Peasmarsh	-	-	Pensions from Northiam, Iden, Playden (<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.374).	Gardiner 1, Gardiner, 'Hastings', Rushton.
Pevensey	-	Priests holding 18 burgesses in borough.	Unnamed chapels (<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , p.62).	Denton, <i>Chapels</i> , pp.76-7; Rushton.
Poynings	-	No geld.	Pycombe daughter church (<i>Acta</i> , 120)?	Rushton.
*Pulborough	-	2 churches	?	Rushton.
Rye		5 churches	?	Rushton.
Selmeston		No geld for part. Church and a priest.	?	Rushton.
South Malling	S.1438	Canons holding 4 hides.	?	Blair 2, Gardiner 1, Rushton.
*Steyning	Blair, Cuthman	2 churches.	<i>C.D.F.</i> , 114, 119 (mortuary). Chapels at Warminghurst, Ashurst, Rights in Nuthurst, Slinfold, Sompting. (<i>T.P.N.</i> , p.308; <i>V.C.H.</i> 6.2, pp.58,81; <i>Chi. Chart.</i> 273; <i>Acta</i> , 139).	Blair 1, Denton, 'Chapels', pp. 71-5; Gardiner 1, Rushton.
West Tarring	S.77 (forgery)	<i>Semper fuit in monasterium</i> 2 churches.	Chapels at Heen, Durrington, Patching, (<i>V.C.H.</i> 6.1, pp.13,81,90, 277, <i>T.P.N.</i> , p.333. <i>Sele Chart.</i> , p.14).	Gardiner 1, Rushton.
Willingdon	-	No geld. Priest with virgate. Another priest with 1 hide and 1 virgate.	?	Rushton.

- Blair 1 Blair, 'Cuthman', Flg. 1.
 Blair 2 Blair, 'Secular minsters', pp.108-9.
 Combes P. Combes, 'Minsters, manors and *hams*: the problem of identifying the extent of estates recorded in early documentary sources', *Locus Focus* 2.1 (1998), pp.34-7.
 Gardiner 1 M. Gardiner, 'Late Saxon Sussex c. 650-1066' in *Atlas*, pp.30-1.
 Rushton Rushton, 'Parochialisation' and Rushton, 'Sussex'.
Sele Chart. L. F. Salzman, ed. *The Chartulary of the Priory of St. Peter at Sele* (1923).

* Royal *tun* or other royal centre.

¹ This is a mistaken attribution since the charter refers to land belonging to the chapelry of Pevensey in Arlington parish (*Acta* 26, 27) and Arlington church belonged to the chapel of Pevensey in 1154 X 63 (*Acta*, 31).

² This states that Bodiham had mortuary rights *in* Ewhurst.

³ This was surely not a minster since the Domesday Book hide belonged to Eastbourne.

APPENDIX 5: Twelfth Century or Earlier Features of Churches Within the Study Area

Church	Sh.n e.	Windows	Doorways	Quoin stones	Materials/ Construction	Walls	Chancel/ Tower arch	Arcade	Tower	Font
Aldingbourne	M1	Blocked in S. nave. Late C12 in south aisle (sh.2.6)	Romanesque heads west door (sh.1.7) South door late C12 (sh.1.6).	Large but variable	Quarr quoins, clunch, Caen, flint	Nave 750mm (2ft 6ins)		Early r-h arches + Boxgrove type arcade (sh.4.5)	? on older footprint. C12. two- storey porch	Pedestal + tub (Lidsey)
Apuldram	L1	Rem. of 2 Chithurst windows.			Flint, Caen dressing. Unidentified	Nave + chancel 660mm (2ft 3ins)		Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		Pedestal
Barnham	M2	2 Tangmere type in nave (sh.2.3)		Some large	Flint, sandstone, Pulborough stone. Caen and Bembridge inside	Nave + chancel 760mm (2ft 6ins)		Blocked late C12 (sh.4.2)		Pedestal
Bosham phase 1	O2	5 tower 1 chancel (sh.3.1)	Tower 1 st floor (sh.1.8) Chancel (sh.1.3)	Random megalithic	Roman, tufa, Bembridge, chalk, sandstone rubble	Nave south 865mm (2ft 10ins) Nave north 790mm (2ft)	Chancel: bases of Roman masonry (sh.3.2) Tower: Escomb jamb, Irregular head (sh.3.7)		Double and paired belfry (sh.2.9). Corbel table, plinth, string course.	
Bosham phase 2	O2	Refaced in tower (sh.2.1)	Upper tower (sh.1.8)	Random megalithic	Quarr, sandstone rubble Herringbone		Chancel: upper part similar to Stoughton (sh.3.2)		Corbel table, belfry	Pedestal
Boxgrove	K1	C12 monastic (sh.2.10)	C12 monastic	Small, regular stonework	Caen, flint			Boxgrove type (sh.4.5)		
Burton	D1		South straight through (sh.1.2)	Random megalithic	Sandstone ironstone Herringbone	Nave 660mm (2ft 3ins)				
Chithurst	C1	1 Chithurst window in S. chancel (sh.2.2)		Side- alternate	Sandstone Herringbone	Nave and chancel 660mm (2ft 2ins)	Chancel: Overlap style (sh.3.2)			
Chich. St. Martin	G1		Linchmere type (lost) (sh.1.4)							
Chich. St. Olave	G2		Linchmere type (sh.1.4)		Herringbone (lost)					
Chidham	L3			Some large	Flint, Caen, clunch	Nave 710mm (2ft 4ins) Chancel 760mm (2ft 6ins)				Tub
Cocking	C2	Chithurst type in nave (sh.2.2), 2 incomplete in chancel (sh.2.5)	Re-formed early door at west end	Random megalithic in tower	Sandstone, flint, clunch Herringbone	Nave 725mm (2ft 4.5 ins) Chancel 660mm (2ft 2ins)	Chancel: Cocking type (sh.3.4)			Tub
Coates	D2	1 Tangmere type (sh.2.3)			Sandstone	Nave 810mm (2ft 6ins)	Chancel: Cocking type (sh.3.4)			Pedestal
Compton	E1			Some large	Flint, Caen, Herringbone	Nave: 583mm (1ft 11ins)	Chancel: Re-used C12 imposts. Cocking type (sh.3.4)	Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		Tub
Didling	J2			Re-used large		Nave 660mm (2ft 2 ins)				
Easebourne	K2		Blocked Linchmere type	Random megalithic and side- alternate	Sandstone	S. nave, S. 610mm (2ft) S. nave, N. 710mm (2ft 4ins)		Late C12 octag. pier	Late C12	Pedestal
East Dean	F1				Flint, sandstone, clunch	760mm (2ft 6ins)		Blocked, pointed arches (sh.4.2)		
Eastergate	E4	1 Tangmere N. chancel (sh.2.3)		Some random megalithic	Flint, tufa, Roman Herringbone	750mm (2ft 6ins)				
Eartham	C4		Tympanum type (sh.1.5)	Some random megalithic	Caen, flint, sandstone Herringbone	Nave 775mm (2ft 7ins) Chancel 620mm (2ft 1in)	Chancel: Caenais constructi on (sh.3.6)	Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		

Church	Sh. n o.	Windows	Doorways	Quoin stones	Materials/ Construction	Walls	Chancel/ Tower arch	Arcade	Tower	Font
Elsted	E2		South door- exterior, Linchmere type (sh.1.4)	Random megalthic	Clunch Herringbone	Nave 710mm (2ft 4ins) Chancel 650mm (2ft 2ins)	Chancel: Overlap type (sh.3.3)	Similar to chancel arch (sh.4.1)		
Fernhurst	I2	2 Chithurst type (sh.2.2)	Lost. Poss. Linchmere type (sh.1.4)		Sandstone	Nave 485mm (1ft 9ins) Chancel 965mm (3ft 2ins)				Tub
Fishbourne	J5			Some random megalthic	Roman masonry + modern	760mm (2ft 6ins)				
Harting	L6			A few large	Sandstone and flint in older parts	Nave 735mm (2ft 5ins)		1 order pointed (sh.4.4)		
Hunston (demolished)	E3		Mid-Norman in S. aisle (sh.1.6)	Random megalthic					Very large stones in tower	
West Itchenor	B9		Carved heads on south doorway (sh.1.7)	A few large	Sandstone	750mm (2ft 6ins)				
Mid Lavant	E5	Chithurst in nave (sh.2.2)		'Old weathered' quoins preserved in restoration	Flint, sandstone	Nave 850mm (2ft 10.5 ins)		Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		
East Lavant	I1	Tangmere window in N. aisle (sh.2.3)	Mid-Norman west door (sh.1.6)		Flint, sandstone, clunch	Nave 890mm (2ft 11ins)		Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		
Linchmere	K3	2 Chithurst in nave (sh.2.2)	West door of Linchmere type (sh.1.4)	Random megalthic	Sandstone	Nave and chancel 685m (2ft 3ins)				
Lurgashall	K5	? rubble head	N, S nave doors of Linchmere type (sh.1.4)	Random megalthic and side- alternate	Sandstone, ironstone Herringbone	Nave 900mm (3ft)				
E. Marden	B5			Reused large	Sandstone	Nave 900mm (3ft)				
N. Marden	H3	Tangmere type in west gable (sh.2.3)	South door mid-Norman (sh.1.6)		Flint and sandstone	760mm (2ft 6ins)				
Up Marden	J6			Reused large	Sandstone and flint	900mm (3ft)				Tub
Midhurst Chapel	G4				?	?				
North Mundham	N1			A few large	Sandstone, Caen interior			Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		Tub
Oving	L7				Flint, Caen, Bembridge. Reused stones with chevrons	780mm (2ft 6ins)				
Pagham phase 1	M3				'Saxon' mortar, dressed stone	900mm (3ft)				
Pagham phase 2	M3		Quoin/jamb in chancel (sh.L6)	Large	Sandstone + above Herringbone	1m (3ft 3ins)				Pedestal
Petworth	O4	'Norman' lost	?		Sandstone	West wall n. transept 700mm (2ft 4ins). Nave 690mm (2ft 3ins). 780mm (2ft 6 ins)				
Racton	A8			Some large at west end, mainly modern	Flint with Quarr, Caen, sandstone, clunch	760mm (2ft 6ins)				
Rogate	M4		Linchmere in north chancel chapel (lost)		Sandstone			Round- headed ?early C12 (sh.4.3)		
Rumboldswyke	D4	Chithurst type (removed)	Round headed. N. wall (removed)	Side - alternate	Roman, flint, sandstone Herringbone	Nave 600m (2ft) Chancel 625mm (2ft 1in)				

Church	Sh.n e.	Windows	Doorways	Quoin stones	Materials/ Construction	Walls	Chancel/ Tower arch	Arcade	Tower	Font
Selham	D3	Blocked east window (sh.2.5)	N. door (sh.1.2)	Side - alternate	Roman, Caen, sandstone Herringbone	Nave 600mm (2ft) Chancel 535mm (1ft 9ins)	Chancel arch (sh.3.5)		Lost	
Singleton	O5	4 double- played in tower (sh.2.7)	Triangular in tower (sh.1.8)	Side- alternate	Roman Quarr, Bembridge flint	Tower 790mm (2ft 7ins) Nave 610mm (2ft)	Tower. Cocking type at jambs (sh.3.4)	Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		
Sidlesham	O6			Some large reused	?Sandstone, clunch, Caen on interior	Nave 790mm (2ft 7ins)				Pedestal
Slindon	F2	2 Tangmere type in nave (sh.2.3)		Some large reused	Flint, clunch, Caen, Bembridge, Pulborough	Nave 710mm (2ft 4ins)	? Chancel arch. Eartham type before rest'n	Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		
Stansted				Small stones re-used						
Stedham	O7	2 Chithurst in old church		Few large re- used	Sandstone, pre-Conquest grave markers	Chancel 585mm (1ft 11ins) Tower 915mm (3ft)				
Stoughton	O8	Late C12 chancel (sh.2.10) windows. 2 double- play (sh.2.6) in <i>porticus</i>	N & S doors of Linchmere type?	Side- alternate	Quarr, flint, Bembridge	Nave 615mm (2ft 8ins) Chancel 750mm (2ft 8ins) <i>Porticus</i> 675mm (2ft 3ins)	Chancel arch (sh.3.2) <i>Porticus</i> arches (sh.3.8)			Pedestal
Tangmere	C3	4 Tangmere windows in nave (sh.2.3)	Possible Linchmere west door, lost		Roman, Quarr, flint	750mm (2ft 6ins)				Tub
Terwick	C5	West end Tangmere type (sh.2.3)	West door Linchmere type (sh.1.4)	Random megalithic	Sandstone Herringbone	Nave 785mm (2ft 8ins) Chancel 800mm (2ft 7.5ins)	Chancel: Cocking type imposts (sh.3.1)			
West Thorney	M6	2 Tangmere type in chancel (sh.2.3)	Transitional in N. aisle	Small	Flint, clunch, Caen, sandstone Herringbone	Nave 645mm (2ft 4ins) Chancel 760mm (2ft 6ins)		Crude Apuldram type (sh.4.6)		Pedestal
Tillington	E7				Sandstone, flint	Nave 685mm (2ft 3ins) Chancel 735 (2ft 5ins)		Late C12? (sh.4.7)		
Treyford	A7		N. door Linchmere type (sh.1.4)		Clunch	Nave and Chancel 610mm (2ft)		N. chapel added		
Warblington	O9		Tower doorways (sh.1.8)	Some large	Roman, flint, sandstone, Bembridge	Tower 685mm (2ft 3ins) Nave 620mm (2ft 1in) Chancel 710mm (2ft 4ins)		Apuldram (sh.4.6) Warblington (sh.4.7)		
Up Waltham	H2		Small frag. Of west door? Linchmere (sh.1.4)	Some large	Quarr, sandstone, flint, Caen	Nave and chancel 800mm (2ft 7ins)	Chancel: imposts of Cocking type (sh.3.4)			Tub
Walberton	M5	Blocked in nave		Some large	Roman flint, sandstone, Quarr	Nave and chancel 760mm (2ft 6ins)		Early C12 (sh.4.1)		Tub
W. Dean	K7	Lost round- headed	North and south (sh.1.2)	Some large	Sandstone and flint	Nave 640mm (2ft 2ins)			C18 rebuilt ? an old footprint.	
West Stoke	E10	Lost round- headed over chancel arch	W. door (sh.1.2)	Random megalithic	Roman, flint, Quarr Herringbone	Nave 790mm (2ft 7ins) Chancel 710mm (2ft 4ins)				

APPENDIX 6: Anglo-Saxon and Overlap Churches in Sussex Outside the Study Area

Church	Plan	Windows	Doorway & Arches	Quoins	Materials	Sculpture	Principal References
Arlington	Two-cell	Rubble-double-splayed		Face alternate/long and short	Flint and rubble		Baldwin Brown, p.442; Fisher, pp.30-2; Johnston 'Churches'; Jessep, pp.25-6; Plans, 36; Poole, pp.43-5; Taylor, p.29; C. E. Powell, 'Notes on Arlington Church, Sussex', S.A.C. 38 (1897), pp.184-8.
Bexhill	Tower + later nave					Grave slab	Johnston, 'Ford'; Jessep pp.25-6; Poole, p.58-62; J.E. Ray, 'The church of St. Peter and Paul, Bexhill', S.A.C. 63 (1910), pp.61-6; Tweddle, pp.22-3.
Bignor	Two-cell		Chancel arch N + S doorways	Face alternate	Sandstone		Fisher, pp.10-1; Jessep, pp.47-8; Johnston, 'Churches'; Johnston, 'Ford'; Poole, pp.58-63; Guides 41.
Bishopstone	Two-cell with porticus	?		Very large side-alternate	Flint, Caen, sandstone	Sundial	Baldwin Brown, p.444; W. H. Figg, 'On Bishopstone church, with some general remarks on the churches of East Sussex', S.A.C. 2 (1849), pp.272-84; Fisher, pp.41-9; W. H. Godfrey, 'The parish church of St. Andrew, Bishopstone', S.A.C. 87 (1948), pp.164-83; Guides 9; E.D.C. Jackson and E.G.M. Fletcher, 'Porch and porticus in Saxon churches', J.B.A.A. 19 (1956), pp.1-13; Jessep, pp.26-7; Poole, pp.43-4; Taylor, pp.71-73; Tweddle, pp.124-5; O. H. Leeny, 'The church of Bishopstone, Sussex', <i>The Antiquary</i> 47 (1911), pp.369-74.
Bolney	Two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay	S doorway, chancel arch		Sandstone		Baldwin Brown, p.444; J. Dale, 'Notice of the south doorway at the church of Bolney', S.A.C. 10 (1858), pp.59-62; Fisher, pp.49-56; Jessep, p.8; Johnston, 'Churches'; Johnston, 'Ford'; Taylor, p.79; V.C.H. 7, pp.39-40.
Botolphs (Annington)	Three square + chancel	Monolithic, single-splay	Chancel arch	Large, side-alternate	Flint + sandstone		Baldwin Brown, p.445; Fisher, pp.61-7; Jessep, pp.48-9; Plans, 15; C. Johnston, 'Churches'; Poole, p.43-5; Taylor, pp.84-5; Winterbotham, pp.78-9.
Buncton	Two-cell		Chancel arch, N & S doorways		Flint + sandstone		M. J. Bloxham, 'Buncton chapel', S.A.C. 38 (1892), pp.203-5; Fisher, pp.67-70; Johnston, 'Churches'.
Burpham →	Three square to cruciform	Monolithic single-splay	N doorway		Flint and ?		Plans 72; Fisher, pp.70-1; Jessep, p.57; Johnston, 'Churches'; Johnston, 'Ford'; Poole, pp.58-69; Guides 26
Clayton	Two-cell with two porticus/chapels		Chancel arch N doorway	Large, side-alternate	Flint + sandstone.		Baldwin Brown, pp.448-9; Fisher, pp.82-86; R.D.H. Gem, 'Lewes Group', pp.236-7; Johnston, 'Churches'; P.M. Johnston, 'Clayton church', J.B.A.A. 23 (1917), pp.154-7; R. R. Milner Gulland, 'The problem of the early Sussex frescoes', <i>Southern History</i> (1984), pp.35-6 Plans, 13; Poole, pp.43-5; Taylor, pp.159-60; Winterbotham, pp.64-77.
Coombes	Long two-cell		Archways, chancel arch, N + S doorways		Flint + ? sandstone		Fisher, pp.93-8; Poole, p.43-5; Guides 36, Plans 93.

Church	Plan	Windows	Doorway & Arches	Quoins	Materials	Sculpture	Principal References
Eastdean	Tower	Monolithic, single-splay	W doorway		Flint + ? sandstone		Fisher, pp.101-3; Jessep, p.58; Johnston, 'Churches'. Baldwin Brown, p.456.
Exceat	Two-cell with apse						W. Budgen, 'Exceat and its parish church, S.A.C. 68 (1916), pp.138-70.
Fletching	Tower						Johnston, 'Ford'; Poole, pp.51-3.
Ford	Two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay		Small, side alternate	Caen, Roman brick and tile	Carved stone	Baldwin Brown, p.436; Fisher, pp.111-7; Jessep, pp.30-2; Johnston, 'Churches', Johnston, 'Ford and its church', S.A.C. 43 (1900), pp.105-57; P.M. Johnston, 'Ford and its church: addenda and corrigenda', S.A.C. 44 (1901), pp.306-8; Poole, p.61.
Friston	Two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay	N and S doorway	Side- alternate			Baldwin Brown, p.456; Fisher, pp.117-9; Jessep, p.51-2; Plans, 6.
Felpham	Two-cell			? nave walls			Johnston, 'Churches'.
Ferring	Two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay					Jessep, p.58; Johnston, 'Churches'.
Findon	Three-square		W doorway				J. Holmes, 'A Saxon church at Findon', S.A.C. 125 (1987), pp.77-91; Poole, pp.53-4; Plans, 27.
Fittleworth	Tower						Jessep, p.58; Johnston, 'Churches'.
Guestling	Two-cell + tower	Monolithic, single-splay in tower					Fisher, pp.119-22; Johnston, 'Churches'; Poole, p.73; V.C.H. 9, pp.182-3.
Hangleton	Two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay		'Upright + flat'	Herringbone		Baldwin Brown, p.456; C. E. Clayton, 'Hangleton and its history', S.A.C. 34 (1886), pp.167-84; Fisher, pp.122-4; Jessep, p.58; Johnston, 'Churches', V.C.H. 7, p.261.
Hardham	Two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay	S doorway, chancel arch	Side-alternate	Herringbone		Fisher, pp.124-130; Jessep, pp.52-3; Johnston, 'Churches', P.M. Johnston, 'Hardham church and its early paintings', <i>Arch. J.</i> 88 (1901), pp.62-92.
Horsted Keynes	Cruciform		Doorway (moved), chancel arch				Fisher, pp.130-2; Johnston, 'Churches'.
Icklesham	Two-cell				Foundations at E end		Johnston, 'Ford'; G. M. Livett, 'Three East Sussex churches: Battle, Peasmarsh, Icklesham, a study of their architectural history: part III Icklesham', S.A.C. 48 (1905), pp.39-40.
Jevington	Tower	Belfry openings	Tower arch. W doorway (lower pt.)	Side- alternate, upright + flat	Herringbone, Roman brick	Crucifix	Baldwin Brown, pp.461-2; Fisher, p.132-4; Jessep, p.32; Poole, pp.43-5; Taylor, pp.349-40; Tweddle, pp.191-2.
Kingston Bucl	One/two-cell + axial tower	Single splayed		Side- alternate	Flint + sandstone		Fisher, pp.134-6; Godfrey, 'Axial', pp.112-3; F. Grayling, 'Kingston Bucl church', S.A.C. 61 (1920), pp.53-60; Guides 34; Poole, pp.53-4.
Kingston-by-Sea				Side- alternate			Johnston, 'Churches'.
Kirdford	Two-cell			N wall nave			Johnston, 'Churches'; 'Plans', p.87; Guides, 12.
Lewes St. John-sub-Castro	Two-cell		Doorway		Herringbone		Fisher, pp.136-9; Baldwin Brown, p.465; Jessep, p.33; Johnston, 'Churches'; P.M. Johnston, 'The church of St. John sub-Castro', <i>J.B.A.A.</i> 23 (1917), pp.61-2; Plans, 61; Poole, pp.43-5; V.C.H. 7, pp.37-8.
Lyminster	Large three square +		Chancel arch, S doorway	Side- alternate	Flint + sandstone		Baldwin Brown, p.456; Fisher, pp.140-9; Jessep, pp.53-4; Johnston,

Church	Plan	Windows	Doorway & Arches	Quoins	Materials	Sculpture	Principal References
	three square choir						'Churches'; P.M. Johnston, 'The church of Lymminster and the chapel of Warning Camp; S.A.C. 46 (1903), pp.195-230; Poole, pp.43-8; Taylor, pp.409-11.
Northiam	Two-cell with tower			? Lower stage of tower			Jessep, p.58; Johnston, 'Churches'.
North Stoke	Two-cell	Single splay windows		Side alternate	Flint + ?		Fisher, pp.149-150; Plans, 95; Poole, pp.51-3.
Old Shoreham	Two-cell with tower	Gable-headed window	N doorway	Side alternate			Baldwin Brown, p.478; Fisher, pp.151-6; W. E. Godfrey, 'Old Shoreham church', <i>Arch. J.</i> 116 (1959), p.245; Jessep, pp.34-5; P.M. Johnston, 'Old Shoreham church', <i>J.B.A.A.</i> 22 (1917), p.173; J. M. Neale, 'An account of the late restoration of the church of old Shoreham, Sussex: <i>Cambridge Camden Society</i> no 1 (1839-41), pp.28-34; Poole, pp.43-5; F.S.W. Simpson, <i>The Churches of St. Nicholas Old Shoreham and St. Mary de Haura New Shoreham</i> (1958); Taylor, pp.594-5.
Ovingdean	Two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay	N doorway, chancel arch	Slab- alternate	Flint + sandstone		Baldwin Brown, p.456; Fisher, pp.156-161; Jessep, p.54-5; Johnston, 'Churches'; Johnston, 'Ford'; Poole, pp.71-2; V.C.H. 7, pp.231-2.
Patcham	Two-cell		N doorway, chancel arch				Fisher, pp.162-3.
Poling	Single-cell	Rubble, double-splayed			Flint, Caen, Quarr		Baldwin Brown, p.476; Fisher, pp.163-6; Guides, 35; P.M. Johnston, 'Poling and the Knights Hospitaller: part 1, the village and church', <i>S.A.C.</i> 60 (1919), pp.67-91; Poole, pp.43-8; Taylor, pp.496-7.
Rottingdean	Four square? + chancel, axial tower		Doorway	Side- alternate	Flint + sandstone		Baldwin Brown, p.456; Fisher, pp.166-7; Godfrey, 'Axial', pp.113-4; Jessep, p.59; V.C.H. 7, pp.236-7.
Slaugham	Three square		N Doorway		Sandstone		W. A. Dengate, <i>Slaugham: a Parish in Sussex</i> (1829), pp.45-61; Fisher, pp.174-175; Jessep, p.56; V.C.H. 7, pp.184-6.
Sompting	Single cell, nave + tower	Belfrey openings, double-splayed window with dressed stone	Chancel arch, tower arch	Long + short	Pilaster strips. Caen, Quarr, Binsted, sandstone, flint, Purbeck, Kentish rag.	Remains of screen	Alsworth, 'Sompting', pp.105-44; Fisher, pp.175-182; Guides 16; R. D. H. Gem, 'The early Romanesque tower of Sompting Church, Sussex', <i>A.N.S.</i> 5 (1982), pp.121-3; Guides 16; Plans, 102.; Jessep, pp.36-9; Poole, pp.43-5; Taylor, pp.358-560; Tweddle, pp.173-84.
Southease	Three square/ long two-cell	Monolithic, single-splay		Face- + side- alternate	Flint + ? sandstone		Fisher, pp.182-6; Poole, pp.58-70; V.C.H. 7, pp.74-5; Guides 6.
South Stoke	Two-cell with tower			Medium size side-alternate	Herringbone		A. Barr-Hamilton, <i>In Saxon Sussex</i> (1961); Fisher, pp.187-8; Poole, p.58-70.
Stopham	Two-cell + tower		N and S doorways, tower doorway, chancel arch				Baldwin Brown, p.480; Fisher, pp.187-191; Jessep, p.59; Johnston, 'Churches', Poole, pp.48-9.
Storrington			N doorway				Fisher, pp.191-2; Poole,

Church	Plan	Windows	Doorway & Arches	Quoins	Materials	Sculpture	Principal References
							pp.58-70.
Sullington	Two-cell? + tower			Tower quoins, side-alternate	Flint + sandstone		Fisher, pp.199-201; Poole, pp.43-5.
Sutton				?	?		Guides, 40.
West Dean	Three square with narthex	Monolithic, single-splay		?	Flint + sandstone		Anon, 'Westdean: the church of All Saints', <i>Arch. J.</i> 116 (1959), p.235; Fisher, pp.205-7; Jessep, pp.56-7; Johnston, 'Churches'.
West Hoathly		Monolithic, single-splay?			Sandstone		Fisher, pp.212-3; I.C. Hannah, 'West Hoathly, St. Margaret's church', <i>S.A.C.</i> 76 (1936), pp.201-11; V.C.H. 7, pp.169-71.
Wisborough Green	Four square + tower		N + S doorways		Herringbone , sandstone		Plans, 53.
Wivelsfield			N doorway	Side-alternate	Sandstone		Baldwin Brown, p.487; Fisher, pp.215-6; Jessep, p.55; Poole, p.55; H. J. Rush, 'Wivelsfield church', <i>S.A.C.</i> 22 (1870), pp.50-6; V.C.H. 7, pp.122-3;
Worth	Salient corner	Double 'belfry' windows	N and S door, chancel arch, <i>porticus</i> arches	Long + short	Sandstone, pilaster strips		Baldwin Brown, p.488; P. Eden, 'Worth: church of St. Nicholas', <i>Arch. J.</i> 116 (1959), pp.240-1; Fisher, pp.217-226; Guides, 18; Poole, pp.43-5; Jessep, pp.42-6; Taylor, pp.688-93; V.C.H. 7, pp.197-9; W. S. Walford, 'On the church at Worth', <i>S.A.C.</i> 8 (1856), pp.235-49.
Yapton	Two-cell			?			Johnston, 'Churches'.

Bold = probable/possible pre-Conquest.

APPENDIX 7 Sussex Church Plans

1. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Peter, Hamsey', *S.N.Q.* 2 (1928-9), pp.52-4.
2. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Michael's Church, Up Marden', *S.N.Q.* 2 (1928-9), pp.79-80.
3. W. H. Godfrey 'Parish church of St. Mary, Westham', *S.N.Q.* 2 (1928-9), pp.114-5.
4. W. H. Godfrey 'Church of St. Andrew, Beddingham', *S.N.Q.* 2 (1927-8), pp.140-1.
5. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Stoughton', *S.N.Q.* 2 (1928-9), pp.186-187.
6. W. H. Godfrey 'St. James, Friston', *S.N.Q.* 2 (1928-9), p.23.
7. W. D. Peckham 'Apuldram, St. Mary the Virgin', *S.N.Q.* 2 (1928-9), p.256.
8. W. D. Godfrey 'St. Andrew, Alfriston', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.11-12.
9. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Denys, Rotherfield', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.50-2.
10. W. H. Godfrey 'St. John the Evangelist, Singleton', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), p.81.
11. W. H. Godfrey 'Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Ringmer', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.116-7.
12. W. H. Godfrey 'Church of St. Michael, Newhaven', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.156-7.
13. W. H. Godfrey 'St. John the Baptist, Clayton', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.186-7.
14. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Margaret, Ditchling', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.186-7.
15. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Botolph (next Bramber)', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.218-9.
16. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Michael the Archangel, South Malling', *S.N.Q.* 3 (1930-1), pp.247-9.
17. W. H. Godfrey 'Holy Trinity, Cuckfield', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.15-17.
18. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Andrew, Edburton', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.53-5.
19. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Bartholomew, Rogate', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.76-8.
20. W. H. Godfrey 'Holy Trinity, Poynings', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.111-2.
21. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Michael and All Angels, Withyham', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.112-3.
20. (sic) W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Northiam', *S.N.Q.* 4, (1932-3), p.182.
21. (sic) W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary Magdalene, Worthing', *S.N.Q.* 4, (1932-3), p.182.
22. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Andrew, Steyning', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.210-2.
23. W. H. Godfrey 'All Saints, West Dean', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.236-7.
24. W. H. Godfrey 'Litlington', *S.N.Q.* 4 (1932-3), pp.236-7.
25. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Nicholas, Iford', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.24-5.
26. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Lawrence, Guestling', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.55-6.
27. W. H. Godfrey 'St. John the Baptist, Findon', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.84-5.
28. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Treyford', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.119-121.
29. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Andrew, Didling', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.119-21.
30. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Lawrence, Catsfield', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.144-5.
31. W. H. Godfrey 'St. John the Evangelist, Newtimber', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.182-3.
32. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Bartholomew, Albourne', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.182-3.
33. W. H. Godfrey 'All Saints, Lindfield', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.217-8.
34. W. H. Godfrey 'Holy Trinity, Rudgwick', *S.N.Q.* 5 (1934-5), pp.246-7.
35. W. H. Godfrey 'St. John the Baptist, Westbourne', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.26-7.
36. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Pancras, Arlington', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.53-4.
37. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Lawrence, Lurgashall', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.86-7.
38. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Peter and St. Paul, West Wittering', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.118-9.
39. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Sidlesham', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.151-2.
40. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Dunstan, Mayfield', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.178-80.
41. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Horsham', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.214-5.
42. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary (called now St. Margaret), Isfield', *S.N.Q.* 6 (1936-7), pp.241-2.
43. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Stopham', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1940), pp.21-2.
44. W. H. Godfrey 'Parish church of St. James, Piddinghoe', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1940), p.50.
45. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Peter, Henfield', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1938-9), pp.86-8.
46. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Peter, Firle', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1938-9), pp.116-8.
47. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Julian, Kingston Buci', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1938-9), p.147.
48. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Hartfield', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1938-9), pp.188-9.
49. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Pulborough', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1938-9), pp.214-5.
50. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary (now called St. Margaret), Warnham', *S.N.Q.* 7 (1938-9), pp.239-40.

51. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Peter and St. Paul, Thackenhay', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.12-13.
52. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Shipley', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.50-1.
53. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Peter ad Vincula, Wisborough Green', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.75-6.
54. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Michael, Amberley', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.102-4.
55. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Harting', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.148-50.
56. W. D. Peckham 'Elsted', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.164-5.
57. W. D. Peckham 'St. Andrew, Oving', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.196-7.
58. W. D. Peckham 'St. Mary, Slindon', *S.N.Q.* 8 (1940-1), pp.218-9.
59. W. D. Peckham 'St. George, Trotton', *S.N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), p.14.
60. W. D. Peckham 'St. Margaret, Earham', *S.N.Q.* 9 (1941-3).
61. W. H. Godfrey 'St. John (the Baptist) sub Castro, Lewes', *S.N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), p.41.
62. W. D. Peckham 'North Marden', *S.N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), pp.53-5.
63. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Michael's, Lewes', *S.N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), pp.121-3, 151.
64. W. D. Peckham 'St. George, Donnington', *S.N.Q.* 9 (1942-3), p.172.
65. W. D. Peckham 'St. Mary, Aldingbourne', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), pp.2-3.
66. W. D. Peckham 'East Dean (near Chichester)', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), p.34.
67. W. D. Peckham 'St. Stephen, Mundham', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), pp.54-5.
68. W. D. Peckham 'St. Nicholas, West Thorney', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), pp.88-9.
69. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Peter, Ardingly', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), p.102.
70. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Ashburnham', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), pp.132-3.
71. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Barcombe', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), p.149.
72. W. D. Peckham 'St. Mary the Virgin, Burpham', *S.N.Q.* 10 (1944-5), pp.188-9.
73. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary the Virgin, Battle', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), pp.6-7.
74. W. H. Godfrey 'All Saints, Beckley', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), pp.32-3.
75. W. D. Peckham 'All Saints, Tillington', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), pp.52-3.
76. W. D. Peckham 'Warburton', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), p.82.
77. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Mary Magdelene, Bolney', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), p.103.
78. W. D. Peckham 'Walberton', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), p.82.
79. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. George, Brede', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), pp.123-4.
80. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Brightling', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), p.147.
81. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Bartholomew, Burwash', *S.N.Q.* 11 (1946-7), pp.167-8.
82. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Peter, Chailey', *S.N.Q.* 12 (1948-9), pp.6-7.
83. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Peter, Selsey', *S.N.Q.* 12 (1948-9), pp.40-1.
84. W. D. Peckham 'St. Peter and Paul, Rustington', *S.N.Q.* 12 (1948-9), pp.52-3.
85. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Clement, Hastings', *S.N.Q.* 12 (1948-9), pp.76-7.
86. W. H. Godfrey 'All Saints, Hastings', *S.N.Q.* 12 (1948-9), pp.102-3.
87. W. H. Godfrey 'St. John the Baptist, Kirdford', *S.N.Q.* 12 (1948-9), pp.128-9.
88. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Peter, Wadhurst', *S.N.Q.* 12 (1948-9), pp.178-9.
89. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Leonards, Seaford', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-1), pp.39-40.
90. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Giles, Shermanbury', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1930-35), p.62.
91. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary (now the church of the Ascension), Up Waltham', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), p.86.
92. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of Holy Trinity, Bosham', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.109-10.
93. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of Coombes', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.126-7.
94. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Thomas at Cliffe, Lewes', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.156-7.
95. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of North Stoke', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.182-3.
96. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church and priory of St. Mary's, Easebourne', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.209-12.
97. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Mary the Virgin, Glynde', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.248-9.
98. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. George, West Grinstead', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.277-80.

99. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Mary, Warbleton', *S.N.Q.* 13 (1950-3), pp.314-6.
100. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Michael, Plumpton', *S.N.Q.* 14 (1954-7), pp.15-6.
101. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Nicholas, Itchingfield', *S.N.Q.* 14 (1954-7), pp.120-1.
102. W. H. Godfrey 'St. Mary, Sompting', *S.N.Q.* 14 (1954-7), pp.194-6.
103. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Martin, Westmeston', *S.N.Q.* 14 (1954-7), pp.237-8.
104. W. E. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Mary, Clapham', *S.N.Q.* 14 (1954-7), pp.120-1.
105. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Mary, Eastbourne', *S.N.Q.* 15 (1958-62), pp.18-9.
106. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Michael, Wiston', *S.N.Q.* 15 (1958-62), pp.45-7.
107. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Margaret, Angmering', *S.N.Q.* 15 (1958-62), pp.95-6.
108. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, Etchingham', *S.N.Q.* 15 (1958-9), pp.155-6.
109. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of All Saints, Iden', *S.N.Q.* 15 (1958-9), pp.199-8.
110. W. H. Godfrey 'The parish church of St. Peter, East Blatchington', *S.N.Q.* 15 (1958-62), pp.232-3.

APPENDIX 8 Sussex Church Guides

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| 1. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of Holy Trinity, Cuckfield</i> (1933) |
| 2. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Wartling</i> (1933) |
| 3. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, Eastbourne</i> (1933) |
| 4. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Peter, East Blatchington</i> (1934) |
| 5. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Andrew, Alfriston (with Lullington)</i> (1935) |
| 6. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of Southease</i> (1935) |
| 7. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of Holy Trinity, Rudgwick</i> (1937) |
| 8. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Willingdon</i> (1947) |
| 9. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Andrew, Bishopstone</i> (1948) |
| 10. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula, Wisborough</i> (1949) |
| 11. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Leonard, Seaford</i> (1949) |
| 12. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. John the Baptist, Kirdford</i> (1950) |
| 13. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Wadhurst</i> (1950) |
| 14. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>The Parish Church of St Mary and St Gabriel, Harting (revised F. W. Steer)</i> (1965) |
| 15. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Hartfield</i> (1951) |
| 16. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, Sompting</i> (1951) |
| 17. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Nicholas, Brighton</i> (1951) |
| 18. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Nicholas, Worth</i> (1952) |
| 19. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Peter, Rodmell</i> (1952) |
| 20. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, Angmering</i> (1953) |
| 21. | W. H. Godfrey | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, Ditchling</i> (1958) |
| 22. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Warminghurst</i> (1960) |
| 23. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Andrew, Steyning</i> (1960) |
| 24. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. James, Birdham</i> (1961) |
| 25. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, Pulborough</i> (1961) |
| 26. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Burpham</i> (1961) |
| 27. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St Mary the Virgin, Up Waltham</i> (1966) |
| 28. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Nicholas, West Itchenor</i> (1963) |
| 29. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to Burton Church</i> (1964) |
| 30. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the North Stoke Church</i> (1964) |
| 31. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, Climping</i> (1965) |
| 32. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St Mary the Virgin, Apuldram</i> (1963) |
| 33. | M. A. Henderson and
F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Andrew, West Stoke</i> (1965) |
| 34. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Julian, Kingston Buci</i> (1965) |
| 35. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Nicholas, Poling</i> (1963) |
| 36. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of Coombes</i> (1966) |
| 37. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. George, Donnington</i> (1966) |
| 38. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Tortington</i> (1966) |
| 39. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the church of St. Margaret (formerly called St. Mary) Warnham</i> (1967) |
| 40. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. John the Baptist, Sutton</i> (1968) |
| 41. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of the Holy Cross, Bignor</i> (1968) |
| 42. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. James at Ashurst</i> (1969) |
| 43. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, Barlavington</i> (1970) |
| 44. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, Rusper</i> (1971) |
| 45. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of All Hallows, Tillington</i> (1972) |
| 46. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of St. Mary, East Guildeford</i> (1973) |
| 47. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Church of the Assumption of St. Mary the Virgin and St Anne, East Wittering</i> (1973) |
| 48. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Parish Church of Earnley</i> (1973) |
| 49. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Walberton</i> (1976) |
| 50. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Parish Church of St. Mary, East Lavant</i> (1976) |
| 51. | F. W. Steer | <i>Guide to the Parish Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Barnham</i> (1976) |

APPENDIX 9 Wall Thicknesses

Anglo-Saxon

Bosham	Twr, Nn, Ns, Cn
Warblington	Twr
Pagham phase 1	Nn, Ns
Woolbeding	Nn, Ns
Westhampnett	Nn, Ns, Nc, Sc
West Dean	Nn, Ns
Mean	687mm ± 27.2

Thirteenth-Century

Bepton	Nn, Ns, Cn, Cs
Heyshott	Nn, Ns
Racton	Cn, Cs
Chichester, All Saints	Nn, Sn
Chichester, St. Andrew	Nn, Sn
East Marden	Nn, Ns, Cn, Cs
Earnley	Nn, Sn
Nytimber	Nn, Sn
Merston	Nn, Sn
West Stoke	Cn, Cs
Fishbourne	Nn, Ns, Cn, Cs
Up Marden	Nn, Ns, Cn, Cs
Oving	Nn, Ns
Sidlesham	Nn, Ns
Mean	722mm ± 10.5

Walls pierced by eleventh/twelfth century arcades and arches

Selham	Dr
Linchmere	Nw
Easebourne	Ns
Lurgashall	Nn, Ns
Chichester, St. Olave	N
Eartham	Nw, Ne
Chithurst	Cn
Cocking	Ns, Nn, Cn, Cs
Fernhurst	Nn, S
Barnham	Ns
Slindon	Ns, Nn
Tangmere	Nn, Ns
West Thorney	Nn, Ns
Stoughton	Cw
Elsted	Cw
Rumboldswyke	Cw
Chithurst	Cw
Cocking	Cw
Coates	Cw
Singleton	Cw
Eartham	Cw
Aldingbourne	Nn, Ns
Walberton	Nn, Ns
Elsted	Nn, Ns
Compton	Nn
Rogate	Nn, Ns
Graffham	Nn, Ns
Harting	Nn, Ns
Selsey	Nn, Ns
West Wittering	Nn, Ns
Mean	689mm ± 15.4.

C	chancel
N	nave
n	north
s	south
e	east
w	west
D	doorway
Twr	tower

APPENDIX 11 Dimensions of Three-Square and Longer Churches

Three Square

	Dimensions (m)	Ratios
Apuldram	18.01 x 5.24	3.44
Birdham	17.56 x c. 58	c. 3
Boxgrove	c. 20m?	c. 3?
Chidham	17.71 x 5.85	3.02
Donnington	c. 15 x 4.88	c. 3
Earnley	12.49 x 4.43	2.83
Easebourne	16.46 x 5.49	3.00
Funtington	14.78 x 4.93	3.00
Harting	14.40 x 4.93	2.92
Itchenor	15.54 x 5.18	3.00
Linchmere	14.63 x 4.27	3.43
Lodsworth	12.55 x 4.95	2.54
Lurgashall	17.37 x 5.79	3.00
Merston	16.02 x 5.13	3.06
Oving	14.17 x c. 5	c. 2.83
Selsey	18.17 x 5.24	3.46
Trotton	25.05 x 8.24	3.04
Walberton	16.32 x 5.54	2.94
West Dean?	18.79 x 6.01	3.12
West Wittering	16.36 x 5.85	2.80

Four Square

	Minimum dimensions (m)	Max dimensions (m)	Minimum ratio	Max ratio
Aldingbourne	19.46 x 4.88	27.80 x 4.88	3.94	5.69
Barnham	19.50 x 6.70	29.15 x 6.70	2.91	4.35
North Mundham	18.17 x 5.34	22.2 x 5.34	3.40	4.16
Pagham	22.50 x 6.80	29 x 6.80	3.30	4.26
Rogate	14.4 x 5.25	21.94 x 5.25	2.74	4.18
South Bersted	17.56 x 6.16	c. 30 x 6.16	2.85	4.87
West Thorney	15.55 x 5.20	26.55 x 5.20	3.00	5.10

Italics = 13th century of later fabric

APPENDIX 12 Orientation of Churches

Aldingbourne	90°	East Lavant	100°
Apuldram	95°	Linchmere	90°
Barnham	99°	Lodsworth	95°
Bepton	85°	Lurgashall	45°
Birdham	90°	North Marden	90°
Bosham	85°	Up Marden	95°
Boxgrove	94°	Merston	90°
Burton	90°	North Mundham	99°
Chithurst	96°	Milland	
Chidham	81°	Nytimber	83°
Coates	95°	Oving	60°
Cocking	81°	Pagham	103°
Compton	104°	Racton	113°
Didling	100°	Rogate	90°
Donnington	117°	Rumboldswyke	98°
Duncton	90°	Selham	75
Easebourne	115°	Selsey	92°
Earnley	80°	Singleton	99°
Eartham	99°	Sidlesham	90°
East Dean	90°	Slindon	96°
East Lavant	80°	Stedham	100°
East Marden	90°	Stoughton	90°
East Wittering	88°	South Bersted	90°
Egdean	90°	Tangmere	88°
Elsted	112°	Terwick	81°
Fernhurst	90°	Tillington	100°
Fishbourne	87°	West Thorney	85°
Funtington	100°	Treyford	114°
Graffham	75°	Trotton	99°
Halnaker	90°	Up Waltham	75°
Harting	115°	Walberton	75°
Heyshott	90°	West Dean	82°
Hunston	115°	West Stoke	120°
Iping	81°	Westbourne	108°
Linch	90°	Westhampnett	81°
West Itchenor	115°	West Wittering	104°
Mid Lavant	84°	Woolbeding	99°

APPENDIX 13 Size, Class and Shape of Tithe Map Churchyards

Less than 1000m ²				3000m ² – 4000m ²			
	1	2	3		1	2	3
Apuldram	s R	430	C	Aldingbourne	s O	1254	P
Burton	s R	115	P	Birdham	R	734	P
Duncton	T	520	P	Chidham	R	615	P
Didling	s R	334	C	Iping	R	907	P
Earnley	T	420	P	Lurgashall	I	1290	P
Egdean	s R	250	C	North Mundham	s R	766	P
Merston	R	291	P	Oving	s R	1210	P
North Marden	s R	282	C	Rogate	R	1973	P
Selham	R	171	P	Singleton	s O	1645	P
Average parish area (ha)		313		Stedham	s R	1010	P
1000m ² – 2000m ²				Stoughton	sO	2175	P
Barlavington	s R	390	P	Trotton	s R	1455	P
Chithurst	s R	486	P	Westhampnett	s R	772	P
Coates	I	225	C	Average parish area (ha)		1214	
Eartham	I	623	P	4000m ² +			
East Marden	s R	379	P	Bosham	I	1583	P
Fishbourne	R	539	C	Fernhurst	R	1750	C
Graffham	I	694	P	Funtington	R	1523	C
West Itchenor	s R	222	C	East Lavant	R	1215	P
Up Marden	O	1191	P	Harting	R	3717	P
Racton	s R	485	P	Lodsworth	R	988	C
Rumboldswyke	R	264	C	Pagham	R	2834	P
Treyford	R	575	P	Sidlesham	I	1692	P
Up Waltham	R	516	P	Slindon	R	1198	P
West Stoke	s R	353	P	Selsey	s R	980	P
E. Wittering	I O	451	C	South Bersted	s R	1113	C
Woolbeding	R	789	P	West Thorney	R	450	P
Average parish area (ha)		511		Walberton	s R	700	P
2000m ² – 3000m ²				West Wittering	s R	915	P
St. Bartholomew				Westbourne	s R	1822	P
Barnham	s R	410	P	Average parish size (ha)		1499	
Bepton	I	773	P	Not included: East Lavington, Petworth, Midhurst,			
Cocking	R	1011	P	Milland, Boxgrove, Easebourne.			
Compton	s R	757	P	s = sub			
Donnington	s R	421	P	I = irregular			
East Dean	I	1885	P	O = ovoid			
Eastergate	R	360	P	R = rectangular			
Elsted	I O	745	P	1. Shape			
Heyshott	I	884	C	2. Parish area in ha			
Hunston	s R	410	P	3. Earliest recorded status:			
Mid-Lavant	s R	434	P	P = parish church C = chapel			
Linchmere	I	860	C				
Tangmere	s R	305	P				
Terwick	s R	317	P				
West Dean	s R	1944	P				
Average parish area (ha)		768					

APPENDIX 14 Enclosure Types and Their Relationships to Manorial Buildings

	Approx area (ha)	Approx distance of church from manor house in metres	Earliest known fabric of manor house	Notes
Round/ovoid, grouped by size, class				
East Wittering (chyd)	0.2	?	(C19)	Church farm 75m away
Elsted	0.2	30	C19	
Up Marden	0.2	?	C?	Up Marden from 80m away
Chithurst	0.4	40	C15	
North Marden	0.4	50	C19	
Aldingbourne (chyd)	0.4	800	C12	Bishop's castle
Duncton	0.4	30	C17	
East Dean	0.4	?	?	
Linch	0.4	30	C19	
Selsey	0.33	300	C12	
Singleton (chyd)	0.4	?	?	
Stoughton	0.4	?	?	Manor farm C19 125m away
West Stoke	0.4	30	C18	
North Mundham	0.8	100	C19	Moated site adjacent
Cocking (inner)	0.8	20	C15	
Petworth	0.8	80	C13	
Barnham*	1.25	100	C17	
Stedham*	2.5	100	C17	
West Wittering	2.4	1.1 km	C13	
Cocking (outer)*	4.0			
Triangular				
Earnley	500m ²	100	C18	
Aldingbourne (outer)	1.5	800	C12	
Bosham*	1.4	50	C17	
Compton*	2.0	100	C18	
Tillington*	0.6	100+	C16	
Westbourne*	0.7	50	med. (destroyed)	
Rectangular and sub-rectangular				
Rumboldswyke	0.4	?	?	
Up Waltham	0.4	100	C14/15	
Westhampnett	0.8	450	C16	Original m.h. nearer?
Hunston	0.8	50	C13	(moated site)
Chidham	4.3	50	C17	
Funtingdon	2.2	200	C19	
Graffham	4	50	C19	
East Wittering	3	100	C19	
Iping	2	50	C19	

	Approx area (ha)	Approx distance of church from manor house in metres	Earliest known fabric of manor house	Notes
Lodsworth	1.5	80	C13	
Merston	2	30	C18 (destroyed)	
Rogate	2	?	?	
Treyford	4	50	C15	
Trotton	3	50	C18	
Woolbeding	4	80	C16/med	
Irregular and Greens				
Egdean	?	?	?	
Birdham	2.5	400	C18	
Earnley	1.5	100	C18	
Fernhurst	1.25			
Heyshott				
Lurgashall	4			
Sidlesham	6.0	?	demolished	Moated site adjacent
Villages				
Oving*	4	50	C17	
East Lavant	3	100	C18	
Slindon	7	200	C13	
Tangmere	5	?	?	
Burys				
Singleton	4	?	?	
Harting	2	50	C10/ C11	
West Itchenor	2	1 km	C18	Enclosure may be post-medieval
Nytimber	4	-	-	Manor site with chapel
West Thorney	1.5	?	?	
Warblington	1+	200	pre-Conquest	
Westbourne	9	50-100	med	
Chidham	4	50	C17	
North Mundham	1.5	100	C19	
North Bersted	4	?	?	Manorial site only
West Wittering (Bury Barns)	6+	-	-	Manorial site only
Bosham Walton	12	-	-	Manorial site only
Bosham Chasebury	24	-	-	

	Approx area (ha)	Approx distance of church from manor house in metres	Earliest known fabric of manor house	Notes
No enclosure around manor house and no distinctive churchyard				
Apuldram		190	C17	
Barlavington		50	C17	
Bepton		50	C19	
Binderton		50	C17	
Burton		200	C18	
Coates		?	?	
Didling		500 or 50	C19	
Donnington		200	pre C16	
Eastergate		30	C18	
Eartham		50	C18	
Fishbourne		50	C19	
Linchmere		?	?	
Mid-Lavant		?	?	
Pagham		50 or 1.4 km	C8/ C13 or C11	Med. manorial centre prob. Nytimber
Racton		50	C17	
Selham		50	C18	
South Bersted			?	
Terwick		?	?	
Walberton		100	C18	
West Dean		50	C17	
West Itchenor		600	C13 moated?	

* Manor house within enclosure

APPENDIX 15 Post-Conquest Church Endowments

Church	Amount of land with date of first record	Typical manorial virgate	Rectory (R) or vicarage (V)	1291 Value	References
Half-virgate					
Almodington	6 ac. (1341)	15 ac.	R	5 marks	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
Barlavington	13 ac. (1615)		R	£2.13.4	D.ff.33-5.
Birdham	12 ac. (1341)		R	£5.68	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.361.
Coates	28 ac. (1341)			£5	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.361.
Didling	10 ac. (1218x1222)	20 ac.	V	Untaxed pov.	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> 334.
Earnley	10 ac. (1615)		R	5 marks	D.ff.156-7.
East Itchenor	6 ac. (1615)		R	£8	Poss. originally 1 virg.
Fernhurst	12 ac. (1615)			Chapel	D.ff.156-7.
Fishbourne	None	16 ac.	R	5 marks	
Graffham	12 ac. (1615)		R	£10	Poss. originally 1 virg.
Heyshott	18 ac. (1615)			Chapel	D.ff.203-4.
Lidsey		15 ac.	?	£4.16.8 (1535)	
Linchmere	None			Untaxed	D.ff.242.
Merston	4 ac. (1341) 9 ac. (1840)		R	£6.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.395. D.ff.264-5.
Mid-Lavant	11.5 ac. (1367x8)	22 ac.	V	£5	<i>Lewes Chart.</i> 2, p.85.
East Lavington	6 ac. (1341) 13½ ac (1615)		R	£5.6.8	D.ff.448-50; <i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.361.
Lurgashall	12 ac. (1615) 4 ac. (1341)		R	£6.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.363. D.ff.246-8.
E. Marden	1 ac. (1615)		R	Untaxed	D.ff.257-9.
N. Marden	18 ac. (1341)		R	£5	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.364.
Racton	2 ac. (1341)		R	£5	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
River	10 ac. (1840)		R	?	TD/W80.
Rumboldswyke	14 a2r34p (1840)		R	5 marks	TD/W103.
Terwick	12 ac. (1341)		R	Untaxed	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.350.
Up Waltham	10 ac. (1341)+pasture		R	5 marks	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
Westhampnett	1½ ac. (1615)		V	R & V £13	D.427-8.
One Virgate					
Apuldram	32 ac. (1341)	20 ac?	Prebend + chaplain	£20 prebend	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.365.
Bepton	16 ac arable (1341) 22.7 ac. (1635)		R	£10	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.360.
Boxgrove	1 h (1086) 1 virg. (1341)		V	R + V £34.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
Bracklesham	2 ac. (1615)		V	R + V £20	
Chithurst	22 ac. (1615)		R	Untaxed poverty	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.350. D.ff.110-2.
Donnington	Ploughland + other glebe (1341)		V	R + V £23.68	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
Eartham	14 arable + 5 pasture (1615) 19 ac. (1840)		V	£10 prebend	D.ff.140-5.
Egdean	36 ac. 20 arable (1547 x 8) 30 ac. (1341)		R	R + V 30 shs.	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.362. P.H.A.7484-94.
Harting	32 sh. arable + 8 ac. (1341) 20 ac. (1840)		V	R + V	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.365. TD/W65.
Hunston	18 ac. + 2 st. (1615)		V	£10	D.ff.211-4.
West Itchenor	17 ac. + 1 st. (1615)	15 ac.	R	£5.6.8	Possible 22 ac. orig. glebe. D.ff.221-3.
Linch	20 ac. (1341)		R	£5.6.8	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.360.
East Marden	1 virgate (1341)			£8 (prebend)	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.354.
Midhurst	35.5 ac. (1615)		Parochial chapel	Chapel	Possible later augmentation.

Church	Amount of land with date of first record	Typical manorial virgate	Rectory (R) or vicarage (V)	1291 Value	References
					D.ff.210-5.
Selham	24 ac. (1341)		R	£5.6.8	Augmented after Reformation. <i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
Selsey	16 ac. (1341)	15 ac.	R	£16.13.4	Augmented after 1615. <i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.365.
Sidlesham vicarage	16 ac. (1341)	20 ac.	V	£8 (prebend £30)	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.357.
Tillington	21 ac. (1615)		R	£13.6.8	D.ff.284-6.
Treyford	20 ac. (1341)		R	£8	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.360.
Trotton	10 ac. + ? 20 meadow (1341)		R	£6.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.363.
Woolbeding	26 ac. (1615)		R	£5	D.ff.446-7.
Two virgate					
Aldingbourne	10 h. 1086, 2 virg. (1341) 40 ac. (1615)	c. 14 ac.	Preb. + V	Deanery + prebend £53.6.8, V £10	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.359. D.ff.5-7.
Barnham	48 ac. + free tenants (= 3 virgates?)		R	£15.6.8	P.R.O.E106/8/19/r8. <i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.368.
Compton	32 ac. arable (1341)		R	£10	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.365.
Chidham	2 virg. + 7 ac. (1341)		Preb.	Preb. £26.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
East Lavant	c. 40 ac. (1615) + pasture	20 ac?		£15.6.23	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.359. D.ff.230-5.
North Mundham	2 virg. (1086), 1 in 1341		V	R + V £16.13.4	Augmented virg. <i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.366.
Oving	2 virg. (1341)		V	V only, £10	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.358.
Singleton	3 h. + 1 virg. (1086) 2 virg. (1341)		V	V + preb. £26.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.364.
Slindon	44 ac. (1341)	c. 18 ac.	V	£14.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.350.
Tangmere	18 ac. + 1 st. (1341) 20 ac. + 1 st. (1840)	c. 8 ac.	R	£13.6.8	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.359.
Up Marden	40 ac. + pasture (1341)		R	£13.6.8	Poss. 1 virgate. <i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.365.
Warblington	4 hides (1086)? 32.5 ac. (1615)				H.R.O.21M65E15/1 18.
Four virgates					
Bosham	65 h (1066) 94½ ac. (1615)		College	5 marks	D.B.; D.ff.62-5.
Cocking	3½ yardlands (1234)		V	R + V £10	<i>Chl. Chart.</i> , 246
East Dean	4 virg. (1341)		V	V £5.6.8	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.365.
Easebourne	123 ac. (1341)		V	V £6.13.4	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.363.
Elsted	1.5 hides (1086) 4 virg. (1341)		Preb. + V	£10 preb.	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.360.
Iping	1 hide (1170)		R	£5	<i>Lewes Chart.</i> 2, p.73.
West Thorney	3 hides (1086)? 64 ac. arable (1341)		R	R. £20	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.365. D.B.
Rectorial manors					
Pagham	40 ac. + pensions (1341)	16	V	R + V £121	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.360.
Petworth	142 ac. (1615) (demesne of manor)		R	£46.13.4	See p.91; D.ff.287-9.
Stoughton	1.5 h. (1086), 44 ac. arable (1341), 69 ac. (1840)		V	R £20	<i>Inq. Non.</i> , p.353.
Westbourne	21 ac. arable + 4 ac. meadow (1341). 8 marks (1341)	c. 30 ac.	V	R + V £48	Mee, Bourne, p.193.
West Dean	3 ac. vicarage (1615)			R + V £38.17.8½	D.ff.134-5.
D. - B.L.Add.Ms.39467.					
No glebe or no information: Burton, Duncton, Funtington, Milland, Walberton.					

APPENDIX 16 Church Rights and Dues

Mother church/ religious house	Dependant/ associated church	Type of due	Date	Sources where first mentioned
Aldingbourne	Lidsey	Chapel	1232	H. M. Davey, 'Ancient chapel at Lidsey', S.A.C. 37 (1890), p.193.
Bosham	Apuldram	Chapel Mortuary Tithes	c. 1130 1447 1123	<i>Ant. Ch.</i> 11. <i>Reg. Stafford</i> , p.32. Capl/28/4.
	Bosham Chidham prebend Funtington Funtington prebend Westbrook prebend	Tithes (to college) Tithes of Chidham Mortuary Tithes of Funtington Tithes of Bosham Funtington	1086 1123 1405 1123 1123	D.B., p.392. Capl/28/4. <i>Reg., Stafford</i> , p.11. Capl/28/4. Capl/28/4.
Boxgrove	Barnham	Church scot Pension Tithes	1105 1180 x 7 1180 x 7	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4; <i>Acta</i> , 20. <i>C.D.F.</i> , 921, <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5; <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5
	Birdham	Church scot Pension [Tithe, Wenlock Priory]	1105 1180 x 7 1258	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4, <i>Acta</i> , 20. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5 <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 5, 1091.
	Hunston	[Tithe cathedral] Church scot Pension Tithes [Tithe Troarn] [Tithe Sées]	1355 x 6 1105 1180 x 7 1180 x 7 1179 x 80 1087	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 1111. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4 <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 60. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 44. <i>C.D.F.</i> , 656.
	East Itchenor	Church scot Pension Cowdray chapel	1105 1180 x 7 c. 1197	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 28.
	Walberton	Church scot Pension Tithes	1105 1180 x 7 1180 x 7	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5. <i>Acta</i> , 76.
	Westhampnett	Church scot Pension Tithes	1105 1180 x 7 1180 x 7	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5.
	(Easthampnett)*	Chapel Tithes	c. 1187 c. 1187	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 8. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 8.
	Todham* (see also Easebourne) Halnaker*	Chapel Tithes	c. 1187 1170 x 80	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 8. <i>Acta</i> , 58
		Chapel Tithes Tithes	c. 1187 1180 x 90 1105	<i>Acta</i> , 58. <i>Acta</i> , 76. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4.
	Ipperig Strettington? Milland	Tithes Tithes Tithes (third of demesne)	1180 x 7 1180 x 90 1180 x 90	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5. <i>Acta</i> , 76. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5.
	Stoughton Sidlesham (Keynor) Kipston Elsted	Tithes Tithes Tithes Tithes Tithes	1176 1187 1180 x 7 c. 1187 c. 1244	<i>Box. Chart.</i> , 1. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 92. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 5. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 8. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 148.
Chichester: St Peter the Great	St. Andrew Pallant St. Andrew Oxmarket St. Bartholomew	Chapel Chapel Subordination Implied	1266 C13 1324	<i>Box Chart.</i> , p.151. <i>Fines 2</i> , p.71. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 952.
	St. Martin	Subordination Implied	1260	Peckham, 'Parishes', p.65.
	St. Mary/Peter in the Market St. Olave St. Pancras	Subordination implied Chapel Subordination	1260 C13 1324	Peckham, 'Parishes', p.45. <i>Fines 2</i> , p.71. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 952.

Mother church/ religious house	Dependant/ associated church	Type of due	Date	Sources where first mentioned
	St. Peter the Less Fishbourne	implied Subordination implied Chapel Peter's Pence Tithes	1324 c. 1227 C13 ?	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 952. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 477. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 957. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 752.
	Rumboldswyke	Chapel Peters Pence Tithes	C13 C13 Late C12	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 957. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 957. <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 342.
Chidham	West Thorney	Mortuary	Post- medieval	F. H. Arnold 'Thorney Island', S.A.C. 32 (1882), p.12
Cocking	Linchmere	Pension	c. 1230	<i>EpI/I/5f.66.</i>
Easebourne	Fernhurst Lodsworth	Chapel Chapel [Tithe, Bishop of London] Chapel Chapel [Tithe, Boxgrove]	1291 1291 1178 1291 1291 1105	T.P.N., p.314. T.P.N., p.314. C.Ch.R. 2, 332. T.P.N., p.314. T.P.N., p.314. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 4.
Eartham	Up Waltham	Tithe dispute	1157 x 69	<i>Acta</i> , 93; <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 173.
East Marden	North Marden	Mortuary, chapel, tithes	1180 x 97	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 345.
Iping (see also Stedham)	Chithurst	Annexed	1482	<i>EpI/1/5 f. 5.</i>
Lewes Priory (see also Petworth)	Buddington Coates Compton Mid Lavant Egdean Graffham Iping Lurgashall Petworth Oving Racton Slindon Stedham Stoughton Tangmere Tillington Up Marden (see also sep.entry) East Lavington	Pension Pension Pension Pension Tithes Tithes Tithes Tithes Tithes Pension Tithes Pension [Pension, to cathedral] Pension Pension Tithes Tithes Pension Tithes Pension Tithes Pension Pension Pension	? c. 1140 ? c. 1140 ? c. 1150 c. 1150 ? c. 1140 c. 1140? c. 1140? c. 1140? ? c. 1140? ? c. 1140 1199 c. 1140 c. 1140 c. 1140 c. 1140 c. 1140 c. 1140 c. 1140 1140 1201 x 4	<i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*, 118, <i>Reg.</i> <i>Rede.</i> , p.377. <i>Acta</i> , 40*, 39*, 118. <i>Lewes Chart.</i> , pp.101-3. C.D.F., 1391. <i>Acta</i> , 40*, <i>Lewes Chart</i> p.79, C.D.F., 1391 <i>Acta</i> , 40*, 39*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 40*, 39*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 40*, 39*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 17, 40*, 39*; C.D.F., 1391. <i>Acta</i> , 40; P.R.O. E40/10095. <i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*, 118; C.D.F. 1391 <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 320. <i>Acta</i> , 40*, 39*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 40*, 39*, 118. C.D.F., 1391. <i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*. <i>Acta</i> , 40*; C.D.F., 1391. <i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 39*, 40*, 118. <i>Acta</i> , 124.
Pagham	South Bersted (North Bersted) (Bognor) St Andrew's chapel Nytimber chapel 2 lost chapels in Pagham All Saints in the Pallant	Chapel Chapel Chapel Chapel Chapel Chapel Chapel ? Pension	1371 1405 1277 1456 ? ? ? 1066	<i>Reg. Reynolds</i> , f.1996 <i>Reg. Rede.</i> , p.93 C.C.R. 1272-9, p.157 W.S.R.O.Add.Ms.19908. Guermonprez, p.146. Guermonprez, p.146. T.P.N., p.322. D. B., p.389.
Petworth	Burton Coates Duncton Egdean	Chapel Chapel, mortuary? Chapel Chapel, chrism, Peter's Pence,	c. 1145 Before 1180 1125 x 45 1145	<i>Acta</i> , 118. <i>Lewes Chart</i> . 2, p.103 <i>Acta</i> , 17; C.D.F. 1319; <i>Chi.</i> <i>Chart.</i> 541. <i>Lewes Chart</i> . 2, p.77

Mother church/ religious house	Dependant/ associated church	Type of due	Date	Sources where first mentioned
	Lurgashall North Chapel Tillington River St. Thomasx	customs of manor Dependent church Chapel Dependent church Chapel Chapel	1125 x 45 1296/1514 1125 x 45 1125 x 45 c. 1180	<i>Acta</i> , 17, C.D.F., 1391. Mwer and Stenton, p.119. <i>Acta</i> , 17, C.D.F., 1391. <i>Acta</i> , 17, C.D.F., 1391. J. H. Round, 'Sussex in the pipe rolls under Henry II', S.A.C. 71 (1931), p.105. G. Batho, 'The Percies at Petworth 1574-1632', S.A.C. 95 (1951), pp.2, 7, 10. <i>Percy Chart.</i> , 946
	Great Chapel in Petworth Housex Chapel 'in the great park'x Small chapel in Petworth housex	Chapel Chapel Chapel	C13 c. 1230 1575	Batho, 'Percies', p.6.
Rogate	Wenhamx	Chapel	C13	<i>Durford Chart.</i>
Sées Abbey	Fishbourne Harting Rogate Stoughton	Pension Pension Pension Pension and tithe	1080? 1194 x 5 1194 x 5 ?	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 477, C.D.F. 233. P.R. 7 Rich 1, p.243. P.R. 7 Rich 1, p.243. C.D.F., p.656.
Sidlesham	Eastonx	Chapel	1461	<i>Wills</i> 45, p.128.
Singleton/West Dean	East Dean Chilgrove Diding Dumfordx Binderton (St. Roche)	Chapel Chapel (West Dean) Chapel Chapel Chapel Chapel (Singleton)	1356 1210 (1154 x 63)? 1356 1481 1356 (?1154 x 63) 1513	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 1111 See p.130. <i>Acta</i> , 30 <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 1111 <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 735 <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 1111 <i>Acta</i> , 30 (Sh.B13).
Stedham	Heyshott Iping	Chapel Unspecified	1125 x 45 1170 x 90	<i>Acta</i> , 17 <i>Lewes Chart.</i> , p.117
Stoughton	East Marden (North Marden) Lordington	Chapel (Church scot, chapel, tithes) Chapel (church scot)	c. 1140 1180 x 97 1180 x 1204	C.D.F., 1391 <i>Chi. Chart.</i> 345 C.R.R. 7, p.935, <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 681-7
Troarn Abbey	Boxgrove (Strettington) Graffham North Mundham (Hunston) Merston Runcton Up Waltham (Runcton)	Tithes Tithes Tithes Tithes Tithes Tithes	1100 1100 1263 1179 x 80 ? C11 1180 1263	C.D.F., 470. C.D.F., 470, <i>Bruton Chart.</i> , 347. <i>Bruton Chart.</i> , 347. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 60, <i>Bruton Chart.</i> , 347. C.D.F., 331; <i>Bruton Chart.</i> , 347. <i>Box. Chart.</i> , 44, <i>Bruton Chart.</i> , 347. <i>Bruton Chart.</i> , 347.
Trotton	Milland	Chapel	1545	<i>Wills</i> 45, p.206.
Up Marden	West Marden	Chapel	1196 x 1204	<i>Acta</i> , 118
Westbourne	Hermitage Nutbourne Runcton	Chapel Chapel Altar due	1513 1312 ?	Sperling, 'Westbourne', p.97 Sperling, 'Westbourne', p.97 <i>Chi. Chart.</i> , 411.
West Wittering	West Itchenor East Wittering	Chapel Chapel	1187 x 97 before 1196 X 1202	<i>Acta</i> , 65 <i>Acta</i> , 94
x Non-parochial chapel attached to, or within manor house [] due to a church other than the mother church or religious house.				

APPENDIX 17: Dedications in West Sussex

	Earliest Record	Source
St. Andrew		
Didling	1220	<i>Chi. Chart.</i> , p.334.
Ferring	786 x 796	Kelly, 13.
Ford	1535	Gibbon, p.91.
Nuthurst	1535	Gibbon, p.108.
Oving	1518	<i>Wills</i> 43, p.265.
St. Andrew Pallant, Chichester	1251	Peckham, 'Parishes', pp.81-4.
St. Andrew Oxmarket, Chichester	1248	McCann, 'St. Andrew'. ¹
Pagham	C107	S 230.
Steyning	1263	<i>C.P.L.</i> 1, p.387.
Tangmere	1531	Gibbon, p.70.
Tarring	1372	<i>V.C.H.</i> 6.1, p.278.
West Dean	1526	<i>S.R.S.</i> 42, p.72.
West Stoke	1528	Gibbon, p.78.
St. Mary		
Aldingbourne	Unknown	<i>V.C.H.</i> 4, p.136.
Apuldram	c. 1400	<i>C.P.L.</i> 5, p.282.
Barlavington	Unknown	Gibbon, p.84.
Barnham	1105	<i>Box. Chart.</i> 5.
Bepton	1405	Gibbon, p.67.
Billingshurst	1526	Gibbon, p.85.
Boxgrove	1105	<i>Box. Chart.</i> 5.
Broadwater	1456	<i>V.C.H.</i> 6.1, p.79.
Burpham	1529	Gibbon, p.85.
Chidham	1537?	Gibbon, p.67 (probably chantry, not church).
Chiltington	1541	Gibbon, p.89.
Clapham	1406	<i>V.C.H.</i> 6.1, p.18.
Duncton	1532	Gibbon, p.70.
Easebourne	C16.	<i>V.C.H.</i> 4, p.52.
East Lavant	1520	Gibbon, p.74.
Felpham	1534	Gibbon, p.89.
Fishbourne	1548	<i>B.L.Add.Ms.</i> 39366, f.55.
Fittleworth	1536	Gibbon, p.90.
Goring	1524	Gibbon, p.91.
Harting	1540	<i>Wills</i> 42, p.268.
Horsham	1423	<i>V.C.H.</i> 6.2, p.193.
Kirdford	1521	Gibbon, p.94.
Lancing		⁸
Littlehampton	1523	Gibbon, p.93.
Lyminster	1269 x 70	Johnston, 'Lyminster' ¹
Petworth	1518	Gibbon, p.95.
Pulborough	1531	Gibbon, p.96.
Rumboldswyke	1291	<i>T.P.N.</i> ; Peckham, 'Parishes', p.67.
Rusper	1533	Gibbon, p.108.
Selham	1511	<i>Epl</i> 1/1/5f.6.
Shipley	1535	<i>V.C.H.</i> 6.2, p.123.
Singleton	1305 x 6	<i>V.C.H.</i> 4, p.118.
Sidlesham	1520	Gibbon, p.27.
Slindon	1154	<i>P.R.O.</i> E40/15775
Stoughton	1558	Gibbon, p.78.
Sompting	1442	<i>V.C.H.</i> 6.1, p.61.
Stopham	C16	Gibbon, p.102.
Storrington	C16	Gibbon, p.102.
Tortington	?	Gibbon, p.102.
Treyford	1545	<i>S.R.S.</i> 45, p.257.
W Marden	1525	<i>V.C.H.</i> 4, p.113.

	Earliest Record	Source
Up Waltham	1245	B.L.Add.Ms.39366,f.140.
Walberton	1542	Gibbon, p.103.
Warnham	1580	Gibbon, p.110.
Washington	1129	C.D.F., p.404.
E Wittering	1523	S.R.S. 52, p.118.
St. Peter		
Bignor	1537	Wills 41, pp.131-35.
Bersted	1549	Gibbon, p.67.
E. Marden	1559	Wills 43, p.86.
Linchmere	1544	Wills 43, p.154.
Londsworth	1536	Wills 43, p.71.
Slinfold	1535	Gibbon, p.108.
Terwick	1520	Gibbon, p.79.
Westhampnett	1105	Box. Chart. 5.
Woolavington (East Lavington)	1519	Gibbon, p.103.
St. Nicholas		
Angmering E	1544	Gibbon, p.82.
Arundel College	1086	D.B., p.421.
Bramber	c. 1073	C.D.F., 1130.
Durrington	1260	V.C.H. 6.1, p.84.
Itchingfield	1513	V.C.H. 6.2, p.16.
Mid Lavant	C16	Wills 23, p.93.
Poling	1518	Gibbon, p.96.
Thorney	1543	Gibbon, p.79.
West Ichenor	C14	V.C.H. 4, p.204.
Other		
Amberley: Michael	1530	Gibbon, p.82.
Angmering W: Margaret	1542	Gibbon, p.42.
Bargham: Unknown		
Ashington: All Saints	C12.	Sele. Chart., p.89.
Ashurst: James	C16	V.C.H. 4, p.81.
Bersted: Mary Magdelene	C16	Wills 41, p.119.
Birdham: James	1542	EpI/1/2f.97.
Bognor: Bartholomew	C14	Fleming, Pagham, p.120.
Bosham: Holy Trinity	1330	C.P.R. 4 Ed. III, p.11.
Botolphs: Botolph	1080	V.C.H. 6.1, p.196.
Buncton: All Saints	?	Fisher, p.141.
Bury: John	1533	Gibbon, p.86.
Chithurst	Unknown	V.C.H. 4, p.5.
Climping: Mary	1524	Gibbon, p.87.
Coates	Unknown	
Cocking	Unknown	V.C.H. 4, p.45.
Cold Waltham	Unknown	
Compton	Unknown	V.C.H. 4, p.45.
Coombes	Unknown	Wills 42, p.40.
Donnington: George	c. 1310	C.P.L. 2,91.
Earnley	Unknown	V.C.H. 4, p.203.
East Dean: All Saints	C16	Wills 46, p.189.
Eastergate: George	?	Gibbon, p.70.
E. Preston: All Hallows	1526 X 1548	Gibbon, p.96.
Egdean: Bartholomew		
Elsted: Michael	C13.	V.C.H. 4, p.9.
Fernhurst: Margaret	1520	Wills 42, p.150.
Findon: John Baptist	1539	V.C.H. 6.1, p.31.
Funtington: Mary	1529	Wills 42, p.205.
Graffham: Unknown		Gibbon, p.72.
Greatham: Unknown	?	
Hardham: Botolph/George	1175	V.C.H. 2, p.74.
Heene: Botolph	1534	V.C.H. 6.1, p.91.
Heyshott: Unknown		V.C.H. 4, p.62.
Hunston: Ledger	1105	Box. Chart., 5.

	Earliest Record	Source
Iping: Unknown		V.C.H. 4, p.64.
Kingston: Unknown		
Linch: Unknown		V.C.H. 4, p.65.
Lurgashall: Lawrence	1334	Cooper, p.29.
Madehurst: Mary Magdalene	?	
Merston: Bartholomew	C14	Cal.I.P.M., 12, p.182.
Middleton		
Midhurst: Mary Magdalene	1390	V.C.H. 4, p.78.
North Chapel: John Baptist	1546	Gibbon, p.103.
N. Marden: Unknown		V.C.H. 4, p.110.
N. Mundham: Unknown		V.C.H. 4, p.164.
N. Stoke: Unknown		
Parham: Unknown		.
Patching: Unknown		
Racton: Unknown		
Rogate: Bartholomew	1520	V.C.H. 4, p.26.
Rudgwick: Holy Trinity	1521	Gibbon, p.98.
Rustington: Peter & Paul	1516	Gibbon, p.98.
Selsey: Holy Trinity	1382	V.C.H. 4, p.208.
S. Stoke: Leonard	1540	Gibbon, p.102.
Stedham: James	1545	Gibbon, p.78.
Sullington: Bartholomew	C14	V.C.H. 6.2, p.29.
Sutton: John the Baptist	?	
Thackenham: Peter & Paul	1520	Gibbon, p.109.
Tillington: All Saints	1537	Gibbon, p.103.
Trotton: George	C16	B.L.Add.Ms.39366,f.37.
Up Marden: Michael	C16	Wills 45, p.268.
Warminghurst: Holy Sepulchre	C13	V.C.H. 6.1, p.59.
Westbourne: John Baptist	1358	Gibbon, p.79.
W Grinstead: George	1542	Gibbon, p.9; V.C.H. 6.2, p.100.
Wiggonholt	?	
Wisborough Green: Peter & Paul	1520	Gibbon, p.91.
Wiston: Michael	1327	V.C.H. 6.1, p.267.
Wittering: Peter & Paul	1543	Gibbon, p.80.
Woolbeeding: All Saints	1544	S.R.S. 45, p.413.
Yapton: St. Mary?	?	Gibbon, p.103.

¹ A. McCann, *The History of the Church and Parish of St. Andrew, Oxmarket Chichester* (1978).

² W.D. Cooper, 'Proofs of age of Sussex families King Edward II to Edward IV', *S.A.C.* 12 (1860), pp.23-44.

³ C. Gibbon, 'Dedications of churches and chapelries in west Sussex', *S.A.C.* 12 (1860), pp.61-111.

⁴ P.M. Johnston, 'The church of Lyminster and the chapel of Warning Camp', *S.A.C.* 46 (1903), pp.195-30.

⁵ L.F. Salzman, *The Chartulary of the Priory of St. Peter at Sele* (1923).

⁶ R.F. Hunsett, 'The list of Sussex abjurations', *S.A.C.* 102 (1962), p.50.

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