

SUSSEX
Archæological Collections

RELATING TO THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE COUNTY

PUBLISHED BY
The Sussex Archæological Society



VOL. LXXXVII

OXFORD
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1948

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 7, Eaton Place, s.w. 1.
 1942. rBye, Mrs., Woodfield, Brede, Rye.
 1941. Byng-Lucas, Miss C., Millers, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1946. Byng-Stamper, Mrs., Millers, St. Anne's, Lewes.
 1947.T*Caffyn, S. M., Aymond Grange, Dittons Road, Eastbourne.
 1946. Caldecott, Lady, Pier Point, Itchenor, Chichester.
 1936. Callender, E. M., Tentercroft, Cuckfield.
 1929. Campbell, G. J., Littlehampton.
 1922. *Campion, W. Simon, The Ham, Hassocks.
 1947. Campion, Rev. Canon, F. H., Church Cottage, Graffham, Petworth.
 1945. rCamplin, W. H., Oak Gate, Hankham, Pevensey.
 1948. Candlin, A. H., St. Bedes School, Eastbourne.
 1923. rCarley, G. C., 34, The Towers, Grand Avenue, Worthing.
 1927. rCarling, William | West Cottage, 16, Butts Road, Alton, Hants.
 1927.TACarling, Mrs. W. |
 1938. *Carlyon-Britton, R., F.S.A., 38, Westgate, Chichester.
 1948. Carew, Mrs., 8, The Driveway, Shoreham.
 1942. rCarr-Gomm, M. C., Ockley Lodge, Keymer, Hassocks.
 1948. Carr-Gomm, Mrs., The Tile House, East Blatchington, Seaford.
 1935. Casserley, Miss E. M., 116B, Lansdowne Place, Hove.
 1946. Castle, R. B. T., O.B.E., | Downlye, Cuckfield.
 1945. ACastle, Mrs. |
 1945. Catt, M. W., Pebsham Farm, Nr. Bexhill.
 1891.T*Cave, Charles J. P., F.S.A., Stoner Hill, Petersfield, Hants
 1926. Challen, W. H., 108, Sackville Road, Worthing.
 1935. Chambers, Mrs. W. P. C., Heronsdale Manor, Waldron.
 1934. Chandler, R., Little Thurlow, Oathall Road, Haywards Heath.
 1908. Chapman, H. J., Mill Farm Cottage, Fletching.
 1945. Charters, Mrs., Hilltop, Stonegate, Tunbridge Wells.
 1900. rCheal, H., Montford, Shoreham.
 1919. Chilton, T., Elmstead, St. John's Road, Bexhill.
 1947. Chown, Mrs., Coombe Wood, Sedlescombe, Battle.
 1939. Christie, John, M.C., Glyndebourne, Lewes.
 1946. Church, R. G., Wood Cottage, 76, St. Lawrence Avenue, Worthing.
 1944. Churchman, H., | Farnagates, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst.
 1946 AChurchman, Mrs. |
 1947. Clark, A. J., Downderry, The Drive, Farnham Road, Guildford.
 1930. Clark, Mrs. Grahame, 42, Barton Road, Cambridge.
 1930. Clarke, D. K., Holt Down, Sussex Road, Petersfield, Hants.
 1937. Clarke, Miss F. E. R., 21, St. Martin's Square, Chichester.
 1929. Clarke, R. S., M.P., D.L., Hoathly Hill, West Hoathly.
 1895. *Clarke, Col. Stephenson R., C.B., Borde Hill, Haywards Heath.
 1938. Clarkson, G. A. | St. Anne's, Lindfield.
 1938. AClarkson, Mrs. |
 1925. Clarkson, Capt. H. G. | 40, Wildcroft Manor, Putney Heath, s.w. 15.
 1925. AClarkson, Mrs. H. G. |
 1947. Clawson, G. H. | 9, Heath Drive, London, N.W. 3.
 1947. AClawson, Mrs. |
 1922. Clayton, C. L., 10, Prince Albert Street, Brighton.
 1926. rClayton, E. S., Prawles, Ewhurst, Nr. Hawkhurst.
 1941. *Cleeves, C. E., Sproutes, Coolham, Horsham.
 1929. Clements, Col. H. T. W., Killadoon, Celbridge, Eire.
 1921. Coast, Miss K., Rest Harrow, Arundel Road, Worthing.

1936. tCoffin, S., 1, Turner Drive, Golders Green, n.w. 11.
 1943. Coleman, Miss M., 266, Ditchling Road, Brighton.
 1930. Coleridge, A. H. B., 16, Southampton Place, w.c.1.
 1948. Collingridge, Miss, Merriams, Ticehurst.
 1911.t*Collins, A. E., 40, Gunterstone Road, w. 14.
 1947. Collins, A. H., 16, New Park Road, Chichester.
 1934. Collins, S.W.
 1934. ACollins, Mrs. S. W. } Muster House, Muster Green, Haywards Heath
 1946. Coltart, W. S., Chilworth, Lavant Road, Chichester.
 1946. Colyer, H. G., Brendon, Chesham Road, Guildford.
 1921. tCook, C. F., F.R.S.A., 56, Church Road, Hove.
 1909. tCooper, Miss M. H., F.S.A., Newbury Cottage, Cuckfield.
 1932. Cooper, Mrs. R., Danehurst, Rusthall, Tunbridge Wells.
 1947. Coplestone, J. A., Sutton Place, Seaford.
 1947. Copper, R. J., Central Club, Peacehaven.
 1945. *Corballis, Rev. J. H. J., 2, Grange Road, Eastbourne.
 1932. tCorbett, Lady, The Forest Farm, Chelwood Gate.
 1935. Corfield, Dr. Carruthers, Broadmark Place, Rustington.
 1944. tCosh, E. C., 27, Beach Road, Littlehampton.
 1928. tCourthope, Miss E. J., Sprivers, Horsmonden, Kent.
 1911. tCourthope, The Rt. Hon. Baron, m.c., Whiligh.
 1945. Courthope, R., Sprivers, Horsmonden, Kent.
 1947. Cox, C. T., Hill Lodge, Lewes.
 1923. Cox, Miss E. F., 5, St. Anne's Court, Nizells Avenue, Hove.
 1938. tCox, Miss Irene, o.B.E., Little Hobbs Cottage, Tandridge Lane, Lingfield.
 1938. tCox, Lieut.-Col. R. J., St. Julian's, Palmeira Avenue, Hove.
 1944. Cox, Miss G. M., The Grange, Burgess Hill.
 1947. Cox, Mrs., Cloona, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
 1908. Cripps, Ernest E., Sunnyside, Steyning.
 1924. Cripps, W. T., Sunways, Wickham Hill, Hurstpierpoint.
 1947. Cripps, Miss R. W., Sweetmans, Ashurst.
 1939. Crook, Miss B., West House, Southover, Lewes.
 1947. tCrook, A. H. }
 1947. tCrook, Mrs. } 2, Chiswick Place, Eastbourne.
 1922. Crookshank, Rev. A. C., Ditchling Vicarage.
 1925. Cross, D. }
 1946. ACross, Mrs. D. } Moonrakers, Fairlight, Hastings.
 1930. Cross-Buchanan, L., King's Cottage, Mare Hill, Pulborough.
 1948. Culver, G. H. }
 1948. ACulver, Mrs. } Woodbine Cottage, Buxted.
 1947. tCunnington, L. W., The School House, Angmering.
 1945. Curtis, Mrs., Barcombe House, Barcombe Mills.
 1909. tCurwen, Eliot, F.S.A., 1, St. Aubyn's, Hove.
 1916. tCurwen, Eliot Cecil, F.S.A. }
 1925. ACurwen, Mrs. E. C. } 1, St. Aubyn's, Hove.
 1945. Danby, Miss G. E. D., Crooked Lane Cottage, Seaford.
 1899.t*Darby, Miss C. C., 4, Hove Park Way, Hove.
 1948. Darbyshire, W. L., Glyndley Manor, Hankham, Pevensey.
 1930. tDarlington, W. S., The Mast Head, Frant.
 1913. Davidson, Miss Blanche, Hickstead Place, Bolney.
 1924. Davidson-Houston, Mrs., 21, Buckingham Palace Mansions, London, s.w. 1.
 1946. Davies, E., 5, Tillington Terrace, Hastings.
 1948. Davies, G. E., 131, Nevill Avenue, Hove, 4.
 1931. Daw, Mrs., The Vineyard, West Hoathly.
 1946. Dawson, H. D., 26-30, Kings Road, Brighton.
 1940. De Candole, Rev. H. H. V., Henfield Vicarage.
 1931. tD'Elboux, R. H., m.c., F.S.A., Whitelands, Battle.

1920. *Demetriadi, Lady, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 16, St. James's Street, London, s.w. 1.
1920. *Demetriadi, Sir Stephen, K.B.E., Middleton Laine, Westmeston.
1946. tDenby, R. C., Broadacre, Toat Hill, Slinfold, Nr. Horsham.
1913. Dendy, R. A., Southover, Woodland Drive, Hove, 4.
1947. Denman, J. B., Bank House, Ditchling.
1928. Denman, J. L., Oldways, Hurstpierpoint.
1935. *Denman, The Hon. Lady, Balcombe Place.
1939. Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, F.S.A., Compton Place, Eastbourne.
1936. Dicker, Rev. C. G. Hamilton, St. Bartholomew's Clergy House, 87, London Road, Brighton, 7.
1947. Dickins, K. W., Two Trees, College Lane, Hurstpierpoint.
1947. Dickinson, Mrs., 107, High Street, Lewes.
1947. Dixon, T. G., Warhams, Rudgwick.
1935. tDonne, L. V., 10, Nizells Avenue, Hove.
1925. Downey, J. H., Hollington Place, Hollington.
1927. tDowns, Mrs., Brix, Mudeford, Christchurch, Hants.
1935. Doxford, Mrs., Northfields, Eastergate, Chichester.
1926. *Drummond-Roberts, Mrs. J. H., 13, The Drive, Hove.
1947. tDuggan, A. L., Bodiam Manor, Robertsbridge.
1947. Duncan-Jones, The Very Rev. A. S., The Deanery, Chichester.
1903. tDuke, F., Trullers, Holland Road, Steyning.
1931. Duval, Rev. D., Lyminster Vicarage, Littlehampton.
1947. aEales, Miss, Tythe Barn Cottage, Harting.
1937. Easterbrook, L. F., Phillismead, Treyford, Midhurst.
1938. Eeles, Col. H. S., O.B.E., Sandyden House, Mark Cross.
1946. Edwards, W. E., Wyngarth, Ringmer, Lewes.
1947. Edwards, Miss D., Rannock Lodge, Park Road, Burgess Hill.
1924. Eggar, T. Macdonald, 9, Old Steine, Brighton.
1945. Elliott, Canon G., 21A, Montpelier Crescent, Brighton, 1.
1946. Elliott, R. H., c/o 1, Longstone Road, Eastbourne.
1947. Ellis-Collins, S., West Harting Bakery.
1948. tEllis, E. J., Hampton House, Wes'ham, Pevensey.
1931. aEllis, Mrs. C. H. S., Bavelaw, Copyhold Lane, Cuckfield.
1896. tEllis, Geoffrey, South Rise, 69, Dorset Road, Bexhill.
1943. Ellis, T. J. S., Bavelaw, Copyhold Lane, Cuckfield.
1947. Ellis, Mrs., Field Gate, Spinney Lane, Itchenor, Chichester.
1941. Elphick, G. P., 37, St. John Street, Lewes.
1923. Emary, H. H., 147, St. Helen's Road, Hastings.
1948. Emerson, Mrs., 50, St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
1946. English, G. C., Harting.
1922. Esdaile, Arundell, Litt.D., | Leams End, West Hoathly.
1924. aEsdaile, Mrs. Arundell
1946. Essex, P. C., 8, Broad Road, Lower Willingdon.
1943. Evans, A., 2227, 20A Street, N.W., Washington D.C., U.S.A.
1943. Evans, Mrs., Hunt's Barn, Mayfield.
1927. Eves, Mrs. R. G., 149, Adelaide Road, n.w. 3.
1945. Evelyn, J., 5, Tregaron Avenue, East Cosham, Portsmouth, Hants.
1946. Ewbank, A. L. J., Mayfield.
1945. Fabes, G. H., The Willows, Sea Road, Winchelsea.
1946. Fairfield, Lady, Mercia House, Lansdowne Road, Hove.
1934. Farmer, Miss E. M. O., Penlands, Loxwood, Billingshurst.
1945. Fayle, A., Markstakes, South Common, Lewes.
1947. Feast, F. H., Burletts, Bramber.
1948. Fellows, F. H., 24, Walpole Road, Brighton.
1946. Fenwick-Owen, Mrs., Langney Priory, Eastbourne.

1940. Fibbens, C. W., Highdown, 17, Church Road, Worthing.
 1932. Field, L. F., 7, Ellerton Road, London, s.w. 18.
 1946. Field, Mrs., High Street, Handcross.
 1944. Firth, R. I., 6, Windover Crescent, Lewes.
 1939. Fisher, Miss D. L., Upways, The Lane, Summersdale, Chichester.
 1946. Fitch, C. A., 51A, Enys Road, Eastbourne.
 1932. Fitt, H. F., Osborne Road, Crowborough Hill.
 1947. Fleet, S., 5, West Street, Rye.
 1926. Fleming, Lindsay, Aldwick Grange, Bognor.
 1937. Foley, Sir Julian, 6, Hadley Grove, Barnet, Herts.
 1940. Fookes, Miss, Chilver Bridge, Arlington.
 1943. Fooks, Rev. E. G., Our Lady Star of the Sea, Church Road, Portslade.
 1930. tFormby, E. L., Ashdown House, Forest Row.
 1946. Forsyth, N., Pashley Manor, Ticehurst.
 1939. Foster, Miss, 20, Bradford Road, Lewes.
 1947. Fowler, Mrs., The Brown House, Cowfold.
 1947. Fowler, Mrs. Stephen, South Leas, Cowfold.
 1945. Fox, Dame E., Wealdworth, Laughton, Nr. Lewes.
 1933. tAFoyster, Miss C. H. } Beechcroft, Hartfield.
 1933. tFoyster, Miss, E. A. }
 1940. Frampton, Miss A. M., The Book Club, Crowborough.
 1948. aFrance, Miss, Cuckfield Park.
 1937. tFrancis, R., 34, Winchester Road, Worthing.
 1945. Francis, Miss, 32, Park Drive, Hastings.
 1946. Fraser, M., Rosemary Cottage, Harting.
 1948. Fraser, Mrs., Campfield, Powdermill Lane, Battle.
 1948. Freeman, J. H. G., } Millfield, Windmill Lane, East Grinstead.
 1948. aFreeman, Mrs. }
 1938. tFrere, S. S., F.S.A., Lancing College, Shoreham.
 1946. Freyhan, R., Upton Farm, Framfield.
 1946. Frowd, Mrs., Silver Trees, Westfield Lane, St. Leonards.
 1920. Fry, Mrs. Penrose, Little Douce Grove, Northiam.
 1937. Furness, Miss B. W., Upper St. Olaves, 7, Laton Road, Hastings.
 1929. t*Furse, Mrs. W., The Old House, West Hoathly.
 1916. Fynmore, A. H. W., By-the-Sea, 119, Sandgate High Street, Folkestone, Kent.
1912. tGage, The Right Hon. Viscount, K.C.V.O., Firl Place, Lewes.
 1913. tGaisford, Miss, The Cottage, West Dean, Chichester.
 1946. Galloway, J. W., The Old Kennels, Staplefield, Haywards Hthath.
 1926. tGardner, Captain C. F. } Summertree, Herstmonceux.
 1926. aGardner, Mrs. C. F. }
 1948. Gardner, Miss B. I. R., Forest View, Punnetts Town, Heathfield.
 1935. tGardner, Miss, Nethergong Cottage, Dorman's Park, East Grinstead.
 1946. tGardner, Miss E. M., Borden Village, Liphook, Hants.
 1947. Garrick, Major G. C., Fewhurst Farm, Billingshurst.
 1946. Gasson, R. P., 150, London Road, East Grinstead.
 1947. Gaster, Rev. H. F., 5, Upper Grosvenor Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1947. Gates, J. S., West Lodge, West Broyle Drive, Chichester.
 1918. Georges, F. E., Rosendale, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1946. Gibson, Mrs. W. C., 12 Beverley Court, Aldrington Close, Hove, 3.
 1948. Gilbert-Bentley, F. G., 70, Shandon Road, Worthing.
 1946. Glazebrook, Major R. C., East Dean Road, Eastbourne.
 1946. tGleadow, Miss, Belhurst, Windmill Hill, Nr. Hailsham.
 1928. Glegg, R. Ashleigh, Wilmington Cottage, Seaford.
 1923. tGlover, H. J., } South View, Westham, Pevensey.
 1945. tAGlover, Mrs. }
 1948. Glover, Miss, 43, Victoria Drive, Eastbourne.
 1928. Goddard, Scott, 21, Vanbrugh Fields, Blackheath, s.e. 3.

1918. †Godfrey, Walter H., F.S.A., 81, The Causeway, Steventon, Abingdon, Berks.
1947. Goff, W. J., 4-5, Terminus Buildings, Eastbourne.
1948. Goldsworthy, Miss, 36, Marshall Avenue, Bognor.
1946. †Goodbody, A. W., Newlands, Houndean Rise, Lewes.
1937. Goodchild, R., Woodlands, The Great Quarry, Guildford.
1946. Goodinge, G. B., St. Anne's, Pett Road, Guestling.
1924. Goring, Mrs., Field Gate, Ditchling.
1944. Goring, Captain Sir F. G., Bt., Hyden, Broadwater Green, Worthing.
1948. Goring, J., Findon Park House, Findon.
1931. Gorringe, Lt.-Col. G. T. J., Kingston New Barn, Shoreham-by-Sea.
1939. Graham-Vivian, R. P., Wealden House, Warninglid.
1918. †*Grantham, Ivor, Massetts, Scaynes Hill.
1935. †Graves, P. K., 51, Old Steyne, Brighton.
1931. †Graves, S. E., } 7, Pavilion Parade, Brighton.
1933. †Graves, Mrs. S. E. }
1926. †Gray, Miss E. H., 27, Wilbury Gardens, Hove.
1932. †Gray, Col. J. V., F.S.A., Dial House, Westham, Pevensy.
1947. †Greaves, Mrs., M.B.E., 43B, St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
1943. Green, A. A. E., Glenmore House, Southdown Road, Southwick.
1944. †Greenyer, Miss E. T., Wykehurst Park, Bolney.
1921. Gregor, Rev. A. G., 13, Pevensy Road, Worthing.
1932. †Gregory, W. R., 58, Harrington Road, Brighton.
1947. Gribble, Miss, Thatchet, Oving.
1934. Griffith, Miss, 3, Evelyn Terrace, Brighton.
1928. Griffiths, Rev. Canon E., All Saints' Rectory, Lewes.
1947. †Grimwood, N. W., Highdown, Gander Hill, Haywards Heath.
1946. †Groombridge, Miss M., } 7, Drummond Road, Werthing.
1946. Groombridge, Mrs. }
1947. Grover, W. J., Hillash Farm, West Harting.
1948. †Gush, Mrs., Yews Farm, Blackboys.
1946. Guthrie, Mrs., Westering, Litlington, Polegate.
1929. *Guy, N. G., Tarvin House, Boughton Heath, Chester.
1930. Gwynne, N. G., Deans, Piddinghoe, Newhaven.
1920. *Gwynne, Lieut.-Col. Roland V., D.L., D.S.O., Folkington Manor, Polegate.
1931. †*Hadcock, R. N., F.S.A., Winchcombe Farm, Buckleberry, Nr. Reading.
1913. Haire, Rev. A., Framfield Vicarage, Uckfield.
1924. †Hales, Charles, Abbots Leigh, Haywards Heath.
1946. Hall, Rev. D. P., O.B.E., Buxted Rectory.
1929. †Hall, Miss H., Blue Gate, Lindfield.
1930. Hallward, H., } Moghurst, Frant.
1937. †Hallward, Mrs. }
1912. *Halstead, Leslie C., 40, Richmond Avenue, Bognor.
1935. Hamilton, Mrs., 31, Warmdene Road, Brighton, 6.
1932. Hannah, C. W., Ramsay Garden, Edinburgh.
1935. *Harben, J. R., 33, Withdene Crescent, Brighton, 6.
1922. Harding, Major C. H., } Birling Manor, East Dean, Eastbourne.
1922. †AHarding, Mrs. }
1926. Harford, Rev. Dundas, Sandpit Cottage, Seaford.
1927. Harrington, Miss M., Cromwell Cottage, Roman Crescent, Southwick.
1947. †Harris, Major G. T. M., O.B.E., The Manor House, Shoreham.
1921. Harris, Mrs. H. A. Clifton, Appledram, Ditchling.
1947. Harrison, Lt. G. W. R., R.N.V.R., Providence Cottage, Seaford.
1925. Hart, Edwin, F.S.A., 1, Christchurch Gardens, Epsom.
1945. †Hart, B. J., Rosemary, Rattle Road, Westham.
1947. Hart, B., C.B.E., 67, Pashley Road, Eastbourne.
1933. Harvev, Mrs. A. F. B., Woodhatch, Hartfield.
1900. Hassell, R. E., Tanners Manor, Horam.

1945. *Hawkins, Major L., Eartham, Nr. Chichester.
 1932. tHawley, Lady, Sussex Rise, Frant Road, Tunbridge Wells.
 1947. Hayes, Mrs., Marden House, East Harting.
 1940. Hayes, R., Courtlands Hotel, The Drive, Hove.
 1932. tHaynes, Rev. H. W., Sidlesham Lodge, 8, Brittany Road, Hove, 3.
 1946. Hayward, S. A., 9, Station Street, Lewes.
 1940. Heald, Miss E. S., The Chantry House, Steyning.
 1947. Heather, Mrs., 7, New Park Road, Chichester.
 1946. Heaton, Rev. H. H. | Mountfield Vicarage, Robertsbridge.
 1946. aHeaton, Mrs. |
 1946. Hedgely, J. H., Beaclay, Clayton Avenue, Hassocks.
 1936. Heineman, Miss, Links Edge, Chyngton Road, Seaford.
 1935. tHelme, Mrs. T., Myrtle Cottage, Denman's Close, Lindfield.
 1947. Helme, J. D., Woodlands, Lindfield.
 1947. Henderson, J. G. S. 99, High Street, Lewes.
 1925. tHenniker-Gotley, Rev. G., F.S.A., Crockers, South Chailey, Lewes.
 1938. Hett, L. K., Hapstead, Ardingly.
 1939. tHewett, Major W. G. O'C., Uplands, Dallington, Heathfield.
 1947. Hewett, D. W. G., 72, Paynton Road, Silver Hill, St. Leonards.
 1925. tHewlett, C., 6A, Swan Street, Petersfield, Hants.
 1932. Hickman, Mrs., Old Lullings, Balcombe.
 1946. tHier-Davies, Captain H., Granville Court, Eastbourne.
 1948. Hignett, G. B., Star Farm, Wisborough Green, Billingshurst.
 1928. Higgins, R. H.
 1945. Hill, H. F., Garden House, St. Swithuns, Lewes.
 1947. Hills, K. A., 6, Willie Cottages, South Street, Lewes.
 1946. tHitchcock, G. E. W., Bedford Hotel, Brighton.
 1947. Hobman, Mrs., 9, Gundreda Road, Lewes.
 1936. Hobbs, C. A., Tall Oaks, Lindfield.
 1924. Hodges, W. J.
 1928. tHodgson, Mrs. E. T., Barnfield, Cowfold.
 1945. Hodson, L. J., 5A, Adelaide Crescent, Hove, 4.
 1944. Hogg, Mrs., Avondhu, Westham, Pevensey.
 1926. Holland, M., M.C., Lullings, Balcombe.
 1946. Holland, Miss T. K. P., Seckhams House, Lindfield.
 1943. Holland, T. R., 27, Stockbridge Road, Chichester.
 1946. Holleyman, G. A., 21A Duke Street, Brighton.
 1907. Hollist, Mrs. Anthony, Highbuilding, Fernhurst.
 1946. Holloway, J. G. E., Ivy Bank, Broad Street, Cuckfield.
 1933. tHoman, W. MacLean, Friars Road, Winchelsea.
 1937. Homewood, Miss F. M., 117, Littlehampton Road, Worthing.
 1927. tHooper, W., LL.D., F.S.A., Loxwood, Ridgeway Road, Redhill, Surrey.
 1947. Hoper, Miss | Hill Farm House, Cowfold, Horsham.
 1947. aHoper, Miss G. |
 1897. tHordern, The Right Rev. Bishop Hugh M. | Brook Cottage,
 1935. aHordern, Mrs. | Slaughterham.
 1935. Hornblower, Lieut.-Col. T. B., The Croft, Etchingham.
 1913. tHorne, Mrs. Alderson, Ditton Place, Balcombe.
 1946. Hoskins, J. S., Dymocks Manor, Ditchling.
 1948. Hosking, Mrs., East Harting Farm, Petersfield.
 1946. tHouldsworth, H. O., 12, Sandringham Avenue, Loughborough Road,
 W. Bridgford, Notts.
 1925. tHuddart, G. W. O., Everydens, Lindfield.
 1945. tHuggett, N. E., | 17, South Street, Chichester.
 1945. aHuggett, Mrs. |
 1929. Hughes, A. A., Oak Cot, Poynings, Hassocks.
 1932. Hughes, Mrs., Snap Hill, Litlington, Nr. Alfriston.
 1924. tHulme, E. W., The Old House, East Street, Littlehampton.
 1946. Humphrys, H. T., Monkams, Clayton Avenue, Hassocks.

1946. tHunter, Mrs., Cloona, Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
 1895. Hurst, Sir Cecil J. B., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C., The Nunnery, Rusper, Horsham.
 1927. Hutchings, J.
 1946. Hyland, G. W., Jasmine Cottage, S. Harting.
 1946. Hylton, Captain W. }
 1946. AHylton, Mrs. } Cokeham House, Sompting.
1948. Ingle, Mrs. W. B., Saxes Plat, Rudgwick.
 1927. Innes, A. N., White Hart Hotel, Lewes.
 1946. Innes, R. T., Crowborough Park, Crowborough.
 1932. Ionides, Basil, Buxted Park.
 1945. Irvine, B. Godman, Great Ote Hall, Burgess Hill.
 1937. tIvatt, Miss, Anchorhold, Haywards Heath.
1939. tJackson, H. A. C. }
 1947. AJackson, Mrs. } Hove College, Kingsway, Hove.
1945. James, Miss, Boreham House, Boreham Street.
 1923. Janion, Mrs. H. Garnett, Rush Green, Forest Row.
 1936. tJarrett, A. M., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Worthing.
 1936. Jarvis, R. C., 31, Hitherfield Road, Streatham, s.w. 16.
 1934. tJeans, H., Little Bucksteep, Dallington.
 1924. Jefferson, Mrs., The High Beech, Hollington; and 12, Berkeley Square, w.
1929. Jeffreys, Mrs. H. B., 30, Adelaide Crescent, Hove.
 1910. Jellicorse, Mrs., Densworth House, Chichester.
 1925. Jenner, L. W., 9, Stanford Avenue, Brighton.
 1943. tJennings, R. W., K.C., Mickleham Cottage, Dorking.
 1934. Jervis, Mrs., St. Michael's House, Lewes.
 1923. Johnson, Mrs. C. Villiers, Philpots, West Hoathly.
 1945. Johnson, T. J., Wyddington, Hugh Road, Smethwick, Staffs.
 1909. Johnston, G. D. }
 1947. AJohnston, Mrs. G. D., } 10, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, w.c. 2.
1942. Johnstone, Miss H., LITT.D., 20, St. Martin's Square, Chichester.
 1946. Jolly, Rev. N. H. H., The Vicarage, High Hurstwood, Nr. Uckfield.
 1928. Jones, Mrs. J. A., The Croft, Southover, Lewes.
 1926. Jones, Miss Mabel, Clayton Wind Mills, Hassocks.
 1946. tJones, W. E., 39, Firle Road, North Lancing.
 1938. Jowers, Mrs., 5, Somerhill Court, Holland Road, Hove, 3.
 1946. Judd, Lt.-Col. J. S., Redhouse, Coolham, Nr. Horsham.
 1933. Judges, Mrs., Field Head, Wickham Hill, Hassocks.
1929. Kaye-Smith, Miss A. D., 23, Charles Road, St. Leonards.
 1937. Keef, D. C., Wineberry Cottage, Compton Dundon, Somerton, Somerset.
 1937. Keef, Miss, F.S.A. (Scot.), 23, Courtfield Gardens, London, s.w. 5.
 1943. tKeen, Col. W. J., 6, Granville Road, Eastbourne.
 1946. Kelly, Miss K. N., Compton School, Compton, Nr. Chichester.
 1927. Kelsey, A. R., Brock's Ghyll, Wadhurst, Tunbridge Wells.
 1928. Kelsey, C. E., Somerleaze, Eastbourne Road, Seaford.
 1945. Kendall, A. W., 104, Gower Street, W.C.1.
 1943. Kennedy, Miss M. N., Lawn Cottage, Northiam.
 1947. Kenney, E. H. }
 1947. AKenney, Miss A. } Little Jointure, Ditchling.
1930. Kensington, Lieut.-Col. G. B., Voakes, Pulborough.
 1947. Kent, Miss, Chittlebirch Oast, Staplecross, Robertsbridge.
 1933. Kenyon, G. H., Iron Pear Tree, Kirdford, Billingshurst.
 1945. Ker, Miss, Rosemount, Cullane, E. Lothian, Scotland.
 1938. Kerr-Jones, Captain T., Wythe, Cowfold.
 1935. tKewley, Miss, Flat 1, 16, Wilbury Road, Hove.

1938. †Kimber, R. J., Corton, Blue House Lane, Oxted, Surrey.
 1947. King-Farlow D., White Horses, Birling Gap, Eastbourne.
 1946. King, H. H., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth.
 1941. Kingdon, Mrs., Chitcombe, Brede.
 1933. Kirby, Miss C. F. M., Heronry Cottage, Mayfield.
 1947. Kirk, Miss, Beech House, Sedlescombe, Battle.
 1946. Knaggs, Mrs., Whinchats, Ham Manor, Angmering.
 1944. †Knight, O. E., Ymuiden, Langney, Eastbourne.
 1946. Knight, Hon. Mrs. Claude, Conyboro', Lewes.
 1946. Knight, R., 3, Sunnywood Drive, Haywards Heath.
 1946. †Knoertzer, Mrs., Westering, Litlington, Polegate.
 1947. Korner, Miss T., Sideways, Broad Oak, Rye.
 1946. Kyrke, R. V., 40, Saxon Road, Newhaven.
1922. Lamb, Miss W., F.S.A., Borden Wood, Liphook, Hants.
 1945. Lambert, Rev. L., F.S.A., Two Gables, Madehurst, Arundel.
 1947. Landbeck, L. R., 15, Oak Gardens, Shirley, Surrey.
 1947. †Langdon, Rev. P. G., F.S.A., Sherborne House, Burlington Place,
 1948. Langhorne, D. A., Burfield, Bosham. [Eastbourne.
 1933. Latham, Sir Paul, Bart., Herstmonceux.
 1927. Latter, A. M., K.C., Nutbourne Place, Pulborough.
 1945. †Lea, W. A. E., Monkton Wilde, Dyke Road Avenue, Hove.
 1947. Lear, Mrs., The Lodge, Ashburton, Steyning.
 1946. †Leechman, Miss D., 7, Hyde Park Gate, London, S.W.7.
 1948. †Leechman, Miss M. E. B., Hill View Cottage, Lingfield, Surrey.
 1926. †Leeney, O. H., F.R.S.A., Ivydene, 17, Church Lane, Southwick.
 1928. †Leese, Miss G., Windover, Alfriston.
 1947. Lemmon, Lt.-Col. C. H., D.S.O. } Home Place, Whatlington, Nr. Battle.
 1947. †Lemmon, Mrs. }
 1924. †Lency, C. W., Stantons, West Barnham, Bognor.
 1938. Lepingwell, G. B., Bratton, 51, The Droveaway, Hove.
 1939. Lesmoir-Gordon, I., H.M. Immigration Office, London Airport, Feltham, Middlesex.
1948. Le Sage, Miss, Torrington Park, Arundel.
 1948. Lewis, Miss S. W., Edge House, Felpham.
 1934. Leyel, Mrs., Shripney Manor, Nr. Bognor; and 20, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, w.c. 2.
1948. Lindley, Miss, 4, Middleway, Lewes.
 1924. Lintott, Bernard, Ashleigh Road, Horsham.
 1945. Lintott, Miss E. L. N., 51, Gordon Road, Ashford, Middlesex.
 1923. Lister, Miss D., 1, Wilbury Avenue, Hove.
 1905. Livett, Rev. Canon G. M., F.S.A., Stoneleigh, Old Dover Road, Canterbury.
1947. Livingstone, Major R. P., The Garden House, Searles, Fletching.
 1945. Livock, G. E., } St. Peters Court, Burgess Hill.
 1945. †Livock, Mrs. }
 1925. †Loader, Mrs., The Old Rectory, Kingston Lane, Southwick.
 1932. Lock, C. R., Caleb's Brook, Kirdford.
 1947. Lockhart-Smith, D. B., The Little House, North Common, Chailey.
 1924. Lomas, J. E. W., Birch's Farm, Isfield.
 1945. *London, H. Stanford, F.S.A., Coldharbour, Buxted.
 1908. *Long, Miss C. B., Selmeston House, Berwick.
 1945. Lovegrove, Captain, H., R.N., Ashdown, Winchelsea.
 1948. Low, Mrs., 9, Furze Croft, Furze Hill, Hove, 3.
 1938. Lowther, A. W. G., F.S.A., The Old Quarry, Ashstead, Surrey.
 1939. Lucas, Miss E. R., Wall Hill Field, East Grinstead.
 1946. Lucas, Mrs., Castle Precincts, Lewes.
 1946. †Lucas, S. E., 5, Lancaster Gate, London, w. 2.

1927. tLuck, Miss, The Old Rectory, Etchingham.
 1948.t*Luttman-Johnson, Mrs., Crouchland, Kirdford, Billingshurst.
1904. MacDermott, Canon K. H., The Oaks, Felcourt, East Grinstead.
 1929. MacDonald, Miss D., Warden Court, Cuckfield.
 1946. tMcElroy, Rev. G. G., Chalvington Rectory, Hailsham.
 1938. tMcIver, Mrs., Woodcock, Felbridge, East Grinstead.
 1947. Mack, Miss, 4, Cagefoot Lane, Henfield.
 1947. MacIise, Mrs. Kennard, P.O. Box 32, Guilford, Connecticut, U.S.A.
 1944. tMcLaren, A. E., High Beeches, Coleman's Hatch, Tunbridge Wells.
 1919. tMacLeod, D.,
 1924. aMacLeod, Mrs. D. { Yew Trees, Horley, Surrey.
 1943. Mackenzie, Col. J.
 1948. Macrae, Miss, Bracadale, Lewes Road, Ditchling.
 1947. Macnab, Mrs., 59, King's Drive, Eastbourne.
 1948. McDonnell, Mrs., South Barn Cottage, Crowlink, Friston, Eastbourne.
 1933. McWalter, W. F. C., 7, Albion Street, Lewes.
 1943. Maitland, G., Scaynes Hill House, Haywards Heath.
 1936. Malden, Rev. P. H., The Presbytery, Herons Ghyll, Uckfield.
 1938. Mallandaine, H. L., Linkhill, Storrington.
 1913. Malteau, Mrs. M. A., The Moorings, Ashurst Road, Seaford.
 1935. Manning, Captain T. Davys, R.N.V.R., Newlands, Seaford.
 1927. tMargary, I. D., F.S.A. {
 1932. tMargary, Mrs. I. D. { Yew Lodge, East Grinstead.
 1913. Margetson, Alan {
 1913. aMargetson, Mrs. { 109, Marine Parade, Brighton.
 1928 tMargetson, W. L., 32, Savile Row, w. 1.
 1935. tMarsh, S. J., Ardens, Nutley, Uckfield.
 1929. Marshall, Mrs. Calder, Becos Associated Works, 2, Howard Street,
 w.c. 2.
 1946. Marten, Miss, c/o Westminster Bank, Ltd., High Street, St. John's
 Wood, n.w. 8.
 1930. Martin, Miss E. B., The Dene, Shottermill, Haslemere.
 1942. Martin, R. E., 38, Courtway, Colindale, n.w. 9.
 1945. Martin, G. N., The Observatory, Crowborough.
 1946. Martin, Mrs., The Weald House, Burgess Hill.
 1946. Martin, D. G., St. Richard's Hospital, Chichester.
 1938. Martyn-Linnington, Miss, Little Park Hill, Burwash Weald.
 1948. tMascall, Brigadier M. E., Longfield, 19, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1937. Mason, Ven. L., Archdeacon of Chichester, The Malt House, South
 Harting, Nr. Petersfield.
 1934. Mason, R. T., Suntinge, North End, East Grinstead.
 1948. tMason, J. H. N., Silver Birches, Belgrave Road, Seaford.
 1946. Masters, Mrs. Hollowdown Cottage, Kingston, Lewes.
 1947. Matson, Major C., {
 1947. aMatson, Mrs. { Newpond Farm, Cross-in-Hand.
 1946. Matthews, Rev. W. D., The Vicarage, Heathfield.
 1928 tMatthews-Hughes, S. J., 13, Wilbury Road, Hove.
 1945. Matthews, T., The Red House, Cowfold.
 1946. Matthey, G. C. H., 49, Palmeira Avenue, Hove.
 1946. Maude, Miss L. B., Little Bignor, Kirdford, Billingshurst.
 1928. *Maufe, Edward, A.R.A., Shepherds Hill, Buxted.
 1937. Maxwell-Hyslop, J. E., Rottingdean School, Rottingdean.
 1911. *Mayhew, K. G., Garden House, Ham Street, Ham, Richmond, Surrey.
 1926. Maynard, Lieut.-Col., S. T. {
 1935. aMaynard, Miss E. V. { Franklynns Park, Burgess Hill.
 1924. Mead, Rev. A. R., Hopwoods, Swards End, Saffron Walden.
 1931. tMeade, Mrs. E., 18, Clarendon Road, Southsea.

1937. Meade-Featherstonhaugh, Admiral the Hon. Sir H., Up Park, Petersfield.
- 1922.T*Meads, W. E. }
 1922. AMeads, Mrs. } Buckhurst Lodge, 30, Buckhurst Road, Bexhill.
1947. Meller, C. H., }
 1947. AMeller, Mrs. } Middle Brow, Friston, Eastbourne.
1947. Merrifield, R., The Museum, Church Street, Brighton.
1938. Merritt, Mrs. Bertram,
1927. tMersey, The Right Hon. Viscount, P.C., C.M.G., C.B.E., F.S.A., Bignor Park, Pulborough.
1902. tMessel, Lieut.-Col. L. C. R., Nymans, Handcross.
1925. *Metters, Mrs. T. L.,
1931. tMeynell, Mrs., Conds Cottage, Ditchling.
1913. Michell, Guy, Park House, Hove Park Gardens, Hove.
1946. Michell, Commander K., R.N., 11, The Crescent, Alverstoke, Hants.
1911. Millbank-Smith, Mrs., Sella Park, Calderbridge, Cumberland.
1940. Miller, Miss C., Tatsfield, Chyngton Gardens, Seaford.
1941. Milner, The Rt. Hon. Viscountess, Great Wigsell, Salehurst.
1905. Mitchell, G. S., Broadbridge Place, Horsham.
1932. Mitchell, Mrs., Tylers, Kippington, Sevenoaks.
1923. Mitchell, W. E., Annandale, Cuckfield.
1940. *Molson, H., M.P., House of Commons, London.
1941. Money, J. H., 3, Hungershall Park, Tunbridge Wells.
1946. Monico, J. R., Windy Ridge, Eastdean, Eastbourne.
1935. Monk Bretton, Lady, Conyboro', Lewes.
1921. Moore, Sir Alan, Bart. }
 1926. AMoore, Lady } Hancox, Whatlington, Battle.
1948. Moore, S. M., 103, High Street, Lewes.
1946. Morant, Miss, Lavender Cottage, Rectory Lane, Pulborough.
1947. Mordaunt, Mrs., Court Farm, Burwash.
1921. *Morgan, J. J., Nyetimber, West Chiltington.
1922. Morgan, W. L., The Neuk, Warren Park, Warlingham Village, Surrey.
1919. Morgan-Jones, P., 14, Arundel Road, Eastbourne.
1935. Morland, Mrs., Little Pitfold, Hindhead, Surrey.
1946. tMorris, M., Reedens, Newick.
1907. tMorrish, H. G., Langhurst, Derby Road, Haslemere, Surrey.
1928. Mosse, Rev. C. H., St. Wilfrid's, Aldwick, Bognor.
1943. tMossop, G. P., Pre d'Elaine, Castel, Guernsey, C.I.
1938. Moyle, Mrs., Kilworth, Maresfield.
1945. Mullins, Miss, 30, Canonbury Square, London, N.1.
- 1923.T*Munnion, E. H., Ardings, Ardingly.
1936. Munro, Sir Gordon, K.G.M.G., M.C., The Old Rectory, Sullington, Storrington.
1946. Murphy, Miss L. P., Little Bignor, Kirdford, Billingshurst.
1938. Murray, Miss, F.S.A., Upper Cranmore, Heyshott, Midhurst.
1947. *Murrell, Miss, 12, Sackville Lane, East Grinstead.
1937. Musgrave, Mrs., Upper Lodge Cottage, Ardingly.
1947. tMusson, R. C., Badlesmere, Seaside Road, Eastbourne.
1904. Nash, Canon E. H., 1, Vicars Close, Chichester.
1946. Naylor, The Very Rev. A. T. A., The Deanery, Battle.
- 1927.T*Nettlefold, F. J., Chelwood Vachery, Nutley.
1921. tNewbery, Mrs., The Spring Green Lady, Pulborough.
1947. Newman, Mrs., 3, Kings Gardens, Hove.
1942. Newnham, W., Portways Farm, Warninglid, Haywards Heath.
1914. tNicholson, Mrs., Coopers, Five Ashes, Mayfield.
1938. Niemeyer, Lady, Cookhams, Sharpthorne, East Grinstead.

1913. *Nix, C. G. A., Free Chase, Warninglid.
 1946. Noble, F., O.B.E., Lonsdale, Hempstead Lane, Uckfield.
 1936. Norris, N. E. S., Wayside, Withdean Road, Brighton.
 1946. North, D. W. J., 44, Market Street, Brighton.
1903. Ockenden, Maurice, Glendyn, 4, East Hill, Sanderstead, Surrey.
 1920. tOdell, Mrs., Mabbs Hill, Stonegate, Ticehurst.
 1937. tOdell, W. H., Southlands, Hailsham Road, Worthing.
 1946. Ogden, R., Little Binns, Broad Oak, Heathfield.
 1937. Ord, Miss E. M., Stagshaw, Ditchling.
 1938. Ormerod, Miss R. E., 35, Wilbury Road, Hove.
 1946. aOvenden, Mrs., 6, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1947. Owles, Mrs., Heatherbrook, 56, Kings Drive, Eastbourne.
1948. Padday, Mrs., 50, Sh'reley Drive, Hove, 4.
 1946. Palmer, Mrs., 50, Wilbury Road, Hove.
 1948. tPalmer, Commander G. I., R.N., Decoy House, Poling, Nr. Arundel.
 1928. Pannett, C. J., Cinder Paddocks, Cinder Hill, Chailey, Lewes.
 1940. Parish, C. W., Bateman's, Burwash.
 1947. tParker, Miss, Mayfield, Erringham Road, Shoreham.
 1946. Parker, Mrs., 49, Enys Road, Eastbourne.
 1947. Parker, Rev. R. M., 9, African Street, Grahamstown, Cape Province,
 South Africa.
1946. Parkman, S. M., 42, Boscobel Road, North, St. Leonards.
 1925. Parris, C. J., Oaklands, Jarvis Brook.
 1924. Parsons, Miss L. M., Mousehole, Forest Row.
 1924. Parsons, T. E., Caburn, Sandyhurst Lane, Ashford, Kent.
 1927. Parsons, W. J. }
 1946. aParsons, Mrs. } 6, Prince Edward's Road, Lewes.
 1918. tPatching, Mrs. F. W., West House, Shelley Road, Worthing.
 1937. Payne, Miss H. E., Broomwood, The Drive, Chichester.
 1947. Payne, F. W., Ashburton, Steyning.
 1924. Pearce, O. D., } 63, Church Road, Richmond, Surrey.
 1928. aPearce, Mrs.
 1940. tPearce, Mrs., Coburg Court Hotel, Bayswater Road, London, w. 2.
 1947. Pearmain, H. F., Wedges, Itchingfield, Horsham.
 1923. t*Pearson, The Hon. Clive, Parham, Pulborough.
 1921. t*Peckham, W. D., Rymans, Apuldram, Chichester.
 1945. Pecry, Mrs., Oak Meadow, Billingshurst.
 1946. Pegge, P. W., Sunnyside, Rotten Row, Lewes.
 1928. Pelham, R. A., South Stoneham House, Swathyling, Southampton.
1946. Penney, Miss }
 1946. aPenney, Miss K. J. } The Grange, Hurstpierpoint.
 1924. Penty, H. F., 5, Berkeley Court, Kings Road, Brighton.
 1943. tPenzer, N. M., 18, Manor Court, Pinehurst, Cambridge.
 1922. tPepper, Frank M., Amberley, Arundel.
 1925. Pepper, J. W., Danehill Lodge, Danehill.
 1922. Pepper, T. J. C., The Old House, Ashacre Lane, Worthing.
 1947. Perham, M. R. W., Harting.
 1944. Perrett-Young, N., 41, Denmark Villas, Hove.
 1940. Perry, Mrs., Ledgers, Cuckfield.
 1927. Pett, H. M., 76, Old Shoreham Road, Hove, 4.
 1923. tPhilcox, Miss, 42, Norton Road, Hove, 3.
 1936. Phillips, E. }
 1946. Phillips, Mrs. } 26, Wilbury Crescent, Hove.
 1937. Pickard, O. G., Ravensdene, Holden Avenue, N. Finchley, n. 12.
 1900. Pickard, T. W., Glynde, Lewes.
 1947. Picton, Miss, The Lodge, Ashburton, Steyning.
 1935. tPike, Mrs., 17, Gwydyr Mansions, Hove, 2.
 1930. Pitcher, J. Scott, Westmeston Place, Hassocks.

1937. Plant, Mrs., Dormans Corner, Lingfield, Surrey.
 1904. Plummer, H., Lyntonville, Haywards Heath.
 1947. Ponsonby of Shulbred, The Rt. Hon. Lady, Shulbrede Priory, Haslemere.
 1930. tAPontifex, Miss, Downs Cottage, Heathfield.
 1934. tPopley, W. D., 13, Pavilion Buildings, Brighton.
 1937. Porritt, Captain S. E., 2, Adelaide Court, Hove.
 1945. Pound, R., Appletree, Rodmell, Lewes.
 1912. Povey, Edgar, 11, St. Anne's Crescent, Lewes.
 1924. tPowell, H. C., 79, High Street, Lewes.
 1946. tPowell, Mrs. Richard H., Church Farm House, Horsmonden, Kent.
 1946. *Power, Miss M. E., Scotenai, Meads Road, Bexhill.
 1923. tPoynder, Mrs., 92, High Street, East Grinstead.
 1946. Poynder, Miss, Lavender Cottage, Rectory Lane, Pulborough.
 1922. tPrice, L. L., 39, Preston Drive, Brighton.
 1930. Prideaux, Mrs. Arthur, Shovells, Old Town, Hastings.
 1947. Pryce, Mrs., St. Francis, Camden Avenue, Pembury, Kent.
 1947. Pugh, Mrs., 40, Eley Drive, Rottingdean, Nr. Brighton.
 1925. tPulman, H. P., Sundridge, Hartfield Road, Seaford.
1941. Quenault, Miss P. M., 57, West Hill, St. Leonards.
1947. Randall, Captain H. A., Green Plat, Spatham Lane, Ditchling.
 1948. Ratcliffe-Densham, H. B. A., 50, Offington Lane, Worthing.
 1927. tRavenscroft, Lieut.-Col. H. V., The Abbey, Storrington.
 1902. tRay, J. E., F.R.HIST.SOC., } 9, Stanley Road, Hastings.
 1939. ARay, Mrs.
1946. tRead, Mrs., Highfield, Halland, Nr. Lewes.
 1947. Read, Miss, Rough Brow, East Dean, Eastbourne.
 1939. Reader, Miss E. D., 76, Pennington Road, Southborough, Kent.
 1946. Recknell, G. H., Chantry Green House, Steyning.
 1939. Redhead, C. E. A., Little Garth, Blatchington, Seaford.
 1907. Reeves, B. V., High Street, Lewes.
 1933. Reid, Miss M., Highlands Farm, Iden, Rye.
 1932. tReid, Miss Shirley, Mackerells, Newick.
 1939. Reid, Ven. E. G., Archdeacon of Hastings, Windmill Hill Place, Hailsham.
1946. tReynolds, W. B., 35, High Street, Lewes.
 1941. tRichards, F. J., Treep's, Hurstpierpoint.
 1944. Richards, Mrs., Inghams, Little Blakerham, Ipswich, Suffolk.
 1926. Richardson, C. Winterton, Red Croft, St. Mary's, New Romney.
 1946. Richardson, W. Wigham, 4, Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.
 1948. Richmond, A. C., Manor Cottage, South Harting, Petersfield.
 1936. Richmond and Gordon, His Grace the Duke of, Goodwood, Chichester.
 1929. tRidge, C. H., F.S.A. } Parc Clies, Gulval, Penzance, Cornwall.
 1936. ARidge, Mrs. C. H. }
1921. Ridley, Mrs. G. W., Lower Barn, West Hoathly.
 1928. Riley, W. N., 4, Hove Park Gardens, Hove.
 1945. Ritherdon, K. G., The Rectory, Newtimber, Hassocks.
 1947. Rivet, A. L. F., The Book Club, The Broadway, Crowborough.
 1934. Robb, Major Elvey, Wyecollar, Highfield Road, East Grinstead.
 1925. Roberts, Rev. A. J., Harting, Petersfield, Hants.
 1939. tRobinson, Miss N. M., The Bridge House, Dormans Park, East Grinstead.
1937. *Robinson, J. C., Oaklea Warren, Newick.
 1946. Robinson, W. E. P., The Pigeon House, Angmering.
 1933. Robson, E. L., 14, Hartington Mansions, Hartington Place, Eastbourne.
 1931. Roemer, Mrs. C. H. de, Lime Park, Herstmonceux.
 1932. Roper, E. E., Gailles, Hildenborough, Kent.

1938. Rothermel, R. A., 59, High Road, Kilburn, London, N.W. 6.
 1947. Roumieu, Miss E. M., Woodcroft, Cuckfield.
 1946. Royce, Mrs., 18B, Cantelupe Road, Bexhill.
 1927. Ruck, G., F.S.A., The Delles, Great Chesterford, Essex.
 1927. Rundle, E. C., } 21, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1945. Rundle, Miss A. H., }
 1908. Russell, Miss Louise, Ashlands, Burwash, Etchingham.
 1922. Russell, Ernest C., Courtlands, The Avenue, Lewes.
1936. rSt. Croix, G. de St., Newlands Farm, Boars Head, Tunbridge Wells.
 1936. Sadler, F., Apple Porch, Sidlesham, Chichester.
 1898. rSalmon, E. F., 4, Colebrook Road, Southwick.
 1896. t*Salzman, L. F., F.S.A., 53, The Avenue, Lewes.
 1946. Sams, Miss J. B.
 1943. t*Sapsford, A. G., The Old Forge, Wilmington, Polegate.
 1920. tSargeant, Sir Alfred R., Fairmount, Crowborough.
 1934. Saunders, H., Danefold House, West Grinstead.
 1943. Saunders, J. A., 23, Winchester Road, Worthing.
 1948. Saunders, Rev. W. D., 12, Walnut Avenue, Parklands, Chichester.
 1935. Savill, Miss M. L., St. Lawrence, Lindfield.
 1946. tSaville, M. V., The Cottage, Iden Lock, Rye.
 1925. Sawyer, Lt.-Col. J. E. H., Little Holton, Burwash.
 1928. Schove, A. P., 16, Herbrand Walk, Bexhill.
 1948. Scott, Mrs., Harsfold Farm House, Billingshurst.
 1934. Scott Williams, Major A., D.S.O. } Asni, Upper Carlisle Road, East-
 1934. aScott Williams, Mrs. A. } bourne.
 1940. Scragg, J., Headmaster's House, The Grammar School, Steyning.
 1920. t*Secretan, Spencer D., }
 1945. tSecretan, Junior Commander A. F. M., A.T.S., } Swaynes, Rudgwick.
 1946. tSecretan, Miss J. R. }
 1930. Selby-Bigge, Sir Lewis Amherst, Bart., K.C.B., Kingston Manor, Lewes.
 1917. Selmes, C. A. } Kingfield, Rye.
 1927. tSelmes, Mrs. C. A. }
 1948. Sharp, W. E., 25, Highlands Road, Horsham.
 1935. tShaw, T., Welcot, 17, Green Lane, Northwood, Middlesex.
 1946. tShephard, O. H., Harwood, Stone Cross, Pevensey.
 1938. Sheriff, R. C., Rosebriars, Esher, Surrey.
 1943. Shiffner, Sir H. D., Bart., Bevern Bridge House, Lewes.
 1946. tShilito, N. W., 24-28, Lombard Street, London, E.C.3.
 1946. Sibree, J. O., Longhill Cottage, Ovingdean, Brighton.
 1935. Siggs, C. G., Stone Cottage, Frant.
 1943. tSimms, R. F., Mill House Farm, Mill Lane, Upper Portslade.
 1919. tSimpson, Mrs. Hume } Watland Furlong, Bishopstone.
 1925. Simpson, Miss M. A. }
 1936. Simson, R. S., Blunts, Lucastes Road, Haywards Heath.
 1925. Sinclair, Mrs., The Red House, Ninfield, Battle.
 1933. tSissons, Miss H. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Terminus Road,
 Eastbourne.
 1945. Sissons, Miss J. B., Church Cottage, Rudgwick.
 1928. Sissons, Miss V. H., Crouchers, Rudgwick.
 1928. tSkinner, Lt.-Col. R. M., 3, Bohemia Road, St. Leonards.
 1922. Skyrme, Mrs. C. R., 2, Bank Chambers, St. Leonards Road, Bexhill.
 1926. Slagg, Mrs. J. P., Mount Joy, Battle.
 1947. Slyfield, G. N. 47, North Parade, Horsham.
 1927. Smart, H., Duncan's Bay, Church Street, Littlehampton.
 1948. Smart, J. E., Aberdeen House, London Road, Liphook, Hants.
 1947. tSmith, S. C. }
 1948. Smith, Mrs. } Morley House, Lewes.

1927. Smith, Sir Francis E. J., Ashdown House, Danehill; and 4, Gloucester Place, w. 1.
1944. Smith, G. P., West Lynden Farm, Stonegate.
1942. Smith, H. L., 10, Market Street, Lewes.
1909. rSmith, Miss Harvey, Hill House, The Avenue, Lewes.
1944. Smith, V. Gerard, 19, High Street, Seaford.
- 1945 *Smith, Miss, Homeside, Denton Road, Eastbourne.
1946. Smith, T., 6, Park Road, Lewes.
1946. rSmith, Mrs., Meadow Cottage, Merriments Lane, Hurst Green.
1894. rSomers-Clarke, Mrs. Cecil, 99, Furze Croft, Hove.
1947. Somerville, Rev. C. D. B., 135, Offington Drive, Worthing.
1947. Sopwith, Col. G. E., Cross Farm, Waldron.
1946. Spencer, J. C., Coles Hall, Five Ashes.
1923. rSpokes, P. S., 26, Charlbury Road, Oxford.
1927. Staffurth, Miss F. E. A., Kenworth, Nelson Road, Bognor.
1923. Standen, Miss Violet J., Church Place, Pulborough.
1919. Stedman, T. Gurney, 6, Darracott Road, Pokesdown, Boscombe, Hants.
1946. Steele, J., Hatchlands, Cuckfield.
1947. Stein, G. L. H. { Tophorn, Warren Lane, Friston.
1947. AStein, Mrs. }
1924. Stenhouse, Mrs. J. R., 4, Park Road, Lewes.
1922. Stenning, John K., Green Hedges, East Grinstead.
1938. Stephens, Mrs. E. G. Walls, Nepcote House, Findon.
1947. Stephenson, Rev. H. W., Westgate Manse, Lewes.
1923. T*Stern, Col. F., M.C., Highdown, Goring-by-Sea.
1903. rStevens, F. Bentham, F.S.A. { Cinder Rough, Chailey.
1909. AStevens, Mrs. F. Bentham }
1948. Stevens, D. L., 10, Calverley Road, Eastbourne.
1936. rStevens, R. K., Green Path, Drayton Beauchamp, Aylesbury.
1924. Stobart, James D. { Wyatts, Horsted Keynes.
1924. AStobart, Mrs. James D. }
1908. Stone, H. W. { Tilsmore Lodge, Cross-in-Hand.
1924. T*AStone, Mrs. H. W. }
1944. Stonham, Miss E. E., c/o National Provincial Bank, 128, Finchley Road, N.W. 3.
1927. T*Storey, H., Flat A, Dudley Court, 33, The Avenue, Eastbourne.
1939. Stormont, W., Chequers, Pulborough.
1942. Storrs, W. T., The Storthing, Lewes.
1925. Story, Miss E. M., Cheniston, Nyewood Lane, Bognor.
1930. rStrachan-Davidson, K., c/o Westminster Bank, Ltd., Haywards Heath.
1933. Stretton, H. F., Adam's Barn, Willingdon.
1935. Sturt, Rev. H., Oak Cottage, Sedlescombe, Battle.
1920. rSutton, Lt.-Col. Thomas, F.S.A., { 22, Pearl Court, Eastbourne.
1937. ASutton, Mrs. }
1946. rSwann, O. H. { Hill Farm House, Rodmell, Lewes.
1930. rSwann, Mrs. }
1926. Swayne, T. Gatton, North Down, Warwick's Bench, Guildford.
1947. Swift, Mrs., Selsfield Place, East Grinstead.
1937. Swindell, Rev. F. G., Isfield Rectory.
1929. Swinderen, Madame de Marees van., 83, Eaton Square, s.w. 1.
1948. Symonds, Miss, 4, Middleway, Lewes.
1946. Syngé, Miss D. M. B., Kelton, Sutton Road, Seaford.
1924. Tatchell, Sydney, C.B.E., Cliffords Inn, Fleet Street, E.C.4.
- 1945 *Tattersall-Wright, Major J. W., Walden, Innhams Wood, Crowborough.
1947. Taylor, Hon. Mrs., Orchard Cottage, Lower Farm, Madehurst, Arundel.
1948. Taverner, Rev. G. W., Rottingdean.
1948. Taylor, A. R., South Harting.

1947. †Tebby, J. H., 27, Hampden Road, Brighton.
 1934. Teichman-Derville, Major M., F.S.A., The Red House, Littlestone, New Romney, Kent.
1926. Tessier, N. Y., 11, Eaton Road, Hove, 3.
 1936.*†Thacker, Captain N., BM./DIPT., London, w.c. 1.
 1946. Thomas, A. H., F.S.A., 14, Drummond Road, Worthing.
 1948. *Thompson, F. O., Coningsby, 62, Hallyburton Road, Hove, 4.
 1947. Thorne, Sir John Anderson, Church Farm House, Herstmonceux.
 1936. Thornton, R., East Ashling House, Chichester.
 1942. Thorpe, S. M., Caburn, Broderick Road, Hampden Park, Eastbourne.
 1947. †Tindall, A. A., } Longacre, Ringmer.
 1947. A Tindall, Mrs. }
1945. Titcombe, Miss, 42, Kings Road, Brighton.
 1922. *Titley, R. K., Brighthurst, Horley, Surrey.
 1946. ATofts, T., Ivy Bank, Broad Street, Cuckfield.
 1926. †Tollemache, Sir Lyonel, Bart., Ham House, Richmond, Surrey.
 1945. Tollemache, Mrs., R.M. Barracks, Chatham.
 1935. Tomlin, J. W. } Old Homestead, Bodle Street Green, Hailsham.
 1935. ATomlin, Mrs. J. W. }
1925. Tompkins, Newland, Estate Offices, Pulborough.
 1947. Tooth, Mrs., The Gables, Southover, Lewes.
 1942. †Topping, A. R., Maddomswood Farm, Whatlington, Battle.
 1947. Towner, H. B., 220, High Street, Uckfield.
 1938. Townly, H. C., The Barn, Dyke Road, Hove.
 1927. †Toye, D. B., c.B., O.B.E., St. Audries, Summerdown Road, Eastbourne.
 1927. Tranchell, Lt.-Col. H. C., The Plantation, Curdridge, Southampton.
 1924. Trehearne, F. W. } Town Lane, Alfriston.
 1927. ATrehearne, Mrs. F. W. }
1941. Tritton, F. S., } Deans Barn, Alfriston.
 1941. ATritton, Mrs. }
1924. Troup, Gordon, Calleva, Henley-on-Thames.
 1948. †Truman, C., South Paddock, Maresfield.
 1940. Tuck, Mrs., Claverham Manor, Arlington.
 1938. Tufton, Mrs. A. G. } Toketon House, Southdown Road, Seaford.
 1938. ATufton, Miss }
1947. Tully, Mrs., The Post Office, Handcross.
 1924. †Turner, Albert, Holme, Lewes.
 1925. †Turner, H. G., Isenhurst, Haywards Heath.
 1946. Turner, Mrs. Martin, Ricksteddle, Ditchling.
 1936. Turner, Miss O., Hortons, Cuckfield.
 1942. Tyler, V. W., Old Place, Pulborough.
1933. †Uridge, Miss C. G., Arlington House, Blatchington, Seaford.
1946. Varley, W. J., F.S.A.,
 1909. Verrall, Frank, The Shieling, Links Road, Bramley, Surrey.
 1924. Verral, Miss K. P., c/o Mrs. Peak, Glenshiel, Surrey Road, Seaford.
 1947. †Verral, A. P., 7, Bramber Road, Seaford.
 1943. Vaughan, H. V., Selbourne, Summer Hill Lane, Haywards Heath.
 1947. †Vaughan-Pryce, Mrs. H., 40A, High Street, Welshpool, Montgomeryshire.
1926. †Vidler, L. A., The Old Stone House, Rye.
 1948. Vigor, H., 43, Surrenden Road, Brighton, 6.
 1926. Vine, G., 12, Dunstan Road, London, n.w. 11.
 1931. Vivian, Sir Sylvanus P., c.B., Coldharbour, Hurst Green; and 76, Iverna Court, w. 8.
1947. Wace, Sir Ferdinand Blyth, K.C.I.E., The Orchard, S. Harting.
 1933. Wade, Miss, Barham, Cuckfield.

1936. Waghorn, Mrs., Meroc, Angmering-on-Sea.
 1947. tWalden-Aspy, Rev. F. C., St. James' Vicarage, Littlehampton.
 1947. Walker, B. P. M., 93, Kings Road, Brighton, 1.
 1927. Walker, J. L.
 1947. Walker, B. P. M., Top Hat, 34, St. Aubyn's, Hove, 3.
 1946. Wallis, Miss, Sunnycroft, King Henry's Road, Lewes.
 1929 tWalpole, Miss G. E., Strawberry Hill, Ufford, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
 1926. Walsh, Mrs. Cecil, Chippinge, North Common, Chailey.
 1947. Walters, Rev. D. M. I., Kingston Vicarage, Lewes.
 1936. Wapshare, Miss G. S., 33, De Montfort Road, Lewes.
 1932. Warburton, G. A., Shefford, Ridgewood, Uckfield.
 1945. Ward, J. R., Tavistock Hall School, Heathfield.
 1935. Ward, T. G., Wayside, Mill Road, Steyning.
 1940. Warner, Mrs., East Kentwyns, Henfield.
 1921.t*Warren, Col. J. R., O.B.E., M.C., The Hyde, Handcross.
 1936. Watson, Miss P., 7, Le Brun Road, Eastbourne.
 1941. Watts, Miss H. K., 22, Mackie Avenue, Hassocks.
 1938. tWebb, Charles, 8, Pavilion Parade, Brighton.
 1923. Wedgwood, Mrs., Mill Lane House, Slindon, Arundel.
 1886. Weekes, Mrs., Downs Hotel, Hassocks.
 1946. tWeeks, P. C., The Rectory, Etchingham.
 1947.tAWells, S. W. }
 1947. tWells, Mrs., } Marsden, Beacon Gardens, Crowborough.
 1933. tWestlake, Rev. Canon, The Presbytery, 68, Gratwicke Road, Worthing.
 1926. Weston, Major, C. F. R. N., M.C.,
 1924. Wharton, Captain E. L., R.N., Hye House, Crowhurst.
 1947. tWheeler, Rev. A., Glendene Cottage, North Common, Chailey.
 1937. Whistler, Hon. Mrs., }
 1944. *Whistler, Miss B., } Caldbeck House, Battle.
 1946. White, H. L., 4, Ipswich Road, Bournemouth.
 1930. tWhite, Mrs. Percival, 3, Albany Villas, Hove.
 1930. tWhite, T. }
 1930.tAWhite, Mrs. T. } Holmwood, Little Common, Bexhill.
 1946. White, P. F., 1, Church Square, Lion Street, Rye.
 1947. White, O. M. }
 1947. AWhite, Mrs. } Ashcombe House, Lewes.
 1948. AWhite, T. M., }
 1936. Whiteman, Miss E. N. }
 1936. AWhiteman, Miss E. M. } Overbeck, Ditchling.
 1929. Whittaker, C. J., 58, Ship Street, Brighton.
 1909. Wight, E., The Red House, Tongdean Avenue, Hove.
 1948. Wilberforce, Mrs., 32, Ventnor Villas, Hove.
 1938. Wildes, Mrs., 107, Holland Road, Hove.
 1939. Wilding, Mrs., Northgate Cottage, Rottingdean.
 1936. Wilkinson, Rev. D. F., Heene Rectory, Worthing.
 1925. Willett, Lt.-Col. F. W. B., D.S.O., Cudwells, Lindfield.
 1945. Willett, Miss, 11, Malling Street, Lewes.
 1931. Williams, F. R., }
 1942. AWilliams, Mrs. } 31, Kedale Road, Seaford.
 1947. tWilliams, Miss, c/o Mrs. Stevens, 29, Wensleydale Road, Hampton-on-Thames, Middlesex.
 1913. Williams, S. H., F.S.A., 32, Warrior Square, St. Leonards.
 1907. Williams, W. N., Knockbrea, Kingswood Road, Penn, Bucks.
 1946. Willis, H. V., Charlton Lea, Little Breton Lane, Westham.
 1921. tWillson, A. B., 1, Shirley Road, Hove.
 1937. Wilson, A. E., F.S.A., Terrington, Tivoli Crescent North, Brighton.
 1946. Wilson, Mrs., Furnace Pond Cottage, Slaugham.
 1917. Windle, Rev. T. H., Moorhurst, Battle Road, St. Leonards.

1920. Winterton, The Rt. Hon. Earl, M.P. } Shillinglee Park.
 1947. Winterton, The Rt. Hon. Countess }
 1940. Wisden, T. J. F., White Cottage, Chailey.
 1930. Wisdom, Rev. H. T., St. Paul's Rectory, 39, Church Road, St. Leonards.
 1924.*Wishart, E. E., Marsh Farm, Binsted, Arundel.
 1947. Witten, F. H., 32, Mill Lane, Shoreham.
 1932. †Wood, E. A., Anney, Gillsmans Hill, St. Leonards.
 1937. Wood, Rev. J. A., Wilmington Vicarage, Polegate.
 1909. Wood, W. J., High Street, Seaford.
 1935. †Woodward, Miss K. M., 41, Ethelbert Road, Wimbledon, s.w. 20.
 1931. †Woolnough, J. W., Westmead, Nevill Avenue, Hampden Park.
 1948. Worcester, D. K., Peterhouse, Cambridge.
 1922. †Wright, Alec C., Evergood, Horsmonden, Kent.
 1943. Wright, F., Tower Street, Rye.
 1925. *Wright, Miss Margaret
 1925. †Wright, R. B., Michelham Priory, Hellingly.
 1939. Wyatt, Brig. R. J. P., M.C., D.L., Cissbury, Worthing.
1925. †Yates, E., F.S.A., Elm Court, Marlborough Road, Hampton, Middlesex.
 1946. Yeatman, Mrs., Lane Lodge, Harting.
 1946. Yetts, Miss E. W., Granborough, The Goffs, Eastbourne.
 1924. Youard, The Very Rev. W. W., Old Malling Farm House, Lewes.
 1904. †Young, E. F., School Hill, Lewes.
 1943. Young, G., Meadow Cottage, Hoe Lane, Flansham, Bognor.

PART II. Libraries, Societies and Institutions

1897. Birmingham Public Libraries (Reference Dept.), The City Librarian,
 Ratcliff Place, Birmingham.
1947. Birmingham University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham.
1939. Bishop Otter College, Chichester.
1907. Bodleian Library, Oxford.
1892. Brighton Public Library, Church Street, Brighton.
1943. California University Library, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
1922. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
1941. Cathedral Chapter Library, Chichester.
1925. Chichester Diocesan Advisory Committee, Diocesan Church House,
 Hove.
1928. Cleveland Public Library, 325, Superior Avenue, N.E. Cleveland,
 Ohio, U.S.A.
1901. Columbia University, U.S.A. (per G. E. Stechert, 2, Star Yard, Carey
 Street, London, w.c.).
1870. Congress Library, Washington, U.S.A. (care of E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd.,
 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, w.c. 2).
1934. County School for Boys, Lewes.
1944. Croydon Public Libraries, Town Hall, Croydon.
1940. Duke University Library, Durham, N. Carolina, U.S.A.
1897. Eastbourne Central Public Library, 24, Grand Parade, Eastbourne.
1927. East Sussex County Library, Lewes.
1920. Glasgow University Library (c/o Jackson, Wylie & Co., 73, West
 George Street, Glasgow, c. 2).

1863. Guildhall Library, The Librarian, London, E.C. 2.
1911. Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. (per E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2).
1924. Haslemere Natural History Society, Hon. Sec., E. W. Swanton, A.L.S., Educational Museum, Haslemere, Surrey.
1930. Hastings Public Library, Brassey Institute, Hastings.
1938. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, U.S.A.
1925. Horsham Museum Society, Hon. Sec., F. A. Potter, Collyers School, Horsham.
1897. Hove Public Library, Church Road, Hove.
1934. Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, W.C. 1.
1910. John Rylands Library, Manchester.
1938. Kent County Library, Springfield, Maidstone.
1946. Lewes Fitzroy Memorial Free Library, Lewes.
1886. London Library, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1932. Michigan University Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.
1929. Minnesota University Library, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.
1926. National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
1943. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.
1903. New York Public Library (c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., New Ruskin House, 28, Little Russell Street, W.C. 1).
1932. Newberry Library (c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd., New Ruskin House, 28, Little Russell Street, W.C. 1).
1948. Ordnance Survey, Director of Establishment and Finance, Leatherhead Road, Chessington, Surrey.
1939. Royal Institute of British Architects, 66, Portland Place, W. 1.
1897. Royal Institution of Great Britain, 21, Albemarle Street, London, W. 1.
1938. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.
1901. Royal Library, Stockholm, Sweden.
1911. Rye, The Corporation of.
1929. South-Eastern Society of Architects, c/o C. Burns, 11, Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.
1903. Tunbridge Wells Natural History Society, J. Lister, Heronsgate, Speldhurst, Tunbridge Wells.
1934. University of London Library, The Goldsmiths' Librarian, Bloomsbury, W.C. 1.
1938. Utah Genealogical Society, Joseph Smith Memorial Buildings, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
1944. Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie, New York.
1897. Victoria and Albert Museum Library, South Kensington, S.W. 7.
1947. Westminster Public Libraries, St. Martin's Street, W.C. 2.
1927. West Sussex County Library, South Street, Chichester.
1896. *West Sussex Gazette*, Mitchell & Co. (Printers), Ltd., 53, High Street, Arundel.
1946. West Sussex County Council (County Records Committee), County Hall, Chichester.
1897. Worthing Corporation Public Library.
1910. Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A. (E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14, Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2).



Sussex Archaeological Society

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1947

Till 1949.

W. H. BLABER
 R. H. D'ELBOUX,
 M.C., F.S.A.
 S. S. FRERE, F.S.A.
 WALTER H. GODFREY,
 V.P.S.A.
 MISS H. JOHNSTONE,
 LITT.D.
 I. D. MARGARY, F.S.A.
 S. D. SECRETAN
 L. A. VIDLER

Till 1950.

E. CECIL CURWEN, F.S.A.
 C. H. S. ELLIS (the late)
 ARUNDELL ESDAILE,
 LITT.D.
 H. J. GLOVER
 THE RT. REV. BISHOP
 HORDERN
 G. D. JOHNSTON
 J. E. RAY, F.R.Hist.Soc.
 F. R. WILLIAMS

Till 1951

ELIOT CURWEN, F.S.A.
 LINDSAY FLEMING
 COLONEL J. V. GRAY, F.S.A.
 J. GODWIN KING, C.B.E.
 (the late)
 O. H. LEENEY
 LIEUT.-COL. T. SUTTON,
 M.B.E., F.S.A.
 A. E. WILSON, LITT.D.,
 F.S.A.
 E. A. WOOD

1. MEMBERSHIP.—The Council is again pleased to be able to report a substantial increase in membership as shown by the following figures :

	<i>Ordinary</i>	<i>Associate</i>	<i>Life</i>	<i>Honorary</i>	<i>Total</i>
1st Jan. 1947	887	74	60	3	1024
1st Jan. 1948	951	85	61	3	1100

Last year's report recorded the fact that on 1st January, 1947, the number of members was exactly the same as on 1st January, 1941. It is satisfactory that during the year the number has increased to 1,100, which slightly exceeds the number on 1st January, 1940 (1,097).

The losses by death included the following, who were notable for their length of membership or in other ways: Mrs. W. R. Arbuthnot (1923), Edmund Austen (1915), Miss M. S. Beale (1930),

J. B. Caldecott, F.S.A. (1936), the Reverend J. M. Connell (1918), the Reverend Stephen D. Duval, D.D., O.B.E. (1924), C. H. S. Ellis (1912), J. D. Hoper (1916), Mrs. J. J. Lister (1922), Miss Agnes Mertens (1926), Alfred B. Morris (1924), Ronald Morris (1923), Arthur B. Packham (1896), E. A. Saunders, F.R.C.P. (1945), Sir George A. Sutton, Baronet (1945), Major R. L. Thornton, D.L., C.B.E. (1920), A. D. Thorpe (1916), F. C. Vinall (1923), Herbert A. Woodland (1927).

Of the foregoing Mr. C. H. S. Ellis was a member of the Council from 1931 until the time of his death and had on 9th April, 1948, been elected Vice-Chairman. He had also rendered most valuable service to the county as a member of the East Sussex County Council, and in particular as Chairman of its Education Committee.

Mr. J. B. Caldecott, F.S.A., was an expert numismatist and had given much assistance as a co-opted member of the Museum Committee in the arrangement of the Society's coins.

Valuable contributions to Sussex literature had been made by Mr. Edmund Austen and the Rev. J. M. Connell. Mr. Austen's History of Brede was published shortly before he died and represented the culmination of his work over a long period. Members who attended the Society's Annual Meeting in 1940 will recollect the charm, both of manner and matter, of his paper on "Sussex Village Life."

Mr. Connell had made a study of the religious history of Lewes, his principal publications being "The Story of an Old Meeting House" (1916); "Lewes, Its Religious History" (1931); and "Thomas Paine" (1939).

Another deceased member whose pen had done much to record Sussex buildings both in drawings and articles was Mr. A. B. Packham. His contributions to the Collections included articles on the Old Palace at West Tarring (Vol. LXIV., p. 40); the Marlpins, Shoreham (Vol. LXV., p. 158); and Portslade Manor House (Vol. LXV., p. 1).

2. OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—At the Annual Meeting on 19th March, 1947, the Right Honourable Earl Winterton, M.P., was re-elected President. The retiring officers and members of the Council were also re-elected.

At the meeting of the Council on 9th April, 1947, Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A., who had in 1942 been elected Chairman of the Council in succession to Brigadier-General E. G. Godfrey-Faussett, C.B., C.M.G., intimated that he did not feel that he could accept re-election. His resignation was accepted with much regret and the Vice-Chairman, Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A., was elected Chairman. At the same time Mr. C. H. S. Ellis was elected Vice-Chairman, but most unfortunately died a few months later. In

his place Mr. W. H. Godfrey, F.R.I.B.A., a Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, was elected Vice-Chairman, and Mr. Edward R. Burder, a member of the Council.

During the year the Council decided on, and introduced, an important change in the administrative arrangements set up shortly after the end of the first world war. Ever since 1923 the Honorary Officers had had the assistance of two part time officials, namely, Miss Lucas as Assistant Secretary, and Mr. M. G. Smith as Finance Clerk: and it was fortunate that there had been no change in a period of 24 years.

Looking to the future, however, the Council decided, especially in view of the increasing difficulty of finding honorary officers with sufficient leisure for carrying out the ever increasing duties, that the time had come when the Society required a whole time officer, and that it would be well to make the appointment well in advance of the date when the part time officers found it necessary to give up the work.

Advertisements were accordingly inserted in the Press and after interviewing several candidates the Council appointed Miss Petronelle M. M. Crouch, B.A. (Oxon.) as assistant Curator. Miss Crouch took honours in Mediæval History and holds a Diploma in Archæology.

She entered upon her duties in July, 1947, and is at present working in conjunction with the part time officers, so that there will be no break in continuity.

3. RESEARCH COMMITTEE.—In view of the increasing need for the co-ordination of excavational work in the County, to ensure the prior examination of sites such as those on housing estates or bombed areas which may be quickly covered, and to help in directing and advising the many sources of volunteer help available in the Local Societies and senior Schools, it was decided early in 1947 to form a Research Committee on which all such bodies would be represented, if desired, by delegates.

The Committee was duly formed, with representatives from all the Local Societies and a number of Schools, and the following as Officers: Chairman, Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A.; Vice-Chairman, Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A.; Hon. Secretary, Mr. G. A. Holleyman, F.S.A. Full details of the objects and aims of this Committee were published in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, May, 1947, p. 139. The Committee meets at present once in two months and reports its proceedings to the Council.

4. MEETINGS.—At the Annual Meeting in Lewes on 19th March a new departure was the showing, by arrangement with the Central Office of Information, of the specially prepared sound film, "The Beginning of History." The film was introduced and ex-

plained by Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A., who had assisted in its preparation. Many members expressed their appreciation of this new development in Archæology.

The Annual Summer Meeting was held at Chichester on 2nd July, and was the last item in the Society's Centenary celebrations. In addition to the Cathedral and St. Mary's Hospital, visits were paid to several private houses and offices dating from the City's period of prosperity in the middle years of the 18th century. At the conclusion of the day the members were entertained to tea in the County Hall by the Chairman of the West Sussex County Council.

It was found possible during the year to resume the pre-war practice of holding local meetings during the summer months. In pursuance of this policy successful meetings were held at Warbleton, Ashurst, Ardingly, and East Dean and Friston and also at Guildford. It was a new departure to hold a meeting in another county and this was made possible by the kindness of the Surrey Archæological Society. Reports of the meetings have already appeared in *Sussex Notes and Queries*.

5. PUBLICATIONS.—During 1947 printing conditions were probably worse than at any time during the war and this has considerably curtailed and delayed the Society's publications. It had been hoped to issue Volume 86 before the end of the year, but this proved impossible. However, the volume should reach members about the same time as this report.

Sussex Notes and Queries has appeared from time to time in a somewhat truncated form and is still behind the calendar.

6. FINANCE.—The restrictions on printing and on all forms of building work have continued and have been intensified, with satisfactory results, on a short view, so far as the Society's finances are concerned. Taking a longer view, however, it is obvious that the condition of the Society's properties is gradually deteriorating and that the ultimate cost of restoring them is continually mounting. Dealing with the figures for the year, as no payment was made towards the cost of Volume 86, and a legacy was received from the executors of the late Ian C. Hannah, M.P., as well as a further repayment by the Trust, it was possible to carry a further sum of £800 to the Reserve Fund which, with interest earned, is now not much short of £3,000. In addition the Centenary Fund, including interest, exceeds £1,300.

The new arrangements outlined in paragraph 2 involve additional expense for salaries, but the Council feels that this is essential if the Society is to continue its present activities and maintain the varied activities which it has undertaken. Provided the membership can be maintained and gradually increased this additional expense should not be a burden on the funds.

March, 1947.

THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ACCOUNT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS FOR 1947

	RECEIPTS	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.		PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	
To Balance from 1946	...					132	16	8		By Subscriptions to Kindred Societies					17	4	8	
„ Subscriptions—										„ Library and Museum payments					46	19	9	
Life Member	...	15	0	0						„ Printing, Stationery, etc.					130	1	2	
6 at £1. 1s. 0d. (Affiliated Societies)	...	6	6	0						„ Salaries					312	11	5	
29 at £1 1s. 0d. (Members)	...	30	9	0						„ Sinking Fund for Index to Volumes 76-100					10	18	8	
751 at £1	...	751	0	0						„ Postages					47	19	2	
99 at 10s. (Old Rate)	...	49	10	0						„ Telephone					11	15	1	
2 at 10s. 6d.	...	1	1	0						„ Rent of Strong Room					10	0	0	
70 at 10s. and 2 at 10s. 6d. (Associate Members)	...	36	1	0						„ <i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>					160	19	10	
3 at 5s. (Ditto, Old Rate)	...	0	15	0						„ Miscellaneous					11	10	10	
79 Entrance Fees	...	39	10	0						„ Expenses of Meetings					44	5	3	
Subscriptions in arrear	...	43	15	0						„ Postcards					4	3	0	
Subscriptions in advance	...	20	0	6						„ Carried to Reserve Fund					800	0	0	
						993	7	6		„ Balance at Bank		15	8	3				
„ Interest on £250 3½ per cent. War Stock (“Robert Garraway Rice Bequest”)	...									<i>Less due to Trust</i>		14	12	0				
																	16	3
„ Sale of Volumes	...					35	13	11										
„ Sale of Tickets for Meetings	...					118	5	6										
„ <i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i>	...					14	9	0										
„ Miscellaneous	...					1	5	0										
„ Repayment of Loan by Sussex Archæological Trust	...					200	0	0										
„ Hannah Legacy	...					104	12	6										
						£1,609	5	1							£1,609	5	1	

NOTE.—The Reserve Fund of £2,800 is invested in £1,000 3 per cent. Defence Bonds, £400 2½ per cent. Defence Bonds and £1,400 on deposit at the Brighton Savings Bank. The income earned, amounting to £173 19s. 2d., is also on deposit at the Savings Bank.

I have checked the above account with the books and vouchers, and I certify it to be correct in accordance therewith.

5, Pavilion Buildings, Brighton.
23rd Feb., 1948.

S. E. GRAVES,
Chartered Accountant.

THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31st DECEMBER, 1947

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Qualifying Subscriptions to 31st December, 1946	515	3	0						
Subscriptions received during 1947	36	0	0						
	<hr/>			551	3	0			
Endowment Fund and Specific Donations as at 31st December, 1944	3472	1	11				4023	4	11
	<hr/>								
LEGH MANOR, CUCKFIELD.									
Lands Improvement Loan as at 31st December, 1946	349	4	3						
Less Repayment during 1947	21	14	5						
	<hr/>			327	9	10			
Loan Redemption Fund as at 31st December, 1946	190	7	11						
Transfer from Legh Manor Income Account	21	14	5						
	<hr/>			212	2	4			
THE THOMAS-STANFORD TRUST FUND.									
Capital Account				1000	0	0			
Income Account—									
Balance as at 31st December, 1946 ...	69	13	9						
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	31	6	0						
	<hr/>			100	19	9			
ENDOWMENT FUNDS.									
THE PRIEST HOUSE, WEST HOATHLY ...	200	0	0						
HOLTYE ROMAN ROAD	300	0	0						
ARDINGLY VILLAGE SIGN	100	0	0						
LOAN—SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.									
Balance as at 31st December, 1946 ...	1150	0	0						
Less Repayments during 1947	200	0	0						
	<hr/>			950	0	0			
Sundry Creditors				21	3	3			
INCOME ACCOUNTS.									
(a) <i>Lewes Castle and Barbican House.</i>									
Balance as at 31st December, 1946 ...	105	19	2						
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for 1947	49	8	7						
	<hr/>			56	10	7			

CAPITAL ACCOUNT.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Expenditure on the Purchase, Preservation and Equipment of Properties under the control of the Trust as at 31st December, 1944				5910	9	1

TRUST FUNDS.

(a) <i>The Thomas-Stanford Trust Fund.</i>						
Amount advanced on mortgage of premises at Henfield	1000	0	0			
(b) <i>The Priest House Endowment Fund.</i>						
£200 3½ per cent. War Stock (at par) ...	200	0	0			
(c) <i>Holtye Endowment Fund.</i>						
£320. 3s. 3d. 3½ per cent. War Stock (at cost)	300	0	0			
(d) <i>Ardingly Village Sign Endowment Fund.</i>						
£107. 10s. 10d. 3½ per cent. War Stock (at cost)	100	0	0			
	<hr/>			1600	0	0

INCOME ACCOUNTS.

(a) <i>Anne of Cleves House, Lewes.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1946 ...	177	10	9			
Less Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	23	18	0			
	<hr/>			153	12	9
(b) <i>Wilmington Priory.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1946 ...	245	8	1			
Less Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	29	15	5			
	<hr/>			215	12	8
(c) <i>The Long Man, Wilmington.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1946 ...				38	9	7
(d) <i>Southwick Roman Villa.</i>						
Deficit as at 31st December, 1946 ...	43	16	0			
Less Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	4	8				
	<hr/>			43	11	4

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<i>(b) The Priest House, West Hoathly.</i>			
Balance as at 31st December, 1946	...	36	8 11
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	...	9	17 7
			<hr/>
		46	6 6
<i>(c) Legh Manor, Cuckfield.</i>			
Balance as at 31st December, 1946	...	566	3 5
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for 1947	...	112	3 8
			<hr/>
		453	19 9
<i>(d) Bull House, Lewes.</i>			
Balance as at 31st December, 1946	...	665	2 10
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	...	90	8 4
			<hr/>
		755	11 2
<i>(e) Holtye Roman Road.</i>			
Balance as at 31st December, 1946	...	44	13 2
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	...	7	1 7
			<hr/>
		51	14 9
<i>(f) Ardingly Village Sign.</i>			
Balance as at 31st December, 1946	...	16	7 9
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	...	3	14 2
			<hr/>
		20	1 11
<i>(g) Pigeon House, Angmering.</i>			
Balance as at 31st December, 1946	...	306	18 4
Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for 1947	...	88	7 8
			<hr/>
		395	6 0
SUSSEX PHOTOGRAPHIC AND RECORD SURVEY.			
Balance as at 31st December, 1946	...	3	7 6
Add Income for 1947	...	16	0
			<hr/>
		4	3 6
BARCLAYS BANK LIMITED.			
Legh Manor Account, Overdraft	...	113	13 11
Less Balance on General A/c.	...	58	15 5
Cash in hand	...	2	6 4
			<hr/>
		61	1 9
			<hr/>
		52	12 2
			<hr/>
		£9071	6 5
			<hr/>

<i>(e) Oldland Mill, Keymer.</i>			
Deficit as at 31st December, 1946	...	43	6 0
Add Expenditure during 1947	...	15	0
			<hr/>
		44	1 0
GENERAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT.			
Deficit as at 31st December, 1946	...	429	10 4
Add Expenditure during 1947	...	27	4 0
			<hr/>
		456	14 4
LEGH MANOR REPAIRS RESERVE FUND.			
£500 3 per cent. Defence Bonds	...	500	0 0
			<hr/>
		108	15 8
Sundry Debtors	...		
			<hr/>
		£9071	6 5
			<hr/>

REPORT OF THE AUDITOR TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE SUSSEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST

*(an Association not for Profit incorporated under
the Companies Acts)*

I have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of my knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of my audit.

In my opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Trust so far as appears from my examination of these books. I have examined the accompanying Balance Sheet which includes summaries of the Income and Expenditure Accounts and these are in agreement with the books of account.

No figures are inserted in the accompanying Balance Sheet in respect of various properties which the Trust has received by way of gift.

Subject to this remark, in my opinion and to the best of my information and according to the explanations given to me, the said Balance Sheet gives the information required by the Companies Act 1948 and gives a true and fair view of the Trust's affairs as at 31st December, 1947.

S. E. GRAVES,
Chartered Accountant.

7, Pavilion Parade, Brighton.

8th December, 1948.

LIST OF PROPERTIES HELD BY THE SUSSEX
ARCHÆOLOGICAL TRUST on 1st January, 1948

1925.

1. Anne of Cleves House, Lewes (as Co-Trustee). Additional ground, 1928.
2. Wilmington Priory and the Long Man of Wilmington.
3. *The Marlipins, New Shoreham.*

1926.

4. Lewes Castle (as Co-Trustee). Additional ground, 1930.
The Brack Mount, 1937.

1927.

5. Barbican House, Lewes.
6. *Oldland Mill, Keymer.*
7. *Nos. 6, 8 and 10, Parsonage Row, West Tarring.*

1932.

8. Roman Villa Site, Southwick.

1935.

9. Legh Manor, Cuckfield.
10. Priest House, West Hoathly.

1936.

11. Bull House, Lewes.

1939.

12. Holtye Roman Road.
13. Ardingly Village Sign.

1940.

14. Pigeon House, Angmering.

Note.—In the case of properties the names of which are printed in *italics*, the Trust acts only as legal trustee, and Local Committees are responsible for management and finance.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS IN SUSSEX

On pp. 138 to 140 of the Centenary Volume (*S.A.C.*, Vol. 85) was printed a list of monuments in Sussex scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Act, 1913 (as amended by the Act of 1931), as being monuments the preservation of which is of national importance. This list comprised all monuments scheduled down to 31st December, 1935.

The following monuments have been scheduled since that date :

- Angmering Roman Villa
- Arundel, Maison Dieu
- Bignor, Roman Villa
- Brambletye, Forest Row
- Burlough Castle
- Chanctonbury Ring
- Compton (Fernbeds Farm)—Solomon's Thumb, Long Barrow
- Eastdean, Camp near Belle Tout Lighthouse
- Hardham Priory
- Hastings Town Hall
- Laughton Place, Laughton
- Patcham Court Farm, dovecot at
- St. Leonard's Gardens gateway
- St. Leonard's Masonic Hall
- St. Leonard's Royal Baths Building
- Seaford Head Camp
- Seaford, Medieval Crypt
- Worth (Barn Wood), moated site and earthworks

ADDITIONS TO MUSEUM TO JULY 1948

1. Mr. G. Hill, Glynde.
Red-deer antler pick from chalk pit between Glynde and Caburn. Possibly Early Iron Age.
2. Canon Jackson, Eastbourne.
Middle Bronze Age Flint arrowhead from Old Recreation Ground, Eastbourne.
3. Mr. J. W. Elridge, Icklesham.
Steep-nosed flint scraper from Icklesham Manor garden.
4. Mr. E. Ellis, of Westham.
 1. Collection of old Tradesmen's bills from Brighton.
 2. 19th Century birthday book, property of the late Miss Caroline Gosling, of Westham.
 3. Bowl of clay pipe decorated with two railway engines (period 1840-50), dug up in a garden at Westham.
 4. Bowl of clay pipe decorated with "fleece" design, dug up close to above in garden at Westham.
5. Rev. Percy Langdon, of Eastbourne.
 1. Collection of spindle whorls from Birling Gap; two, Early Iron Age and one, of possibly Egyptian origin; five, uncertain.
 2. Collection of flint implements from Eastbourne, East Dean, Friston and district—mostly Neolithic.
6. Misses Whiteman, Lewes.
Early 19th Century Doll.
7. Mrs. Webster, Cross-in-Hand.
 1. Collection of Sussex By-Gones.
 2. Early 19th Century dress belonging to her great grandmother.
8. Mr. G. P. Burstow, Brighton.
Coin, Roman 4th Century "Urbs Roma," from North Gate, Chichester.
9. Messrs. Brightwell and A. R. Taylor, South Harting.
Early Iron Age horn weaving comb from earthwork on Big Torberry, Harting.
Two Early Iron Age knives from the earthwork at Torberry Hill, Harting.

10. Mr. A. Hill (the late), per Dr. E. C. Curwen.
Fragments of a Bronze cauldron, late Bronze Age.
found at Ditchling.
11. Mr. Barrett, Lewes.
Knife, c. 1800, made by Thomas English, cutler of
Lewes, who lived on the north side of the High
Street, close to what is now known as English's
Passage.
12. London Museum and H. Fozard of Kingston.
Medal of Battle Abbey.
13. Mrs. Sacre, of Worthing.
 1. Embroidered waistcoat belonging to Mr. G. Offey,
who died in 1928 aged 101.
 2. Wax doll from Paris Exhibition of 1860.
 3. Lace veil and handkerchief, Early 19th Century.
14. Mr. R. Hubbard, Goodwood Estate.
 1. Roman coin, Faustina, 1st Brass. *Rev.* Goddess of
Health, Saluti Augustae, found on Goodwood Estate
in ploughing.
 2. Roman coin, Antoninus Pius, 1st Brass, struck A.D.
155. *Rev.* Libertas and figure of Liberty, found as
above.
15. Mr. F. B. Stevens, Chailey.
Memo and letter book of Alfred Martin for 1825-31,
of Chichester and 20, Gardner Street, Brighton.
16. Mr. A. Willson, Hove.
Two 18th Century iron plaques with classical designs,
probably made at the Carron iron works in Scotland
subsequent to the overflow caused by the inability
of the Sussex Iron Foundries to meet the increased
demands of the period.
17. Dr. E. C. Curwen, Hove.
Spindle whorl or bead made out of a pottery sherd.

18. Mr. A. Glasspool, Stoughton.
1. Blue opaque glass oblate bead, Romano-British (also found in Anglo-Saxon times), dug up in garden of 10, Stoughton, Nr. Chichester.
 2. Flattened disc, large opaque, white vitreous material, probably used for a bead. Romano-British.
 3. Large bead or small spindle whorl of cream-buff baked clay, found with above.
 4. Blue translucent oblate bead, found as above.
 5. Two white translucent oblate beads, stuck together, found as above.
19. Mr. H. Glover, Westham.
Fancy-wrought iron candle lamp from Westham.
20. Mr. E. R. Burder, Wadhurst.
Copper powder flask found in the roof of the gardener's cottage at Marling, Wadhurst. Early 19th Century.
21. Mrs. Haffenden, Lewes.
1. Pair of wire goggles worn by her mother to protect her eyes from sparks at the November 5th, celebrations in Lewes, sixty years ago.
 2. Pair of oil lamp wick snuffers used by her mother sixty years ago.
22. Anonymous.
Old-fashioned wooden mouse trap from the Old Mill at Keymer.
23. The Vicar of Chithurst.
Medieval ridge-tile with traces of original green glaze still adhering, from Chithurst Church.

ADDITIONS TO LIBRARY TO JULY 1948

1. Mr. C. W. Parish.
"The Creation of an Industry" (author's copy).
2. Lt.-Col. T. Sutton, F.S.A.
"The Roman Soldier," Amédée Forestier.
3. Dr. H. E. Salter, Magdalen College, Oxford.
"Facsimiles of Early Charters in Oxford Muniment Rooms."
4. Mr. A. B. Willson.
"Tattershall Castle, Lincolnshire," by Fred H. Reed.
5. Mrs. Denis Hickman.
"History of Shipley" (author's copy).
6. The Executors of Mr. Ian C. Hannah, M.P.
Collection of notebooks belonging to the late Mr. Ian C. Hannah, M.P.
7. Rev. H. de Candole.
"The Story of Henfield" (author's copy).
8. Miss M. E. Dadswell, 2, East Court Villas, East Grinstead.
Collection of papers and correspondence of the late Mr. John Dadswell.
9. Rev. Sir Henry Denny, Baronet.
"Some Old-time Friends of St. Andrew Undershaft" (author's copy), pamphlet.
10. Mr. David Burder.
Brass rubbings from Bodiam Church.
11. The Executors of Mr. A. B. Packham.
Collection of plans, maps and miscellaneous papers belonging to the late Mr. A. B. Packham.
12. Mr. D. W. J. North.
"Reports of Brighton and Hove Archæological Club, 1907 to 1938."
13. Mr. H. Brightwell.
"History of Ancient Pottery," Samuel Birch, F.S.A., 1873.

14. Sussex Record Society.
"Town Book of Lewes, 1542-1701."
15. Miss Saunders, The Lawn, Barcombe Mills.
"Sussex County Magazine," volumes 18, 19, 20 and 21.
16. Lt.-Col. H. S. Eeles, Sandyden House, Mark Cross.
"Frant. A Parish History" (author's copy).
17. Mrs. Boys Behrens, Paradise, Battle.
"The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Battle" (author's copy), pamphlet.
18. Mr. F. D. Allison.
"The Little Town of Arundel" (author's copy).
19. Lady Caldecott.
Four sepia drawings of Shoreham Church and one of
Poynings Church, by Miss C. Gosselin, 1844.
20. The Hon. Clive Pearson.
"Parham in Sussex," 1947.
21. Mr. W. Albery.
"A Millennium of Facts in the History of Horsham,
Sussex, 947 to 1947" (author's copy).
22. Captain N. Thacker.
"Roman Folkestone," S. E. Winbolt.
23. The Rev. A. C. Crookshank.
 1. "The Story of Thorney Island, Sussex" (author's copy), pamphlet.
 2. "The Parish Church of St. Margaret, Ditchling" (author's copy), pamphlet.
24. Mr. F. Bentham Stevens.
 1. "Parish History and Records."
 2. "Short Bibliography of Local History," A. Hamilton Thompson, F.S.A.
 3. "Brighton Herald," October 26th, 1806.
 4. Newspaper Cuttings, Mid-Sussex Times. Toll Gates, Butlers Green and Lindfield.
25. The Rev. P. G. Langdon.
"Parish Magazines of East Dean and Friston," with an account of the Churches, 1948.

26. Mr. E. W. Hulme.
 " Ancient India," No. 3, January, 1947.
27. Mr. W. D. Peckham.
 Typed Transcripts of Vol. 3, 4 and 5 of Parish Register
 of Sub-Deanery, Chichester, 1676-1766.
 Typed Transcript of Parish Register of All Saints',
 Chichester, 1563-1812, and Index.
28. Mr. E. G. Ellis.
 1. " James Hannington, History of his Life and Work,
 1847-1885," by E. G. Dawson.
 2. Sermon preached at Wesleyan Chapel, Lewes, May
 7th, 1826, by the Rev. T. S. Stamp, a biographical
 Sketch of the late Mrs. Mary Jones.
29. Mr. Robert J. Devenish and Mr. Charles McLaughlin, 649,
 Detroit Street, Denver, Colorado.
 " Historical and Genealogical Records of the Devenish
 Families of England and Ireland " (authors copy).
30. Mr. L. F. Salzman, F.S.A.
 1. " Catalogue of Roman Coins," compiled by Gilbert
 Askew, 1948.
 2. " Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Museum,
 Tulle House, Carlisle," Thomas May, F.S.A., and
 Linnaeus E. Hope, F.S.A., 1917.
 3. " Camulodunum," C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., and
 M. R. Hull, F.S.A., 1947.
31. Mr. E. Austen (the late).
 " Brede, the story of a Sussex Parish " (author's copy).
32. Mrs. Close (the late).
 Collection of books on Sussex.

ADDITIONS TO THE DEEDS AND DOCUMENTS TO JULY, 1948

1. The British Records Association.
36 deeds relating to Mayfield, Rotherfield, Horsham, Bexhill, and Plan of marshland in East Guldeford.
2. Mr. F. Burfield-Dyer.
Four Barcombe documents.
3. The Bedfordshire County Record Office.
The Bounds of East Marden Manor, 1759; and Particulars of Sale of Brighton property.
4. Mr. R. L. Cameron Jackson.
68 documents comprising dealings with copyhold property in Amberley and Fittleworth, and law proceedings.
5. Miss Dadswell.
Genealogical papers concerning the Dadswell family.
6. The Revd. A. R. Mead.
25 deeds and documents relating to lands in Framfield and Fletching; Ouse Navigation papers and plans for proposed lines of Railway from London to Brighton and Dover, 1836-7.
7. Mrs. Orlebar.
150 deeds and documents concerning property in Albourne, Billingshurst, Cowfold, Henfield and Hurstpierpoint, formerly belonging to the family of Borrer.
8. The Executors of the late Mr. A. B. Packham.
Six Auction Sale Plans.
9. Mr. P. W. Pegge.
Copy of a deed of sale by the Duke of Dorset to John Stansfield of the Rectory of South Malling, 1623.
10. Mr. H. W. Standen.
Genealogical Notes and Papers concerning the Standen family collected by the late Mr. Gilbert Standen.

11. Sir Wasey Sterry.
150 deeds and documents relating to portions of the Beechwood estate near Lewes and to Landport Farm, formerly belonging to the Tourle family.
12. Mr. C. H. Waugh.
300 deeds, Clayton, Cuckfield, Hurstpierpoint, Keymer and Lindfield, and Minute Book of the Brighton to Cuckfield Turnpike Road.
13. Dr. Gordon Ward, F.S.A.
Record of "Quietus" to William Michelborne as Collector of a subsidy, temp. James I.

Sussex Archaeological Society

SOME CHICHESTER WILLS, 1483-1504

BY W. D. PECKHAM

FROM the Sussex wills proved in or before 1560 which were abstracted by the late Mr. Garraway Rice there is one considerable omission. Mr. Rice failed—it is not surprising—to discover the testamentary matter contained in two volumes of the records of the peculiar court of the Dean of Chichester, Nos. 4 and 5, which were known, during part of his search, to the late Mr. E. W. H. Dunkin as 'Borelle' (the name is written on the back cover in a sixteenth-century hand, perhaps it should read 'Bordle') and 'Morgane' (the surname of the first testator mentioned in the book).

'Borelle' measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., and is in a limp cover of parchment which proved, on examination, to be made of the somewhat damaged engrossments of two Papal bulls of the fifteenth century. One, appointing a collector of dues, is of little interest; the other, by Pope Eugenius [IV], dated xi kal. Maii (21 April) 1438, provides a new pastor for the Church of Chichester on the death of Simon [Sydenham]. Of the name of the new bishop only the initial letter remains; but the year-date alone is enough to establish that we have here the bull of provision of Bishop Richard Praty, the text, and even the date, of which is preserved, I believe, nowhere else.

The book itself contains about 129 leaves of paper, the later ones being in poor condition. There are at least five watermarks: 1. A unicorn (resembling in his build a water-buffalo rather than a horse) passant. 2. An ogee-sided flagon. 3. Three fleurs-de-lis on an escutcheon surmounted by a Latin cross, into the arms of which nails have been driven. 4. A lower-case black-letter **p** surmounted by a quatrefoil. 5. A cross-staff debriused by an escutcheon charged with two bendlets,

each, apparently, intended to represent a tree-trunk. The book contains the record of the proceedings of the court of the peculiar of the Dean of Chichester, which included Fishbourne and Rumboldswyke as well as the City of Chichester, the parish of All Saints in the Pallant excepted. The first entry is dated Friday 7 May 1484; the last date that I have been able to read is Saturday 13 Jan. 1503[-4].

The business recorded is largely, though not wholly, testamentary; there are, for instance, records of matrimonial differences, and of other normal business of Church courts. With the non-testamentary matter I have not dealt; but I have attempted to make a complete calendar of the wills (which are all, unless the contrary is stated, in Latin). I have not rearranged the ecclesiological information under parishes, but have made an abstract of all material information contained in each will, whether it concerns the genealogist or the student of parish history. It should be remembered that the paper of the book is often in poor condition, that the ink has often faded, and that the handwriting sometimes degenerates into a scrawl; consequently many readings are uncertain. Even at the time the standard of registration was not high, as the blunders in dating show; for the scribe frequently records the day of the week as well as that of the month (or the Saint's day), furnishing a means of checking his accuracy which does not lead to a good opinion of it. But satisfaction at having any records at all may well temper any feelings of disapproval of their inaccuracy.

I have first calendared all wills the text of which is registered; I have then gone back to the beginning of the book and noted all other testamentary cases, such as litigation about wills, claims for legacies, and grants of administration of intestates. There is here a good deal of material for a picture of life and death (more particularly, of course, death) in the City of Chichester in the early days of King Henry VII. It will be noticed how general was the custom of making bequests for pious uses, from routine bequests of a few pence each to

the testator's parish church and the Cathedral to cases where the whole personal estate is to be used to promote the testator's salvation. The scanty quantity of the goods of this world in the hands even of the wealthier inhabitants is proved by the careful way in which even 'my third best gown' is bequeathed. Perhaps the extreme case of this is that of Thomas Englysh, whose will (p. 17) is almost entirely concerned with the various hands through which a griddle was to pass before being sold to promote his salvation.

Interesting, also, are the wills of three chantry-priests, Sir John Atkyns, chantrist in the Lady Chapel, probably for Bishop Gilbert de St. Leophard,¹ Sir John Dalehowse, chantrist for the Earl of Arundel,² and Sir John Lewyshe, chantrist for Dean Thomas de Lichfield,³ and that of an ex-chantrist, Mr. Richard Aspynhalgh, successively Oakhurst's chantrist, King's Chaplain, and Precentor;⁴ Atkyns's will is of particular interest because it tells us what was, in the opinion of a chantry-priest, a fair remuneration in 1488 for saying seven Masses a week.

Of 'Morgane' I have little to say. The book is in bad condition; and I have hesitated to handle it much. But there is evidently far less material in it; its bulk is considerably less, and I am by no means certain that any wills (as opposed to probate acts and administrations) are entered in it. According to Dunkin it covers the years 1554-64.

f. [13] r.

Richard Vovle, 1488, to be buried in the graveyard of St. Mary, Fyschbourne. To the Cathedral fabric 4*d.* To the church of St. Mary, Fyschbourne, a cow to provide 6*d.* a year to the Rector to keep my obit, and another 6*d.* for the keep of a parishioner of

¹ p. 8; cited to visitation 29 June 1478 (Reg. Story I, f. 5 r.).

² p. 10; instituted 17 Jan. 1483[-4] (Reg. Story II, f. 24 v.), successor inducted, on his death, 24 July 1493 (Dean's Ct. Act bk. 4, f. 53 v.).

³ p. 16; instituted to the Dean's chantry at the altar of St. Cross and St. Augustine between 27 Jan. 1478[-9] and 25 Feb. 1481[-2] (White Act bk., f. 160 r., and Reg. Story I, f. 70 r.); a new chantrist inducted 16 April 1497 (Dean's Ct. Act bk. 4, f. 86 v.).

⁴ p. 14; occurs as Oakhurst's chantrist 29 June 1478 (Reg. Story I, f. 4 v.), admitted King's Chaplain 13 Dec. 1481 (White Act bk., f. 158 r.), collated Precentor 28 July 1485 (Reg. Story II, f. 2 v.).

Fyschbourne. To my son John Vowlle a house in the parish of St. Bartholomew in the suburb of Chichester, $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of arable in Vynyllfylld belonging to Fyschbourne parish, and two calves from my cows breeding last year. To Joan Paynter, daughter of Richard Paynter, a calf. To Agnes Gaylard, [wife] of Matthew Gaylard, 13s. 4d. which her father left her. To each of my godchildren eight bushels of barley. Residuary legatees and exors. my wife Alice Vowll and Thomas Lane to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Jeyne Warde and Peynter.

Registered on page headed 30 June 1486.

Alice Walshe, widow of Ralph Walshe of Fysborne, to be buried in the graveyard of St. Mary of Fyschborne. To that church for the upkeep of the light of Holy Cross and St. Katherine 4d., to the Cathedral fabric 4d. To my daughter Maud a cookpot, two pairs of sheets (*lintheorum*), and one of my best pieces of linen (*lintheamenta*), a pair of beads of jet (*gargat'*) stones, two platters and a dish of pewter. To St. Mary of Fyseborne one of my best settles (*scamnerorum*). To the four sons and daughters of my son and his wife a piece of linen each. To Elizabeth Laane, daughter of Thomas Laane of Fyshborne, my goddaughter, a platter and dish of pewter. To Edward Walshe my son my house that he lives in; an obit is to be kept yearly in Fyschborne church for the souls of Ralph Walsh and Alice his wife. Residuary legatee and exor. Edward Walsh to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Thomas Laane, John Cartar.

Registered on page headed 8 May 1487.

Richard Myldewe, citizen of Chichester, dated 3 Jan. 1483[-4], to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Preachers, Chichester. To the Cathedral fabric 12d., to the fabric of the parish church of St. Peter the great 12d.; to the Friars Preachers, Chichester 3s. 4d., to the Friars Minor, Chichester 2s.; to Sir John Wyllovghby, Rector of St. Peter the great, 20d. To the poor of the hospital of St. Mary Magdalene in le porteffelde 6d., of the hospital of St. Laci (*sic*) of Loddysdowne 6d., of the hospital of St. James nigh Chichester 8d., of St. Mary's hospital 6d. My house in Chichester nigh Lytyllondon to Joan Asshle, widow, for life, rendering to Richard Dorkyng 4d. a year chief rent, on her death to the said Richard Dorkyng, his heirs and assigns. All my other lands in Chichester and its suburbs and in le Portefeelde and Wykefeelde or elsewhere in Sussex to Richard Dorkyng, his heirs and assigns, charged with the keeping of my anniversary for the next ten years in the church of the Friars Preachers at a cost of 10s. a year with *placebo* and *dirige*, a Mass on the morrow (*in crastino*) and other services for the dead, with six priests, three of the House (*loci predicti*) and three Friars Minor; the rest of the 10s. to be spent on food and drink for the refreshment of my executors, friends, and poor neighbours. If my obit is not celebrated within a week the Mayor and citizens of Chichester may make entry on any of my tenements in Lytyllondon and on a barn

inside the east walls and take the rents and profits for the repair of the city walls so long as my obit is not kept. Residuary legatees and exors. the said Richard Dorkyng and the said Joan Ashle to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Thomas Orgar, Thomas Wyllman. Supervisor, Mr. John Vyncent, to have for his pains at my executors' discretion. My garden outside le estgate, late of William Mildeu my brother, is, after my death and that of my wife, to be sold and the money used to promote the salvation of the said William and his wife.

Proved 4 Sept. 1487.

f. 23 r.

Henry Mavncer of St. Olave, Chichester, 4 Nov. 1487, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard near the Lady Chapel. To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.*, to the church of St. Olave 8*d.*; to my curate serving St. Olave 12*d.*, to the parish clerk there 4*d.* To the Friars Minor of Chichester 8*d.*, to the Friars Preachers 8*d.* To Thomas my son when he comes of age my fulling mill at Cokkyng and the house where William Fuller dwells; 40*s.* each to my daughters Maud and Alice. Six priests are to be at my burying; and on the day of it 40 penny-worth of bread is to be given to the poor. To John Mavncer my brother my russet gown; to Isabel my wife's daughter a wool loom (*unum textorium laneum*). Residuary legatee and entix. my wife Joan. Witnesses, Sirs W[illiam] Coper, Thomas Appurley, Simon Pott.

Proved 12 Dec. 1487 by Joan Mavncer, wife of the deceased.

f. 23 v.

James Offerton of St. Olave's, Chichester, 3 Sept. 1487, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.*, to the church of St. Olave 8*d.*; to Sir William Coper, curate, 20*d.*, to John Spen 20*d.* To my brother Geoffrey a bow and half my arrows, to my brother Nicholas another bow and the other half of the arrows. 78*s.* 8*d.* to be paid within 12 days after Christmas to John Goff of Stenyng, tanner, for leather that I bought of him. Residuary legatee and exor. William Carter; supervisor Sir William Coper. Witness, Sir William Coper.

Registered between 19 Dec. 1487 and 30 Jan. 1487[-8].

f. 24 v.

Thomas Bachelor alias Vensey, citizen and burgess of Chichester, 15 March 1486[-7], to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard south of the Lady Chapel. To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.* To Simon Molence my curate 6*s.* 8*d.* to pray for me, and my furred gown of musterdevylorse, to the Subdeanery parish clerk 4*d.*; to Friars Preachers and Friars Minor of Chichester 12*d.* each. All my lands in Chichester to my wife Joan for her life; after her death my house in West St. in which I dwell, called 'le george', to my eldest daughter Agnes and the heirs of her body, remainder to the Subdean of Chichester to keep my anniversary in the Subdeanery [Church] in the Cathedral. Eight priests to be present at the exequies and the Mass, each to

celebrate and to have 6*d.*, those not celebrating to have 4*d.*; the parish clerk to have 4*d.* for dressing the hearse (*pro ornatu feretri defunctorum*) and for all clerk's duties; the Subdean shall provide four 4 lb. wax candles to burn about the hearse at my exequies and Masses; 2*s.* to be spent on bread, ale, and cheese for the refreshment of the clerks and laymen present, 4*s.* to be given to the poor. In bidding prayers on Sundays and holydays for his dead parishioners the Subdean or his deputy shall commemorate myself, my wife, and my sons and daughters. If my will is not observed the Dean and Chapter of Chichester may enter upon the George to carry it out. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Joan to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Simon Molence my curate, Richard Warwyke, Thomas Grenehull.

Proved 9 Feb. 1487[-8].

f. 25 r.

John Bartelott, citizen of Chichester, 6 Nov. 1487, to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Minor, Chichester. To the common chest of Chichester Cathedral 6*d.*, to the church of St. Peter the less 12*d.*, to the Friars Minor 3*s.* 4*d.* To the church of St. Peter the less a candle weighing 8 lb., such as I used to find for the Easter Sepulchre, and a torch weighing 12 lb., to be lit on feast days at the Elevation of the Host. To William, son of Robert Barttelot, a . . . (*unum coeliar vulgariter nuncupatum a gemido spoone*) worth 3*s.* 4*d.* To Edward ? Penen of Kyngston on Thames my best ankle-length blue gown, to Joan his wife, my daughter, my second best ankle-length blue gown and 6*s.* 8*d.*, to Eleanor my daughter 40*s.* in cash and kind. At my burying four priests are to be at the service and to sing Mass in the parish church aforesaid; for the first six years after my death 13 Masses a year are to be said. Residuary legatees and extices. my wife Joan and my daughter Isabel to promote my salvation; supervisor Robert ? Glazaer.

Registered between entries both dated 13 Feb. 1487[-8].

f. 37 v.

Sir John Atkyns, 30 Jan. 1487[-8], to be buried in the Cathedral cloisters. To the Cathedral fabric 20*s.*, to the Subdean for tithes forgotten 3*s.* 4*d.*, to his parish clerk 4*d.* For five years after my death a priest is to celebrate for me, saying on Sundays the Mass of the Trinity, on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays that of the Holy Ghost, on Fridays that of Requiem, on Saturdays that of the Commemoration of Our Lady, to be paid £33. 6*s.* 8*d.* The Warden of the Friars Minor is to say the same Masses for two years, and to be paid £12. Mr. John Kyng to celebrate for me for one year with the same Masses, to have £5. On the day of my burying the Dean to have 12*d.*, each Canon 8*d.*, each Vicar 6*d.*, likewise on my trental. To each chorister 2*d.*, thurifer 2*d.*, sacrist 4*d.*, bellringer 2*d.*, 26*s.* 8*d.* in all. The same sum is to be spent at my trental, and at my year's mind; on each of these days 20*s.* is to be given to the poor,

£3 in all; for 40 years my anniversary is to be kept with a payment of 6s. 8d., £13. 6s. 8d. in all. To the church of Holy Trinity and St. Richard, Chichester, a cope, price £10; to the Lady chapel there two frontals (*pallia*) for the altar, price £5; to the Vicars' Common Hall 40s. To William Atkyns a silver-gilt cup with a figure of St. George on the cover, left me by Mr. John Plente, also 12 silver spoons, a fetherbedde, and £5 in cash, for him to pray daily for my soul. To John Atkyns, Canon of Newerke nigh Gilford, a fetherbedde and £3 in cash. On the days of my burial and trental each of six poor men is to have a gown of white fryse down to the feet with a hood, and to hold in his hand on each day a 4 lb. candle; at my burial 60 shirts and smokkes to be given to the poor. To the four priests carrying my body to church 16d. for their pains. The priest who celebrates for me for five years is to do so in the Subdeanery, and is to pray for my father and mother, my brother, Sir William Lucy, and Mr. John Plente; these names are to be written in a list and put on the altar, lest they be forgotten. To each godehild 12d. To Sir William Copar my best gown and hood, to Sir William Lane another gown and hood. Residuary legatees and exors. Mr. Simon Molens, William Atkyns, and Sir John Stubber to promote my salvation; to Simon Molens a flatt peece of silver, a lawn surplice, and 13s. 4d., to William Atkyns 13s. 4d., to Sir John Stubber a mazer, a surplice, and 13s. 4d.

Proved 2 Nov. 1489.

f. 38 v.

William Bayle of St. Pancras, 20 Oct. 1489, to be buried in St. Michael's litten near the grave of my wife Agnes. To St. Pancras parish church 12d., to my curate for tithes forgotten 12d., to the Cathedral fabric 4d. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Joan to promote my salvation. Witnesses, John Arter and Thomas Lokyer.

Proved 12 Nov. 1489.

f. 39 v.

John Tracy, 1 Feb. 1488[-9], to be buried in the graveyard of St. Mary of Fyshbourne. To the Cathedral fabric 3d., to the lights of the brotherhoods of St. Mary of Fyshebourne and St. (*alme*) Katherine 4d. To my son Thomas Tracy a pan containing four gallons, a dish (*scutella*), and a candlestick, to remain for the use of his mother for her life, and afterwards to be delivered to him. To my daughter Alice Tracy a pan containing six gallons, a brass pot containing three gallons, a two-year-old calf, and a candlestick, to be delivered to her at her marriage by my executors. Residuary legatees and exors. my wife Isabel Tracy and my son William to promote my salvation. Witnesses, William Rudby, John Warde, John Carter, William Tyly.

Proved 14 Feb. 1489[-90].

f. 41 r.

Richard Champyon, citizen of Chichester, 27 April 1490. To be buried in the graveyard of St. Michael without the east gate. To the

Cathedral fabric, 4*d.*, to my parish church of St. Peter the great next Guildhall 3*s.* 4*d.*, to Sir John Wyllughby, Rector, my confessor, 12*d.* To my wife Eleanor Champyon all my lands and houses for a year after my death, thereafter those in the City to my son Thomas Champyon and the heirs of his body, remainder to my younger son John Champyon and the heirs of his body. My wife and my son Thomas are jointly to inhabit the house in which I dwell so long as my wife remains unmarried; if she marries she is to have, at my son's delivery, one of my cottages opposite rent free for life. To my son Thomas all my bodily ornaments, gowns, coats (*tunicas*), shirts, and the like, and a debt of 20*s.* due to me from Peter Cutler. To my younger son John 10*s.* for his marrying. To each of my daughters Joan the elder and Joan the younger 10*s.* for their marrying; if either die her share to go to the survivor. My obit is to be kept in the church of St. Peter the great next Guildhall at the ordinance of my son Thomas. To Giles my executor 3*s.* 4*d.* for his pains, the like to Symon his fellow. My exors. are my residuary legatees to promote my salvation.

Proved by exors. 8 July 1480.

f. 42 r.

John Robarde, citizen of Chichester, 16 Aug. 1490, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard near the grave of my late wife Joan. To the Cathedral fabric 4*d.*, to Simon Molens my curate 12*d.* to pray for my soul, to the parish clerk 4*d.* To Plesance my wife my house in South St. Chichester in which I dwell. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Plesance to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Simon Molens my curate, Christopher Derwyn, William Rumbene.

Proved by extix. 25 May 1491.

f. 45 r.

Robert Glasyar of Chichester, 'Bocher', dated 27 Dec. 1491, to be buried in the church of the Friars Minor, Chichester. To the Cathedral fabric 6*d.*, to my parish church 12*d.*, to my curate 2*s.* 2*s.* for six priests on the day of my burying, the like at my month's mind. To my daughters Alice and Joan 5 marks each provided they are governed by my wife Margaret, otherwise 33*s.* 4*d.* only. To my wife Margaret my corner house opposite the church of St. Peter the less on the south of the highway, opposite the wall of the Friars Minor on the west, late of John Glasyar my father. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Sir Edward Harryson, curate of St. Peter the less, Henry Eyr, Richard Howyk.

Proved by extix. 29 Feb. 1491[-2].

f. 47 v.

Oliver Kyrkby, citizen of Chichester, 3 April 1492, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard near the grave of my late wife Nicola. To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.*, to Simon Molence my curate 20*d.* To Robert my servant my green gown and a basin and ewer, to Lucy

my maidservant two platters and a pewter dish. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Joan to promote my salvation, supervisor Richard Webb. Witnesses, Simon Molence my curate, and Joan my wife.

Proved by extix. 25 May 1492.

f. 49 r.

Richard Dorkyng, citizen of Chichester, 31 July 1492, to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers, Chichester. To the Cathedral 6*d.*, to the fabric of the parish church of St. Andrew, Chichester, 20*d.*, to the Rector thereof 12*d.* To Robert Gylys my servant 2*s.*, to Agnes Coper, Alice Durant, and Agatha, my maidservants 12*d.* each, to Edmund my servant 6*d.*; to each of my godchildren 4*d.* To the poor of the brotherhood of St. George 6*d.*, to the hospitals of St. James, Loddysdown, and St. Mary Magdalene nigh Chichester, 4*d.* each, to the poor of St. Mary's hospital Chichester 6*d.* For the use of the brotherhood of St. George a tablecloth; to the Friars Preachers of Chichester 6*s.* 8*d.*, to the Friars Minor of Chichester 20*d.* My lands and tenements in Litellondon, Chichester, of which two are in Safreyslane, and another was late [of] Rawlyns, to my wife Agatha for life, remainder to my son Richard and the heirs of his body. The rest of my estate in my leases in Chichester to my wife Agatha. My barn and six cottages in Litellondon, and my land in Portefyld, Wykfyld, or elsewhere in Sussex, to my son Richard; for five years after my death he shall provide an obit and anniversary at a cost of 10*s.* in the church of St. Andrew for the souls of Richard and William Myldew and their friends; after these five years he or his executors are to provide for my anniversary at a cost of 5*s.* for ten years in the church of the Friars Preachers on the feast of St. Faith or within three days of it. If Richard dies without heirs the premises to the Mayor and citizens of Chichester to keep my anniversary, in default to the Prior and Convent of Boxgraue to do so. Residuary legatees and exors. my wife Agatha and my son Richard; supervisor John Redman with 6*s.* 8*d.* for his pains. Witnesses, William Holte, Mayor, Thomas Cressweller, late Mayor, of Chichester.

Proved by exors. 26 Oct. 1492.

f. 50 r.

Joan Mawncer, 26 July 1492, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.*, to the church of St. Olave 12*d.* To my two younger daughters, Maud and Alice, the house in which I dwell. Residuary legatees and exors. John Spicer and Richard Spycer. Witnesses, Sir William Coper, Joan Deryng, Joan Gest.

Proved 27 Oct. 1492.

Isabel Web (*sic*), wife of John Webb, of Subdeanery parish, 1 Sept. 1492, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the Cathedral 4*d.* To Joan my mother a gown, to Isabel, wife of John Coote, another gown; all my other clothes and gear to be given to the poor by the

said John Coote. Residuary legatee and exor. the said John Coote to promote my salvation. Witnesses, John Boteler, William Baker.

Proved Saturday,¹ (*blank*) Jan. 1492[-3].

f. 50 v.

Sir John Dalehowse, 17 Jan. 1492[-3], to be buried in the Cathedral cloisters next to the grave of Sir John Atkyns. To the [Vicars'] common hall 6s. 8d., to the Cathedral two copes for the choristers, to the chapel of St. John Baptist in the Cathedral a vestment and all its purtenance. To my mother my best gown. Residuary legatees and exors. my son William Dalehouse and Elyatt Alfons, merchant, of London, to promote my salvation. Witnesses, John Champyon his (*suo*) curate, and Robert Fulsham, Vicar choral.

Proved 26 Jan. 1492[-3] by William Dalehowse.

f. 51 r.

William Marlat of Subdeanery parish, 1 Dec. 1492, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the Cathedral 4d. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Alice to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Dr. Molens, John Champyon his curate.

Proved 26 Jan. 1492[-3].

f. 52 v.

Robert Meryfyld of St. Mary in the market, 21 March 149[2-]3, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard next to my father's grave. To the Cathedral fabric 12d., to my parish church 12d., to my curate 3s. 4d. To Joan Steer my maidservant a pair of sheets. My wife Joan is to find food and clothing for my mother for her life. Residuary legatees and exors. my wife Joan and Richard Howyk, citizen of Chichester, to Richard Howyk my best gown for his pains: supervisor Thomas Wlgar, to have my silver seal for his pains. Witnesses, Sir William Lane my curate, John Shamler, William Connysby.

Proved by exors. 5 June 1493.

f. 53 r.

Thomas Wood, citizen of Chichester, 9 March 149[2-]3, to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers. To the Cathedral fabric 2s., to the fabric of St. Andrew's church 3s. 4d., to the church of the Friars Preachers with my body 6s. 8d. To the Friars Minor 3s. 4d. To my mother, if living, 20s., otherwise to be disposed of for the salvation of her soul and that of my father. To my curate 12d., to the parish clerk 6d. To my brother in London 6s. 8d. and a gown, to my sister Marian 6s. 8d., to Thomas Ruke my son 20s. and a gown, price 6s. 8d., to Joan Cokkyng 13s. 4d., to John Ruk my son 6s. 8d. To Alice Wode my maidservant 20s., to each godchild 12d., to each of the poor of St. George and St. Mary's hospital a shirt. My exors. and supervisor are to find for a year, at a cost of £3. 6s. 8d., a priest to celebrate for my soul in the church of St. Andrew twice a week, one Mass of the Holy Ghost and one of Requiem, with *placebo* and

¹ i.e. 5, 12, 19, or 26 Jan.

dirige; the trental of St. Gregory is to be said for my soul. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Margaret to promote my salvation; supervisor my curate Sir Robert Gaynsbrugh, to have 6s. 8d. for his pains. Witnesses, Sir Robert Gaynsbrugh and Mr. Richard Holwyk. To St. Andrew's church 6s. 8d. to buy a cope; to my brother my horse.

Proved 13 July 1493.

f. 53 v.

Elizabeth Drynkwatyr, 20 June 1493, to be buried within the Cathedral cloister called 'le paradyse'. To the Cathedral 12d., to my curate 20d. and a brass pot. To my son William a silver cup and six silver spoons. Residuary legatee and exor. my son Mr. Robert to promote my salvation. Witnesses, John Champyon and Edmund Herdham.

Proved 3 Aug. 1493.

f. 55 r.

John Shamler, 17 Aug. 1493, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard north of the church. To the Cathedral fabric 8d., to the Subdean 12d., to the Vicars choral 3s. 4d., to the parish clerk 4d. To my master the Precentor my shawm and its garnishings (*calamodum cum sc(r)ipt' hernisat'*). To each chorister 2d., to the four bellringers 4d., to Sir William Lane all my instruments. To Thomas Cewook my wife's father my best russet gown, to my brother John Shamler my green gown. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Gillian to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Mr. John Champyon, Subdean, Thomas Cewook, Thomas Mores.

Proved 4 Oct. 1493.

John Lokyer, 12 Aug. 1493, to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Minor. To the Cathedral fabric 4d., to the church of St. Peter the less 8d., to Sir John Newton my curate 3s. 4d. On the day of my burying my extix. is to keep my obit with five secular priests. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Alice to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Sir John Newton, William Glazyar, Nicholas Hulys.

Proved 4 Oct. 1493.

f. 55 v.

William Ryman, 17 Sept. 1493, to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers. To the fabric of that church 6s. 8d., to each friar of the convent 4d., to the Cathedral fabric 4d., to each Vicar choral 4d., to the Subdean 12d. Residuary legatee . . . (*unfinished; registered between acts of 4 Oct. and 11 Oct. 1493*).

f. 56 r.

John Mawncer, citizen of Chichester, 12 Sept. 1493, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the Cathedral fabric 6d., to the Subdean 8d., to the parish clerk 4d. My house in South St., Chichester, to my son William Mawncer and the heirs of his body, remainder to my daughters Isabel and Joan and the heirs of their bodies and to the longer liver of them, remainder to my brother

Christopher Mavncer to keep an obit for myself and my parents. To my son William Mavncer my tools of the fulling trade, to my mother 12*d.* and my best gown. To my son Christopher Mavncer 24 lb. 20*d.* weight of wool, to Richard Walter of Fysseborne 32 lb. 3*s.* 4*d.* weight of wool, to William Cracell the elder 32 lb. 3*s.* 4*d.* weight of wool. Residuary legatees my daughters Isabel and Joan Mavncer, exors. Richard Walter and William Cracell aforesaid. Witnesses, Mr. John Champyon, Subdean, Thomas Mores, Richard Denby, John Trowe.

Proved 11 Oct. 1493.

John Humberston, 7 Sept. 1493, to be buried in Paradise. To the Cathedral for my burial 6*s.* 8*d.*, to the Subdean for my mortuary an ox, to the Vicars choral to pray for my soul another ox. On the day of my burying to each Vicar 4*d.*, to each exorcist 1*d.* To Hunstan church a red cow and a calf, to Wyke church another cow . . .
(*unfinished*)

f. 56 v.

Edward Walshe, 1 May 1493, to be buried in Fyshebourne graveyard. To the Cathedral 4*d.*, to Fyshebourne church 4*d.*, to my confessor Friar Adam Weston, O.P., 4*d.* To Alice Lane a platter and a paten (*discum et discellum aliter vocatos vulgariter a plater and a pateng*). Debts owing to me to be paid to my wife Agnes. I owe 6*s.* 8*d.* to William Clerk of Chichester, 2*s.* to Fyshbourne parish church, 10*s.* 8*d.* to my son John Walshe. Geoffrey Fans owes me 4*s.* 6*d.*, to be paid to my wife Agnes, who is my residuary legatee and extix. to promote my salvation, after her death to be succeeded by my son John.

(*No P.A.*)

f. 59 r.

Agnes Molens, 15 March 1494 (*sic*), to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard near my husband Henry Molens. To the Cathedral fabric 20*d.*, to my curate 20*d.*, to the clerk 4*d.* To poor John Carter a sheet of canvas, to Alice Buttler a pair of beads of jet (*gete*), to Alice Jogull my servant a folding table (*mensam volubilem*), a spit, an andiron (*ypporgium*), a pair of sheets, three pewter dishes, and a spinning-wheel (*unum instrumentum quo mulieres nere solent an[gli]ce a terne*). To John Crucher a canvas sheet, to Margaret Bayle a kerchief of grogram (*de filo grosso*), to Greenhill's wife a gown of vyolett, to her mother my russet gown, to widow Stere a green gown, to Wlfe's wife my best hood and a kerchief of grogram, to Grenehyll's wife a kerchief of grogram. Residuary legatees and exors. my sons Simon Molens and William Molens to promote my salvation. Witnesses, John Hamond, John Champyon.

(*No P.A.*)

Richard Dorkyng of St. Andrew, 23 May 1494 (*sic*), to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers. To the fabric of St. Andrew

3s. 4d., to the fabric of the church of the Friars Preachers 6s. 8d. for my burying, to the Cathedral fabric 12d., to Sir Robert Gaynsbrugh my curate 12d., to the parish clerk 4d. There are to be eight priests at my burying, month's mind, and year's mind. Residuary legatee and extir. my wife Joan to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Sir Lane, John Lawrens, Henry Wudlad, William Cardmaker.

Proved 26 July 1493.¹

f. 59 v.

Joan Darkyn, widow, of Chichester, 1494 (*sic*), to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers. To the fabric of that church for my burying 6s. 8d., to the Cathedral fabric 6d., to the fabric of St. Andrew's church 12d., to Sir Robert Gaynsbrugh, Rector, 3s. 4d., to the parish clerk 4d. To my brother John Wayte 10s., to my brother William Wayte 6s. 8d., to my sister Agnes a basin and ewer, a platter, a pewter dish, a pair of sheets, and two silver spoons. To my sister Margaret a basin, a platter, a pewter dish, a pair of sheets, and two silver spoons, to my sister Joan a basin and charger, a charger (*magnum parapsidem vulgariter nuncupatum a charger*), a pewter dish, a pair of sheets, and two silver spoons, to my mother Agatha Darkyn a piece of silver. To the fabric of Estergate church 6s. 8d. To Alice Fowle a blue gown, to Agnes Cowper a gown of mustervyls, to Alice Dorant a green gown. To my father the best gown of my late hysband. My best ring for the repair of the cross in St. Andrew's church. Residuary legatee and exor. my father Robert Wayte to promote my salvation, supervisor Thomas Cresweller with 3s. 4d. for his pains. Witnesses, Sir Robert Gaynsbrugh my curate, William Holt, Mayor of Chichester, Thomas Cresweller.

Produced for probate by exor. Saturday, 4 Oct. [1494].²

f. 64 r.

Alice Saymer, 10 June 1495, to be buried in the Friars Minor. To the Cathedral fabric 20d., to William Bernham a table and a cup (*cipharium*), to James Tayler a dish (*scutellam*). Residuary legatees and exors. my curate John Champyon and Giles Capron to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Richard Waller, John Rineby.

Produced for probate Friday, the feast of St. Firmin (25 Sept.) 1495.

f. 65 r.

Joan Basse, to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Preachers. 20d. for five Masses to be said there on the day of my burial, and the like on the day of my obit. To the Prior and convent there 10d. and a pair of sheets for prayers for me, to be agreed on between the Prior and my son John Laake. To the Cathedral 4d. To my son John Laake a house in Worthing next Brodwater. To Brodwater

¹ The date is given as 'Friday, the feast of St. Anne, in the year aforesaid'. 26 July fell on a Friday in 1493.

² The preceding date is that of the last probate; the next, on f. 60 v., is Wednesday, 20 Nov. 1494; but 20 Nov. fell on a Wednesday in 1493.

church 4*d.* Residuary legatee and exor. my said son John to promote my salvation. Witnesses, the Prior, licensed curate of the round church of St. Bartholomew (*Sancti Bartholomei rotunde permissiue plebano*), and my son John, dated 9 Oct. 1495.

Produced for probate 4 Nov. 1495.

f. 65 v.

William Fry of St. Bartholomew, Chichester, to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Preachers. To the Prior thereof 4*d.*, to the Cathedral fabric 4*d.*, to the round church of St. Bartholomew 4*d.* My house in that parish to Felice my daughter. Residuary legatee and extix. my daughter Felice, supervisors William Marten and Robert Martyn his kinsman. Witnesses, the Prior aforesaid, William Zone, blacksmith, Thomas Berwell, and John Dyer, dated 8 Nov. 1495.

Proved by Felicia Fry 10 Dec. 1495.

f. 67 r.

William Nycholatt, citizen of Chichester, 21 Nov. 1495, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard north of the church. To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.*, to the Subdean my curate 12*d.*, to the parish clerk 4*d.*, to the church of St. Pancras 8*d.* To the guild of tanners of Chichester 20*d.*, to the brotherhood of St. George 2 lb. of wax. To my daughter Joan 13*s.* 4*d.*, to my son Thomas a feather-bed, a mattress, a bolster, three pairs of sheets, and a coverlet, to my son John a feather-bed and bolster, a mattress, three pairs of sheets, a pair of blankets, and a coverlet, to my son William a feather-bed and bolster, a mattress, three pairs of sheets, a pair of blankets, and a coverlet. After the death of myself and my wife Juliane, my house in South St., Chichester, in which I dwell to my son Thomas, remainder to my son William, remainder to the heirs of the body of my son Thomas, remainder to the heirs of the body of my son William, remainder to my right heirs, charged in all cases with a dole of 3*s.* 4*d.* on my anniversary in the Subdeanery for myself and my wife Juliane; if the anniversary is not kept my house to go to the Mayor and citizens of Chichester to keep it. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Juliane to promote my salvation, supervisor Thomas Tewkok to have 20*s.* for his pains. Witnesses, Mr. John Champyon and Mr. Richard Holme.

Proved 12 March 1495[-6].

f. 68 v.

Mr. Richard Aspynalgh, Precentor, 13 Nov. 1495, to be buried in the Cathedral near the tomb of Bishop John Arundell. To the Cathedral a carpet worth 40*s.* to lie on the steps of the high altar, to Ovyng church a printed missal, to Mr. Subdean 3*s.* 4*d.*, to the parish clerk 4*d.*, to the Vicars choral 6*s.* 8*d.* On the days of my burial and month's mind my obit to be kept in the Cathedral choir with a dole of 12*d.* to the Dean, 8*d.* to each canon present, 12*d.* to the two King's

chaplains, *6d.* to each Vicar, *20d.* to the choristers and thurifers, *2d.* to each sacristan, *2d.* to each bellringer, *4d.* to the porter, *4d.* each to all other priests attending and saying Mass, *20d.* to the Friars Minor and the Friars Preachers of Chichester, *2s.* to the brethren and sisters of the hospitals of St. Mary, St. James, and St. George. Residuary legatees and exors. John Harris, clerk, and my kinsman Richard Ryshton to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Sir John Hyll and Sir Richard Bramley, clerks.

Produced for probate 30 April 1496.

f. 69 v.

Edward Lane of Chichester, 4 July 1496, to be buried in my parish church of St. Mary, Chichester. To the Cathedral fabric *3s. 4d.*, to the said church of St. Mary *6s. 8d.* for the belfry, to the light of St. Mary of Fissebourne *20s.* To my daughter Joan *20 marks*, to my mother a gold ring, to my father Thomas Lane a russet gown, to my sister Alice *3s. 4d.*, to my brother John Lane a short gown. To my Friars Minor *2s.*, to the Friars Preachers *2s.*, to William Holte, late Mayor, my best ring. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Joan, supervisors the said William Holte and my father Thomas Lane. To each of my servants *8d.* Witnesses, Mr. John Hamonde, William Holte, Thomas Lane.

f. 81 r.

Mr. John Kybow, Canon residentiary, 22 April 1496, to be buried (*where not stated*). To the fabric of Byrpton church, *6s. 8d.*, to the fabric of Brodwater church *6s. 8d.*, to the convent of St. Edith, Wilton, *20s.*, to the nuns of Wroxhall *40s.* To Robert Pylton my house servant *26s. 8d.*, to John Smyth *6s. 8d.*, to Mr. John Hamond *20s.*, to Mr. Edward Asheley *13s. 4d.*, to the Subdean *6s. 8d.* To Edward Apeleg *£3* to be distributed by him under the direction of Mr. Hugh Sandres. Residuary legatees of my goods moveable and immoveable in my house in Chichester or elsewhere, and exors., Mr. Hugh Sandres and John Kybow, supervisor Dr. Molence, D.D., with *40s.* for his pains. Witnesses, Mr. John Hamand and Mr. Edward Asheley.¹

Proved 1 July 1496 by Mr. Hugh Sandres.

f. 81 v.

Wa[l]ter Maryng of Subdeanery, 6 July 1493, to be buried in Paradise beside my first wife Margery. To the Cathedral fabric *6s. 8d.*, to St. Richard's shrine a gold ring. To every priest Vicar choral at dirge and Mass at my burying *4d.*, to every priest Vicar saying Mass then *6d.*, to every priest of the country at dirge and Mass *4d.* To the Friars Preachers *12d.*, to the Friars Minor *12d.*, to the poor men of St. Mary's hospital *8d.*, to the poor men of St. George *6d.*, to the poor men and women of St. Mary Magdalene and St. James *8d.*, to every bedridden man and woman in Chichester *4d.*

¹ Testator died 27 June 1496 (White Act bk., f. 142).

To my daughter Alys Maryng for her marrying 10 marks in money, chatells, plate, or other household stuff, such as pots and pans, at my executor's discretion: to my daughter Annes Maryng for her marrying 100s. in money, sheep, or other goods. My two houses and gardens outside the west gate to my wife Joan and her heirs, that is to my son John Maryng the younger, Margaret Maryng, and Jone my daughter, and their heirs, remainder to Margaret Maryng and her heirs, remainder to Margery (*sic*) Maryng and her heirs, remainder to my youngest daughter Jone Maryng and her heirs, remainder to my eldest son John Maryng and his heirs, remainder to the children of my first wife Margery. My house in South St., Chichester, that I bought of the exors. of William Jacob to my wife Jone, remainder as my houses outside the west gate. My land at Ludsey which goeth for 3s. a year besides the lord's rent to my wife and her heirs: my land at Wayneffet 'in what parishe that they be yn', also my lands in the Isle of Wight in Norwode called Rygge, and in Newport, to my eldest son John Maryng and his heirs, remainder to their sisters and daughters of my first wife Margery to be divided among them. Residuary legatees and exors. my wife Joan and William Beuerley.

English.

Proved at Lambeth before the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury 8 May 1497.¹

f. 85 r.

Richard Lydsey, to be buried in St. Michael's graveyard in St. Pancras parish next to the 'beryall' of my mother. To my mother [church] 12*d.*, to my parish church 12*d.*, to my curate 20*d.* To my brother W. Lydsey 6*s.* 8*d.*, to his two children 20*d.* each, to Kempe my servant 3*s.* 4*d.*, to Thomas my servant 20*d.*, to each of my godchildren 4*d.* To each of the four men that bear me to church 4*d.*, to the black Friars 8*d.*, to the grey Friars 8*d.* Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Julyan to promote my salvation. To William Lancyng and his children 6*s.* 8*d.* whom (*sic*) I desire to be overseer.

English.

Exhibited Thursday (16 Feb.) after St. Valentine's Day 1496[-7].

f. 85 v.

Sir John Lewyshe, Vicar choral, 12 Jan. 1496[-7], to be buried in the Cathedral cloister next to the grave of Sir John Stubber.² To the Cathedral a coverlet worked with lilies and other flowers to lie before the high altar, to the Subdean 12*d.*, to the parish clerk 4*d.*, to the Vicars a cup called 'a Nutt' with a cover silver-gilt. To my godson Richard a Lee a silver spoon, to Alice, daughter of William Baker, a silver spoon, to Rose Stallwarthman of Aschewell, Herford-

¹ The P.C.C. reference is 6 Horne, *S.R.S.* xli. 338.

² In 1498 the Communar accounts for 12*d.* from Sir John Newton for stones (*petris seu lapidibus*) to cover the grave of Sir John Lewys. (White Act Bk., f. 143 v.)

[shire], a bed and its purtenance with the cloths (*vestibus*) hanging round my upper chamber, or 40s. instead. To her eldest son John my breviary, if he takes Holy Orders, also a book called 'Dextra pars oculi', and 'sinistra pars oculi', an illuminated tropar, and all his (*sic*) other books of grammar, also the bed on which I now lie, and the 100s. owed to me by Humphrey Redman of Chichester to be dealt to him by my exors. if he applies himself to study. Residuary legatees and exors. Sir John Newton, clerk, and John Shamler, notary public; to Sir John Newton for his pains my best gown, to John Shamler my bed coverlet painted with peacocks. Witnesses, Mr. John Champyon, Subdean, Thomas Meres, parish clerk.

Produced for probate by exors. 16 March 1496[-7].

f. 86 r.

Edward Howell, 18 March 1496[-7], to be buried in Paradise. To the altar of benefactors of the Vicars of the common hall 12*d.*, to James Sandys my curate 12*d.* Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Elizabeth to promote my salvation. Witnesses, William Pynpo, William Howell.

No P.A.: registered along with entries of 7 April 1497.

f. 86 v.

Humphrey Fynch of Subdeanery, 19 March 1496[-7], to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the high altar of the Subdeanery 4*d.* To my sister Joan Shorter a gown of musterdevyls. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Margaret to promote my salvation, supervisor Richard Ruston. Witnesses, Richard Ruston and William Basse.

Proved Friday xx(*blank*) April¹ 1497.

f. 87 r.

Thomas Englysh, 1497, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the Cathedral fabric 4*d.* To my daughter Joan a griddle (*vnum instrumentum ferreum quo coquitur panis*), which my wife Joan is to have for life; if my daughter predeceases my wife to go to my wife's daughter Elizabeth, after the death of both daughters it is to be sold and the money given in doles to pray for my soul. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Joan to promote my salvation. Witnesses, John Champyon my curate and Thomas Meres.

Proved 26 May 1497.

f. 96 r.

William Boorden of Chichester, yeoman, 15 June 1498, to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Minor or where God wills. To the common chest of the Cathedral 6*d.*, to the high altar of St. Olave's 12*d.*, to the warden and convent of the Friars Minor 6s. 8*d.*, to the prior and convent of the Friars Preachers 3s. 4*d.* to pray for my soul. Within three days of my death my exors. are to have three trentals celebrated for 30s., they are also to have the office for the

¹ i.e. April 21 or 28.

dead, placebo and dirige, and the Mass of requiem said for me in St. Olave's by the Rector and the parish clerk for fifteen days after my death. My house and garden on the east side of North St., Chichester, between that of William Smith alias Holt to the north and that of the guild of St. George to the south, to my wife Alice during her widowhood, on her remarriage to my next heir. To each of my six sons and daughters 40s. when they come of age, if any die earlier their shares to be given to the rest, in the meantime the money to be in the custody of Sir Robert Gaynsbrugh my curate and Thomas Morye. To my brother John Boorden my violet gown and a quarter of salt, to my brother Richard Boorden 6s. 8d., to each of my children a ewe, to Sir Thomas Pend of Boxgraeue my pair of beads of chalcedony to pray for me, to Thomas Bedone 6s. 8d. or its worth in goods, to William Knight a whole quarter, and to John Truslove half a quarter, of salt. Residuary legatee for my salvation my wife Alice, exors. said Alice and Thomas Morye, to the latter 20s. for his pains. Supervisor Roger Lewknor Esq. with 20s. for his pains. Witnesses, Sir Robert Gaynsbrugh my curate, Thomas Clarke, Thomas Morye.

Proved 21 July 1498.

f. 97 v.

Robert Gold of Chichester, 15 July 1498, to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard. To the Cathedral fabric 4d. To my brother John Gold a gown. Residuary legatee and extrix. my wife Joan to promote my salvation. Witnesses John Champion my curate and John Gold.

Produced for probate 25 Aug. 1498.

f. 101 v.

John Meres of St. Bartholomew without the west gate, 6 Feb. 1498[-9], to be buried in the Cathedral graveyard at the east end of the church by my wife, sons, and daughters. To the common chest of the Cathedral 4d., to my curate 6d. To my nephew (*nepoti*) William Mares, his heirs and assigns (*sic*) my house, with the houses and lands belonging to it, if he dies without heirs remainder to Alice Mares, her heirs and assigns. Residuary legatee and executor to promote my salvation said William. Witnesses, John Cardewell, John Symond, William Pypoll.

Produced for probate 22 March 1498[-9].

f. 104 r.

Richard Redyng of St. Olave, 2 April 1499, to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Minor, Chichester. To the Cathedral fabric 6d., to St. Olave's church 6d., to my curate 6d., to the Friars Minor 6d. My land in Chichester, Rogate, and Tordewyke to my wife Alice for life, remainder of the Rogate and Tordwyke land to my son John and the heirs of his body, remainder to his right heirs. On death of the said Alice my house in North St., Chichester, to my son William and the heirs of his body, remainder to my right heirs. My

lands in Alton to be sold by my extix. and the money used to promote my salvation. Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Alice to promote my salvation, supervisor William Holt. Witnesses, Robert Gaynsbrgh, clerk, John Roysse, Nicholas Tabyll.

Produced for probate 31 May 1499.

f. 113 r.

John Gunter of Chichester, 28 Aug. 1500, to be buried in the Cathedral near the rood-loft (*pulpitum*). To the Cathedral for my burying 6s. 8d., to the Subdean for tithes forgotten 3s. 4d., to the Cathedral fabric 20d. To a priest celebrating a great trental for myself and my parents 12 marks, or, if that is not enough, £10; 20 Masses to be said on the day of my burying and 10s. given to the poor. An obit is to be held yearly for ten years with ten Masses and 3s. 4d. given to the poor; if my wife Cristina dies within that time the profits of a parcel of land in Pettworth called Nymhawe to be used for the obit. My land in Pettworth, Yapton, Chichester, Heyshoot, Wasshyngton, Estclayton to my wife Cristina for life, charged with the obit; after her death an annuity of 10 marks to my cousin Margaret Elveden is to be charged on the land in Nymhawe, Yapton, and Asshington (*sic*); after payment of the annuity and obit the land in Petworth and Nymhawe to my cousin Nicholas Elueden, the land in Yapton to my cousin Robert Elueden, the land in Asshington to Henry Heyfeld. To Nicholas Elueden aforesaid after my wife's death a mazer that was my mother's, to Margaret Prior my servant 20s. or its worth, to John Elueden two gowns, two doublets, and a pair of boots and shoes, to Eliner my servant 6s. 8d. or its worth, to Margaret Radeler 10s. or its worth, to each of my godchildren 8d., to Sir William Scolethorpe my best gown and a pair of beads of 'whyte amber'. After the death of my wife my house in Heyshette to my servant William Carver if he has stayed with her, and my house in East St., Chichester, to Isabella Tomson. If my wife does not perform my will my feoffees are to sell the land, receive the profits, and perform it. The profits of my land in Estclayton in the parish of Wasshyngton to be used for an obit, at the ordinance of my wife, in Chichester Cathedral for myself and my parents John and Marion, after her death the land to go to the Dean and Chapter for the same purpose, the dole to be: to the Dean, if present, 12d., to each Canon present 8d., to the Subdean 8d., to each King's chaplain and Vicar present 4d., to the ten boys 10d., to the porter 3d., to each sacrist 3d., to each bellringer 2d. Residuary legatee and extx. my wife Christina to promote my salvation, supervisors Mr. John Champyon, Subdean, and William Scolethorpe, chaplain. Witnesses, Mr. John Champyon, Subdean, and William Scolethropp, chaplain.

Produced for probate 10 Oct. 1500.

f. 116 r.

Alice Lane of Fyshbourne, 8 Jan. 1500[-1], to be buried in Fyshbourne chancel before the image of the Assumption of Our Lady.

To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.*, to the fraternity of St. Mary of Fyshbourne a cow, to St. Cross light there 8*d.*, to St. Katherine's light there 8*d.*, to the high altar there 4*d.*, to the curate for a trental 2*s.* 6*d.*, to the curate for tithes forgotten 12*d.*, to the Friars Minor, Chichester, 2 pecks of wheat. To my son Richard Lane an old cookpot, a pair of sheets, and 8 lb. wool; to John Lane the elder my son two silver spoons, to Joan Lane, daughter of Edward Lane, a silver spoon, to William Lane my son a pair of sheets, a chest, and a silver spoon, to John Lane the younger my son a pair of sheets and a silver spoon, to Elizabeth my daughter, wife of John Currat, my best gown, to Alice my daughter my violet gown, to Agnes my sister 'a red kertyll', to Joan Wylby my maidservant a pair of sheets, 3 sheep, a bed coverlet, and a brass pot. Residuary legatee and exor. my son Thomas Lane, supervisor my son John Lane the elder aforesaid. Witnesses, Sir John Peion my curate, William Kneller, William Bud.

Produced for probate 29 Jan. 1500[-1].

f. 116 v.

John Mayn alias Coper of St. Olave's, Chichester, 1 Jan. 1500[-1], to be buried in the chapel of St. Katherine in the church of the Friars Minor. To my curate 20*d.*, to the mother church 12*d.*, to the fabric of St. Olave's 8*d.* To Margaret Wallys, my daughter's daughter, a feather-bed and bolster, a pair of sheets, a coverlet, a pair of blankets, three silver spoons, a pan price 3*s.* 4*d.*, a brass pot price 5*s.*, and a dozen pieces of pewter. To my wife Elizabeth for life my house in which I dwell, after her death it is to be sold and the price used to promote the salvation of myself and my wives Margaret and Elizabeth; if my wife becomes so feeble that she cannot support herself the house is to be sold and she is to live on the price of it. Residuary legatee and extix. said Elizabeth, supervisor Thomas Tearcock with 6*s.* 8*d.* for his pains. Witnesses, John Yong, late mayor, Richard Ryshton, J. Cressweller, Edmund Herdham, John Phylp.

Registered with entries of 29 Jan. 1500[-1].

f. 119 v.

William Gracy of Fyshebourne, to be buried in the church of Our Lady of the Assumption of Fyshbourne. To the mother church of Chichester 4*d.*, to the high altar of Fyshbourne 20*d.*, to the rood light 12*d.*, to the light of Our Lady of the Assumption 12*d.*, to the light of St. Katherine 6*d.* To my daughter Jone 6*s.* 8*d.*, to my daughter Agnes 6*s.* 8*d.* Residuary legatee and extx. my wife Elynor. Witnesses, Sir John Peion my curate, William Bud, William Kneller, John ? Casey.

English.

Produced for probate Friday,¹ 21 Oct. 1501.

¹ But 21 Oct. 1501 was a Thursday.

f. 124 r.

John Champyon of Chichester, fuller, 20 Oct. 1502, to be buried in the Friars Minor, Chichester. To the Cathedral fabric 4*d.*, to the Friars Minor for burial 6*d.*, to Friar Robert Emys to pray for me 4*d.* To my mother a pair of shears, to my sister 40*d.* Residuary legatee and exor. my brother Thomas Champyon to promote my salvation. Witness, Friar Robert Emys.

Produced for probate 26 Nov. 1502.

f. 124 v.

Thomas Asheley of Chichester, fuller, 19 Sept. 1502, to be buried in the Friars Minor, Chichester. To Chichester Cathedral 4*d.*, to the Friars Minor for my burial 20*d.* My wife is to provide for my daughters Margaret and Elizabeth. Residuary legatee and extx. my wife Beatrice to promote my salvation. Witnesses, Robert Gaynsbugh (*sic*) clerk, John Mundy, Dominic Fuller, John Wryght.

Proved by extx. 26 Nov. 1502.

f. 125 r.

John Wellys of Chichester, 8 Oct. 1502, to be buried in the church of the Friars Minor near my wife's mother. To Chichester Cathedral 8*d.*, to St. Martin's church 12*d.*, to John Kendall, chaplain, my confessor, for tithes forgotten, 12*d.* To my sister Alice 20*s.*, if she predeceases me this to be divided among my kin. My manservant Roger to be rewarded at my wife's discretion. Residuary legatees and exors. my wife Margaret and Robert Warwyck to promote my salvation, to the said Robert a quarter of barley for his pains. Dated in my house in Chichester. To John Lewys a chest and a furred jacket (*vnum le jaket penialat'*).

Proved by extix. 26 Nov. 1502.

f. 125 v.

John Palmer of St. Mary in the Market, 22 Sept. 1502, to be buried in the graveyard of the Friars Minor, Chichester. To the Cathedral fabric 12*d.*, to my parish church four pieces of timber in the wood called Goodewode. Thomas Brammer is to have restored to him his three 'grossos', commonly called peyse grotes, pledged to me, he is also to have my 'vyolet' gown and two pecks of malt. To Sir William Lane my curate 3*s.* 4*d.*, to Margery Streter the 4*s.* which she owes me, Thomas Palmer is to have restored to him his two silver spoons, to (*blank*) wife of Thomas Weyver 8*d.* Residuary legatee and extix. my wife Joan, witnesses Sir William Lane, curate, and Thomas ?Bram.

Proved 26 Nov. 1502.

f. 2 r.

Elizabeth Burell, daughter of John Husshe, deceased, plaintiff, v. John Whussh (*sic*), exor. of said John Whussh, defendant, 8 Oct. [1484] and subsequent dates.

f. 6 v.

Mr. John Vyncent, exor. of Mr. John Goswell, Canon residentiary, v. Henry Dye, 12 March 1484[-5].

f. 11 r.

Will of George Robertson proved 22 Nov. 1486.

Will of Thomas ? Orger proved by his widow 1 Feb. 1486[-7].

Thomas Ayldwyn of St. Martin's proves the will of his mother Joan 28 Feb. 1486[-7].

f. 16 r.

Will of William Hayton proved (n.d., between 12 Aug. and 12 Oct.) 1485.

f. 20 v.

Thomas Webbe of Subdeanery, cited to prove the will of Sir John Hyll, says that he made none, 4 Sept. 1487.

Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Royse, cited to prove his will, says that he has goods in divers jurisdictions, 4 Sept. 1487.

Joan Tennysly cited to prove the will of Giles her ? son says that he made none, 4 Sept. 1487.

f. 21 v.

The will of Robert Bartelott proved, 26 Sept. 1487.

Elizabeth Vynche appeared and said that the will of Thomas Vynch her husband is not written, 26 Sept. 1487.

f. 22 r.

Christiana Crow to prove the will of Richard Crow her husband, 18 Oct. 1487.

f. 22 v.

Thomas Lane of Fyshborne and John Grace sworn as to the will of William Chylton, lately deceased. Joan, widow of said William, ordered not to alienate his goods before making an inventory, 12 Dec. 1487.

f. 24 r.

Will of Thomas Bensey proved by Joan his widow, 8 Feb. 1487[-8].

f. 40 v.

Admon. of John Rumbrigg intestate to William Gysbourne of St. Pancras parish, 12 May 1490.

f. 48 r.

Agatha Dorkyn, widow of Richard Dorkyn, exhibited his will, the morrow (10 Aug.) of St. Romanus 1491, the witnesses to be produced next Friday (12 Aug.). They were then produced, William Holt, Thomas Creswell, John Redman. The will was proved by Agatha and Richard (*sic*), exors., 26 Oct. 1492.

f. 51 r.

Robert Shotton produced the will of Henry Shotton his father, 5 Feb. 1492[-3].

Case of the subtraction of a cow given to the brotherhood of

St. John Baptist by the will of Henry Shotton; William Bredman, Thomas Fynch, Thomas Englysh, and William Cracall, wardens of the brotherhood, *v.* Robert Shotton, exor. of Henry Shotton, 1 March 1492[-3].

f. 57 r.

William Butlar, administrator of Thomas Hay, tailor, exhibited inventory 24 Feb. 1493[-4]. He says that Isabella, wife of William Hay, took away eight pieces of pewter (*electri*), one brass pot, and other goods—to be cited.

f. 65 r.

Sir John Wyllugby exhibited the will of Joan Bensey 6 Nov. 1495.

f. 80 v.

Agatha Dorkyn to produce the inventory of the goods of Alice Wovle, deceased, intestate 14 May 1496.

Alice Phylp to produce the inventory of the goods of her husband Thomas Phylp 14 May 1496.

Sir John Harris and Richard Ryschton, exors. of Mr. Richard Aspynalgh, to exhibit inventory 14 May 1496.

f. 82 v.

Richard Spycer cited to exhibit the will of his mother (not named), says that she made none; decreed that her goods should be sequestrated.¹

f. 84 v.

In a case of subtraction of ecclesiastical rights, 20 Jan. 1496[-7], Mr. William Beverley *v.* William Hanwell and William Smyth, the plaintiff says that Sir Robert Chylton left to the church of St. Bartholomew money for an obit of 12*d.* a year.

f. 86 r.

Mariona Tylman extix. of (*blank*) mentioned 16 March 1496[-7]; John Walter brought an action against her for perjury.

William Hust of Arundell to prove the will of one David (*about four words illegible*) St. Pancras parish 7 April 1497.

f. 87 r.

Constance, widow of Thomas Drapyer alias Lokyer of St. Pancras summoned to prove his will, 26 May 1497, says that he died intestate; sequestration ordered.

f. 87 v.

Richard Caldell and Richard Syteteler, churchwardens of Funtington, proceed against Alice Peryer, extix. of her husband, 26 May 1497, Thomas Lane appears for her and denies debt—a day given to prove the will. The case recurs at subsequent dates.

¹ The date is doubtful; and the entry evidently misplaced; it comes between acts dated 24 Sept. 1496, being the Saturday after the [Translation] of St. Edward [King and Confessor] (which it was not, that was 15 Oct.), and acts of Thursday (24 Nov.) before St. Katherine; it itself is dated on the feast of St. Wolstan, whose *depositio* was on 19 Jan. and his translation on 7 June.

f. 93 v.

In a testamentary case, Thomas Platt *v.* Robert Warde of Fyshbourne, the plaintiff claims for himself a pan and for his brother a brass pot and a kirtle.

f. 98 r.

Katherine, widow of Richard Gaynell, produced his will 6 Oct. 1498 (*not registered*).

f. 98 v.

Will of John May proved by Eleanor his widow 26 Oct. 1498.

Will of Richard Richarson proved by Margaret his widow same day.

f. 99 r.

Anna Myll extix. of William Myll exhibited his will 22 Nov. 1498.

f. 99 v.

Will of William Caruell proved by Alice Garvell (*sic*) his widow 15 Jan. 1598[-9].

f. 100 v.

'Thomas More the other exor. of William Borden appeared and made fine for 10s. 10 Feb. 1498[-9].'

f. 101 r.

Testamentary case William Arter *v.* Margaret ? Betain, extx. of Humphry Fynch.

f. 102 v.

Testamentary case Thomas Jeleff alias Sadeler *v.* Juliane widow of John Deane 26 April 1499.

f. 103 r.

Sir Richard Hakett, Rector of St. Peter the great, proceeds against Sir William Wyllyughby, exor. of Sir John Wyllyughby 26 April 1499.¹

f. 103 v.

Christian Exton of St. Martin's to exhibit the will of her late husband John Exton which was written by Sir John Kendall 10 May 1499.

Testamentary case Juliana Dene, extx. of John Den *v.* Thomas Jely alias Sadeler, 10 May 1499.

Christian Exton of St. Martin's swears that she does not know where the will is. John Wellys and Robert Warwyk have a day to produce the witnesses 31 May 1499.

f. 104 r.

Joan (*Gest struck out*) exhibited the will of William Gest her husband; proved 11 July 1499.

f. 109 r.

Margaret, widow of William Gysbourne, produced his will, renounced execution of it, and was granted administration of his goods (*sic*), 19 March 1499[-1500].

¹ Cf. *S.R.S.* xli, 265, quoting P.C.C. 30 Horne.

f. 109 v.

Alice Ward and John Ward produced the will of John Ward her (*sic*) husband and proved it 9 April 1500.

f. 111 r.

Nicholas Smyth of St. Mary in the Market to produce his mother's will 19 June; he did not appear then but (f. 111 v.) he proved the will of his mother Agatha Smyth 11 July 1500.

f. 112 r.

The will of William Elge alias Taillour of St. Bartholomew proved by Agnes his widow 18 Sept. 1500.

f. 114 v.

Admon. of Joan Gest intestate to Richard Sawyer and wife Maud and Michael Hudman 30 Oct. 1500.

f. 115 r.

Testamentary case Christina, widow and extx. of John Gunter *v.* William Peres 11 Dec. 1500.

Elizabeth Zerber proved the will of J. her husband 11 Dec. 1500.

(*blank*) extx. of Edward Gybbys proved the will of her husband 11 Dec. 1500.

f. 115 v.

Henry Aylwyn exor. of Thomas Aylwyn produced his will 8 Jan. 1500[-1].

Elena Barnam proved the will of Robert Bernham her husband 8 Jan. 1500[-1].

Testamentary case Christina Gunter *v.* Gabriel Smyth 18 Jan. 1500[-1].

f. 117 r.

Testamentary case Robert Wayte *v.* John Cobden. Defendant denies claim, and has a day to prove. The widow of ? Richard Derkyng makes Mr. William Beurerley her proxy 5 March 1500[-1].

William Chawndler alias Arter produced the will of Alice Phyllyp 5 March 1500[-1].

Sir Richard (*blank*), Vicar of Arundell, and Walter Russell, witnesses produced by Margaret Hanwell, daughter of William Hanwell deceased, appeared and testified to his will (*not registered*) and that he was of sound mind at the making of it 5 March 1500[-1].

f. 117 v.

In a testamentary case John Holmes of St. Andrew claims from Alice wife of John Essex of Fyshbourne 5s. 26 March 1501.

f. 118 r.

In a testamentary case Joan Tanner, [late] wife and extx. of William Tanner of Arundell, claims from Robert Quarley of Subdeanery 13s. 4d. 24 April 1501.

A testamentary case Joan Holmys extx. of Mr. Robert Holme her

husband *v.* Alice Essex of Fyshbourne was compromised on the award of Thomas Wade, John Reyse, and J. Browne 24 April 1501.

f. 118 v.

In a testamentary case Joan Tychebourne of London, extx. of the 'testament or last will' of Edward Lane her late husband *v.* Sir John Peion Rector of Fyschbourne, the plaintiff appeared by her proxy John Shambler, 18 June 1501.

In a testamentary case John Ward claimed from Joan Essex 35s. 18 June 1501.

Joan widow of Humphrey Redman proves his will 14 Sept. 1501.¹

f. 120 r.

The will of Maurice (*blank*) of Subdeanery whose extx. is Isabel his widow (*unfinished*) 19 Nov. 1501.

Roger son of William Sylke of Subdeanery says that he made no will; admon. granted to him 17 Dec. 1501.

Isabel wife of Maurice Wever alias (*blank*) proved his will 17 Dec. 1501.²

f. 122 v.

In a testamentary case Alice Gace extx. of John Gace claims from Agnes Gay extx. of Robert Dove her late husband 7s. 10d. 17 June 1502.

f. 123 r.

Alice widow of William Humfrey renounces admon. of his will, and is granted admon. of his goods 29 July 1502.

f. 123 v.

Catherine widow of William Tyly of Fishbourne renounces probate of his will; the Court decreed that he died intestate 23 Sept. 1502.

Thomas Grenehyll senior exor. of Sir William Spragon, chaplain, renounced admon. 23 Sept. 1502.

The will of John Phylp of Subdeanery, whose extx. is Margaret his wife (*unfinished*) 15 Oct. 1502.

The will of Margery, ? servant of Edward Downer of Wyke proved by Edward Downer exor. 15 Oct. 1502.

f. 124 r.

The will of Joan Skyenner, admon. granted to Richard Lane 15 Oct. 1502.

f. 124 v.

Alice widow of William Jeffrey says that her husband died intestate and was granted admon. 26 Nov. 1502.

¹ 'Wednesday, the Exaltation of the cross.' But 14 Sept. 1501 was a Tuesday.

² Cf. f. 121 r., where Isabel Mores, widow of Maurice Synett, is before the Court for a different matter 17 Feb. 1501[-2].

f. 125 v.

Will of Thomas Stretton, smith, proved by Joan his widow 26 Nov. 1502.

f. 127 r.

The will of Alice Swyfte proved by Symon Pott of St. Olave's 15 Sept. 1503.

The will of (*blank*) Prykett of St. Pancras (*unfinished*) 15 Sept. 1503.

The will of William Fry proved by Alice his widow 15 Sept. 1503.

The will of Maud Burges of Fyshbourne, whose exor. is John her husband (*unfinished*) 15 Sept. 1503.

f. 127 v.

The will of William Pere of St. Peter the less. Agnes Pere his wife extx. (*unfinished*) (*Date illegible*).

f. 128 r.

Will of Thomas Priket of Subdeanery (*blank*) his wife and son.¹

The Rector of Fyshbourne claims a mortuary from Eleanor extx. of John Cokys her husband 12 Jan. 1503[-4].

Testamentary case, Joan Colemer of Hertyng *v.* Sirs William Scolethorp and William Shut, exors. of Mr. John Chambre, 12 Jan. 1503[-4].

f. 129 v.

The will of J. Hamond proved 29 Nov. (?1504).

¹ The date is illegible, as is much on this and the following leaves.



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.

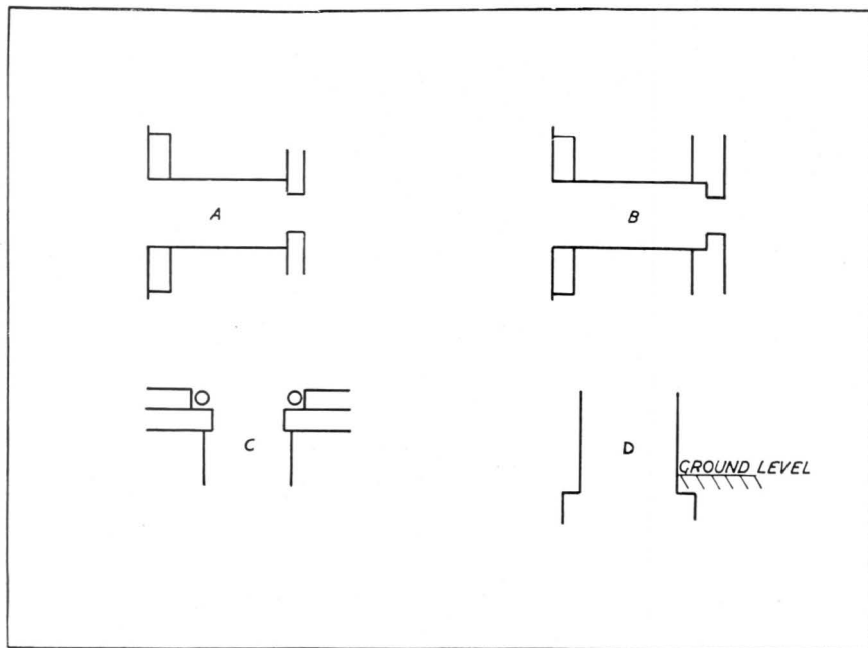


FIG. 1: A, B, C. REBATES OF DOORS. D. PLINTH

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.

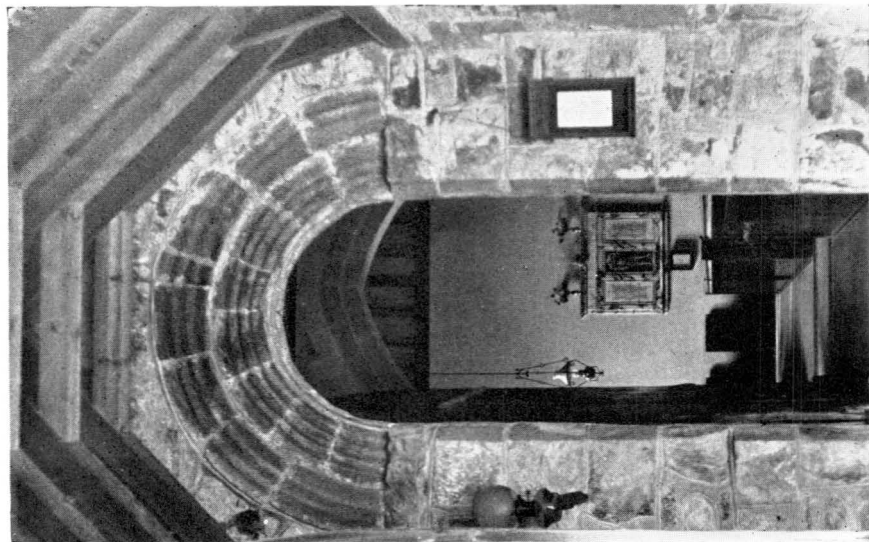
This note would not be complete without some details of the doors at Stopham, which are, I believe, quite peculiar. Here, at the first glance, we have doors of Norman type of two orders, the inner order being quite plain, though the upper part of this opening seems to have been lowered and is segmental 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.



BOLNEY: SOUTH DOOR

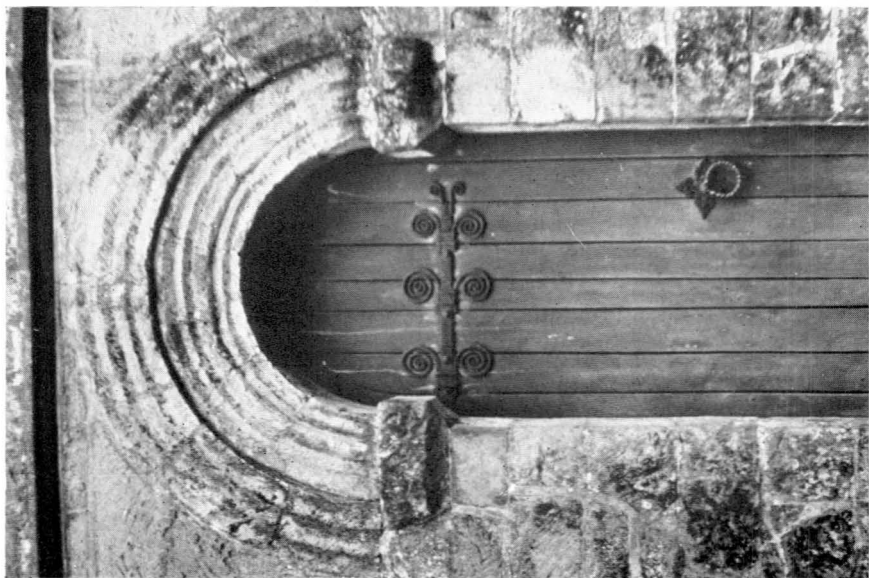


PLATE III. WIVELSFIELD: NORTH DOOR

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.

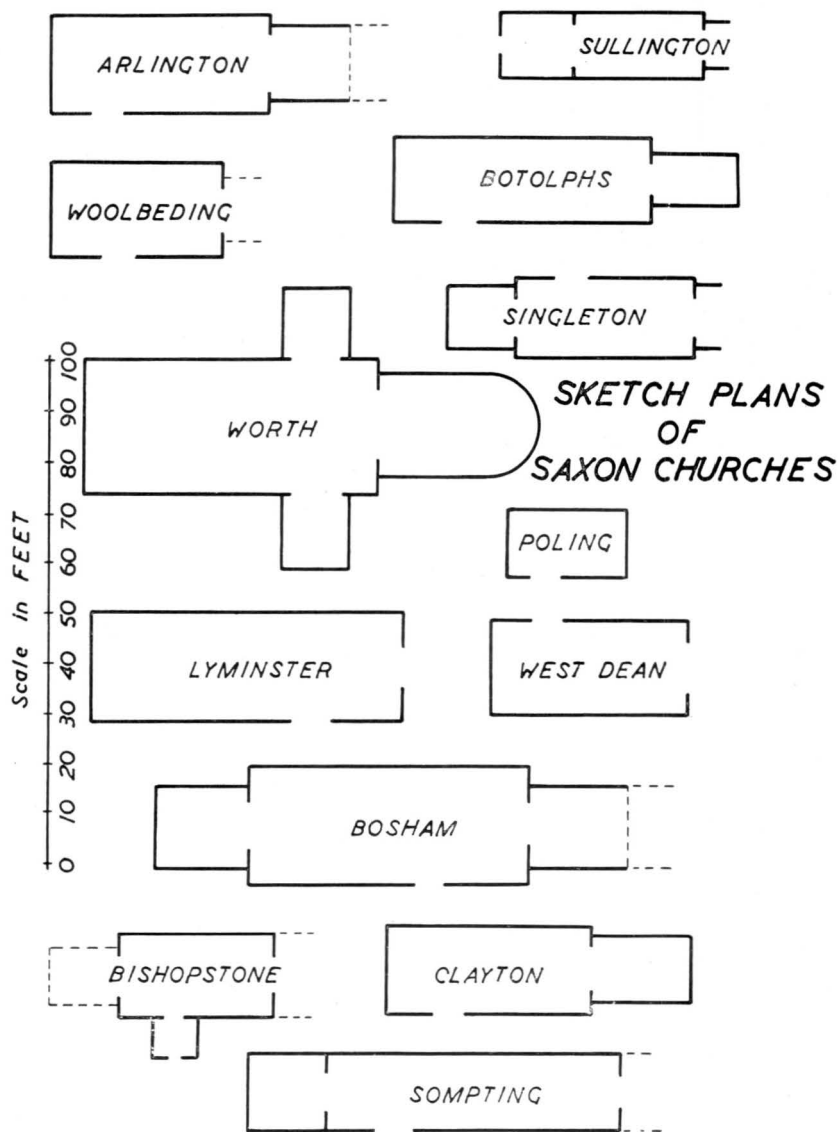


FIG. 2

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.

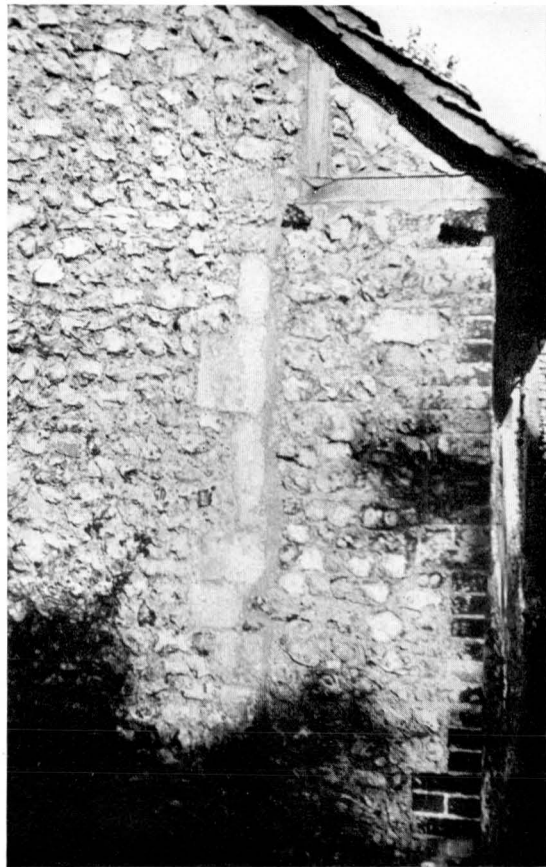


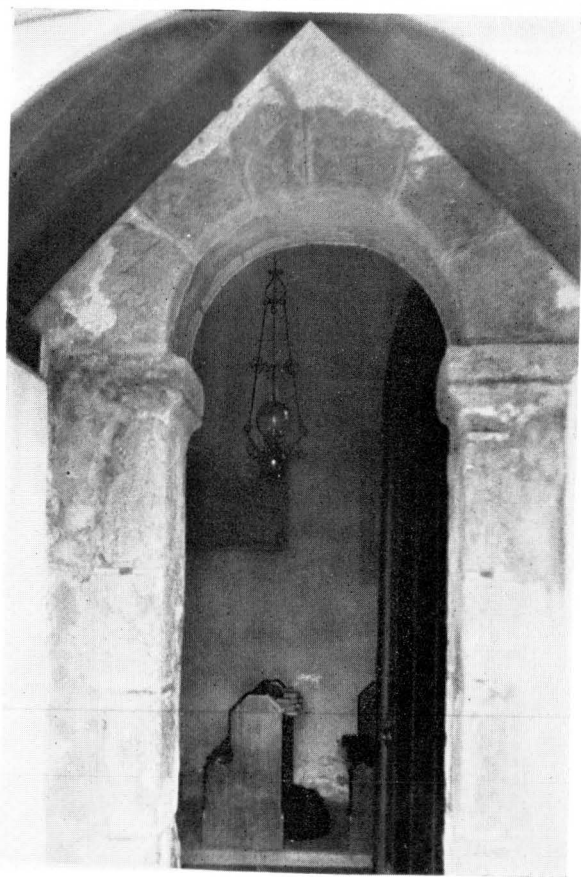
PLATE IV. COOMBES: WEST END



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
*Stopham

Stoughton
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.

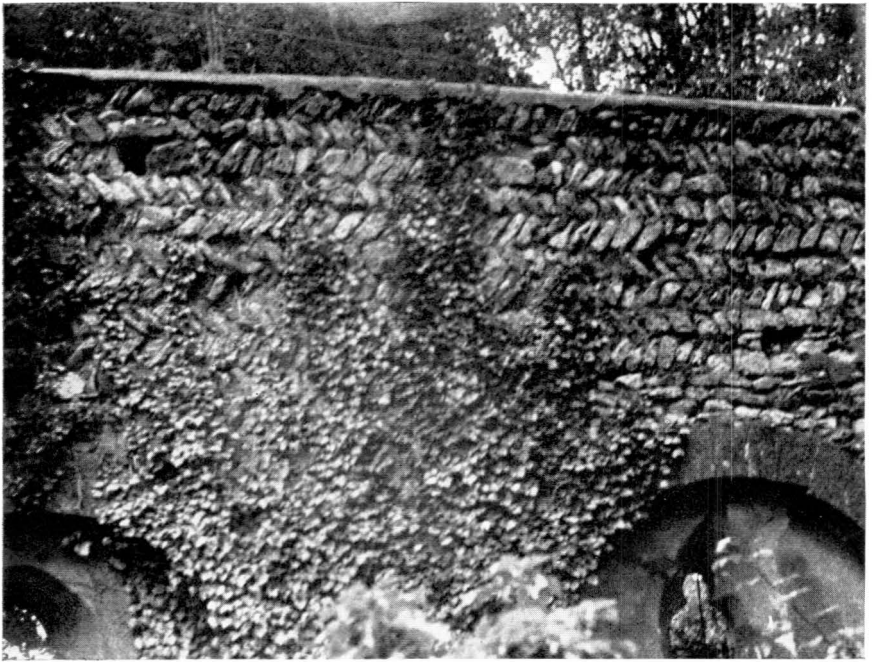
There is a fairly strong tendency to herring-bone work, the most pronounced example being the very remarkable derelict nave of Elsted. This technique can, of course, only be worked properly in stone, though many churches show a 'rake' in the flintwork no doubt due to the same influence, whatever that 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

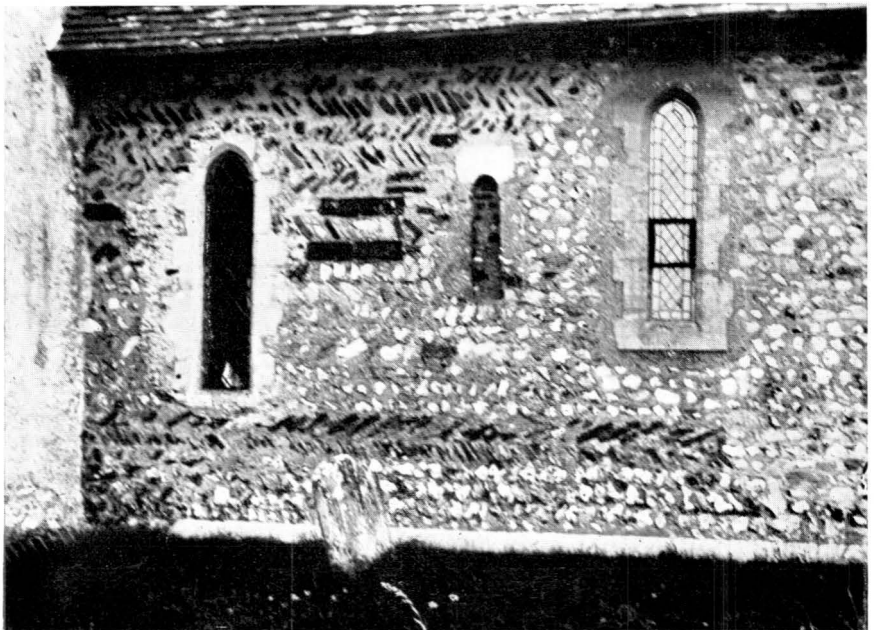


PLATE VIII. WESTHAMPNETT: SOUTH WALL OF CHANCEL

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):

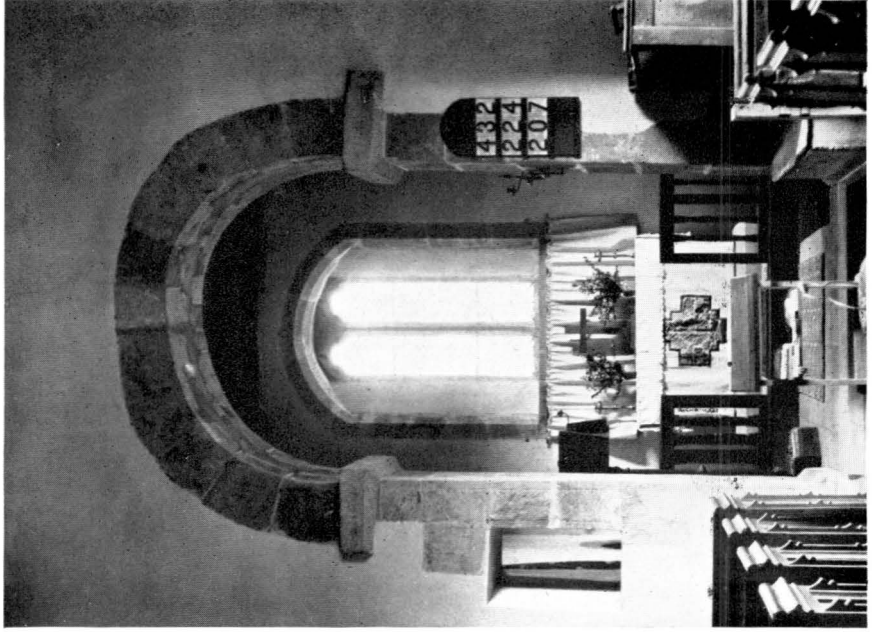
Beeding, Upper . . .	13 × 17 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Bepton . . .	20 × 15	
Bignor . . .	29 × 18	(original length uncertain)
Bury . . .	26 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 15 $\frac{1}{4}$	(ditto)
Cocking . . .	16 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 14	
Eastergate . . .	15 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Elsted . . .	21 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{3}{4}$	(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.



CHITHURST: CHANCEL ARCH

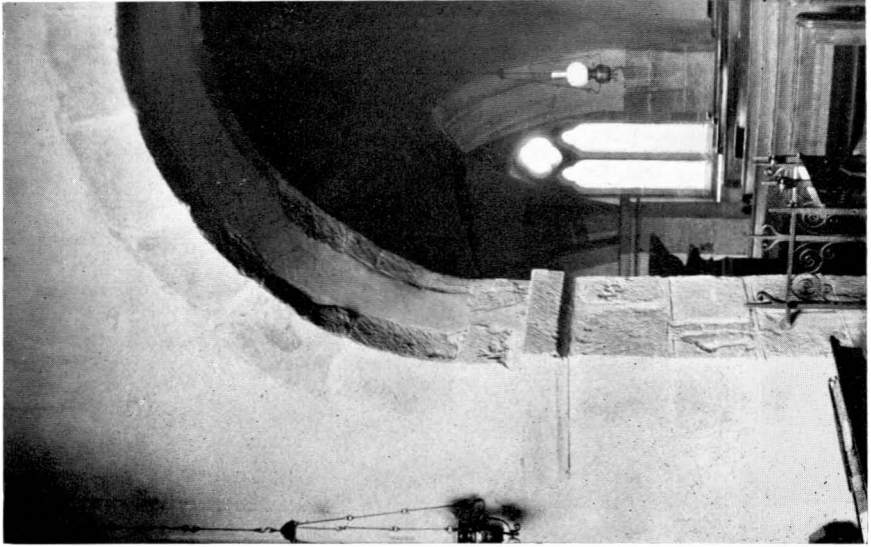


PLATE IX. COCKING: CHANCEL ARCH

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 BENESTEDE 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 Buci.

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.

THE EVOLUTION OF SUSSEX IRON AGE POTTERY

BY A. E. WILSON, F.S.A., AND G. P. BURSTOW, F.S.A.

THE Sussex Archaeological Society having built a new room at Barbican House, Lewes, to display the many Iron Age finds from the county, Dr. E. Cecil Curwen, F.S.A., sought the help of the writers of this article together with Mr. G. A. Holleyman, F.S.A., and Mr. R. C. Treweek to mount a wall display of typical sherds from the main Sussex sites. For the purpose of classification into types we used three reports by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A.: (1) 'The Plumpton Plain Report', in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1935, pp. 16-19; (2) 'The Caburn and its Implications', in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. LXXX, pp. 217-62; (3) 'The Pottery from Castle Hill, Newhaven', *S.A.C.*, vol. LXXX, pp. 268-92. Mr. Hawkes had provided class numbers for Late Bronze Age I and II periods. As no such class numbers existed for the Iron Age we chose a similar type of classification for the various periods of the Iron Age to suit the types found in Sussex. Without some such aid it was difficult to arrange and compare similar pottery from different sites.¹

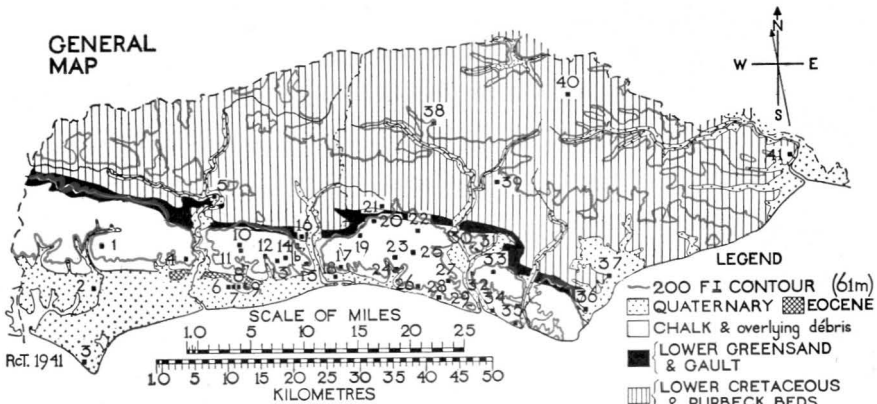
As an introduction to the Iron Age proper the pottery of the Late Bronze Age is shown for the four excavated Sussex sites which were occupied both in the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age. We have used all information which we have been able to obtain from published articles and local museums.²

When about 1000 B.C. the Urnfield folk from east central Europe pushed westwards into regions north of

¹ Up to the time of this report eleven sites are represented on the main boards. Each site has a board 7 ft. 6 in. long by 1 ft. wide. Each period has a separate colour which is painted on the board if the site was occupied during that period. A twelfth board gives the key colours and a short description of the types of pottery found anywhere in Sussex for that period.

² The writers express their thanks to the Curators of the Museums at Barbican House, Lewes, Brighton, Worthing, and Littlehampton for the ready help they gave.

the Alps and beyond the Rhine they mixed with a Bronze Age folk who buried their dead in tumuli. Some of the latter, however, from the region of the lower Seine and elsewhere in northern France, preferred to find new homes along the coastal area of the south-east lowlands of Britain. Mr. Hawkes in a penetrating



KEY TO MAPS AND TABLE OF SITES

1. The Trundle. 2. Chichester. 3. Selsey. 4. Shepherds' Garden. 5. Hardham. 6. Angmering. 7. Ecclesdon Manor. 8. Highdown (Bath-house). 9. Highdown Hill. 10. Harrow Hill. 11. New Barn Down. 12. Findon Park. 13. Cissbury. 14. Park Brow. 15. Lancing Down. 16. Steyning. 17. Thundersbarrow Hill. 18. Kingston Buci. 19. The Dyke. 20. Wolstanbury Hill. 21. Hassocks. 22. Plumpton Plain. 23. The Ladies' Mile, Patcham. 24. Hollingbury. 25. Buckland Bank. 26. Woodingdean. 27. Highdole. 28. Saltdean. 29. Newhaven (Castle Hill). 30. Ranscombe. 31. The Caburn. 32. Asham. 33. Charleston Brow. 34. Seaford. 35. Seaford Head. 36. Eastbourne. 37. Westham (Pevensy). 38. Horsted Keynes. 39. Little Horsted. 40. Saxonbury. 41. Playden.

analysis of pottery found at Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 44 ff.) pointed out that much of the domestic pottery¹ used on both the sites closely resembled the Deverel-Rimbury bucket and barrel cinerary urns common to the Late Bronze Age period of lowland Britain (1000 B.C.—500 B.C.). One class of pottery (A4) found only on the A site gave much more exact information about these Sussex squatters.² Its origin can be traced

¹ Table I, Classes A1, A2, and A3; see Plate I.

² Table I, Class A4; see Plate I.

to Fort Harrouard in northern France where the Tumulus Bronze Age III folk (Déchelette's classification for the French Bronze Age) used it together with the more usual ware before the Urnfield people occupied that site. So among the people who crossed from western Europe to the coastal district of Sussex about 1000 B.C. were a few Bronze Age III settlers. They settled, as the pottery table below shows, at Highdown, Park Brow, Plumpton Plain, New Barn Down, and almost certainly Kingston Buci.¹ These newcomers may be said to have brought with them new methods in industry and agriculture. For at Plumpton Plain it was possible to prove for the first time the close association of the small Celtic fields with an enclosed farmstead settlement. This introduction of settled arable agriculture was probably even more important than the concurrent changes in the types of bronze axes and weapons which initiated the Late Bronze Age.

The numbers printed before names of sites in the following tables are the numbers used on the maps to indicate their positions.

TABLE I

Late Bronze Age I pottery from Sussex habitation sites

Class A1. Large bucket pots with flat rims and finger-impressed ornament either on an applied band or on the body of the pot. Plate I, A1, from Park Brow.

11 New Barn Down² (*S.A.C.* LXXV. 143, Fig. 16; 160, Figs. 17, 19).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 189, Fig. 1*a*).

14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 15-16, Figs. 1, 3).

18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 191, Fig. 2).

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 40, Fig. 1).

Fishergate Brickfield (1926), Brighton Museum. (Undecorated and Decorated.)

Class A2. Smaller bucket pots often with finger-impressed ornament on rim. Similar to Plate I, A1, but smaller.

11 New Barn Down (*S.A.C.* LXXV. 160-1, Fig. 17).

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 41, Fig. 2).

¹ Brighton Museum has similar pottery from Fishergate Brickfield; the description of the find suggests that this was another habitation site.

² The number preceding a site name is the number by which it is marked on the distribution maps.

Class A3. Bag-shaped pots with 'tapering' rims. Plate I, A3, from Plumpton Plain.

- 9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 189, Fig. 1b).
 18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 193, Fig. 3).
 22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 41, Fig. 2).

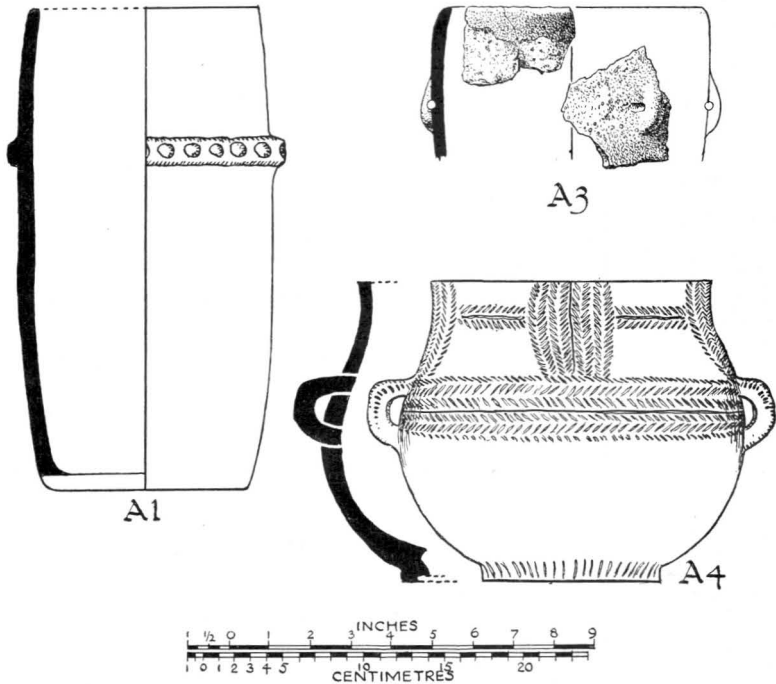


PLATE I. LATE BRONZE AGE I POTTERY

Class A4. Bowls of finer paste with incised line ornament, 'fern-leaf' or 'herring-bone' pattern. This is the imported ware from northern France which dates the sites. Plate I, A4, from Park Brow.

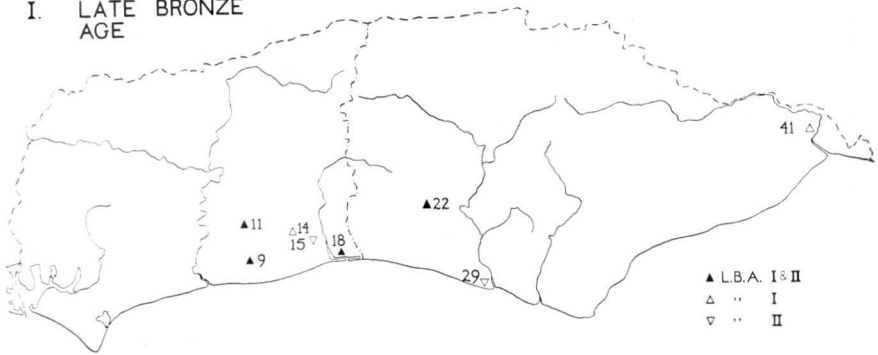
- 22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 42, Fig. 3).
 11 New Barn Down (?) (*S.A.C.* LXXV. 143, Fig. 11; 160, Fig. 20).
 9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 189, Fig. 1d).
 14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 16, Figs. 2, 2a).
 41 Playden (*Antiq. Journ.* xv. 163, Fig. 6, nos. A2-3). Appears to be Late Bronze Age A3 (cf. *ibid.* 467-71).

From about 750 B.C. a new movement from the Continent proved strong enough to change the Sussex pottery tradition. At Plumpton Plain that change coin-

cides with the desertion of the 'A' site and the opening of the 'B' site. The imported pottery style blended not only with the Late Bronze Age I tradition but also with the surviving Middle Bronze Age culture. Thus there resulted two distinct forms of the pottery with finger-impressed, raised band ornament (Classes B1A and B1B).

As in the Late Bronze Age I times much of the pottery is not closely datable, but one class is definitely an

I. LATE BRONZE AGE



imported type with a known continental history. This type of pottery (Class B4) is derived from a late Bronze Age culture in west central Europe, known in France as Bronze Age IV, which finds its place at Fort Harrouard and is even more closely allied to the West Alpine civilization of the latest Bronze Age Lake-dwellings—a connexion confirmed by the presence of a broken winged axe at Plumpton Plain B. These various lines of evidence point to a date of about 750 B.C. as the beginning of the transition in Sussex from Late Bronze Age I to Late Bronze Age II, a date which agrees well with the Deverel-Rimbury incursions into Hampshire, Wessex, and Kent.

Other classes of pottery found on these sites show not only the steady development from Late Bronze Age I, but also a continuous infiltration of Late Hallstatt influence before the new large incursions about 500 B.C. which herald the full flood of Iron Age A1. They mark

a slow but sure transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age.

The following are the chief classes of pottery and the sites where they are found:

TABLE II

Late Bronze Age II pottery from Sussex habitation sites

Class B1A. A common continental Late Bronze Age form of Hallstatt type with a *constricted neck* marked by an applied band with finger-impressed decoration. Plate II, 1A, from Plumpton Plain.

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 46-8, Figs. 5, 6, and esp. inset A).

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 270, Fig. 1, No. 2).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 190, Figs. 2a, b, d).

Class B1B. A local form derived under Late Bronze Age influence from the Middle Bronze Age biconical pot found by the immigrants in 750 B.C. Around the *widest girth* is an applied band with finger-impressed decoration. Plate II, 1B, from Plumpton Plain.

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 48-9, Figs. 6, 7, and esp. inset B).

11 New Barn Down (*S.A.C.* LXXV. 143, Figs. 7, 8, 9, 12, 13).

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 270, Fig. 1, No. 1).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 190, Figs. 2c, e).

18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 189, Pl. 1, Fig. 2).

Class B2. A development of the smaller bucket pots and hardly distinguishable from them.

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 50, Fig. 8).

11 Newbarn Down (*S.A.C.* LXXV. 143, Fig. 10).

18 Kingston Buci. (On the board.)

Class B3. A development of the Late Bronze Age I bag-shaped pots tending to get finer in paste and smaller in size. Plate II, 3, from Kingston Buci.

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 50, Figs. 9, 10).

11 New Barn Down (*S.A.C.* LXXV. 143, Fig. 15; 162, Fig. 21).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 190, Figs. 2f, h, j, l, m).

18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 193, Figs. 3, 4, 5).

Class B4. Bowls of fine ware normally with incised decoration showing by their paste, shape, decoration, and rims close association with the West Alpine culture radiating through western Europe about 900-800 B.C. Fort Harrouard produced many comparable sherds. Plate III, B4, from Plumpton Plain.

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 52, Figs. 11, 12).

Class B5. Pots with a definite shoulder which do not appear on Late Bronze Age I sites. This class shows a distinct overlap with the Iron Age and is derived from the continental Hallstatt bronze *situla*. It does not appear on the typical Late Bronze Age Wessex

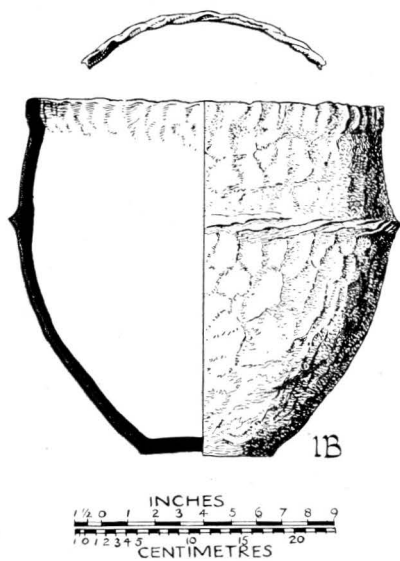
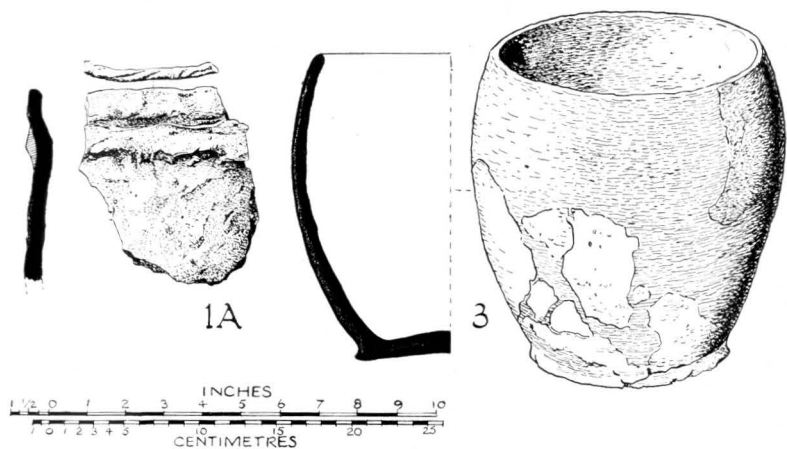


PLATE II. LATE BRONZE AGE II POTTERY

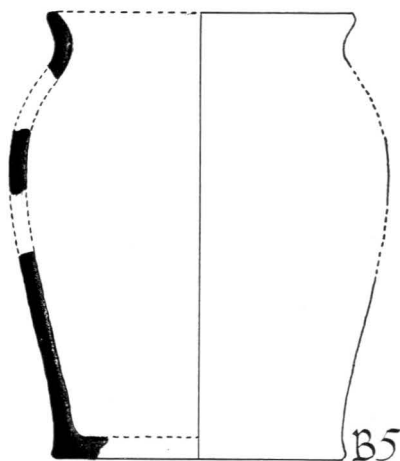
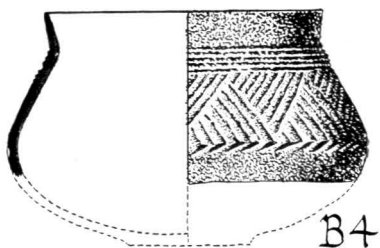


PLATE III. LATE BRONZE AGE II POTTERY

sites. Before the Iron Age proper the only similar pottery is that with finger-impressed ornament on the shoulders from New Barn Down. Plate III, B5, from Worthing Bronze Age hoard.

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 54, Figs. 13 *a-v*).

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 270, Figs. 1, 5, 6).

11 New Barn Down (*S.A.C.* LXXV. 162, Figs. 2, 3).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 190, Fig. 2*a*).

18 Kingston Buci.

15 Lancing Down. (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 148, Fig. 6*a*.)

Class B6. Plain open bowls common on the Continent at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age both in the lower Rhine valley and in the West Alpine region. A similar bowl came from Southchurch in the lower Thames valley where there was a lake-dwelling of supposed West Alpine type. There are possible Iron Age parallels from All Cannings Cross.

22 Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 54, Figs. 13*a, b*).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 190, Fig. 2*k*).

(For sites see Map I)

There are in addition a few sherds which do not easily fall into a class. The lids from Plumpton Plain and Highdown and the sherds with deep finger impressions either on the upper or lower surface. They may have formed a kind of 'grilling' plate.

Early Iron Age A1, 500 B.C.—300 B.C.

The transition from Late Bronze Age II to Early Iron Age A1 is not a sudden one with a complete change of form. As Plumpton Plain B, Newhaven, and Kingston Buci clearly show, Late Bronze Age pottery was slowly changing into Early Iron Age pottery under the influence of the Late Hallstatt culture of the Continent. A similar development was going on in western Europe. Eastbourne,¹ Kingston Buci,² and Newhaven³ have yielded many examples of the round-shouldered profile of Hallstatt pottery. While this process was at work another line of development began, a high sharp-shouldered form which is a copy of the Italian bronze *situla*. The opening up of Celtic lands by trade with Italy led some potters to try a definite imitation of this essentially metal form. This experiment on the Con-

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* II. 354-60.

² *S.A.C.* LXXII. 191 ff.

³ *S.A.C.* LXXX. 273-4.

inent took place about 500 B.C., when the inhabitants of the Marne Department were changing over from a Hallstatt to a La Tène culture. Already numerous immigrants had arrived in southern England bringing with them the well-finished, smooth-shouldered form. Others brought with them the newer sharp-shouldered form. This carinated pottery is found from 500 B.C. at some places in southern England alongside the other form or by itself, e.g. at Fengate, Peterborough, at Long Wittenham, Berks., at All Cannings Cross, and to a small extent at Park Brow I and Hollingbury.¹

In Sussex the round-shouldered form survived better than the sharp-shouldered, though examples of the latter are found at Highdown, Newhaven, and The Trundle. In most cases in Sussex both the sharp-shouldered and the round-shouldered forms soon show definite Late Bronze Age influence in the finger-tip decoration on rim or shoulder or both. Moreover, few pieces retain the fine finish and haematite coating of the earliest forms. Bag-shaped pots and bowls, similar to those used in the Late Bronze Age, continue in use, but along with the other types of pottery they show an improvement in paste and finish. The outstanding difference in technique is the use of the knife or wooden tool to give a smooth finish instead of finishing with the fingers.

Though the classes, to some extent, merge into each other during the evolution of new types, the following classification acts as a useful guide for comparison and for tracing the various influences at work:

TABLE III

Iron Age A1 pottery from Sussex habitation sites

Class 1. All show the influence of the sharp-shouldered Italian bronze *situla*. This class falls into three sub-groups based on paste and decoration.

Class 1A. Fine ware, tool-finished, sharply everted rim, sometimes haematite-coated, undecorated. Plate IV, 1A, from Park Brow.
9 Highdown.

36 Eastbourne (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.*, Pl. XXVI. 2).

¹ Found in a pit inside the camp in 1908 and kept in Brighton Museum: *Brighton and Hove Arch.* i. 18.

- 14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 17, Fig. 5).
 18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 194, Fig. 11 (?)).
 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 275, Fig. 2, No. 1).
 24 Hollingbury 1931. Brighton Museum.

Class 1B. Similar paste and finish but decorated with finger-tip or finger-nail. Plate V, 1B, from Highdown.

- 1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXX, Pl. XI).
 9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 195, Figs. 5 a, b, e, f).

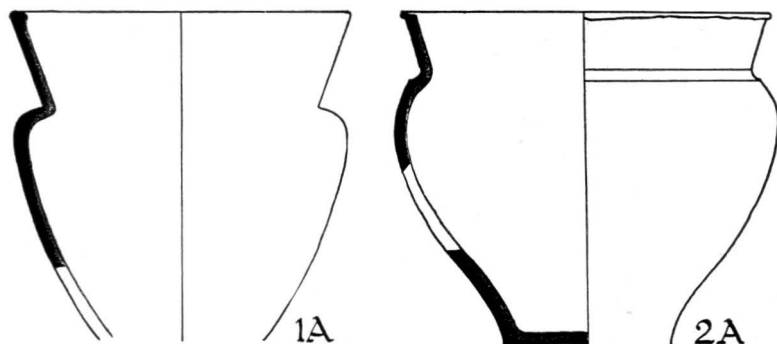


PLATE IV. EARLY IRON AGE AI POTTERY

- 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 275, Fig. 2, Nos. 4, 5).
 24 Hollingbury 1908 (variant of Wessex or Imported Ware, cf. All Cannings Cross). Brighton Museum.

Class 1c. Similar to Class 1A, but in coarser ware with or without finger-impressed ornament on shoulder and occasionally on rim. Plate V, 1c, from Highdown.

- 1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXX. 54, Pl. XI).
 9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 192, Fig. 3a; 196, Fig. 6).
 14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 16, Fig. 4).
 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 275, Fig. 2, No. 6).
 24 Hollingbury 1908. Brighton Museum.

Class 2. All show the influence of the round-shouldered Hallstatt pottery. This class also falls into three sub-groups based on paste and decoration.

Class 2A. Fine ware very similar to Class 1A, but with rounded shoulder and more of an outcurving rim, not sharply everted, undecorated. Plate IV, 2A, from Park Brow.

- 3 Selsey (*Antiq. Journ.* XIV. 43, Fig. 2, Nos. 4, 5).

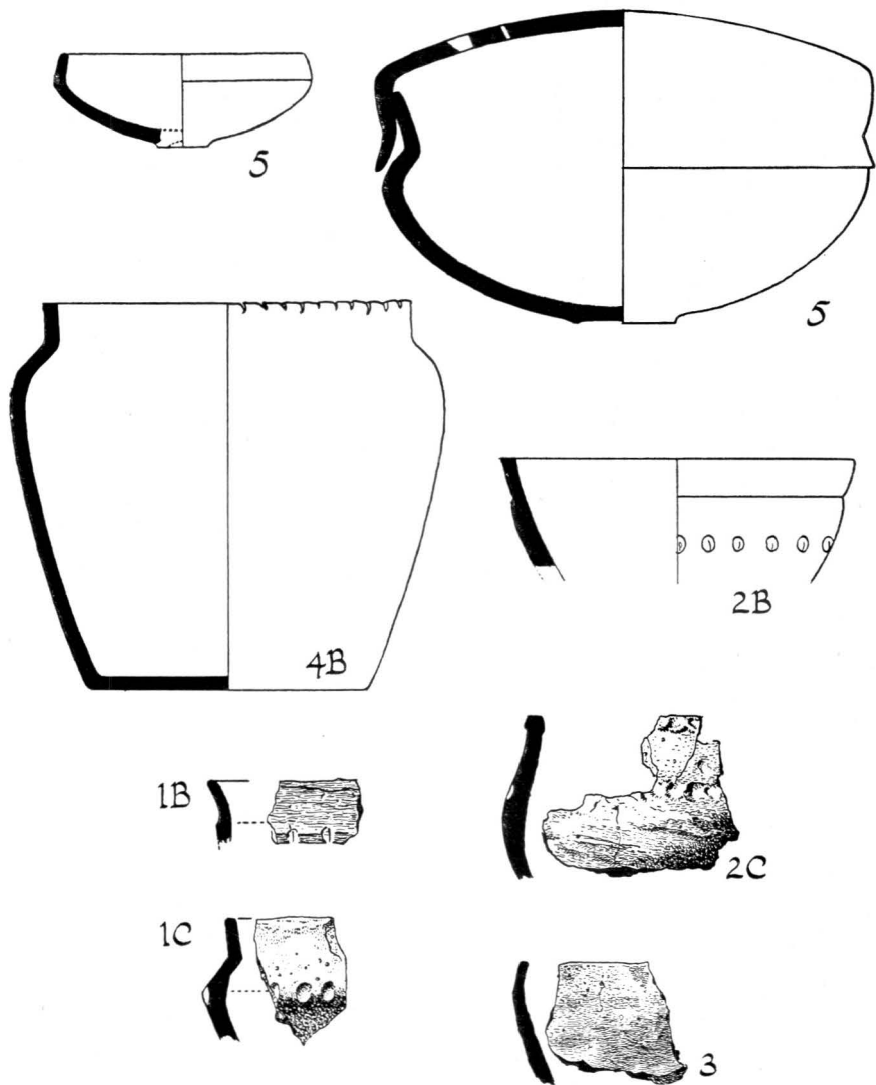


PLATE V. IRON AGE Al POTTERY

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 194, Figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 19, 20, 21).

14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 19, Figs. 8, 9, 10).

Class 2B. Similar ware to 2A but decorated with finger-impressed ornament on shoulder or rim. In late examples the ornament may be made with a piece of wood. Plate V, 2B, from Findon Park.

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 275, Fig. 2, No. 4, to be compared with p. 270, Fig. 1, No. 3).

12 Findon Park (*Antiq. Journ.* VIII. 454, Fig. 4B).

Class 2C. Similar shape to Class 2A, but on coarser ware with or without finger-impressed decoration. Plate V, 2C, from Highdown.

3 Selsey (*Antiq. Journ.* XIV. 42, Fig. 2, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 192, Fig. 3b).

14 Park Brow. (On the board.)

1 Trundle.

12 Findon Park (*Antiq. Journ.* VIII. 454, Fig. 4A).

24 Hollingbury 1908. In Brighton Museum.

Class 3. Bag-shaped. Corresponding to Late Bronze Age B3 in finer paste and tool-finished. Plate V, 3, from Kingston Buci.

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 192, Fig. 3 p, q).

18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 194, Figs. 17, 18, to be compared with *ibid.* 193, Figs. 3, 4, 5).

Class 4A. Flower-pot type.

14 Park Brow (*Antiq. Journ.* IV. 355, Fig. 14).

36 Eastbourne (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.*, Pl. XXVI. 6).

Class 4B. Similar to Class 4A in paste, &c., but with a lip above a mild shoulder. This shows close affinity to Wessex A2 ware and may well represent a transition type. Plate V, 4B, from Park Brow.

14 Park Brow (*Antiq. Journ.* IV. 354, Fig. 12; 355, Figs. 13, 14).

Class 5. Bowls. Sometimes of definite Hallstatt 'situla' form (Park Brow), sometimes with carinated shoulder but no everted rim (Newhaven). Plate V, 5, from Park Brow.

14 Park Brow (*Arch Journ.* IV. 355, Fig. 10).

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 275, Fig. 2, No. 2).

N.B.—Harrow Hill, Cissbury, Wolstonbury, and Thundersbarrow have yielded numerous small sherds of A1 pottery but insufficient for classification.

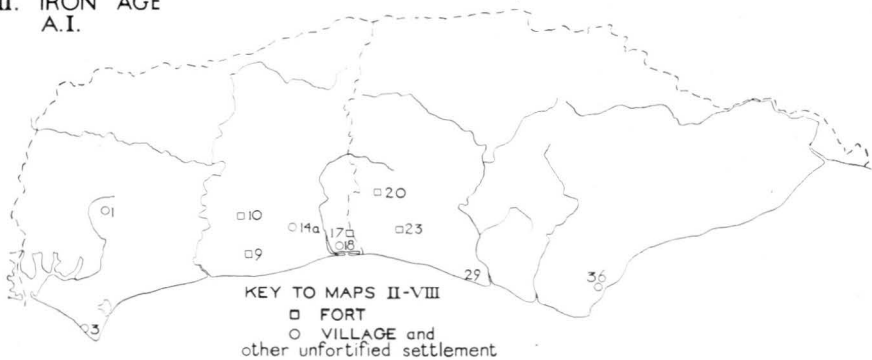
Iron Age A2, 300 B.C.—250 B.C., and Iron Age AB, 250 B.C.—50 B.C.

During the period 500 B.C. to 300 B.C. Sussex pottery had much more in common with eastern England than with Wessex. This is seen by comparing Sussex types with those from a site like Scarborough. Haematite-coated ware did not for long establish itself in the county and the Late Bronze Age tradition exercised

a strong influence on some sites. It looked as if the dominant type of pottery about 300 B.C. was going to be some derivative of the round-shouldered Hallstatt type with a less-pronounced shoulder and a less everted rim.

Somewhere between 300 B.C. and 250 B.C. Wessex influence made itself felt. Examples of the haematite-coated angular carinated ware have been found on the chief Sussex sites. Its paste and finish mark it off sharply from the local ware. Sometimes it has the

II. IRON AGE A.I.



typical cordon on rim, neck, and shoulder; sometimes it has a cable or slashed ornament. It establishes itself only on one site, the Caburn, where it developed into a specialized ware (Caburn I ware). Elsewhere its history is cut off by a new and violent invasion bringing a La Tène culture from the Continent.¹

Park Brow with the neighbouring site of Findon Park throws much light on the events of this date. As a result of the disturbances associated with this invasion the upper site at Park Brow ceased to be used and a new site was started farther down the slope. When Mr. Reginald Smith published the pottery from these two sites he emphasized the fact that the earlier site was

¹ Similar angular pottery is found at Long Wittenham, Berks., Creting St. Mary in Suffolk, West Harling in Norfolk, and Fengate, Peterborough. Dr. H. N. Savory suggests that the homeland of this pottery is somewhere in the area of Hainault, Artois, and Picardy. (Long Wittenham, Berks.: *Oxon.* II, 8-11.)

rooted in Hallstatt tradition and that the culture of the lower site was predominantly La Tène in characteristics.¹ Pottery and a brooch from Findon Park show that this site began at the same time as the change from Park Brow I to Park Brow II.

Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes submitted the pottery from these sites to a very close analysis in his paper on the Caburn pottery. He pointed out the following lines of evidence for this invasion.

(i) That three sherds from Park Brow I are very similar to pottery from the Marne Department.² Two of them were pedestal bases exactly parallel to Marne Department pieces. The third had the carinated shoulder and everted rim which, as we have already seen, marked the pottery developed in the Marne Department between 500 B.C. and 400 B.C. under the influence of the Italian bronze *situla*. Moreover, this event happened at the beginning of La Tène times in northern France just after the Hallstatt migrations to Sussex.

(ii) These Sussex evidences do not stand alone. Similar pottery was found beneath the Romano-Celtic temple at Worth near Sandwich, Kent (*Antiq. Journ.* xx. 115–21), in the Class C pottery at Hengistbury Head, in the Iron Age A sites at Fifield Bavant (*W.A.M.* XLII. 477, Figs. 2, 4) and Swallowcliffe Down, Wiltshire (*W.A.M.* XLIII. 71, Figs. 4, 6).

(iii) Findon Park and Park Brow II show a development of the same tradition into foot-ring bowls, which later spread throughout Sussex and the Weald as part of the Cissbury–Wealden culture and exercised a strong influence in west Kent at such sites as Oldbury, Ightham.

(iv) The undecorated saucepan type, another form common to this post-250 B.C. period in Sussex, may also be traced to the Marne Department. In their most characteristic form these vessels are cylindrical, flat-

¹ For his reasons see *Arch.* LXXVI. 19 ff.; cf. Hawkes, 'The Caburn Pottery and its Implications', *S.A.C.* LXXX. 231 f.

² The Marne Department has long been known as a centre of a culture which spread through much of France. In this article the word Marnian is applied to people coming from any continental area to which this culture spread.

bottomed, with a slightly everted or 'bead' rim. The best continental examples come from the La Tène cemetery of Les Jogasses, near Chouilly.

Since Mr. Hawkes wrote his paper we have re-examined Sussex pottery and found Marnian pottery of the angular *situla* type at the Trundle, Kingston Buci, Thundersbarrow, as well as in the 1939 excavations at Highdown. In each case it marks a sudden change in the history of the site. The Trundle changes from a village to a fortified site. Highdown and Thundersbarrow are deserted until Roman times. Kingston Buci is left without further sign of occupation until South-Eastern 'B' and Belgic pottery reaches the site. Other evidence suggests that the camps of Cissbury, The Dyke, the second Hollingbury, and, as far as we can find out, Seaford Head were built. It was apparently the same 'scare' which led to a similar frenzy of fortification revealed in Wessex at such sites as Quarley Hill, Figsbury Rings, Bury Hill, and St. Catherine's Hill.¹

This great incursion cut off the normal A2 development in Sussex except in the village on the Caburn isolated from the rest of Sussex by the marshy valleys of the Ouse and Glynde Reach. In its place there developed not a pure 'B' culture but a mixture which partakes of the nature of both the Sussex A2 culture and the incoming 'B'. It is now so well isolated that it may well be called the Cissbury-Wealden culture. Its two chief characteristics are the 'S' profile foot-ring pot and the saucepan pot decorated with shallow tooling. This is seen mainly in the saucepan pots, which are clearly based on the wooden bucket form. On the Continent they are undecorated, but the British Celt, ever an adept at ornament, transferred to the pottery the shallow tooling he used on woodwork and the designs from his metal-work. Such ornamentation is even more marked on the Glastonbury or South-Western 'B' ware.

After this AB culture had spread throughout the Weald it finally pressed down on the Caburn, whose

¹ Hawkes, 'Excavations of Bury Hill, 1939', *Hants Field Club*, xiv. 334-6, Pl. 3.

inhabitants fell before the new-comers, and at last the hill was fortified about 100 B.C. Then the Caburn I ware gave place to Caburn II ware. The potters began to use shallow-tool decoration on the 'S' profile pots as well as on the saucepans. This new form is very

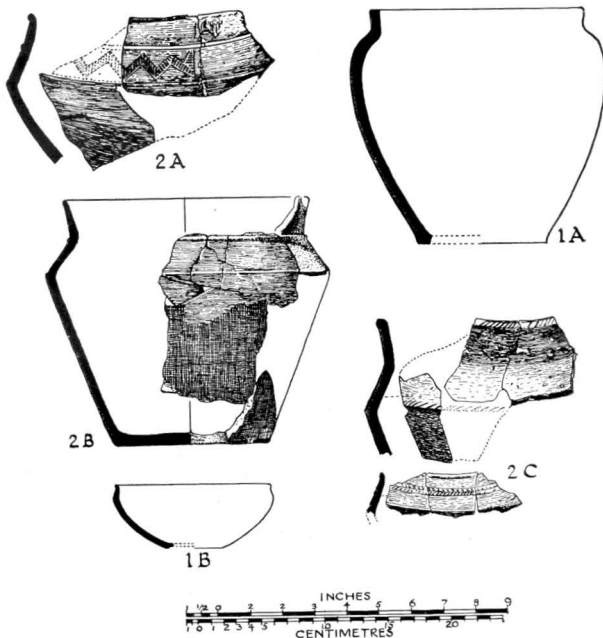


PLATE VI. IRON AGE A2 POTTERY

prevalent on the Caburn and in the surrounding district, especially at Newhaven. It is occasionally found on more distant sites.

TABLE IV

Iron Age A2 pottery from Sussex habitation sites

Class 1A. Similar to Class 4B of the Iron Age A1 times. Less-pronounced lip and less prominent shoulder. Plate VI, 1A, from Park Brow.

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 275, Fig. 2, No. 6).

1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 135, Fig. 2).

14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 19, Fig. 10).

13 Cissbury. (On the board.)

Class 1B. Bowl-shaped. Plate VI, 1B, from The Trundle.

1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 135, Fig. 3).

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 280, Fig. 3, No. 5).

Class 2A. Haematite-coated, angular, 'situla' shoulder from Wessex.

Caburn I ware. Plate VI, 2A, from The Caburn.

31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 225, Fig. E 72).

9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 194, Fig. 4d-f).

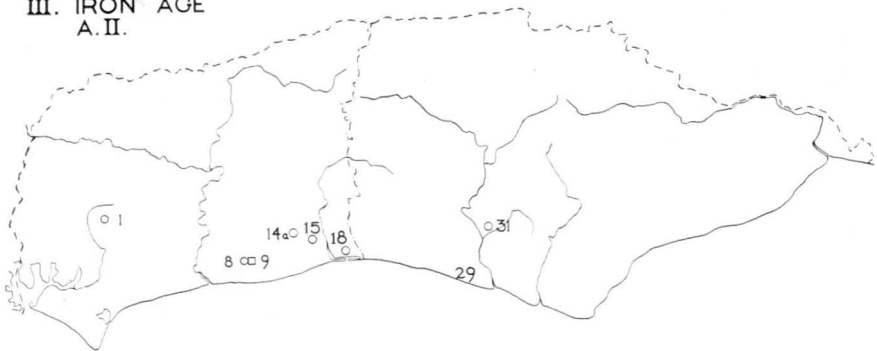
15 Lancing (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 147, Fig. 4a; 161, Figs. 11, 7, 9).

14 Park Brow. (On the board.)

8 Highdown (bath-house site). Not illustrated.

17 Thundersbarrow.

III. IRON AGE A.II.



Class 2B. Imitation of haematite-coated ware, cordon only. Plate VI, 2B, from The Caburn.

1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXX, Pl. x, Nos. 96, 97, 99, 100).

31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 224, from pit 137).

17 Thundersbarrow.

24 Hollingbury 1908. Brighton Museum.

Class 2C. Imitation of haematite-coated ware. Decorated with slashed or cable-twist ornament on rim, in neck, or on shoulder. Plate VI, 2c, from The Caburn.

31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 218, Fig. B, No. 7; 220, Fig. C, Nos. 8a, 9, 11, 12).

29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 275, Fig. 2, No. 7; 280, Fig. 3, Nos. 7, 8).

1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXX, Pl. XI. 121, 124, 127).

TABLE V

Iron Age AB pottery from Sussex habitation sites

Class 1. Angular Marnian pottery. The pure 'B' type imported from the Continent. Fine, smooth paste, brownish-grey in colour, burnished finish. Plate VII, 1, from Highdown.

1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXX. 52, Pl. x, Fig. 98).

- 9 Highdown (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 194, Fig. 4g k).
- 14 Park Brow (*Antiq. Journ.* iv. 353, Fig. 3, No. 8).
- 18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 196, Figs. 21, 22).
- 17 Thundersbarrow. (On the board.)

Class 2. Pedestal base, also a pure 'B' importation. Plate VII, 2, from Findon Park.

- 14 Park Brow II (*Arch.* LXXVI. 19, Fig. 10a; *Antiq. Journ.* iv. 353, Fig. 9).
- 12 Findon Park (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 231, Fig. F, No. 3. Cf. pottery in British Museum illustrated in *S.A.C.* LXXX. 235, Fig. G, Nos. 4-8).

Class 3A. 'S' profile pot with foot-ring, undecorated. The form develops under Iron Age A influence from the angular Marnian pottery with pedestal base. The neck and shoulder have been rounded off and the pedestal has become depressed into a mere foot-ring. Plate VII, 3A, from The Caburn.

- 3 Selsey (*Antiq. Journ.* xiv. 45, Fig. 3, Nos. 1, 2).
- 12 Findon Park (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 231, Fig. F. 5, 6).
- 14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 21, Figs. 11, 12).
- 31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 244, Fig. J. 5, 9).
- 33 Charleston Brow. (On the board.)
- 29 Newhaven. (On the board.)

Class 3B. 'S' profile pot with foot-ring. Decorated with shallow tooling (Caburn II ware). Plate VII, 3B, from Newhaven.

- 1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXX, Pl. XII, Nos. 142, 147).
- 13 Cissbury (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 274, Pl. XXVII, No. 9).
- 31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 253, Fig. K, Nos. 75-80).
- 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 284, Figs. 4a, 8).

Class 3C. 'S' profile pots without foot-ring, probably under South-Eastern 'B' influence. (N.B. Some sherds shown under 3B may come from pots without foot-ring.) Plate VII, 3C, from The Caburn.

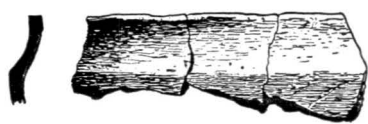
- 31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 244, Fig. J, No. 60).
- 12 Findon Park (*Antiq. Journ.* viii. 454, Fig. 5A).

Class 4A. Saucepan pot, plain. Plate VII, 4A, from Park Brow.

- 1 Trundle. (On the board.)
- 13 Cissbury. (On the board.)
- 14 Park Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 231, Fig. F. 8).
- 31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 244, Nos. 63, 68).
- 29 Newhaven. (On the board.)
- 33 Charleston Brow. (On the board.)
- 12 Findon Park (*Antiq. Journ.* viii. 455, Figs. 7 A and B, 8A).

Class 4B. Saucepan pot with shallow tooling. Plate VII, 4B, from the Trundle.

- 1 Trundle (*S.A.C.* LXX, Pl. XII, Nos. 139, 140, 141, 151, 152, 153; p. 52, Pl. x, Nos. 106, 107, 113, 114, 115; LXXII. 136, Pl. XI, Nos. 6, 7).
- 13 Cissbury (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 274, Pl. XXVII. 6, and on the board).



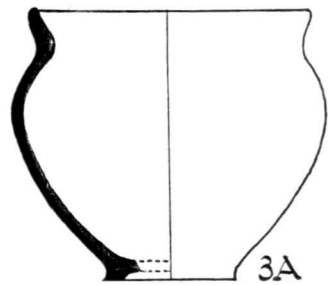
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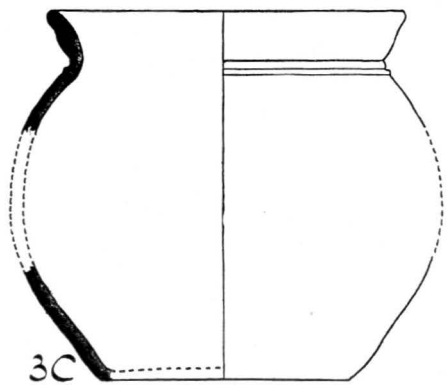
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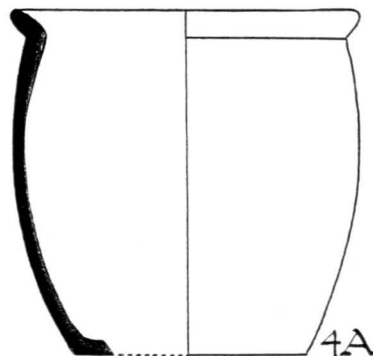
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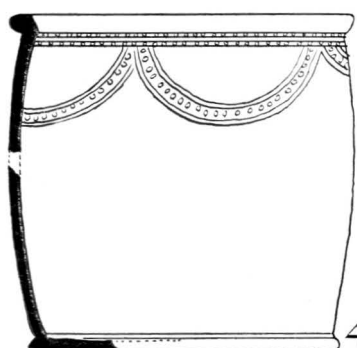
3A



3C



4A



4B



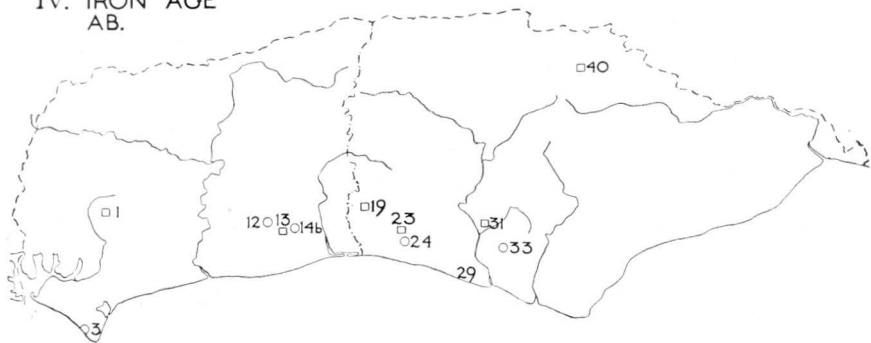
PLATE VII. IRON AGE AB

- 14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 21, Nos. 13a, 14, 15).
- 31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 244, No. 70).
- 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 284, Fig. 4a, Nos. 5, 6, 7).
Elm Grove, Brighton (*Curwen, Arch. of Sx.* 274, Pl. XXVII,
No. 8).
- 33 Charleston Brow. (On the board).
- 3 Selsey (*Antiq. Journ.* XIV. 45, Fig. 3, No. 3).
- 12 Findon Park (*Antiq. Journ.* VIII. 455, Fig. 6A; 457, Fig. 9A
and D).

Class 5. Plain bowl.

- 1 Trundle. (On the board.)
- 29 Newhaven. (On the board.)

IV. IRON AGE
AB.



*Iron Age South-Eastern B and Belgic,
100 B.C.—first century A.D.*

The disturbed state of Gaul in the years following 100 B.C. is reflected in the story of southern England. From 75 B.C. the Belgic peoples were sending colonists to Kent and the Thames estuary. These brought with them a distinctive form of La Tène culture with its undecorated wheel-turned pottery so well known from such sites as Swarling and Aylesford, and beyond the Thames from the later cities of Verulamium (Præ Wood by St. Albans) and Camulodunum (Colchester). In Sussex only a few sherds have been found.

Caesar's advance into Gaul and Brittany caused other movements which brought a different type of culture to the south coast. Two somewhat similar types are found in Sussex and Somerset. Mr. Ward Perkins, who first

drew attention to the Sussex type, suggests the title 'South-Eastern B' to distinguish it from 'South-Western B' or Glastonbury ware. If a more distinctive name is required it might well be called Horsted Keynes ware, from the fine specimens found there. Its chief characteristics are: (i) an omphalos base, (ii) a wide-bellied shape, (iii) a decoration of arcs of a circle (eyebrow or swag), (iv) the frequent use of small circles as ornament. These marked characteristics cannot be derived from Sussex AB ware. They are unlikely to have come from Glastonbury because of the absence of intervening links between Sussex and Somerset.¹ Both are more likely to be derived from a common Breton source. It is interesting to note that the potter is still once more copying a metal prototype, the pre-Roman bronze bowl.

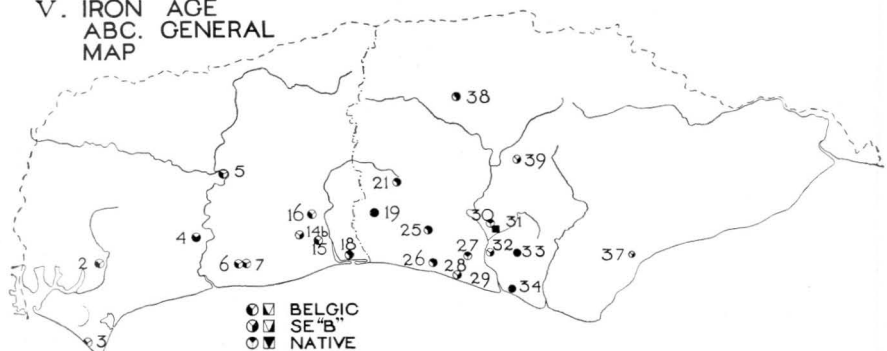
Even while these influences were establishing themselves along the south coast another Belgic group arrived in Hampshire when Commius quarrelled with his former ally, Caesar. Thus Sussex was shut off from direct contact with Wessex B culture by this wedge of Belgic or C culture. A careful survey of Sussex pottery for this period confirms these general conclusions. From 100 B.C. there are two main pottery traditions surviving, the AB of such sites as The Trundle and Cissbury and Park Brow, while farther east in the county the AB pottery takes a special form in the district round The Caburn. It is in evidence, as Caburn II ware, not only at The Caburn but also in the neighbourhood at Newhaven and the village sites. Belgic influence from Kent seems hardly to have affected the eastern part of the county. At The Caburn, which continued to exist till the Roman Conquest, there is only one really Belgic pot, apparently a stray without any influence on local style. As will be seen later, the main Belgic influence came from the west.

The chief new influence in the eastern part of the county is the South-Eastern B pottery found in such

¹ For the spread of SW. and SE. B cultures see Bradford and Goodchild, 'Excavations at Frilford', *Oxoniensia*, iv, 1939, p. 17.

quantities at Horsted Keynes under conditions which strongly suggest a neighbouring pottery kiln. A re-examination of pottery in the local museums shows how widespread was this type. As bases are not always kept or illustrated it is difficult to trace the full distribution, but the decoration is quite common as far westward as Park Brow. The number of finds and the known bases strongly point to the Ouse valley as the centre from which the influence spread.

V. IRON AGE
ABC. GENERAL
MAP



When we study the distribution of Belgic types of pottery it is clear that the west of the county is the centre from which the influence spreads. The Trundle went out of use just at the time that Wessex bead-rim pottery had reached it and new settlements arose in the plain, first at Selsey, then at Chichester. In Arundel Park, Shepherds' Garden yielded a considerable quantity of Belgic ware. Cissbury was deserted for a time and new villages came into existence at Steyning and the Dyke. Kingston Buci, apparently deserted after the Marnian invasion, shows a good mixture of South-Eastern B and plain wheel-turned Belgic pottery. Finally, probably not till Roman times, the new style reached Newhaven.

Asham and 'Native raised-band' types

There has long been too great a tendency to make a sharp division at the Roman Conquest. The study of

pottery from village sites relegates this conquest to yet another influence working on an old tradition. Two special types found in the Sussex Downland villages illustrate this point. The South-Eastern B pottery gradually changes its form. It developed a small neck with an out-turned rim, an even wider belly, and changed its omphalos base into a flat one. In the process it lost its eyebrow decoration but gained an incised line decoration. Dr. Cecil Curwen recognized it as a special type when he reported on the cinerary urns found in the lynchets above Asham in the Ouse valley. For this reason it is generally known as Asham pottery. Like its prototype it is fairly well spread throughout the county, though its chief centre is the Ouse valley.

Another more puzzling problem is the revival of the raised band as a method of decoration. Mrs. Stuart Piggott first drew attention to this when she reported on the pottery found at Highdole, near Telscombe. Its distribution seems to suggest that the Caburn pottery with its slashed cordoned decoration may be the link, if link there was, which connects it through the Iron Age to the Late Bronze Age. It is very widely spread throughout the Sussex Downs and occasionally occurs on Asham pots. There are various methods of decorating the raised band, sometimes finger-impressions, at other times with a sharpened stick, and at others with a type of cable-twist or rope pattern. By their associations it is quite clear that both these types of pottery survived into Roman times.

TABLE VI

*Iron Age. Belgic pottery. 50 B.C.—A.D. 50**General information.*

The Belgae of Gaul and Britain. (*Arch. Journ.* 1930.)

Bury Hill (*Hants Field Club*, XIV, part 3).

Class 1. Carinated Beaker. Plate VIII, 1.

2 Chichester (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 177, Fig. 1B).

Class 2. Imported and local-made Belgic platters. Pl. VIII, 2.

7 Ecclesden Manor. Unillustrated.

4 Shepherds' Garden (*S.A.C.* LXXVII, Fig. 5, No. 5 (terra nigra)).

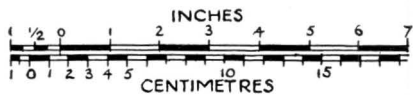
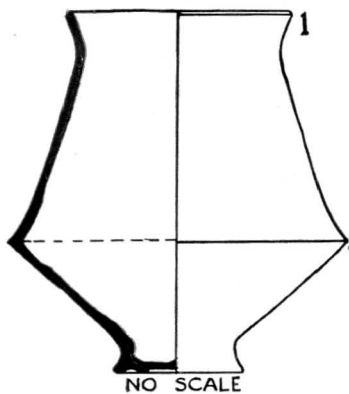
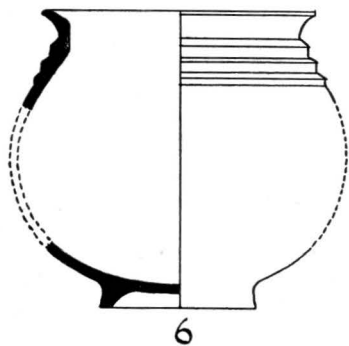
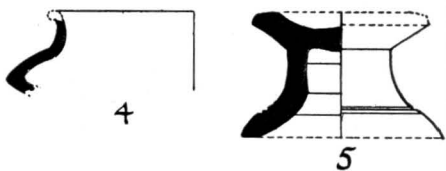
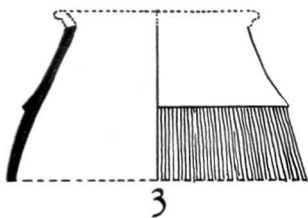
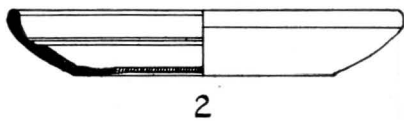
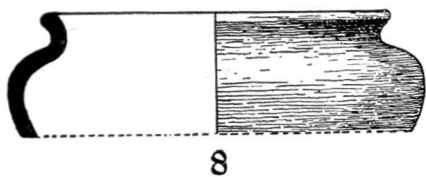
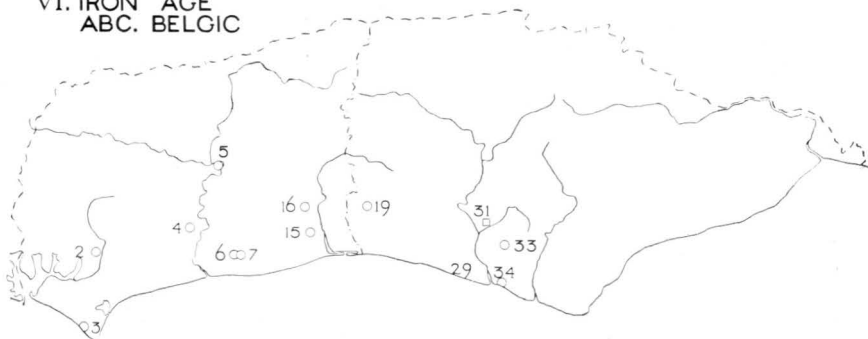


PLATE VIII. BELGIC POTTERY

- 33 Charleston Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXIV. 178, Fig. 30 (terra nigra)).
 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 291, Fig. 7. 1a-c).
 2 Chichester (*S.A.C.* LXXVI. 138, Figs. 156 ff.).
 6 Angmering (*S.A.C.* LXXIX. 40, Fig. 24, Nos. 1, 2).
 19 The Dyke. Unillustrated. (*S.A.C.* LXXVII. 199-201.)
 16 Steyning. Unillustrated.
 15 Lancing (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 164, Fig. 14, No. 31).
 33 Charleston Brow. (On the board.)
 5 Hardham. Littlehampton Museum.

VI. IRON AGE
 ABC. BELGIC



Class 3. Butt and girth beakers. Plate VIII, 3.

- 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 291, Fig. 7, 2a (girth) and Fig. 7, 2b (butt)).
 15 Lancing (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 164, No. 28 (imported Gallo-Belgic butt beaker); 164, Fig. 14, No. 29).
 16 Steyning. Unillustrated.
 2 Chichester (*S.A.C.* LXXVI. 157, 8-12; 141, Fig. 1. 1).
 19 The Dyke. Unillustrated (*S.A.C.* LXXVII. 201, Note on pit 2).
 34 Seaford (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 300, Nos. 17, 18).
 5 Hardham (*S.A.C.* LXVIII. 97).
 36 Eastbourne (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 280, p. 29, 2).
 38 Horsted Keynes (*S.A.C.* LXXXVIII. 259, Fig. 22).
 4 Shepherds' Garden (*S.A.C.* LXXXVII, Fig. 5, No. 2).
 33 Charleston Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXIV, Fig. 10).
 14 Park Brow II (*Arch.* LXXVI. 22, Fig. 18A).

Class 4. 'Tazza' type from Wessex. Plate VIII, 4.

- 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 289, Fig. 6, 1).
 2 Chichester (*S.A.C.* LXXVI. 142, Fig. 1, 18; 159, 1-4, 6; LXXX. 177, Fig. 4, No. 12A).
 19 The Dyke (On the board.)

Class 5. Pedestal bowls. Plate VIII, 5.

- 15 Lancing (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 280, Pl. XXIX, No. 3).
 4 Shepherds' Garden (*S.A.C.* LXXXVII. 230, Fig. 5, No. 1).

- Class 6.* Furrowed Kentish Belgic ware. Plate VIII, 6.
 31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX, Fig. J. 69).
 38 Horsted Keynes (*S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 259, Nos. 14, 15 (strong Kentish Belgic influence on Asham shape)).
 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 290, Fig. 6A, No. 5).
 33 Charleston Brow. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
 34 Seaford. Unillustrated.
- Class 7.* Pedestal base (quoit-shaped, cf. Swarling). Plate VIII, 7.
 3 Selsey (*Antiq. Journ.* XIV. 49, Fig. 5, No. 14).
 19 The Dyke. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
- Class 8.* Plain wheel-turned pottery made under Belgic influence.
 3 Selsey (*Antiq. Journ.* XIV. 49, Fig. 5, Nos. 1-7, 15; 51, Fig. 6).
 18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 202, Nos. 26, 27, 28, 35).
 19 The Dyke. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
 4 Shepherds' Garden. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
 13 Cissbury. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
 33 Charleston Brow. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
 34 Seaford (*S.A.C.* LXXX, Fig. 2, &c.).

TABLE VII

Iron Age. South-Eastern B, 50 B.C.—A.D. 50

Plate IX shows various examples from Horsted Keynes.

- Class 1.* Omphalos bases.
 33 Charleston Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXIV. 187, Fig. 28).
 38 Horsted Keynes (*S.A.C.* XXVIII. 257, Fig. 10, &c.).
 28 Saltdean (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 279, Fig. 81, 2).
 Bormer (*P.P.S.* 1938, 165. 2).
 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 285, Fig. 5, 1).
 37 Westham (*S.N.Q.* VIII, No. 4, p. 111).
 26 Woodingdean (*S.N.Q.* VI (1937), p. 183).
- Class 2.* Decoration transferred to 'S' profile foot-ring pots. Possibly also to omphalos bases.
 33 Charleston Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXIV. 171, Figs. 9, 11, 13; 172, Fig. 22; 173, Fig. 17).
 19 The Dyke. Unillustrated. (On the board.) (*S.A.C.* LXXVII. 199-201).
 34 Seaford (R. L. Thomas, Wiston Cottage, Seaford). Unillustrated.
 31 Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 253, Pl. XI, Nos. 75, 80).
 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 285, Fig. 5, 3-7).
 38 Horsted Keynes (*S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 258, Figs. 4, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 17, &c.; 261, Figs. 30-2 (restored pots)).
 18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 202, Figs. 31, 32, 33, 34).
 39 Little Horsted (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 274, Pl. XXVIII, No. 2).
 14 Park Brow (*Arch.* LXXVI. 21, Fig. 13a (left)).
 13 Cissbury. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
 34 Seaford (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 299, Figs. 14, 15).

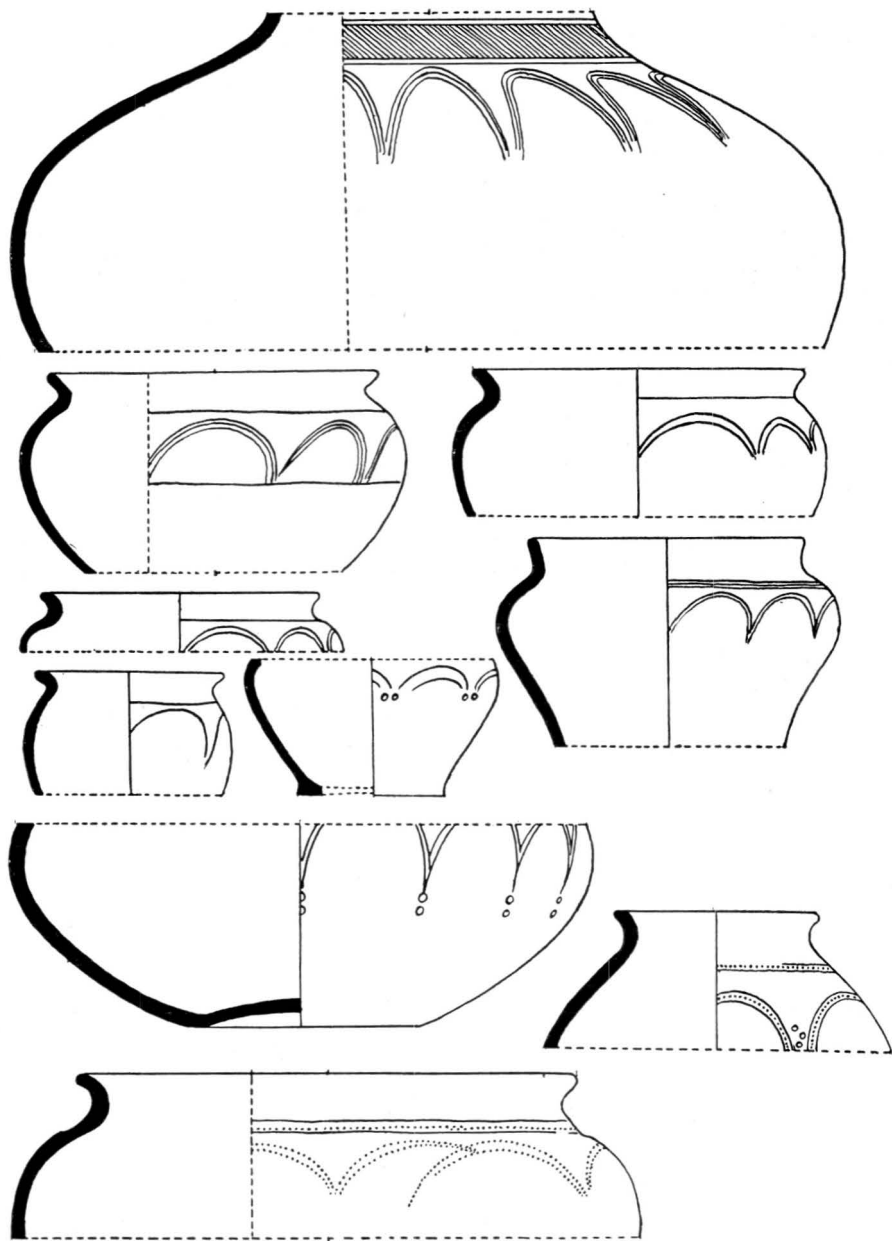
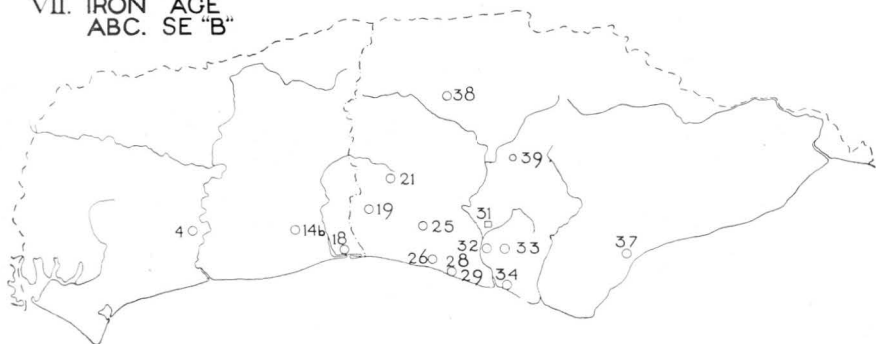


PLATE IX. SOUTH EASTERN B POTTERY

Class 3. Asham type. Smaller neck. Wide belly. Flat base. (Late type of South-Eastern B.)

- 19 The Dyke. Unillustrated. (*S.A.C.* LXXVII. 199–201.)
- 38 Horsted Keynes (*S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 256, Figs. 1, 2; 258, Fig. 3; 259, Figs. 14, 15, &c.).
- 18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII. 202, Figs. 36, 29).
- 34 Seaford (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 274, Pl. XXVIII, 7).
- 21 Hassocks (*Ibid.* 8).

VII. IRON AGE
ABC. SE "B"



- 32 Asham (*P.P.S.* 1938, 165, No. 4 (see p. 155); *S.A.C.* LXXI. 254–7; Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 280–1).
- 4 Shepherds' Garden. Unillustrated. (On the board.) (*S.A.C.* LXXVII. 223 ff.)
- 29 Newhaven (combined with native finger-tip tradition) (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 289, Fig. 6, 6).
- 34 Seaford (*S.A.C.* LXXX. 297, No. 3).
- 4 Shepherds' Garden. In Littlehampton Museum. (*S.A.C.* LXXVII. 231 (unillustrated)).
- Broadwater (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 279, Fig. 81, No. 1).

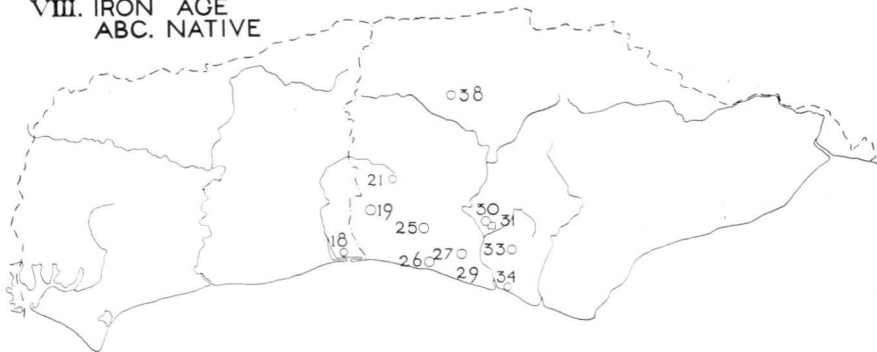
TABLE VIII

Iron Age. Late native imitation of A1 finger-tip and slashed ornament generally on raised band. A.D. 1–50

- Class 1.* Finger-tip or slashing generally on raised band.
- 30 Ranscombe Camp (*S.N.Q.* Nov. 1934).
 - 26 Woodingdean (*S.N.Q.* vi. 184 (both finger-tip and slashing)).
 - 33 Charleston Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXIV. 172, Fig. 24).
 - 21 Hassocks (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 275, Pl. XXVIII, No. 5).
 - 19 The Dyke. Unillustrated. (On the board.)
 - 25 Buckland Bank (Curwen, *Arch. of Sx.* 275, Pl. XXVIII, No. 5).
 - 38 Horsted Keynes (*S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 260, Figs. 25–7).
 - 33 Charleston Brow (*S.A.C.* LXXIV. 172, Figs. 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24 (both slashing and finger-tip on raised band)).

- 31 The Caburn (*S.A.C.* LXVIII, Pl. XIII, Nos. 105-12; Pl. XIV, No. 123).
 18 Kingston Buci (*S.A.C.* LXXII, 197, Fig. 24).
 29 Newhaven (*S.A.C.* LXXX, 289, Fig. 8, Nos. 4, 6, 7. Fig. 6 seems to be finger-tip ornament on an Asham type).
 27 Highdole (*S.A.C.* LXXVII, 210, Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18).
 Kithurst Hill (*S.A.C.* LXIII, 222).
 34 Seaford (*S.A.C.* LXXX, 299, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12).
 23 Ladies' Mile, Patcham. Private collection.
 15 Lancing (*S.A.C.* LXXXI, 161, Fig. 11, Nos. 13, 14).

VIII. IRON AGE ABC. NATIVE



Throughout the thousand years covered by this study of the pottery found on sites mainly on the Sussex Downs there are striking local differences from the normal general types of the period. These differences grow in number as new types enter the area, but they are there from the beginning. Moreover, some only of the incoming types leave a mark on later styles.

In Late Bronze Age I times the large bucket urn with finger-tip ornament on an applied band which came into use on a few newly settled sites did not at once oust the Middle Bronze Age biconical urn. The two types must have lived alongside each other because potters of the next period, Late Bronze Age II, combined their features in the urn with an applied band round the widest girth (L.B.A. II, Class B 1B). Both the finger-tip form of decoration and the applied band have a long history in the art of the Sussex potter. On the other hand, the bowls decorated with 'fern' or 'herring-bone' pattern (L.B.A. I, Class A4), though found at Plumpton

Plain, Park Brow, Highdown, and possibly New Barn Down, have left no further traces in late Sussex pottery. Yet other types of Late Bronze Age I pottery go on almost without change into the next period.

The main new influence brought in by the Late Bronze Age II people was a new shape, the bulging body, everted rim, and constricted neck, a shape widely spread on the Continent in Late Bronze Age times. In this type (Class B 1A) the applied band is around the neck, not the girth. This fresh shape is often called Hallstatt because it is a feature of that culture on the Continent, and also of the pottery which reached south-east England from Hallstatt areas about 500 B.C. All the excavated Sussex Late Bronze Age II sites show the gradual development of this ware in finer and better pastes until it is hard to mark it off from Iron Age A1 pottery of like shape. The applied band is no longer used; sometimes there is finger-impressed ornament on rim or shoulder; sometimes there is no decoration at all. The Late Bronze Age types still show signs of being finished with the fingers and not with a knife or other tool. The many variations in shape are shown in Fig. 13 of the article on Plumpton Plain (*P.P.S.* 1935, 54).

As in the earlier period, there is one type of pottery (B4) which was a locally made copy of a continental type and had no permanent influence on local pottery. Again it is a pottery decorated with incised lines.

Thus when the Iron Age opens in Sussex certain local traditions are so surely founded that they are not entirely swamped by the new styles brought in by the Hallstatt invaders. A study of the Hallstatt pottery found at Scarborough, Eastbourne, Park Brow, Hengistbury Head, and All Cannings Cross shows beyond all doubt that only a limited range of Hallstatt types reached Sussex. No local site has the wide range of decorated wares found at All Cannings Cross. Sussex Iron Age A1 ware is much more closely akin to that found in eastern Britain from Scarborough to Kent.¹

¹ Since writing this we have found in Brighton Museum pottery of All Cannings Cross type discovered at Hollingbury in 1908.

The chief marks of the Sussex pottery are the finer paste, the tool-finish which gave an almost burnished surface, the haematite coating, and the two distinctive shapes—sharp-shouldered pot with sharply everted deep rim, and the round-shouldered pot with more upright rim. As we saw above, these Hallstatt shapes had already entered south-east Britain in the closing years of the Late Bronze Age. The most remarkable feature of Sussex Iron Age A1 pottery, the haematite-coating, did not last long. It is only found at Eastbourne and in a few examples at Park Brow. A much coarser ware, often with the Late Bronze Age finger-tip ornament on rim or shoulder, is made alongside the finer ware, which loses its haematite coating but often gains the finger-tip ornament. In many cases the finger-tip ornament gives way to a finger-nail ornament or even one made with a piece of wood. In his report on St. Catherine's Hill, Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., examined the changes in the use of this ornament and pointed out that finger-impressed ornament on applied bands came through from the Late Bronze Age but soon died out in early Hallstatt times. Other early uses of this decoration on the pot itself are in the hollow of the neck and on the top of the rim. These are found in Sussex (e.g. The Trundle, Highdown, and Newhaven). A more lasting use is the single row on the outside of the rim or on the shoulder of the pot or on both. In a few cases the Late Bronze Age tradition of finger-impressed decoration in regular rows all over the pot survives into the Iron Age, but as finger-nail impression (Highdown, *S.A.C.* LXXXI. 195, Fig. 5*d*).

It is important to note that there are no sherds with finger-impressed decoration at Kingston Buci or Eastbourne. At Park Brow they do not figure to any marked extent. At Highdown they form a varied and strongly representative, but not the dominant, class. At The Trundle they seem to be much more numerous than other types. (In this connection it may be worth noting that the Kingston Buci Late Bronze Age site yielded no pottery belonging to Class B 1A.)

Towards the end of Iron Age A1 times cable-twist, pie-crust, and slashed ornament was gradually taking the place of finger-impressed and finger-nail decoration. Pots were also changing their shapes; the shoulder was becoming milder, and the everted or upstanding rim was disappearing. Finally a style like the A2 ware from Maiden Castle came into use at Park Brow, Newhaven, The Trundle, and Cissbury.

This type does not really establish itself in Sussex because of the changes which went on in the county in the years between 300 B.C. and 250 B.C. These changes, dealt with at length elsewhere, had two outstanding results. Settlers who had knowledge of haematite-coated ware from Wessex found a refuge from the troubles of the times in the isolated Caburn area and developed Caburn I ware with its reddish-brown, sandy paste, haematite-coating (or an imitation of it), its sharp-angular *situla* form, its cordons, either plain or with incised line, slashed, or cable-twist decoration, a pottery tradition entirely different from either the local A2 ware or the newer AB ware formed as the result of Marnian incursions.

The second result is more far-reaching and cannot be valued without looking farther afield. For some time it has been recognized that the warrior graves of Yorkshire are directly connected with the similar graves of the Marnian culture, but such graves have not been found in Sussex. Neither have the three-link horse-bit which also reached this country from areas of Marnian culture at the end of La Tène I times, about 250 B.C. The pottery evidence shows, however, that there was a very strong Marnian influence in Sussex about that date. Three new features suddenly change the Sussex pottery tradition: (i) the sharp-angular pottery with everted rim in a La Tène hard shiny-surfaced paste without cordon, entirely different from the Hallstatt sandy paste of Wessex A2 ware; (ii) the stumpy pedestal base; (iii) the plain saucepan pot with a flat base, a projecting foot, and an incipient bead rim. This Marnian invasion caused a greater break in the pottery tradition than the

others we have studied. Yet none of the Marnian forms went on unchanged. The sharp-angular shouldered pottery gave way to an 'S'-shaped profile, the pedestal base became a mere foot-ring, the plain saucepan received a shallow-tooled decoration unknown to the continental La Tène pottery tradition. This form of decoration is a feature of British pottery of the period after 250 B.C., especially in the south-east and south-west but not in the intervening Wessex area. In the wolds of Yorkshire, where warrior graves and Marnian metal-work is so well known, the pottery does not take a form similar to that of Sussex.

Recent work of Mr. Hawkes and Dr. Bersu in Wiltshire and Hampshire fill in details of the scheme outlined by the former in his report on the Caburn and Newhaven pottery. The people of the south coast offered strong enough resistance to the invaders to persuade their warrior leaders to draw off and set up a military supremacy elsewhere. They left behind some groups who settled amongst the various A2 groups. Thus there would be for a time communities living side by side in Sussex but using three different styles of pottery, local A2, Wessex A2 (Caburn I ware), and Marnian B ware. Marnian B did not remain a pure culture, it mixed with local A2, and local potters began to decorate it with shallow-tool and line and dot ornament to produce AB ware. Step by step this AB culture spread from the original centres of Marnian settlers through the Weald. It came to the long isolated Caburn to turn its Caburn I ware into Caburn II ware. At Newhaven A2 type merges finally into a form of Caburn II ware without much sign of a genuine AB. There are a few sherds of saucepan pot. The whole series gives the impression that the population thinned out in AB times. At Kingston Buci there are a few sherds of Marnian ware and no AB ware. At Highdown the pottery sequence also breaks off. The Trundle, Park Brow, and Cissbury seem the centres where it had greatest influence.

The Marnian was not the only continental 'B' pottery to leave its mark in Sussex. Another clearly marked

phase came in about 60 B.C.—50 B.C. when the Belgic, a 'C' style, was reaching the Thames estuary, Kent, and the eastern counties. Mr. Ward Perkins has named it South-Eastern 'B' and shows that it is very likely one of the results of Caesar's attack on Brittany. Its distribution throughout the county is wider than he first thought, if one takes the two main tests of omphalos base and 'eyebrow' pattern. It is worth noting that it does not appear to any extent at The Trundle and Cissbury because the Belgic invaders from Hampshire cut short its history before it had time to establish itself there. The Ouse valley is its main centre, especially the fine series from Horsted Keynes, but its swag ornament is certainly found at Park Brow and Kingston Buci. At the latter place this ornament is applied to pots which are very similar to the black-burnished wheel-turned pottery of Belgic type and it might well be argued that these are more Belgic than South-Eastern 'B'. If so, Sussex from 50 B.C. to the Roman Conquest may well be looked on as a 'battleground' between the 'B' culture (whether AB or South-Eastern B) and the 'C' culture spreading from Wessex.

SUSSEX ANGLO-SAXON CHARTERS

BY ERIC E. BARKER

PART II

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A.D. 788-940.

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No.

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- XIX. Charter of Offa, king of Mercia, confirming No. XVIII. 12 April A.D. 790.
- XX. Settlement of dispute between Coenwulf, king of Mercia, and Wihthun, bishop of Selsey, about land at Beddingham. A.D. 801.
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INTRODUCTION

THE charters of Sussex from 800 onwards are, on the whole, of less real interest than those dealt with in Part I. Sussex had ceased to have even nominal independence, and the documents are of standard types issued by kings of Mercia, Wessex, or England; their interest is confined to that of the statements made in them. The history of the see of Selsey is continued in rather a sparse fashion.

Bishop Wihthun's name continues to appear in charters until 805; his successor Æthelwulf attended the synods of London (811) and Chelsea (816). Cœnred certainly held the see in 823, and his signatures continue until 839. Guthheard's name occurs twice, in charters of 845 and 860. There then follows a gap in the records until Bishop Wighelm is a witness to charters between 901 and 909. In 909 Beornheah was consecrated; this fact was remembered by the circumstance that he was one of seven bishops consecrated at once. The last record of him is the grant of land made to him in 930 (No. XXVI); from 931 to 940 the signatures of Bishop Wulfhun are fairly profuse, and in 944 Bishop Ælfred appears on the scene.

There can be no guarantee that in the long blank period, 860–901, the name of a bishop had not been entirely lost; and the obscurity of some of the bishops whose names have survived is shown by the omission of their names from some of the best-known catalogues. The catalogue appended to the *Chronicle* of Florence of Worcester (fl. 1118) omits Wighelm, Beornheah, and Wulfhun; the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde Abbey (c. 1030) omits Wighelm; so does the list (c. 990) appended to the Parker MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.¹

The synodal proceedings of 801 and 825² refer to the existence of a monastery at Beddingham as early as the time of Offa (757–96); the language of No. XX suggests that it may have been still a going concern in 801. But when the land was made a bequest in King Ælfred's will (c. 880) the monastery had apparently been dissolved. Abbot Plegheard, mentioned in No. XXI, is an obscure character; it is not clear whether he was abbot of Beddingham, of Selsey, or of either; but he is the only Sussex abbot named since Beadufrið in 714,³ and worthy of notice as such. Of interest, too, is the statement suggesting that one of the gates of Chichester was standing in 930.⁴

Of greater real importance for the story of the origins of Sussex are the lists of detached swine-pastures at-

¹ f. 55r^o.

³ No. VIII.

² Nos. XX, XXI.

⁴ No. XXVI.

tached to some charters, of which No. XXVIII is a notable example. These detached pastures are found attached to parcels of land in an impressive list of charters as follows:

680 (No. I) *et sunt pascua ovium in meos dune pertinentia ad tangmere.*

689 (No. III) *and ða dænn ærest þær scealces burna and bollanea hi gegaderiað. . . .*

765 (No. XI) *silvatica Copanora et Tittlesham.*

c. 770 (No. XIII) *hec sunt nomina pastus porcorum qui pertinent ad stannere. . . .*

934 (No. XXVIII) *ðis synt ða denbæra ðe to ðissum londe mid rihte belimpað. . . .*

947 (No. XXXV) *ðis synt þa den þe þær to ge byrigeap. . . .*

953 (No. XXXVI) *hec sunt pascua porcorum . . . in communi silva pascuale quod dicitur Palinga Schittas.*

956 (No. XXXVIII) *þis synt þa den stowa. . . .*

963 (No. XLIII) *þonne sind þis þa den bæra. . . .*

It was Mr. Jolliffe¹ who first drew attention to the similarity of this system to Kentish practice and to that which prevailed in southern Hants,² in an area which Bede tells us was inhabited by *Iutorum natio*. Not all of Mr. Jolliffe's statements can be accepted. His place-name identifications are occasionally wide of the mark. The identification³ of *Gyllingan* in No. XIV with Guestling (*Gestelinges* 1086 DB) will not bear testing; neither will that⁴ of *wynburgespær* (No. XXXV) with Wivelsborough, the very existence of which I have been unable to verify. One would like to know whose was the 'Celtic story' which named the Saxon leader at Mount Badon.⁵ These faults in detail, however, do but little to vitiate the value of Mr. Jolliffe's main thesis; which is that the original inhabitants of Sussex were not so much Saxons as Jutes; it is borne out not only by the list of Kentish-style swine-pastures and by peculiarities of medieval land-tenure in Sussex; but by other evidence, both literary and archaeological, of a most im-

¹ *Pre-feudal England: the Jutes*, ch. ii. Cf. the previous discussion of this subject by Dr. A. E. Wilson in *S.A.C.* LXXXIII. 55-73.

² Even as far west as Portland the system of gavelkind persisted into modern times; it was recorded at Wareham in 1316 (*Antiquity*, June 1948, p. 80, n. 7).

³ p. 75.

⁴ p. 82, n. 3.

⁵ p. 95.

pressive kind, while the evidence against it is relatively trifling.

Place-names provide an extensive list of these swine-pastures in addition to those named in the charters. The *Place-names of Sussex* lists no less than 41 names with the element *denn*. Other names point to the former existence of these detached pastures with even greater force. Next to Durrington is Goring (OE. *Garingas*); while in No. XXVIII we have Goringlee in Shipley (OE. *Garinga leah*) among the detached pastures. Durrington itself has its parallel in the Weald in Drungewick in Wisboro' Green. In Arundel Rape there is the village of Poling (OE. *Palingas*). In the corresponding part of the Weald we find Pallingham Farm in Wisboro' Green (OE. *Palinga ham*) and *palinga schittas* in No. XXXVI, now Limbo Farm in Petworth. Felpham is adjacent to Bognor; among the swine-pastures of Felpham (No. XXXVI) we find Little Bognor in Fittleworth; while Bigenor Farm in Egdean probably owes its name to the same connection. No. I is a grant of land at Pagham and Tangmere with detached pasture for sheep which may have been near Singleton. In the bounds of Pagham there is *brynes fleot* and at no great distance are Brinfast Farm (OE. *brynes fæsten*) and *brynes dic*.¹ Correspondingly near Singleton we find a lost name Brinscombe, OE. *brynes cumb*.² Similarly, farther east, the name Bletchingley in Rotherfield quite likely represents a forest-pasture belonging to East Blatchington; and Bricklehurst in Ticehurst (OE. *Beorhteles hyrst*) may be associated with Brightling (OE. *Beorhtelingas*).

Many of these names contain personal names so uncommon that the possibility of coincidence can practically be disregarded; and the mass of charter and place-name evidence pointing to the prevalence of the Kentish practice of land-tenure in Sussex is supported, as indication of former Jutish occupation of Sussex, by archaeological evidence and by evidence of the formulae of some of the early charters. The large annular brooches

¹ No. II, n. 30.

² *P. N. Sx.*, p. 55.

found at Highdown¹ are paralleled by those from Kent² and from Bidford-on-Avon, Warws.³ 'Saucer' brooches ornamented with a floreate cross, found at Highdown,⁴ are also found at Bidford.³ Small gilded square-headed brooches from High Down and Alfriston can be compared with examples from Bifrons, near Canterbury, preserved among the Kent Archaeological Society's collections at Maidstone.

Another feature of charter material which distinguishes Kent, Sussex, and a few other areas sharply from the rest of England is the use of an epistolary form in charters.⁵ It usually appears by the use of the words *tibi dabo* in the grant; the more normal Anglo-Saxon diploma is a record of a transaction already completed, and is in any case not addressed directly to the grantee by the use of the second person. Although the genuineness of the Kent charters of the beginning of the seventh century, to which the origin of this form can best be traced, has not been decisively proved, their non-tendentious nature and preservation of early Merovingian formulae must weigh heavily in their favour. The epistolary charters, although not preserved in originals, attest their genuineness by their miscellaneous provenance and archaic formulae. A faked charter of Cædwalla,⁵ dated 688, uses this epistolary form; but it is clearly derived from a genuine original; it contains two lost heathen place-names of great interest, *Cusan weoh* and *Besinga hearh*, the latter probably the fane of the people who gave their name to Basingstoke. Its first four witnesses are the same as those in No. I. An original charter of 692-3,⁶ granting land in a part of Essex separated from Kent only by the river, uses the epistolary form; among its boundaries we find *cæntinces treow*, 'the Kentishman's tree'. Another Kent charter, not listed previously, which uses this form is BCS 86 (694, late copy).

¹ *Archaeologia*, LIV, p. 372, fig. 2; LV, Pl. IX, 4.

² One from Howletts, Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, Pl. XXXIII, no. 3.

³ *Archaeologia*, LXXIII, p. 102; cf. *S.A.C.* LXXXVI, 63, n. 21.

⁴ Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Pl. XXII b, c.

⁵ BCS 72.

⁶ BCS 81.

Against this mass of evidence there are two main objections: the very name Sussex goes back to OE. *Subseaxe*, in Latin sources *Australes Saxones*, 'the South Saxons'. Another alleged source of Jutish influence, southern Hampshire, is stated in the *Chronicle* (anno 495) to have been the starting-point of Cerdic, first king of the West Saxons. The latter can be disposed of quickly. Writing at the end of the ninth century, Bishop Asser¹ spoke of Cerdic's nephews Stuf and Wihtgar as *de Gothis et Iutis*; and the fact that Cerdic's descendants became kings of Wessex does not necessarily mean that Cerdic himself or any of his band were Saxons at all.

The earliest evidence for the name 'South Saxons' dates from the turn of the seventh and eighth centuries. Between 689 and 714² King Nothhelm called himself *rex Australium Saxonum* or *rex Suðsaxonum* in charters. In 731 Bede³ refers several times to *Saxones Australes*. The Tribal Hidage, which may be as old as the seventh century, but which only survives in a transcript of c. 1000,⁴ speaks of *Sup Sexena*.

But there is evidence that from at least c. 700 onwards the definition of 'Angle', 'Saxon', and 'Jute' was not very clear in men's minds. As early as 716 Abbot Hwætberht addressed a letter from Jarrow, in an area normally regarded as distinctly Anglian, *de Saxoniam*.⁵ Conversely, Æthelbald, king of Mercia (716–57), spoke of the people of southern Britain, Angles, Saxons, and Jutes alike, as *provinciae quae generale nomine Sutangli dicuntur*, or a similar phrase, in an original charter of 736,⁶ and in a reliable transcript of another before 737.⁷ Bede himself says⁸ that Æthelbert of Kent (560–616) ruled over *omnibus gentibus Anglorum* up to the Humber, including both Saxons and Jutes in that phrase in spite of his own so precise definition of the three races from which the Anglo-Saxons had arisen; and twice⁹ he speaks of *Anglorum sive Saxonum gens*.

¹ *Life of King Alfred*, ed. Stevenson, p. 4.

² Nos. III, VIII.

⁴ BM. Harley MS. 3271; BCS 300.

⁵ Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, § 19.

⁶ BCS 154.

⁷ BCS 157.

³ e.g. II. 5, III. 20.

⁸ II. 3.

⁹ I. 15, 22.

In the tenth century the chronicler Æthelweard persistently speaks of the West Saxons as *Occidentales Angli*.

It is clear, then, that too much importance must not be attached to the exact definition of the traditional name *Suð Seaxe*. Perhaps the most likely explanation of the conflicting evidence is that there was considerable admixture of races even during the migration; in some areas, perhaps, a province took its name from the race to which its ruling class belonged; in others the race-names were doubtless confused from the earliest times; but whatever be the cause of the confusion, we must not allow a mere piece of nomenclature to blind us to the fact that the earliest inhabitants of Sussex were, in the way they parcelled out their land, in the design of their personal ornaments, and, later, in the way they drew up some of their charters, not 'Saxons' at all, but Jutes.

Bishops of Selsey, 800-940

(Continued from S.A.C. LXXXVI. 50)

	<i>Acc.</i>	<i>Death or trans.</i>
9. Wihthun . . .	787 × 789	805 × 811
10. Æthelwulf . . .	805 × 811	816 × 823
11. Coenred . . .	816 × 823	839 × 845
12. Guthheard . . .	839 × 845	860 × 901
13. Wighelm . . .	860 × 901	909
14. Beornheah . . .	909	930 or 931
15. Wulfhun . . .	930 or 931	940 × 944

XVIII¹

Donatio Bertoldi Ducis de Hastinges et Pevenesel portubus maris; et villa Radrefelda in Anglia.

In nomine domini nostri ihesu christi. ego Berthualdus dux justo dei iudicis (*sic*) cecidi in infirmitatem de qua medicorum nemo me sanare poterat. Audivi autem in Gallias apud monasterium sanctorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, cui praeest venerabilis abba Foleradus, per eosdem sanctos virtutes multas fieri, et petens a domno Carolo imperature transitum veni illuc. Ubi cum diebus ammodum paucis, aeger, ad eorum memoriam decubuissem, miseratione domini et depreca-

tione eorundem martyrum plenissime sanatus sum. Vovi autem votum domino et sanctis illis, et de eorum sanctis reliquiis impetrata patrocinia mecum detuli, et in eorum nomine ecclesiam edificavi in sede mea in villa vocabulo Ridrefelda, quae a progenitoribus meis jure hereditario mihi relicta fuerat: Quapropter dignum est ut per quos sum ab omni corporis liberatus infirmitate, ipsi michi in ipsa mea debeant hereditate succedere. Unde ego una cum favore fratris mei Eadbaldi et consensu meorum fidelium, per hanc scripturae seriem, omnem illam villam meam quae vocatur Ridrefeldam sitam super fluvium qui dicitur Saforda in pago qui nuncupatur Successa, et pagi civitas appellatur Chichestra, cum omnibus appendiciis suis, terris, pratis, campis, silvis, aquis, ita sicut ego visus sum hactenus possidere, sanctis dei martyribus Dionysio, Rustico, et Eleutherio, habendam et disponendam et in perpetuum tenendam trado. Concedo etiam per hujus monumenta cartae, ad usus monachorum ibidem deo famulantium, meae possessionis portus, qui sunt in eadem vicinitate super mare, Hastings et Pævenisel, cum salinis et omni integritate sua, ut sicut ego possidere videor sic fratres in ipso monasterio sanctorum martyrum deo servientes a modo possideant et disponant et pro me deum deprecari dignentur. Si quis autem aliquid de his detrahere aut minuere vel usurpare temptauerit, et ab illis sanctis et servitoribus eorum monachis abstulerit, regi saeculorum deo peccabit qui ab eo requirat in iudicio futuro quod iniuste abstulit cum veniet in sua majestate, et sanctorum angelorum reddere unicuique prout gessit, siue bonum siue malum, et ibunt impii in supplicium aeternum, justi autem in vitam aeternam. Actum dominicae incarnationis anno 795, anno quo coepit Offa rex regnare 31, praesente fratre meo Eadbaldo, et coram subscriptis testibus. Ego Berhtualdus Dux manu mea firmaui et subscripsi. Eadbaldus frater ejus firmaui et subscripsi. Ecgferdus comes subscripsi. Ediluuinus comes subscripsi. Cinigilesus firmaui et subscripsi. Eadbertus firmaui et subscripsi. Hunualdus firmaui et subscripsi. Ædilfridus firmaui et subscripsi. Ego Ean-

fric cancellarius scripsi, relegi ac subscripsi. Ego Deodatus monachus de manu ducis Berthualdi omnia quæ in hoc testamento scripta sunt in nomine sanctorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, possidenda suscepi, et hanc traditionem per hoc scriptum coram fratribus monasterio adsignavi.

Gift of the alderman Berhtwald of Hastings and Pevensey, harbours by the sea; and the estate of Rotherfield in England.

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I, Berhtwald, alderman, by the just judgement of God, fell into an illness of which none of the doctors could cure me. But I had heard that in France at the monastery of the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, under the charge of the venerable abbot Folcrad, many cures had been effected by these same martyrs; and obtaining a passage from the Lord Emperor Charles, I came thither. When I had lain for a few days ill, by the mercy of God and the intercession of those same martyrs I had a complete cure. And I vowed a vow to the Lord and the saints, and I brought back with me relics of their holy remains for which I had petitioned, and in their name I built a church at my seat at the town called Rotherfield, which was left to me in lawful inheritance by my forefathers; Therefore it is proper that as I have by them been freed from all bodily infirmity, they ought to succeed me in my inheritance. Therefore with the agreement of my brother Eadbald and the consent of all my faithful followers, I grant by this piece of writing all that estate of mine which is called Rotherfield, situate on the river which is called Saforda,² in the district which is called Sussex, and the chief town of that district is called Chichester, with all things pertaining thereto, lands, meadows, fields, woods, and waters, just as I myself have held them hitherto, to the holy martyrs of God, Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, to have and dispose of and hold in perpetuity. And by this deed of gift I also grant for the use of the monks there serving God, harbours belonging to me, called Hastings and

Pevensay, situated on the sea-coast in the same neighbourhood, with saltpans and all things pertaining thereto, so that just as I possess them, so may the monks serving God in the same monastery of the holy martyrs possess and dispose of them; and may they be so good as to pray for me to God. And if anyone attempts to detract anything from this, or to lessen or interfere with it, and take it away from those saints and the monks serving them, he will sin against God the King of the universe, who will require of him what he has unjustly seized, in the last judgement when He appears in His majesty with the saints and angels to render unto each according to his life, whether good or bad, and the evil will go to eternal suffering, but the good to eternal life. This was done in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 795, in the 31st year from the beginning of the reign of King Offa, in the presence of my brother Eadbald and of the witnesses given below. I, Berhtwald, alderman, agreed and signed with my own hand. Eadbald, his brother, agreed and signed. Ecgfrið, thegn, signed. Æðelwini, thegn, agreed and signed. Cynegils agreed and signed. Eadberht agreed and signed. Hunweald agreed and signed. Æðelfrið agreed and signed. I, Eanfric, Chancellor, wrote it, re-read it and signed. I, Deodatus, monk, have received from the hands of Alderman Berhtwald all the things which are written in this document in the name of the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, and in the presence of the brothers, assigned to the monastery the grant made by this charter.

NOTES

1. This charter is preserved in BCS, No. 252, from the transcripts in the *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Denis* (1625) and in Dugdale's *Monasticon* from the twelfth-century Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Denis. It is a forgery so manifest that detailed textual notes would serve little purpose. A few general notes would, however, be of some interest. The date, of course, is wrong; since Offa began to reign in 757, the 31st year of his reign ran from 787 to 788. The witnesses are completely unknown, except for the aldermen Berhtwald and Eadbald themselves (see notes to No. XII), and these, being old Mercian aldermen who had held high Mercian office before

the conquest of Sussex, are most unlikely to have held ancestral lands in that latter county, which is what is implied by this and the next charter. Nevertheless the question must be asked: What moved the monks of St. Denis to make a forgery so outlandish? Is there any ground for supposing that they might have entertained some claim to all or any part of the lands in question? Consideration must admit that the answer is slightly in the monks' favour. The church of Rotherfield remains to this day the only church in England consecrated to St. Denis. This saint is and always has been peculiarly associated with France—he was actually martyred at Autun in the third century A.D.—and his cult has never spread to this country. It is accordingly most unlikely that the church of Rotherfield acquired its dedication in the ordinary way, and the most plausible reason for the occurrence of this exotic dedication there is that there was in fact some early connection between the church of St. Denis in France and Rotherfield in England. The forgery of a charter for the downright purpose of theft was unusual; on the other hand, the majority of our forged charters of to-day were originally created to establish a claim to land which was either disputed, or had been held by common tenure dating from times when charters were considered unnecessary.

2. Now the river Ouse.

XIX¹

Præceptum Offantis Gloriosi Regis Anglorum.

Evidentia rerum et experientia declarant cassabundam mortalium uitam et innumeris calamitatibus constringi, ita dumtaxat ut ante a quibus teneri ac possideri putatur, repente et mumentaneo intervallo lugubriter evanescat. Ideo singulis quibusque sollicite studendum est, ut dum indulta temporum spatia dei nutu concessa manent, ne sine fructu spiritalium bonorum easdem indutias transeant. Quamobrem ego in dei nomine Offa rex Merciorum, suggerente Maginario abbate per missum suum Nadelharium, de terra illa quae est in illo loco, in porta (*sic*) videlicet qui nuncupatur Lundenwic, ubi duo fratres Agonauuala seu Sigrinus omnem suam possessionem spontanea uoluntate ante duos annos sancto Diunisio, martyri precioso, qui est in Francia, sociisque ejus dederunt, ego quoque censum omnem quod in parte mea iure accipere debui, et ad usus proprios adhuc retinebam, sive in auro, sive in argento, sive in redditibus aliis, totum ob amorem dei omnipotentis et reverentiam preciosorum martyrum Diunisii, Rustici et

Eleutherii, jam dicto abbati Maginario ac sanctae congregationi monachorum, uel eorum successoribus, in eodem munasterio præclaro, quod est constructum in Gallias in honore ipsorum martyrum libenti ac devoto animo, una cum uoluntate meæ conjugis filiique mei et obtinatum meorum consensu, ab hac die concedo cessumque imperpetuum esse uolo, ita ut ab hac die nec ego, nec posteres mei, neque aliquis ex potestatibus hujus sæculi reditum aliquem exinde quaqua ratione repossant neque recipiant, sed semper in tempore meo uel meorum successorum, in potestate jam dicti abbatis et monachorum, favente Christo, amplius et perfectius permaneat. Præterea donatum quod amicus noster et fidelis Berhtualð dux, et frater ejus Eadbalð, de receptaculo suo Ridrefelda, quod est in pago qui uocatur Successa, super fluvium Saforda, et de portu super mare Hastings et Peuenisel, quomodo ante dies istos, legaliter subscriptis testibus, ad eosdem sanctos martyres, qui sua deprecatione ab infirmitate nimia, qua tenebatur jam dictus dux, eum resuscitauerant, fecit, petentibus eisdem atque præfato abbate, nos et concessus obtinatum meorum uno eodemque consensu laudamus et confirmamus. Si quis hanc nostram nostroque constitutionem desiderio roboratam, quam ad sanctos martyres pro amore dei et salute nostra fecimus, detrahendo uel violando infregerit, illa maledictio ueniat super eum, 'Ite maledicti in ignem eternum'. Qui autem seruauerit et adjuverit, cum sanctis dei uiuat imperpetuum. Ut autem hæc pleniorum obtineant vigorem, manu propria subter firmavimus, atque nostri anuli impressione signari fecimus. Anno dominicæ incarnationis. dcc. xc. indictione. xiii. anno namque regni mei. xxxiii. cum his testibus secundo die pasce, pridie idus Aprilis, in Tomewordig, hanc concessionem cum signo crucis Christi confirmavi. Ego Offa rex Anglorum hanc donationem meam manu mea confirmavi et subscripsi. Hygberht² archiepiscopus subscripsi. Unuona³ episcopus subscripsi. Cyniðryð³ regina subscripsi. Ecgferð⁴ filius regis subscripsi. Brorda⁵ dux subscripsi. Bertuuald⁵ dux subscripsi. Eodbald⁵ dux subscripsi. Eduinus

comes subscripsi. Ego Nadelharius monachus cum fratre meo Vitale et Eodbald duce de manu regis litteras has accipiens et mecum deportans in Franciam super sepulcrum sancti martyris Dionisii conseruandas imperpetuum iubente eo posui, ubi pro rege memoria inter reliquos benefactores agatur imperpetuum. AMEN.

Order of Offa, glorious king of the English.

The appearance and experience of facts tells us that the lives of mortals are perilous and bounded by numberless dangers, so that that which we thought we held and possessed before, disappears dreadfully and suddenly in a moment. Therefore it is for each and every one to study carefully that, so long as the allotted span of time granted by the will of God continues, they may not pass through their allotted days without bearing fruit of the good things of the spirit. Wherefore I, Offa, in God's name king of the Mercians, at the suggestion of Abbot Maginarius through his envoy Nadelharius, concerning that land which is in that place, namely in the port which is called London, where two years ago two brothers Agonwala and Sigrin gave of their own free will all their belongings to the holy blissful martyr Dionysius, who is in France, and his associates; I also grant from this day, and wish this grant to stay forever, all the dues which I should lawfully receive and have hitherto retained for my own purposes, whether in gold, or in silver, or in other returns, all this I grant from love of God Almighty and reverence for the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, to the aforesaid Abbot Maginarius and the holy brotherhood of monks, or their successors, in that same far-famed monastery, which has been built in Gaul in honour of those same martyrs; with free and devout mind and with the goodwill of my wife and son and with the agreement of my noblemen, so that from this day hence neither I, nor my successors, nor any worldly potentate may on any pretext whatsoever demand or receive any return therefrom, but that in my time and the time of my successors it may by the favour of God remain absolutely and completely in the

power of the aforesaid abbot and monks. In addition, I and my noblemen sitting in concourse unanimously praise and confirm the grant made, with the due attestation of witnesses, by our friend and faithful alderman Berhtwald and his brother Eadbald, of his seat called Rotherfield, which is in the region called Sussex on the river Ouse, and of the harbour on the sea, Hastings and Pevensey, some time ago to the holy martyrs, because at his prayers they had cured the aforesaid alderman of a very serious illness which had overtaken him; (and this we did) at the request of them and of the aforesaid abbot. If anyone attempts to detract from or violate or infringe this our decision confirmed at our wish and made to the holy martyrs for the love of God and for our well-being, may he be overtaken by this curse, 'Go accursed to eternal fire.' But whosoever shall save or assist it, may he live forever with the saints of God. In order that this may have more binding power, we have signed it below with our own hand, and made on it the impression of our ring. I confirmed this grant with the sign of the cross of Christ, in the presence of these witnesses, at Tamworth, on the second day of Easter, the 12th of April, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 790, the 13th of the indiction, and the 33rd year of my reign. I, Offa, king of the English, confirmed and signed this grant with my own hand. I, Hygeberht, archbishop, signed. I, Unwona, bishop, signed. I, Cyneðryð, queen, signed. I, Ecgfrið, son of the king, signed. I, Brorda, alderman, signed. I, Berhtwald, alderman, signed. I, Eadbald, alderman, signed. I, Eadwine, thegn, signed. I, Nadelharius, monk, with my brother Vitalis and the alderman Eadbald, have received this charter from the hands of the king, and, taking it with me to France, have, by his command, placed it for safe keeping on the tomb of the holy martyr Dionysius, where on behalf of the king he may be held in remembrance forever among the other benefactors.

1. BCS, No. 259, from the 'original' charter in the Archives de France, K7, No. 10. This charter bears a supposed seal of Offa (reproduced in BCS, loc. cit.). The spuriousness of the seal and of the

charter itself was proved by W. H. Stevenson as long ago as 1891 (*English Historical Review*, vi. 736).

2. Hygeberht was appointed bishop of Lichfield in 779, signing a charter of that year as *præsul electus*, and was raised to archbishop at the Synod of Cealchyð in 787; in that capacity he signed several charters from 788 to 799. In 802 he signed No. XX as bishop, and Haddan and Stubbs considered that he must have resigned the pallium; although it should be noted that archbishops of Canterbury not infrequently sign charters as *episcopus*. The same scholars were in favour of identifying him with the Higberht who signed KCD 1024 (803) as abbot, and therefore held that he resigned the see as well; and indeed his name does not appear again with certainty after the opening years of the ninth century, and no future bishop of Lichfield was granted the pallium.

3. See notes to No. XV.

4. See notes to No. XVI.

5. See notes to No. XII.

XX¹

Anno dominicæ incarnationis. deccc. i. regni uero Coenulphi² regis Merciorum anno quinto, orta est aliqua dissensio inter Coenulphum et Weðunum³ episcopum Australium Saxonum de terra illius prædicti episcopi, id est. in Denton.⁴ xxv.⁵ Dicebat rex ut rectius attingere deberet ad monasterium in Beadyngham;⁶ dicebat episcopus quod eius antecessoribus dudum datum fuerat ad æcclesiam quæ est in Selesegh. Cogitabat rex eum in aliqua parte suæ hereditatis dispoliare, nisi episcopus prædictæ prouinciæ Weðun cum testimonio ac uerbis canonicis regem resipisceret, ac perniciosam meditationem regalis potentiæ mitigaret, et humili supplicatione poposcit ut eum insontem innocentemque non condemnasset, neque depriuasset, hæreditati æcclesiæ. Tunc rex uerbis legalibus episcopo promendo consentiens, concessitque episcopo ut ad propria con cedula remeasset, ibidemque sine ullo conflictu sempiternaliter cum suis successoribus mansisset. Et hoc coram omni synodo æt Celchiðe⁷ ascribere demandauit, ut nullus successorum eius eum in aliquo molestet vel æcclesiam agitare sub hoc testimonio quorum nomina caraxata esse uidentur. Ego Coenulf rex Merciorum hoc consensi et subscripsi. Signum manus Hugberti⁸ episcopi. Signum manus Æðilhardi⁹ archiepiscopi. Signum manus Eal-

dwlf.¹⁰ Signum manus Cunberhti¹¹ episcopi. Signum manus Uiberti¹² episcopi. Signum manus Deneberti¹³ episcopi. Signum manus Wlfhardi¹⁴ episcopi. Signum manus Eadwlf¹⁵ episcopi.

In the year of our Lord's incarnation 801, the fifth year of Cænwulf, king of the Mercians, there arose a certain disagreement between Cænwulf and Wihthun, bishop of the South Saxons, concerning land of the aforesaid bishop, that is, 25 (hides) in Denton. The king said that it ought more properly to belong to the monastery in Beddingham; the bishop said that it had been given to his predecessors in the church which is in Selsey. The king had it in mind to deprive him of a portion of his heritage, if Wihthun, bishop of the aforesaid province, had not convinced him with testimony and canonical phrases, and mitigated the pernicious idea of the king's majesty, and with humble supplication asked that in his innocence he should not be condemned nor deprived of the Church's heritage. Then the king pronounced his legal decision, agreeing with the bishop and granting that he should be restored to his own by a charter, and that with his successors it should remain there without any trouble. And this he ordered to be put into writing in the presence of the whole synod at Chelsea, so that none of his successors should molest him or interfere with the church in any way, witnessed by those whose names appear written below. I, Cænwulf, king of the Mercians, have agreed and signed this. Sign manual of Hygeberht, bishop. Sign manual of Æðelheard, archbishop. Sign manual of Ealdwulf. Sign manual of Cyneberht, bishop. Sign manual of Wigberht, bishop. Sign manual of Deneberht, bishop. Sign manual of Wulfheard, bishop. Sign manual of Eadwulf, bishop.

1. BCS 302, KCD 1023, from DCC Reg. B. xviii, f. 6. That the dispute was not finally decided here is shown by the fact that another synod had to make a decision on the subject in 825 (No. XXI).

2. King of Mercia 796-821.

3. See No. XV, n. 14 (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI. 98).

4. Probably the present village of the same name near Newhaven; although Denton is a very common place-name, being derived from

OE. *denu, tun*, 'farm in a valley', and in the absence of boundaries or other more detailed information the identification cannot, therefore, be certain.

5. Apparently some word meaning 'hides' has been omitted.

6. Beddingham, near Lewes; *Beadinga hamme temp.* Ælfred, No. XXIII; 'the enclosure of the people of Beada'; *Beada* as a personal name is not very well attested, but it occurs again in Sussex as an element in Beeding, Upper and Lower (*æt Beadingum*, No. XXIII).

7. Almost certainly Chelsea. OE. *cealc hygð* 'chalk landing-place'.

8. See No. XIX, n. 2.

9. Archbishop of Canterbury, 792–805. The archaic spelling of the name with *Æðil-* for later *Æðel-* is of interest and shows that this transcript must be taken from a genuine contemporary document. The older form does not occur after the early ninth century.

10. He became bishop in 796, when he signed KCD 170, 171 as *electus*, and signs charters regularly until 825 (No. XXI). A spurious charter (KCD 197) describes him as bishop of Crediton.

11. Cyneberht, bishop of Winchester, signs charters regularly from 788 (KCD 153) to here; he went to Rome with Archbishop Æthelheard in 801 and is not heard of again. Perhaps he did not return.

12. Wigberht, bishop of Sherborne, signs here for the first time; he died in 824.

13. Deneberht, bishop of Worcester, signs regularly from 790 (KCD 159) to 817 (KCD 212).

14. Wulfheard, bishop of Hereford, signs here for the first time, and thence regularly until 822 (KCD 216).

15. Eadwulf became bishop of Lindsey in 796 and signs charters until 836 (BCS 416).

XXI¹

In nomine domini. Anno ab incarnatione Christi dcccxxv. indictione tertia, anno secundo regni Beornulfi² regis Merciorum, synodus fuit ad Clobesham, præsentente archiepiscopo Wulfredo;³ post mortem uero Coenulfi⁴ regis Merciorum multæ discordiæ et innumerabiles dissonanciæ extollebantur contra uniuscuiusque principalium personarum, regum et episcoporum, et pastorum æcclesiarum Dei, erga plurima sæcularia negotia; ita ut multum dispoliatæ fuerant per loca diuersa æcclesiæ Christi in rebus, in terris, in tributo, in omnibus causis. Interea episcopus Australium Saxonum Coenredus⁵ fuerat spoliatus de aliqua parte terræ illius xxv æcclesiæ quæ uocitatur Deanton,⁶ quod Plegheard abbas dudum tradidit ad sedem episcopalem quæ est in Selesegh, cum

corpore suo, quod ei rex Offa ante condonauerat et conscripserat de hæreditate æcclesiæ Bedingehomes,⁷ quam ipse sibi adquisierat in hæreditatem propriam. Tunc in præfato synodo iudicatum est ut ille episcopus, cum consensu et unanimi consilio episcoporum et abbatum seu principum, in ius proprium æcclesiæ hæreditatem sine ullo obstaculo accipiat; sicut et ante prius æt Cealchyðe⁸ iudicatum est inter Coenulfum regem et Wehthunum de eiusdem terræ assumptione, coram archiepiscopo Æðilheardo, tertio anno Coenulfi regis. Et hæc acta sunt coram omni consilio at Clobesham,⁹ cum consensu et licentia regis et principum et archiepiscoporum, quorum nomina infra annotantur, et cum signo sanctæ crucis Christi impresserunt et confirmauerunt. Ego Wulfredus archiepiscopus signo saluatoris pro ampliori firmitate conscribo et confirmo has testimoniarum causis. Æðelwal¹⁰ episcopus. Ceobberht¹¹ episcopus. Reduwin¹² episcopus. Eaðberht¹³ episcopus. Eadulf¹⁴ episcopus. Wihtred¹⁵ abbas. Syred¹⁶ dux. Eadwlf¹⁷ dux. Eadberht¹⁸ dux. Ealhstan.¹⁹ Ealdred.²⁰ Eadbald.²¹ Si quis uero, quod absit, hanc munificentiam frangere temptauerit, sciat se anathematizatum ab omni synodali societate separatum, nisi ante satisfactione deo et hominibus emendauerit.

In the name of the Lord! In the year 825 from the incarnation of Christ, the third of the indiction, the second year of the reign of Beornwulf king of the Mercians, there was a synod at Clobesham, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Wulfred; for after the death of Cænwulf, king of the Mercians, there had arisen many quarrels and disagreements between various kings, nobles, and bishops and ministers of the church of God, on various matters of secular business; so that in various places the churches of God were much despoiled of goods, of lands, of tribute, and of all manner of things. Among them Cænred, bishop of the South Saxons, had been robbed of a certain part of the land of that church, 25 (hides) which are called Denton; Plegheard the abbot had formerly given it with his own body to the episcopal

see which is in Selsey; before that, King Offa had granted it to him in writing from the inheritance of the church of Beddingham, which he himself had acquired as his own heritage. Then in the aforesaid synod it was decreed that the bishop, with the unanimous agreement and advice of the bishops, abbots, and nobles, should lawfully receive the inheritance of the church without any interference, just as before it was decreed between King Cœnwulf and Wihthun about the possession of the same land, at Chelsea in the presence of archbishop Æthelheard, in the third year of king Cœnwulf. And this was performed in the presence of the whole synod at Clobesham, with the agreement and permission of the king and the nobles and archbishops, whose names are given below, and who confirmed by making the mark of the cross of Christ. I, Wulfred, archbishop, sign and confirm this declaration, for greater security, with the sign of the Saviour. Æthelwalh, bishop. Ceolberht, bishop. Hræthhun, bishop. Eadberht, bishop. Eadwulf, bishop. Wihtred, abbot. Sigered, alderman. Eadwulf, alderman. Eadberht, alderman. Ealhstan. Ealdred. Eadbald. If anyone, moreover, (God forbid!) attempts to infringe this grant, let him know that he will be cursed and barred from all religious society, unless he shall first have made amends to the satisfaction of God and man.

1. BCS 387, KCD 1034, from Reg. B. xviii, f. 6.

2. King of Mercia 823-5 (821-3, *ASC.*, but see Plummer, *Two Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1892-9), II, pp. 69-70). He was killed by the East Angles. The second year of his reign was therefore 824-5.

3. Archbishop of Canterbury 805-32.

4. This entry is of great interest, showing how personal was the power of the Anglo-Saxon kings of this period; to such an extent that the death of a strong king like Cœnwulf was followed by a period of more or less anarchy.

5. See No. V, n. 7 (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI. 73).

6. See No. XX, nn. 4, 5.

7. See No. XX, n. 6.

8. See No. XX, n. 7.

9. Perhaps Cliffe-at-Hoo, in Kent; see Plummer, *loc. cit.*

10. Æthelwald, bishop of Lichfield, signs regularly from 822 (KCD 216). He died in 830.

11. Ceolberht signs three charters of the years 824 and 825.
12. Reduvin is a corrupt form of Hræðhun, who signs two charters of the year 814 as abbot, and regularly from 816 (KCD 209) to 838 (KCD 1044) as bishop.
13. Eaðberht is for Heahberht, who was bishop of Worcester, and signs regularly from 822 (KCD 216) to 845 (KCD 258).
14. See No. XX, n. 10.
15. Wihtred signs regularly from 816 (CD 209) to 852 (CD 267).
16. See No. V, n. 9 (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI. 73).
17. Eadwulf signs CD 206, 207 (814) as *minister*, and charters from 824 to 831 as *dux*.
18. See No. V, n. 8 (*S.A.C.* loc. cit.).
19. He signs one other charter of 825, CD 220.
20. He signs CD 220, 227, 237 (825–36).
21. He signs several charters from 822 to 825.

XXII

The compilers of the *Place-Names of Sussex* (p. 354) identified *æt mallingum* of BCS 421, an original charter of 838 from Cotton MS., Augustus ii. 20, with South Malling. The charter is the account of the proceedings of a council at Kingston, Surrey, in which Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, claimed from King Ecgberht the return of the land at Malling which the king had unjustly seized; it is described as *illum agrum æt mallingum . . . quod ante a baldredo rege ad eandem ecclesiam perdonata est*—‘that land at Malling which was formerly given to the said church by king Baldred’. The king’s defence was *quia cum recta libertate facta non essent, quia in fugatu eius conscripta et concessa fuisset*—‘that it had not been done in proper jurisdiction, because it was signed and made over while he (Baldred) was in flight’.

There were two kings named Baldred known to history. The first was an under-king in Wessex, whose signature appears in connection with a few charters from 681 (BCS 61) to 693 (BCS 121). Although it is true that, during that period, Kent and Sussex were for a time under the dominion of Wessex, there is not a scrap of evidence that Baldred ever had any jurisdiction in those areas; the charters bearing his name are all associated with the West Country. In any case it is not likely that litigation would take place in 838 over a land-grant made in the seventh century.

The second Baldred was the last independent king of Kent. The *Chronicle* tells us that in 825 he was expelled by Ecgberht after the Mercian defeat at the battle of Ellandune, and took refuge north of the Thames. He is much more likely to be the Baldred referred to here; only that it is a practical certainty that he never had any authority in Sussex. Sussex was conquered by Ecgberht at the same time as Kent; and as late as the same year 825 a dispute over land in Sussex had still been referred to a synod held under Mercian

auspices, whose proceedings were attested by Mercian noblemen (charter No. XXI). The Malling of the charter of 838 is, therefore, much more likely to be Malling in Kent.

[On the other hand, Ecgberht's defeat of Baldred appears from the *Chronicle* to have been followed immediately by the surrender of Sussex and Surrey. It seems not impossible that Baldred had taken advantage of the Mercian defeat to put forward a claim to Sussex (which may have been the reason for Ecgberht's attack on him) and that when he was expelled he may have made a bid for the support of the archbishop by professing to grant, or rather confirm, to him the Sussex estate of Malling. The Kentish Malling was in the diocese of Rochester and had, so far as I am aware, no connection with the see of Canterbury.—*Editor.*]

XXIII¹

Ædeluulfus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum. Quoniam volente me de terrenis opibus quas de dei munere possidere videor, mercari bona cælestis patriæ, et petente me a beatissimo Romano pontifice Benedicto consilium ut ejus sacratissima auctoritate quæcumque de rebus meis ad sanctorum loca conferre voluero impertiar, venit ab eo Hunigerus Monasterii quod est in Francia sanctorum martyrum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii, Monachus, una cum Legatis domni Hludovici² gloriosissimi Imperatoris, benedictionem atque licentiam benefaciendi pro peccatis meis cum privilegio ejusdem gloriosi papæ deferens, et in Lindonia civitate a nobis cum gaudio una cum suis comitibus exceptus est. Ubi cum inter cætera querimoniam pro iniuria a nostris hominibus colonis sancti Dionysii martyris qui sunt in diversis Britanniæ locis, et maxime in Ridrefelda, et in Hastings³ et in Pevenisel, in salinis quoque et in Lundenuic, miserabiliter illatam deplorasset. Auditus est a nobis uti dignum erat, et ex denominatis hominibus omnem illi iustitiam pro dei honore proque sanctorum martyrum prædictorum reverentia, spontanea voluntate facientes tandem uno consensu et voluntate nostrorum fidelium decrevimus, ut omnes possessionibus quæ a deo devotis hominibus et regibus qui ante nos in hac nostra regione fuerunt, sanctis illis ad suorum servientium usus et substentationem donata sunt, sine alicuius invasione et iniuria nostrorum, illis imperpetuum perseverent

atque permaneant. Addidimus etiam de thesauro nostro viginti marcas auri, cum vase argenteo tantumdem pondus habente, et duo pallea purpurei coloris, quæ pro salute nostra mittimus ad ornandam reverendam memoriam sanctorum martyrum supradictorum Dionysii, Rustici, et Eleutherii, quatinus illi servi dei monachi et pauperes Christi qui in ipso monasterio aluntur, cotidie pro nobis, et pro totius regni nostri salute, deprecentur attentius, ut deo concedente ad æterna gaudia pervenire valeamus. Actum in Lindonia civitate, dominicæ incarnationis anno octingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo, die undecimo nonas⁴ novembris indictione septima, anno vero regni mei decimo nono coram optimatibus et proceribus regni mei, et præsentem ac petentem Hunigero thesaurario monasterii sancti Dionysii, quod est in Francia, quem ad nos venerabilis papa Romanæ sedis Benedictus, et dominus Hludovicus Imperator, cum aliis suis Legatarium direxerunt. Ego Ædeluulfus Rex Anglorum manu mea concessionis hujus præceptum firmavi, signo victoriosissimæ crucis Christi impresso.

Æthelwulf, by the grace of God, king of the English. As I wished to buy the good things of Heaven with the earthly possessions which, by the gift of God, I hold, and sought the advice of the most blessed pope Benedict at Rome, that by his sacred authority I wished to give some of my belongings to the abodes of saints; there came from him Hunigerius, monk of the monastery of the holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, in France, along with the ambassadors of the most glorious emperor Louis, bringing blessings and permission to make benefactions for the good of my sins, and the privilege of the same glorious pope, and was received with his companions by us in the city of London amid great rejoicings. Among other things he complained grievously that injustice had been done by our subjects to the tenants of the martyr St. Dionysius who are in various parts of Britain, but chiefly in Rotherfield, in Hastings, in Pevensey, in the saltings, and in London.

He was heard in a fitting manner, and promised fair treatment from the men named, for the worship of God and reverence for the aforesaid martyrs; with the consent and agreement of our lieges we decreed that all the possessions which had been given to those saints for the use and sustenance of their followers by men and kings devoted to God who lived in our kingdom before our time, should remain theirs forever without any interference or injustice by any of our subjects. We also added twenty marks of gold from our treasury, and a silver vessel having an equal weight, and two cloths purple in colour, which we are sending to decorate the venerable memorial of the aforesaid holy martyrs Dionysius, Rusticus, and Eleutherius, on condition that the monks, servants of God and poor men of Christ, who abide in that monastery, diligently pray every day for us and for the wellbeing of our kingdom, so that by the permission of God we may be sure to reach the eternal joys. This was done in the city of London, in the eight hundred and fifty-seventh year from the incarnation of the Lord, in the seventh of the indiction on the eleventh day of the nones of November, in the nineteenth year of my reign in the presence of the nobles and thegns of my kingdom, and in the presence and at the request of Huniger, treasurer of the monastery of St. Dionysius, which is in France, who was sent to us with others as an embassy by Benedict, the venerable pope of the see of Rome, and the lord emperor Louis. I, Æthelwulf, king of the English, confirmed the order of this grant with my own hand, by the affixing of the sign of the most victorious cross of Christ.

1. BCS 494, not in Kemble; from Doublet, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de St. Denis* (1625). It is a confirmation of Nos. XVIII and XIX, and like them, is in its present form at least a glaring forgery.

2. There was no Emperor Louis at this time. Louis de Débonnaire had died in 840; Louis the German (833-76) never used the style of emperor. In any case, St. Denis was not in the latter's kingdom.

3. The use of this form proves that the name was taken from a list in which it was entered in the nominative case. English documents always use the correct Anglo-Saxon dative form (in this case *Hastingum*) even when the name is governed by a Latin preposition.

4. This is an impossible date. The nones of November fall on the 5th of the month. To speak of the eleventh of the nones is, therefore, like dating the document 'minus-fifth of November'.

XXIV¹

Æðelme mines broðersuna þone ham æt Ealding burnan and æt Cum tune and æt Crundellan and æt Beadingum and æt Beadinga hamme² and æt Burn ham and æt Þunres felda and æt Æscengum and Apelwolde³ mines broðorsuna þone ham æt Godelmingum and æt Gylde forda and æt Stæningum and Osferðe minum mæge þone ham æt Beccan lea and æt Hryðeran felda⁴ and æt Diccelingum and æt Suð tune and æt Lullyng mynster⁵ and æt Angemæringum and æt Felhhamme.

To Æthelm my nephew (I leave) the estate at Aldingbourne and at Compton and at Crundell and at Beeding and at Beddingham and at Burnham and at Thundersfield and at *Æscingas* and to Æthelwold my nephew I leave the estate at Godalming and at Guildford and at Steyning and to Osferth my relative the estate at Beckley and at Rotherfield and at Ditchling and at Sutton and at Lyminster and at Angmering and at Felpham.

1. BCS 553, not in KCD, from the *Liber de Hyda* (*temp.* Cnut). This is an extract from the will of King Ælfred (871-99), the remainder of which is occupied with bequests of land in other areas and of chattels and other personalty.

2. Cf. Nos. XX, XXI. In the time of Offa there had been a 'monastery' at Beddingham; the charters of 801 and 825 do not make it absolutely clear that it was still a 'going concern' in the ninth century, but its description as *monasterium* (cf. n. 5 *infra*) shows that it had been so recently; the absence of any mention of it here suggests that it had ceased to exist in the meantime.

3. He was a son of King Æthelred I (866-71) and was the prince who led a revolt against Eadward the Elder in 902-5.

4. Cf. Nos. XVIII, XIX. Rotherfield was claimed by the abbey of St. Denis, and the unique dedication of the church there suggests that there was some historical basis for these claims. But it was clearly in the *de facto* possession of the king in the late ninth century.

5. The place-name Lyminster indicates that there had also been a religious house of some kind here. OE. *mynster* need not mean a monastery in the fully developed sense of that word, but any kind of collegiate church; one served by a small body of secular canons would fulfil the meaning of the word.

XXV¹

In nomine ab alto cuncta cernentis. Goda,^{1a} optimas ministerque regalis, cum consilio et licentia Eadwardi regis, iure hereditario Wiohstano, quia eius filiam in coniugio habebat, quatuor cassatos in loco quem solicolæ Upmerdone vocitant dedit, que ille Wiohstan postea unius terram manentis, ab Elfredo et a coniuge sua Ealhsware² æternaliter ad possidendam, cum pratis, pascuis, silvis, rivulis, omnibusque ad eam utilitatibus rite pertinentibus, pecunia emit probata;^{2a} quæ donatio empta iuxta stagnum, quod Blackmuær appellatur, facta est; cuius et testes assentientes hii fuerunt, Eadwardus³ rex, Syghelm⁴ episcopus, Heahferð⁵ dux, Eadwald,⁶ Æðelstan,⁷ Ælfred, Wilfrið,⁸ Goda, Bremhelm, Dudda.⁹ Post interlunium temporis prædicti, Wiohstan cum uxore et filio proficiscens ad Romam, eandem hæreditalium cassatarum terram, licentia ab Æðelstano rege percepta, Wulfhune¹⁰ episcopo, pro duobus denariorum millibus argenti; quibus insuper denariis uno adiuncto equo, in perpetuam hæreditatem tradidit episcopo; namque ut huius terræ emptio firma et rata esset, sibique perpetualiter perduret, deprecabatur regem ut suæ manus, suorumque optimatum inscriptum, huic cirographo imponeret, quodque faciens dixit, Qui hanc addere voluerit, bona domini in terra videat viventium; qui vero minuere, et per antiquam si supervenerit cartulam elidere temptaverit, sciat illam conticiscendo esse adnietlatam et semetipsum novissima examinationis die, classica archangeli clangente buccina paliandra frigulis homulorum liquefactis tetra relinquentibus, cum Iuda impiæ proditionis compilatore, infaustis quoque Iudæis christum ore sacrilego blasphemantibus æterna dampnatione edacibus favillantium tormentorum flammis esse periturum.¹¹ Huius sane cedulæ testes et exactores sunt, quorum nomina infra depicta annotantur. Ego Æðelstanus¹² privilegii ierarchia præditus rex, hunc indiculum cum signo sanctæ semperque adorandæque crucis corroboravi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfhelmus¹³ Dorobernensis æcclesie

archiepiscopus corroboravi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfstanus¹⁴ Eboracensis æcclesiæ archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Et postea sequuntur termini in lingua Saxonica in dorso cartæ originalis.¹⁵

In the name of Him who surveys all from on high. Goda, a nobleman and king's thegn, gave for an inheritance to Wiohstan, whose daughter he had taken to wife, four hides in the place which the yokels call Up Marden, with the agreement and permission of king Eadweard; and this Wiohstan afterwards bought at an approved price from Ælfred and his wife Ealhswith, one hide of land to hold in perpetuity, with meadows, pastures, woods, rivers, and all the easements pertaining thereto by custom; and this grant of purchase was made by the pool which is called Blackmore; these being the witnesses who agreed to it, Eadweard the king, Sighelm the bishop, Heahferth the alderman, Eadwald, Æthelstan, Ælfred, Wilfrid, Goda, Bremhelm, Dudda. After an interval from the aforesaid time, Wiohstan, setting out for Rome with his wife and son, having obtained permission from King Æthelstan, granted this land of hereditary hides to Bishop Wulfhun for two thousand silver pennies; and when one horse had been added to these pennies he made it over in perpetuity to the bishop. And in order that this purchase of land should be firm and secure, and should remain in his possession for ever, he begged of the king to put on this indenture his signature and those of his noblemen. And in doing so the king said:—Who shall wish to add to this, may he see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living; who shall wish to reduce it, and attempt to cancel it by an ancient charter if such should turn up, let him know that it will be destroyed and cut in pieces, and that he himself on the last day of judgement, with the trumpet of the archangel sounding the call, and the released corpses of men leaving their hideous tombs, shall perish in eternal damnation amid the consuming flames of burning tortures with Judas the originator of wicked treason and the ill-omened Jews cursing Christ.

with their blasphemous mouths. The witnesses and agents of this charter are those whose names appear written below. I, Æthelstan, king established in the hierarchy of privilege, have confirmed and signed this charter with the sign of the holy and eternally blessed cross. I, Wulfhelm, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have affirmed and signed. I, Wulfstan, archbishop of the church of York, have agreed and signed. And afterwards follow the bounds in the Saxon language on the back of the original charter.

1. BCS 640, KCD 368, from Liber B, f. 8. This document contains two transactions, separated by a generation in time. Goda sold his father-in-law Wiohstan land at Up Marden which he had received from Ælfred and Ealhswith; when Wiohstan went to Rome, he sold the property to Bishop Wulfhun for 2,000 silver pennies, with the permission of King Æthelstan. By the witnesses' names (see below) the first transaction is to be dated 900 × 905, the second 930 × 939.

1a. Goda signs a charter of before 914, BCS 638.

2. The name of King Ælfred's wife was not Ealhsware but Ealhswith. She was the daughter of Æthelred Mucil, alderman of the Gainas, married Ælfred in 868, and died in 905.

2a. The reading in KCD and in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi, p. 1166, taken from a chartulary dated 1640 (presumably Liber K), has important variations. It has *vocitant; deditque* in l. 5 of the present text and *emptam for emit* in l. 9. It is clear that if the reading in Birch and Liber B is correct, i.e. 'Wiohstan afterwards bought land from Ælfred and Ealhsware', the identification of these two people with King Ælfred and his queen is impossible owing to the mention of King Eadweard in the previous clause. But if the reading in Dugdale and Liber K is correct, i.e. 'Wiohstan afterwards gave land which he had bought from Ælfred and Ealhsware', this possible identification cannot be disregarded.

3. Eadweard, son of Ælfred and Ealhswith, reigned from 26 Oct. 899 to Dec. 924 (see No. XXVI, n. 2).

4. Perhaps an error for Wighelm, who signs regularly from 901 to 910, caused by the transcriber's confusion with Sighelm, bishop of Sherborne, who signs charters of Æthelstan. Birch in fact reads *Wyghelm*.

5. He signs charters regularly from 900 to 910.

6. According to the *Chronicle* an Eadwald, king's thegn, was slain in 905; this is probably the same man.

7. He signs charters regularly from 900 to 910.

8. Perhaps an error for Wulfred, who signs charters from 900 (KCD 1076) to 904 (id. 339).

9. Probably identical with the Dudig who signs KCD 1078 (900).

10. Wulfhun, bishop of Selsey, signs charters regularly from 930 to 940.

11. This turgid anathema has suffered in the course of transcription. Mr. W. D. Peckham has kindly examined the source-copy in Liber B—a fourteenth-century chartulary. The word *liquefact* was wrongly expanded by Kemble as *liquefactum*, which made a sufficiently obscure phrase quite insoluble; Birch gave its proper grammatical termination *liquefactis*, but failed to read the word after *conticiscendo esse*; this is *adniclatam*, evidently for *adnichilatam*. It looks as if someone had put in a claim to the land and alleged the existence of an old charter.—*Editor*.

12. Æthelstan reigned Dec. 924–27 Oct. 939 (see No. XXVI, n. 2).

13. Wulfhelm was archbishop of Canterbury 923–42, *Chronicle*, ed. Plummer, II, p. 134.

14. Wulfstan succeeded Hrothweard as archbishop of York in 930 (KCD 351). He was deposed by Eadred in 952 for collaboration with the Danes, made bishop of Dorchester in 954, and died in 956 (*Chronicle*, MS. D).

15. This sentence is an editorial footnote by the fourteenth-century transcriber.

XXVI¹

Regnante perpetualiter atque omnem humanæ imbecillitatis sensum benignitate transcendente largissima tonantis iduma; que mirando ineffabilique proprii arbitrii privilegio alta, media, infima, justa invictæ fortitudinis lance trutinata, gubernat; et ea quæ infra sunt anotata sed sempiternaliter, manenti elucubratione voluntatis, inæstimabiliter luce inaccessibili, rimatur; que massam humanæ conditionis generalem, olim fraude falsitatis deceptam, patria naturalis sinceritatis pulsam, merito piaculi heu proh dolor commissi juste trusam, cirographum æternæ servitutis seu dampnationis subituram, temporibus labilis vitæ volventibus novissimis, præcepto pantocratoris, misericorditer reformavit; cuiusque foedata flumine æternarum lachrymarum tempora, oratio assumptæ mortalitatis, tergens eam dolores cruciatusque sempiternos evadentem, ad optabilia æternorum gaudiorum deduxit limina, quorum pars eiusdem recuperatæ massæ terreni incolatus, erumpnas, operibus examinationis transvolans, inter candentia beatorum angelorum foeliciter exultando congauDET. Altera vero alienæ gemendæ peregrinationis, diuturni-

tate exulans splendida, meritis adhuc nutantibus orbatur regione. Huius siquidem exosæ peregrinationis mærore pressus, gaudio longevæ beatitudinis illectus, ad demenda scelerum commissorum peccamina, et ad nanciscendam iam antefatæ gloriæ coronam, ego Adalstanus² rex Anglorum, anno dominicæ incarnationis dccccxxx,^{2a} regni vero gratis mihi commissi vi, indictione iii, epactæ xviii, concurrente iiii, nonis mensis Aprilis, tertia luna rotigeræ vagationis i, per eiusdem omnipatrantis dexteram totius Britannicæ regni solio sublimatus condonando, quandam mihi ab eo telluris particulam miserabiliter concessam meo fideli episcopo Beornheago³ tribuo, id est iiii cassatarum in loco quem solicolæ vocant æt Medemeninga,⁴ cum silva campisque ad eam iacentibus quæ Earneleia⁵ dicitur. Tellus siquidem prædicta hiis terminibus circumcincta clarescit. Ærest æt thrim beorgum.⁶ æt tham forda. thonne æt langan stona. thær se flod up scyt.⁷ Pratumquoque quod iuxta civitatem habetur quod Saxonice Garstone appellatur, ut ille eam sine iugo detestandæ servitutis liberaliter ac æternaliter quamdiu verberanti ocellorum convolatu auraque spirabili potiatur habeat; et post generalem, qui in omnibus certis incertisque homunculis constat, transitum, cuicumque successionis hæredi voluerit imperpetuum delinquat. This sunðe the gemeare thes gerstun-landes and þere mede. Ærest at tham heagam. this hure swa suth and lang þare stanstrete on kingesham, swo thanne suth and west and lang wegges to þam hegeleten butan tham litlan stenenan forðe, swa suth and gerihte on ther eastren willes heafod. swoa west and lang streames to stockbrugge, swo north and lang thare fore strete to suthgate.⁸ Si autem, quod non optamus, aliquis superbe atque proterve flammivoma administrante invidia afflatus spiritu evenerit hanc meæ compositionis ac confirmationis breviculam demere aut infringere et ad nihilum deducere temptaverit, sciat se novissima ac magna examinationis die, tuba perstrepenste archangeli, bustis sponte dehiscens, somata diu corrupta relinquentibus elementis omnium creaturarum pavefactis, cum Iuda proditore,

qui a satoris pio sato 'filius perditionis' dicitur, æterna confusione edacibus innumerabilium tormentorum flammis periturum; huius namque a deo dominoque ihesu christo inspirante atque vivente voluntatis scedula in villa omnibus notissima quæ Lullyngmynstre⁹ nuncupatur, episcopis, abbatibus, ducibus, patriæque procuratoribus, regia dapsilitate ostantibus, perscripta est, cuius etiam inconcussæ firmitatis soliditas hiis testibus roborata constat, quorum nomina subtus characteribus depicta denotantur. Ego Adhelstanus² singularis privilegii monarchia præditus rex, huius indiculi firmitatem cum signo sanctæ amandæque crucis roboravi et subscripsi. Ego Wlfhelmus¹⁰ Dorobernensis ecclesiæ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Hroðwardus¹¹ Eboracensis archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfwine¹² episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Eadgar¹³ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Cenwaldus¹⁴ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Cineferd¹⁵ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Theodred¹⁶ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Edward¹⁷ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Eadolf¹⁸ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Sighelm¹⁹ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfheah²⁰ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Oda²¹ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego Osfrith^{21a} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfwold^{21b} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælred^{21c} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Uhtred^{21d} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfred^{21e} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfstan^{21f} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Urum^{21g} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Grim^{21h} dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Stircer²² dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Regenwold²³ dux consensi et subscripsi. Ego Odda²⁴ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulphelm²⁵ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Buga²⁶ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelstan²⁷ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfgar²⁸ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Sygred²⁹ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælfheage³⁰ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfsige³¹ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelstan³² minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wyhtgar³³ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego

Eadric³⁴ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelweard³⁵ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelstan³⁶ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Æthelmund³⁷ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfsige³⁸ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ælhelm³⁹ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Burhed⁴⁰ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Burhtric⁴¹ minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Byrthelm⁴² minister consensi et subscripsi. Ego Wulfnoth⁴³ minister consensi et subscripsi.

The tremendous image of the Thunderer reigns in eternity and with His benignity transcends all feeling of human weakness; and with the wonderful and ineffable prerogative of His own judgement He governs the high, the medium and the low, weighing them in the just balance of unconquered strength; and in the remaining labour of will, in the inestimably inaccessible light, He constantly investigates the things which are referred to below, and in the most recent revolutions of our fleeting life He has sympathetically, at the order of the Almighty, reshaped the common mass of the human race, formerly deceived by falsity and untruth, driven out from their home of virgin truth, justly pressed by the deserts of the crime which (alas! woe!) it has committed, ordained to undergo the sentence of eternal slavery or damnation; He whose cheeks were stained with the flood of eternal tears, He the Word incarnate, cleanses it, thus saved from eternal pains and tortures, and leads it to the desirable threshold of eternal joy, in whose hall a part of the same recovered mass of the inhabitants of the earth, passing the barriers, rejoice in blessed exultation among the bright ranks of the holy angels. Another part of this unhappy pilgrimage of tears, banished from immortal splendour, is on the contrary bereaved as its merits deserve. Stricken, then, by horror at this hateful pilgrimage, and attracted by the joy of long-enduring happiness; to remove the fault of the wrongs I have committed, and to obtain the promised crown of glory, I, Æthelstan, king of the English, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 930, the 6th of the

reign entrusted to me by grace, the 3rd of the indiction, the 18th of the epact, the 4th of the concurrent, on the 5th day of the month of April, the 1st day in the 3rd phase of the moon's circular journey, having been raised by the right hand of the same all-effective One to power of granting the whole soil of the kingdom of Britain, do grant to my faithful bishop Beornheah a certain portion of land mercifully conceded to me by Him, that is of 4 hides in the place which the yokels call Medmerry, with the wood and fields adjoining thereto, which is called Earnley. The above-mentioned land is clearly described by these bounds. Firstly at Rumbridge; at the ford, thence at the long stone where the stream rises. It also has meadowland near the city, which is called in Saxon, Garston, which he may hold freely without the detestable yoke of servitude, for ever, as long as he has power over the surroundings of his eyes and the breathing of the air, and after the common passing which awaits all men, inevitable yet unpredictable, he may leave it forever to any heir he may wish. These are the bounds of the garden and the meadow. Firstly at the hedge, south along Stane Street to Kingsham, thence south-west along the road to the hedge (?) outside the little stony ford, due south to the head of the eastern stream, so west along the stream to Stockbridge, so north along the Fore Street to the south gate. But if, which we do not desire, anyone in pride and impudence, inspired by the ministrations of a hellish, envious spirit, shall come forward to destroy or infringe this little note of my arrangement and confirmation, and shall try to reduce it to nothing, know he that in the last great day of judgement, the trumpet of the archangel resounding, the tombs opening of their own accord, the frightened elements of all created things leaving their long-corrupted bodies, he will perish in eternal confusion by the all-consuming flames of innumerable torments, with Judas the traitor, who by the holy Son of the Creator was called 'the son of perdition'. And, God and our Lord Jesus Christ inspiring and living, the record of this our intention was written in the town very well known

by everyone, which is called Lyminster, with the bishops, abbots, aldermen, governors of the realm, applauding the royal bounty; and the strength of its unshaken firmness stands corroborated by these witnesses, whose names are noted below, set out in writing. I, Æthelstan, king, possessed of the monarchy of unique privilege, have corroborated the strength of this little note and signed it with the sign of the holy and adorable cross. I, Wulfhelm, bishop of the church of Canterbury, have agreed and signed. I, Hrothward, archbishop of York, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwine, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadgar, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Coenwald, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Cynefrith, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Theodred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadweard, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwulf, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Sigehelm, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfheah, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Oda, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Osfrith, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwold, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Uhtred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfstan, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Urm, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Grim, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Styrçær, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Røgnvald, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Odda, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfhelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Buga, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Sigered, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsize, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wihtgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelweard, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelmund, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsize, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfhelm, thegn, have

agreed and signed. I, Burhræd, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhtric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhthelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed.

1. BCS 669, KCD 350, from (a) Chichester Cathedral MS., Liber Y, f. 73r (c. 1250); (b) *ibid.*, Liber A, f. 23v; (c) *ibid.*, Liber B, f. 16r (1350-75); (d) *ibid.*, Liber E, f. 175v (c. 1400). For a discussion of the origins and merits of these manuscripts, see Mr. W. D. Peckham's introduction to *The Chartulary of the High Church of Chichester* (S.R.S., vol. XLVI). Kemble's edition is evidently from a very bad, very defective transcript; it omits most of the witnesses, there are serious lacunae in the beginning and important textual variations; in fact, the charter as printed by Kemble is almost completely unintelligible, and there is small wonder that he marked it with (*) as a spurious document. In fact, however, it is in exact agreement, *mutatis mutandis*, with a Crediton charter of 29 April 930, printed from the original by Napier and Stevenson (*Crawford Charters* (1895), No. IV). This is a substantial confirmation of the genuineness of the present charter.

2. This royal style is used by Æthelstan in a number of charters between 930 and 937. Original examples include No. XXVIII, and CS 677, 1343 (930). For the date as expressed by regnal years, see the article by M. L. R. Beaven in *English Historical Review*, xxxii (1917), 517-31. Mr. Beaven placed the death of Eadward the Elder, and the accession of Æthelstan, on 17 July 925, citing the *Annals of St. Neots* as authority that Eadward reigned 26 years, commencing in 899. Not only the evidence of the charters, however, but of other *annales bonæ credulitatis* militates against so late a date for Æthelstan's accession. Besides the present charter, dated 5 Apr. 930, 6th year of reign, there are others, as follows: CS 674, 23 Mar. 931, 7th year; No. XXVIII, 28 May 934, 10th year; CS 675, 21 July 931, 7th year; CS 689, 30 Aug. 932, 8th year; CS 677/8, 12 Nov. 931, 7th year; CS 716/18, 21 Dec. 935 corr., 11th year; CS 691, 24 Dec. 932, 8th year. These point to an accession date between 25 Dec. 924 and 22 Mar. 925. The *Chronicle*, MSS. B, C, and D, Symeon of Durham, Florence of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury all place Eadward's death in 924 and most of them give him a reign of 24 years only. Of these, Symeon of Durham (c. 1090) (Rolls Series, II, p. 123) says that Eadward died 924, *indictione xv*. The indiction 15 began on 25 Sept. 924; so that a date in the last days of 924 would agree both with the charters and with the Anglo-Norman chroniclers.

2a. Birch reads DCCCXXX, apparently a printer's error.

3. Beornheah was one of seven bishops consecrated at once, in 909 (Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan*, p. 15). This is the last time his name appears; his successor Wulfhun signs a charter of 21 June 931, CS 675.

4. Medmerry Farm in Selsey; see No. II, n. 3.
5. Earnley, near Selsey.
6. The lost Rumbridge, to the west of Selsey Bill; see No. II, n. 25.

7. There is a small stream near Earnley; *thær se flod up scyt* must refer to its source. These boundaries are incomplete, as they only describe a line a short distance northwards from the sea; the eastern boundary is not given. There are and have been large extents of marsh in the Selsey Bill area, and it may be that tenth-century topographical conditions made the demarcation of precise boundaries unnecessary or even impossible.

8. For the bounds of the *gærstun*, see *P. N. Sx.*, p. 11.

9. Lyminster, near Littlehampton. The description of what can never have been more than a village as *villa omnibus notissima* is a typical example of the inflated language of the charter.

10. See No. XXV, n. 2.

11. The date of Hrothweard's accession is unknown. He signs charters from 16 Apr. 928 (CS 663) to 930 or 931 (CS 687). His predecessor Æthelbald was alive in 904 (Symeon of Durham, I, 225) and his successor Wulfstan was consecrated in 931 (*ibid.*). Wulfstan signs a charter dated 7 June 930 from the usually reliable Worcester chartulary; but the dating clause is inconsistent and cannot altogether be trusted (CS 701).

12. Ælfwine, also known as Ælle (Florence of Worcester, *Catalogue*), was bishop of Lichfield. He signs charters from 916 (CS 632) onwards; his predecessor Wigmund was, according to Stubbs (*Registrum*, ed. II, p. 23), alive in 909; but his last signature is 904, CS 607. Ælfwine's last signatures are to a pair of doubtful charters of 939, CS 738/9; his successor Ælfgar signs CS 769 (941).

13. Eadgar was bishop of Hereford, succeeding before 901, when he signed CS 596/7. His last signature is on an original charter, CS 1343, dated 29 Apr. 930, while his successor Tidhelm signed CS 701 on 7 June the same year.

14. Coenwald was bishop of Worcester 929-57 (Florence of Worcester).

15. Cynefrith was bishop of Rochester; he signs charters regularly from 926 (CS 658/9) to 26 Jan. 933 (CS 695/6).

16. Theodraed was bishop of London. He signs charters regularly from 926 (CS 658/9) to 955 (CS 910). The charter of 921 cited by Searle (*Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, p. 31) is false; its formulae are those of Æthelstan and its witnesses those of 931. The date of Theodraed's quitting the see is not certain. His will survives in CS 1008, a late, bad transcript. BCS 910 is not altogether reliable as it is dated 956, indiction 13; this indiction corresponds to 955. A Glastonbury charter of 950, CS 887, said to be from an original, is witnessed by Beorhthelm, who was Theodraed's successor next-but-one; a pair of Abingdon charters of 953 (CS 899, 900) bear the same signature. The last definitely dated signature of Theodraed is 951,

CS 892, also from an alleged original; also 949, CS 885. The confusion may be due to the fact that he resigned the see before his death, but still attended the king's councils occasionally.

17. Eadweard was a suffragan bishop of York. His signature occurs to three other charters, CS 1343 (930), 674, 677 (931).

18. Eadwulf was the first bishop of Crediton, consecrated in 909. His last signature was to No. XXVIII, 28 May 934; his successor Æthelgar signs CS 705, 16 Dec. 934. According to Bishop Leofric's missal (MS. Bodley 579, c. 1050) his obit fell on 9 Nov.

19. Sigehelm was bishop of Sherborne. He succeeded between 918 (when his predecessor Æthelbald was consecrated) and 925 (when he signed a charter, CS 641), and died in 933; his last signature is to CS 692, dated 24 Dec. 932, and the first of his successor Ælfred to CS 697, 16 Dec. 933.

20. Ælfheah was bishop of Wells, succeeding in 923, when his predecessor Wulfhelm (n. 10 *supra*) was translated to Canterbury; he died in 937 or 8, signing CS 714 in the former year, while his successor Wulfhelm II signed CS 729 in 938. Care must be taken not to confuse him with Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester 934-51.

21. Oda was consecrated bishop of Ramsbury by Wulfhelm of Canterbury (923-42) and signs a charter, CS 660, dated 927. He was translated to Canterbury in 942, and died 2 June 958.

21a. Osfrith signs CS 677 (931). An Osfrith had signed charters in 898 and 901 as *minister* and in 909 as *dux*; this may be the same. Alternatively, he may be the Osfrith who came to Æthelstan as ambassador from Norway (William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. 146).

21b. See No. XXVIII, n. 43.

21c. Probably for Ealdred, who signs a few charters at this time. In KCD 867 (c. 1060) the name of Ealdred, bishop of Hereford, is similarly misspelt in a late transcript.

21d. See No. XXVIII, n. 49.

21e. Ælfred signs CS 632 (916), 677 (931).

21f. See No. XXVIII, n. 51.

21g. See No. XXVIII, n. 46.

21h. Grim signs CS 1343 (930).

22. Styrcær signs CS 1343, dated 29 Apr. 930. His name and that of Rognvald (n. 23) are of Scandinavian origin; this is a period when the Danes and Norsemen of Northumbria made submission to Æthelstan and appeared at his courts (see No. XXVIII, n. 18).

23. Rognvald signs three other charters of 930 and 931, CS 674, 701, 703.

24. Odda signs charters regularly from 925 (CS 641) to 944 (CS 801) as *minister*. His name appears once in 942 (CS 775) as *dux*; but the charter is a bad, late transcript.

25. Wulfhelm signs charters regularly from 928 (CS 663) to 943 (CS 789); also one charter dated 944 (CS 801), but it is of doubtful origin.

26. Buga signs charters from 901 (CS 593) to 933 (CS 696), and may be identical with the Buga who attested a grant by Æthelred, alderman of Mercia, in 888 (CS 557).

27. Æthelstan signs charters regularly from 928 (CS 663) to 938 (CS 730) as *minister*; from 938 (CS 732) to 973 (CS 1295) as *dux*, as well as a false charter of 974, CS 1311. He probably became alderman of Somerset in 938.

28. Wulfgar signs charters as *minister* from 16 Apr. 928 (CS 663) to 938 (CS 722) and as *dux* from 938 (CS 724) to 943 (CS 789), with a doubtful charter of 944, CS 801.

29. Sigered signs a few charters from 928 (CS 663) to 939 (CS 742).

30. Ælfheah signs charters from 928 (CS 663) to 946 (CS 814).

31. See No. XXVIII, n. 100.

32. Æthelstan must not be confused with his namesake of n. 27 above. The existence of two *ministri* of the name is attested by a number of charters in which the name appears twice. They extend from 928 (CS 663) to 934 (CS 705/6).

33. Wihtgar signs charters from 928 (CS 663) to 946 (CS 818).

34. Eadric signs as *minister* from 929 (CS 665) to 941 (CS 770) and as *dux* from 942 (CS 775) to 948 (CS 866). He was the grantee of No. XXXV; Dr. J. A. Robinson (*Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 43–50) suggested convincingly that he was identical with the Eadric who had some destroyed charters replaced in 916 and in 925 (CS 632, 642) and that he was the brother of Æthelstan 'the Half-King', alderman of East Anglia.

35. Æthelweard signs a few charters; CS 663, 674, 677, 689, 1343–4 (928–32). The corrupt name *pelgeard* in CS 667 probably belongs to him.

36. While several charters (see n. 32 above) are attested by two Æthelstan's, only one other has more; a contemporary charter of 12 Nov. 931 (CS 677) is signed by no less than five holders of the name. The present witness may be any one of these.

37. Æthelmund signs charters as *minister* from 928 (CS 663) to 939 (CS 743) and as *dux* from 940 (CS 748) to 963 (CS 1121); and an original charter of 965, CS 1165.

38. Wulfsgie signs charters from 928 (CS 663) to 941 (CS 765).

39. Ealhhelm signs here for the first time, unless he be the *Æðelm* in a corrupt text dated 926 (CS 659). He signs as *minister* until 939 (CS 743) and as *dux* from 940 (CS 748) to 951 (CS 892).

40. Burhred signs two other charters, CS 665 (929) and 677 (931).

41. Beorhtric signs three other charters, CS 663 (928), 677 (931), and No. XXVIII (934).

42. Beorhthelm signs No. XXVIII (934) and was the grantee of CS 746 (940). A Beorhthelm was witness to a number of charters 888–904 (CS 557, 611); it was the name of the father of Beorhthnoth, alderman (956–91) of Essex and hero of Maldon. The present signatory may be identical with either of these.

43. Wulfnoth signs here for the first time; his signatures continue until 940 (CS 753).

XXVII¹

Anno dominicae incarnationis dccc^{vel}xxxiiiⁱⁱⁱ.² Ego Agylflæda³ concedo ecclesie christi in Dorobernia anuente domino meo Eadmundo⁴ terram juris mei in Suthsexan⁵ nomine Hamme⁶ ad opus monachorum ibidem deo servientium. liberam ab omni seculari difficultate exceptis expedicione pontis et arcis constructione. Si quis hoc donum meum fregerit, disperdat illum deus.

In the year of our Lord's Incarnation 934, or 933, I, Æthelflæd, grant, with the consent of my lord Eadmund, land of my jurisdiction in Sussex called Hamme, to the church of Christ in Canterbury for the work of the monks serving God in that place. This land is free from all temporal burdens except military service and the building of bridges and forts. If anyone infringes this my gift, may God curse him.

1. BCS 698, not in KCD, from MS. Lambeth 1212, f. 322—a corrupt Canterbury chartulary of c. 1300, in which many charters are given in abridged versions; this is evidently the case here.

2. The curious way of writing the date shows that the transcriber had considerable difficulty in deciphering his original. The association with Eadmund (939–46) suggests that the original date may have been 943, *dcccxxxiii*, in which the last *x* had been smudged. But *xxxx* is not a usual way to write '40'. Of the 72 charters of Eadmund (BCS 746–817), we find that 15 are either undated or wrongly dated; of the other 57, 55 have the more familiar *xl* and two have *quadagesimo* spelt in full. The form *xxxx* does not occur at all. In view of this fact the question of date must be left undecided, although the balance of probability is in favour of 943.

3. If the date 943 is correct, she may be Æthelflæd æt Domerhame, second wife of King Eadmund (see Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 138). But Æthelflæd is quite a common woman's name and may be coincidental here.

4. Eadmund reigned 27 Oct. 939—26 May 946.

5. The late OE. dative ending *-an* (for earlier *-um*) and the unvoiced consonant in *Agylflæd* (for earlier *Æðelflæd*) shows that the document from which this text was abridged was itself a transcript at least as late as the eleventh century. The *y* in *Agylflæd* may be an example of Kentish *y* for *e* in standard OE. (see No. XXVIII, n. 7).

6. Unidentified. OE. *hamm*, 'inclosure'. This is a common place-name element and occurs by itself several times in Sussex; see *P. N. Sx.*, pp. 543, 551.

XXVIII¹

Fortuna² fallentis saeculi procax non lacteo inmarci-
 scibilibium lilorum candore amabilis. sed fellita heiulandae
 corruptionis amaritudine odibilis. foetentis valle in lacri-
 marum carnis. rictibus debacchando venenosis mor-
 daciter dilacerat. quae quamvis arridendo sit infelicibus
 adtractabilis acherontici ad ima cociti³ ni satus alti
 subveniat boantis. impudenter est decurribilis. et ideo
 quia ipsa ruinosa deficiendo taliter dilabitur. summo-
 pere festinandum est ad amoena indicibilis lætita-
 arva. ubi angelica ymnidicae iubilationis organa. melli-
 fluaque vernantium rosarum odoramina. a bonis beatis-
 que naribus inestimabiliter dulcia capiuntur. sineque
 calce auribus clivpparum⁴ suavia audiuntur. cuius
 amore felicitatis illectus fastidiunt iam infima dulcescunt
 superna eisque pro percipiendis semperque specie inde-
 fectiva fruendis ego Æðelstanus⁵ rex anglorum per
 omnipatrantis dexteram totius Britanniae regni solio
 sublimatus quandam telluris particulam meo fideli
 ministro Ælfwaldo.⁶ id est. xii cassatorum ecclesie
 Christi Cantuarie civitatis subiacens in loco quem soli-
 colae. aet derantune.⁷ vocitant tribuo. ut ille eam sine
 iugo exosae servitutis cum pratis pascuis silvis rivulis
 omnibusque ad eam utilitatibus rite pertinentibus.
 quamdiu aura naribus spirabili ocellorumque convolatu
 cernibili potiatur habeat. et post⁸ generalem qui omni-
 bus certus incertusque homulis constat transitum.
 cuicumque successionis heredi voluerit imperpetuum
 contradendo liberaliter derelinquat. Predicta siquidem
 tellus his terminis circumcincta clarescit. Ærast on
 æscwoldes hlaw. ðonne on gemot biorh. ðonne on setl
 ðorn. ðonne on lytlan biorh. ðonne on gat ham.
 ðonne on æðelgiðe deno. ðonne on widan leh. ðonan
 on wulfa biorh. ðonne betweonan twæm biorgum.⁹
 ðonon on pæbbeles hol.¹⁰ ðonon on mearc biorh.¹¹
 ðonon on pis berh;¹² and ðis synt ða den bæra ðe to
 ðissum londe mid rihte belimpað. hlos dionu. swana
 dionu.¹³ gehæg holt. prentsan hlaw. ruwan biorg.
 Ecgwealdes cumb. wæter ðorn. eófor sol. ðyrran mere.

biohhan dun.¹⁴ wiðig wic. garunga leah.¹⁵ hudelinga scydd. scealces hom. broc hyrst. byring falod. fæstan falod. hæcinga hleah. Si autem quod absit aliquis diabolico inflatus spiritu. hanc meae compositionis ac confirmationis breviculam elidere vel infringere temptaverit. sciat se novissima ac magna examinationis die. tuba perstrepenste archangeli. bustis sponte dehiscentibus somata iam rediviva relinquentibus cum iuda proditore qui a satoris pio sato: filius perditionis dicitur. eiusque complicibus iudeis. Cristum blasphemantibus aeterna confusione edacibus ineffabilium tormentorum flammis periturum; huius namque a deo dominoque Ihesu Christo inspiratae atque inventae voluntatis scedula. anno⁵ dominicæ incarnationis dcccc°. xxx°. iii°. regni vero mihi commissi. x°. indictione. vii^a. epacta. iii^a. concurrente. ii°. quintis iunii kalendis. luna xi^a; in civitate opinatissima quae Winte ceaster nuncupatur. tota populi generalitate sub alis regiae dapsilitatis ovanti. perscripta est; cuius etiam inconcussæ firmitatis auctoritas his testibus roborata constat quorum nomina subtus characteribus depicta annotantur. Ego ædelstanus⁵ singularis privilegii ierarchia præditus rex huius indiculi acumen cum signo sanctæ semperque adorandæ crucis corroboravi et subscripsi. Ego wulfhelmus¹⁶ dorobernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego wulfstanus¹⁷ eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus consensi et subscripsi. Ego howæl¹⁸ subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego iuðwal¹⁹ subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego ²⁰ subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego teowdor²¹ subregulus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfwine²² episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego eadulf²³ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego cenwald²⁴ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego biornstan²⁵ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ðiodred²⁶ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfhun²⁷ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wynsige²⁸ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfred²⁹ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego tidhelm³⁰ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego burhric³¹ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfred³² episcopus consensi et subscripsi.

ego conan³³ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfhelm³⁴ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego cynsige³⁵ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego wired³⁶ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego sæxelm³⁷ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego æsberht³⁸ episcopus consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfric³⁹ abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego eadwine⁴⁰ abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelnoð⁴¹ abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego biorhtsige⁴² abbas consensi et subscripsi. ego ælwald⁴³ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego osferð⁴⁴ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelstan⁴⁵ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego urm⁴⁶ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego halfdene⁴⁷ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego osulf⁴⁸ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego uhtred⁴⁹ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego æsberht⁵⁰ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfstan⁵¹ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego scule⁵² dux consensi et subscripsi. ego hadd⁵³ dux consensi et subscripsi. ego ordheh⁵⁴ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfgar⁵⁵ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelelm⁵⁶ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelwold⁵⁷ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadstan⁵⁸ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðered⁵⁹ minister (consensi et subscripsi.)^{59a} ego wulfheh⁶⁰ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wullaf⁶¹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfgar⁶² minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfmær⁶³ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfnað⁶⁴ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego odda⁶⁵ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfgar⁶⁶ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelstan⁶⁷ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfheah⁶⁸ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfsige⁶⁹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wihtgar⁷⁰ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfhere⁷¹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadric⁷² minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelwold⁷³ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadwald⁷⁴ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfric⁷⁵ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadmund⁷⁶ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfric⁷⁷ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego hun⁷⁸ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelberht⁷⁹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wynsige⁸⁰ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelferð⁸¹ minister consensi et

subscripsi. ego ælfstan⁸² minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelmund⁸³ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelnoð⁸⁴ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadnoð⁸⁵ (minister consensi et subscripsi.)^{59a} ego aðulf⁸⁶ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego hæðred⁸⁷ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego sigered^{87a} minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðered^{87b} minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadwald⁸⁸ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego sigeferð⁸⁹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadweard⁹⁰ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego æðelsige⁹¹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfstan⁹² minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfriç⁹³ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfsige⁹⁴ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego biorhstan⁹⁵ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ælfsige⁹⁶ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego biorhtelm⁹⁷ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego eadsige⁹⁸ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego tiobcon⁹⁹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfsige¹⁰⁰ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego ealhelm¹⁰¹ minister consensi et subscripsi. ego wulfstan¹⁰² minister consensi et subscripsi. ego berhtric¹⁰³ minister consensi et subscripsi.

The wanton fortune of this fallible world, not lovable with the milk-white radiance of unfading lilies, but odious with the gall-ridden bitterness of woeful corruption, tears up the sons of stinking flesh in the valley of tears; which, ridiculous though it may be, can be descended by the unfaithful with speed and shamelessness to the bottom of the all-embracing Acheron and Cocytus, unless the seed of the Mighty Voice on high comes to our aid. And therefore, because this ruinous fortune slips by and disappears in such a way, one ought above all to hurry to the fields of indescribable joy, where the angelic notes of joyful hymns and the sweet odour of blooming roses are taken in their inestimable sweetness by the noses of the good and the blessed, and are heard endlessly by their ears in the harmony of (instruments). Led on by love of this happiness, the lower regions are now distasteful and the upper regions sweet, and to obtain these, and enjoy them as one of a

sinful race, I, Æthelstan, king of the English, raised to the soil of the whole kingdom of Britain by the right hand of the Almighty, do give to my faithful thegn Ælwald a certain small piece of land, that is, of 12 hides subject to the church of Christ of the city of Canterbury in the place which the yokels call Durrington, so that he may have it without the yoke of hateful servitude with meadows, pastures, woods, streams, and all advantages properly pertaining to it, as long as he has power of the breathable air with his nostrils, and of the visible surroundings of his eyes. And after the common death which, inevitable but unpredictable, is general to all men, he may leave it freely, passing it over in perpetuity, to whatever heir of succession he wishes. This land is clearly surrounded by these bounds. Firstly at Æscwold's barrow, thence at the meeting-place hill, thence to the thorn by a dwelling, thence to the little hill, thence to the goat farm, thence to Æthelgith's valley, thence to the wide clearing, thence to the wolves' hill, thence between the two hills, thence to Pæbbel's hollow, thence to the boundary hill, thence to (?) Cissbury; and these are the detached pastures that belong by right to this land; the pigsty valley, the peasants' valley, the enclosed wood, the *prentsan* barrow, the rough barrow, Egweald's valley, the water thorn, the boar's wallowing-place, the dry mere, Biohha's hill, the willow farm, Goringlee, the shed of Hudela's people, the soldier's farm, the badgers' wood, the *burh* fold, the fortress fold, the clearing of Hæca's people. If anyone (God forbid), inspired by a devilish spirit, attempts to erase or infringe this little note of my arrangement and confirmation, know he that in the last great day of judgement, with the trumpet of the archangel resounding, the tombs opening of their own accord and giving up the now-revived corpses, he will perish in eternal confusion by the all-consuming flames of ineffable torments, with Judas the traitor, who by the holy Son of the Creator is called 'the son of perdition' and with his accomplices, the Jews, blaspheming Christ. And the record of our intention, inspired and revealed by God and our Lord

Jesus Christ, was written in the well-reputed city which is called Winchester, with the whole mass of the people applauding under the wings of the royal bounty, in the year of the Lord's incarnation 934, of the reign entrusted to me 10, of the indiction 7, epact 3, concurrent 2, the 5th of the kalends of June, the 11th day of the moon; and it stands corroborated by those whose names are noted below, set out in writing. I, Æthelstan, king, possessed of the monarchy of supreme privilege, have corroborated and signed this subtle document with the sign of the eternal and adorable Cross. I, Wulfhelm, archbishop of the church of Canterbury, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfstan, archbishop of the church of York, have agreed and signed. I, Howel, underking, have agreed and signed. I, Idwal, underking, have agreed and signed. I, (Morgan), underking, have agreed and signed. I, Tudor, underking, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwine, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwulf, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Cynewald, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Biornstan, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Theodred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfhun, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wynsige, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Burhric, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Conan, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfhelm, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Cynsige, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Wigred, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Sæxhelm, bishop, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfric, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwine, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelnoth, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhtsige, abbot, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfwald, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Osferth, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Urm, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Inhwær, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Halfdene, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Oswulf, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Uhtred, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Æsberht, alder-

man, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfstan, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Scule, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Hadd, alderman, have agreed and signed. I, Ordheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelhelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelwold, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelred, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulflaf, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfmær, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Odda, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfheah, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wihtgar, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfhere, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelwold, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwald, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadmund, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Hun, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelberht, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wynsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelfrith, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelmund, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadnoth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelwulf, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Hæthred, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Sigered, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelred, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadwald, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Sigferth, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadward, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Æthelsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfric, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Biorhstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ælfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Biorht-helm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Eadsige, thegn,

have agreed and signed. I, Tiobcon, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfsige, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Ealhhelm, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Wulfstan, thegn, have agreed and signed. I, Beorhtric, thegn, have agreed and signed.

1. BCS 702, KCD 364, from the original charter in the British Museum, Cotton MS. Augustus II, 65. There is a facsimile in *Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, part iii, Pl. 5.

2. This lengthy preamble occurs in other charters of 933 and 934, CS 703, 704, 716, 718, 719, 745. It was also used at Malmesbury to fake a charter of 680, CS 54. From 931 to 933 a formula beginning *Flebilis fortiter detestanda* was used (CS 677, &c.).

3. Cf. *Aeneid*, vi. 295-7.

4. Meaning unknown. The *suavia clivipparum* clearly refers to the song of the angels. Perhaps *clivippa*, therefore, means some kind of musical instrument.

5. See No. XXVI, n. 2.

6. Ælfwald signs a few charters from 931 to 935 (CS 677, 689, 690, 692, 707). Care must be taken not to confuse him with his contemporary, Ælfwold the alderman.

7. Durrington, now part of the borough of Worthing. The editors of *P. N. Sx.* (p. 195 f.) were not prepared to accept this identification. They pointed out (1) that the place-names in the boundaries were completely unidentified; and (2) that the identification of *Derantun* with Durrington depends upon 'the assumption that the *e* of that name represents OE. *y*', a variation characteristic of Kentish dialect. There are four other examples of OE. *y* in the charter and in no case has *e* been substituted. But other documents show that the two vowels were sometimes used quite indiscriminately, and there is sometimes only one example of one form as against several of the other. So in a charter of 871-89 (Harmer, *English Historical Documents*, x) *-stede* occurs once, *-styde* three times. The confusion could occur both ways; a document of 859-70 (*ibid.* vii) has, on the one hand, *yfter* for more normal *æfter*, and, on the other, *Sigfredð* (twice), *Herefredð* for more normal *-frið*; it also preserves original *y* in several places.

For *Derantun* to be the only example of *e* for *y* is therefore not unprecedented; and the charter contains other features of Kentish dialect, which help to support the suggestion that *Derantun* represents West Saxon *Dyrantun*. For an explanation of these characteristics see Harmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9, or Wright, *Old English Grammar*, ed. 2, pp. 84-90:

(a) Predominance of *io* over *eo* and sometimes over *e*:

(i) *biorh* five times in boundaries, against *berh* once.

(ii) *dionu* twice, against *deno* once.

(iii) *Biorstan*, *Diodred*, *Biorhtsige*, *Biorhstan*, *Biorhtelm* for

-eo-, later -e- in each case; against *Æsberht* (twice), *Æpelberht*, *Berhttric*.

These examples make a total of 12 examples of *io* against 6 of *eo* and *o*.

- (b) Confusion of *æ* and *e*; this test cannot be completely applied, as the OE. of the charter is late; contracted forms of names like *Æpered*, *Apulf*, *Wullaf*, *Æpelelm* occur, and under these circumstances the vowels were often confused in any case. But there is a noticeable tendency to have *æ* or *e* for *ea*, as in *Sæxelm*, *Wulfheh*, *Ordheh*, *Ælfhæh*.

Certain of the boundary marks seem to coincide with corresponding geographical features near Durrington; and the identity of the swine-pasture *Biohhan dun* with *Biohchandune* of No. XVII, which, wherever it was, was almost certainly in Sussex, seems to have escaped the notice of the editors of *P. N. Sx.* See nn. 9-15, below.

There is the further point that this land is described as belonging to Christ Church, Canterbury, in a phrase which is ungrammatical (*subiacens* agrees with nothing) and is written over an erasure. The insertion is in a hand of the late eleventh or early twelfth century and extends from *anglorum* to *subiacens*: the king's name *Æpelstan* has been latinized to *Æpelstanus* by the addition of the sign (?) in the same late hand. Birch notes the erasure but apparently failed to observe that the insertion is in a much later hand. The original hand is very sparing in abbreviations. The scribe even went to the length of writing *consensi et subscripsi* in full to each attestation. On the other hand, the insertion has twelve abbreviations in less than a line of the manuscript. In its original form it runs thus: *angloꝝ p omni-patrantis dexterā toti? britannię regni solio sublimat? quandā telluris particulā meo fideli ministro ælfwaldo. id ē xii. cassatorū ecclē xpī cantuarie civitatis subiacens*. This looks as if the original text (which probably extended as far as *cassatorum*) had been compressed to make room for the additional words, and as if the monks at a later date wished to make it clear that the land referred to was Durrington, which was part of the Canterbury peculiar of West Tarring, and inserted the clause, which implicitly contradicts the right of *Æthelstan* to make a grant of it.

8. For this clause, and the 'sanction' clause at the end, cf. the corresponding passages in No. XXVI.

9. *twæm biorgum* might refer to Harrow and Blackpatch Hills. Alternatively there were *twæm biorgum* near Findon in the bounds of No. XXXV, q.v.

10. A mile or so south of Harrow and Blackpatch Hills (O.S. 1 in. Sheet 133 E 10) there is a deep valley, the ground falling to 150 ft.

11. A hill near the above point and on the parish boundaries of Durrington and Findon is marked 457 ft. on the O.S. map.

12. Might this be Cissbury? The etymology of *pis berh* is obscure; it might be connected with OE. *pise*, 'pea'; perhaps because this vegetable was grown near the place. The present name may be an

antiquarian creation as it is not attested before 1586 (*P. N. Devon*, I, p. lv). If the boundary-points are as suggested above, the land includes the present parishes of Durrington and Clapham.

13. Identical in form with Swandean, within Durrington parish itself; but swine-pastures are not found on the chalk and there is probably no actual identity of place.

14. *Biohchandune*, from which No. XVII (*S.A.C.* LXXXVI, 100) was issued in 791. This increases the likelihood that all the swine-pastures are in Sussex, since No. XVII was the charter of a duke of Sussex.

15. Goringlee, in Shipley; 'the clearing of Gara's people'. It is significant that Gara's people also gave their name to Goring, adjacent to Durrington.

16. See No. XXVI, n. 10.

17. See No. XXV, n. 13.

18. Howel the Good, the famous Welsh legislator. According to *ASC.* he submitted to Eadward the Elder in 922 and to Æthelstan in 926. He signs a number of charters from 928 (CS 663) to 937 (CS 721), and also CS 812, 815 (944-6). The interval is significant. The accession of the young king Eadmund in 939 was followed by a general uprising of the subject peoples, in which the Five Boroughs were overrun by the Danes. The evidence of the charters suggests that it was not till near the end of Eadmund's reign that the Danes and the Welsh again made their submission.

19. Idwal submitted with Howel in 922 and signs a few charters from 928 (CS 663) to 935 (CS 719).

20. Birch suggested that the missing name should be Morcant, who signs most regularly with the others. There is a defect in the MS., but it is clear that the name has no down-stroked letters.

21. Tewdwr does not appear again in Anglo-Saxon documents.

22. See No. XXVI, n. 12.

23. See No. XXVI, n. 18.

24. See No. XXVI, n. 14.

25. Beornstan was consecrated bishop of Winchester on 29 May 931 (*ASC.*) and signs charters from 20 June 931 (CS 675) onwards. According to *ASC.* he was bishop for 2½ years and died on 1 Nov. 933. The evidence of this charter, of Florence of Worcester, and of the late *ASC.* MS. 'F', however, assign his death to 934. Although the 933 entry comes from the oldest MS. of the *ASC.*, it is in one of the least reliable parts, being written not earlier than 956.

26. See No. XXVI, n. 16.

27. Wulfhun succeeded Beornheah (No. XXVI, n. 3) as bishop of Selsey, before 21 June 931. His last signature is in 940 (CS 758); the first of his successor Ælfred, in 944 (CS 791).

28. Wynsige was bishop of Dorchester, and signed charters from 925 (CS 642) to 935 (CS 719).

29. Ælfred was bishop of Sherborne in succession to Sigehelm (No. XXVI, n. 19). He died in 943, signing CS 789; while his

successor Wulfsige II signed CS 783, 784, and 788 in the same year.

30. Tidhelm succeeded Eadgar (No. XXVI, n. 13) in 930. His last signature was to CS 716 (21 Dec. 935) with his successor Wulfhelm.

31. Burhric was bishop of Rochester; this is his first signature. He signs regularly until 946 (CS 813).

32. Ælfred was probably bishop of Elmham. He signs a few charters of 933 and 934, CS 697, 703, 705. Care must be taken not to confuse him with his contemporary and namesake of Sherborne (n. 29 above).

33. Conan was bishop of Cornwall, and signs charters from 931 (CS 674) to 935 (CS 716).

34. Wulfhelm's see is unknown, and he may have been a suffragan bishop; he signs two other charters, CS 665 (929) and CS 675 (931).

35. Cynsige was bishop of Berkshire, and signs charters from 931 (CS 674). In 949 he was translated to Lichfield, and survived at least till 963, when he signed CS 1121.

36. Wigred was bishop of Chester-le-Street 928-44 (Sym. Durham).

37. Seaxhelm was suffragan bishop of York, and signs CS 716 (935). Previously he had been abbot, signing charters in 931 and 932 (CS 674, 689, 690). In 944 he was translated to Chester-le-Street, and died soon after.

38. Æscterht was suffragan bishop of York; he signs a few charters from 928 (CS 663) to here.

39. Ælfric may have been abbot of Glastonbury, although Armitage Robinson (*Somerset Historical Essays*, p. 43) did not accept the identification. He was one of a party which visited St. Gall in 929 (ibid.) and signs several charters from 931 (CS 674) to here.

40. Eadwine was abbot of Evesham (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. 1817, II, p. 2). He signs several charters from 931 (CS 674) to here. His predecessor Cynath appears from 916 to 930 (Robinson, *Times of St. Dunstan*, pp. 36-40).

41. Æthelnoth was probably identical with the *Alfnodus*, abbot of Westminster, who, according to Dugdale (op. cit. I. 267), died in 939. He signs a few charters from 931 (CS 674) to here.

42. Beorhtsige signs several charters from 931 (CS 674) to here.

43. Ælfwald signs regularly from 926 (CS 659) to 938 (CS 731).

44. Osferth signs regularly from 926 (CS 659) to here.

45. Æthelstan was the 'Half-King' and alderman of East Anglia. He signs regularly from 928 (CS 663) to 956 (CS 919). After 940 his signature has to be carefully distinguished from that of Æthelstan of Somerset (No. XXVI, n. 27).

46. Urm signs from 929 (CS 665) to 935 (CS 716), and again from 946 to 949 (CS 815, 882-3). For an explanation of the break in sequence, see n. 18 above.

47. Halfdene signs charters of 934 (CS 700, 701, 703) as well as one in 946 (CS 812). Cf. n. 18.

48. Oswulf signs occasionally from 934 (CS 700) to 938 (CS 722).
49. Uhtred signs regularly from 931 (CS 670) to 949 (CS 882).
50. Æsclerht signs several charters from 929 (CS 665) to here.
51. Ælfstan signs charters from 931 (CS 683) to here.
52. Scule signs charters from 931 (CS 674) to here, and also from 946 (CS 779, 812) to 949 (CS 882). Cf. n. 18.
53. Hadd signs three other charters, CS 674–5, 703 (931–4).
54. Ordheah signs regularly from 931 (CS 670) to 941 (CS 770).
55. Ælfgar signs a charter of 930, CS 667.
56. Æthelhelm signs two charters, CS 659, 677 (926–31).
57. Æthelwold signs charters regularly as *minister* from 931 (CS 677) to 940 (CS 762) and as *dux* from 940 (CS 748) onwards. A charter of 939 (CS 740) also named him as *dux*, but it is from the untrustworthy Winchester chartulary. His will (No. XXXIV) was addressed to King Eadred (946–55); one of his bequests was made effective in 947 (No. XXXV); he must, therefore, have died in 946 or 947.
58. Eadstan may be identical with the Ealstan who signs CS 689 (932), a late transcript; otherwise he does not appear again.
59. The name Æthelred is so common that it is difficult to identify an individual bearer of it with certainty. An Æthelred is mentioned in CS 591 (before 924) as having been the victim of theft; another signs three charters, CS 730, 770, 776 (938–42). The *Ædelred dux* of CS 689 (932) is probably an error for Ealdred.
- 59a. The manuscript is defective and cut at these points.
60. A Wulfheah signs three charters from 940 to 950, CS 753, 785, 901.
61. Wulfaf signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 944 (CS 801).
62. See No. XXVI, n. 28.
63. Wulfmær signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 939 (CS 742).
64. Wulfnoth signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 940 (CS 753).
65. See No. XXVI, n. 24.
66. Wulfgar signs regularly as *minister* from 931 (CS 670) to 944 (CS 802) and as *dux* from c. 946 (CS 779) to 948 (CS 871). He can be distinguished from his namesake (n. 62) by the name occurring twice in charters between 931 and 937, and by the title between 937 and 944.
67. See No. XXVI, n. 27.
68. See No. XXVI, n. 30.
69. See No. XXVI, n. 38.
70. See No. XXVI, n. 33.
71. Ælfhere signs regularly as *minister* from 929 (CS 665) to 935 (CS 707) and as *dux* from 937 (CS 714) to 941 (CS 765).
72. See No. XXVI, n. 34.
73. Cf. n. 57 *supra*. Two *ministri* named Æthelwold attest a charter of 932, CS 689.
74. Eadwald signs CS 701, a charter dated 930 perhaps for 934.
75. Ælfric signs regularly from 929 (CS 665) to 949 (CS 877).

76. Eadmund signs regularly as *minister* from 929 (CS 665) to 946 (CS 813) and as *dux* from 946 (CS 779, 814) to 963 (No. XLIII).
77. Wulfric signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 953 (CS 895).
78. Hun signs one undated charter of Æthelstan (CS 648); he may be identical with the Hunlaf who signs CS 665, 689 (929-32).
79. Æthelberht signs CS 689 (932).
80. Wynsige signs four charters between 931 and 941.
81. Æthelfrith signs six charters between 931 and 941.
82. Ælfstan signs CS 675, 677, 689 (931-2); another Ælfstan signs from 940 to 948.
83. See No. XXVI, n. 37.
84. Æthelnoth signs CS 675, 677, 701, 703 (931-4).
85. Eadnoth signs CS 675, 700-1 (931-4).
86. Athulf signs CS 677, 707 (931-5).
87. Hæthred does not appear again.
- 87a. See No. XXVI, n. 29.
- 87b. Cf. n. 59 *supra*. CS 770 (942) has two *ministri* named Æthelred among its witnesses.
88. Eadwald does not appear again.
89. Sigeferth signs a charter of 931, CS 674.
90. Eadward signs CS 674.
91. Æthelsige signs a few charters from 931 (CS 677) to 938 (CS 722).
92. Ælfstan signs CS 689 (932).
93. Wulfric signs CS 677, 689 (931-2).
94. Ælfsige signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 957 (CS 1001).
95. Biorhstan does not appear again.
96. Ælfsige (cf. n. 94 *supra*) signs regularly from 931 (CS 677) to 944 (CS 801).
97. See No. XXVI, n. 42.
98. Eadsige signs CS 674 (931).
99. Tiobcon does not appear again.
100. Wulfsige signs a few charters from 931 (CS 677) to 935 (CS 707).
101. See No. XXVI, n. 39.
102. Wulfstan signs CS 742 (939).
103. See No. XXVI, n. 41.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO PART I

S.A.C. LXXXVI, p. 49, l. 13. Totta's existence is also attested by his signature to the proceedings of the Legatine Synod of 787 (BCS 250).

p. 50. *Check List of Bishops.* Amend as follows:

	Acc.	Death or trans.
7. Gislhere	772 × 780	781 × 787
8. Totta	781 × 787	787 × 789
9. Wihthun	787 × 789	..

p. 51, l. 5. For *donationis* read *dominationis*.

l. 11. For *regnet fides catholica* read *fides catholica regnet*.

l. 21. For *unninglonde* read *unninglande*.

l. 26. For *super hoc* read *super hæc*.

l. 30. For *pertinentibus* read *pertinentes*.

l. 35. For *screaf* read *scræf*.

p. 52, l. 10. For *regia* read *regis*.

l. 16. For *præpes* read *perpes*.

l. 19. Note that the sentence after *nutibus* is an endorsement.

p. 56, n. 23. Mr. Lindsay Fleming points out that the name of Loxley is now lost and its site not precisely known (cf. *P. N. Sx.*, p. 94). He also suggests that 'Inufes ford' (note 20) may be identical with Forbridge, with the descent Ufa's ford—The Ford—and, when a bridge was built to replace the ford, Fordbridge. This would certainly come in the right place among the boundary marks.

p. 59, l. 21. For *potestate* read *potestatem*.

p. 62, n. 8. I am informed by Miss F. E. Harmer that *heie* is a vocalized form of OE. *hege* and not of *hecge*.

p. 68, n. 11. For *frece* read *frecen*.

p. 74, l. 6 from bottom. After *sene* omit the first *se*.

p. 98, l. 11 from bottom. Omit the full stop after *unicuique*. For *meritis* read *mentis*.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. ANDREW, BISHOPSTONE

BY WALTER H. GODFREY, F.S.A.

OUR smaller parish churches seldom possess any documentary history to explain their foundation or the changes that have occurred subsequently. Their story has to be read in their stones, and although the broad outline can generally be traced, it is not so easy to explain all the detail without the clue of the persons and the necessities which called them into being. Imagination is needed to read between the lines and speculation is necessary even at the risk of misinterpretation where the human element in the problem is the incalculable one. The parish church at Bishopstone invites our study as much on account of its early features as of its plan, and although William Figg, a competent architect and antiquary and one of the founders of the Sussex Archaeological Society, contributed an account of the church to our *Collections*,¹ some further record seems overdue.

The Domesday Survey tells us that the bishop of Chichester held Bishopstone in demesne and, although we have no precise knowledge of when it was first given to the see, the name itself is evidence of the antiquity of the connection. The bishop's holdings in Lewes which probably date from the foundation of the town were, in the thirteenth century, part of his manor of Bishopstone, and the customs of the manor from documents of 1253-7 have been printed by Mr. W. D. Peckham.² In 1324 the bishop entertained Edward II here for two days. In the same century Bishopstone gave Chichester Cathedral a chancellor who took his name from his birthplace. Chancellor John Bishopston, by his will of

¹ Vol. II, pp. 272-83 (Paper read at Lewes, 3 April 1849).

² Sussex Record Society, vol. XXI, *Thirteen Customals of the Sussex Manors of the Bishop of Chichester*, pp. 87-98.

1384, left a chalice and 20s. and a cope 'to the Church of Bishopstone in which I was baptized'.

The revenues of the rectory formed part of the endowment of a prebend of Bishopstone (later known as Sidlesham) in Chichester Cathedral. In the time of Bishop Seffrid II (1180-1204) a dispute about the chapel at Hecton [i.e. Heighton] was settled and the right of presentment was confirmed to the abbot and convent of Hide. The parson of Hecton was to pay 20s. annually to Bishopstone, 7s. of which was to go to the church and the remainder to the prebend.¹ About the same time Canon John de Hampton granted the chapel of Hecton to Melger the clerk for life on the same terms.² In the Taxation of Pope Nicholas (1291), as recorded in Liber E (Chichester Chartulary) under Bishopstone Vicarage, is a note that the rectory is a portion of one of the Chichester prebends.³ In the fourteenth century, and probably earlier, the Bishopstone revenues went mainly to the prebend of Sidlesham, the prebendary being responsible for the endowment of the vicarage and having the right of presentation. In the Nonae returns (1340) £13 was contributed to the prebend of Sidlesham, less £5 6s. 8d. for the vicarage, 'endowed from Sidlesham'; 13s. 4d. went to the prebend of Highley; £6 6s. 8d. to the prebend of Henfield, and 13s. 4d. to the prebend of Eartham, a gross total of £20 13s. 4d. which was reduced to £17 13s. 4d. through loss of lands submerged by the sea to the value of £3. In 1430 Thomas Morton and in 1441 Walter Shiryngton were prebendaries of Bishopstone and Sidlesham.⁴ In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII the prebendary of Sidlesham makes to the vicar of Bishopstone an annual payment of £13. The manor farm is stated to be let to Sir Edward Bray, Kt. In the seventeenth century the manor had passed to the Pelham family. In 1836 when the cathedral endowments were transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners the prebend of Sidlesham became an honorary office and the advowson of

¹ *S.R.S.* XLVI, No. 270.

² *Ibid.* No. 401.

³ *Ibid.* p. 318.

⁴ Registers of Archbishop Chichele and Bishop Praty.

PARISH CHURCH of ST ANDREW BISHOPSTONE

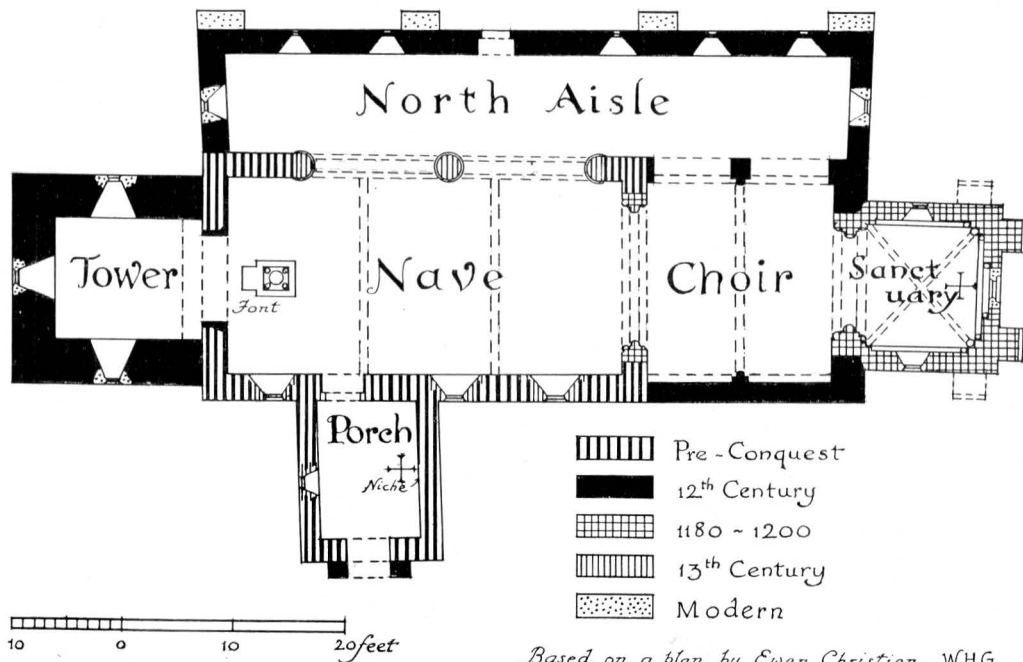


FIG. 1. HISTORICAL PLAN OF CHURCH

Bishopstone was transferred to the bishop. The dedication of the church to St. Andrew is attested by several sixteenth-century wills.

In the Register of Bishop Robert Rede (1397-1415) there are many references to business transacted at Bishopstone and in the chapel of the manor.

In considering the church we must not forget the interest that the bishop would undoubtedly take in the fabric. There would, of course, have been a private chapel attached to the manor-house, but the presence of his chaplains may explain the elaboration of the chancel. The church belongs to the class of three-chamber plans that occurs at times with an axial tower as at Kingston Buci, but here the tower has been added at the west end (making the building of four compartments) and was not therefore needed over the choir. At both Bishopstone and Kingston Buci the nave dates from before the Conquest; they both have a chancel composed of a separate structural choir and sanctuary and each has a north aisle and south porch.

The external quoins of large stones (long and short work) and the slender thickness of the walls, which are between 2 ft. and 2 ft. 6 in., are the principal evidence of the date of Bishopstone nave. Professor Baldwin Brown¹ was inclined to put the work as early as the end of the eighth or the ninth century, but the size of the quoins, some of which are nearly 4 ft. 6 in. high, make the tenth century more probable. There are no internal features of the period, but the church does possess a very important Saxon porch. Its size (12 ft. 5 in. × 9 ft. 2 in. externally), with a gable 21 ft. high, is in keeping with the Saxon custom of using porches as side-chapels; and this purpose is further confirmed by the position of the doorway into the church, which is no doubt in its original place and is out of centre, being hard against the west wall of the porch, leaving ample room for an altar against its east wall. The gable of the porch also bears a fine sundial inscribed +EADRIC. The dial shows

¹ *The Arts in Early England; Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (1925 ed.), pp. 191, 193-4.

a style-hole and thirteen lines (dividing the area into twelve divisions), five with cross-bars longer than the rest. These, according to Dr. A. R. Green,¹ mark the four Saxon tides of the day and each tide is divided into three parts, the equivalent of six o'clock to six o'clock in Roman time. The dial, which is circular, fills the upper part of a semicircular-headed stone and has a border of three incised lines, which also continue vertically on each side below the dial.

The Saxon church had, presumably, a small aisle-less nave of the same dimensions as the existing nave, since the quoins of the western angles are still in position and there are indications of some belonging to the north-eastern angle in the north wall. With this nave were the south porch and a chancel which has disappeared in the subsequent rebuilding to the east. The present west arch to the tower is Norman, so we do not know if the church had a western entrance.

In the twelfth century were added the existing fine west tower and a north aisle, the chancel being refashioned at about the same time. Late in the twelfth century a sanctuary was built east of the chancel, and in the thirteenth century the aisle arcade appears to have been refashioned in its present form.

In considering these alterations we have to remember that the church underwent two restorations, the first in 1849 and the second in 1885. The earlier repairs had just been carried out when Mr. Figg read the paper already referred to which appeared in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. It may be that Mr. Figg was the architect, although he does not suggest this in his paper, but it is significant that he reproduced a plan and elevation of the church in its reconditioned state. The later work was done by the well-known architect Mr. Ewan Christian, and I am indebted to the present incumbent,

¹ 'Anglo-Saxon Sundials' (*Antiq. Journ.* VIII. 508-10). Dr. Green suggests that the name on the sundial may be Earl Eadric, who held office from 942 to 949 and whom he identifies with the brother of Earl Æthelwold to whom the latter bequeathed property at Ogborne, Ashdown, Cheam, and Washington. But the name is not an uncommon one and appears twice in the *Sussex Domesday*. (See also *Sz. N.Q.* II. 126.)

the Rev. W. H. Jones, for his report and specification. These documents and Mr. Figg's paper do not clear up all the problems connected with the restorations, but fortunately the Society possesses photographs of a number of drawings made by Henry Petrie, *c.* 1800–20, which were collected by the late Edgar Sharpe, and which show both the interior and exterior of the church before it was altered. These are illustrated here, and with their help it is possible to describe the church in fuller detail than heretofore.

I am inclined to think that the first Norman addition to the church was the west tower. It is a very fine structure, 45 ft. high to the corbel table of the original parapet, and faced with flints which were covered with a fine coating of plaster. The tower is of four stories, each floor diminishing slightly in plan as the structure rises and marked by a projecting table-course of stone. There are no buttresses, but the angles have quoins, mostly of Caen stone, which are irregular in height and disposition, the stones being duplicated in places, mostly in the two upper stories, where each angle is cut to form an external angle-shaft. Single narrow round-headed lights are in the north, south, and west faces of the two stories below the belfry, excepting the west face of the upper one where there is a small circular window, the stone frame studded with ball ornament. There were three similar windows in the ground stage, but they have been widened. The belfry stage has four two-light openings, separated on the east by a small shaft with capital and base, and on the other three faces by mullions which, with the arches of the windows, are moulded with a simple roll. The shaft to the eastern lights is flush with the external wall and the window is similar to the normal domestic type used in the twelfth century. The corbels of the corbel-table are well preserved and present an interesting series of carved subjects. The tower is now roofed with a pyramidal roof of shingles. Mr. Christian says that there is evidence of a former broach spire, but the present form is shown in the Sharpe drawings of the early nineteenth century.

The whole structure is of fine proportions, the stages measuring 14 ft. 6 in., 10 ft. 6 in., 11 ft. 6 in., and 8 ft. 6 in. in their ascent, and the workmanship is admirable.

The junction of the tower with the Saxon west wall of the nave is cleverly and economically arranged. A



Sharpe Collection.

FIG. 2. BISHOPSTONE CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

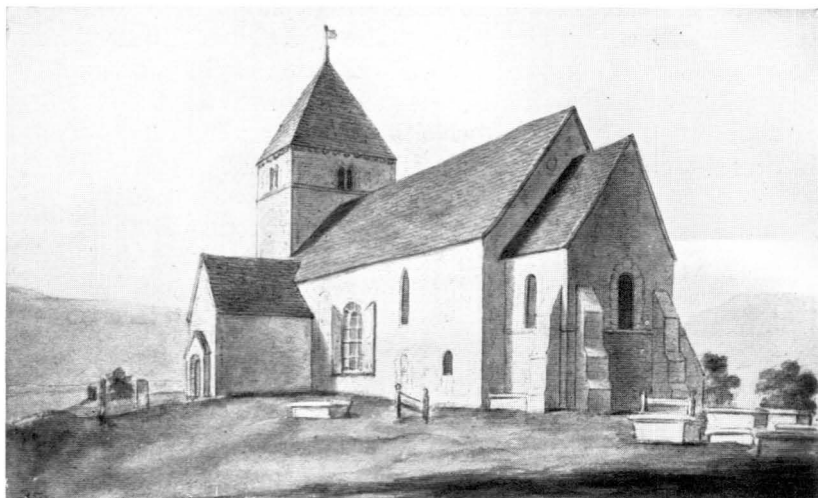
small entrance arch with a perfectly plain semicircular head was inserted in the wall to give access to the tower, while above this, at roof level, a lofty arch was thrown across to take the added thickness of the tower wall.

The next work to which the Norman builders addressed themselves was the chancel. We must, I think, not exclude the possibility that the compartment immediately east of the nave may have been a Saxon choir. The normal arrangement of a twelfth-century chancel would have been a roughly square area of a width narrower

than the nave. A square choir of the same width as the nave is known in the early church at Glastonbury and in the Saxon churches at Brixworth, Deerhurst, and Breamore as also in the cruciform plans of Hadstock and Dover. At Breamore and at Dover this choir was taken up as a tower. The walls of this part of the church at Bishopstone do not differ in thickness from those of the nave, and such thin walls are very sound evidence of pre-Conquest date. If the Normans built this structure it is strange that they departed from their usual plan and also their normal construction.¹ There is no doubt, however, that they worked upon it in the middle of the twelfth century, for the north and south walls received arcades with a pair of shallow semicircular arches on each side. The eastern arch in both cases is carved with good chevron ornament, while the western ones are moulded, the reason being that the eastern arches were more easily seen by the congregation, on the same principle that the western side of a chancel arch is often more elaborate than the eastern. The southern pair spring from plain moulded corbels, west and east, and meet on a central engaged shaft with a cushion capital carved with foliage. The northern pair, which according to the drawings in the Sharpe Collection (Figs. 4 and 6) were also wall arches, have since been opened to communicate with the eastern part of the aisle, and have modern responds and a central pier with modern attached shaft.

The fenestration of this Norman chancel or choir seems to have been two ranges of two round-headed lights, the lower pair of which would have been within the wall arcade. The two drawings of the exterior from the south-west and south-east in the Sharpe Collection

¹ Mr. O. H. Leeney in his interesting study of Bishopstone Church in *The Antiquary* (October 1911) is of opinion that the walls of the Saxon chancel could not have been in a plane with those of the nave because there are two quoin-stones of the north-east corner of the nave still *in situ*. This, I think, can prove only that the nave and chancel were not built simultaneously—medieval work was commonly built in separate sections. If, as has been stated, the foundations of the original Saxon chancel were discovered when the church was repaved it would still be possible for both this and a later enlarged chancel to occur before the Conquest.



Sharpe Collection.

FIG. 3. BISHOPSTONE CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST



Sharpe Collection.

FIG. 4. BISHOPSTONE CHURCH. THE CHOIR FROM THE SANCTUARY

(Figs. 2 and 3) show two such windows (one blocked and the other only partly opened) in the lower range. Above them can be seen one blocked Norman window, similar to those in the sanctuary, to the east, and a lancet window of thirteenth-century date west of it. Mr. Figg's elevation of the south side of the church given in *S.A.C.* II shows two lancet windows above the arcade as at present. From which I think we must deduce that in 1849 the lower windows were removed and the flint facing made good in their place and that the Norman window above was replaced by a modern replica of the adjoining lancet. In the Sharpe drawing there is also evidence of an external door in the south wall which is shown blocked. It is doubtful whether this can have been an original feature, although there may have been just room for it between the lower window and the central shaft of the arcade. There are indications that the northern wall also had windows above the arcade; but these would have been closed when the north aisle was built and roofed in.

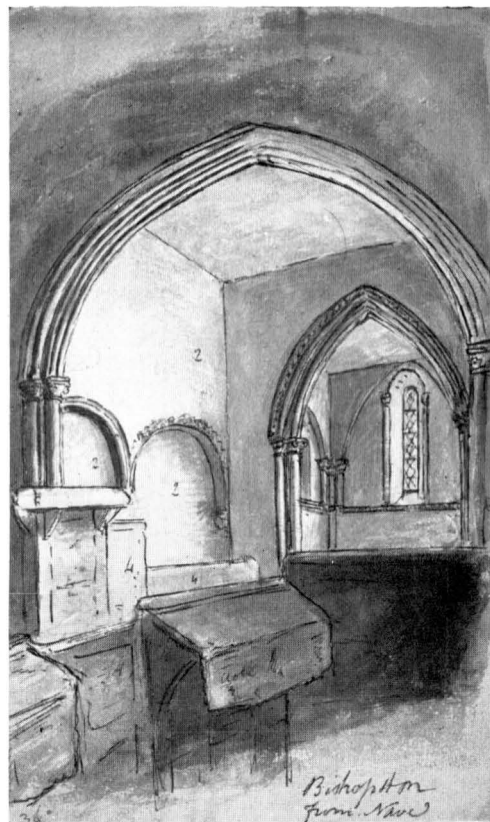
About this time (mid-twelfth century) the Normans added a gabled projecting doorway to the Saxon porch and rebuilt the south door of the nave. This doorway is a curious feature with plain stone jambs enclosing an arch carved with a double chevron which forms an interlacement with carved centres. The arch rests on horizontal stones at the springing carried across each side of the projection, and below are shafts, the western with a scalloped capital with rosettes and the eastern with a cushion capital carved with volutes. The gable is formed of single worked stones arched below and inclined in the two sides of the gable above.

It is probable that not long after the completion of the work detailed above the north aisle was added to the church. The present arcade is later, but the series of miniature round-headed windows to the aisle must, I think, belong to the twelfth century. There is almost an exact parallel at Seaford Church, where a similar series of aisle windows existed and where the arcade was also rebuilt in the thirteenth century. But at Seaford



Sharpe Collection.

FIG. 5. BISHOPSTONE CHURCH
LOOKING EAST



Sharpe Collection.

FIG. 6. BISHOPSTONE CHURCH. CHOIR
AND SANCTUARY

the western bay of the Norman church still stands, encased in the tower, and the date of the aisle cannot be in question. Here at Bishopstone, since the chancel (present choir) and nave walls were in alignment, it seemed natural to build the aisle the full length and so provide either a sacristy or possibly a chapel at its east end. The main roof was carried down over the aisle, as in so many Sussex churches. The plain north door is now blocked.¹

We now come to the more ornate work in the eastern part of the church which was occasioned by the addition of the sanctuary towards the end of the twelfth century, and we cannot be far wrong in seeing in it the hand of Bishop Seffrid II, who played so important a part in the restoration of Chichester Cathedral. The little building, which measures not much over 10 ft. square inside, is well designed to house the altar and to form an effective termination to the vista provided by the two beautiful arches, the one that opens on to the sanctuary itself and the rebuilt chancel arch to the nave. The period was one of transition from Romanesque (Norman) to the first phase of Gothic (Early English), and although the windows remain round-headed and details like the cushion capitals and square abacus are still Norman in character, the main arches are pointed and the mouldings show a decided tendency towards a new fashion.

The sanctuary itself was no doubt built first. It is some feet less in height than the choir and has a steep roof and a gable at the east end. In this gable is a circular window (shown in Sharpe's drawing) which lights the space above the vault, and below it is a single circular-headed window. The drawing also shows a string-course below the windows, which has since disappeared. There are now two buttresses to the east wall alone but, according to both the Sharpe drawings, there were at one time companion buttresses south and north. These are quite unlike the twelfth-century

¹ In Mr. Figg's plan in *S.A.C.* II the buttresses to the aisle are shown hatched and not blacked in with the rest of the plan. I conclude from this that they were additions made in 1849.

type and foreshadow the double-angle buttresses used in the thirteenth century. They have, like them, three set-offs and are of deep projection, but dwarfed in height.¹

Internally the sanctuary was evidently intended to be vaulted. The walls are surrounded at window-sill height with a string-course, which, on the south side, is enriched with chevron ornament with circular pellets under each triangle; on the east and north sides this is replaced by a moulded course, apparently a modern restoration. In the north-east and south-east angles are three shafts, the two outer ones resting on the string-course and the centre one going down to the ground. Each has now a capital of cushion type, carved with broad leaf ornament, of modern workmanship, and a moulded base. The small shafts carry plain wall arches and the centre ones the diagonals of the vault, the western responds of the wall arches being without shafts. It is evident from the Sharpe drawings that there was no vault in the early nineteenth century, since the sanctuary had a flat plaster ceiling. The present vault is modern and has stone (?) ribs with plaster infilling. The east window is now more elaborate than that shown by Sharpe, for although the shafts and capitals to the jambs appear in the drawing, the moulded arch is missing. The present window is apparently entirely new, as is also the arcade of three arches forming a reredos to the altar, for which there is no warrant in the drawings. It would seem that the whole of this restoration should be ascribed to 1849, since the following occurs in a report on the work of 1885: 'The small eastern chancel has been altered a good deal but retains some portions of the old work, including a round-arched recess on the south side. The wood and plaster groining is modern.' The side windows are also restorations, but it is probable that wherever the old work existed it was carefully copied. This would be expected of Mr. Figg, although at the time he worked he would not have been so conservative

¹ Mr. Figg in his plan in *S.A.C.* II shows the sanctuary leaning to the north, but it in fact leans southward. I have followed Ewan Christian's plan, which is more accurately drawn.

in retaining the old stones as we should be to-day. We could wish he had left more of the genuine old work to tell its own story.

This observation must also apply to the two fine arches that separate the sanctuary from the choir and the choir from the nave. It is quite clear that these arches have been much restored, but the excellence of the workmanship is a tribute to the skill of the Victorian masons. If we may ascribe the substance of the memorandum of 1885 to Christian, he writes as if these arches were in the main ancient and a comparison with the Sharpe drawings certainly discloses no change in detail.

The eastern arch is the older of the two. Each respond has triple shafts with scalloped cushion-capitals which carry the three orders of the arch. These are heavily moulded and the contours are those used towards the end of the twelfth century. Above the arch, to the west, is a moulded label with an ornament resembling dog-tooth. The south capital towards the west has carved lobes and bead ornament on the collar below the cushion.

The mouldings of the western arch, also in three orders, has the fully developed Early English character. Its label moulding is not enriched but has two well-carved stops just above the capitals. The responds have a large half-column in the centre, a smaller shaft towards the west, and a plain chamfer towards the east.

The capitals to the shafts have a square moulded abacus over well-carved foliage of an early type. The eastern arch has a carved mask corbel over its apex and the wall above is pierced by two small circular windows high up in the roof under the collar-beam. It has been suggested that these were part of the lighting of the east wall of the original chancel, but if so they are curiously placed. They are very slender evidence of the possible intention to raise this part of the church above the roofs as a tower.

The last alteration to the church followed in the thirteenth century, when the nave arcade was rebuilt with a circular column in the centre and two semi-

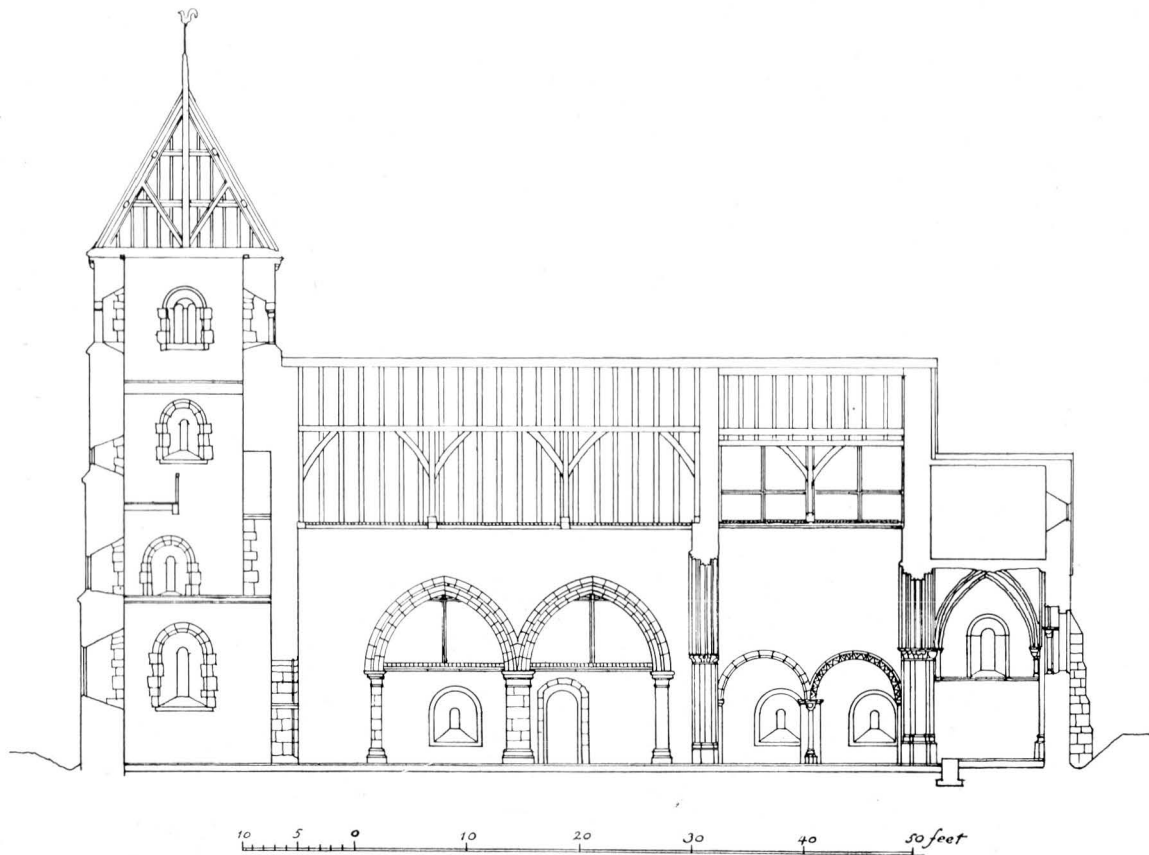


FIG. 7. LONGITUDINAL SECTION LOOKING NORTH. From a drawing by Ewan Christian.

circular responds. These have good moulded capitals and water-hollow bases and the arches are of two chamfered orders. The workmanship is plain but of good quality. It was at this time that the lancet windows were placed in the south wall of the nave and in the choir. In the restoration of 1849 the whole fenestration was regularized and a comparison of Sharpe's drawings with the elevation by Mr. Figg will show what took place. I have already referred to the western lancet in the choir which was copied to the east to make a pair. In the nave Sharpe shows a window, lower than the upper choir windows, west of the porch. This was taken as a model for the two lancets east of the porch, one of which replaced a blocked lancet (shown by Sharpe to be higher up and ranging with the choir windows), and the other replaced a large semicircular-headed eighteenth-century window, with external shutters. The window in the west wall of the porch with a flat-shouldered arch, which was opened up by Mr. Christian, was probably a thirteenth-century insertion.

The present roofs are in the main modern. The Sharpe drawings show flat plaster ceilings, but Mr. Christian found a fifteenth-century trussed rafter roof with the beams and king-posts over the nave which he repaired. He inserted a 'waggon roof' over the choir, restoring it to its original form. The aisle roof and that of the tower were renewed.

The fittings and furniture of the church include:

Bells. Two, inscribed with the names of the founders, Lester and Pack, London, and the date 1761.

Font. Simple twelfth-century type; a square bowl on a circular centre pedestal surrounded by four shafts.

Niche. In the porch, in the east wall over the presumed position of an altar, is a fine canopied niche of the fourteenth century. The recess has a trefoil head with crocketed canopy and side spirelets and enriched jambs. The whole is enclosed in a rectangular frame, with a continuous moulding carved with flowers. Beneath this are some fragments,

including a good thirteenth-century grave-slab with floral cross and a fragment of a pier or cross-shaft with carved interlacing ornament.

Plate. The communion plate includes a silver cup, with date mark for 1568 and a silver paten cover, engraved on the foot with the same date. There is also a silver paten (date-mark 1845) with the initials I.C. for James Carnegie, vicar, 1844-6.

Coffin-slab. Affixed to the south wall of the tower is a well-carved coffin-slab with very interesting twelfth-century carving. The head of a calvary, the arms of which are enriched with foliage, is enclosed within the lowest of three circles formed by the interlacements of a rope. The middle circle contains the *Agnus Dei* and the uppermost one a tall pitcher with a dove on each side drinking. This symbol is very common in early Christian art. The whole design may have been copied from an ivory of earlier date. Mr. Figg¹ relates the circumstances of its discovery in 1849 and gives an illustration of the stone, which he considered to be of local origin. It has no exact parallel in England.

The memorial stones include the following:

Choir, east wall (north of arch). On an elliptical marble tablet is inscribed:

In
tender remembrance
of the

REVEREND JAMES HURDIS DD

Professor of Poetry
in the University of Oxford
and Vicar of this Parish

An
affectionate Brother
affectionately lamented
this Tablet was here placed
by

his four Sisters
He died Dec^r 23rd 1801
Aged 38 Years.

S.A.C. II. 279-83.

Below this is a rectangular marble tablet with William Hayley's metrical tribute to Hurdis.

(*South of arch.*) A similar elliptical tablet to Miss Catharine Hurdis, a sister of the poet, placed here by her brother, 1792. Her age was 24.

Beneath the above a tablet in white marble, surrounded by a pedimental frame with apron below in grey marble to Mrs. Mary Burgess, 1755. Her age is given as 84.

Choir, north wall. Quatrefoil tablet in white marble with black outer moulding to George Catt of Lindfield, 1878, aged 65.

South wall. White marble tablet with pediment on black ground to Mary Anne, wife of George Catt, 1856, in her 29th year.

Quatrefoil of white marble with black moulded surround to Elizabeth Willett Catt, eldest daughter of William and Hannah Catt (no date).

A similar tablet to the first on this wall, to William Catt, 1853, in his 77th year.

Floor slab. Leger inscribed: 'James Hurdis, gent. Died 1769 aged 59 years.' He was the father of the Rev. James Hurdis and was Collector of Customs, Newhaven.

North aisle. Tablet in Hopton Wood stone to John Fountain Tattersall, 1929.

Brass to Robert (1893) and Catalina Ysabel Stewart (1922) and their son Francis Hugh (1921).

Nave, south wall. Memorial to Harold T. Simmonds, 1918.

West wall. War memorial tablet of stone (1914-19 and 1939-45).

Porch. A leger to Constance (surname gone), 1638.

Note. Inscriptions on memorials in the church and churchyard are given in *S.A.C.* XIX. 185-8.

APPENDIX

The present vicar, the Rev. W. H. Jones, has kindly furnished Mr. Christian's report to his predecessor, the Rev. J. Kahn in 1884, printed below. The other document quoted in the text was evidently written after the restoration was completed. It was probably prepared by the architect, but is unsigned.

Specification and Report of Architect

8A Whitehall Place,
February 26th 1884.

Dear Sir,

Bishopstone Church, Sussex.

In accordance with your request I have had the church examined with a view to reporting on its present condition, and forming an approximate estimate of the cost of repairs and refitting.

The church is one of the most interesting and curious in the district, and is of great antiquity, no ancient features at present existing, with the exception of the nave roof, being of more recent date than the 13th century.

Some portions of the building may have been erected, probably before the close of the 11th century, but great changes were made in the latter part of the 12th century, when the present tower was built, the north aisle added, and the small eastern chancel or chapel was altered. In the 13th century other changes were made, the nave arcade and the western chancel arch were reconstructed, and the present lancet windows were inserted in the south wall. The chancel and north arches previously to this period were probably low Norman arches similar to that now remaining at the west end of the nave.

The tower was built without disturbing the older west wall of the nave, and a large arch was thrown across behind the nave wall to carry the upper part of the tower, and avoid the necessity of thickening the wall from the bottom. There is nothing to show that this arch was ever open to the nave, and the arrangement of the small windows in the tower seems to indicate that they were not intended to be visible except within the tower itself.

With regard to the present state of the fabric, the walls and masonry of the body of the church having been repaired in 1849 are now generally in substantial condition. A few minor repairs are, however, necessary and the gable wall over the western chancel arch is in part unsound. The ground is much above the floor levels, and should be lowered next the walls, forming a paved trench and drainage to carry off the water.

The tower and porch were not restored when the other work was done, and some of the masonry of the tower is a good deal decayed owing to the action of the sea air on the Caen stone of which it is constructed.

The shafts of the porch archway have been destroyed, and should be restored, and the window on the west side, now blocked, should be opened.

The roofs are now all concealed by modern plaster ceilings—those of the nave and aisle are ancient, dating probably from the 15th century. The nave roof is of the usual Sussex type with trussed rafters, beams, and king-posts. The oak timbers are in part decayed but are, I think, capable of repair, and the effect of the interior would be greatly enhanced by the opening and restoring of this roof.

The roof over the western chancel is a modern one of deal, sound, but not fit to show. It could, however, be altered and a waggon ceiling formed under the rafters, and this would allow of the opening of the two small circular windows in the east gable.

The porch roof is an old one and requires repair.

The roofs are covered on the north side with tiles and on the south with slates. The slates were probably put on as being more secure in case of storms, but they do not harmonize with the old work, and if proper precautions are used in hanging the tiles they may be made quite secure, and it would be a great improvement to the church to remove the slates and substitute tiles.

The tower was anciently finished with a broach spire covered with shingles. The beams and wall plates upon which the spire rested still remain but in a very rotten state. The present roof is made up of old timbers which are decayed and past repair, and the boarding and shingles are also in bad condition. The roof requires entire renewal.

The tower floors and bell frames are not in good condition and need much repair.

With regard to the interior of the church—the stucco on the walls requires cleansing and some repair.

The seating and other fittings put in in 1849 are poor and not well arranged. The plan of the church is a somewhat inconvenient one for a modern congregation, but the arrangement shown on the sketch plan is, I think, the best and most natural one. The pulpit placed nearly in its present position, but brought out so as to clear the pier of the western chancel arch, commands the area of the building better than in any other situation, and by placing the harmonium in the north aisle, behind the great pier where seats would be of no use, the whole of the church can be comfortably and conveniently fitted.

I annexe an approximate estimate of the cost of the proposed works arranged in separate sections.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

EWAN CHRISTIAN

REFERENCES TO ANCIENT SUSSEX CHURCHES IN 'THE ECCLESIOLOGIST'

MAINLY AS REGARDS RESTORATION AND
REPAIR

BY O. H. LEENEY

(Continued from S.A.C. LXXXVI. 186)

EAST CHILTINGTON. (*Dedication lost*)

The Ecclesiologist (Feb. 1854, vol. xv, N.S. XII, p. 69) has one reference of note to this obscure little church, not to be confused with its better known namesake in west Sussex. East Chiltington was a chapelry of Westmeston until annexed to Plumpton in 1909.¹ Together with Westmeston, East Chiltington seems to have been the last Sussex church for the restoration and enlargement of which that energetic architect, Richard C. Carpenter, prepared plans; and he did not live to carry them out. His premature death occurred on 27 March 1855.

The passage in *The Ecclesiologist* is as follows:

Chiltington [*sic*: the writer seems not to have known West Chiltington] is also about to be enlarged by the same architect. Its plan is a chancel, nave, and west tower. Mr. Carpenter adds a south aisle, divided from the nave by an arcade of three arches, with circular shafts [cylindrical piers] and with an open wooden porch in the centre of the south aisle. There is also a new chancel arch; and a new east window of three lights, with reticulated tracery. The aisle windows here are also lancets, trefoiled in the head; the piers and arches are of First-Pointed character. The arrangement of the seats is excellent; and the chancel is guarded by a low stone screen. The rustic character of the building is here, as in the former church [Westmeston], exceedingly well preserved.

Richard R. Carpenter, the younger, followed in his father's footsteps as a diligent church architect; and there are instances in which he is known to have completed the elder Carpenter's designs.² The restoration

¹ *V.C.H.* VII. 102.

² e.g. at St. Paul's, Brighton, where, however, R. H. Carpenter substituted

of East Chiltington Church, however, was not executed, or at any rate completed, until 1889-90, when a local builder, Mr. W. Cottingham, was employed;³ the cost was £650.⁴ Carpenter's designs seem to have been adopted, with the important omission that plans for the additional aisle were definitely abandoned.

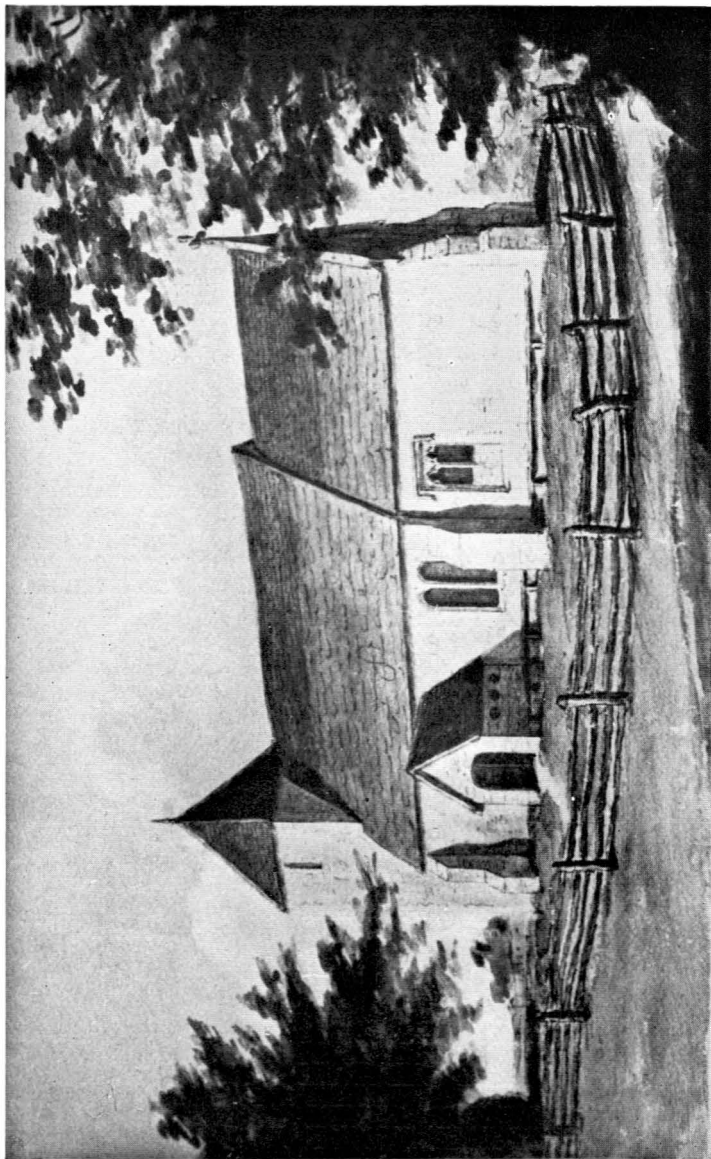
After nearly a century we can view the activities of these Early Victorian architects dispassionately, and no one can deny their amazing industry and vitality. Carpenter, whose labours included a design for a church in that most remote of British dependencies, the solitary island of Tristan da Cunha, seems to have had a good deal of work on hand at the time of his death; and in his case, as with others, could not have given the time and supervision necessary for the protection and preservation of much that was unnecessarily destroyed. Carpenter has been described by a brother architect⁵ as a 'conservative' restorer; and doubtless he was so, by comparison with others. His proposals, however, to enlarge both churches by the addition of a modern aisle must be treated as a deplorable step.

for his father's design for a lofty stone spire a wooden lantern tower, now (1947) in bad condition. I can find no reference to the younger Carpenter having supervised his father's designs for the restoration of East Chiltington Church. At the time, together with his colleague B. Ingelow, he was engaged on far more important work at Armagh and Honolulu Cathedrals (*The Builder*, LVII. 314, 333, 2 and 9 Nov. 1889; and LIX. 247-8, 27 Sept. 1890). R. H. Carpenter is one of the many Victorian architects whose recognition is yet to come; his work alone at the three great colleges of Ardingly, Hurstpierpoint, and Lancing should ensure his lasting fame. Yet in a recent work on the Gothic Revival, Mr. Basil F. Clarke's excellent *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, the only reference is to the above-mentioned tower by 'Carpenter junr.'

³ Information from Mr. Percival F. Bridgman, of Eastgate, Lewes; in his firm's ledgers is recorded the supply of various worked stones at this time. My thanks are due to Mr. Bridgman for his courteous permission to examine the books in question.

⁴ Kelly's *Directory*.

⁵ J. Lewis André, *S.A.C.* xli. 16. A comparative table of the work of all restoring architects is, surely, a *desideratum*. All, with the possible exception of Sir Gilbert Scott, seem to have been eclipsed by the amazing achievements of G. E. Street, who, according to his son and biographer, A. E. Street, was responsible for restorations of, and alterations to, no less than 460 churches, nearly all of pre-Reformation date. Of these, however, five only were in Sussex: Bignor, West Lavington, Graffham, Woolavington, and Rye. Small wonder that, as Sir Reginald Blomfield tells us, Street was 'killed by overwork and worry of the Law Courts'. The present condition of four out of these five churches, at any rate, proves that Street was more destructive in his methods than Carpenter, or was permitted greater opportunities.



EAST CHILINGTON CHURCH, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST, 1802.
(From a drawing in the Sharpe Collection.)

East Chiltington Church has a character of its own; and for one so near the Downs but little of Downland chalk and rubble is visible, though some chalk ashlar is used and more may be hidden by plaster. This was because other and handier quarries were available, yielding a tawny sandstone rag, of good weathering qualities; blocks of unpolished Sussex marble, as at Ashurst and Warminghurst, are also used externally. It is remarkable that the walls of chancel and nave differ in thickness; and that, apart from the tower, the whole of the north side of the church, both of chancel and nave, is destitute of window openings, though on the north of the chancel there are traces of a window. The nave walls are the thinner of the two (2 ft. 3 in.).

East Chiltington belongs to the very large number of rural churches where the chancel arch was omitted, usually on the rebuilding of the chancel, or at some period removed; perhaps for the provision of elaborate screens; it was so at Westmeston, and here, as at the former church, Carpenter's design for a new one was eventually carried out. At the time of the Gothic Revival its replacement, where removed, was regarded as an essential of the new order of things. Sompting, however, is an exception; and in less drastic restorations generally it has not been replaced.

The ancient work preserved by the setting aside of Carpenter's scheme for a new south aisle is remarkable. The little window west of the porch is a primitive opening, the ashlar of good Caen stone, with axed tooling; this tooling is original save for a little stupid modern imitation of it, clumsily extended to the plaster, thus rendering the deception apparent; the sill is only 4 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the ground outside; its width is $6\frac{7}{8}$ in., but it is $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wider at the head, a possible Saxon touch to work otherwise definitely Norman. Authentic Norman tooling may also be noted in the two doorways, that to the north blocked; that to the south has had its outer arch renewed, probably in the fourteenth century, in yellow sandstone; the rere-arch is a semi-ellipse.

For a study of the rest of the building Sharpe's view

of the church from the south-east, taken in 1802, may be compared with Mr. A. Stanley Cooke's pretty sketch of the building, from the same view-point, taken in 1910; Carpenter's addition of cusps, *more suo*, to the coupled lights in the nave, will be noted.¹ It will also be noted that the porch in Sharpe's drawing appears to be a stone structure, with semi-elliptical headed doorway and three circular openings in its east wall; Cooke shows the present timber structure.² Apart from Carpenter's windows the old design has been adhered to, with the diagonal buttresses at the east end faithfully copied. The chancel preserves few original features; but the coping, with gable cross, seems to retain some of the old stones, replaced. The south window, square-headed, of two lights in a fifteenth-century style, seems more or less a copy of that indicated in Sharpe; in lieu of rere-arch it has one great flat lintel—hardly the thing, perhaps, that the elder Carpenter would have designed. More probably, however, the adjacent window in the nave is his; an ogee-headed coupled light; and the east window, of reticulated tracery of three lights, together with the chancel arch and low screen mentioned in *The Ecclesiologist*, are his work.

So, too, is the west window of the tower, of three lancets divided by mullions. The tower for the most part presents its original character, without buttresses or newel; a modern iron ladder is the only means of access to the little belfry, the floor of which has been renewed. Buttresses, however, at the north-west and south-west angles of the nave, are partly shared by the tower, and seem coeval with it, doubtless additions of early-thirteenth-century date. In the tower area the north and south windows have had their masonry renewed externally but retain good original Caen stone-work within, with definite thirteenth-century tooling. The

¹ For an excellent description of the church see Margaret Woods, and plan by Messrs. Godfrey and Harvey, in *V.C.H.* vii. 101-2; a drawing of the church from the Sharpe Collection is also reproduced, opposite p. 97, and here, p. 186. I have ventured to add a few particulars.

² *Ibid.* Cooke's sketch will be found in his *Off the Beaten Track in Sussex*, p. 232.

belfry stage has a lancet opening north, south, and west; that to the north retains its original external rebate for shutter; to the east, flanking the roof ridge, are two rude narrow vertical slits, one on each side. The inner order of the tower arch is also a restoration; the outer order is ancient.¹

Many Sussex artists and topographical writers have called our attention to East Chiltington's venerable yew-tree, one of the most remarkable of its kind. Reference may also be made to a less familiar feature of the church-yard, a well-designed cambered foot-path in brick, leading diagonally to the south porch; perhaps of the eighteenth century, with other repairs in brick. Westmeston has also well-executed brick paving, perhaps from other kilns.

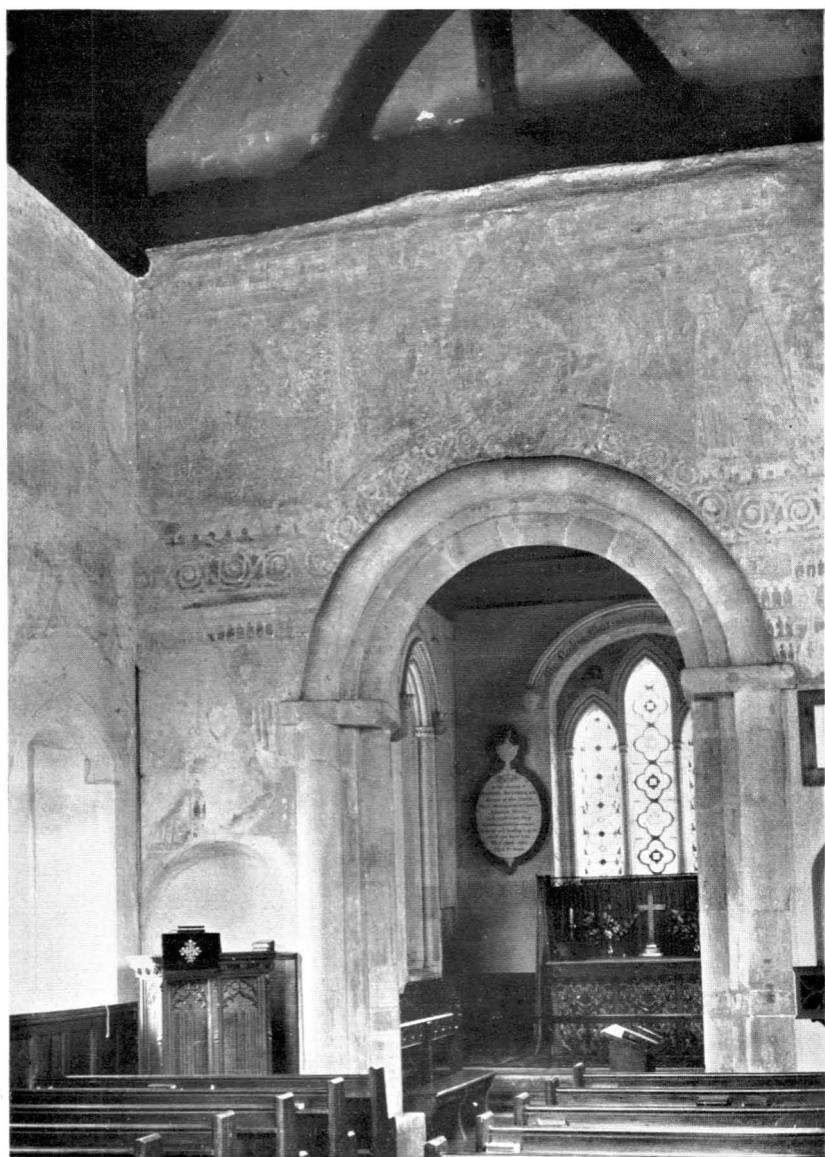
CLAYTON (*St. John the Baptist*)

Clayton Church, despite its somewhat drastic treatment at the hands of various restorers in Victorian days, both early and late, still takes a high place among the smaller churches of Sussex. Its wall-paintings, exceeded in interest and importance by few, place it, indeed, in the first rank; and it is to the principal restoration of the church in 1893 that we appear to owe their first discovery, and certainly their preservation.²

The structure, moreover, primarily as regards its chancel arch, has often figured in the text-books as affording a good study of the building technique of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers; its clumsiness, its capitals hardly deserving of the name, mere massive impost mouldings, separating rounded arch order and round respond, and artless plinth taking the place of moulded

¹ The entries in Messrs. Bridgman's ledgers are noteworthy as indicating the amazing cheapness of materials less than sixty years ago. Sandstone for the two belfry windows cost but £1 5s. 9d. each; for the tower window below (presumably that to the west) £2 8s. and for three inside sills £1 10s., making a total of £6 9s. 6d. (8 Oct. 1889). Elsewhere a charge is made of 2s. 4d., with 1s. 2d. for carriage, for four pieces of sawn sandstone.

² For description of the church by J. W. Bloe and plan by E. F. Harvey see *V.C.H.* vii. 142-4; the plan also appears in *Sussex Notes and Queries*, iii, No. 6, facing p. 186 (May 1931). The late Fredk. Harrison also prepared a short account of the church which he handed to the writer shortly before his death, and of this use has been made.



CLAYTON CHURCH: CHANCEL ARCH AND PAINTINGS

base; and yet withal preserving something of the spirit, of which it was the conscious imitation, of the old Roman manner.¹

The peculiarities of the church seem to have escaped our early ecclesiologists. The indefatigable Thomas Rickman failed apparently to note the church; it is wanting from his copious lists; and I can find no mention of the building in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, another valuable mine of ecclesiology. Neither do the first fifty volumes of *Archaeologia* or the earlier volumes of our *Collections* refer to Clayton Church. With the opening of the railway, however, there comes an unexpected, appreciative, and not unscholarly notice of the little fane. This was contained in the *Travelling Chart of the London and Brighton Railway*, priced at 6d., and published at the Railway Chronicle Office, Wellington Street, Strand. Vol. v of *The Ecclesiologist* (No. 10, April 1846) gives a very favourable, not to say enthusiastic, review of this publication:

Clayton: a Church was in this village, as registered in Domesday Book. Is not this the very same? A Romanesque arch² stands between the nave and chancel, which springs from a plain impost. The conjecture is very probably true. Now, when we consider the enormous multitudes of artizans and their families who, on their hard earned holidays, pour out on the Brighton railway, the importance of a popular chart like this, so very full and so very cheap,—a chart designed to tempt people into the country,—into the country church,—telling them what to see and in what spirit to see it,—is incalculable. We believe that the proprietors intend the illustration of other railways in a similar manner. If so, we most heartily bid them God speed. (p. 148.)

The next reference to Clayton in *The Ecclesiologist* comes only thirteen months later (vol. VII, No. LIX, May 1847: N.S., No. XXIII). For the light that it throws upon the condition of our rural churches a century ago, and for the delightful touch of, perhaps unconscious,

¹ See Professor Baldwin Brown, who in *The Arts in Early England*, vol. II (1925), compares Clayton with Wittering in Northamptonshire, and remarks that 'Clayton appears to be a genuine Saxon church, though it is in a region where dating is specially difficult'; pp. 456-7.

² The Camdenians usually spoke of a round arched style, Saxon and Norman alike, as 'Romanesque'.

humour in the concluding paragraph, many readers of our *Collections* will welcome a full transcription:

St. John Baptist [*sic*] Clayton and S . . . Keymer, both in Sussex. These churches being contiguous, and under the same incumbent, and having been restored in the same way may be noticed together. Clayton is a remarkably pretty specimen of a small Sussex church, with a curious Romanesque chancel-arch, supposed on good authority to be of ante-Norman date, two First-Pointed windows¹ on each side of the chancel, those on the north very rich, and a wooden belfry on the roof, supported by massive internal timbers. The original side windows of the nave have unfortunately been replaced by round-headed churchwarden ones; and a similar one has been inserted at the east end, under the hood of a Third-Pointed one, which must have succeeded a worthier predecessor. Within these few years² these barbarisms have been rectified in the following manner: the east window has been filled with a piece of calico,³ with a red border, bearing the inscription: 'Behold the Lamb of God'; while on the white field the monogram [*sic*] and a cross are painted, both in red. This transparency being rather new, looks very bright. The side lancets are filled with pieces of deep pink calico. 'The dim religious light' produced by these contrivances may easily be conceived. In the centre of the chancel, just before the sacrarium rails, stands the font. The tops of the nave windows have pieces of boards fitted into them internally, which, being cut into vandykes below, and pierced with quatrefoils, look, when the blinds are half down, something like tracery. In the angular spaces between the braces supporting the belfry, tin or iron discs are introduced, which, being pierced with a quatrefoil and painted wood colour, give a rich Gothic effect to the whole. Keymer (which is by the way an apsidal church of Romanesque origin) has not been so profusely ornamented, still the same hand may be detected. The east window (a single-light Third Pointed insertion) is fitted with a piece of calico, decorated merely with a red cross, now somewhat faded. The monogram [*sic*] is painted over the window of the others; one is left plain, the other (a romanseque one) is still blocked up. However, the font is not less honoured than at Clayton, and all the bays of the nave roof are enriched with metal quatrefoils. The incumbent of these churches, it is fair to add, is the gentleman who now fills the place of Poetry Professor at Oxford, having, as our readers will recollect, won that honourable office after a contest with the Rev. I. Williams. (pp. 196-7.)

These disfigurements, happily, will be sought for in

¹ So, also, our early ecclesiologists adopted the classification, 'First, Second, and Third Pointed', terms which more than one notable neo-Gothicist, G. E. Street among them, adopted also; and as such they were introduced into Murray's *Handbooks*.

² See p. 193, note 2.

³ Hardly *calico*; probably canvas, oiled silk, or some such textile.

vain to-day; the flimsier, of course, must have had but a short life. They were carried out in 1838; and were certainly otherwise regarded, as Samuel Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary*, states that both churches were 'repaired and beautified' at that date.¹ Probably some further repairs were carried out soon after; for the Rev. Arthur Hussey (1851) speaks of the window frames (of the chancel) as having been recently renewed, 'but their splays appear to be untouched';² it is not clear what he meant to imply by the former statement.

No further mention of Clayton is to be met with in the pages of *The Ecclesiologist*; but within the next generation or so some important restorations of the chancel were effected: it would appear of the chancel *only*. These renovations would appear to have been carried out by different hands, and thus show some variation. The treatment of the east window was perhaps the least satisfactory. Here the old external rere-arch of a late Perpendicular window (very possibly coeval with the existing square-headed west window) was retained; but a new triplet of lancets was inserted, under a round segmental rere-arch, and over this a circular window. The lights were divided by mullions, which (inside) are worked into shafts with little capitals of very unsatisfactory profile, certainly unlike the Early English Gothic of which they are supposedly a paraphrase. The treatment of the side lancets, however, north and south, seems faithfully to have copied the old designs, which varied. Those to the south are of the perfectly plain type to be found in the majority of Sussex churches of the period; those on the north, on the other hand, were among the most attractive and lavishly ornamented examples of the age in the county. These two windows had elaborately moulded rere-arches, with heads for terminals, and attached shafts with capitals of quasi-naturalistic foliage, such as we find at Atherington, Chailey, and Ditchling.³ These

¹ Vol. I, 5th ed., 1842; the author wrongly refers to the chancel arch as Norman.

² *Churches of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey*, p. 215.

³ Examples from Atherington and Ditchling are illustrated by P. M. Johnston in *V.C.H.* II. 375, and *S.A.C.* XLIV, Pls. 9 and 10.

capitals, however, were found to be so encrusted with whitewash that their renewal, in hard chalk, was found necessary; the work seems to have been admirably carried out. The external masonry of these two north windows remains; and inside shafts and bases, apparently wrought in Caen stone, are also original; the triple roll suggests a period not earlier than the third quarter of the thirteenth century.¹ The masons, however, cannot be acquitted of much offensive 'corduroy' tooling, seen at its worst in the north lancets, and in the responds of the chancel arch.

Subsequently to these restorations of the chancel the church would seem to have fallen into a bad state of disrepair; and it was not until 1893 that a well-known Brighton firm of architects, Scott & Cawthorn, took in hand the long-neglected repair of the nave.² A contemporary trade publication³ thus refers to the church, in terms perhaps which could have applied to few in Sussex at the time:

The church has long been in a deplorable condition; and its repair . . . was a disgrace to the parish. The building . . . has been begrimed inside with coatings of whitewash any length of time, enlivened with damp stains, cobwebs and green slime, and what the S.P.A.B. (Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings) would lovingly describe as 'its pathetic history'.

The appearance of the nave prior to 1893 is well shown in the drawing in the Sharpe Collection (1804) taken from the north-west and that, nearly fifty years later, from the same point of view, in the etching by R. H. Nibbs (1851), in both of which the churchwarden windows are prominently shown. Fortunately an interior view, a water-colour by George de Paris (1890) of the church looking west, has been preserved and is now hung up near the north doorway; it shows the west gallery and pews. These were swept away, the roof stripped and reconstructed, (many old timbers being

¹ Mr. Bloë in his description of the church (*V.C.H.* vii. 142) rightly refers to the capitals and moulded rere-arches as modern; but the shafts with their bases, cut from the solid, are undoubtedly ancient.

² *Sussex Daily News*, 3 and 26 Aug. 1893; the first reference states: 'the chancel was restored some years ago.'

³ *The Building News*, 22 Sept. 1893, pp. 365-6.

retained), the floor taken up, and the roof turret rebuilt. In place of the old churchwarden windows five new openings were inserted; these, if inoffensive, have tended to obscure the history of the fabric. The restorers inserted two single lights in the blocking of the little transeptal chapels (their foundations were not revealed until 1918), another at the west end on the north side; while higher up in the nave, well adapted to the lighting of the recently discovered wall-paintings, were placed two new windows, one on each side, each of two lights with Geometrical tracery.

A vestry was subsequently added; to provide access to which, unfortunately, the ancient Saxon wall was pierced; it is approached by five ascending steps from the nave and is provided with a chimney, happily well designed and unobtrusive.¹ Admirably in keeping with the building is the simple oak lychgate, designed by Mr. P. M. Johnston (1919), now serving as a memorial of the two Great Wars; the names of those who fell in the first are carved on a beam, in the second engraved on a brass plate and affixed to a post.

This is not the place to describe the wall-paintings which the restoration of 1893 brought to light; it is well indeed that they did not share the fate of those recorded, but not preserved, at Plumpton, Portslade, Westmeston, and other Sussex churches. Fortunately, when the Clayton pictures came to light, local antiquaries appeared on the scene without loss of time (Mr. C. E. Kempe, Mr. J. Lewis André, and Mr. C. E. Keyser²) and they were safeguarded. Subsequently (in 1917) their restoration was undertaken by Mr. P. M. Johnston, and careful tracings taken on the scaffold by that excellent

¹ See the charming little pen-and-ink drawing in A. Stanley Cooke's *Off the Beaten Track in Sussex*, p. 243.

² The paintings have been illustrated and described by Mr. E. W. Tristram in his monumental work, *English Medieval Wall Paintings* (1944), pp. 28-9, 34-5, Pls. 36-41, 43. See also *Twelfth Century Paintings at Clayton and Hardham*, a complete series of photographs, with Introduction by a Sussex artist, Mr. Clive Bell. They were described soon after their discovery by Mr. C. E. Keyser, together with those at Rotherfield, which were brought to light in the same year, in *S.A.C.* XL. 211-21. See also the *Archaeological Journal*, LIII. 166-70. It may also be permissible to mention a contribution by the present writer to *Country Life*, 27 Dec. 1946.



CROWHURST CHURCH, FROM THE NORTH-EAST, 1802.
(From a drawing in the Sharpe Collection.)

antiquary; admirable copies of these were made by Miss M. Janet Becker (1932-47) and are now to be seen in the nave. Unfortunately they seem now to be fading steadily once more, and unless a further restoration be undertaken their final disappearance will have to be reckoned with. At present (July 1948) most of the subjects need a bright afternoon to make them out with any degree of certainty.

CROWHURST (*St. George*)

There appears to be but one reference to Crowhurst Church in *The Ecclesiologist*; its fate exemplifies that of many in mid-Victorian days. It is best known, perhaps, for its famous yew-tree, and should not be confounded with Crowhurst in Surrey, in the churchyard of which is another noted yew.¹ The Sussex Crowhurst, too, has other claims to archaeological notice in the ruins of a manor-house, a few yards to the south-west, on a lower level, the site of the church suggesting that it was built on the top of an ancient earthwork.²

The Ecclesiologist (Aug. 1856, XIV, N.S., p. 307) has this brief notice:

S. George, Crowhurst, Sussex.—Mr. W. M. Teulon rebuilds this church with the exception of the tower. The style chosen is Early Middle-Pointed: the plan comprises nave and two aisles, with north aisle to the chancel, and small vestry to the north of the aisle. The general treatment is simple but pleasing. We more than doubt the use of the large priest's door on the south side of the chancel. The east window of the north chancel aisle is a spherical triangle, filled with three quatrefoils. An ordinary window would have been more in place. The arrangement is generally good, but we much regret to observe a group of pulpit, reading-pew, and clerk's-desk, at the south-east angle of the nave.

Such is the curt record of one of the many acts of destruction which, in mid-Victorian times, passed without protest and almost without comment. Indeed, a formidable list could be made of rebuilding schemes in

¹ That of the Sussex Crowhurst would seem to be the larger, 42 ft. in girth at base; Brabant, *Little Guide to Sussex* (1938). That of the Surrey Crowhurst is given by Dr. J. Charles Cox as 32 ft. 6 in. (*Little Guide to Surrey* (1910-26).)

² It is not, however, so mentioned either by A. Hadrian Alcroft (*Earthwork in England; The Circle and the Cross*) or by Walter Johnson (*Byways in British Archaeology*).

which the entire fabric of an ancient church was remorselessly swept away, except the tower. In Sussex the entire churches of Crowhurst, Dallington, and East Hoathly were destroyed; at West Angmering and Little Horsted a little old work was spared: yet in all these cases the tower was spared.

The Ecclesiologist gives no particulars as to the medieval fabric, the features of which, however, are well preserved in a drawing in the Sharpe Collection.¹ The old church had some peculiarities and had undergone serious mutilation, which doubtless served as an excuse for its demolition, and had also undergone an eighteenth-century rebuilding in a somewhat debased style. The chancel was shortened 10 ft. in 1726² and windows inserted in the common eighteenth-century imitation of Geometrical forms, viz. with mullions intersecting in the head, generally, as in this instance, of three lights; the east window was of this type, and there was another, and larger one, the only opening on that side, north of the nave, with its sill remarkably near the ground; it must have well lighted the church.

The architect, W. M. Teulon, must not be confounded with the better-known architect, S. S. Teulon,³ who was very busy in Sussex at the same time, and who is best known, perhaps, by the remarkable church of the Holy Trinity at Hastings; curiously enough, the two men seem not to have been related. At Crowhurst Teulon adopted a style not out of harmony with the local Gothic of the early fourteenth century, with simple traceries, sufficiently varied in their design to avoid monotony; and he seems to have built the church on the old foundations. Teulon's masonry, however, strikes a distinctive note. The familiar yellow sandstone, from

¹ Reproduced in *V.C.H.* ix, opp. p. 77.

² It seems to have retained a medieval north chapel, or vestry, to the north of the chancel, seen in Sharpe's drawing, and copied by Teulon in the modern church.

³ William Milford Teulon practised as an architect at 96 Wimpole Street, Cavendish Square, in 1867. His namesake, Samuel Sanders Teulon (1812-73), practised c. 1858 from 9 Craig's Court, Charing Cross. (Information kindly supplied by Mr. W. W. Begley, F.R.I.B.A.)

Wealden quarries, is freely used. The chancel arch seems of Bath stone throughout; but with this exception the whole fabric, as to Teulon's rebuilding, has the peculiarity of Bath-stone piers, window traceries, and mullions, combined with sandstone jambs and arches; the south doorway is similarly constructed. The vagaries of the nineteenth-century restorer, however, are well seen on the south side of the nave, where the ashlar masonry of little sandstone blocks, slightly rock-faced, would be hard to parallel in medieval work hereabouts.

The church, as actually built, differs slightly from the lines laid down in *The Ecclesiologist*. Only one aisle was built (to the north) instead of the two mentioned, and the objectionable spherical triangle has for traceries long-lobed trefoils instead of quatrefoils; it is filled with painted glass and is quite concealed by the organ. No lavish sum seems to have been expended on the church; the porch, of timber on a stone basement, is poor, with wooden benches. The roofs have scissors-beams, and from both aisle and chancel collars are omitted: hardly the type of roof which a medieval Sussex carpenter would have put up. The building, however, has its good points: fairly thick walls; the arcade dividing the nave from its solitary aisle is of some dignity, with octagonal piers and half-octagonal responds; the arches of two orders with salient chamfer-stops. The not unimposing chancel arch is of good design, lancet-shaped, well moulded and lofty. It allows the east window to show up favourably; this was filled with painted glass, now, save for that in the head, removed.

Teulon's fittings and furniture have not been left untouched, but the Creed and Commandments remain in their original quatrefoiled panels. The grouping regretted by *The Ecclesiologist*, the account in which should have included the wooden pulpit, has been modified. The pulpit has lately been replaced by one of stone.

The tower, which is well known from the Pelham buckle figuring both in its west doorway and in the head of the tracery of the west window, is a good piece of

east Sussex Perpendicular in three stories; Mr. Ray points out that it belongs to a group of fifteenth-century towers, apparently built under the influence of the Pelhams.¹ It has, however, some peculiarities of its own, not perhaps sufficiently recognized, e.g. the construction of the newel, contained in a rectangular projection on the south side, a little westwards of the south-east angle, so placed as not to weaken the wall, the thrust of the adjacent tower arch being met by an additional buttress at the angle. All this, together with the tower arch, which is lofty and narrow, was spared by Teulon; but his masons stupidly retooled its responds as well as the jambs of the doorway leading to the newel.

It may be added that that very remarkable Sussex worthy, well known to the present writer, the Rev. J. P. Bacon Phillips, was Rector of Crowhurst from 1889 to 1917. His wife and daughter are commemorated in two charming little painted windows in the sanctuary. This excellent divine, well known for his ministrations to homeless tramps, enjoyed a probably unique record as a newspaper correspondent; he wrote thousands of letters to the press, London and provincial, on every conceivable subject.

ETCHINGHAM (*SS. Mary and Nicholas*)

No Sussex church makes a more immediate appeal to the antiquary. Its unique physiognomy; its site, solitary in a marshy vale, until a main artery of the South Eastern Railway came near it; its isolation, till within recent years intensified by a moat only filled in within recent memory; its monuments, surpassed by few in the county: all contribute to an ensemble of peculiar charm.

To understand the place we must picture to ourselves a small 'castle' or fortified manor-house, standing where now the railway station lies. Probably there was no village worthy of the name when the church was built, and that may account for the shortness of the nave, built as a sort of vestibule to an almost equally long

¹ John E. Ray in *V.C.H.* IX. 81.

chancel, and to afford abutment to the axial tower.¹ There was but little congregation to consider, and, though nominally a parish church, it was more the private and mortuary chapel of the feudal lords of Etchingham.

When the inevitable restorer made his appearance, William Slater was busy in these parts; he had just completed the restoration of the neighbouring church of Burwash,² and, when danger to the fabric was threatened, was naturally called in. The importance of the church had been recognized, and in the volumes of *The Ecclesiologist* for 1856 and 1857 there are four references to the building; in the final one an unusually copious account of the work carried out. This is fortunate; for though Slater himself contributed to our *Collections* a good account of the church, with a plan and excellent illustrations,³ he was more concerned with the genealogies of the Etchingham family, and description of its monuments, than with what he had done to the fabric. It should be remembered, however, that the article is an extension and revision of a paper read at a meeting of the Society (at Bodiam, 10 July 1856) when, as now, something more was expected of a lecturer than a summary of architectural details. The paper would appear to be in error in one small point: Slater refers to the roofs being all covered with tiles; and this mistake, curiously enough, is perpetuated in the *Victoria County History of Sussex*;⁴ the aisle roofs, being almost flat, are necessarily covered with lead.

The writer in *The Ecclesiologist* gives ample details. The first reference, a little whimsically (Aug. 1856, vol. XIV, N.S., p. 315), states:

We are glad to notice the commencement of amelioration of this magnificent church, consisting of a new altar vestment of appropriate design, and sanctuary rails, and in the scraping and restoration for use of the sedilia.

¹ The church is described by E. T. Long in *V.C.H.* ix. 215-16, with plan by W. H. Godfrey and E. F. Harvey; and reproduced, with shorter description by Mr. Godfrey in *S.A.C.* LXXXI. 119-20 ('Axial Towers in Sussex Churches').

² *S.A.C.* LXXXIV. 145-7.

³ *Ibid.* ix. 343-60.

⁴ *V.C.H.* ix. 216.

The unhappy word 'scraping' is only too true of Etchingham. There was to ensue only too drastic a wielding of the scraping tool, as the masons moved westwards from the chancel into the nave. One misses, on a hundred stones, the familiar cross-hatched tooling naturally sought for in a fourteenth-century church.

The next extract from the same volume (Dec. 1856, p. 459¹) gives the first indication of those structural defects so manifest in recent years.

S. Mary and S. Nicholas, Etchingham, Sussex.—We are glad to report that the restoration of this remarkably fine church has been undertaken in earnest. The rector, who has just completed his hundredth year, is carrying out that of the chancel, and given liberally to the nave . . . had the preservative hand of restoration not been stretched out, we might have had soon to mourn the ruin of a singularly beautiful fabric. The north arcade of the nave leans so much, and the west end is so dilapidated, that both require rebuilding; while the condition of the roof is such that a walking-stick was driven entirely through one of the tie-beams. We need not say that the remarkable screen, stalls, brasses, tiles, and sanctuary steps in the chancel are preserved, while a boarded roof throughout will replace a frightful overflow [*sic*: the reference is to the roofs being underdrawn with plaster] of whitewash. . . . The effect of restoring the original length of the side chancel windows is striking; and we anticipate a similar gain from the re-lengthening of the west window. The curious south porch of oak is to be carefully preserved.

The next volume (1857, N.S., xv: the title-page, by a printer's error, perhaps, gives the vol. no. as xiv) has first a passing reference to the church (April 1857, p. 119) and mentions the new glass in the east window, which still remains, together with some ancient heraldic glass; other fragments were removed, and have been happily reset in the north aisle (chapel at the east end). The new glass, a fair specimen of its age, was designed by Clayton (Clayton & Bell) and executed by Lavers (Lavers & Barraud). In a later number of the same volume (Oct. 1857, pp. 321-3) a long account is given of the now completed restoration; its length forbids a full transcription, but extracts may be supplied. It mentions the interesting fact that the aged rector, who started the restoration in his hundredth year, was still

¹ See the final paragraph of these notes on Etchingham Church.

living,¹ and speaks of 'a zealous curate leading the way'. The writer first describes the church as:

. . . remarkable for its ground-plan,—a clerestoried nave of two bays with aisles, massive central tower and lantern forming a third bay, the nave aisles being prolonged to the line of the chancel arch in lieu of transepts [the convenient term, *acial tower*, had not at that time been adopted] and an aisleless chancel; for the style, flowing Middle-Pointed, with so much of Flamboyant as to raise strong suspicion of a foreign architect; for the grandeur of its proportions . . . for the preservation,—though in a state of great decay—of its chancel fittings; and finally, for the founder's brass . . . containing the actual date, 1386 [1389], of the building of the actual church. Until last year, this church, though sufficiently famous to have been measured and drawn, first by Mr. Carpenter and then by Mr. Dollman, and often quoted in ecclesiological books, continued in a state not only of squalor, damp, and wretched fitting, but of positively dangerous dilapidation.

Too much has been made of the alleged 'Flamboyancy' of the building. Some windows have Geometrical patterns; English Curvilinear predominates; the east window, which shows the nearest approach to the Flamboyant, is nevertheless hardly of the true French Flamboyant type; while the west window, a very curious design, distinctly indicates the approach of our national English Perpendicular with its Rectilinear tracery.² Slater's relengthening of this west window is instructive; it adds greatly to the striking physiognomy of the church. Slater may have had authority for the course he took; old drawings, however, give no indication that it was ever longer; that in the Sharpe Collection (1803)

¹ It is regrettable that so little seems to have been recorded of this centenary Sussex parson. His name was the Rev. Hugh Totty, D.D. (sometimes spelt *Tottie*; in *V.C.H.* ix. 216 his name is given as *Tolly*, recording the gift of a chalice to the church in 1841). Dr. Totty was inducted to the living as far back as 1792, according to the *Clerical Guide and Ecclesiastical Directory* for 1836; he is mentioned in Kelly's *Directory* for 1855 as the then incumbent. 'The zealous curate who led the way' was the Rev. Henry John Rush, for some years a member of our Society. It was during the ministry of the good rector that the present writer's grandfather, then a lad of ten or twelve, attended the church as a choir-boy, and learned to swim in the river Rother hard by.

² Possibly the design of the tracery was the last in the church to be completed, and its insertion delayed so that the aperture could be used for the final removal of scaffolding and ladders (Francis Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 500). Mr. Godfrey, however, believes that the west front was left unfinished, and that a further extension westwards was contemplated (*S.A.C.* LXXXI. 119).

shows a shorter window.¹ Most ecclesiologists seem to have assumed, too hastily, the date of the church as that of the founder's death in 1389. Mr. L. F. Salzman, however, shows clearly that it was building in 1363.² The church was probably finished some few years, at least, before the founder's death in 1389. The writer continues:

The unsafe condition of the nave necessitated the re-building of a considerable portion of it; and in the foundations of the new work use has been made of reversed arches turned in brick. The old roofs were thoroughly rotten and daubed over with whitewash; they have been admirably reinstated in oak. The design of those of the nave and chancel is polygonal, with ties and king-posts; those of the nave aisles are of a low pitch, and the lantern a flat oaken ceiling. The west window of two lights and the six side windows have been brought back to their pristine length. The curious platform of the sanctuary, with three steps recessed in the centre, has been re-constructed . . . a vestry being needed, a small one with a flat lead roof has been built in the middle bay of the chancel to the north, underneath the window; where, as well as in the most eastern bay, there were external indications of the existence either of sacristies or chapels. . . .

Considerable remains of the old encaustic tile pavement having remained in a very worn condition, the patterns (several of them peculiar) have been reproduced by Messrs. Minton; and the sanctuary with its steps has been laid with them . . . while the ancient tiles have been replaced on the remaining portions of the chancel floor, in the sanctuary, and in front of the screen. The Altar, a massive Jacobean table, is now correctly vested.

The polygonal roofs mentioned are of the type common in Kent and Sussex, and frequently found elsewhere, with king-posts and collar-purlins; some old timbers, apparently, yet remain, as well as some in the tower.³ The west window is incorrectly referred to as of two lights; it is of three. Slater added the vestry, as stated; but not on the site of the chapel, as a piscina, now in the open air, and other indications testify. The Jacobean altar table has been placed at the east end of the south aisle.

¹ This is corroborated by drawings apparently furnished by Slater for use by a contemporary architect, C. Poulteney Smith, who submitted a design (not carried out) for a church for the newly formed parish of Leaton, partly carved out of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury (1859-60). (Information from the Rev. R. F. J. Sawyer, Leaton Vicarage, *per* Lt.-Col. T. B. Hornblower.)

² *Suss. N. & Q.* III. 53-4 (May 1930).

³ Information from Lt.-Col. T. B. Hornblower.

After referring to the monumental brasses, which have been often illustrated, the writer goes on to describe, with much valuable detail, the chancel screen and accompanying fittings:

The returned stalls, of great richness, with panelled backs and misereres [misericords] and desk fronts, had fortunately remained, though in a state of considerable neglect; they have now been completely restored with a few repairs and oiled over. There was clearly in former times a solid rood-loft of considerable dimensions, with probably altars on each side of the holy doors. This has perished with the exception of the panelling over the returned stalls, which has survived and, being pierced, now presents the aspect of a high, open chancel screen, only that at the chancel entrance its horizontal continuity is broken. This continuity had previous to the restoration been supplied by a pseudo-classical pediment of so mean and shabby a character that no one can regret its loss. In re-restoring this screen, Mr. Slater has wisely left the western face of the pierced panel work as he found it, unmoulded, a proof that in the original condition of the screen it was *appliqué* to solid panelling. The stalls and screen are now surmounted by a very simple embattled cresting.

The writer then goes on to describe the rest of the modern fittings and furniture, as well as the newly inserted glass of the east window, remarking on the highly interesting fact of the retention, as mentioned, of much of its ancient heraldic glazing:

A band of quatrefoils at the bottom of the tracery retains its old armorial glass, including the arms of Edward III. and the Black Prince; these have been cleaned by Mr. Miller.¹

Slater's restoration seems to have fallen short of the tower approach. A customary newel, all the way to the ground, with external door, seems to have been intended; lighted by five rectangular slits, and corbelled out in the north-west re-entering angle of the chancel. Here a doorway is only approached by a step-ladder, placed when required, but before Slater's restoration a well-designed eighteenth-century staircase led up to it;² its predecessor doubtless combined this approach with that to the rood-loft, as suggested. One regrets Slater's

¹ The invaluable heraldry of the church has been described by Brig.-Gen. Fane Lambarde in *S.A.C.* LVII. 151-3 and, as to its eighteenth-century condition, by Hayley, whose notes were copied by Slater in *S.A.C.* IX. 355-60.

² Illustrated in *S.A.C.* IX, opp. p. 351.

removal of the 'pseudo-classical pediment'. Examples exist of not inharmonious screens, Gothic and Classic side by side, as at Ennington, in Devon. At Etchingham there are no doors to the screen; and there are apparently no traces of any now, even if they existed, as so confidently stated.¹ Screen and stall work alike show signs of very extensive restoration and renewal, but here Slater has done his work admirably, on the whole.

The Ecclesiologist's account of the restorations ends with a reference to the timber south porch, which 'has been repaired where needed, and being well oiled [the writer evidently believed in the efficacy of this treatment for woodwork] will, we trust, still survive for many years; the picturesque ball-capping of the tower has been made good, as well as the other roofs'.

No account of Etchingham Church should fail to make mention of the very remarkable work of reconstruction of the walls and tower, carried out, at a cost of £4,600 in 1937-8, under the direction of Mr. F. O. Marchant, A.R.I.B.A., as architect, and Mr. Harold Cane as consulting engineer.² Eighty years after the restoration just described another problem had arisen, viz. the dangerous condition of the central tower. Heavy traffic, ever increasing in the twentieth century, both by road and rail, combined with the perpetual menace of a marshy site, threatened disaster. There were cracks in the tower extending to its full height, and other cracks in the nave and chancel. In 1937 the site was examined, and it was found that the ground was waterlogged to a depth of some 5 ft., in such a manner that underpinning was impracticable.

The only alternative was to build concrete piles around the tower piers, connected by steel needles; but the tower is still 14 in. out of the perpendicular, and will doubtless always remain so. A sectional drawing

¹ The modern practice of locked chancel doors not only lacks proper medieval precedent but is repugnant to common sense.

² For these particulars of this latest, and, it is to be hoped, final restoration for many years, I am indebted to the courtesy of Lt.-Col. T. B. Hornblower, who, organizing the work of reconstruction, made himself personally responsible for it, and largely undertook the very heavy cost.

of the piles shows that they were sunk through 2 ft. depth of earth, 7 ft. 6 in. of soft clay, 8 ft. 6 in. of black sludge, 7 ft. of soft silt, and 1 ft. each of small stone shale and ballast; the depth of concrete varying from 22 ft. 6 in. to 25 ft. 6 in.¹

One is glad to conclude this brief notice of Etchingham with a tribute to the skilled workers who have brought to so successful a conclusion the most noted Sussex church restoration, so far, of the century.

¹ Measurements given by Mr. A. Vince, foreman in charge.

(To be concluded)

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