



PLATE I. SELHAM: SOUTH CAPITAL OF CHANCEL ARCH

THE DOMESDAY BOOK CHURCHES OF SUSSEX

BY H. POOLE, F.S.A.

BY no means all the churches of England which were standing in 1086 were recorded in Domesday Book: many pre-Conquest churches which still survive were omitted. But it is quite clear that a vast number of new churches were built between 1066 and 1086; and this paper arises out of an attempt to determine just what sort of church, as regards size, plan, and technique, was being put up during that period. My choice of Sussex was due only to the chance that when I made it, before the war, I was living in London, and the earlier churches nearer to London have left comparatively few traces. The choice has turned out to be a particularly happy one, as a spell of four years on the staff at Christ's Hospital has given me the opportunity to complete the work which I had put aside several years earlier.

Ever since starting on the work, I have had a strong feeling that a rather undue amount of misconception exists as regards the early churches of Sussex, which very badly needs clearing up. The state of affairs is perhaps best illustrated by the treatment of Ovingdean in the *Victoria County History*. In the introductory essay to the churches of the county (*V.C.H.* II) this church is included in a list of no fewer than twenty-eight for which, the writer says, 'the evidence in favour of a pre-Conquest date, although weighty, is not conclusive'; while when the church comes to be treated individually in vol. VII it is dated as early twelfth century, and we are told that there are no traces of the D.B. church, which was probably of wood. Actually, I have no hesitation whatever in saying that both statements are entirely incorrect: on the one hand, there is no single feature of Ovingdean Church which can make any

claim at all to be of Saxon date; and on the other, while the wooden church is pure guess-work based on no evidence at all, I venture to assert that such an exact determination of date from the fabric alone simply cannot be done. We may, as I shall try to show, in most cases discriminate between pre- and post-Conquest work; but then only with certainty if there is present a feature which is characteristic of either; and even then we are discriminating rather as to 'style' than to date. But I do not believe that we have any criteria at all by means of which we can discriminate between pre-1086 and post-1100 Norman work. The claim made by the writer amounts to this, that he can determine within (say) twenty years the date of stonework or detail. I submit that nothing but documentary evidence or a datable sculpture or inscription would justify such a statement about a church of the type of Ovingdean. Similar statements are made about Hamsey and Rodmell, and no doubt many others.

I certainly cannot prove the contrary, though my whole case rests on the appropriation of certain churches (including Ovingdean) to the period 1066-86. The method which I have used is a very simple one. Assuming that we can discriminate between early and late Norman, and also between early Norman and Saxon: then, if early Norman work, but no Saxon, is to be seen in a church mentioned in D.B., that work may be presumed (in the absence of any evidence to the contrary) to belong to the period 1066-86. If there is any Saxon work in the church, then we can say nothing about any early Norman—it may or may not lie within the 1066-86 period; if there were Norman work manifestly of later date, and none that could belong to the period, then there would be a case for an earlier church, possibly of wood.

The actual number of churches of Sussex mentioned in D.B. was ninety-eight, besides nine chapels, one manor which paid 'church scot', and six others where one or more priests were mentioned in such a way as to suggest the existence of a church. But Baldwin

Brown¹ has fifteen Sussex churches on his list of pre-Conquest survivals, eight of which were *not* mentioned in D.B.—or in other words, so far as Saxon churches are concerned, only about half were recorded. It is interesting to observe that this proportion is maintained fairly uniformly over the whole of England, for out of his total of 215, 99 are, and 116 are not, mentioned in D.B. Thus it is a fair guess that in 1086 the actual number of churches standing in Sussex was in the neighbourhood of 200 rather than 100. I do not propose to attempt to identify the hundred or so not named, though no doubt several are among those mentioned in the notes which follow.

My task is the 'isolation', so to speak, of the D.B. church: for this purpose it will be necessary to eliminate from the D.B. list any churches which may reasonably be supposed to date from pre-1066 days; and for the sake of completeness I propose to include in my survey all that are, or might be, of pre-Conquest date.

THE IMMEDIATE POST-CONQUEST PERIOD

It will be noticed that Baldwin Brown places no fewer than eight of the fifteen Saxon churches of Sussex in his final period (C. 3), i.e. *temp.* Edward the Confessor; while in no case does he give a definitely earlier period, though the range of dates given allows for the possibility that Bishopstone *may* be as early as the first half of the tenth century, and Arlington, Lewes, Old Shoreham, Singleton, and Woolbeding as early as late tenth.

Though very relevant to my subject, space—not to mention a complete lack of evidence—makes impossible a discussion of the 'personnel' of the building craft of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But I fancy that few will disagree with my conviction that the bulk of the building done in the next hundred years, up and

¹ *The Arts In Early England*, II. 438-89. I have taken this list throughout as it stands, though actually I have added to it for this county, and no doubt the same can be done for others.

down the country, was done by the 'ordinary inhabitant', whether native or not; and that, so far as foreign craftsmen were brought into the country, they were employed rather on the major tasks—rebuilding of cathedrals, &c.—than on the village churches.

It should follow that, perhaps more in this county than in most others, there will be found a considerable Saxo-Norman overlap. A fair amount of large and good-quality work had been done within the generation preceding the year 1066; and many of the craftsmen who had been engaged on this must (we may suppose) have continued to exercise their craft well into the post-Conquest period.

A good illustration of the results of this is Stoughton, where, among features which are characteristically Saxon, and in conjunction with a chancel arch which closely resembles Bosham, we find the capitals carved with the true Norman volute, which led Baldwin Brown to date the whole building as post-1066. Other examples will be referred to later. The tendency of the type of building erected between 1066 and 1086 may, in fact, be expected to carry over, to a continuously decreasing extent, the features of the Saxon period.

Now I am going to anticipate some of my results a little, in order to throw out a most intriguing problem, as well as to emphasize an important principle. We shall find considerable variety in the type of church built during the Saxon period, but that the characteristics of the post-Conquest type are remarkably uniform. We shall find, if we, so to speak, read between the pillars of the enlarged and reconstructed fabric of the country parish church, so little variation in plan, size, and technique that we are at times tempted to envisage some sort of 'blueprint' issued to the men engaged in the building of the (perhaps) hundred or so churches built during the first twenty years of Norman Sussex—and it is worth adding that the limitation to Sussex is quite arbitrary, as the same type of church was going up in Kent, Surrey, and Hampshire at the same time.

Bearing in mind that probably neither ecclesiastical nor 'local government' authority was in charge of the whole as a large-scale undertaking,¹ but that the individual landholder must have been largely responsible in each case, the question *will* obtrude itself, Whence did this 'blueprint' come? Within, say, thirty years (but probably it was far less) there was a change from wide variety to striking uniformity. Was there some more or less central architectural authority which guided the labours of some sort of Masons' Guild? Masonic history can show manuscript authority for systematic organization in the craft at least as early as mid-fourteenth century; and can show plausible reason (though far from proof) for dating this back, in some form, to the tenth; and the only evidence likely to establish the true history of the craft in these early days must be looked for among the works which it has left behind. This, I believe, is a part of the answer to the problem.

If there was no such organization, it seems to me that the only solution to the problem of the apparent sudden change in type, or rather the sudden stabilization of type, is that it did not occur; and that a certain number of the undisputed Saxon examples may really belong to the post-Conquest period, even though they may possess no single feature which does not relate them architecturally to a date twenty or thirty years earlier. To put it very bluntly indeed, it is easy to see how Saxonisms might appear *after* 1066; but very difficult to see how Normanisms could appear (except in very special cases, such as Westminster Abbey) before 1066. Therefore we must resist the strong temptation to assign the earliest date we can to a building, and choose instead the earliest date to which the *latest* integral feature of the building could belong—and then assign it only as a 'lower limit' for the piece as a whole. I have no doubt whatever that it was just this policy which led Baldwin Brown to place, for instance, Stoughton Church in his Overlap group, and which makes his judgement (as I

¹ See Appendix.

believe) so sound in his treatment of the Saxon remains in this country.

Now we know with considerable exactness just what are, and what are not, Saxon features; and the two styles, though there are cases of overlap, do *not*, as regards their special features, merge into one another—the overlapping does not consist of Norman examples which look rather Saxon, or the reverse, but of cases where specific features of both appear side by side as integral parts of the same piece. In such matters as wall-thickness, we can say no more than that the Saxon tendency is towards the thin, and the Norman towards the thick (though in Sussex the difference does not amount to much); but we cannot say categorically that any wall over (say) 27 in. thick *must* be Norman, though there might perhaps be general agreement if we put the figure at 33 in. Or again, there is a Saxon tendency to the tall and narrow arch; but we cannot say that all arches over (say) 12 ft. high are Saxon, though we would all probably agree that the limit is under 20 ft. I mention this figure because it is the approximate height of the chancel arch at Lyminster.

Where there is no specifically Saxon feature, we need a very strong 'balance of tendencies' to make any sort of claim; and in such a case there can, I submit, never be any certainty. A single Saxon feature will then go a long way to establish a Saxon date; a single Norman feature will rule it right out. Thus, though the window at Burpham is certainly early, it might just as well be Norman as Saxon; but the fact that the walling is 31 in. thick makes the case strong against the earlier date, while the presence of a typical Norman door close by in the same wall establishes the later date beyond question.

The Saxon features—long-and-short work, pilaster strips, double-splay windows, and the rest—are set forth in every text-book and need not be stated here. Curiously enough, it is by no means easy to lay down in the same way what we might call the characteristic features of Norman; indeed, though I learned a great deal while I was making my examination of the Sussex

churches, I think nothing has surprised me more than the realization of how little we have that can settle decisively, in the absence of the special Saxon features, to which side of the year 1066 a building belongs. Actually there are two features, and I believe only two, whose presence points decisively to a Norman date: one is herring-bone work, and the other is the rebate or door-check.

NOTE ON HERRING-BONE WORK

This is one of the features which has been often claimed as Saxon, but which is actually quite definitely a Norman feature. Space would not allow of a discussion of the architectural significance of herring-bone work: it is sufficient to say that both Baldwin Brown¹ and Sir A. W. Clapham² are very decided in their opinion that this technique belongs *almost*, if not quite, exclusively to the post-Conquest period. This opinion is amply borne out, so far as Sussex is concerned, by our undoubted Saxon remains. At Bosham, herring-bone work is found only in the more easterly part of the chancel walling, which is easily recognizable as an extension of the original Saxon chancel, almost certainly in post-Conquest times. The only other occurrence is (or was) at St. John-sub-Castro, Lewes, where J. D. Parry³ records that it 'has some masonry of the herring-bone style'; but here, in the absence of evidence that it was in original walling, the record proves nothing.

The prevailing view as to herring-bone work is so unequivocal that, bearing in mind the principle already stated, that a later technique implies a later date, we can only regard as strongly suspect any piece in which it occurs: in such a case the indications for a pre-Conquest date must be very strong indeed to substantiate such a claim.⁴

¹ Op. cit. II. 244 ff.

² *English Romanesque Architecture*, I. 115.

³ *Hist. and Descr. Account of the Coast of Sussex*, 1833, p. 331.

⁴ So far as secular buildings are concerned, herring-bone work occurs in the early Norman shell-keep of Lewes Castle, and in repairs to the north-east Roman bastion of Pevensey Castle which is crowned by a Norman tower; these repairs are practically certainly early Norman.—*Editor*.

NOTE ON SAXON AND NORMAN DOORS

The technique of the Saxon door-opening has been dealt with sufficiently fully by Baldwin Brown;¹ but I know of no detailed discussion of the Norman development. As regards the former, I do not think anyone will now dispute Baldwin Brown's statement that 'as a rule Saxon doorways are cut straight through the thickness of the wall without any rebate for a door', though he points out that there are a few examples of rebated door-openings in the earliest period. When we put beside this the normal, though by no means invariable, Saxon practice of making both sides and voussoirs of arches and doors from 'through-stones'—i.e. of stones whose ends appear on both sides of the wall—it follows that a Saxon door can usually be recognized as such if it appears on both inside and outside of a wall. Typical examples of such doors are the blocked north door at West Dean, or the arch of the blocked south door at Lyminster, in each of which it is possible to check the fact that the stones forming the frame go right through the wall.

It may, however, happen at times that a wall has been thickened (by no means a common practice, I fancy); and it is possible that in this way either the inner or the outer outline may have been obliterated; but the Saxon abacus usually projected fairly boldly from the wall surface, and this may make identification possible in such a case. The very characteristic practice which Baldwin Brown calls 'strip-work around the openings' can also, if it occurs, identify a door with complete certainty as Saxon: this feature, which also occurs at Jevington, is sufficient to date the remains of the openings at St. John-sub-Castro, Lewes, and Old Shoreham.

Two features distinguish the Norman door from the Saxon, though I fear I do not know enough about contemporary work in Normandy to say to what extent they represent the introduction of a technique already

¹ Op. cit. II. 30 ff.

established there. In the first place, the walls are inclined to be thicker; and, perhaps as a result, we no longer find the 'through-stone'; and a Norman opening is almost invariably found with the arch and sides framed with facing-stones on each side, and a band of rubble appearing in between.

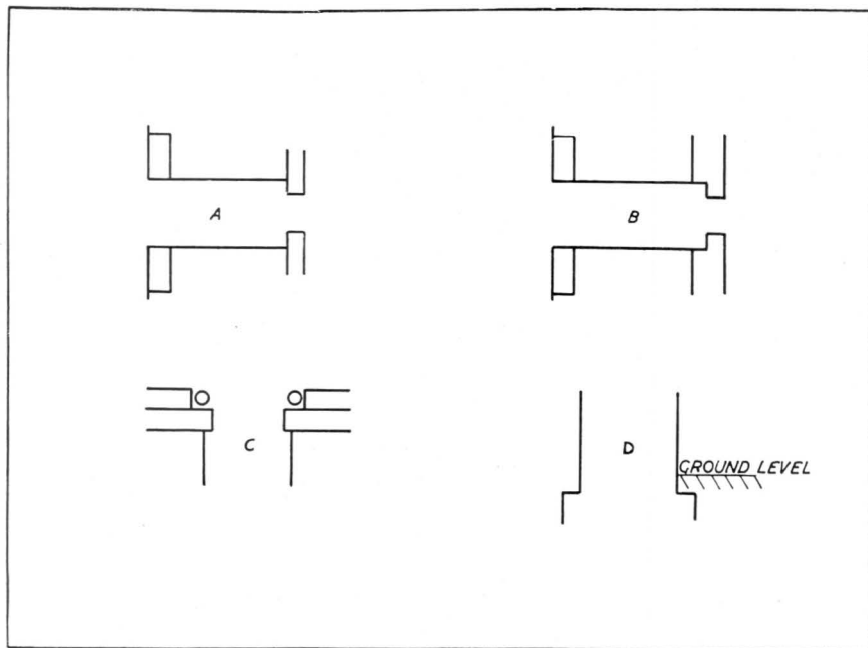


FIG. 1: A, B, C. REBATES OF DOORS. D. PLINTH

The other difference is the almost invariable presence of a rebate. Clapham¹ disposes of this feature in a sentence: 'It may be noted', he says, 'that, in contradistinction to those of pre-Conquest date, Norman doorways were always provided with a rebate or door-check.' This rebate is achieved by making the outer frame of the door somewhat smaller in each direction than the inner; and this is accomplished in one of two ways. Either, as in Fig. 1, A, the outer stones of the opening are laid so as to project inwards beyond the passage-

¹ Op. cit. II. 19.

way; or, as in Fig. 1, B, the rebate is cut in the stones themselves. I fancy that the latter is a rather later technique; but the dating of these early Norman churches is not sufficiently precise, and the outer frames have survived, or are visible, in too few cases, to allow of such a generalization. The south door of St. Olave's, Chichester, seems to be constructed on the lines of Fig. A; and if so, it is the only example of this method that I know of in Sussex. I might add that it was partly with the object of obtaining positive data on such matters as this that I embarked on the 'isolation' of the D.B. church: unfortunately there are only eleven doors of my period surviving (as will be seen later); and so many of these are blocked or imperfect that I am not able to express any positive opinion.

It is interesting, by the way, to see at Lyminster a Norman door replacing a Saxon one, though only the arch of the latter remains. Here we have surviving the arch of a door $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high and barely 40 in. wide, the stones going right through to the interior face of the wall. This has been blocked (and the ashlar work of the sides no doubt re-used); and below this arch is the outer frame only of a Norman door 45 in. wide; but this is also blocked, and the shaping of the stones cannot be seen.

This note would not be complete without some details of the doors at Stopham, which are, I believe, quite peculiar. Here, at the first glance, we have doors of Norman type of two orders, the inner order being quite plain, though the upper part of this opening seems to have been lowered and is segmental rather than semicircular. But (I do not think this is merely my imagination) there is no logical connection between the two orders; and it is as if the rebate had been made by an ashlar frame somewhat smaller than the passage-way, and then, outside this, a Norman door-frame of larger size had been added, which is wider than, but not so high as, the inner frame and passage-way (Fig. 1, C). The 'intermediate', or real, opening is made of a separate 'layer' of ashlar $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and without any abacus

(though this may have been removed); the outer opening might be regarded as an ordinary Norman doorway of somewhat later date, with a roll-moulding to

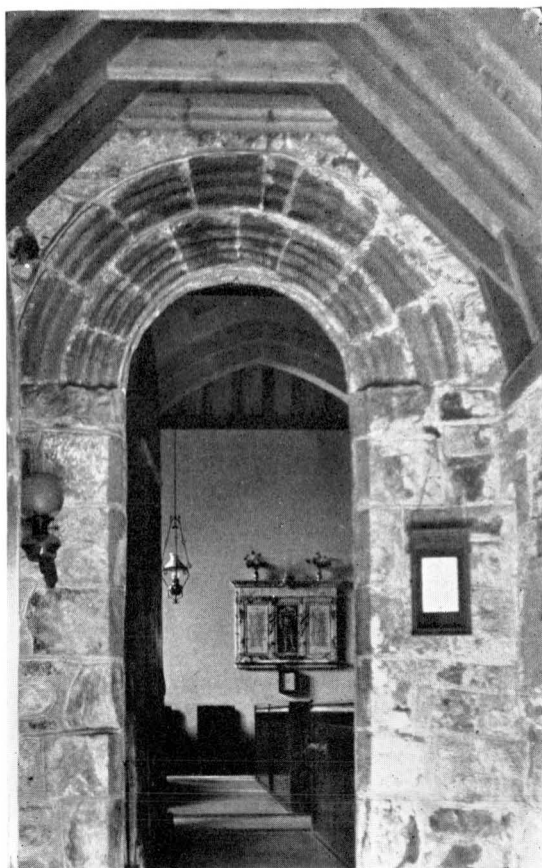


PLATE II. ST. JOHN-SUB-CASTRO, LEWES: FORMER SOUTH DOOR

the arch, but for the rather characteristically Saxon appearance of the ornament of the side shafts of the south door, which resembles a pile of three sharp-edged disks with grooves between. The north door is similar in construction, but the capitals are of the early cubical form, shaped to the shafts below.



PLATE III. WIVELSFIELD: NORTH DOOR



BOLNEY: SOUTH DOOR

I fancy that these doors may represent in some sense an early stage in the development of the later Norman door of two orders, but I can offer no satisfactory explanation of them. They might possibly be a post-Conquest attempt to imitate in the Norman style the Saxon feature of 'strip-work around the openings', such as appears at Lewes: they might even be merely ignorant and clumsy Norman doorways of two orders; but if so, they must be of considerably later date than the 1066-86 period. The fact that the rebate is not cut in the stonework of the intermediate opening points, I fancy, to an early date: there is a somewhat similar door at East Preston, but it is impossible to see whether the construction there is the same.

It is worth adding, though I do not know if it is of any significance, that the unusual mouldings at Bolney and Wivelsfield—in each case over a typical Norman door—have, curiously enough, a fairly close parallel in both the doors at Stopham. The nearest parallel that I know elsewhere is in the ruined chapel at Heysham (Lancs.), which Baldwin Brown puts at perhaps late eighth century: there are window-heads at Hampton-in-Arden (Warw.) and Swalcliffe (Oxon.) with something very similar, the latter being perhaps Saxon. I do not, of course, suggest any connection between these examples, nor is any inference of early date possible; the point is that the paucity of parallels elsewhere rather links these three Sussex occurrences: and this should be taken into account by anyone investigating the dates of Bolney and Wivelsfield.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CHURCHES MENTIONED IN D.B.

We can now pass to the classification of the churches mentioned in D.B. First the Saxon churches must be put aside, besides those which belong to the Overlap group, as well as a few where there is reason to suppose that evidence for a Saxon origin may have been obliterated. In each of these cases I have included, for

the sake of completeness, churches not mentioned in D.B. (these are marked with an asterisk).

In the absence of either Saxon features on the one hand or herring-bone work or rebated doors on the other, we have no means of deciding to which side of the critical date 1066 a building belongs; and thus there will be another group of churches which have to be marked as of doubtful age.

Of the rest, some have vanished altogether (like Middleton), or been demolished and replaced elsewhere (like Linch), or been so completely rebuilt, even perhaps on their original sites, as to show no traces at all of lineal descent from the originals.

My observations (not only in Sussex) have led me to believe that, when enlarging or rebuilding a church, the medieval builder was apt to cling most tenaciously to the original plan and foundations, which can often be legitimately recognized among all the added complexity of aisles and transepts. The identification of a *portion* of the surviving fabric as of genuine antiquity goes some way towards establishing the whole plan; though obviously complete certainty is only arrived at by the survival of two diagonally opposite quoins, or of portions of all four walls. The next two groups which I have separated consist of those churches which may well retain the original plans, but where there is no certainty; and of those churches where there seems to me to be little doubt as to the original plan, but which I cannot use for my purposes, as actual proof is wanting.

Then follow the results of my quest—the surviving churches which are recognizable as descended from the actual D.B. churches; and on the evidence of which alone we must rely if we are to reconstruct the D.B. church.

Lastly there are the ‘chapels’ of D.B., several of which have something to contribute; while those where a church may be presumed to have existed from the payment of ‘church scot’ or the presence of a priest have in each case left no traces of early work or plan.

THE SAXON CHURCHES

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| *Arlington | Coombes | *Poling | Stoke, W. ¹ |
| *Bishopstone | *Dean, W. | Shoreham, Old | *Sullington |
| Bosham | *Jevington | Singleton | Woolbeding |
| Botolphs | *Lewes, St. J.-s.-C. | Sompting | *Worth |
| Clayton | Lyminster | | |

Besides the churches in Baldwin Brown's list, I have included no fewer than five others—Coombes, West Dean in west Sussex, Lyminster, West Stoke, and Sullington.

The first thing which strikes us when we review the Saxon remains in these churches is their very wide diversity, in both size and plan: from the tiny $24\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{1}{4}$ nave of Poling, and the simple nave and chancel of Clayton, to the spacious $59 \times 27\frac{1}{2}$ nave and ample cruciform apsidal plan of Worth. As to size, two remarks seem worth making: first, that, in spite of the small size of Poling and Sullington, an average of the whole series gives a nave longer than all but four of the certainly identifiable D.B. churches; and, secondly, that (as perhaps one would expect) the larger examples are placed by Baldwin Brown among the later—Bishopstone alone being dated by him possibly in the earlier part of the tenth century, while Bosham and Worth, the largest of all, are put in his final period, *temp.* Edward the Confessor. In assessing the significance of this latter fact, however, it must not be forgotten that Bosham was a very special royal manor, though Worth does not seem to have been in any way a 'special case'.

As regards the characteristic 'text-book' Saxon features, there is hardly a single one which does not appear among these nineteen specimens. True, there is only one example of a *porticus* (Bishopstone); but long-and-short work appears in no fewer than eight, and there are not less than three examples of each of the distinctive features. Nearly all have decidedly thin walls; though this, as well as such features as the large quoin stone, or the wide chancel arch, or the tall

¹ This was the second of two churches mentioned under Bosham. I am indebted to Mr. W. D. Peckham for drawing my attention to it, as it had escaped my notice.

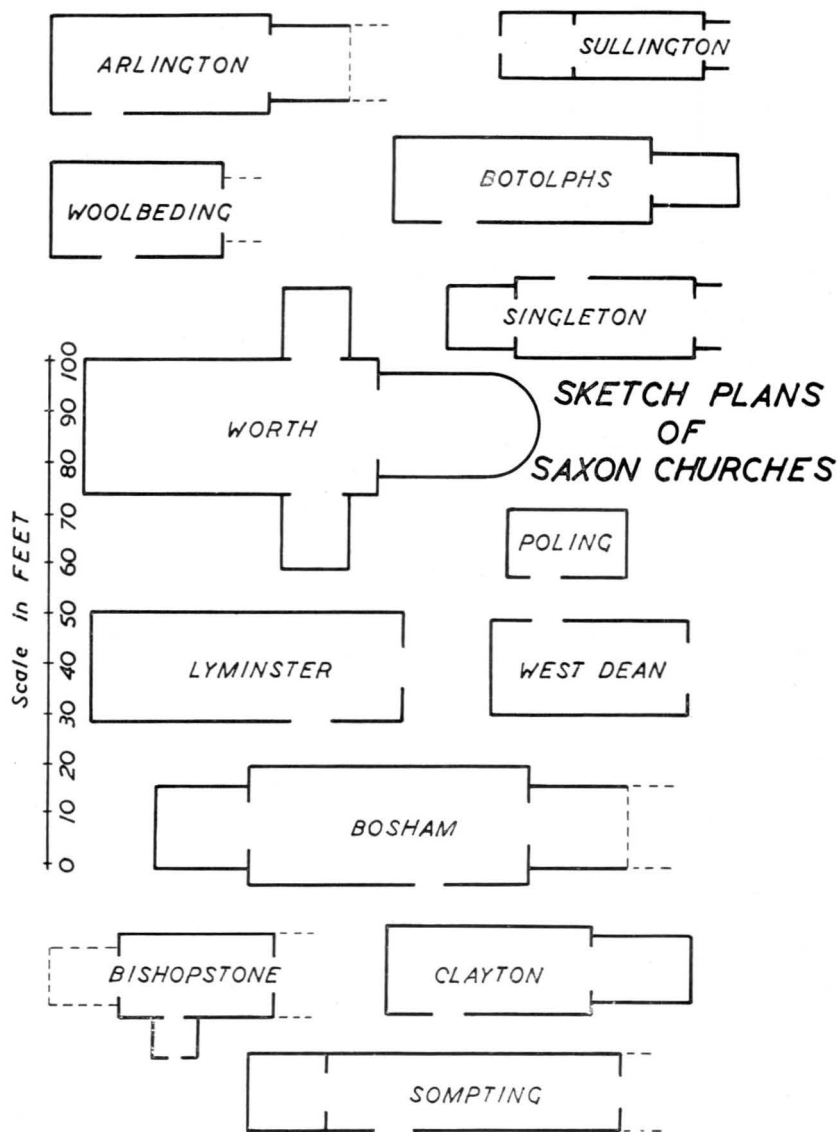


FIG. 2

narrow arch, are matters of degree rather than exact criterion, and do not seem distinctive enough by themselves to determine the date of a building.

To this very short summary it may be added that the grouping of the characteristic features in the several buildings is different in each case.

Occurrences of Saxon Features

| | <i>Long-and-short work</i> | <i>Double-splay windows</i> | <i>Mid-wall shafts</i> | <i>Pilaster strips</i> | <i>Arches of through-stones</i> | <i>Strip-work round openings</i> | <i>Soffit rolls</i> | <i>Triangular-headed openings</i> | <i>Porticus</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Arlington . . . | × | × | | | | | | | |
| Bishopstone . . . | × | | | | | | | | × |
| Bosham . . . | | | | | | | × | × | |
| Botolphs . . . | | | | | | | × | | |
| Clayton . . . | × | | | | | | × | | |
| Dean, W. . . . | | | | | × | | | | |
| Jevington . . . | × | × | × | | | × | | | |
| Lewes | | | | | | × | | | |
| Lyminster . . . | | | | | × | | | | |
| Poling | × | × | | | | | | | |
| Shoreham, Old . . . | | | | | | × | | | |
| Singleton . . . | | × | | | × | | | × | |
| Sompting | × | | × | × | | | × | × | |
| Sullington . . . | × | | | | | | | | |
| Woolbeding . . . | | | | × | | | | | |
| Worth | × | | × | × | × | | | | |

I append a few short notes on the churches which are not in Baldwin Brown's list.

Coombes. Here the nave has been widened by about 2½ ft. on both sides; and remains of the outer frames of five windows which have survived suggest that the widening took place early in the Norman period, though the windows are actually undatable. The original south-west nave quoin, which survived in the west wall, shows more than a suspicion of long-and-short work; and the only story which seems to make sense is that a Saxon nave was widened very early in the post-1066 period.

There are indications which suggest that the north-east chancel quoin was finished in flint; perhaps others were also, thus explaining why all have been renewed with brick or ashlar in comparatively modern times. If this was the case, I fancy it provides an argument for an early post-1066 date.

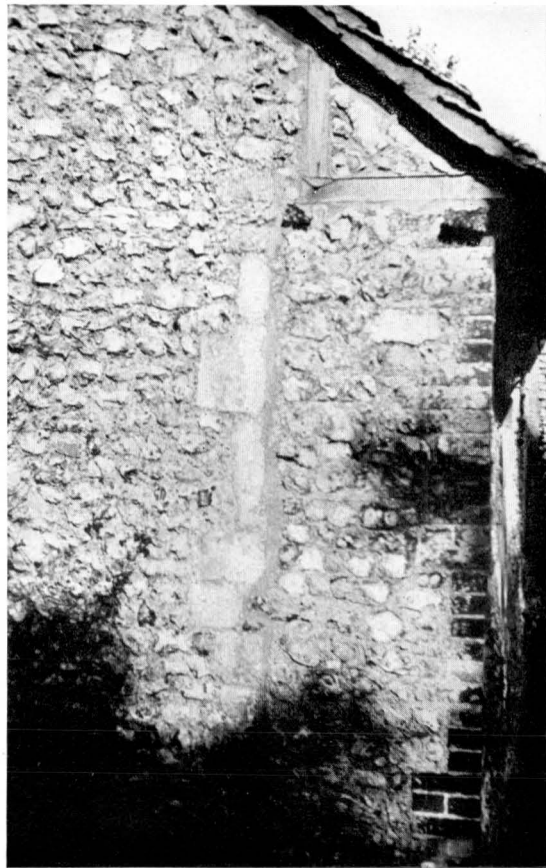


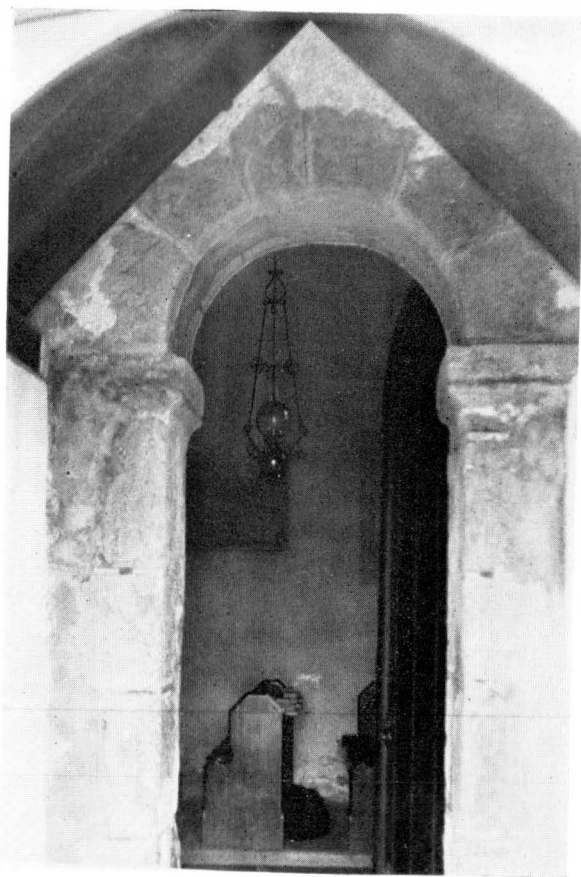
PLATE IV. COOMBES: WEST END



WEST DEAN: NORTH DOOR



PLATE V. SULLINGTON: LONG-AND-SHORT WORK



SELHAM: NORTH DOOR

West Dean (West Sussex). The north door is entirely in the Saxon technique. It measures 9 ft. high \times 32 in. wide, and the voussoirs appear to go right through the wall, which is about 26 in. thick.

The walls are so completely covered with plaster that it is impossible to recover the history and evolution of the church. It has now a central 'tower-space' between nave and chancel, with transepts opening off this, but no tower, and no indication that there has ever been one; the present roof-ridge of nave and tower-space being continuous, and rising high above the roofs of the transepts. The nave is about 40×19 , and the tower-space about 16×14 ; and this might well represent the original nave and chancel of a church of much the size and proportions of Clayton or Arlington.

Lyminster. Here there is only one feature which can prove a Saxon date, though every indication is in that direction. The nave, $63 \times 21\frac{1}{2}$, is unlike any of the genuine D.B. churches; the walls are 20 ft. high and barely 30 in. thick; and the very remarkable chancel arch is 20 ft. high \times 8 ft. 2 in. wide. But the south door, which measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high \times 40 in. wide, is quite definitely Saxon and not Norman, for the voussoirs of the arch are 'through-stones' and appear on the inner wall; and this is quite enough to establish the date of the whole beyond question.

West Stoke. The character here is generally that of a thirteenth-century building. But the north door (now leading into the vestry) seems to have been originally cut straight through the wall, though a rebate for a door has later been cut in the inner frame. The south door is more or less normal thirteenth-century; but the western jamb has no chamfer on the inner frame, though the eastern jamb has one; and, moreover, it displays tooling which may very well be of Saxon date.

It is more than likely that some of the stones of the east quoins of the chancel are re-used Saxon stones; while traces of a window over the chancel arch—a decidedly Saxon feature—have been found.

Sullington. The only definitely Saxon feature here is the few feet of long-and-short work in the north-west and south-west quoins of the west tower. The remainder of the church has now the character of thirteenth century, to which period the chancel seems to belong. But the walls are only $24\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and nearly 20 ft. high, and probably represent the original nave. Both tower and chancel arches have vanished, but the piers remain, and might be either Saxon or Norman.

THE SAXO-NORMAN OVERLAP

*Selham

Stoughton

*Stopham

Westhampnett

It has already been said that we might reasonably expect some carry-over of technique from the Saxon into the Norman period; and so we need not be sur-

prised to find cases where features which are characteristic of each style are found side by side; and such is the case in these four churches.

Selham. A Norman date is suggested by a good deal of herring-bone work in the east wall of the chancel, which appears to belong to the same date as the nave. There is nothing characteristically Saxon in the plan, which is almost identical with that of Chithurst (a D.B. chapel); and the short aisle or transept is a later addition. The chancel arch has nothing Saxon about it: the moulded arch might belong to either side of 1066; and the absence of through-stones is ordinary Norman technique. But the north door is quite definitely Saxon and not Norman: its width (under 34 in.) proves nothing, and even though the walling is barely 24 in. thick, the Norman technique of facing stones with rubble between appears here; but the absence of any rebate fixes it definitely as a Saxon feature. If the herring-bone work of the chancel belongs to the same building as the nave, we can only put this church in the *Overlap* group.

The doubt, if any, turns on the chancel arch, where we have a very remarkable pair of capitals at the heads of soffit shafts which might be Saxon. The abacus on the north side has a highly developed chamfer moulding, the chamfer itself being slightly hollowed; while the capital bears ornament which, though crudely executed, might well be a development, and if so not an early one, from the Norman volute. The capital on the south side is much more crude, and the whole composition is more crudely executed; but I know of no Saxon parallel for the (rather distorted) 'palmette' pattern immediately below the abacus. My own inclination would be to date these capitals, by themselves, late in, or even later than, the immediate post-Conquest period; but it has been contended¹ that their character is Byzantine. I do not feel qualified to express an opinion on this matter; nor, if it is so, am I able to say what light this fact can throw on the date of the building as a whole.

Stopham. Though he marks it C. 3 (i.e. *temp.* Edw. Conf.), Baldwin Brown places this church in the *Overlap* group; and, when commenting on the south door, he remarks that it 'might be regarded as Norman'. Apart from the fact that the church seems to have been originally apsidal, of three-cell type, the nave and chancel might well belong to the post-Conquest period: but the chancel arch has a decidedly Saxon-like feature, in that the vousssoirs, though not through-stones, are cut so as to meet across the soffit, and conceal the rubble of the wall. The peculiarity of the doors, which are in neither Saxon nor Norman technique, has been dealt with already.

Stoughton. This church, which, if it terminated in an apse (as it may originally have done), would have a plan remarkably like that of Worth, has lofty walls (over 25 ft.) only 28 in. thick, a chancel

¹ Mr. W. D. Peckham, whose opinion carries considerable weight, takes this view, which, but for his suggestion, I would have omitted to mention.

arch with soffit roll resembling that at Bosham, and two double-play windows; but the capitals of the chancel arch have unmistakably the Norman volute, and so we have a true case of overlap.



PLATE VI. SELHAM: NORTH CAPITAL OF CHANCEL ARCH

A case could, by the way, be made here for an actual pre-Conquest date. While fully recognizing that the normanization of England, probably more especially in the south-east, must have begun well before 1066, one hesitates to postulate pre-Conquest Norman influence for a 'mere' parish church: but Stoughton was, as a matter

of fact, a 'special case'. The manor was an exceptionally wealthy one, held T.R.E. by Earl Godwin, and later by Earl Roger himself; and to the church belonged no less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ hides, a holding second only among the country churches to that of Singleton (3 hides and 1 virgate), which was also among the most wealthy of the manors.

Westhampnett. Here the regular and pronounced herring-bone work of the south chancel wall has to be set against the inclined jambs of the small window in the same wall. This inclination, by the way, is expressly mentioned by Baldwin Brown¹ as 'not a safe criterion'; and we might be disposed to write the church down as Norman. But fortunately a sketch has been preserved of the chancel arch which was demolished in the restoration of 1867; and here we have (or had) a feature which, by itself, could have made a strong claim to a Saxon date. The arch seems to have been built entirely of Roman tiles, with the very characteristic Saxon feature that the lowest tiles on each side, instead of lying horizontally on the imposts, are slightly inclined inwards, being 'choked up' by half-tiles under their outer edges. We thus have specifically Saxon and Norman features side by side, and can only put Westhampnett down as a case of overlap.

There is, by the way, a small portion of walling (? early Norman or Saxon) at the west end of the south wall of the nave, which more or less establishes the original nave plan; this, measuring 47×19 , resembles fairly closely that of Botolphs, while it does not fit very well among the D.B. churches. There is a *very* pronounced inclination of the chancel towards the south of the axis of the nave: I fancy this implies different dates for the two (I would be glad of opinions on this subject); but I am not sure that any inference from this is possible.

SOME CASES WHERE SAXON EVIDENCE MAY HAVE BEEN OBLITERATED

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| *Fletching | Stoke, N. |
| Keymer | Walberton |
| Ninfield | |

Here we have a few churches where there is reason to suppose that there may have been (perhaps even recently) evidence for a Saxon date, but where now only conjecture can be used, and no conclusion is possible. There may quite possibly be others in Sussex which should come into this group, but which have not come to my notice.

Fletching. The tower of this church was placed by the late P. M. Johnston² in a list of Saxon examples in Sussex; and a fairly good

¹ Op. cit. II. 31.

² S.A.C. XLIII. 155.

case could be made for it, but that it is entirely modernized. The tower walls are very thin, and the tower-nave arch, tall and narrow, might well represent a Saxon original. The nave plan ($70 \times 18\frac{1}{4}$) can hardly be original; but its long, narrow character strongly suggests a Saxon original; and if, as is possible, the nave has been lengthened eastwards as far as the original east end, the original plan must have been almost exactly like that of Botolphs, with the addition of a west tower, and utterly unlike any of the earlier post-Conquest churches.

Keymer. The apsidal chancel is completely modernized; but, bearing in mind that the church was mentioned in D.B., the chancel must almost certainly have been standing in 1086; and if so, more likely before 1066, as we have no evidence of apsidal chancels in the 1066-86 period, except perhaps at Stopham. If, as seems likely, the original foundations of the church were used at the rebuilding, the nave ($48 \times 20\frac{1}{2}$) does not fit well with the other D.B. churches.

Ninfield. The whole church has been so completely rebuilt that no exact information as to the D.B. church is recoverable. There survives, however, in the north nave wall what seems to have formed the arch of an early door. As they are placed now, the stones make no sense at all; if reconstructed so as to form a more or less triangular door-head, they do make sense, but the resulting arch is unlike any other that has survived. All we can say is that it was more likely to have been Saxon than Norman.

Stoke, N. The fact that this church is mentioned in D.B. implies that its apparent thirteenth-century character may not be original. The very peculiar plan, of transepts with no central tower, is a feature of several early West Sussex churches, but has here nothing to indicate its date, as the transepts, as they stand, are later than the nave. But the north-west quoin of the nave has the early feature, to be seen at Lyminster and Rottingdean, of 'duplicated' ashlar at several levels, and this suggests (but no more) that the nave may actually be earlier than the thirteenth century. The feature, however, which arrests attention is the pair of doors (north door blocked) facing each other across the nave, which surely have no counterpart in Sussex; and they are a little difficult to explain, unless they were originally Saxon. If they were in their original state, one might take them as rather clumsy, ignorant, and quite unconventional thirteenth-century work: but they are not, as in each case the arches have been remodelled. They were thus, presumably, originally higher; if they were round-headed, their passage-ways straight through the walls, with no rebate, would be quite in the Saxon tradition, though they do not exhibit, even in the sides, the through-stone technique which would normally belong to the date. The nave plan ($36\frac{1}{4} \times 21\frac{1}{2}$) is almost identical with that of Bury, and quite in keeping with the post-Conquest D.B. churches; while the wall-thickness (35 in.) actually makes a Saxon date very improbable.

The possible evidence here is on very much the same lines as that

for West Stoke, which ought perhaps to have been included in this group instead of the Saxon.

Walberton. If this church ever had any Saxon features, they are lost in the modernization. The late P. M. Johnston reported that 'The nave, recently almost rebuilt, had arches of late eleventh-century date pierced through its walls, and the walls were found to be largely composed of Roman bricks. A rude gable-cross of (probably) pre-Conquest date was found in the west wall.' I am a little sceptical as to the suggested date for the arches, as we have no other examples of arcades till considerably later; but if the date suggested for the arches is correct, then there is a good case for a Saxon date for the walls themselves. In spite of the rebuilding, by the way, parts of the exterior frame of what seems to have been a rood-loft door (of course of later date) have survived in the south nave wall.

SOME CHURCHES OF DOUBTFUL AGE

| | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|---------|
| Aldingbourne | Findon | Slindon |
| Compton | Kingston Bucy ¹ | |

In this section we have a few early churches (all, by the way, from among those mentioned in D.B.: there may be others in the county which properly belong to this category) in which enough has survived to prove their genuine antiquity, but in which there is no specific feature which can be definitely claimed as belonging to one side or the other of 1066. Such cases we usually note as 'early Norman', and I am inclined to believe that this is as a rule correct, though it is only guess-work; but, for reasons already stated, we cannot say with any certainty that they are post-Conquest, as they may equally well, for all the evidence, be pre-Conquest—the inevitable result of the continuity of labour and technique over the critical date. For this reason, we cannot include such churches among the D.B. churches (as I am using the phrase); but, for the same reason, they have little contribution to make to the study of either period. It is good, however, that they should be noticed, for their existence emphasizes, perhaps more than anything else, that continuity which we are possibly apt to forget.

Let me emphasize again that there is no reason

¹ Two churches were mentioned here in D.B.; the other one was Southwick, where no traces of the original remain.

whatever for supposing that any of these churches is at all likely to be Saxon: the only reason for putting them in a special class is that there is no feature in any of them which is decisive in either direction.

Aldingbourne. The only indication that this church may originally have been pre-Conquest is the fact that the north aisle arches, which are later than the nave, are very early Norman, though I would hesitate to date them as early as 1100, as we have no precedent for aisles of such an early date in small parish churches. There does not appear to be a single feature which can settle the point with any exactness. There are parts of the interior frames of two small windows in the south nave wall, but not enough has survived (or is visible) to date them; and there are no surviving door-frames, as aisles have been opened through both north and south walls.

The nave is very narrow, the width ($16\frac{1}{4}$ ft.) being less than that of any of the D.B. naves except Bexhill and Bignor. It is also exceptionally long, the length (63 ft.) being 17 ft. longer than any of those whose dimensions are known more or less for certain. It is likely, however, that the nave has been lengthened eastwards, probably as far as the original east end; but even so, the proportions are somewhat abnormal, though in that case it must originally have been very similar to Southease. Finally the walls are among the thinnest of the D.B. churches, being only 28 in. thick.

The manor was a wealthy one, and was held by the Bishop of Chichester; and the church has undergone an exceptionally complex development, commencing perhaps actually before the end of the eleventh century. Taking all the facts into consideration, it does not seem possible to assign it definitely to either the pre- or the post-Conquest period.

Compton. Only the north wall certainly contains original fabric, though the width ($20\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) of the nave has probably not altered. The nave, now $48\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, was perhaps originally shorter. There are no Norman traces except those of a former north aisle arcade, now closed.

Findon. The later development of this church has been very complex, involving probably a south transept with eastern apsidal chapel. The original nave plan, $42\frac{1}{2} \times 20\frac{1}{4}$, is recognizable; and this is quite in the 1066-86 tradition. Possibly the very thin north wall ($24\frac{1}{2}$ in.) may be an argument for a Saxon date.

Kingston Bucy. An older south-west quoin, now about $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the west end, suggests that the original nave plan was $39\frac{1}{2} \times 21$, which might well have belonged to a D.B. church. The walls are only 27 in. thick. But there is no Norman detail or technique to settle the date.

Slindon. The original nave seems to have been about $32 \times 20\frac{1}{4}$ (now about 13 ft. longer towards the west). There is one original window surviving in the north wall, but it cannot be dated. The walls are from 27 to 28 in. thick.

CHURCHES VANISHED, REMOVED, OR COMPLETELY
REMODELLED

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Arundel | Felpham | Pagham | Salehurst |
| Binderton | Henfield | Petworth | Stedham |
| Boxgrove | Hurstpierpoint | Playden | Steyning ³ |
| Brightling | Linch | Poynings | Tarring ⁴ |
| Brighton | Middleton | Preston, W ¹ | Trotton |
| Chichester, All SS. | Mundham, N. | Pulborough ² | Westbourne ⁵ |
| Donnington | | | |

Of this group practically nothing can be said, except that it is possible that in a few cases another observer may be able to see more than I have done, and possibly even to recover a plausible plan.

Two of these churches, however, may be able to contribute towards our picture of the D.B. church. One is at Stedham, where a single small window has been preserved at the east end of the north aisle. This has a monolithic head, which is scored externally with radial lines to give the appearance of being built up of voussoirs. This is the only example I know of in Sussex, though there are several in Kent. I would be glad of an opinion as to the date of such a feature.

The other church is at Pagham, where, in a more spacious but later building, cruciform but without central tower, a portion of the original south chancel wall has survived. This has a tendency to herring-bone work, and preserves the south-east quoin of a chancel about 15 ft. long.

¹ NONNEMINSTRE in D.B. The identification with West Preston is accepted by the English Place-Name Survey (vi. 169 n.).

² Two churches recorded. For the second, Hussey mentions a chapel 'now totally dilapidated' as having stood in the parish—'Capella de Newberge in Pulbergh' (Newbridge).

³ Two churches recorded. The other was probably Warminghurst.

⁴ Two churches recorded. The other was perhaps Heene (*S.A.C.* xli. 54), but there is no certainty.

⁵ Two churches were actually mentioned under Westbourne: one is at Warblington (Hants), and both are mentioned under that manor, so there may have been none in Sussex.

CHURCHES WHERE PLANS POSSIBLY SURVIVE, BUT
NO CERTAINTY

| | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------|
| Ashburnham | Climping ¹ | Fairlight ² | Patcham |
| Barcombe | Durrington | Falmer | |

In several cases, as at Fairlight and Falmer, the original church is known to have been ruined or demolished, and rebuilt, possibly not even on the same site or foundations. But in each case, though the plan may survive, neither the fabric nor the known history of the building gives us any reason for supposing that it has.

Patcham, however, has a blocked door preserved in the modern north aisle wall, which may be presumed to have survived from the earlier church, and thus perhaps from D.B. date. This door has (now) a monolithic lintel, and may originally have had some sort of tympanum; if so, it is the only one of its kind belonging to the period.

CHURCHES WHERE THE ORIGINAL PLAN PROBABLY
SURVIVES

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Broadwater | Hollington | Plumpton | Ticehurst |
| Herstmonceux | Patching | Selmeston | Wiston |

In these cases there is no real reason to suppose that any drastic alteration has been made at any time in the original plan; and, except for Ticehurst (nave 51×25), all their nave plans might well belong to the 1066–86 group. But as there is no certainty, their measurements cannot be used to help in establishing the D.B. plan.

Plumpton has a round-headed window which may belong to this period.

¹ *V.C.H.* (i. 480) puts the second church recorded at 'Atherington, where the Abbey of Sééz established a cell or grange'; the late Mr. P. M. Johnston (*S.A.C.* XLIII. 107) suggests Ford; Hussey suggests the lost Cudlow. But the very suspicious likeness of the two D.B. entries under CLEPINGES makes it more probable that there was *no* second church.

² *V.C.H.* corrects a scribal error of *una ferlega* to Fairlight, and is supported by the English Place-Name Survey.



PLATE VII. PATCHAM: BLOCKED NORTH DOOR

THE DOMESDAY BOOK CHURCH

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|
| Barnham | Bury | Graffham | Storrington |
| Beeding, Upper ¹ | Chiltington, W. | Hamsey | Tangmere |
| Bpton | Cocking | Lavington, E. | Thakeham |
| Bexhill ² | Ditchling | Rodmell | Udimore |
| Bignor | Eastergate | Southease | Woodmancote |
| Burpham | Elsted | Stoke, S. | |

We are now in a position to arrive at some notion of what the church of the immediate post-Conquest period was like; and for this purpose we have twenty-three churches left whose evidence we can claim with some certainty as valid. It may possibly be felt by some that the results which we arrive at are perhaps somewhat meagre: but even if this is so, they at least have some measure of exactness.

Plan. The plan, in each case, probably consisted of nave and chancel. Unless the tower of Southease is contemporary with the rest of the building, which is extremely improbable, there is no example of a Norman tower, either west, central, or transeptal, belonging to the period, except perhaps that at Stoughton, which, from the evidence of the double-splay window in its lowest stage, may well have been built during the Saxon period. Nor is there any evidence whatever for either aisles or transepts. There may possibly have been examples of 'single-cell' churches, but the evidence is completely wanting.

Walling. The walling of most of the churches is largely of flint, with ashlar work in the quoins and for doors, windows, and arches. I have to confess that I am not sufficiently familiar with the stone in Sussex to be able to note the sources of these worked stones, nor the inferences which might be drawn from the use of the different types; but it is noticeable that towards the north-west of the county, just where D.B. records four quarries—Greatham, Iping, Stedham, and Bignor (mill-stones)—there is more stone, presumably local, used in place of flint.

¹ Two churches recorded. They appear to have been Sele and the parish church.

² Two churches recorded. *V.C.H.* suggests Northeye; and Bulverhithe has also been suggested; the matter is discussed in *S.A.C.* LIII. 68, 71.

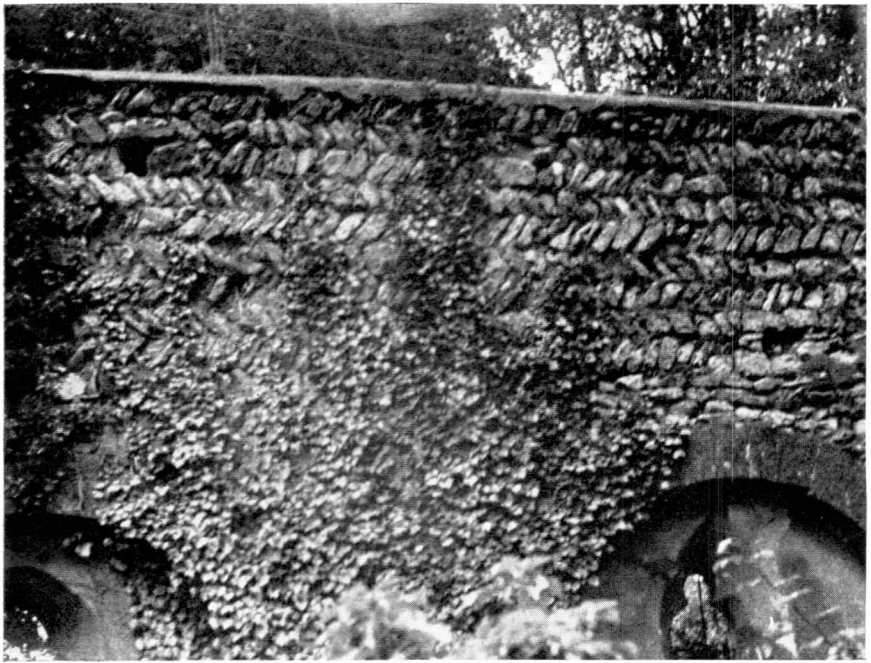
There is a fairly strong tendency to herring-bone work, the most pronounced example being the very remarkable derelict nave of Elsted. This technique can, of course, only be worked properly in stone, though many churches show a 'rake' in the flintwork no doubt due to the same influence, whatever that was. This raises a problem of great interest, which I do not propose to discuss, save to say that I am inclined to trace it to the survival of Roman remains; and it is noticeable that in several cases, more especially at Westhampnett and Eastergate, there is herring-bone work worked in Roman brick. It is also worth noting, in passing, that no fewer than two of the four Sussex examples of Saxo-Norman overlap—Selham and Westhampnett—reveal herring-bone alongside of Saxon features; and this seems to point to this curious technique belonging properly to the very earliest days of the immediate post-Conquest period.

I have observed one example only of the use of flint for the building of a quoin—at the south-east angle of the D.B. chapel of Ovingdean (besides, perhaps, at Coombes). I am inclined to suspect that this is a genuinely early feature; but, though there are a few examples in Kent, I do not know enough examples to base such a conclusion on.

Wall-thickness. There is a fairly wide range of thickness, from 23 in. at Bexhill to 36 in. at Bury, the average being 30.6 in. On the whole the Sussex buildings are, I think, inclined to be thinner than in many parts of the country: in any case, it was, I think, a somewhat unguarded statement of Clapham¹ that 'the Norman builders seldom employed walling of less than 3 ft. in thickness, even in their smallest buildings'.

Height. I fear I cannot give any figures for the heights of the side walls of these churches, as I have not contrived any pocket apparatus for measuring them, and my notes have mostly been merely such as 'very high', and so on. There is a fairly wide range of height, from rather under 13 ft. to well over 20 ft. On the

¹ *Op. cit.* I. 107.



ELSTED: HERRING-BONE WORK

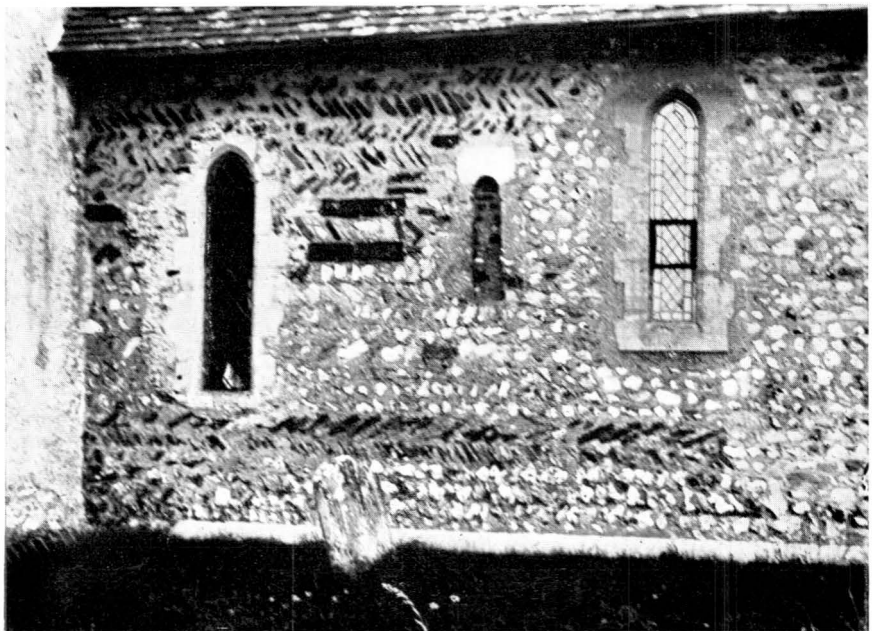


PLATE VIII. WESTHAMPNETT: SOUTH WALL OF CHANCEL

whole (but this is a generalization unsupported by measurement) I fancy that Sussex tends to rather greater height than other areas. Such an example, for instance, as Storrington I cannot remember seeing often outside Sussex. Here, where the original church is now merely a north aisle, its genuine Norman character is proved by the remains of the blocked north door, as well as the thickness of the wall, which is no less than 33 in.; but the very high walls with such a comparatively narrow nave give it a decidedly Saxon appearance.

Wall-plinths. In only two cases of about the period, and one later, do I know of wall-plinths exposed, and so I cannot say much about them with any certainty. Here again I have to refer to Ovingdean, one of the D.B. chapels, which I have yet to deal with. There a good deal of the plinth of the south chancel wall is exposed; and it takes the form of a thickening of the wall by about 2 in. (presumably both inside and out) with no chamfer, but with a quite rough upper surface, all in flint (Fig. 1, D). The other example I know of an exposed plinth is at Ford, where it is of ashlar, chamfered. On this subject I disagree with the late P. M. Johnston, though I am fully aware that, as a practical architect, his view carried some weight. He¹ made much of the difference between the plinths of the nave and chancel, the former of which he regarded as pre-Conquest. I must confess that I am not satisfied that there is any *significant* difference between the two, nor even that they are genuinely original. The arrangement at Ovingdean is certainly more primitive; and, though two different techniques may of course have existed side by side, there is another example of Ovingdean type, of probably well on in the twelfth century, around the north transept at Burpham. Here, though the plinth of the north and east walls is similar to that at Ovingdean, worked stone with a chamfer appears at the north-east angle; but I am by no means sure that it is original. This is another matter on which I would be glad of an opinion.

¹ S.A.C. XLIII. 117.

Nave plan. Except in the case of Bexhill, where the original nave may very likely have been more than 26 ft. long, the measurements of the original naves of the whole series are known with some certainty. In the following table these are given in order of increasing size (here and elsewhere, unless otherwise stated, measurements are internal, and are given in feet):

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Bexhill | 26 × 15 | Woodmancote | 40 × 20 |
| Ditchling | 30 × 18 | Lavington, E. | 41 × 16 |
| Elsted | 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Storrington | 42 × 16 |
| Cocking | 31 × 18 | Bignor | 42 × 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| Rodmell | 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Eastergate | 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 18 |
| Chiltington, W. | 34 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Beeding, Upper | 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 21 |
| Graffham | 36 × 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ | Hamsey | 44 × 20 |
| Bepton | 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 15 | Barnham | 44 × 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Bury | 36 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 22 | Udimore | 45 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Thakeham | 37 × 17 $\frac{1}{4}$ | Southeast | 46 × 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Burpham | 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 18 | Stoke, S. | 46 × 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Tangmere | 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ | | |

The average of the series, including Bexhill, is 38 ft. 8 in. × 18 ft. 8 in., which is almost exactly the original nave plan of Burpham.

Chancel plan. For the chancel, our data are much less adequate. Comparatively few chancels appear to have escaped some lengthening, though it is often possible to recover the original length; while in many cases they have been replaced during the thirteenth century or later, unless, indeed, such examples really indicate that the original churches were of single-cell type.

The following are the measurements (where none are given the chancel is later or wanting):

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Beeding, Upper | 13 × 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| Bepton | 20 × 15 | |
| Bignor | 29 × 18 | (original length uncertain) |
| Bury | 26 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ | (ditto) |
| Cocking | 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 14 | |
| Eastergate | 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ | |
| Elsted | 21 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ | (not reliable) |
| Hamsey | 22 × 14 $\frac{3}{4}$ | (later lengthened) |
| Lavington, E. | 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 12 | |
| Rodmell | 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ | |
| Storrington | 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ | |
| Woodmancote | 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ | (original length uncertain) |

Among all these varied and not very certain data four examples stand out rather noticeably—Cocking, Eastergate, Rodmell, and Storrington—in each case among the number where there is no reason to suspect alteration. And the fact that in each of these cases the length is about 2 ft. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. greater than the width is, I believe, the significant fact. The Rev. Canon G. M. Livett told me some years ago—and I have since confirmed it in many cases up and down the country—that it was very common in Kent (though it hardly amounted to a rule) to find the external measurements of an early chancel a close approximation to a square. This would mean that, internally, the length was greater than the width by about the thickness of the walling, that is, by about 2 ft. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. This cannot, of course, be proved from the figures given above; but I consider that they go a long way to establish these four chancels as unaltered, though they do not prove that the others are not.

The measurements of an average cannot obviously be based on the table above; but I suggest that if we find the average width, and add to it the average wall-thickness, we shall get the best possible idea of a normal D.B. chancel. Now the average of these twelve widths is all but 15 ft.; the average wall-thickness for the whole series is 30.6 in.; and thus a reasonable estimate for the dimensions of the D.B. chancel must be somewhere near $17\frac{1}{2} \times 15$ ft.

Chancel arch. Not many original chancel arches remain; in some cases they have been replaced at the rebuilding of the chancel, and in one or two, as at Barnham, their disappearance is due to the extension of the nave eastwards. The following data are available:

| | <i>Height</i> | <i>Width</i> |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Bignor . . . | 12 | $\times 103$ in. |
| Chiltington, W. . . | $12\frac{1}{2}$ | $\times 76$ in. |
| Cocking . . . | $10\frac{3}{4}$ | $\times 102$ in. |
| Elsted . . . | 13 | $\times 84$ in. |
| Hamsey . . . | $11\frac{1}{2}$ | $\times 82$ in. |
| Rodmell . . . | $12\frac{3}{4}$ | $\times 111$ in. |
| Storrington . . . | $13\frac{3}{4}$ | $\times 120$ in. |

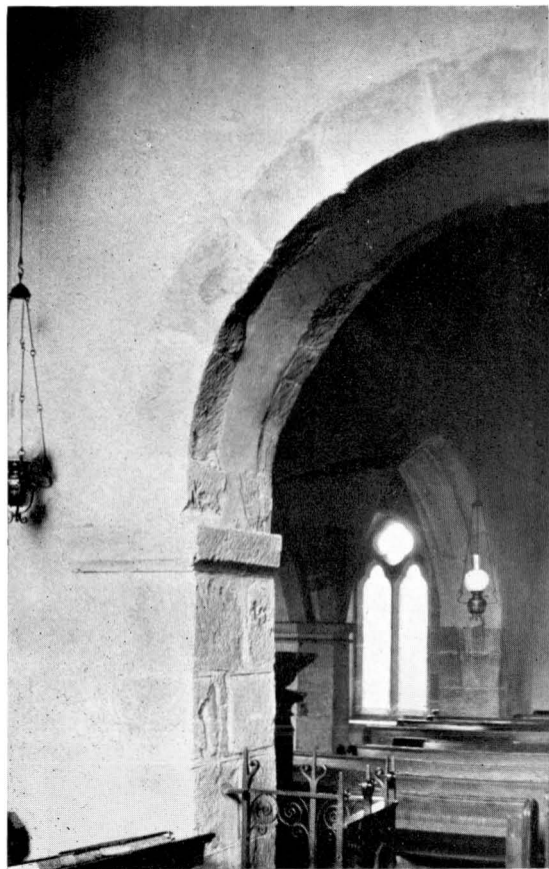


PLATE IX. COCKING: CHANCEL ARCH



CHITHURST: CHANCEL ARCH

In two cases—West Chilington and Storrington—the actual arches have been replaced; but the original height can be inferred from the height of the abaci + half the width of the arch.

There is so much variation in both size and proportion in these figures that an average would not create a proper impression. All we can say is that, just as in the Saxon period we find a wide range of proportion, from the tall, narrow chancel arch at Lyminster to the wide span at Worth, almost the full width of the chancel, so in the period immediately following there is no standard pattern, but an almost equally wide range—culminating, by the way, with the little 11 ft. × 64 in. chancel arch at Chithurst, one of the D.B. chapels which have yet to be dealt with.

In each case there are abaci, something under 5 in. deep, except at Bignor, where it is just over 12 in. Chamfered in every case, at an angle near but not exactly 45°, and, at Cocking, slightly hollowed. The abacus usually projects from 2 to 3 in. inwards, and about 1½ in. from the walls to east and west, though in a few cases it is cut flush with the east or west wall: this is probably a later alteration, as at Storrington one projects and the other is cut flush with the west chancel wall.

Doors. All the doors which have survived are of the plainest type. Rather more often than not, there is a chamfered abacus at the springing of the arch; and sometimes there is a slight chamfer around the whole of the outer opening, seldom if ever around the inner. In every case both inner and outer frames are built of ashlar, with the rubble of the wall showing in the soffit between; often the outer frame projects slightly from the face of the wall, while the inner frame is flush with the wall.

In a number of cases the inner opening and the passage-way have been lowered, and the original height cannot be determined. The table on page 66 gives the measurements of the surviving doors.

This is a slender set of data from which to deduce

a standard. But it will perhaps be sufficient to say that the inner frame is usually about 8 to 9 ft. high, and the outer somewhat over 6 ft.; while the width of the entrance is usually not far short of 40 in., and the passage-way about 6 in. to 10 in. wider. It also happens in each case where both are present that the south door is appreciably the wider.

| | <i>Inner Frame</i> | | <i>Outer Frame</i> | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| | <i>Height ft.</i> | <i>Width in.</i> | <i>Height ft.</i> | <i>Width in.</i> |
| Barnham | .. | 48 | (may not be original) | |
| Chiltington, W. | 10½ | 54 | 8 | 43 |
| Burpham | .. | 44 | .. | 38 |
| Stoke, S. (S.) | 7+ | 39 | 6 | 33 |
| " (N.) | 7+ | 49 | 6¾ | 44 |
| Storrington | .. | .. | .. | 40 |
| Thakeham (N.) | .. | 44 | (may not be original) | |
| " (S.) | .. | 53 | | |
| Udimore | 8½ | 41 | .. | .. |
| Woodmancote (N.) | .. | 50 | 6¾ | 41 |
| " (S.) | .. | 54 | (may not be original) | |
| And we may add: | | | | |
| Patcham | 8¾ | 39 | 7½+ | 33 |

The Patcham door now has a plain monolithic lintel, though the arch as it is may not be original. At Burpham, also, there is what appears to have served as a lintel: this is in two parts, with a T-shaped stone between, forming a sort of 'joggled' joint, though it is not very clear what was its purpose.

Position of doors. Enough pairs have survived to show that it was at least quite normal to have both north and south doors roughly opposite to each other. In most cases the absence of doors is due either to the opening of aisles, as at Cocking, or to the rebuilding of north or south wall, or both: in no case is there any reason for supposing that the church had only one door. There are, by the way, no traces of chancel doors.

The positions of nave doors I have indicated by percentages of the nave length, measured internally, from the west end (thus 25% would mean that the door was at exactly a quarter of the distance from west to east). The figures are:

| | | <i>Per cent.</i> |
|-----------------|------|----------------------|
| | | <i>dist. from W.</i> |
| Barnham | . S. | 42 |
| Burpham | . N. | 65 |
| Chiltington, W. | . N. | 43 |
| Southease | . N. | 18 |
| " | . S. | 22 |
| Stoke, S. | . N. | 26 |
| " | . S. | 26 |
| Storrington | . N. | 51 |
| Thakeham | . N. | 29 |
| " | . S. | 28 |
| Woodmancote | . N. | 40 |
| " | . S. | 43 |

Southease and Burpham are quite exceptional, though if the latter had a nave originally $52\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, as it is now, the blocked north door would be almost exactly at its middle point.

From the little evidence afforded by these examples, it would be fairly safe to say only that the doors are usually from about one-quarter to one-half of the way along the walls, measured from the west end; and that they are usually fairly exactly opposite to one another.

Windows. Only eight window openings have survived. From these we may fairly conclude that they were seldom more than 5 to 6 in. wide, or more than about 30 in. high. In every case the exterior head is monolithic; there may have been others besides that at Stedham where the monolithic head was scored with radial lines to give the impression that it was built up as an arch, but we cannot be certain even that this window really belongs to the period.

There is one window for which I know of no parallel anywhere, and that is in the north chancel wall at Eastergate. Here the head and sides are normal; but the base is set back a few inches from the outer face of the wall, and the sill steeply splayed downwards externally. I can see no reason for supposing that the arrangement is not original; and I am inclined to regard it as experimental.

The interior in every surviving case is well splayed.

I have not taken measurements, as my impression has been that, though probably not constant, there is no special significance in the slight differences that may exist. The inner frames, so far as these are visible, are



PLATE X. EASTERGATE: NORTH WINDOW IN CHANCEL

usually outlined in ashlar, with rubble showing between inner and outer frames, as is the case with arches.

Position of nave windows. There is a certain amount of uniformity in both the number and the arrangement of the nave windows. Tangmere alone probably has the nave set complete: here there are two each side,

fairly exactly at one-third and two-thirds along the nave walls from the west end. At Burpham and Thakeham, two others of the smaller churches, there are windows almost exactly two-thirds and one-third respectively from the west end; and we might perhaps be allowed to presume an arrangement similar to Tangmere. On the other hand, at Barnham there is one at one-quarter, at Cocking one at one-half, and at Southease one at three-quarters, of the way along; and it appears likely that there was an alternative of three windows each side, roughly equally spaced. This perhaps applied rather to the larger churches, though Cocking actually has almost the shortest nave of the whole series.

There is no surviving example of a window in the west wall.

Position of chancel windows. Only four chancel windows have survived. Of these, three, at West Chilton, Eastergate, and Hamsey, are in the north walls, while one, at Rodmell, is in the south wall; in each case the window is fairly near the centre of the wall. It seems a safe guess, but there is absolutely no foundation for it (except at Ovingdean), that there was usually a single window in the centre of the east wall.

Roofing. There is no evidence as to the nature of the roof structure, nor of the material of which the actual covering was made; nor is there any means of ascertaining what was the normal pitch of the roof.

Ornament. Of ornament there is absolutely none. This is at first sight not remarkable; but it must be remembered that the Saxon work of a generation earlier, or perhaps even contemporary, actually bears some, from the very crude door capitals of Stopham to the elaborate chancel arch at Selham, both of which belong to the Overlap group. It hardly seems likely that this overlap period should have lasted long after 1066; but one would have expected to find some trace of carving in the work of the next twenty years. Is it possible that the D.B. churches which we have been considering were, so to speak, 'rushed up', and lacked

the more leisurely craftsmanship which had been bestowed on the churches of a generation or so earlier?

There is a small piece of early sculpture at Tangmere, where it has been re-used to form the head of a window of perhaps a century later; the subject was taken by the late P. M. Johnston as the beheading of St. John



PLATE XI. TANGMERE: SCULPTURE

the Baptist. This can, however, hardly belong to our period, as, whatever it was originally, the fact that it was re-used for its present purpose seems to imply that it was not a part of the D.B. church.

My remark about the absence of ornament probably applies also to a few fonts, such as Bepton, Bignor, Cocking, and Tangmere, which, from their crudeness and simplicity, may not unreasonably be judged to be of approximately the same date as the churches in which they stand; but they may, of course, have belonged to more primitive buildings replaced during the 1066-86 period.

THE DOMESDAY BOOK CHAPELS

| | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Balmer (in Falmer) | Hooe | Shermanbury |
| Catsfield | Ovingdean | Streat ¹ |
| Chithurst | Sedlescombe | |

Balmer has vanished; while there are no traces of early work at Catsfield, Hooe, Sedlescombe, and Shermanbury. We have thus three churches to consider, two of which—Chithurst and Ovingdean—are largely unspoiled and of considerable interest.

Chithurst. This church is built mainly of ragstone and not flint, with a tendency to herring-bone work, and walls about 26 in. thick. It has been described as Saxon; but a Saxon date is, in fact, ruled out by the herring-bone work, and also perhaps by what appear to be the remains of the outer frame of a north door, almost exactly one-third of the way along the wall. It is the smallest church of the whole series:

| | |
|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| Nave . . . | $26\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Chancel . . . | $11\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ |

The chancel arch is quite plain, with chamfered abaci, measuring 11 ft. high \times 64 in. wide.

There is also a small, rather narrowly splayed window in the north nave wall.

Ovingdean. This church is even more complete. The walls are mainly of flint, even including the south-east chancel quoin; they are about $33\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and nearly 20 ft. high. The measurements are:

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| Nave . . . | $34 \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Chancel . . . | 19×14 |

and the chancel arch, again quite plain, $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high \times 68 in. wide.

A blocked north door survives, almost exactly one-half way along the nave wall; it measures int. $8\frac{3}{4}$ ft. \times 46 in.; ext. 6 ft. \times 37 in. There are also small windows almost exactly two-thirds of the way in both north and south walls. The chancel evidently has its windows complete, consisting of one each, about 5 in. wide, in the centre of the north, east, and south walls.

I have already referred to the wall-plinth of the south chancel wall. But I must say here that there is some appearance of a crack in the north chancel wall at about 7 ft. (externally) from the east end, which (I have a fancy) is confirmed in the south wall. If this crack reveals a later lengthening of a chancel originally $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. (in-

¹ Two chapels recorded: it seems to be quite uncertain where the second was.

ternally) shorter, the chancel plan ($14\frac{1}{2} \times 14$) is more in keeping with the other D.B. churches; but it also invalidates what I have said as to the flint quoin at the south-east angle, as well as most, if not all of the wall-plinth of the south wall. I would be glad to know what other observers think about this.

Streat. This church is less interesting, as it has been largely rebuilt; but some of the original west and north walling of the nave survives, and the nave plan has almost certainly survived. Measurements:

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Nave . . . | $30\frac{3}{4} \times 17\frac{3}{4}$ |
| Chancel . . . | $15 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ (later lengthened by about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft.) |

Only one comment on these churches seems called for. I have sometimes wondered what exactly the compilers of D.B. implied by the use of the word *ecclesiola*, which we usually render 'chapel'. The latter word, however, has for us a special significance, while the Latin word should mean simply 'little church'. Now, with the exception of Bexhill, which may originally have been longer, Chithurst stands out as the smallest church of the whole series; while Streat, with a trio consisting of Cocking, Ditchling, and Elsted, with almost identical nave plans, comes next; and Ovingdean, with Rodmell only a few inches shorter, next again. It would thus appear likely that the term *ecclesiola* was merely an indication of size and had no reference to the 'status' of the church.

If this was the case, there is no technical reason why the data collected here for the 'chapels' should be separated from those of the churches; but I have not actually revised the averages to include these examples.

In conclusion of this section, it is worth pointing out that for completeness, including two features which do not appear elsewhere, Ovingdean stands out prominently as the best surviving specimen of D.B. church, though slightly below the average for size. It is, I think, unfortunate that there is not a single example of a D.B. church which looks largely as it looked in 1086: a better impression of the general character and appearance can probably be gained from Hardham church than from any other.

THE DOUBTFUL IDENTIFICATIONS

| | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Binsted ¹ | Hastings, All SS. | Iford ⁵ | Southwick ⁶ |
| Brede ² | Hastings, St. C. | Kingston by Lewes | Tortington |
| Bulverhithe ³ | Heene ⁴ | Northeve | Warminghurst |
| Ford | Icklesham | Pett | Winchelsea, Old |
| Guestling | Iden | Rye | Yapton |

The remainder of the churches need not detain us long. Even if they have anything to tell us, we cannot accept their evidence, as we cannot be certain that they genuinely belong to the period.

Actually they have little contribution to make; though Binsted, if correctly identified, gives us the solitary example of a single-cell church; Ford, of the simple diaper pattern on the abacus of the chancel arch (if indeed this is a part of the original church); Icklesham, in spite of its very complex development, a typical nave plan; and Tortington, the shortest nave of the whole series.

PRIESTS (BUT NO CHURCHES) MENTIONED IN D.B.

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Amberley | Saddlescombe (in Newtimber) |
| Broomham (in Catsfield) | Wartling |
| Brambletye (in E. Grinstead) | Willingdon |

Nothing is left at Broomham and Brambletye; at Amberley, Saddlescombe, and Wartling there are no traces which could be of D.B. date. At Willingdon there is perhaps some evidence of an earlier church, occupying roughly the position of the present north aisle; but no information can be drawn from it.

¹ D.B. names no place. There are now 12 parishes in Avisford Hundred, in 8 of which churches are named in D.B. Those not mentioned are Binsted, Ford, Tortington, and Yapton. Perhaps the omission of the name, in BENE-STEDE Hundred, points to Binsted itself.

² On RAMESLIE (5 churches), S.D.B. quotes the large Manor of Brede, extending into Brede, Udimore, Guestling, Fairlight, Icklesham, Pett, Winchelsea, Rye, Iden, and Hastings (All SS. and St. Clement). Churches are recorded in D.B. for Udimore and Fairlight.

³ Bulverhithe and Northeve have both been suggested for the second church recorded under Bexhill.

⁴ Perhaps the second church under Tarring (*S.A.C.* xli. 54).

⁵ The Manor of NIWORDE probably included both Iford and Kingston by Lewes; so the church recorded may have been either. The latter church seems to have been built a little later than 1090, so Iford is probably the one.

⁶ Almost certainly the second church recorded under Kingston Buei.

MANOR WHICH PAID 'CHURCH SCOT'

Iping

No trace of an early church.

OTHER CHURCHES PROBABLY STANDING IN 1086

It is worth adding that, besides the churches which have been discussed, there are at least two other groups which may be presumed to have been standing in or before 1086. These are—

- (i) Churches whose medieval dedications were to pre-Conquest Anglian saints—on the grounds that a Norman landholder is unlikely to have selected such a dedication;
- (ii) Churches specifically named in charters or other documents of pre-1086 date.

As, however, in almost every case the date of document or dedication would also be pre-1066, we are hardly concerned with them; and actually in several cases, such as Beddingham and Shipley, there appears to be no trace of work belonging to the period.

One church, however, demands a mention, and that is Bramber. Here a church is known to have been built by William de Braose in or shortly before 1073, when he granted an endowment of land and tithes to it and the college of canons which he had placed in it.¹ Part of the existing nave (21½ ft. wide) is quite in keeping with the other D.B. churches discussed, though the walls are approximately 4 ft. thick. To this, which is built of flint, a tower with shallow transepts and a chancel² were added, these being largely constructed of tufa, a material the use of which was practically confined to the last quarter of the eleventh century. The plan of the church, and the crude sculpture of the tower arches, are almost without parallel in England and would be impossible to date without the documentary evidence; but as we know that the collegiate existence of the church ended in 1086,³ it is extremely unlikely that the

¹ Round, *Cal. Docts. France*, 405.

² *S.A.C.* LXXIII, 140.

³ Round, *op. cit.* 37.

additions should have been made after that date, when the building reverted to the status of an ordinary parish church.

In conclusion, may I say how much I hope that some discussion will follow this essay. I claim only to be a learner, and I am conscious of having learned an enormous amount while collecting and arranging my data. But I have had to admit ignorance, and to invite opinions, on several matters; and I would welcome any data or detail which has escaped my notice which might help to make a more exact picture of the type of church which was being built between 1066 and 1086.

APPENDIX

So far as I know, the only detailed treatment of the subject of Church organization, as revealed in D.B., is that of Dr. Wm. Page in *Archaeologia*, 1915. In his paper he attempts to deduce, from the evidence of the churches which are, or are not, mentioned in D.B., some conclusions as to the Church (not church-building) organization prevailing in the several counties of England.

I am not prepared to discuss the validity of his conclusions as regards the other counties; but, with all due deference to so learned an antiquary, I cannot accept his findings about Sussex. A single paragraph sums up the whole situation as he sees it:

In Sussex a great difference is noticeable in the eleventh century between the ecclesiastical organisation of the older settled districts in the south and that of the later settlements on the verge of the forest in the north. In the former we find the older system of minsters of secular priests at the hundred boroughs and manors, in some instances still possibly serving the whole hundred, and at others having their areas of ministration encroached upon by more recently established manorial churches. In the forest lands of the north, however, manorial churches only are to be found, and they are few in number.

To put my criticism very bluntly, the D.B. data do not appear to me to indicate any 'ecclesiastical organisation' at all. What we do see is that, in the more southerly portions of the county, where the population was comparatively dense, there was hardly a hundred without a church or a 'Minster' (Longbridge has none recorded, though a Saxon church still stands at Arlington); and these naturally were more often than not at or near to the principal manor of the hundred; while in a number of cases there were several churches in a hundred, BENESTEDE (or Avisford) Hundred leading with no fewer than eight, or possibly even nine.

On the other hand, the northern, or forest, part of the county was hardly dealt with in the Survey, partly, no doubt, because of its low economic value, but partly because the data for much of it was included with those of manors in the southern part of the county. As a result, the recorded churches are sporadic and almost negligible; though the evidence of, for example, Worth, Frant, and Rotherfield shows that the forest area was by no means without them.

Actually, if we plot on a map all the churches now known to have been in existence at, say, 1100—substantially the whole range of the lists in the foregoing paper, but with caution as to the cases of doubtful identification—then we are perhaps in a position to deduce some sort of organization. I am, however, strongly inclined to suspect that the existence or non-existence of a church depended largely on the landholder. A rough count through the rapes yields the following figures (approximate only):

| | | | | |
|------------------|----|----|-----|-------------|
| Chichester . . . | 26 | or | 3·7 | per hundred |
| Arundel . . . | 33 | or | 5·5 | „ |
| Bramber . . . | 21 | or | 2·6 | „ |
| Lewes . . . | 29 | or | 3·2 | „ |
| Pevensey . . . | 14 | or | 0·7 | „ |
| Hastings . . . | 27 | or | 2·0 | „ |

I am convinced that the distribution of these figures points rather to the geological structure of the county, and the more settled conditions in the west, than to any ecclesiastical organization. It does not suggest, either, that the sub-tenants of, say, Roger Montgomery were more religious than those of the Count of Mortain.

In any case, any reliable opinion on Dr. Page's thesis must be based on the fullest available information as to the churches which were in existence in 1086, and not merely on the 'sample' (which may well be a bare 50%) recorded in D.B.